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Management Morale and Performance in Education: A Case Study in Organizational Behavior, Triangulating Theory, Methodology and Social Reality

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MANAGEMENT MORALE AND PERFORMANCE IN EDUCATION: A CASE STUDY IN ORGANIZATIONAL BEHAVIOR, TRIANGULATING THEORY, METHODOLOGY AND SOCIAL REALITY

(TITLE)

BY

JOHN W. MEANS

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PROLOGUE

The following investigation is offered as an experiment of inference of significant theoretical generalizations applicable over a wide range of similar Social situations from behavioral evidence when it is grounded in a body of theoretical principles and described and analyzed in context.

In such a study two problems are immediately apparent; there must be certain basic assumptions and choices made at the outset. The first choice concerns the body of theory that will be used to ground the inquiry of the investigation. The body of theory chosen in this case is behavioral theory. This does not mean that this theory is inherently superior to another set of theoretical concepts which might be employed to frame the study in another way. Behavioral theory was chosen simply because social change is the main theme of this study and social change is at the center of the various partial theories and concepts of behavioral theory.

The second problem concerns the choice of behavior involved. This study has chosen the most <u>general</u> patterns of behavior which seemed to best describe the average of conditions as they evolved over time. It is realized too that not every individual reacts in exactly the same way in all similar circumstances. Therefore, it must be remembered by

the reader that as the number of events have been limited and behavior patterns averaged, the resulting pattern becomes something like a verbal caricature.

Therefore, the individuals concerned are in no way dishonorable or unethical but are acting in a manner that they consider to be ethical and in the tradition of their socialization.

It is in defense of this aspect of ethics that the names of the people and the setting of the study concerned have been changed to keep the reality of events but to preserve the privacy of the actual social actors concerned.

In the first part of the study, the general societal and theoretical basis for analysis is developed to form a social foundation for the behavior noted in the second part which deals with the specific school system.

In the second part of the study, the particular school system is first described in terms of setting and events on the chronological dimension. This part of the study describes the preparticipatory planning phase which operated under a paternalistic authority system. Specific actions and their social consequences are catalogued. In the next part of the study, the evolution of a different policy which fostered a new conception of the application of authority and a new leadership style is described and the accompanying social consequences noted.

The next part of the study summarizes, interprets and draws conclusions. It deals with the analysis from the

descriptive material, of the policies held by the authority system as it evolved, the behavioral consequences of the policies as they were applied to the social situation and finally an analysis of this overt behavior as evidence symptomatic of the state of the educational climate and the condition of morale as time passed. In turn, this analysis is compared with the tenets of the symbolic interactionist approach and social conflict theory which has been chosen as the body of social theory to be compared with reality as pictured by observed behavior and the assessment of staff attitudes.

Finally the concepts of prediction and control are discussed with respect to the thesis statement. In this way the study links theory (a description of reality postulating certain degrees of interrelationship among concepts) to reality (practice--as indicated by observed behavior and through attitude measurement).

The concluding sections attempt to interpret the analysis, test the validity of the thesis statement, and draw some conclusions which are generally valid in application in similar group contexts and in similar social situations.

The investigation is justified in that it is a legitimate experiment in the triangulation of behavioral evidence observed in the context of social reality with the theoretical and empirical evidence gathered by behavioral scientists in other similar situations to arrive at general theoretical connotations of behavior patterns that have wide applicability.

C O N T E N T S

Chapter | Page

PART V

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

PART I

THE INTRODUCTION OF THE SUBJECT AND THE THESIS PROBLEM, THE METHODOLOGY AND STRUCTURE OF THE RESEARCH, THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF THE ANALYSIS, AND THE NATURE OF WORK IN GENERAL, AND THE EDUCATIONAL PROCESS IN PARTICULAR, IN RELATION TO HUMAN BEHAVIOR IN INTERACTION

I. INTRODUCTION

The following study is an attempt to ground a body of sociological theory in reality as a means for organizing a sociological investigation of an ongoing social situation.

The main purpose of the research is to use theoretical principles in combination with observed behavior to analyze a specific social context and to draw general conclusions that will be applicable over a wide range of similar situations.

The social change process and the conflict engendered by it will make up the central themes for developing the topic. Therefore, the study will be directed at describing and analyzing the consequences of change brought about by the administrative process in the school situation. The overall process will be considered chiefly in terms of conflict and its resolution or avoidance through the subprocesses of communications and decision-making and their behavioral outcomes as expressed in the state of the educational climate and staff morale.

The study will investigate change as an ongoing ubiquitous though discontinuous process, and will attempt to place the administrative process in perspective in the total change movement, both as it actually exists and ideally in terms of theoretical principles.

Since all the activities of the community and the school become part of the ongoing change process, and all the precipitators of conflict and decision-makers, who attempt to avoid or resolve that conflict, also become part of the overall dynamic character of the movement, the conclusion that school administration is a process also seems valid. Neagley and Evans quote Getzels and Guba's model of administration categorized as a social process:

> They conceive of administration structurally as the hierarchy of subordinate-superordinate relationships within a social system. Functionally, they consider this hierarchy of relationships as the locus for allocating and integrating roles, personnel, and facilities for the purpose of achieving goals of the social system.[1]

No social scientist would argue with the allegation that the school and the community are both part of the dynamic social change process of the larger social system. It seems logical, then, that the principles of the systems approach can be applied to the consideration of the parts that the administration, the teachers, the students, and the community play in the overall process.

The administration of change, in times of social ferment and technological progress, tests the skill of the administrator. He must consider and weigh all the factors and subprocesses that make up the dynamic situation that is

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[1]Ross L. Neagley and H. Dean Evans, Handbook of Effective Supervision of Instruction (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1970), p.31, quoting J. W. Getzels and E. G. Guba, "Social Behavior and the Administrative Process," School Review, LV, no.4, 423.

the social change process. Various subprocess concepts overlap between and among themselves in certain areas as graphically demonstrated in the circle diagram on the next page. For example, communication is an aspect of decision-making and vice versa. Changes in the subprocesses have consequences for the other concepts and all move and change with the dynamic social situation.

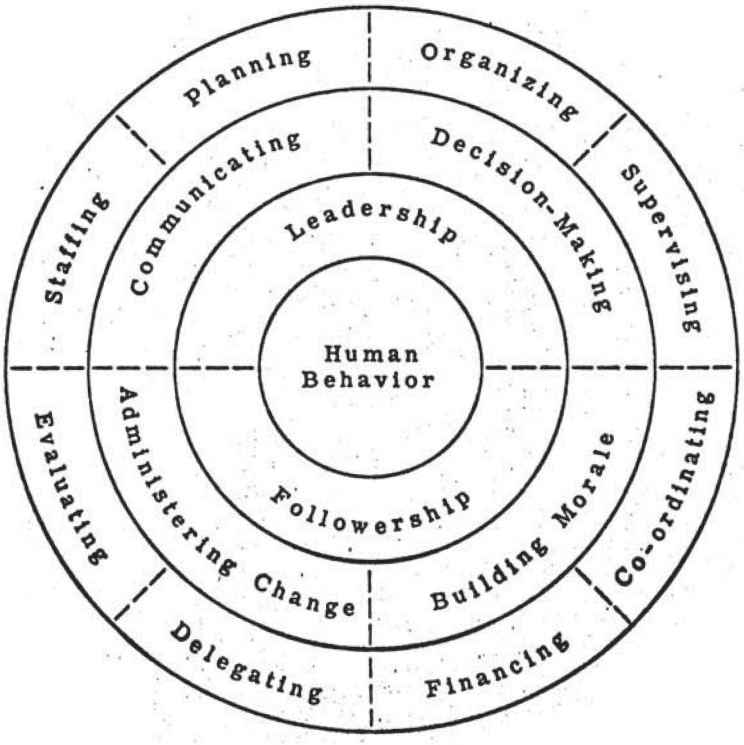
This investigation will deal chiefly with two process concepts--administering change and maintaining morale. The importance of these two process concepts is attested to by the fact that numbers of theories of administration consider them, or other variations of them, under different labels. For instance, the close relationship of the two concepts to "efficiency" and "effectiveness" definitions of Barnard and the "morale" and "motivation" functions postulated by Dubin is worthy of note.

In substantiating an investigation of the administrative process in the educational institution from the sociological perspective, the reader's attention is called to the following statement of Culbertson, Jacobson, and Reller:

> Since not enough research has been done in school administration or related administrative fields to construct a comprehensive theory, it seems reasonable to turn for aid to social science research on behavioral processes related to school administration. An approach to integrating some of the findings from the social science disciplines and from related fields of administration should thrust forward the quest for the meaning of administrative processes. In addition,

Figure 1.

Process Concepts in Human Behavior



such efforts should provide bases for testing the general applicability of social science findings.[1]

In line with the foregoing discussion of the pertinence of social science knowledge to the study of school administration and supervision, this study makes four basic assumptions at the outset:

> The function of supervision is to effect changes in the curriculum, instruction and learning in the schools through modification of behavior.
>
> Supervisors and administrators are expected to provide leadership and competency in developing an organization and a working environment that makes possible continuous improvement in curriculum, instruction, and learning.
>
> The behavioral sciences are the most valuable sources of concepts to be used in the development of an organization and a strategy of change.
>
> Concepts from each of the behavioral sciences that appear to have relevance to the formation of a strategy of change should be utilized as the bases for the formulation of a theory of supervision.[2]
>
> (Assumptions taken verbatim from Neagley and Evans.)

The analysis presented in this study will be carried out through the application of the sociological perspective and a theoretical synthesis composed of a body of theory encompassed by sociological conflict theory extended to include the principles of behavior embodied in symbolic interactionism as they can be applied in conjunction with information garnered in studies conducted in the areas of business and industry.

So it is that the tenets of sociological theory will

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[1]Jack A. Culbertson, Paul B. Jacobson, and Theodore Y. Reller, Administrative Relationships: A Casebook (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1960), p. 374.

[2]Neagley and Evans, Supervision of Instruction, 1970.

be applied to the change process consisting of subprocess concepts of decision-making and communications, and the behavioral outcomes expressed in terms of the state of educational climate and conditional morale.

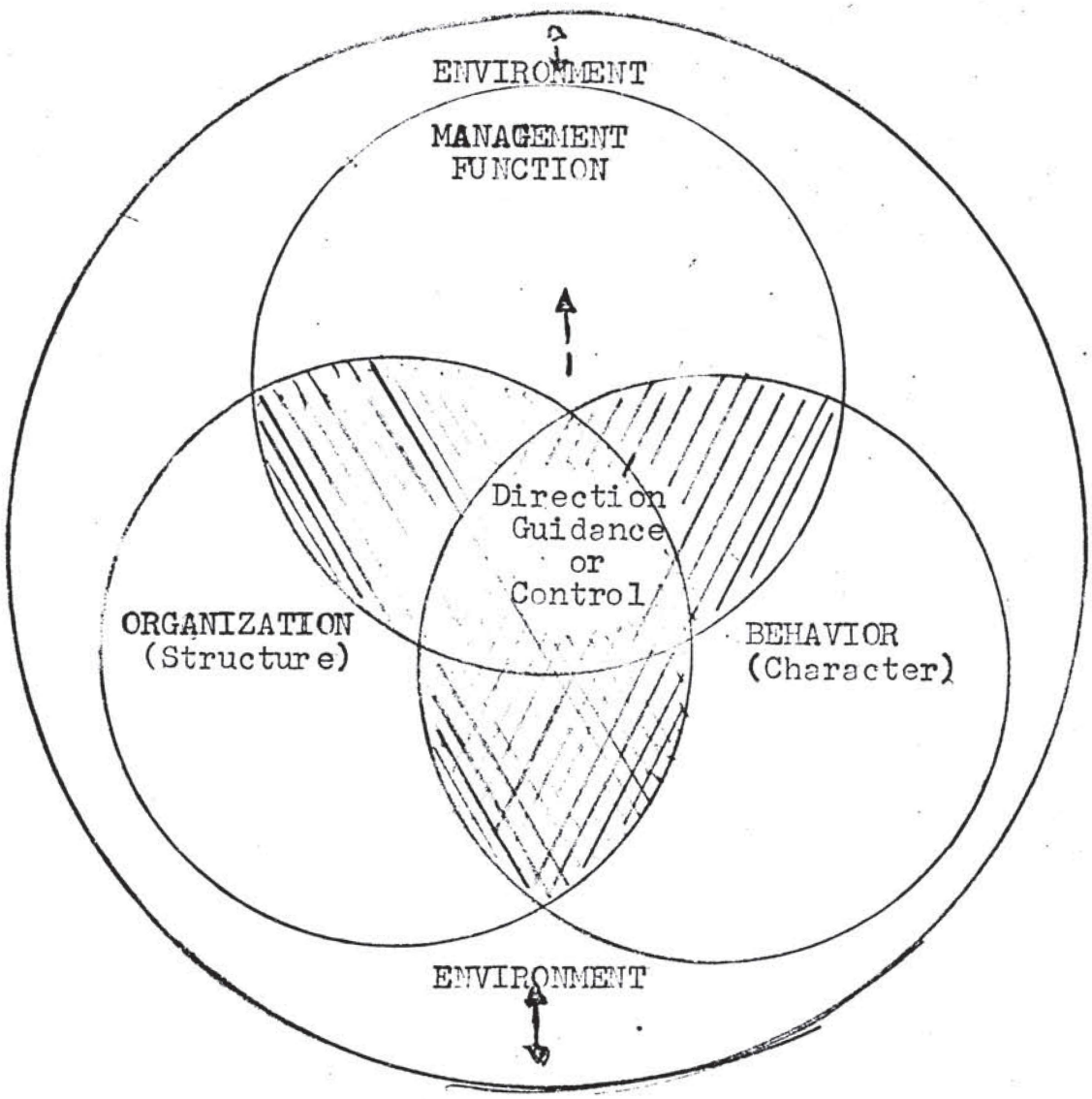
In order to accomplish these purposes the study will concentrate mainly on the management component or administration of the organization as to the character of the system of authority it employs and the style and techniques of leadership it uses in the politics of operating an effective social organization.

The view of a social enterprise (including the educational institution) that will be considered here consists of two aspects: the organizational aspect, or structure, (formalized ways of fulfilling function), and behavior, which determines the character of the enterprise. These two aspects are united and directed by the management function in accordance with the purpose and goals of the enterprise (as defined in the operating policy). (See illustration on the following page.)

The principle concern of this study will be with political behavior, and patterns of behavior as they determine courses of action as a conceptual tool of analysis. Social enterprises are composed primarily of people in interaction, together with the policy, the software and the hardware that they institute to facilitate this interactive process. Therefore, the most fundamental areas of investigation appear to be the forces that control the interactive

Figure 2

A VISUAL REPRESENTATION OF THE FUNCTION OF THE MANAGEMENT COMPONENT OF SOCIAL ENTERPRISE SYSTEMS IN THE GUIDANCE OR CONTROL OF THEIR DEVELOPMENT, ORGANIZATION AND IN THE EVOLUTION OF THEIR CHARACTER



All social systems are composed of a more or less dynamic relationship between two aspects (behavioralist view). These are in a constant state of flux but their condition at a particular point in time, or the condition as it evolves across the time dimension in the outcome of the implementation of decisions reached by the management component, is a result of the interaction of this component with the rest of the system. The relatively stable relationships determined by policy (formalized political action) in organizations give a structure to the system and the conditions of behavioral action are evolved as a result of the interaction of organization management and its environment over time which evolve in turn into the character of a particular system as determined by an analysis of the network of interaction. In the drawing above, the shaded areas represent areas of interaction and the arrows demonstrate the dynamic quality of systemic relationships.

process itself and which result in organizational and structural behavior patterns (courses of action) and policy formation for their consistent application. This describes the meaning of the term politics as it is to be utilized in this paper. For the purposes of this analysis then, politics can be defined as the interactive process in society which governs how means of satisfaction, provision of opportunities for such satisfaction are distributed among individuals and groups, and how they are formalized in terms of policy. The formation of policy is the crystallized outcome of the process of ongoing political behavior, implemented in an effort to traditionalize certain patterns of behavior, and serves in some organized manner to perform the function of social control.

It follows from this kind of definition of the term politics, that the social scientist may investigate any aspect of social life, no matter how nonpolitical it may seem to be in the traditional sense, through the thorough study of the interactive process. Certain basic assumptions are implied which appear to be valid in light of existing empirical evidence from behavioral studies:

1. that all social enterprises seem to have political interaction and some kind of management or administrative component in their makeup. Thus the behavioral view is that politics is a ubiquitous phenomenon in society.

2. that political behavior is the critical factor affecting group and individual decisions. (The behavioral conception of politics places stress on individual and group interaction as the context for the observation of political action.)

3. that all interactive behavior is political behavior of some kind.

The definition of the formalization of political lines of action as policy for social control serves to focus attention on the idea that social enterprises are more alike than different and that they all share in common the administrative process and the management function (whatever their character) as their controlling element.

The writer, in line with the quote given earlier from Culbertson, Jacobson, and Reller, defends the pursuit of a study in the sociological perspective as a legitimate endeavor. This is supported by the fact that the educational institution is the only social institution within the overall system that is specifically charged with the mission of perpetuating the society through the socialization of the young in its value system and traditions.

The study can be shown to cross disciplinary boundaries further because of the hybrid quality of the educational institution. Although it is charged with the duty of inculcating the young through the socialization process with the ethical system, the values, and the traditions of the culture, the educational institution must operate in the same way as any giant business corporation. True, it is not asked to show a profit, but it is expected to minimize input and optimize output in terms of cost-benefit accounting.

The theoretical basis of the study is grounded in conflict theory at three levels, including the symbolic

interactionist approach, was chosen as the vehicle for structuring the inquiry in preference to the other major theoretical stance--structural-functionalism. This choice was made because of the dynamic quality of the change process and the significance in terms of change of outcome in behavioral modification in the process of administering the schools.

Change Central Concept of Conflict Theory

Conflict theory is appropriate as well, because basically the administration-staff-student and community relationship is one of group interaction. In every group interaction situation there is also a dominant-minority relationship. In the group situation under study here, there is a series of such dominant-minority relationships. Whenever a dominant-minority relationship exists in group interaction various kinds of conflict results. Therefore, conflict theory, and its behavioralistic extension, symbolic interactionism, present a logical theoretical framework for analyzing the total process.

This investigation puts forth the following thesis to be in some extent either supported or refuted in light of the evidence obtained by observation of administrative behavior and the reaction to it:

> The nature of the supervision and the kind of authority exercised by the administration changes the nature of the educational climate in a particular system, and has consequences in terms of staff morale. Therefore, through the institution of the planning function, the generation of a philosophy of the exercise of authority and leadership, the implementation of a policy for achievement, and the development

of an effective administrative program for improvement can result in the effective control of the educational climate and the maintenance of high organizational morale.

In order to pursue the purposes of the study it is necessary to consider various themes and to define the terms central to an investigation of institutional morale.

Society and social enterprises must be considered to be a system. It is a system which, like all systems, is dependent on the flow of information. In society, this flow of information takes place as communication achieved through political interaction. This communication is controlled (formally) by the management component, whether it is the governmental institution of the whole society, or the administrative personnel of the social enterprise. This control of communication, and the resulting pattern of interaction, creates a social situation which results in a social (or working) climate which either motivates or represses groups and individuals. The extent of motivation toward goals, and the opportunity for achieving them, either enhances or detracts from the morale of the group, or the individual, who is the social actor in such a situation. For the purposes of this study, morale which supports the purposes and goals of the organization is considered to be high morale, and morale which inhibits the achievement of the organization or goals is considered to be low morale. (This limitation in meaning will eliminate the necessity for value judgment.)

In light of the foregoing discussion, three terms remain to be explained and defined operationally: climate (social, working, or educational), motivation, and morale.

Working climate, as the term will be used in this study, refers to the internal organizational environment as a result of the processes of the implementation of the system of controls of the organization and the perception of these processes by the groups and individuals involved.

Motivation is the perception of the individual of the chances of his achieving his goals as it evolves in the interplay between the individual and his working environment. (Motives, on the other hand, are generally developed early in a person's life and are relatively persistent throughout his life.) In this way, the individual's motivated behavior may exhibit radical changes at various times in his life.

Morale, as the term will be used in this study, has been defined in Appendix I in Galdston & Zelterberg.[1] It was established in four memorandums submitted to the participants in the Conference on Morale held November 3-6, 1954 at Arden House, Harriman, N.Y.

> Morale is to be conceived of as a characteristic of behavior.
> Its nature and quality is to be judged against a prototype pattern of dynamic progression.

---

[1] Iago Galdston and Hans Zelterberg, Panic and Morale, (New York: International Universities Press, Inc., 1958), p. 257.

> That pattern is biologically and socially rooted and determined.
>
> Good morale is essentially a product of good social tonus. (Good here is not considered to be a value judgment but is rather synonymous with effective in the sense of facilitating the achievement of the purposes of the organization.)[1]

Morale can be seen as existing on two levels in the organizational environment: individual morale and group morale. Galdston & Zelterberg quotes Dr. Galdston, the Secretary of the Committee on Morale of the New York Academy of Medicine, as presenting these levels of application of the concept of high morale to the participants in the Conference on Morale in the following form:

> In recent decades we have learned to understand what is implied in the concept of the integrated person. We know that such a person is not a uniform and homogeneous entity, but is rather a well-functioning system of divergent, and at times, appositive drives and goals. Such a person is, in effect, the embodiment of intelligent and efficient compromise, a compromise that is achieved by reconciliation and permissiveness rather than by repression.
>
> This concept is extendable to the community. The idea then is that a well integrated community will have the greatest stability. The thesis advanced is that the well integrated community will have good morale and thus will not be subjected to excessive inner conflict. It will thus be resistant to panic and to the malignancy of mob formation and mob dominance. It will be immune to mass hysteria and to those other socially disruptive movements, agitations, and ideas that menace the unintegrated group.
>
> (Thus, it can be seen that the concept of group morale can be extended, in terms of integration, to any size social group from the individual to a community--therefore, it is proper to speak of an overall

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[1]These characteristics of the nature of morale were presented to participants in the Conference in order to provide orientation for the deliberations and discussions of the participants in the Conference on Morale. It generally represents ideas derived from a consensus from preliminary discussions.

organizational morale.)

More specifically, Dr. Galdston defined morale as "a component of behavior to be judged against a bio-social prototype pattern of dynamic progression."[1]

The same author presents some questions which are of interest in the framing of the present study:

> What are the criteria by which group and community morale can be assessed?
>
> What can serve as an index to good morale?
>
> What is the relationship of individual morale to group morale?
>
> Can good group morale at times impede communal morale?
>
> How do trans-sectional stratifications, for example, race, religion, economic status, educational status, that "cut across" elementary group structures in the community affect morale?
>
> What problems of morale can be located in conflicts in role sets (combination of roles held by the same individual)?
>
> What problems of morale can be located in role careers (sequence of roles held by the same individual)?
>
> What problems of morale occur when a role changes over time?
>
> What are the morale problems in (a) expanding, (2) stationary, (c) contracting social systems (e.g., our modern pluralistic society)?
>
> In more concrete terms, what are the morale problems in (a) a church, (b) a civic organization, (c) a labor union, (d) a school, (3) a hospital, (f) a government agency, etc.?[2]

The questions given above as taken from Galdston & Zelterberg all pertain to the present study which concentrates on the final one while making use of all the others to arrive at the answers to the final one of how organizational morale in a particular school can be predicted and controlled. This takes the investigation back to the one

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[1]Galdston and Zetterberg, Panic and Morale, p. 266.

[2]Ibid., pp. 259-61.

big question which is raised by the thesis statement, namely, can the organization establish patterns and agents of political action (administrators) to achieve these patterns of political action through which organizational tensions can be dissipated and high morale promoted? Further, can certain conditions of morale be predicted and the planning function used to avoid areas of conflict and maintain a constant level of productive morale through the promotion of an effective working climate?

It is obvious from the operational definition of morale given earlier that the term morale as it is used in this paper is utilized to denote many phenomena and is a summary term for a particular balance of many variables. Later, in the section on methodology, the way these variables will be treated, how they will be observed or tested, and their correlation, will be discussed. Also, the methods by which the conceptualization of morale that has been presented here will be measured and will also be discussed in the section on methodology.

However, certain assumptions concerning the overall terminology relating to the study must be made at the outset. The term organization is derived from the word organic, which carries the connotations of structure and function, unity, and growth. The words structure and unity denote a certain stability and lack of flexibility, and since the term growth is added, it also furnishes the further connotations of pattern and direction. Change in such a situation

will be, to some extent, resisted, and must be instituted within the parameters dictated by structure and function or the result would be the crippling or destruction of the organism (or organization). The organization of the educational institution in American society (like the organization of all other social enterprises) is bureaucratic and more will be said of the advantages and disadvantages of such an organization in another section. The relative permanency of the organization and the resistance it has with change plus the processes it uses to achieve this condition results in the organizational environment or climate. It is this environment which determines the extent to which groups or individuals are motivated and results in the behavior that is an indicator of their morale.

A series of ten propositions are postulated which contribute to the consideration of the thesis statement.

1. Motivating forces must be present in the working climate before high morale can be generated.

2. Motivation and morale vary together (are positively correlated) but they are not different terms for the same phenomenon.

3. A satisfied need is not a motivator of behavior.

4. High individual morale is not always indicative of high organizational or group morale.

5. High group morale is not always indicative of high organizational morale.

6. High individual or group morale does not necessarily mean high productivity or an effective working environment.

7. Morale is a component of behavior.

8. Morale is contagious in organizations.

9. The nature of the work itself and the modal role of involvement are vital as factors of motivation and the maintenance of high morale.

10. The deterioration of morale can be anticipated by clues in the organizational environment (working climate) and corrective measures taken to avert it.

In Part I of the investigation, some of the propositions stated above will be evaluated in light of the empirical evidence extant in the behavioral sciences and in commerce and industry. In the final section of the study these propositions will be compared to the results taken from the case study itself to see if they are again validated in the particular school setting--and if they are--how they contribute to the evaluation of the efficacy of the thesis as stated. At that time the present empirical justification for the stated propositions will be noted and cited.

The purpose of this study, to ground the body of theoretical tenets embodied in the sociological approach of symbolic interactionism to reality by applying to the ongoing process of political behavior of the administrative component a particular school unit across the historical time dimension has already been suggested. As Hampton comments,

> The importance of theory is often underplayed. Indeed, theory is usually thought of as the direct opposite of action, as speculative and impractical. This is true of bad theories. A good theory, however, provides a picture of what is related to what. This knowledge is indispensable both for describing what exists and for prescribing how desired objectives can be attained.

> Increasingly, . . . two propositions are moving to center stage: (1) that any technique depends upon an explicit theory of when and how it is to be applied; (2) and that there is nothing so practical as a good theory, nothing so costly as an inadequate one.[1]

In other words, a theory is a framework for the description of reality, and in this study the framework will be one of behavioralism chiefly involving the sociological theoretical orientation of conflict theory and its extension to the symbolic interactionist approach. As was noted in the prologue, this does not preclude any other good theoretical orientation as a framework (i.e., structural-functionalism) which might also be utilized quite successfully. It merely appears to this author that behavioralist theory is readily applicable to the problem that has been previously outlined. Political behavior in the administrative process and the ongoing life of a social organization involves the element of dynamism which involves ubiquitous change and a range of choices for action among alternative courses of action (exhibited by overt behavior). The symbolic interactionist approach is the most dynamic in posture --in that it combines the ubiquitous discontinuous change that is the central element of conflict theory with the element of choice which must be considered when the acting unit (whether group or individual) is faced with a choice among alternatives. (See chart on following page.)

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[1]David R. Hampton, Behavioral Concepts in Management, Second Edition (Encino, California: Dickenson Publishing Company, Inc., 1972), p. 19.

Figure 3

The Steps in the Motivation Process

Organizational & Individual	The Resulting Organizational Climate	Organizational & Individual
INPUTS	PROCESSES	OUTPUTS
The Structure of the Management Control System	Implementation of the system	
	Motivation	Level of Performance
The Structure of Individual Personalities	Perception of the System	

Hampton, 1972: 89

The writer proposes to utilize the participant-observer technique developed by the late nineteenth and early twentieth century anthropologists in developing a particularized and longitudinal case study of the administrative process as it occurred in an actual ongoing social change process in a particular high school.

Since the primary concern of this investigation is to show the application of the tenets of social theory to the actual situation with the purpose of demonstrating how the application of theory can be used to describe the actual situation in terms of the conditions outlined in the thesis statement and to furnish ideas for the proper implementation of the administrative process, the actual setting of the school studied is not germane to the purposes of the study. Therefore, the exact setting and the actual names of the high school and the names of the individual actors concerned will have to remain unknown as the objective reporting of events and the attitudes of the personalities involved could result in misinterpretation. Although all of the individuals involved are honorable and behave in a manner which they consider to be ethical, at times the objective observation of their behavior in particular situations does not put them in a favorable light and the tendency to focus upon the part rather than the whole might cause certain individuals to believe that they have been ill-used. For this and other like reasons, the location must be generalized and the characters must be considered as officially fictional and

pseudonyms used to insure that individual privacy is not violated in any way.

As Culbertson, Jacobson, and Reller observe,

> Human relations do not exist and morale is not achieved within a vacuum. There are many forces within and outside the school that influence and limit the way in which school personnel behave toward one another.[1]

In the first step in determining the answers to the questions raised above, it is first necessary to consider the justification for, and the application of, the methodology and structure of research that will be used in this investigation.

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[1]Culbertson, Jacobson, and Reller, Administrative Relationships.

II. METHODOLOGY AND THE STRUCTURE OF THE RESEARCH

The study will be an analytical and theoretical investigation of observed behavioral evidence from the sociological perspective employing a theoretical stance embodying principles of conflict theory extended to the particular in symbolic interactionism approach, and employing methodology of the systems analysis.

The structure of the investigation will be in the format of a case study conducted by a participant observer, which will be grounded in a body of theory to structure the analysis and make possible conclusions that will be applicable in like situations. The methodology applied is based on the conception of society as a system and of the social enterprises (such as the school system) as subsystems of the larger system which serves as the social environment.

The conception of the society as a system fits in with an approach to problem-solving that has reached its fullest development since World War II. During the war, a new method which utilized the scientific method and the ranking of alternative choices was applied to specific problems in the military sphere. This method came to be known as operations research. Later the problems became more and more unspecified and broad and the situations in which the method was applied more ambiguous. This called for a

broadening of the area of application from a specific part of one system component to the consideration of the system as a whole in the solution of the problem, and this was the birth of systems analysis. Therefore, as Steiner points out,

> Systems analysis basically is a methodology that has grown from operations research, weapons systems contracting, and weapons systems analysis. While it has developed principally in governmental decision-making, it has borrowed from and been influential in systems analysis in business. It is a methodology that deals effectively with important, broad, and ill-structured problems. . . .
>
> Systems analysis is an approach to, or a way of looking at, complex problems of choice under conditions of future uncertainty. There is no single method universally applicable to do systems analysis. It is not a tool or technique so much as a way of thinking. It is at the present time probably more of an art than a science, in the application of which judgment is of commanding importance. Despite this characteristic, it is a very powerful method of dealing with problems.[1]

This paper has among its goals that of showing the applicability of systems analysis to the analysis of all social enterprises with specific attention to the educational institution. It will demonstrate the way in which a body of social theory can be made to function within the systems analysis framework when the social system and its institutions are thought of as a human information system actuated by conflict which gives rise to political behavior and resultant courses of action which ultimately change the system.

Behavioral evidence for the study will be gathered in

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[1]George A. Steiner, Top Management Planning, Vol. II (New York: Macmillan Company, 1969), pp. 422-23.

two ways, by observation through participation and by the use of attitude scales.

As noted earlier, the idea of the cultural observer goes back to the anthropologists of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. They felt that in order for an observer to give a somewhat valid interpretation of the behavior that he witnesses, the investigator must gain some familiarity with the persons, groups, societies or cultures through his own or vicarious experience and through acquaintance with history, literature, biography and ethnography.[1] Obviously, the most direct way of acquiring such familiarity is to participate in the symbolic world of those being studied. According to Phillips,

> This recognition that researchers need to participate in order to get at the common sense meanings shared by the members of any group or society gave rise to the participant observer methods developed by anthropologists and by sociologists of the "Chicago school."[2]

Phillips goes on to state in paraphrasing Parsons, Weber, and Wilson that,

> the professed concern of sociology is with the study of social interaction I take this to mean that sociologists are concerned with interaction, with action being seen as behavior that is meaningful to the actor. Our interest is in interaction where two or more actors respond to one another's actions. Even sociologists who are concerned mainly with phenomena

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[1]Robert Redfield, "The Art of Social Science," American Journal of Sociology, LV (1948).

[2]Derek L. Phillips, Knowledge From What? Theories and Methods in Social Research (Chicago: Rand, McNally & Company, 1971), p. 129.

on the microlevel can be viewed as focusing on patterned interaction among individual actors.[1]

In the interpretative conception of interaction meanings are seen to evolve and change over the course of the interaction. According to Phillips an important methodological consequence of an interpretative conception of interaction is concisely outlined by Blumer,

> On the methodologic or research side the study of action would have to be made from the position of the actor. Since action is forged by the actor out of what he perceives, interprets, and judges, one would have to see the operating situation as the actor sees it, perceive objects as the actor perceives them, ascertain their meaning in terms of the meaning they have for the actor, and follow the actor's line of conduct as the actor organizes it--in short, one would have to take the role of the actor and see his world from his standpoint.[2]

Laing states that,

> the task of social phenomenology is to relate my experience of the other's behavior to the other's experience of my behavior. Its study is the relation between experience and experience: the true field is interexperience.[3]

Phillips further points out that,

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[1]Phillips, Knowledge from What?, p. 130, quoting Talcott Parsons, The Social System (New York: Free Press, 1951); Max Weber, The Theory of Social and Economic Organization, Translated by A. M. Henderson and Talcott Parsons (New York: Free Press, 1942); and Thomas P. Wilson, "Conceptions of Interaction and Forms of Sociological Explanation," American Sociological Review, XXXV (1970) 698.

[2]Ibid., quoting Herbert Blumer, "Sociological Implications of the Thought of George Herbert Mead, American Journal of Sociology, LXXI (1966) 542.

[3]Ronald D. Laing, The Politics of Experience (New York: Ballantine Books, 1967), p. 17.

> The phenomenologist's position is that society is ordered by the social actors, not by the sociologist. Social actors produce social order in terms of their constructs. This means that to understand this order one has to attend to the social construction of meanings. Thus the phenomenological approach includes a variety of positions which emphasize the primacy of consciousness and subjective meaning in the interpretation of social action.[1]
>
> (After the reader has read the theory section of this study it will become apparent that the phenomenological approach is much like the view of the symbolic-interactionist but is more extreme in conception.)

Max Weber articulated the view stated above when he put forth his definition of sociology as a science which:

> attempts the interpretive understanding of social action in order thereby to arrive at a causal explanation of its course and events. In "action" is included all human behavior when and insofar as the acting individual attaches a subjective meaning to it. Action in this sense may be either overt or purely inward or subjective: it may consist of positive intervention or acquiescing in the situation. Action is social insofar as by virtue of the subjective meaning attached to it by the acting individual (or individuals), it takes account of the behavior of others and is thereby oriented in its course.[2]

Phillips interprets as central to Weber's view of sociology the concept of verstehen (to understand), that is, goal finding--what the actor means in his action. The scientist picks out patterns and regularities and seeks to understand their meaning and significance for the actors in the social situation in which they occur.

In regard to the method of participant observation itself, it has been defined by different writers in various ways. However, Schwartz and Schwartz in their definition,

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[1]Phillips, Knowledge from What?, p. 133.

[2]Weber, Social and Economic Organization, p. 88.

include most of the essential elements that all definitions have in common:

> For our purposes we define participant observation as a process in which the observer's presence in a social situation is maintained for the purpose of scientific investigation. The observer is in a face-to-face relationship with the observed, and by participating with them in their natural life setting, he gathers data. Thus, the observer is part of the context being observed, and he both modifies and is influenced by this context. The role of the participant-observer may be either formal or informal, concealed or revealed; the observer may spend a good deal or very little time in the research situation; the participant-observer may be an integral part of the social situation or largely peripheral to it.[1]

There are numbers of roles that may be played by the field worker in his relationship with the observed. The one played by the observer in the present study was a formal, concealed one of the complete participant, which Phillips defines[2] as where the true identity and purpose of the researcher are not known to those whom he observes, rather, as much as possible, he interacts with them in a natural manner in all areas of their life in which he has both an interest and access. Naturally, steps must be taken to minimize the field worker's influence on the total situation as much as possible in any mode of observation.

Phillips goes on to point out the characteristics of the observational method:

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[1]Morris S. Schwartz and Charlotte G. Schwartz, "Problems in Participant Observation," American Journal of Sociology, LX (1955), 343.

[2]Phillips, Knowledge from What?, p. 135.

One thing seems clear in distinguishing observational studies from survey studies based on interviews: observational studies make it possible to study behavior as it occurs rather than as it is reported. While survey interviews often assure standardization of verbal reports, observational techniques provide a more intimate view of social behavior and interaction. . . . The field worker is much better able than the interviewer to engage in a wide variety of what might be considered "validation procedures." That is, not only does he have a large number of signs given and given-off to consider, but he also can check an individual's behavior in a number of different contexts or situations in order to ascertain the stability of various behavior patterns, and also to assess the validity of people's verbal reports. . . .

As has been emphasized here, the methods of participant observation are in the anthropological tradition. They stand in contrast to the methods of the great majority of sociological researchers who have chosen to utilize procedures that appear to maximize obtaining hard facts through the use of exact methods. Sometimes these two traditions are characterized in terms of a quantitative versus a qualitative approach. This seems to me a mistaken notion for all description and analyses of behavior are inevitably both quantitative and qualitative--although with observational studies the counting and the measurement may be implicit. . . . The issue is not whether one can more easily count or measure with one procedure than with another; but rather whether or not investigators are getting at the fullness and richness of the phenomenon under study. . . .

Comparing the survey interview with observational techniques (including ethnomethodology), we see an important difference in the typical interview situation, the interviewer's questions force the respondent to produce a number of behaviors (verbal reports) which the interviewer (or the investigator) treats as naturally oriented. The field observer, on the other hand, is more apt to observe relevant features which emerge from people's everyday activities and interactions. Some more radical observers (thenomethodologists) would upon locating relevant features concerning say, rules of conduct, attempt to bring about various changes of such rules so as to assess the consequences of their alterations.[1]

The vehicle for the progress of the participant

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[1] Ibid., pp. 136-39.

observation in this investigation will be the case study. This will give a particularized study of one finite universe of research over the longitudinal dimension (a three year period in the following study).

Diesing states,

> Case study methods also provide information about the internal mechanisms and dynamics of a system. However, these mechanisms and dynamics are not conceived as formal logic, as the necessary outcome of combining abstract mathematical relations in a structure. Instead, they are conceived as psychological mechanisms of defense, integration, cognitive balance, perceptual structuring, symbolization, and the like, or as social mechanisms like communication, commitment, persuasion, coercion, and inducement. The constraints do not take the logical form of necessary or probable implication but the normative one of expectations, obligation, commands, self-concepts, and aspirations. Inputs do not take the form of initial or parameter values, but appear rather as stresses, strains, problems, and opportunities, as compatibilities and incompatibilities. . . .
>
> The kind of knowledge of a living system that case study methods provide is essentially suited to enabling a person to work within the system to become an active participant in its self-development. The participant observer and the clinician work their way into the system they are studying and try to become an active part of it in order to understand it from the inside. . . .
>
> The goal of working within a system may be described simply as helping the system work on the problems it is facing. . . .[1]

Diesing goes on in talking about the use of holistic therapy, as in clinical use of the case study, defines the time sequence of the case study in therapeutic terms: "A proper statical evaluation to therapy would be one that treats the whole therapeutic situation as a change process

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[1]Paul Diesing, Patterns of Discovery in the Social Sciences (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1971), pp. 264-65.

whose goals are set within the situation."[1]

The foregoing quote also amply describes the period encompassed by a case study. It shows the progress of the change process in a system and records the reassessment and reassignment of goals as time passes.

The result, if the reportage is both accurate and as objective as possible, should show the social consequences of interaction, conflict, communication, decision-making, behavioral modification, and subsequent change.

Presthus makes the observation that, "The only scientific justification for a case study, for example, is its contribution to generalizations. . . ."[2]

This is the purpose of the following study; it is hoped to show that the principles of behavioral theory and the Symbolic Interactionist approach apply in practice and that certain attitudes, policies, and actions are followed by certain consequences for the educational climate and for staff morale. These generalizations, it is also hoped, will provide a foundation for the establishment of administrative policies and a planning function that, implemented in the change process, can be expected to improve the educational climate and staff morale.

The theoretical basis for the study will utilize the sociological perspective and involve cross-disciplinary

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[1] Ibid., p. 268.

[2] Robert Presthus, Behavioral Approaches to Public Administration: University (Alabama: University of Alabama, 1965), p. 138.

research to describe and analyze political behavior which takes place within organizations and between them and their social environment which has significance in terms of individual, group and organizational morale. This theoretical basis will therefore consist of a distillation of pertinent material from the literature extant in sociology, political science, and the related disciplines of psychology, education, and economics to describe the interconnections of behaviorally-based theoretical concepts common to management in all social enterprises. This material will be compiled in an effort first to describe, then analyze, these common concepts in their application to the educational institution.

The administrative process is viewed as political behavior in the interactive milieu and the principles of the symbolic interactionist approach are used to describe and analyze the process and the individual administrator's relation to it.

The utilization of behavioralist theory is particularly applicable in this case because the educational institution should really be the most logical system to study on the basis of political behavior because its fundamental purpose is the modification of undesirable behavior and the reinforcement of desired behavior. Therefore the school situation should present a "laboratory culture" for the purposes of the study of culturally significant behavior and change.

Although the educational institution is not concerned

with partisan politics as such, it is political in origin and is dependent on the political institution for its support and for the financial resources for operation. This places the educational institution in the unique position of being what has been referred to as a "domesticated" social institution[1] (meaning that it does not have autonomy but is dependent on other institutions for its very existence). Due to its "people-changing" aspect,[2] it both exerts and is subjected to pressures and stresses that do not concern other institutions. Since the educational institution is a political creation, a political orientation toward its description and analysis seems a logical approach.

The investigation will be framed in the sociological perspective for it will utilize the body of conflict theory and the symbolic interactionist approach which furnish the conceptual tools for dealing with political behavior in the interactive context.

The sociological perspective is described by Lazarsfeld, Sewell, and Wilensky in the following way:

> The starting point for most sociological analyses of school systems is to view them as organizations or goal-directed social systems composed of positions linked together by a division of labor and a system

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[1]Patricia C. Sexton, School Policy and Issues in a Changing Society (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1971), pp. 342, 347-48.

[2]Morris Janowitz, Institution Building in Urban Education (Connecticut: Russel Sage Foundation, 1969), pp. 2-7.

> of authority. This way of conceptualizing school systems is of value to school administrators because it focuses their attention on certain of their assumptions about school systems which in fact may be tenuous. . . .
>
> In exploring conditions that may have dysfunctional effects for the operation of their schools or constitute levers for social change, they therefore typically overlook the possibility that two sources of organizational disequilibrium may be found in disagreements over goals and definitions of roles.
>
> Exposure to a sociological orientation to schools focuses their attention on their goals, and they are made aware that in contrast to other types of organizations, such as business firms, the objectives of public schools are extremely vague and can be subject to varying interpretations. "The purpose of schools is to educate children" is largely meaningless until the phrase "for what" is added. They also learn that efforts to specify educational goals involve value issues such as what should be the respective responsibilities of the home and the school and what is the meaning of a "good education."[1]

The definition of roles is an outcome of political behavior in interaction, and the setting of goals is determined by the policy that is developed by the "body politic" of the institution or organization. This defines politics as courses of action by individuals or groups which are calculated strategically to achieve satisfaction.

As Roseman, Mayo and Collinge point out,

> In the welter of perspectives on political behavior three dimensions are readily apparent: politics as <u>competition, conflict, or control</u>; politics as <u>power</u>; and politics as <u>communication</u>.[2]

As will be discussed in the section on theoretical

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[1]Paul F. Lazarsfeld, William H. Sewell, and Harold Wilensky, eds., <u>The Uses of Sociology</u> (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1967), p. 319.

[2]Cyril Roseman, Charles G. Mayo, and F. B. Collinge, <u>Dimensions of Political Analysis: An Introduction to the Contemporary Study of Politics</u> (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1966), p. 143.

orientation, all of these perspectives are developed within the body of theoretical principles contained in social conflict theory and the symbolic interactionist approach.

This study will take place at the microlevel of the interface of the organization and its personnel which is the area in which the incumbent of the constellation of roles that make up the position of administrator must operate. It also marks the point where official policy is implemented at the operational level.

In the investigation of this interface with its implications for power, authority, and influence, three basic themes will be analyzed which have great significance for effective management of organizations at the microlevel--authority and leadership, motivation and work, and morale and behavior. Although all resist hard and fast definition, these factors seem to be directly related--effective leadership combined with positive motivation improves morale and ineffective leadership contributes to its deterioration.

The general organization of the educational institution along the lines of the bureaucratic model will also be noted and its effect on the character of the administrative process, leadership, and morale will be noted.

The participant observer-case study format will be buttressed in the analytical section of the study by the use of the opinionaire to test the stated attitudes of members of the particular school staff under investigation to

determine the existence factors of climate which affect morale and to indicate the strength of selected variables affecting staff morale.

Harking back to the proposition that morale is a summary term for many phenomena and denotes the correlation of many variables affecting the action unit in the social environment, the methodology of systems analysis will be used to demonstrate the systemic results of a morale condition for the whole system and also to show the systemic relationship of the management philosophy promoted by the authority system and implemented as policy with the condition of morale of individuals and groups within the organization and on the organizational climate as a whole.

This systems analysis methodology for the organization of the information compiled by observation and survey is in line with the earlier conception of the society as a system whose components range from the whole to the acting unit. In such a conception society is regarded as a hierarchy of system components which go to make up the whole which is considered to be the master system. This view of society and its parts, which will be justified in the section on theory, will permit the use of the systems analysis methodology.

The concept of systems will be combined with the latest information available from business and industry regarding the practice of management to tie the management component with its function of control to the condition of

morale. This usage of material from business and industry is defended on the grounds that considerably more information is available from business and industry that is significant and up-to-date because the implementation of innovation and positive change is encouraged and rewarded in the business sector of the society because of the economic factors of profit, growth and power. Business, too, utilizes a corps of professional managers whose careers are dependent on their being open to the introduction of change in the direction of more effective and efficient operation of their organizations. The incentive for investigation is therefore more apparent in the business sector than it is in other social enterprises which are operated for service to the society and are subject to legislative action before changes can be made in operational policy (i.e., the schools which exist as "domesticated institutions" in the greater society).

In line with the above discussion the present writer presents the following quote from Hampton which demonstrates the changing viewpoints in the area of administrative management theory as the application in the business sector has turned it from traditional administrative management theory.

> Clearly, formal organization arrangements and administrative practices were not the only strategic determinents of organizational behavior. There were forces at work in organizations which were not fully understood and which too often turned good intent to bad result.
>
> The forces at work were people and groups of

> people. Human factors and social factors blend with administrative, organizational, technical, and economic inputs to shape human behavior in organization. But human and social factors were not very well understood by managers or taken into account by management theory. Much administrative action was designed in gross ignorance of how it would be perceived and responded to by people.
>
> For the last half century, behavioral science research in industry has put administrative management theory and practice to the test. The results show that such practices as time and motion studies, wage incentives, budgets, efficiency controls, leadership styles, and divisions of labor are not simple and straightforward means of directing and controlling human behavior in organizations. Instead, they are stimuli which people and groups perceive and fit into their own cognitive worlds. What motives and what behavior a new control or rule arouses depends as much upon human values and perceptions as upon the administrative device itself.
>
> When he changes the boundaries and contents of jobs, when he changes the measurements and controls, when he installs new machines, even when he looks at employees, the manager sets in motion complex processes of perception, motivation, and behavior. His administrative actions ramify throughout the organization in unintended as well as intended ways.
>
> . . . These unintended results occur because the organization is a system, a set of interrelated and interdependent parts. The system includes human, social, administrative, organizational, technical, and economic factors. Since the parts are interdependent, the manager cannot touch one part without affecting the others. The work of behavioral scientists is to analyze the system and explain its interdependencies. Their particular contribution is increased knowledge of the human and social factors in organizational behavior. The payoff of their efforts for the manager can be an improved understanding of his world and better results in adapting his administrative actions to its realities.[1]

The application of what Hampton has to say about a business manager is in line with the purposes of the present study in educational practice. As he points out, the study should be arranged,

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[1]Hampton, Behavioral Concepts in Management, pp. 1-3.

> to present a balance of conceptual and applied contributions, to exemplify two things: (1) representative basic ideas from the behavioral science which are now a part of contemporary thought in management, and (2) the use of these ideas in the full spectrum of management activities.[1]

The study will be organized in five parts. The first part is the part of which this discussion of methodology is a section. This part consists of the introduction, the methodology and structure of research used, the theoretical orientation for framing the study in behavioral terms with the applications of this orientation in terms of the systems concept and followed by a discussion of the empirical evidence available for the justification of the propositions that have been postulated for applying the theoretical conceptions of the symbolic interactionist approach to the stated conceptualizations of organization, management, working climate (social situation), motivation, needs, morale and behavior.

In the second part, the actual historical progression of the case study will be begun with a general description of the community that serves as a social environment for the school, the cast of characters given, and a catalogue of events that transpired in the pre-participatory planning stage when the authority system can only be described as paternalistic and arbitrary.

The third part of the study will be concerned with a description of change--in the character of the management,

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[1] Ibid., p. 2.

its philosophy and policy, and in the authority system as a whole. The social consequences of these changes are described and put in sequence in the time dimension.

The fourth part of the study will be concerned with the analysis of conditions and the changes (what they symbolized and their meaning) in terms of their social consequences---expressed through the observation of behavior as an indicator of the state of the working climate, the existence and operation of motivational factors, and their portent for the condition of morale. Overt behavior observed and expressed attitudes are to be the evidence both in the second part of the study and in this part as well. The first stage of the case study will deal only with observed behavior while tests will be administered to assess attitudes (expressed) by staff members to determine the efficacy of the operations in the second stage in which preplanning was initiated and philosophy was implemented in terms of a written policy, and an attempt made to predict behavioral outcomes of a conscious program of development.

The attitude surveys which will serve as the evidence for the changes that took place in the third part of the study are of various types. In them, faculty members expressed their opinions of extant conditions in the climate, or in the techniques of leadership, or authority system, and these surveys serve to reflect their underlying attitudes and act as indicators of their effectiveness as workers due to the state of their morale.

The instruments in which the attitude scales used in Part IV of the study are found, were taken from Measures of Occupational Attitudes and Occupational Characteristics which was compiled by John P. Robinson, Robert Athanasiou and Kendra B. Head of the Survey Research Center of the Institute for Social Research, The University of Michigan at Ann Arbor, Michigan.

As they state in their Preface,

> The purpose of this . . . is to provide researchers with a systematic review and evaluation of the major empirical measures relevant to the study of variables related to a person's occupation. Particular attention is focused on measurement scales, that is, series of attitude items that attempt to measure the same attitude content.[1]

In connection with the concern of this study for understanding the nature of work and man's relation to his working climate, these authors (Robinson, Athanasiou, and Head) relate the opinion work researcher Paul Kimmel:

> Paul Kimmel of the Office of Manpower and Training of the Department of Labor traces the social and economic conditions which have influenced the directions which social scientists have taken in their pursuit of explaining work behavior. Kimmel concludes that the scientific study of work as it is experienced and evaluated by the worker is in its infancy. Research on job attitudes in America since the turn of the century has been dominated by perspectives other than those of the worker. Industrial and counseling psychologists have looked at work from management's perspective, focusing on the development of tests, techniques, procedures, and conditions that will promote productivity and cut costs. Occupational sociologists and critics of the management approach have

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[1]John P. Robinson, Robert Athanasiou, and Kendra B. Head, comp., Measures of Occupational Attitudes and Occupational Characteristics (Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan, 1969), Preface.

> looked at work from the humanitarian perspective, focusing on those procedures and conditions which impede the self-expression, development, and self-actualization of the worker. Available research on the worker's view of work indicates that these two perspectives are over-simplified generalizations. Dimensions of work that have been shown to be relevant to the worker vary with a number of work place, job, and worker characteristics, and their interactions. Further study focusing directly on the worker's concerns about the conceptions of his work is needed to clarify these dimensions and to establish their relationship to the worker's attitudes under a wide variety of organizational, interpersonal, and individual conditions. Such a "research approach" should serve to bring studies of work out of the realm of social engineering and moral philosophy into the era of science.[1]

They go on to point out the very real gaps in the research which is extant on the subject of job attitudes. They comment further,

> Because of the complexity of the topic and the diversity of research findings, Robinson is able to discover few generalizations in a literature which has not previously been pulled together. Nevertheless, those generalizations that do appear, appear consistently, so that much literature in this area of job satisfaction wastefully covers ground already clearly charted from cross-section samples. There do exist dramatic differences between occupational groups in the degree and types of satisfaction they derive from their work. The researcher dealing with a particular segment of the occupational domain would be well advised to see how his segment differs from other workers in expectations.[2]

Robinson, Athanasiou, and Head, in explaining the purpose of their study, clearly define the reasons the present writer had in using attitude measures which were already extant and of known reliability and validity.

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[1] Ibid., p. ii.

[2] Ibid., p. iii.

They state:

> There exist of course many cogent reasons for such an undertaking. Empirical instruments are likely to appear in any one of 15 social science journals (and may appear in 20 others), under surprising book titles, in seldom circulated dissertations, from commercial publishers, as well as in the long undisturbed piles of manuscripts in the offices of social scientists. Surely this is an inefficient grapevine of information for the interested researcher. One must stay in the same area of interest (and few social scientists can) to become aware of the empirical literature and instruments available. Often, the interdisciplinary investigator is interested in the relation of some variable of which he has heard casually to his favorite area of interest. His job of combing the literature to pick a proper instrument consumes needlessly long hours that often just lead to a frustrating decision to forego measuring this or that characteristic. Worse still (perhaps having already learned the frustrations of the above game in a previous research venture), he may resort to rapidly devising his own measure and adding to the already burdensome number of inadequately conceived instruments. In our search through the literature we found an appalling amount of replication of previous discoveries as well as unawareness of related (and usually better) research done in the same area.
>
> . . . Thus, we have made some attempt to rate the 77 instruments in this volume on their ability to stand up to certain desirable standards. . . . where the experienced researcher may not agree with our assessments, he is free to supplement them with his own. But we hope he has become aware of a minimum number of considerations that he must keep in mind not only when deciding on which instrument to use but also when interpreting his results. . . .
>
> Finally, we will evaluate each instrument on various statistical procedures that were followed in its construction. While each of these considerations is important (sampling, norms, reliability, homogeneity and validation), an inadequate rating on any one of them does not make the scale worthless. Nevertheless, a lack of adequate ratings on most of the considerations certainly indicates that the scale should be used with reservation. Fortunately, scale constructors in the past few years appear to have paid more heed to these considerations (both in number and quality) than the vast majority of their predecessors. Nevertheless, even today few scales rate optimally on all these factors. It is very seldom indeed that one runs across

> scales which overcome (or even attempt to overcome) the distortion due to restricted samples or inadequate validation procedures.[1]

It was for the foregoing reasons that the present writer chose from among the best scales offered in the volume cited, and from across the spread of occupational attitudes that can be considered as dimensions of morale.

If the reader is interested in knowing the evaluations of the instruments used as to reliability and validity, he may consult Appendix X of the paper in which both the original instruments and their characteristics have been reproduced as taken from Robinson, Athanasiou and Head.

The final section of the investigation will be devoted to summarizing, interpreting, and developing conclusions from the record of the social consequences of administrative behavior by means of applying the theoretical tenets of the symbolic interactionist approach and the systems concept to the analysis through the instrumentality of the systems analysis methodology.

The record of events as analyzed in terms of the principles of behavioral theory covered previously will serve the purpose of either tending to support or refuting the thesis statement and so enable the formation of some general conclusions in terms of generalizations that will be applicable in similar social and educational situations.

This investigation can be justified as a legitimate

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[1] Ibid., p. 1.

area of scientific social inquiry in that it serves to draw together a large amount of social and psychological behavioral theory into a body and to tie it to reality as it exists in the social system (and specifically in the educational institution) by employing empirical evidence already in existence in conjunction with observed behavioral indicators and a survey of attitudes utilizing psychological instruments of tested validity and reliability.

Now that the methodology of the study has been explained and the vehicle of inquiry defined and defended as a valid method of scientific inquiry in the area of behavior, it is time to examine the theoretical tenets which will be used in structuring the analysis of the behavioral evidence presented in the body of the study.

Obviously, since the one aspect, organization, must be relatively static, and the other aspect, behavior, is relatively dynamic, the third factor, management, which involves the process of operation and administration of the enterprise, is also relatively dynamic.

Therefore, the theoretical orientation of a description and analysis of such an enterprise must be an eclectic one comprising principles that will fit social situations evidencing elements of both stability and change.

If management is to perform its function, which is to regulate the enterprise in some degree, whether it be to simply direct, to guide, or to control, it must be aware of the possible social consequences of a particular course of

action.

It seems to the present writer that the forces at work in the political process of interaction, whether between groups or individuals, combined with the elements of the organization or structure within which interaction takes place, offer the best chance of studying the educational enterprise and determining certain principles of governing the management function, and are applicable across disciplinary boundaries. If such is the case, there is reason to believe that management is controlled by certain principles regardless of the discipline to which it is applied, and therefore, good management practices in business are also applicable to other social enterprises, whether profit-directed or not, including the educational institution.

III. THE THEORETICAL ORIENTATION FOR ANALYSIS

In general, the approach of the following case study will be behavioralistic. Behavioralism asks, as Presthus states, "How do individuals or groups act, as contrasted with institutionalized expectations and conventional assumptions about their behavior?"[1]

Presthus goes on to explain the difference between behavioralism and the older historical normative and descriptive kinds of analysis:

> Often, of course, individuals and groups conform nicely to such formal expectations. But we learn a great deal by the analysis of deviations from norms which characterize much of social behavior. All organizations exhibit a rough behavioral dichotomy between their public and their private faces. In sociological terms, they have both "manifest" and "latent" functions. Manifest or public functions are the official, conventional modes of behavior and mission which partially motivate an organization and legitimate its existence. Yet, along with these honorific values come latent private values, including the drive for power, security, and survival. Behavioral research and theory are often concerned with the latent facet of analysis.[2]

Presthus also points out that the research of behavioralists must be guided from the design and methodological stage "by explicit theoretical constructs."[3]

Presthus observes that:

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[1]Presthus, Public Administration: University, p. 21.

[2]Ibid.

[3]Ibid., p. 20.

> Like all systems, behaviorism has been modified in the light of experience. Psychology is less impressed today with the sharp Watsonian dichotomy between subjective and objective states, and many subjective elements such as perception and meaning are being investigated by rigorous methods. . . . For example, it is now recognized that "facts" are not really hard, objective realities, but are subject to perceptual sets and error. . . .
>
> Behavioralism is similar to Watsonian behavioralism. Both are a protest against earlier speculative systems; both stress observation and measurement of objective, sensually perceivable activity; and both have in mind the objective of prediction.[1]

The centrality of the element of change is evident from the foregoing discussion of the general field of behavioralism. The sociological body of theory encompassed by conflict theory is based on the ubiquity of change. Therefore conflict theory and its extension, the symbolic interactionist approach, has been chosen as the "support theory" for the analysis of the effectiveness of the administrative process as evidenced by the state of the educational climate and staff morale.

According to conflict theory, change is ubiquitous but discontinuous, therefore to give the study an element of continuity it was pursued in the form of a longitudinal analysis so that statements about the change process could be made for at least a limited historical period. This allows the process to be traced over time and to enable the researcher to extract certain durational generalizations.

Therefore, the theoretical basis of this study is "eclectic" in the sense that it is based on a readaptation

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[1] Ibid., p. 24.

of conflict theory in combination with a wider application of some tenets of symbolic interactionalist approach to encompass the intergroup relations in all interactional contexts--with individuals, groups within the society, the environment and ultimately with its historical heritage.

Each individual or group, after all, is an expression of the history that has gone before in terms of the interpretation of its meaning within the societal context.

Therefore, since the investigation will analyze the social enterprise of education as a system component and since social theory will be fitted into the systems framework to describe the political processes that result from the flow and exchange of information within the system, the methodology of the investigation can be said to be one of systems analysis applied from a sociological perspective.

The methodology of systems analysis will be demonstrated to parallel the methodology suggested by the body of principles and partial theories of the symbolic interactionist approach as it has been described by leading thinkers in the disciplines of sociology and social psychology.

Before continuing with the description of the theoretical framework of the study, it would appear to be useful to describe the concept of systems as it can be applied to the social and behavioral sciences and to show how it, and its accompanying methodology, can be combined with the symbolic interactionist approach to provide a tool for social analysis.

The Systems Approach: Its Relation to the Behavioral Sciences and Education

Churchman, in defining what is meant by the word "systems" as it is used in this study, states,

> Although the word "system" has been defined in many ways, all definers will agree that a system is a set of parts coordinated to accomplish a set of goals. . . .
>
> In order to make the definition more precise and also more useful, we have to say what we mean by "parts" and their coordination. Specifically, the management's scientist's aim is to spell out in detail what the whole system is, the environment in which it lives, what its objective is, and how this is supported by the activities of the parts.[1]

Churchman, in discussing the difference in thinking about "system" and other concepts of management, asks,

> Is there something essential about the concept of a system as a way of thinking? There surely is. Systems are made up of sets of components that work together for the overall objective of the whole. The systems approach is simply a way of thinking about these total systems and their components.[2]

Churchman goes on to outline five basic considerations that should be kept in mind by the designers of a system:

> 1. the total system objectives and, more specifically, the performance measures of the whole system;
> 2. the fixed environment; the constraints;
> 3. the resources of the system;
> 4. the components of the system, their activities, goals and measures of performance;
> 5. the management of the system.
>
> It goes without saying that there are other ways of thinking about systems but the list is both minimal and informative.
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> The objectives of the overall system are a logical

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[1] C. West Churchman, The Systems Approach (New York: Dell Publishing Company, 1968), p. 29.

[2] Ibid., p. 11.

> place to begin, because, ... so many mistakes may be made in subsequent thinking about the system once one has ignored the true objectives of the whole.[1]

A fundamental problem for the decision-maker is that when he is either modelling the system or creating a simulation, his concept of the system is always part of a larger system. For instance, the specific school is a part of a local school system which is in turn a component in the community system (and the community furnishes the immediate environment in which the school must operate), while the community itself is a component in the entire social system, which, in turn, furnishes the environment for community life.

Since this study is couched in a body of theory from the behavioral sciences, it is necessary to explain two conceptions of the operations of systems as they apply to the two major theoretical postures of the social sciences, Structural-functionalism and Behavioralism (or, as they have been presented in the theory section of this paper--the Conservative Tradition and the Radical Tradition).

As Churchman describes the two conceptions of system,

> Perhaps one way of describing the behavioral scientist's approach to systems is to say that he has really inverted the management scientist's or planner's approach. The management scientist sees the nature of the whole system as a determinent of individual behavior. For the behavioral scientist, on the other hand, the "whole system" is made up of the behavior of the individual persons. Once individual and social behavior have been examined in

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[1] Ibid., p. 29.

detail, then one can discover in the observation of behavior the nature of the whole human system.[1]

In line with the behavioralist approach of this investigation, supported by the body of principles encompassed by social conflict theory, the social system might be considered as a "conflict system."

In applying the system concept to education generally, and specifically to the administrative process, it is first necessary to clarify what is meant by the "systems approach," and "systems analysis."

Willis comments on these subjects as follows:

> The analysis of a system is a process of discovering general principles and bringing together large numbers of interrelated elements. The area referred to specifically as "systems analysis" is primarily concerned with decision-oriented systems. It is concerned with social systems that have been studied in the past and adding an important element, that of attempting to analyze the structure of the system in terms of the decision which must be made in operating the system.[2]

As has already been noted in the introductory material of this study, the process of change and the administrative process in the educational institution is primarily concerned with the process concepts of communications and

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[1] Ibid., p. 200.
It will be noted that the first conception of system as described by Churchman fits well with the views of such structural-functionalists as Parsons, who was a pioneer of system thinking in sociology.

[2] Raymond E. Willis, "Systems Analysis: Reviewing Theory and Application," Systems Analysis in Educational Administration, ed. by Donald E. Davis and Vernon L. Hendrix (Minneapolis, Minn.: Department of Educational Administration College of Education, University of Minnesota, 1966), p. 8.

decision-making. Decision-making in the armed services and industry has utilized the systems approach since the last years of World War II. More recently schools have come to see the advantage of this approach in the solution of problems. In fact, the approach lends itself particularly well to the problem-solving orientation.

Since, as has been noted, the process of change is initiated by decisions, the decisions can be made increasingly relevant to the social situation, if each succeeding decision is based on the effect that the preceding one has had on the system in which it was made. This allows for a sequential progression of the decision-making process in a specific direction thereby achieving elements of both control and guidance.

Knezevich, in discussing the systems approach as an aid to school administration, said,

> Systems like "models," is a way of harnessing theory to the action problems of administrators. It can make the theory movement more meaningful. Rather than a bag of tricks born of raw experience, the systems approach provides a perspective for assessing challenges facing administrators. It can be classified as an approach to thinking that represents a further extension of the scientific attitude and method in administration.[1]

The importance of the systems approach to curriculum and supervision are highlighted by Feyereisen, Fiorino, and Novak when they state:

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[1]Dr. S. J. Knezevich, The Relevance of Systems Analysis to Educational Administration (Philadelphia, Pa.: Address Presented to the Temple University Seminar on Systems Analysis, 1967), pp. 403-4.

> We can see that systems analysis makes certain demands of the supervisor or administrator which the bureaucratic table of organization ignores. A school system is a living organization whose components or parts are interacting, interdependent, and must be integrated to achieve its objectives. The interaction, interdependence, and integration of the components are analyzed in terms of the process which is the purpose of the organization. In the case of a school system, its purpose is producing educated young adults, and the process is education. Therefore, the supervisor using systems analysis must consider how each of the components of the system such as elementary schools, secondary schools, pupil personnel activities, special education, and so on contribute to and are integrated to produce educated young adults.[1]

Neagley and Evans sum up the place of systems in education with a distinction between the "systems approach" and "systems analysis," and offer a list of educational areas of endeavor in which the systems approach would be helpful,

> In summary, then, "systems approach" is a broader term than systems analysis. The systems approach in general and systems analysis in particular have implications for both supervision and curriculum. . . . The systems approach should prove helpful in relationship to the following areas, among others.
> 1. Organizing for instruction.
> 2. Analyzing and solving instructional problems.
> 3. Developing media systems for instruction.
> 4. Planning and scheduling in-service education activities.
> 5. Planning the curriculum.
> 6. Making comparisons of alternatives in respect to educational innovation.
> 7. Decision-making in certain areas related to supervision.
> 8. Developing instructional models.
> 9. Budgeting and cost studies related to instruction and the curriculum.[2]

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[1]Kathryn V. Feyereisen, John Fiorino, and Arlene T. Novak, Supervision and Curriculum Renewal: A Systems Approach (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Educational Division Meredith Corporation, 1970), p. 40.

[2]Neagley and Evans, Supervision of Instruction, p. 41.

In the discussion that follows in the investigation it will become clear that some of these areas are either being ignored or are being improperly utilized in present-day school systems.

There exists some confusion as to specific terminology used in reference to the systems approach. The difference in scope of the "systems approach" and "systems analysis" has been noted by Neagley and Evans; however other terms need clarification. First of all, Churchman defines the term logic as it is used in systems study as "essentially a process of checking and rechecking one's reasoning."[1] Knezevich defines other facets of systems terminology as follows:

> "Systems design" is the creation of a new system, which may have been suggested by the analysis, for relating inputs to outputs. Alternative systems for achieving objectives in a most expeditious manner may be another outcome. "Systems operation" or "management" is a way of organizing tasks and harnessing efforts to missions. "Systems evaluation" is the culminating activity in the total systems approach. In other words, "systems analysis," "design," "operations," and "evaluation" are subsets of what I refer to as the "systems approach."[2]

Social Enterprises as Subsystems of the Larger Social System

As Selznick comments,

> the frame of reference outlined here for the theory of organization may now be identified as involving the following major ideas: (a) the concept of organizations as cooperative systems, adaptive social

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[1]Churchman, Systems Approach, p. 29.

[2]Knezevich, Relevance of Systems Analysis, pp. 403-4.

structures, made up of interacting individuals, subgroups, and informal plus formal relationships; (b) structural-functional analysis, which relates variable aspects of organization (such as goals) to stable needs and self-defensive mechanisms; (c) the concept of recalcitrance as a quality of the needs of social action, involving a break in the continuum of adjustment and defining an environment of constraint, commitment, and tension. This frame of reference is suggested as providing a specifiable area of relations within which predicates in the theory of organization will be sought, and at the same time setting forth principles of selection and relevance in the approach to the data of organization.

It will be noted that we have set forth this frame of reference within the overall context of social action. The significance of events may be defined by their place and operational role in a means-end scheme. If functional analysis searches out the elements important for the maintenance of a given structure, and that structure is one of the materials to be manipulated in action, then that which is functional in respect to the structure is also functional in respect to the action system. This provides a ground for the significance of functionally derived theories. At the same time, relevance to control in action is the empirical test of their applicability or truth.[1]

Further, according to Katz and Kahn,

The social scientist wishes to understand human organizations, to describe what is essential in their form, aspects, and functions. He wishes to explain their cycles of growth and decline, to predict their effects and effectiveness. Perhaps he wishes as well to test and apply such knowledge by introducing purposeful changes into organizations--by making them, for example, more benign, more responsive to human needs.[2]

Further, Katz and Kahn continue,

Since human purpose is deliberately built into organization and is specifically recorded in the social compact, the bylaws, or other formal protocol of the

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[1]F. E. Emery, ed., Systems Thinking (Baltimore, Maryland: Penguin Books, 1969), p. 274, quoting P. Selznick, "Foundations of the Theory of Organization," American Sociological Review, Vol. 13 (1948), 25-35.

[2]Ibid., p. 86, quoting D. Katz and R. L. Kahn, The Social Psychology of Organization.

> undertaking, it would be inefficient not to utilize these sources of information. In the early development of a group, many processes are generated which have little to do with its rational purpose, but over time there is a cumulative recognition of the devices for ordering group life and a deliberate use of these devices.[1]

A further argument for the study of social enterprises as systems is presented by Emery and Trist,

> The analysis of the characteristics of enterprises as systems would appear to have strategic significance for furthering our understanding of a great number of specific industrial problems. The more we know about these systems the more we are able to identify what is relevant to a particular problem and to detect problems that tend to be missed by the conventional framework of problem analysis.
>
> The value of studying enterprises as systems has been demonstrated in the empirical studies of Blau, Gouldner, Jaques, Selznick and Lloyd Warner. Many of these studies have been informed by a broadly conceived concept of bureaucracy, derived from Weber and influenced by Parsons and Merton:
>
> They have found their main business to be in the analysis of specific bureaucracy as a complex social system, concerned less with the individual differences of the actors than with the situationally shaped roles they perform.[2]

Social scientists today seem to be agreed as to the validity of considering social enterprises as systems. The only point of contention seems to be the nature of the system that they construe an enterprise to be. More will be said of this matter of the characteristics of social systems in a later section on a new conception of social systems.

For the present, though, it will be sufficient to

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[1] Ibid., p. 87.

[2] Ibid., p. 281, quoting F. E. Emery and E. L. Trist, "Socio-technical Systems," in C. W. Churchman and M. Verhulst, eds., Management Science, Models and Techniques, Vol. 2, Pergamon, 1960, pp. 83-97.

define generally what is meant by the systems approach. Drucker sees the system as follows:

> The systems approach, which sees a host of formerly unrelated activities and processes as all parts of a larger integrated whole is not something technological in itself. It is, rather, a way of looking at the world and at ourselves. It owes much to Gestalt psychology (from the German word for "configuration" or "structure"), which demonstrated that we do not see lines and points in a painting but configurations --that is, a whole--and that we do not hear individual sounds in a tune but only the tune itself--the configuration.[1]

In a system all parts are shared but the problem to be resolved is that of determining the nature of the linkage of the parts with themselves; this linkage has different characteristics. To a certain extent parts may be independent of the organization of which they are parts and this independence may contribute to the flexibility exhibited by the whole organization.[2]

Feibleman and Friend discuss rules of organization which demonstrate the relation of the organization of enterprises to the concepts of systems.

> We now have the basis of organization, i.e. wholes, parts, and subparts, and we also have the elements of relations between parts. But these are not sufficient to define or determine any given organization. In addition to them we need certain rules in terms of which parts and their relations are constitutive of organizations. They are:
> 1. Structure is the sharing of subparts between parts.
> 2. Organization is the one controlling order of the structure.
> 3. One more level is needed to constitute an organiza-

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[1]Peter F. Drucker, Technology, Management and Society (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1970), pp. 70-71.

[2]Emery, Systems Thinking, p. 39.

tion than contained in its parts and subparts.

4. In every organization there must be a serial relation.
5. Things in an organization which are related to parts of the organization are themselves parts of the organization.
6. All parts are shared parts.
7. Things in an organization which are related to related parts of the organization are themselves parts of the organization.
8. The number of parts and of their relations constitutes complexity.

. . . The organization is one level above its analytic parts and subparts, and thus the whole involves another level, for example carbon tetrachloride consists of something more than merely one carbon and four chlorine atoms.[1]

This "something more" than a catalogue of the parts and subparts which is a level above them is the management function or component of the social enterprise system.

One further conception of the systems orientation of social enterprises must be discussed before progressing to the consideration of the relation of game theory to political behavior. This aspect is the idea of systems dynamics.

Feibleman and Friend comment,

> In this section we shall approach the theory of organization from the dynamic standpoint: It will entail the consideration of organization no longer isolated from other organizations which go to constitute the environmental world of interaction.
>
> . . . The field of dynamics has to do primarily with certain conditions which prevail in the world of action and reaction. They may be described under the following terms:
>
> 1. Organization-Environment
> 2. Action-Reaction
> 3. Availability-Virtual indifference
> 4. Equilibrium-Disequilibrium
> 5. Saturation-Insufficiency-Superfluity

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[1] Ibid., pp. 34-35, quoting J. Feibleman and J. W. Friend, "The Structure and Function of Organization," Philosophical Review, Vol. 54 (1945), 19-44.

6. Flexibility-Rigidity
7. Stability-Instability.[1]

A glance at the list of the polar terms juxtaposed above shows the reader that this concept of dynamics and the terms in which the authors Feibleman and Friend have couched them involve the most salient concepts that make up the principles of theory in the symbolic interactionist approach. Especially important for note is the action-reaction equation of Becker.[2]

The idea of the reciprocal relation of the system to its environment is the key to the differentiation of the dynamic view of systems from the static view. It is also the key concept of the interactive milieu of the symbolic interactionist approach to behavioral theory in the science of sociology.

To achieve this, it is necessary to develop a change in conception of systems theory as it applies to manmade social systems which will make the application of the systems analysis methodology more compatible with the principal orientations of social theory.

The social enterprise is a human organization and human organizations as systems have some unique characteristics. As Ackoff comments,

> . . . communications systems, control systems, educational systems, and weapon systems. Some of these are conceptual constructs and others are physical

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[1] Ibid., p. 59

[2] Becker, Outsiders, pp. 100-130.

> entities. Initially we can define a system broadly and crudely as an entity, conceptual or physical, which consists of interdependent parts. Even without further refinement of this definition it is clear that in systems research we are interested only in those systems which can display activity--that is, behavioral systems.
>
> It is also apparent that systems research is only concerned with behavioral systems which are subject to control by human beings. Consequently, the solar system--although it may be on the verge of becoming so--is not yet part of the subject matter of systems research. The relevant domain of such research, then, is controllable behavioral systems.
>
> The essential characteristic of a behavioral system is that it consists of parts each of which displays behavior. Whether or not an entity with parts is considered as a system depends on whether or not we are concerned with the behavior of the parts and their interactions.
>
> . . . The behavior displayed by a system consists of a set of interdependent acts which constitute an operation. Operation is a complex concept which I do not want to deal with here.[1]

It has been shown that human organizations as systems are behavioral systems whose parts interact for varied outcomes. Most social scientists would agree with the assessment of human organizations as systems so far, but they differ in their conception of the structure of the system, its function and the kinds of interaction and the amount of change that takes place in the system.

In the past, most social scientists have thought of human organizations (including society itself) as "closed systems." They have also considered them to be equilibrium-seeking (homeostatic) systems in which the element of change has been kept to a minimum. This is the predominant view of

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[1]Emery, Systems Thinking, p. 332, quoting R. L. Ackoff, "Systems, Organizations, and Interdisciplinary Research," General Systems Yearbook, Vol. 5 (1960), Society for General Research, pp. 1-8.

Talcott Parsons, one of the most prominent scholars of systems theory in the behavioral sciences. This type of system demonstrates a preoccupation with structure and organization which is not compatible with the systems analysis methodology. What is needed is a new conception of system which differs from the Parsonian model in that it stresses function, does not make the element of structure dominant and which will exhibit characteristics of dynamic stability while accepting new information from the environment and evolves in a direction that conforms to purpose and goal instead of seeking homeostasis.

As Katz and Kahn state,

> Thinking of the organization as a closed system, . . . results in a failure to develop the intelligence or feedback function of obtaining adequate information about the changes in environmental forces. It is remarkable how weak many industrial companies are in their market research departments when they are so dependent upon the market. The prediction can be hazarded that organizations in our society will increasingly move toward the improvement of the facilities for research in assessing environmental forces. The reason is that we are in the process of correcting our misconception of the organization as a closed system.[1]

Emery and Trist have pointed out how current theorizing on organizations still reflects older closed system conceptions. They write:

> In the realm of social theory, however, there has been something of a tendency to continue thinking in terms of a 'closed' system, that is, to regard the enterprise as sufficiently independent to allow most of its problems to be analysed with reference to its internal structure and without reference to its external

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[1] Ibid., pp. 103-108, quoting Katz and Kahn, Social Psychology of Organizations, 1966.

environment. . . . In practice the system theorists in social science . . . did 'tend to focus on the statistics of social structure and to neglect the study of structural change.' In an attempt to overcome this bias, Merton suggested that 'the concept of dysfunction, which implied the concept of strain, stress and tension on the structural level, provides an analytical approach to the study of dynamics and change.' This concept has been widely accepted by system theorists but while it draws attention to sources of imbalance within an organization it does not conceptually reflect the mutual permeation of an organization and its environment that is the cause of such imbalance. It still retains the limiting perspectives of 'closed system' theorizing. In the administrative field the same limitations may be seen in the otherwise invaluable contribution of Barnard and related writers.

The open-system approach to organizations is contrasted with common-sense approaches, which tend to accept popular names and stereotypes as basic organizational properties and to identify the purpose of an organization in terms of the goals of its founders and leaders.

The open-system approach, on the other hand, begins by identifying and mapping the repeated cycles of input, transformation, output, and renewed input which comprise the organizational pattern. This approach to organizations represents the adaptation of work in biology and in the physical sciences by von Bertalanffy and others.

Organizations as a special class of open systems have properties of their own, but they share other properties in common with all open systems. These include the importation of energy from the environment, the through-put or transformation of the imported energy into some product form which is characteristic of the system, the exporting of that product into the environment, and the re-energizing of the system from sources in the environment.

Open systems also share the characteristics of negative entropy, feedback, homeostasis, differentiation, and equifinality. The law of negative entropy states that systems survive and maintain their characteristic internal order only so long as they import from the environment more energy than they expend in the process of transformation and exportation. The feedback principle has to do with information input, which is a special kind of energic importation, a kind of signal to the system about environmental conditions and about the functioning of the system in relation to its environment. The feedback of such information enables the system to correct for its own malfunctioning or for changes in the environment, and thus to

maintain a steady state or homeostasis. This is a dynamic rather than a static balance, however, Open systems are not at rest but tend toward differentiation and elaboration, both because of subsystem dynamics and because of the relationship between growth and survival. Finally, open systems are characterized by the principle of equifinality, which asserts that systems can reach the same final state from different initial conditions and by different paths of development.

Traditional organizational theories have tended to view the human organization as a closed system. This tendency has led to a disregard of differing organizational environments and the nature of organizational dependency on environment. It has led also to an overconcentration on principles of internal organizational functioning, with consequent failure to develop and understand the processes of feedback which are essential to survival.[1]

As was previously pointed out, Talcott Parsons took the idea of the closed system a step further to allow the system the flexibility of being self-correcting, but the rigidity of the structure was left unchallenged.

Buckley describes first the regular closed system and then the Parsonsian system in the following way:

To summarize the argument in overly simplified form; equilibrial systems are relatively closed and entropic. In going to equilibrium they typically lose structure and have a minimum of free energy; they are affected only by external "disturbances" and have no internal or endogenous sources of change; their component elements are relatively simple and linked directly via energy exchange (rather than information interchange); and since they are relatively closed they have no feedback or other systematic self-regulating or adaptive capabilities. The homeostatic system (for example, the organism, apart from higher cortical functioning) is open and negentropic, maintaining a moderate energy level within controlled limits. But for our purposes here, the system's main characteristic is its functioning to maintain the given structure of the system within pre-established limits. It involves feedback loops with its environment, and

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[1] Ibid., p. 281, quoting Emery and Trist, "Sociotechnical Systems."

possibly information as well as pure energy interchanges, but these are geared principally to self-regulation (structure maintenance) rather than adaption (change of system structure). The complex adaptive systems (species, psychological and sociocultural systems) are also open and negentropic. But they are open "internally" as well as externally in that the interchanges among their components may result in significant changes in the nature of the components themselves with important consequences for the system as a whole. . . . True feedback control loops make possible not only self-regulation, but self-direction, or at least adaptation to a changing environment, such that the system may change or elaborate its structure as a condition of survival or viability.

We argue, then, that the sociocultural system is fundamentally of the latter type, and requires for analysis a theoretical model or perspective built on the kinds of characteristics mentioned.[1]

Buckley then goes on to define his concept of system in more detail (which is noted here to better show how the forces acting in society tend to make it conform more closely to the Gerth-Mills concept of the ideal rather than to the artificial, unilinear power structure which has historically been impressed upon it). The use of the Gerth-Mills conception would, as logically supported by Buckley's analysis, make a more realistic assessment of the ongoing social processes. Buckley continues,

We define a system in general as a complex of elements or components directly or indirectly related in a causal network, such that at least some of the components are related to some others in a more or less stable way at any one time [the concept of the partial solution]. The interrelations may be mutual or unidirectional, linear, non-linear or intermittent, and varying in degrees of causal efficacy or priority. The particular kinds of more or less stable interrelationships of components that become established

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[1]Walter Buckley, Modern Systems Research for the Behavioral Scientist (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1968), pp. 490-97.

> at any time constitute the particular structure of the system at that time.
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> Thus, the complex, adaptive system as a continuing entity is not to be confused with the structure which the system may manifest at any time. Making this distinction allows us to state a fundamental principle of open, adaptive systems: Persistence or continuity of an adaptive system may require, as a necessary condition, change in its structure, the degree of change being a complex function of the internal state of the system, the state of its relevant environment, and the nature of the interchange between the two.[1]

Buckley then turns his attention to the criteria against which social and cultural structures can be evaluated. He observes:

> Although the problem is difficult, something can be said about more ultimate adaptive criteria against which sociocultural structures can be assessed. Consideration of the grand trends of evolution provides clues to very general criteria. These trends point in the direction of (1) greater and greater flexibility of structure, as error-controlled mechanisms (cybernetic processes of control) replace more rigid, traditionalistic means of meeting problems and seeking goals; (2) ever more refined, accurate and systematic mapping, decoding and encoding of the external environment and the system's own internal milieu (via science), along with greater independence from the physical environment; (3) and thereby a greater elaboration of self-regulating substructures in order--not merely to restore a given equilibrium or homeostatic level--but to purposefully restructure the system without tearing up the lawn in the process.[2]

He concludes his argument for the (conflict-actuated) adaptive, complex system with the following words,

> and, as a reading of history suggests, virtually every formal structure extant can be traced at least in principal from its beginnings to its present apparently timeless state through just such a morpogenic

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[1] Ibid., p. 493.

[2] Ibid.

process--a process characteristic of what we have called the complex adaptive system.[1]

Buckley's system conforms to the theoretical orientation presented in this study. In considering society in conformance with his conception, it represents a conflict-system in which the present is rendered as a "dynamic" order or temporary "configuration" rather than a "static" condition. Interrelationships, associations and correlations are described and analyzed in terms of partial solutions, reasonably accurate at a particular point in the time dimension. Successive evaluations must be made to offer a stage by stage description of the adaptive process.

This new concept of system as developed by Buckley, and illustrated by the theory of Gerth and Mills, is not based on structural functionalism but on conflict theory. This does not mean, though, that this kind of systemic organization is not compatible with the structural-functionalist view when a change in emphasis is applied to the theoretical orientation. In the past, the structural-functionalists have been interested in minimizing the change process as much as possible. This fits well with the structural-functionalist concept of the "homeostatic system" which has as its optimum state one of "dynamic stability." Such an orientation emphasized structural stability at the expense of function. That is, function was limited in order to maintain structure. This shows again the influence of

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[1] Ibid., p. 505.

the Conservative Tradition in social thinking which has been pointed up so many times before. The conservative social thinkers, and the structural functionalists as well, placed the social order (structure) of society above the individual --in other words the individual existed to serve the social order. This concept can still be retained but with a change in emphasis. The emphasis should be placed on function. Function in American society is constantly changing as was pointed out in the discussion of the "mission" of the educational institution at the beginning of this section. Function would naturally change quicker and in greater degree than structure, but structure does not have to be held static. It can change, within limits, without posing a threat to the existence of the society. It is within this new conception of the application of structural-functionalism, with its emphasis on the functional aspect of social structures, that this new concept of systems is championed in this study as the optimal form of organization for decision-making and planning in the educational institution and the individual school system. The two aspects of structure and function should be "traded off" against each other in the degree that will achieve the optimal cost-benefits relationship.

A fundamental element or the lifeblood of this kind of system is intelligence information from the environment or "feedback."

As Vickers points out,

Feedback plays a central part in the engineer's idea of control. Whenever purposeful action is being taken, it can best be checked by comparing its result with the result it is intended to produce. Is it having the desired effect? If not, in what way and to what extent is the result deviating from what was purposed? This deviation is the measure of the action needed to correct it. If the deviation can be made to operate a mechanism which will "automatically" modify future action in the way needed to correct the error, then the circuit is closed and the system is set to control itself.

There are several essential elements in this circuit, i.e.,

(1) Prediction. We must be able to predict at every stage what effect the action ought to have if it is to produce the desired result.

(2) Information. We must know what effect the action is actually having.

(3) Measurement. We must be able to measure the difference between what is and what ought to be at least sufficiently for the next steps.

(4) Coding and communication. The measured deviation must be coded in some convenient form and transmitted to the centre, or centres, from which action can be taken.

(5) Response. This signal must elicit infallibly and at once the action needed to compensate for the deviation. Where different situations may call for different responses, there must also be a selecting mechanism which will choose the appropriate response; perhaps even a mechanism which will search for the right response by trial and error, discarding each solution which proves unsatisfactory by some predetermined rule.

(6) Co-ordination. Where the response evoked is complex, its various parts must be co-ordinated. This may require further feedback circuits between the different parts of the responding machine.[1]

The same author goes on to show how this is true also of the manager but also illustrates that he has certain peculiar difficulties,

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[1] Sir Geoffrey Vickers, Towards a Sociology of Management (New York: Basic Books, Inc., Publishers, 1967), pp. 16-17.

> Consider the field of prediction, information and measurement. The principle of control by budget and forecast is now widely accepted in principle, though by no means applied in practice as widely as it can be. There has been a great advance in accounting and statistical techniques to serve this need. The use of standard costs promises an advance in signalling deviations between what is and what ought to be the levels where the information is needed.[1]

Vickers continues to point out the importance of relevant information and its relationship to the control or direction of the enterprise:

> This opens the door to a better understanding of control and one which is badly needed; for in my experience this word is at present almost unusable, so many are its meanings and so explosive its connotations. This is partly because our language, unlike French or German, does not clearly distinguish between control and direction; but chiefly because industry is still haunted by ways of thinking which are formed on the model of "open-circuit" rather than "closed circuit" methods of mechanical control, that is by the idea of one-way rather than two-way relationships. . . . Ideally, control is mediated not by power but by information; and this information flows up, down and sideways within a well-running organization and its effect depends on its relevance, not on its source. Responsibilities are structured but control is mutual. . . .
>
> Again I find that the diseases of mechanical control systems throw much light on the diseases of human organizations. Thus control systems are prone to oscillate; and this is due to some defect in the organization of feedback. . . .
>
> There are great differences between assemblies of men, assemblies of cells and assemblies of mechanical or electronic components; but none of these assemblies hangs together except by virtue of a balance of forces such that any change in one variable evokes compensating changes in other sufficient to maintain the essential conditions of stability.
>
> Each of us is a hierarchy of systems; our present activities and our long-term purposes depend alike on scores of physiological mechanisms, each devoted to maintaining some essential variable--our temperature, our blood sugar and so on--within the narrow limits on which consciousness and life depend; and an organization

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[1] Ibid.

> is an even greater complexity of system piled on system. Our consciously planned controls are intruders in a tissue of interaction in which an immense number of unconscious controls are already at work.[1]

This author (the one just quoted) took notes that there must be a new conception of social systems as more open and adaptable in the Butlerian model presented earlier. He observes,

> In this paper I have used the word "control" in a sense much wider than "keeping constant." Deviation from a norm or approach to a limit may be used to signal the need for corrective action, whether the standard so used is constant or not. Often in business the standard set is a constantly expanding one; it may none the less prove an effective governor.
>
> The language which I have been using is still associated too closely with the idea of homeostasis. True, the homeostatic devices with which physiology has made us familiar, such as temperature control, hold constant the "milieu interieur"; but at the same time the body as a whole is conforming in an equally controlled way to the expanding pattern of growth and maturation. Homeostasis is only a special case of control, within a context of much wider scope. Professor Waddington has suggested the word "homeorhesis" to fill this linguistic gap.[2]

This brings the discussion to the subjects of information which serves as the lifeblood of the human organization conceived as a system. It is communication of information about the environment which furnishes the intelligence on which decisions which have futurity in terms of social consequences are based.

As Drucker notes,

> Information, like electricity, is energy. Just as electrical energy is energy for mechanical tasks,

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[1] Ibid., pp. 20-21.

[2] Ibid., p. 43.

> information is energy for mental tasks. The computer is the central power station, but there are also the electronic-transmission facilities--the satellites and related devices. We have devices to translate the energy, to convert the information.[1]

The following excerpt is from a text which concentrates on information in business firms but in accordance with the material already presented which shows the fundamental similarity of all corporate social enterprises, this information about information is equally applicable to other enterprises.

Steiner states,

> Without adequate and appropriate communications systems a business simply cannot operate. This applies to small as well as to large enterprise. Information flows are as important in the life and health of businesses as the flow of blood is to the life and health of the individual.
>
> Communication within a business firm has two fundamental purposes. The first is to furnish the information necessary to make decisions to achieve the firm's network of aims. The second is to influence attitudes of people in such a way as to motivate them to direct their activities and interests in reasonable harmony with the firm's network of aims. The first is concerned more with knowledge, the second more with motivation, but the two obviously are closely interrelated.[2]

Another author in defining the makeup of information systems, their purposes and concepts, summed the subject up as follows:

> The principal purpose of a management information system is to provide economically the information needed for planning, direction, evaluation, coordination, and control of the firm. Although information needs may vary widely from one organization to another or within different divisions of the same company, a well-designed

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[1]Drucker, Technology, Management and Society, p. 171.

[2]Steiner, Top Management Planning, p. 475.

information system, within a wide range of application, should:

1. Provide each level and position of management with all the information that can be used in the conduct of each manager's job.

2. Filter the information so that each level and position of management actually receives only the information it can and must act on.

3. Provide information to the manager only when action is possible and appropriate.

4. Provide information that is up to date in a form that is easily understood and digested by the manager.

The advantage of such a system may be properly assessed by considering some of the more serious defects of conventional information-gathering procedures.

1. Reports often fail to match organizational responsibilities, making it difficult for a manager to evaluate his own department.

2. The planning function is served inadequately. When budgeting or other long-range planning is to be done, pertinent information is either unavailable, or cannot be readily abstracted from the mass of reported data.

3. Reports usually emphasize a particular aspect of the business. At best, a problem area is brought into attention. To solve the problem, further inquiry, verbal and written, is needed to pin down essential details.

4. Many reports have little relevance for a wide range of business decisions, and most internal procedures for gathering information are unable to recognize the external factors and events which can seriously affect the company.[1]

The scope of this study will not permit an exhaustive study of the areas of communication, information, and intelligence but a few words must be said about each to show their connection to effective decision-making.

Communications and information are really different subjects but in order to have a flow of information, a system of communications must be functioning in the organiza-

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[1]Richard I. Levin and Rudolph P. Lamone, Quantitative Disciplines in Management Decisions (Belmont, California: Dickenson Publishing Co., Inc., 1969), pp. 34-35.

tion. As Drucker comments,

> (a) First, it means that it is the recipient who communicates. The so-called communicator, that is, the person who emits the communication, does not communicate. He utters. Unless there is someone who hears (or reads and understands) there is no communication. There is only noise. The communicator speaks or writes or sings—but he does not communicate. Indeed he cannot communicate. He can only make it possible, or impossible, for a recipient--or rather percipient--to perceive.
>
> (b) Perception, we know, is not logic. It is experience. This means, in the first place, that one always perceives a configuration. One cannot perceive single specifics. They are always part of a total picture. . . .
>
> (c) But we know about perception also that one can only perceive what one is capable of perceiving. . . . The stimulus cannot become communication. . . . The connection between experience, perception, and concept-formation, that is, cognition, is, we now know, infinitely subtler and richer than any earlier philosopher imagined. . . . To communicate a concept is impossible unless the recipient can perceive it, that is, unless it is within his perception.
>
> There is a very old saying among writers: "difficulties with a sentence always mean confused thinking. It is not the sentence that needs straightening out, it is the thought behind it." In writing we attempt, of course, to communicate with ourselves. An unclear sentence is one that exceeds our own capacity for perception.[1]

This material shows the relevance of the "interdependent decisions" theory of political behavior to behavioral systems and behavior in social enterprises. The information flow must be perceived by the human being in the form of communication before it has any relevance at all. His perception, in turn, is governed by many factors and forces around the interactive milieu including his range of experience and his place in the bureaucratic organization.

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[1]Drucker, Technology, Management and Society, p. 5.

Drucker goes on in his discussion to point out that communications is also expectations, involvement, and that communications and information are different but still interdependent.

Drucker makes the distinction that whereas communication is perception, information is logic. He further qualifies information as impersonal rather than interpersonal and specific as opposed to a configuration. Furthermore, information is always encoded in some way.

In the present discussion, the information contained in the communication process is more important than information for its own sake, for it is the communication process that involves interpersonal interaction.

In the interpersonal context of communication, too, the function of communications as propaganda must be considered. Drucker comments,

> Communications are always propaganda. The emitter always wants "to get something across." Propaganda, we now know, is both a great deal more powerful than the rationalists with their belief in "open discussion" believe, and a great deal less powerful than the myth-makers of propaganda, e.g., a Doctor Goebbels in the Nazi regime, believed and wanted us to believe. Indeed, the danger of total propaganda is not that the propaganda will be believed. The danger is that nothing will be believed and that every communication will become suspect. In the end, no communication is being received any more. Everything anyone says is considered a demand and is resisted, resented, and in effect not heard at all. The end results of propaganda are not fanatics, but cynics--but this, of course, may be even greater and more dangerous corruption.
>
> Communication, in other words, always makes demands. It always demands that the recipient become somebody, do something, believe something. It always appeals to motivation. If, in other words, communication fits in with the aspirations, the values, the purposes of the

recipient, it is powerful, if it goes against his aspirations, his values, his motivations, it is likely not to be received at all, or at best, to be resisted.[1]

Drucker, still expounding on the relationship of information and the communication process, continues:

> More and better information does not solve the communications problem, does not bridge the communications gap. On the contrary, the more information, the greater is the need for functioning and effective communication. The more information, in other words, the greater is the communications gap likely to be.[2]

Drucker then goes on to state that if the systems designer wishes to facilitate communications, he should focus on

> (a) the impersonal but common task, and
> (b) on the intended recipient's values, achievements, and aspirations. It also requires the experience of responsibility.[3]

He goes on to point out that,

> In a complex world there is a need for shared experience in the decisions, or there is no common perception, no communications, and, therefore, neither acceptance of the decisions, nor ability to carry them out. The ability to understand presupposes prior communication. It presupposes agreement on meaning.
> There will be no communication, in sum, if it is conceived as going from the "I" to the "Thou." Communication only works from one member of "us" to another. Communications in organization--and this may be the true lesson of our communications failure and the true measure of communications need--are not a means of organization. They are a mode of organization.[4]

Again the material on communication points up the

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[1] Ibid., p. 11.

[2] Ibid., p. 17.

[3] Ibid., p. 22.

[4] Ibid., p. 23.

importance of the interactive event, the shared perception and the shared meaning which are the essence of concerted political action whether in the governmental context or in the ongoing process of social enterprises.

To continue, Wilensky comments,

> Politics and communications are also intertwined within any organization, since the system of power and decision-making affects and is affected by the communications network through which the rules, orders and norms of the organization are disseminated. This relevance of communications to "office politics" is most apparent, as indicated in Norman Liang's essay, in the assimilation of new employees into the organization. The recruit gets clued in on the office definition of the situation, a definition that may vary significantly between even relatively tiny, face-to-face groups sharing a few thousand square feet of floor space. By use of certain myths the individual is drawn into his appropriate role and status in the office political system. And in this indoctrination the men of power and authority in the organization, the individual old-timers, are in a good position to preserve their power because they are able to get their definitions of the situation accepted by others.[1]

In summary, then, society is a master system made up of components, some more and some less completely linked into the master system but all of them, if they are to persist in having some impact in the overall system, must interact in their pursuit of purpose in the direction of a goal (which may be of an evolving nature).

Now that background of systems theory and the systems approach has been sketched in and related to the organization of social enterprises, it is necessary to describe in more detail the process of systems analysis, since it is basically

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[1]Lazarsfeld, Sewell, and Wilensky, eds., Uses of Sociology, p. 258.

the process which the present writer contends will offer the best vehicle for developing a management strategy for social enterprises.

Steiner states,

> Systems analysis and operations research are both scientific approaches to problem-solving. They blend into one another. But at the extremes, systems analysis is more complex, and less neat and tidy. Although both are highly quantitatively oriented, systems analysis tends to embody a much larger percentage of nonquantitative elements which influence the outcome. . . .[1]

(For a diagrammatic rendition of the process of systems analysis see the figure on the following page.)

The same author continues,

> Systems analysis is a systematic way to look at complex problems to assure the achievement of a larger objective more effectively than if its individual parts were examined in isolation. . . .
>
> The first characteristic is the blend of many areas of knowledge in the solution of complex problems. Great, ill-structured problems . . . require the synthesis of many disciplines if answers are to be useful to decisionmakers. Systems analysis permits and encourages the judgment, intuition, and knowledge of experts to be blended in a systematic and efficient manner. Furthermore, systems analysis facilitates the blending of the judgment and intuition of managers with the experience of specialists. . . .
>
> A second fundamental characteristic of systems analysis is that it uses and emphasizes the scientific method. . . . While quantitative data can be mixed with qualitative intuition, and logic can be blended with empirical evidence, the scientific method requires that the steps in the analysis can be retraced with others. This means that assumptions, data, tests, discussion, evaluations, and so on, can be subjected to verification. This does not mean, of course, that the results will be acceptable to everyone. . . .
>
> It means also that the analysis is systematic and objective. It is systematic in that it follows a prescribed design and is not <u>ad hoc</u>. It is objective in

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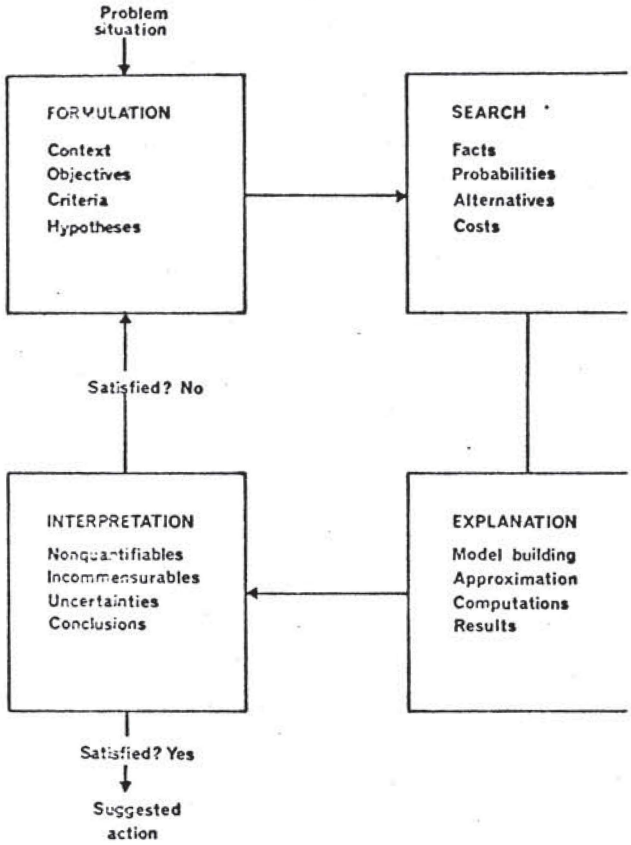
[1]Steiner, <u>Top Management Planning</u>, pp. 390-91.

Figure 4

The Pro

Chart 14-2

The Process of Systems Analysis



SOURCE: E.S. Quade, "Military Systems Analysis," RM-3452-PR, The RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, California, January 1963, p.11.

Steiner, 1969:

that personalities and personal values are submerged to quantitative fact to the greatest extent possible.[1]

The same author continues,

> In sum we are dealing with a methodology applied to large complex systems problems in which specialists combine with decision-makers to blend in a scientific way the best tools available for solving problems that yield to solution in a less satisfactory fashion by another known method. But each solution is a work of art, not the result of a prescribed methodology or formula that applies to all cases.[2]

(An illustration of the process involved which involves progressive sequential partial solutions from among a range of alternative partial solutions is shown on the following two pages.)

The usefulness of symbolic interactionism as a theoretical description of the reality of political behavior will shortly be demonstrated in terms of the perception of the interactive process by the acting entities.

However, this does not mean that symbolic interactionism will be used in isolation from other bodies of sociological theory. Symbolic interactionism itself can be considered as an extension of principles of conflict theory from the general to the particular (as will be described later in this section) and both of these theoretical orientations can be shown to operate within a framework of consensual courses of action that have relative permanence and comprise the structure or organization of society or its subsystems.

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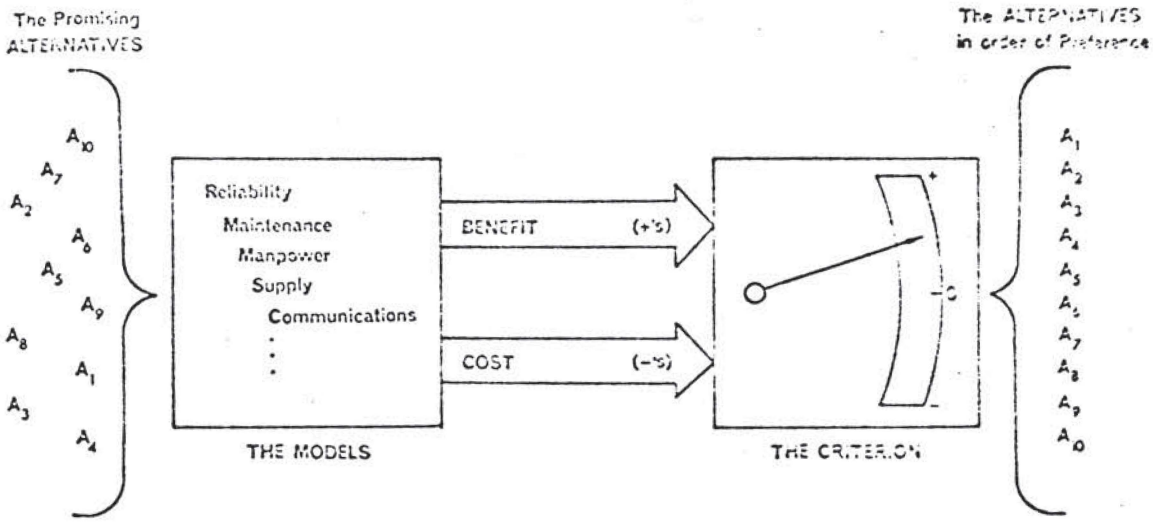
[1] Steiner, Top Management Planning, pp. 294-300.

[2] Ibid., p. 397.

Figure 5

The Structure of Analysis

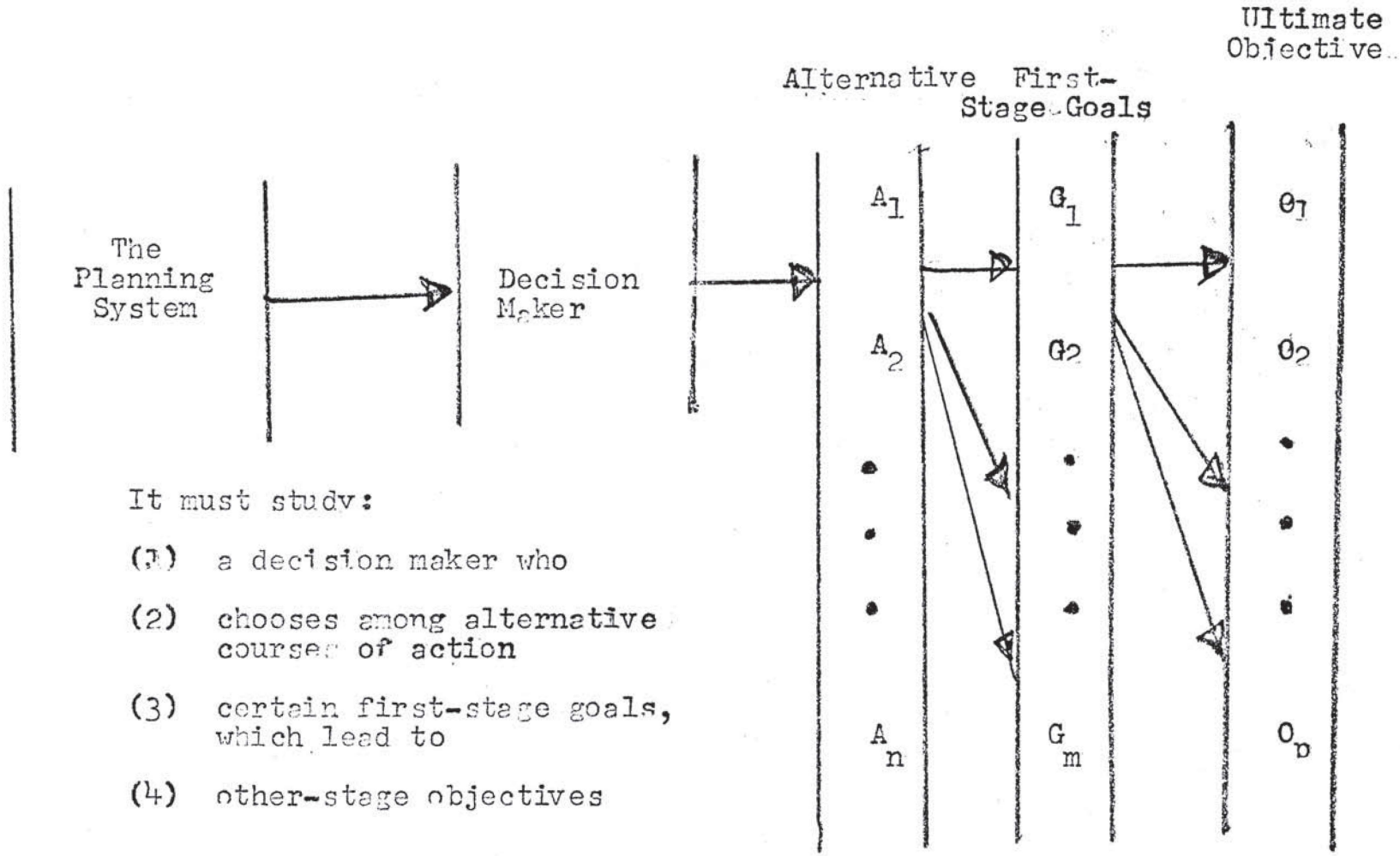


Source: Quade, 1966, p. 9.

(Steiner, 1969:)

Figure 6

SIMPLIFIED SCHEMATIC OF
MULTIPLE DECISION-MAKING IN THE PLANNING PROCESS



It must study:

(1) a decision maker who

(2) chooses among alternative courses of action

(3) certain first-stage goals, which lead to

(4) other-stage objectives

(Churchman, 1968: 150)

The body of theory which appears to be most applicable in this system-wide context appears to be structural functionalism.

In this section, these various theoretical postures will be explained briefly and put into context with the view of society as an open-ended conflict-actuated adaptive system. Therefore, the theoretical orientation of the investigation, although stressing heavily the symbolic interactionist approach (since it does deal with particular groups, individuals, and entities on the microlevel) must be considered as eclectic.

First, the assertion must be made that all systems of which humans are a part, and in fact all systems of any kind, are energized by the flow of information. (For instance, an on-off switch can be considered as an information transfer--the change of temperature in the room passes information on to the thermostat--pressure changes in the line actuate the pressure switch to pass information to a pump in a water system--the examples are legion.) Therefore, this paper can be considered to deal with three general themes, the systems concept, information flow as energy, and conflict which results in political behavior expressed as courses of action. The process is this: Information introduced into the system is selectively perceived by a human component and communication takes place. Then, as a result of the communication and the perception of information, interactive conflict takes place (both within and outside the

perceiving entity). During the course of the behavior exhibited in the interaction, new information is generated and the process is repeated throughout the system. This can be described in the principles of the symbolic interactionist approach as the action-reaction equation which Becker clarifies in his book, Outsiders.[1]

On the following page an illustration of a system for the flow of information is shown in the form of a chart. Although this chart was drawn up for use in the business context, it is equally applicable to any other social enterprise for it is this flow of information that actuates the decision-making processes and resultant choices of alternatives at various levels. The only change would be to think in terms of service instead of in terms of product. The process orientation of the system is still just as effective in this mode.

Communications have generally been conceded to be an important facet of the management function. As Steiner comments,

> Communications within a business firm has two fundamental purposes. The first is to furnish the information necessary to make decisions to achieve the firm's network of aims. The second is to influence attitudes of people in such a way as to motivate them to direct their activities and interests in reasonable harmony with the firm's network of aims. The first is concerned more with knowledge, and the second deals more with motivation, but the two obviously are closely interrelated.[2]

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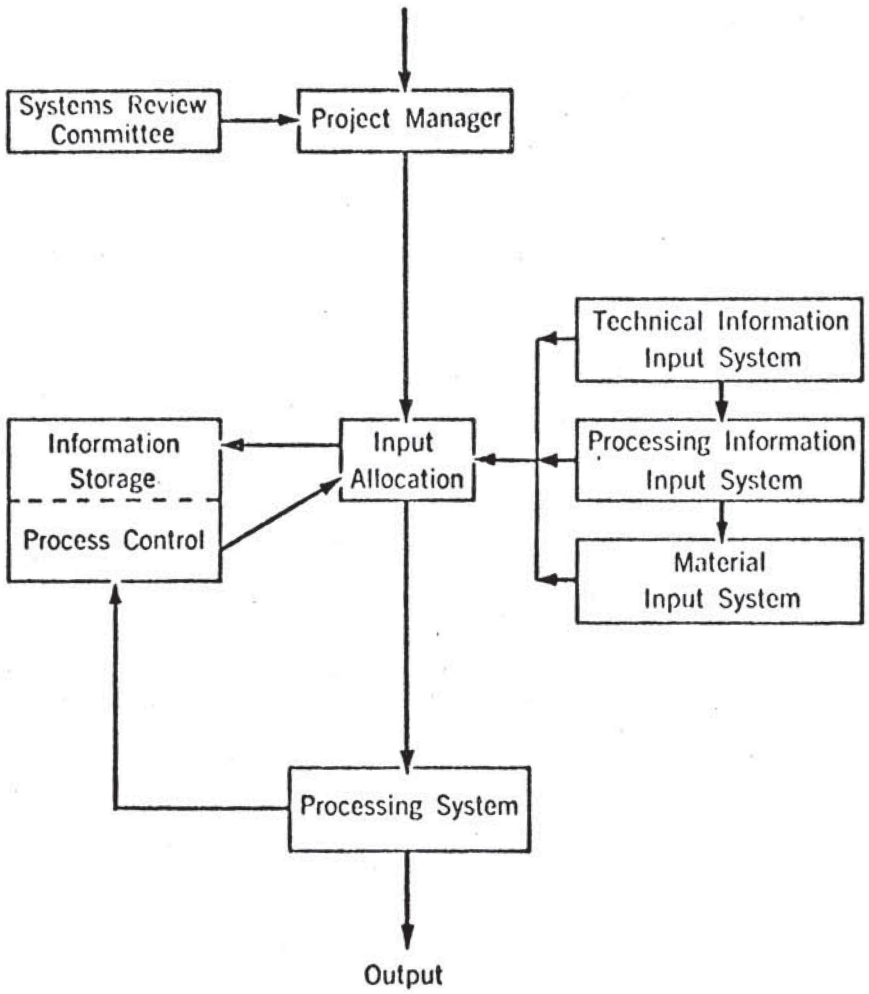
[1]Howard S. Becker, Outsiders (New York: Free Press, 1963), pp. 121-34.

[2]Steiner, Top Management Planning, p. 475.

Figure 7

An Operating System Model



He goes on to define communications as:

> the process of conveying meaning from one person to another. It includes any means by which one mind affects another. This can be done by words, symbols, or a multiplicity of human actions--a gesture, a raised eyebrow, a smile, or other such actions.
>
> A broader definition of communication is as follows: "In its broadest sense the term 'communication' refers to the whole process of man's life in relation to the group. It covers a vast and varied field of human action. All the basic social institutions--numbers, language, music, graphic art, science, religion, government--have the function of creating a community of thought, feeling, or action among people. The word 'communication' is therefore merely one way of designating the subject matter of education. Language, however, is the chief means of communication."[1]

As Steiner further points out,

> Information is a major part of that which is communicated. It is knowledge communicated or knowledge obtained by study and investigation. Information theory, therefore, would be concerned with the acquisition and transmission of knowledge.[2]

(As was pointed out before, information is not necessarily restricted to speech or gesture but can be sent technically by means of changes of valence, potential, pressure or as light--in the man machine interface of systems which are part man and part machine, this factor must also be taken into account.)

In any discussion of information transfer of communication, some mention must be made of "selective perception." Man does not perceive the "whole" of any situation. He not only perceives only a small part of the whole but he perceives that small part in terms of stereotypes of

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[1] Ibid., p. 476.

[2] Ibid., p. 477.

situations having similar characteristics that are within his range of experience. Therefore his perception is not only partial, slanted by preconcptions, but may be made wholly inaccurate because of faulty withdrawal from his storehouse of sterotyped classifications. This amounts to what is generally referred to as "noise" in machine systems. (An example of "noise"--probably the one from which the term sprung--is the static caused by atmospheric disturbances in amplitude modulated radio reception.)

Evidence indicates that of all the media of sending information, man is subject to the most opportunity for distortion or garbling but this is coupled with a positive feature, the ability to organize and classify the information which he is able to collect and process. As Miller comments,

> I am proud to say that psychologists have not been slow to recognize the obvious fact that a large part of behavior is concerned with sending, transmitting, or receiving messages. In order to survive in a fluctuating environment, an organism must have some capacity to collect, process, and use information. This capacity is greatest in man, so that he is able to learn elaborate coding systems and to organize his social behavior by communicating with his fellow men. Thus communication is an important area for psychology; the development of a powerful, new theory of communication was bound to have important consequences for the study of human behavior.[1]

He continues in placing man at the man-machine interface by noting,

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[1]George A. Miller, The Psychology of Communication (New York: Basic Books, Inc., Publishers, 1967), p. 46.

> . . . home to a human nervous system means that no theory of communication will be complete unless it is capable of treating the system components in a theoretical language so general and so powerful that human beings can be included along with the other components. For many years the concepts of communication engineering were phrased entirely in the language of volts, amperes, ohms, watts, etc. These terms have limited value when we try to describe the behavior of a human being. They forced us to distort our picture of the human link in order to fit man into the rest of the system. So long as the concepts of communication theory had to be stated in these terms, the area of contact between electrical engineering and psychology were very limited indeed.[1]

The same author goes on to point out how man and the machine both can be considered as channels through which information can flow.

> Today the relations between the science of communication and the science of psychology are vastly expanded, owing to the development of a way to measure information and a theory so general that we can truly say that any device, be it human or electrical or mechanical, must conform to the theory if it is to perform the function of communication. Today we are no longer required to think of the man as a voltage source, but can look at him as a source of information, or a channel through which information can flow.[2]

Following this, Miller continues to illustrate the inadequacy of man as an information link with empirical experimental evidence (as was noted earlier in this section),

> Numerous experiments following this general pattern have now been conducted. The most glaring result has been to highlight man's inadequacy as a communication channel. As the amount of input information is increased, for example, by increasing the size of the set of alternative stimuli, the amount of information that the man transmits increases at first but then runs into a ceiling, an upper limit that corresponds roughly to his channel capacity. This ceiling is always very

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid.

low. Indeed, it is an act of charity to call man a channel at all. Compared to telephone or television channels, man is better characterized as a bottleneck. Under optimal conditions it is possible for a skilled typist or piano player to transmit about twenty-five bits per second. Until someone is clever enough to discover a way to do better, we shall have to regard twenty-five bits per second as near the upper limit. Even if we remove all time restrictions and permit a person to take as long as he needs to make a decision, he is unable to identify the stimulus without error when the stimulus is selected from a set of more than a thousand alternatives. Thus we say that man's "span of absolute judgment" is probably on the order of ten bits of information per judgment. Needless to say, most of us operate most of the time far below these upper limits.

Perhaps man's particular skills in handling information have less to do with his speed of recognition than with his ability to remember what he has learned. This possibility raises many interesting questions which psychologists are presently unable to answer. For example, I know of no way to estimate the amount of information you have stored away in your permanent memory. However, it is possible to learn something about your "quick access" memory, the amount of information you can hold in mind at one time. And from the studies that have been conducted to date, I can report that you have no reason to be proud of yourselves. The amount of information you can think about at one time is hard to estimate, since it depends upon the particular way that the information happens to be encoded, but one hundred bits would be a representative figure. No self-respecting photographic plate would even bother to sneer at us.[1]

Finally, Miller goes on to furnish some conclusions about man as a link in the information system based on a synthesis of the experimental evidence available.

It is my own opinion that man's peculiar gift as a component in a communication system is his ability to discover new ways to transform, or to recode, the information which he receives. It seems to me that the very fact of our limited capacity for processing information has made it necessary for us to discover clever ways to abstract the essential features of our universe and to express these features in simple laws that we are capable of comprehending in a single act of thought. We

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[1] Ibid., p. 48.

are constantly taking information given in one form and translating it into alternative forms, searching for ways to map a strange, new phenomenon into simpler and more familiar ones. The search is something we call "thinking"; if we are successful, we call it "understanding." It is possible that the development of high-speed digital computers will soon strip even this last shred of dignity from the human mind.

In any case, it is quite clear that man is a miserable component in a communication system. He has a narrow bandwidth, a high noise level, is expensive to maintain, and sleeps eight hours out of every twenty-four. Even though we can't eliminate him completely, it is certainly a wise practice to replace him whenever we can. The kind of routine jobs that men like least are just the kind that machines do best. Our society has already made the first steps toward eliminating human bottlenecks from communication systems, and the years ahead are sure to bring many more.

In the end, therefore, I come back once again to the comparison with which I began. A human link and a source of random noise are both incorrigible disturbances in a communication system. In the case of noise, some of our best scientists have devoted themselves to analyzing it, measuring it, and avoiding it. The first step in reducing disturbances caused by noise is to find out the properties of the noise and then to take advantage of those properties by some clever method of encoding the message. My plea is simply that we should treat the man with equal respect. He cannot be abolished. But before we can take advantage of his peculiar fidelity criteria, we will have to find out more about him. Only then will we be able to provide channels of communication that are maximally efficient.[1]

Traditionally there have been two traditions of thought concerning the study of society. One was called the Radical tradition and the other the Conservative tradition. Roughly, one centered on Man and the other on Society as a social order. In other words, the Conservative tradition stated that the social order determined what the individual personality would be and the other, the Radical tradition, held that the social order existed only and could claim

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[1] Ibid., pp. 49-50.

legitimacy only as it served the needs of Man. Neither, however, denied that there was a relatively permanent set of courses of action that could be termed a social order. (For a pictoral illustration of these two traditions, see the figure on the following page which represents the two schools of thought as a continuum and attempts to range the various scholars along this continuum.)

The Conservative tradition, in the late nineteenth century, gave birth to a theoretical approach called structural-functionalism. It was first championed by prominent anthropologists and conceived of society as a relatively permanent structure so ordered as to perform certain functions. In other words, this orientation viewed society as Herbert Blumer states in terms of,

> . . . human society in terms of structure or organization and to treat social action as an expression of such structure or organization. Thus, reliance is placed on such structural categories as social system, culture, norms, values, social stratification, status positions, social roles and institutional organization. These are used both to analyze human society and to account for social action within it. Other major interests of sociological scholars center around this focal theme of organization. One line of interest is to view organization in terms of the functions it is supposed to perform. Another line of interest is to study societal organization as a system seeking equilibrium; here the scholar endeavors to detect mechanisms which are indigenous to the system.[1]

Blumer continues to discuss the two traditions of approaching the description and analysis of social action by commenting,

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[1]Arnold M. Rosen, Human Behavior and Social Processes: An Interactionist Approach (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1962), p. 189, quoting Herbert Blumer.

Figure 8

Idealized and Simplified

CONSERVATIVE - RADICAL CONTINUUM
IN SOCIOLOGICAL THOUGHT

Men and Time Periods:

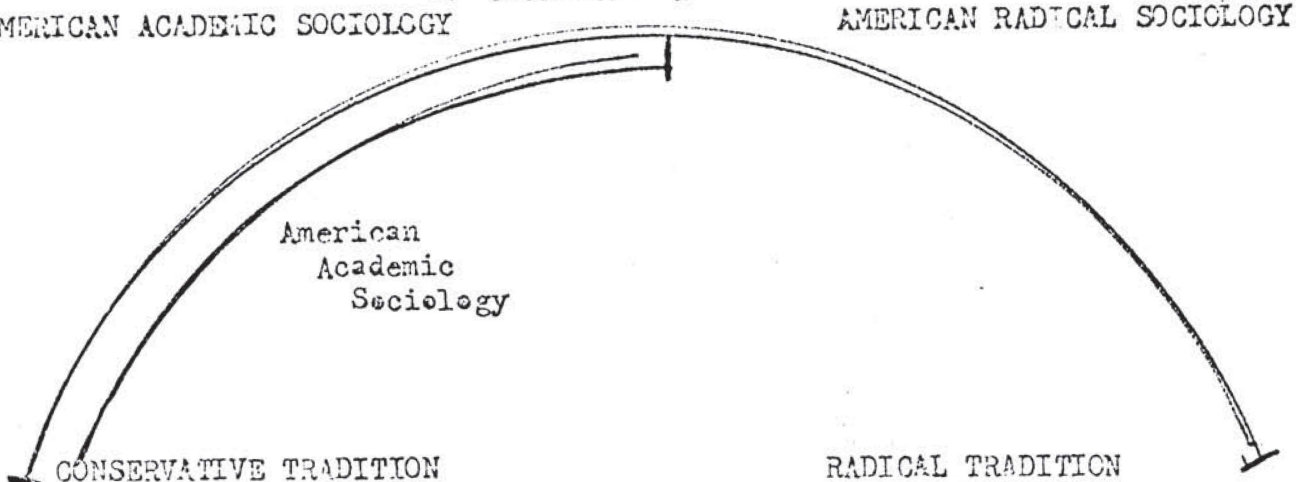
Renaissance
-humanism
Philosophes
Rousseau
Montesquieu
FRENCH REVOLUTION

Saint-Simon
Comte
REACTION TO FRENCH REVOLUTION
Burke -- Utilitarianism
Capitalism ← Weber →
Durkheim →
Social Darwinist Ideology
Dewey (Pragmatism and Instrumentalism)
Sorokin (Grand theorist)
Park (Symbolic Interactionists)
(Various 20th century schools of functionalism) ← C. Wright Mills
← Parsons (Systems theory)
← Merton →
← Gouldner →

← Marx (Grand theorist)

AMERICAN ACADEMIC SOCIOLOGY

AMERICAN RADICAL SOCIOLOGY



CONSERVATIVE TRADITION	RADICAL TRADITION
1. Social Structure the "real" -- (Man is a product of the social system	1. Man is the "real" The social system is a construct
2. Order and structure the normal state-- Conflict is dysfunctional	2. Conflict is ubiquitous
3. Change--except teleological, in terms of the social-Darwinist Ideology is dysfunctional--therefore should be kept to a minimum so as not to threaten the state of social cohesion and the social structure itself	3. Change is the prime mover of the dynamic synthesis that is the normal state of society
4. Society--more or less a closed system-- growth is in terms of expansion or in slow evolutionary process	4. Society--open, conflict actuated adaptable system-- ever-present change in the system is the key to growth

These respective concerns with organization on one hand and with acting units on the other hand set the essential difference between conventional views of human society and the view of it implied in symbolic interaction. The latter view recognizes the presence of organization in human society and respects its importance. However, it sees and treats organization differently. The difference is along two major lines. First, from the standpoint of symbolic interaction the organization of a human society is the framework inside of which social action takes place and is not the determinant of that action. Second, such organization and changes in it are the product of the activity of acting units and not of "forces" which leave such acting units out of account. Each of these two major lines of difference should be explained briefly in order to obtain a better understanding of how human society appears in terms of symbolic interaction.

From the standpoint of symbolic interaction, social organization is a framework inside of which acting units develop their actions. Structural features, such as "culture," "social systems," "social stratification," or "social roles," set conditions for their action but do not determine their action. People--that is, acting units--do not act toward culture, social structure or the like; they act toward situations. Social organization enters into action only to the extent to which it shapes situations in which people act, and to the extent to which it supplies fixed sets of symbols which people use in interpreting their situations. These two forms of influence of social organization are important. In the case of settled and stabilized societies, such as isolated primitive tribes and peasant communities, the influence is certain to be profound. In the case of human societies, particularly modern societies, in which streams of new situations arise and old situations become unstable, the influence of organization decreases. One should bear in mind that the most important element confronting an acting unit in situations is the actions of other acting units. In modern society, with its increasing criss-crossing of lines of action, it is common for situations to arise in which the actions of participants are not previously regularized and standardized. To this extent, existing social organization does not shape the situations. Correspondingly, the symbols or tools of interpretation used by acting units in such situations may vary and shift considerably. For these reasons, social action may go beyond, or depart from, existing organization in any of its structural dimensions. The organization of a human society is not to be identified with the process of

interpretation used by its acting units; even though it affects that process, it does not embrace or cover the process.[1]

Blumer is the foremost scholar of the symbolic interactionist approach in America today, and in the following passage he catalogs what he sees to be the advantages of this theoretical orientation:

> Students of human society will have to face the question of whether their preoccupation with categories of structure and organization can be squared with the interpretative process by means of which human beings, individually and collectively, act in human society. It is the discrepancy between the two which plagues such students in their efforts to attain scientific propositions of the sort achieved in the physical and biological sciences. It is this discrepancy, further, which is chiefly responsible for their difficulty in fitting hypothetical propositions to new arrays of empirical data. Efforts are made, of course, to overcome these shortcomings by devising new structural categories, by formulating new structural hypotheses, by developing more refined techniques of research, and even by formulating new methodological schemes of a structural character. These efforts continue to ignore or to explain away the interpretative process by which people act, individually and collectively, in society. The question remains whether human society or social action can be successfully analyzed by schemes which refuse to recognize human beings as they are, namely, as persons constructing individual and collective action through an interpretation of the situations which confront them.[2]

In breaking down what has been presented by Blumer on the preceding pages, the present writer sees the various theoretical orientations whether structural-functionalism (the Conservative tradition), conflict theory (the Radical tradition), or the extension of conflict theory from the general

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[1] Ibid., quoting Blumer.

[2] Ibid., pp. 191-92, quoting Blumer.

to the particular (acting entity) as expressed by the symbolic interactionist approach espoused by Blumer as being parts of complementary theoretical parameters for the social system. The structural-functionalist approach is systemic and systematic (system-wide in application to the macro level) the body of conflict theory is applicable both system wide and at the middle range of the institutional level. The two theories are general in scope and differ particularly in their attitude toward change. The present author sees structural-functionalism as applicable to the structure or organization of the society (in other words to those courses of action which have been made relatively stable by tradition, custom, and ritual and cemented by sanction through legal action) while principles of conflict theory affect groups and subcultures within the framework of the social order described in terms of structural-functionalist concepts. Group interaction within the social structure is settled by conflict on one or more of various levels of conflict. The changes created here may (if they are relatively permanent) affect the overall social order. Symbolic interactionism is seen to be an extension of conflict theory from the general to the particular to cover the actual political behavior of the acting unit (or entity) in the interactive context. In this way, the three theoretical orientations can be seen to be complementary narrowing their scope of concern progressively from system-wide to the general (or middle-range) to the particular. This is not to say that

either conflict theory or symbolic interactionism are not applicable at the macrolevel but makes the distinction in concentration on width in scope rather than in relative importance to the society. For instance, in terms of symbolic interactionist theory, a national state could be considered to be an acting entity (as Blumer notes) therefore making that approach applicable at the macrolevel of society but in a particular instance rather than as a systemic state. However, the symbolic interactionist approach with its concentration on the acting unit is particularly applicable to small groups and individuals at the microlevel, and this is the immediate area of concern of this paper. But in the study of groups in interaction, consideration must be given as well to the body of principles of conflict theory which serve as the base for the concepts and partial theories of the symbolic interactionist approach.

Therefore, in the part of the discussion which follows, conflict theory will be discussed in its application to a structural pluralist society and then will be followed by a more detailed explanation of the symbolic interactionist approach which is used for the base of a political behavior orientation (herein referred to as interdependent decisions) which is used in this investigation as a descriptive and analytical tool for the study of the individual administrator in relation to the whole of the management function.

In considering the first of the two theoretical

orientations theories, sociological conflict theory can allow appraisal of a political structure realistically. Patterns of conflict seem especially suited to describe the social basis of political action, and the intensity of political conflict depends on the conditions of organization.

In discussing the subject of social organization in terms of the two underlying themes that are used in the development of this study--conflict and change--Olsen states,

> From the perspective of our overall process conception of social organization, . . . the phenomena of conflict and change appear to be somewhat more fundamental than the others. If social reality is in fact an ongoing dynamic process, then conflict and change are ubiquitous throughout life. Our concern . . . is to gain basic understanding of both of these processes, . . . but even the most casual observation of contemporary social life suggest that they are indeed pervasive phenomena. No aspect of social organization is so totally insulated from its surrounding environment that it never encounters external stresses nor so perfectly ordered that it never experiences internal strains. Disruptive forces are thus constantly impinging upon all social organization from diverse sources. The results are perpetual social conflict and change.[1]

The same author goes on to describe and define conflict, making note of its various manifestations,

> In general, conflict occurs whenever there is discord or opposition between two or more actors within the process of social organization. Conflict is thus a generic process that contains several subtypes, including competition (orderly pursuit by actors of a prescribed goal), aggression (attempts by one actor to harm or destroy another), hostility(if it is openly expressed between actors), and cleavages (splits among actors or factions of an organization).[2]

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[1]Marvin E. Olsen, The Process of Social Organization (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1968), p. 133.

[2]Ibid.

Kenneth Boulding would go even further and include cooperation and dialogue as forms of expressions of conflict.[1]

It is in the sense of the combined definitions of these two men that conflict will be considered in this study.

Then, in order to continue with the study in terms of the interrelation of conflict and social change, it must be made clear what kinds of relationships can exist between the two variables.

Again Olsen is the source of a clear exposition of this interrelationship. He states,

> . . . conflict and change are intertwined in social life, so that neither process can be fully understood apart from the other. Conflict often produces changes in social organization, conflict frequently accompanies change and becomes an integral part of this process, and change in one area of social life can in turn stimulate additional conflict in other related activities. . . .
>
> Conflicts among opposing actors normally introduce some amount of discord into existing patterns of social order and shared cultural ideas. As a result conflict tends to produce variations in social activities. Whether or not these variations have lasting consequences depends on the nature, intensity, resolution, and other features of the conflict situation. In contrast, social change has fairly broad and permanent effects on organized social life. . . . We are here conceiving of social change as a relatively extensive and enduring reordering and/or redefining of the process of social organization.[2]

In the relationship between dominant and minority

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[1]Kenneth Boulding, The Meaning of the 20th Century (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1964).

[2]Olsen, Social Organization, pp. 136-37.

groups in society (and groups have been shown to be entities), it becomes apparent that conflict of many kinds will take place. Many variations in behavior will occur (deviance) and these will not be accepted by the dominant group (who control the legitimate power structure) until the change process is complete and they are accepted as the standard ways of behaving.

Then, if one is going to study intergroup relations between the dominant and deviant minorities (including the various manifestations of the staff, the inmates in total institutions), and sub-cultures, it would appear that a particularly effective way would be to trace their interactive history (behavioral reaction to each other) in the background of the major crises, conflicts and pivotal changes that have taken place in a given society.

The very hierarchal relationship between the two groups in terms of power (one subordinate to the other) insures interreactions in terms of the various manifestations of conflict. The attitudinal framework[1] of the

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[1]Attitude systems will be used here in the same sense that Katz, quoted by Bernard Berelson and Morris Janowitz, Reader in Public Opinion and Communication (New York: Free Press, 1966), p. 55, uses the term. He states,

> Attitude is the predisposition of the individual to evaluate some symbol or object or aspect of his world in a favorable or unfavorable manner. Opinion is the verbal expression of an attitude, but attitudes can also be expressed in nonverbal behavior. Attitudes include both the affective or feeling core of liking or disliking, and the cognitive, or belief, elements which describe the object of an attitude, its characteristics, and its relations with other objects. All attitudes

dominant group will resist the influence of pressures for change by the minorities and the reaction is likely to be one of suppression. The minority groups are forced to live under the power (and social control processes and institutions instituted to insure the retention of such power) and therefore most adapt to the attitude structure (and its behavioral requirements) of the dominant group. However, the values of the minority group differ in some extent from those of the dominant group; therefore this group will resist the larger and more powerful group in some areas--these are the areas of conflict which have potentiality for producing change.

The continued interaction of the groups must eventually produce change of some sort for the conflict must be resolved or subverted in some manner. The stratagems used by either side (when applied to the situation) when accepted, become a part of the total social situation, thus altering its character (although these changes may be different from any envisioned by either side to the conflict).

To the layman, the word conflict carries the connota-

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thus include beliefs, but not all beliefs are attitudes. When specific attitudes are organized into a hierarchical structure, they comprise a value system.

. . . An additional aspect of attitudes is not clearly described in most theories, namely, their relation to action or overt behavior. Though behavior related to the attitude has other determinants than the attitude itself, it is also true that some attitudes in themselves have more of what Cartwright calls an "action structure" than do others. Brewster Smith refers to this dimension as policy orientation and Katz and Stotland speak of it as the action component (Berelson and Janowitz, p. 56).

tion of violence. This, however, is but the most "visible" expression of conflict. Marden and Meyer discuss these varying degrees of conflict under the heading of differential power. They talk about force, the threat of force, confrontation, negotiation, separatism, or accommodation.[1] Boulding would go even farther in discussing the degrees of conflict and include competition and cooperation.[2] Marden and Meyer state:

> Conflict and negotiation are social processes that indicate that both disjunctive and sustaining forces are at work simultaneously in the establishment of dominance, with different foci toward different minorities. There was no negotiation with Negroes although there are many instances of Negro rebellion. There was with Indians.[3]

The above quote shows that conflict does exist in varying degrees--for the process of negotiation is conflict carried out between two groups which have decided to regard each other as "equals." (This can be carried to the international level in the process of negotiation between two sovereign countries.) Of course, the most ideal form of conflict--as regarded by Boulding--is that of cooperation. This involves the dialogue factor of negotiation but has the additional advantage in that each party is making a conscious effort to work out a practical situation with the

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[1]Charles F. Marden and Gladys Meyer, Minorities in American Society (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold Company, 1968), pp. 27-29.

[2]Boulding, 20th Century, p. 105.

[3]Marden and Meyer, Minorities in American Society, p. 29.

other so that the points of conflict can either be resolved or avoided.

If cooperation cannot take place between two parties, then a form of healthy conflict is a possibility--competition. Here, physical conflict is avoided and the group efforts are directed at gaining advantage by means of being "better" in some area (such as material production, or scientific development on the national level). Competition has a way of deteriorating, however, and frequently results in the use of force. Competition has the disadvantage that it must be guided in constructive directions.

One final strategy that is used in avoidance of forceful conflict is the use of compromise. Compromise means that conflict is simply postponed to another time.

Because of the ubiquitous occurrence of conflict in the human interactive process, dominant groups must look at ways to "stabilize" their dominant position to try to gain permanence for their institutions, values and norms. In order to survive, the institution, or special interest group, must find a strategy to enable them to stabilize the social situation to retain the advantage in their favor.

For instance, the existence of conflict and the promotion of strategies for dealing with it is essential to the very existence of social institutions. Social institutions must have a "mission" to enable their members to have a "cause" which will weld them together to face some common "threat." The existence of the "mission" and the "threat"

serves to give the institution structural integrity.

As Coser states,

> Even after the initial conflict situation which brought them into being no longer prevails, struggle groups continue to act according to the "law upon which they originally entered the scene." As Chester Bernard says, "An organization must disintegrate if it cannot accomplish its purpose. It also destroys itself by accomplishing its purpose." Thus new purposes must be found in order to avoid dissolution.[1]

This also applies to all other kinds of social enterprises from governments to commercial ventures. Coser comments,

> Allport contends that motives which have arisen originally in pursuit of a specific goal may continue to operate although the original goal no longer exists. Robert K. Merton uses a similar conceptual framework to explain bureaucratic ritualism with its characteristic displacement of goals, whereby "an instrumental value becomes a terminal value." Likewise, conflict, which the group originally engaged in as a means to a stated end, now becomes an end in itself.[2]

This will be recalled later in the study when the commitment of present-day bureaucratic organizations to the short-term goals of efficiency and expediency are discussed.

The American society has two aspects--structure and character. While the structure of the society has changed little since the French Social Revolution which displaced the theocracy supported by the state and the nobility and replaced it with the bourgeois entrepreneur supported by the state (with the additional support of established religion

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[1]Lewis A. Coser, The Functions of Social Conflict (Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press of Glencoe, 1956), p. 105.

[2]Ibid., pp. 104-105.

and educational institutions which have always supported the status quo--as can be seen from historical evidence), the character of the American society has become pluralistic due to worldwide interchange and the influx of immigrant ethnic minorities of differing cultures.

In such a situation the character of conflict changes. Since the society has progressed from a simple rural homogeneous society to a complex, urban, industrialized heterogeneous one, a new type of integration has taken place within the framework of institutional hierarchies and the power structure inherited from the past. Conflict, although a danger to the progress of a horizontally integrated society, no longer threatens to send a fracture line completely across the structure which would destroy a homogeneous vertically integrated society. To form a geological analogy, cracks now cross strata instead of spreading along seams between strata.

To put this once again into sociological terminology, Coser comments,

> Rigid systems, such as contemporary totalitarian societies, may succeed, as has been suggested previously, in partly canalizing hostile feelings through safety-valve institutions such as institutionalized anti-Semitism or zenophobia. However, their lack of mechanisms for readjustment to changed conditions permits the accumulation of occasions for conflict and hence of hostilities which must eventually directly threaten consensual agreement.
>
> Flexible systems, on the contrary, by allowing occurrences of conflict, make the danger of breakdowns of consensual agreements remote. . . .
>
> Institutional channels for carrying out such conflicts would seem to constitute an important "balancing mechanism" in a society. . . .
>
> Our conclusions regarding the functions of conflict in societies and in less complex relationships are thus

> essentially similar. Close relationships, though providing frequent occasions for conflicts, exhibit tendencies toward the suppression of these conflicts. If, however, conflicts occur despite suppression, they tend to disrupt the relationship because they are likely to assume peculiar intensity due to the total involvement of the personality, and the accumulation of suppressed hostilities. Similarly, societies that claim total individual involvement of their members fear and suppress conflict, but are threatened by the danger of disruptive outbreaks. Pluralistic societies, however, which are built on multiple group affiliation tend to be "sewn together" by multiple and multiform conflicts between groups in which the member personalities are involved only segmentally. . . .
>
> Conflict may serve to remove dissociating elements in a relationship and to reestablish unity. . . . Loosely structured groups and open societies, by showing conflicts, institute safeguards against the type of conflict which would endanger basic consensus and thereby minimize the danger of divergences touching core values. The interdependence of antagonistic groups and the crisscrossing within such societies of conflicts, which serve to "sew the social system together" by cancelling each other out, thus prevent disintegration along one primary line of cleavage.[1]

Further Coser declares,

> The absence of conflict cannot be taken as an index of the strength and stability of a relationship. Stable relationships may be characterized by conflicting behavior. . . . The presence of conflict may be taken as an index of the operation of a balancing mechanism.[2]

It is seen from the foregoing discussion that conflict cannot be eliminated--it can only be made less visible. In fact, as Coser related in his discussion, in complex relationships particularly, conflict (depending on degree) may be beneficial as an indicator of the state of the system or even as a "balancing mechanism."

It is evident then that the managerial function of

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[1] Ibid., pp. 79-81.

[2] Ibid., p. 85.

a social enterprise has as one of its primary tasks the study of areas of conflict in its system and their manipulation in the best interests of growth of the system and in moving it in the direction of its major goals. This manipulation can be accomplished by changing the degree of conflict, the avoidance of conflict, the subverting it into either harmless or beneficial channels such as regulated competition, the uses of such techniques as negotiation (so the conflicting parties are treated as equals and thus resolve differences through dialogue rather than force), or even as a less desirable technique, the postponement of conflict through compromise.

To show how conflict theory can be accommodated to be made compatible to employment with the structural-functionalist approach, it is necessary to turn to Marden and Meyer's assessment of American society as a "structural pluralist" society.

> We have called this mode of adaptation stabilized acculturalation. More recently Milton M. Gordon has used the term structural pluralism.
>
> We have chosen to focus on the nature of group life itself in the United States as constituting the social setting in which relationships among persons of differing race, religion, and national origin take place. For these 190 million Americans are not just individuals with psychological characteristics. They belong to groups: primary groups and secondary groups, family groups, social cliques, associations or formal organizations, networks of associations, racial, religious, and national origins groups. And the nature of these groups and their interrelationships has a profound impact upon the way in which people of different ethnic backgrounds regard and relate to one another.
>
> In particular, we have called attention to the nature of the ethnic group itself as a large subsociety,

> crisscrossed by social class, and continuing in its own primary groups of families, cliques and associations--its own network of organizations and institutions--in other words as a highly structured community within the boundaries of which an individual may, if he wishes, carry out most of his more meaningful life activities from the cradle to the grave. We have pointed to the considerable body of evidence which suggests that the ethnic varieties of Americans, excepting the intellectuals, tend to remain within their own ethnic group and social class for most of their intimate, primary group relationships, interacting with other ethnic and class varieties of Americans largely in impersonal secondary group relationships. The United States, we have argued, is a multiple melting pot in which acculturation for all groups beyond the first generation of immigrants, without eliminating all value conflict, has been massive and decisive, but in which structural separation on the basis of race and religion--structural pluralism, as we have called it--emerges as the dominant sociological condition.[1]

The following excerpt used by Marden and Meyer was lifted from Milton M. Gordon, Assimilation in American Life.[2] The material above concerns the effect of social structure on the characteristics of ethnic groups but as is alluded to in the text the situation is general in that society is pluralistic in character but is controlled over all by a relatively permanent and static structure of the dominant groups value system and traditions.

Therefore what applies to ethnic groups also applies to dominant-minority intergroup relations between politically generated groups as well. There exists varied special interest groups which have power-relationships determined by the organization or structure which in turn exists as a result of

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[1]Marden and Meyer, Minorities in American Society, p.49.

[2]Ibid., quoting Milton M. Gordon, Assimilation in American Life (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), pp. 235-36.

"hardened" courses of action involving rituals, traditions, law, or custom.

Such a group relationship of differential power exists between the management function of social enterprises and the personnel actually performing the service to which the enterprise is committed. The differential relationship naturally leads to an adversary posture which is conflict prone.

> Formation of conflict groups out of the conditions of social structure, assumes the coercive nature of the social structure. The relations of authority within the social structure become productive of clashes of role interest, which under certain conditions, lead to true development of antagonistic groups within limited social organizations as well as within total societies.[1]

This relationship of dynamic stability in the structure which creates differential power among groups is the key to the political behavior in societies or subsystems of society such as social enterprises.

The structure serves to legitimatize, channel and direct power and power is the lubricant that facilitates social action. Legitimatized power is delegated to particular structures charged with the function of social control--these functional groups are generally termed "management" or "administration."

It has been pointed out now that all societies known today have some sort of relatively permanent structure, and all the subsystems of these societies also have some sort of

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[1] Ibid.

structure, which limits or forms parameters within which they must perform their functions.

This relatively permanent structure and the functions that can take place within it and the theoretical concepts that can be used to define them are shown in the pictorial analogy on the following page.

For conflict theory, it is the interactive sequence and the variation or change produced in the exchange that is the key to describing society. Ubiquitous, discontinuous change is the focal concept of conflict theory. Conflict theorists see societies as "conflict systems."[1] This does not mean that there can be no degree of permanence, but that what exists is a dynamic stability which is the result of some method of resolution or avoidance of conflict. Permanence can be seen as a matter of degree by looking at the minority-dominant group problem in American society. In fact, this is the area in which conflict theory has had its most effective application--the area of intergroup relations. As conflict theorists see the problem of intergroup relations, there is always a dominant-minority relationship. The relationship can be one of numbers, of wealth, or of power, but it exists. The ways that two groups work out to co-exist in a dominant-minority posture are at the center of conflict theory. The word coexist is used here as the process of amalgamation is ruled out because if such a process took

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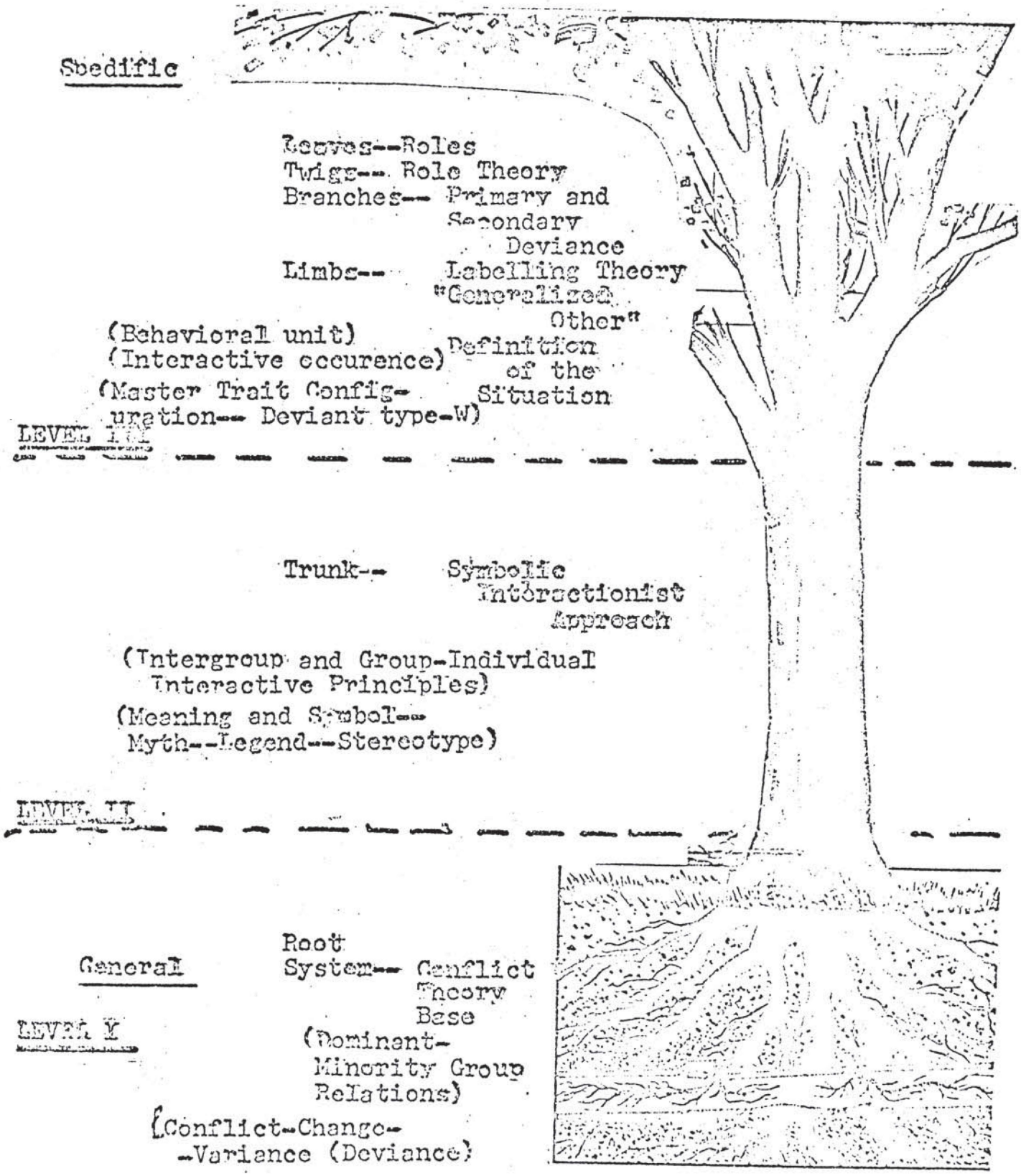
[1]Boulding, 20th Century.

Figure 9

THE THEORY TREE
(Showing the Articulation of the Levels of Theory Utilized in this Study)

Bottom to Top-- --General to Specific



place, one of the groups would lose its identity. Therefore, in order to maintain their identities, the two groups must work out some strategy of coexistence. Any strategy of coexistence, then, will involve some degree of conflict.

A word should be said about the extension of the basic idea of conflict theory--interaction--down to the acting unit whatever form this entity takes. There are several adaptations of behavioralism, but the one that is most appropo to this study is one developed by the "Chicago school" of sociologists in the 1930's and '40's: Symbolic Interactionism.

Symbolic interactionism is a distinct perspective and this branch of behavioralism took interbehavioral mechanisms which it viewed in terms of language, mutual expectations, social roles, and attitudes.[1]

In the perspective of the symbolic interactionists, the accent is placed on attitude and meaning.

Obviously, this approach is action-oriented, as can be seen by its appellation. Not only action but reaction is involved in the process of interaction. The word symbol in the name indicates that meaning is derived from the process of action and reaction. Since the reactor's perception of the symbolism (or meaning) of the action of the "other" is not always accurate, the situation of interaction is often one of some degree of conflict. Thus, the symbolic

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[1]Don Martindale, The Nature and Types of Sociological Theory (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1960), p. 376.

interactionist approach can be seen as an extension of conflict theory.

The pluralistic behavioral theorists emphasized suggestion-imitation and gave centrality to the idea of imitation.[1] Other starting points were such notions as consciousness of kind, conflict of innovations, diffusion and suggestion. Social action theory is characterized by a specific unit of analysis--meaningful social action--which is distinct to this branch as are its accompanying related concepts. It developed the concept of the social person and the ideas of "calling" and "vocation."[2]

Symbolic interactionist theory, too, is characterized by reciprocal influences as are the other two branches, but, although certain influences cross boundaries between the branches of the behavioralist school, symbolic interactionism is a distinct perspective. This branch took interbehavioral mechanisms which it viewed in terms of language, mutual expectations, social roles, and attitudes.[3]

In the perspective of the symbolic interactionists, the accent was placed on attitude and meaning. The self instead of mass phenomena became the point of gravity.

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[1] Ibid., p. 339.

[2] Ibid., p. 437.

[3] Ibid., p. 376.

Historical Development of Symbolic Interactionism as a Sociological Perspective

As Blumer states, "The term 'symbolic interactionism' has come into use as a label for a relatively distinctive approach to the study of human group life and human conduct."[1] He goes on to explain the origin of the term: "The term 'symbolic interactionism' is a somewhat barbaric neologism that I coined in an offhand way in an article written in Man and Society.[2] The term somehow caught on and is now in general use."[3]

For the symbolic interactionists the concepts of idealistic experimental psychology and neo-Hegelian philosophy were of secondary interest but their first interest was in a school of philosophy that developed in America with John Dewey as its chief spokesman, pragmatism. Many of the early symbolic interactionists classified themselves as pragmatists and the new perspective took shape primarily in America under this school of philosophy.

In the formation of the intellectual foundation of this unique sociological perspective of the behavioralist school, many different scholars made their contribution but the most notable are, John Dewey, George Herbert Mead, W. I.

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[1]Herbert Blumer, Symbolic Interactionism: Perspective and Method (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1969).

[2]Emerson P. Schmidt, ed., Man and Society (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1937).

[3]Blumer, Symbolic Interactionism.

Thomas, William James, George Horton Cooley, Robert Redfield, Ernst Cassirer, Hans Gerth and C. Wright Mills. Although there were many differences in the opinions held about specifics among these scholars, in the general way in which they viewed and studied human group life there was great similarity. The perspective of the present-day symbolic interactionist is constructed around this thread of similarity that runs through all their works.

Of all the scholars enumerated, perhaps George Herbert Mead contributed the most to the foundations of symbolic interactionist thought. However, it is necessary here to point out some of the specific contributions (conceptual) of other individuals, too, to build a thorough background for an analysis of the symbolic interactionist approach.

In considering the development of this particular perspective, perhaps the best approach is to build the concepts of particular importance step-by-step and then tie them to the names of the men responsible for their adoption by the behavioral school.

The first concept of importance was a different view of what constituted human consciousness which was espoused by William James. The idea that consciousness was a kind of metaphysical substance was discarded by James. He reconsidered the importance of habit and reduced consciousness to a process. By this redefinition, James opened new possi-

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[1]Martindale, Sociological Theory, p. 341.

bilities for the reconceptualization of the idea of the "self." James set out lines for a new analysis of the social self in that he considered it from two points of view at the same time: subject and object or, I and me.

These ideas of the various ways in which the ratio between the "I" and "me" are transformed are given sociological extension by Charles Horton Cooley. James had said, "This Me is an empirical aggregate of things objectively known. The I which knows them cannot itself be an aggregate; neither for psychological purposes need it be an unchanging metaphysical entity like the Soul. . . . It is a thought, at each moment different from that of the last moment, but appropriative of the latter. . . ."[1] Cooley's conception of the self comes very close to the approach that James used to identify what he called the "social self." The things that the individual conceives as belonging uniquely to him make up the self.

Cooley maintained that "solid facts of society" are the imaginations that people have of one another. Society is a mental phenomenon, and is the result of a relation between personal ideas. Cooley states further, "Society exists in my mind as the contact and reciprocal influence of certain ideas named 'I,' Thomas, Henry, Susan, Bridget, and so on. It exists in your mind as a similar group, and so

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[1]William James, Psychology (Cleveland: World Publishing Co., 1948).

in every mind."[1]

What James has called the "social self" became Cooley's famous "looking-glass self." However, it was a refined conception with more detail. As Cooley himself put it, "A self-idea of this sort seems to have three principal elements: the imagination of our appearance to the other person; the imagination of his judgment of that appearance; and some sort of self-feeling, such as pride or mortification."[2]

The "looking-glass" self was not the only contribution that Cooley made to the approach under study. Even more important was his going beyond the self to expand this type of social behavioralism to the understanding of groups and social organization by developing a general theory of society. Cooley reevaluated the groups which since his time have been referred to as "primary groups" and thus he laid the foundation for the various group theories culminating in the reference group theory of Newcomb and Turner which is so important in the sociology of deviance and criminology.

Next in importance are the concepts of "attitude" and "definition of the situation." These were outgrowths of the ideas of conduct as envisioned by James and refined by Cooley. Thomas' early idea that "attention" is brought forth by crises (crises could be so small a thing as upsetting a

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[1]Charles Horton Cooley, Human Nature and the Social Order (New York: Charles Scribners, 1922), p. 84.

[2]Ibid., p. 152.

habit) and that it restores conduct to stability is shown by Martindale[1] to be a direct parallel to the ideas that Dewey argued aroused thinking about an indeterminate situation and functioned to restore equilibrium to behavior. As Martindale further points out, the work, the Polish Peasant, which Thomas produced in cooperation with Florian Znaniecki with its emphasis on situation is comparable to the insistence of the importance of situation on individual and social life by Dewey.

Thomas stated that the problem of sociology consisted of tracing the influence of the culture and society on the individual and the individual's influence on culture and society. This was comparable to Cooley's practice and theory. As a result of Thomas' early preoccupation with the problem of "attention" in social crises, he came to develop the notions of "definition of the situation" and "attitude" which form the basis for the modern concepts of role theory which underlie present day partial theories for the study of deviance and mental disorder in terms of "role theory."

Much of what has already been discussed in this brief historical sketch was drawn together in the psychological system of George Herbert Mead. This man was probably the most influential thinker of all in the history of the perspective under study.

Mead developed a system of social psychology that,

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[1]Martindale, Sociological Theory, p. 349.

according to Martindale,[1] was a generalization that grew out of the procedure by which James brought the notion of consciousness under study. James had started with pure experience and treated subject and object differences as coming from within this body of pure experience. Mead, on the other hand, proposed to start his analysis with some activity that was observable. He saw society as an ongoing process which is dynamic in character and of which the social acts are the component elements. He further proposed to treat the concepts of "mind" and "society" as filtering out as discriminations within this "process."

Mead also developed his own unique interpretation of the self. In coming up with this interpretation, Mead considered three separate traditions. These were the German idealistic tradition characterized by Wundt, the socio-psychological phenomena described in purely behaviorist terms by such people as J. B. Watson, and finally, the pragmatism of James and Dewey. Mead shared this pragmatism. Mead had the following three criticisms of earlier concepts of the self, as expressed by Martindale[2] (1) either they presupposed the mind as antecedently existing to account for mental phenomena (Wundt); (2) or they failed to account for specific mental phenomena (Watson); and (3) they failed to isolate the mechanism by which mind and self appeared (James and Dewey).

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid., p. 354, citing Mead.

Mead brought out the ideas of communication and language as central to giving meaning to the social situation. He felt that meaning was not fundamentally a state of consciousness or a set of organized relations. He felt that meaning was developed in terms of symbols at the most complex state of their development. His idea was that intelligence consisted of the ability to arrive at solutions to the problems of present behavior through the form of structure exhibited by the rules of a game. However, the critical factor here is that the player of roles in society has to internalize the attitudes of the others involved in the playing of the game. Mead develops his concept of the "generalized other." He states, "The organized community or social group which gives to the individual his unity of self may be called the 'generalized other.' The attitude of the generalized other is the attitude of the whole community."[1]

As Martindale further points out:

> Through the generalized other, the community exercises control over the conduct of its individual members. The two stages in the development of the self are thus (1) the organization of the particular attitudes of other individuals toward one's self and (2) the organization of the social attitudes of the generalized other toward one's self. The self reaches full development by organizing individual attitudes and generalizing them, becoming an individual reflection of the general systematic social pattern of group behavior in which all others are involved.[2]

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[1]George Herbert Mead, Mind, Self and Society (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934), p. 154.

[2]Martindale, Sociological Theory, p. 358.

One very important point to be considered in light of this paper, in which symbolic interactionism will be championed as an approach ideally suited to solving micro-sociological problems, is the position of George Herbert Mead as the forerunner of role theory in sociology. At the point of fusion for social structure and personality, the concept of role emerged in Mead's thought as centrally focused in integrating self and society. Thus the symbolic interactionist perspective of the school of behaviorism was moved to a new plateau of efficiency.

The work of Ernst Cassirer provides special interest because it demonstrates the independent yet parallel development of the ideas of symbolic interactionism in Europe and America. For Cassirer, as for Mead, the whole development of human culture depends upon symbolic behavior. This differentiates man from the other animals in that it points out the differences between propositional language and emotional language. Cassirer states, "Signals and symbols belong to two different universes of discourse; a signal is a part of the physical world of being; a symbol is a part of the human world of meaning. Signals are 'operators'; symbols are 'designators.'"[1] Thus man is released from the immediate stimulus on the basis of this difference. According to Cassirer the animal possesses a practical imagination and intelligence but man is the only animal that has developed

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[1]Ernst Cassirer, An Essay on Man (New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1944), pp. 30-32.

intelligence (abstract) and symbolic imagination. The element that adds versatility and applicability is symbolism. Relational thought is made possible by symbolism and the awareness of these relations is a unique characteristic of human consciousness.

The most recent scholars of importance for the perspective of symbolic interactionism are Hans Gerth and C. Wright Mills. According to Gerth and Mills, they see their view as developing primarily from the thought of Mead and Freud. Mead tried to anchor consciousness in the ongoing social process and Freud developed the concept of the superego which, coupled with Mead's concept of the generalized other gave man, as Gerth and Mills put it, "Behaviorism's most fruitful outcome . . . to link the private and the public, the innermost acts of the individual with the widest kinds of social-historical phenomena."[1]

Properly integrated, the two men believe, the works of Mead and Freud furnish a set of ideas and a model of character structure that, among all those available to present-day social scientists, are adequate for a basis of the treatment of social structure as conceived by Nannheim, Sombart, Weber, and Marx.

As Martindale states, "to Gerth and Mills, the primary requirements for an adequate theory of symbolic

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[1]Hans Gerth and C. Wright Mills, Character and Social Structure: The Psychology of Social Institutions (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1953).

interactionism include: the integration and systematization of Mead and Freud; the development of an adequate theory of motivation; and the development of a social-psychologically relevant conception of social structure."[1]

Gerth and Mills draw two concepts from Mead which they use to unite personality and social structure: role and institution. Units of behavior which by their occurrence stand out as regularities and which are affected by the conduct of other actors in the situation are referred to as "roles." Organizations of roles that are charged with different degrees of authority, one or more of which facilitates the maintenance of an entire system of roles, are entitled "institutions." Effects of roles upon the individual and the roles he performs compose the man, as a person. These constellations of roles, variously combined go together to make up society as a social structure.

Gerth's and Mills' concept of character results from the systematization and integration of the ideas of Freud and Mead. They define character as a "psychic structure" constructed on a foundation of "organic potential." To them, the integration of impulse, emotion and perception. Emotions result from inner feelings being joined together with socially recognized gestures which the man relates to himself and of which he is aware. Perception develops from sensation once certain meanings are added. Purpose takes the place of

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[1]Martindale, Sociological Theory, p. 370.

impulse once objects so labelled are learned and defined.

For all of these transformations, of course, language is of critical importance as has already been pointed out in connection with the discussion of Mead. It is from this concept that Gerth and Mills derived their most original concept--that of a "vocabulary of motive."[1] They state that motives are popularly thought of as lying in the psychic structure of the organism and act as springs of actions and are further, "terms which persons typically use in their interpersonal relations." They define motive sociologically according to Martindale, as "a term in a vocabulary which appears to the actor and to the observer to be an adequate reason for his conduct."[2] "Conceived in this way," Gerth and Mills continue, "motives are acceptable justifications for present, future, or past programs of conduct."[3]

According to Gerth and Mills, then, symbolic interactionism, in order to be an adequate and complete orientation of thought, must contain an acceptable theory of motivation. This theory as Gerth and Mills see it assumes that motivation consists of systems of phrases and terms, or vocabularies, that have a value as instruments of deceit and self-justification and shows people as doing what they would do anyway. Thus they can be shams but they are not always

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[1]Gerth and Mills, Character and Social Structure, pp. 114-15.

[2]Ibid., quoting Martindale.

[3]Ibid., p. 115.

so. However, the authors leave the impression that most of the time they are. Different levels of the psychic structure have different vocabularies of motives. It would seem that in the view of Gerth and Mills "vocabularies of motives" are really another way of saying social strategies of behavior.

The idea of a "vocabulary of motives" is another basis for the application of partial theories to the area of deviance. Sykes and Matza use this as a basis of their idea neutralization of norms.[1] "Vocabularies of motives" can be applied to all areas of the study of delinquent behavior.

Symbolic interactionism has two more concepts which must be discussed before going on to a discussion of its view of the nature of man. The first of these is the concept of meaning. Meaning for the symbolic interactionist arises out of the reaction to units of behavior in situations over time. Symbols arise out of this process which have meanings attached to them. Thus meaning arises out of the process of interaction between people.[2] Blumer points out that meanings are used by people in their actions to accomplish interpretations of the situation.[3] This second concept of interpretation is very important and essential to the perspective of symbolic interactionism. This interpreta-

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[1]Gresham Sykes and David Matza, "Techniques of Neutralization: A Theory of Delinquency," American Sociological Review, Vol. 22 (December, 1957), 666.

[2]Blumer, Symbolic Interactionism, pp. 4-5.

[3]Ibid.

tion need not necessarily be accurate and frequently results in the establishment of stereotypes. These stereotypes are so forceful that frequently people play the parts of these stereotypes because they interpret this behavior as what the "significant other" or the "collective" "expects" of them. Thus they are conforming to what they believe the "group expectations" to be. However, interpretation, according to Blumer, should not be viewed only as a single application of established meanings in all cases, but as a formative process in which by means of communication meanings are evolved and changed through undergoing revision as instruments of formation and guidance of action.[1]

According to Blumer in summing up the perspective of symbolic interactionism:

> Symbolic interactionism is grounded on a number of basic ideas or "root images," as I prefer to call them. These root images refer to and depict the nature of the following matters: human groups or societies, social interaction, objects, the human being as an actor, human action, and the interconnection of lines of action. Taken together, these root images represent the way in which symbolic interactionism views human society and conduct. They constitute the framework of study and analysis.[2]

Blumer then continues to enumerate the following "root images" as he terms them. The present author has condensed them for the purposes of brevity.

(1) Human groups are seen as being composed of human beings who are continually engaged in action and interaction.

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid., p. 6.

(2) Group life necessarily presupposes interaction between the group members, or, put otherwise, a society consists of individuals interacting with one another.
(3) The position of Symbolic interactionism is that the "worlds" that exist for human beings and for their groups are composed of "objects" that are the products of symbolic interaction.
(4) The human being is seen as an organism that not only responds to others and interprets their indications. He can do this only by virtue of possessing a "self." . . . In all such instances he is an object to himself; and he acts toward others on the basis of the kind of object he is to himself.
(5) The capacity of the human being to make indications to himself gives a distinctive character to human action.
(6) Human group life consists of, and exists in, the . . . articulation of lines of action gives rise to and constitutes "joint action"--a societal organization of conduct of different acts of diverse participants.[1]

In summation of the historical sketch of the perspective it can be said that the symbolic interactionist approach arrived at a more precise definition of the subject matter of sociology than had the schools of thought that preceded it. In addition it achieved the linkage of social structure and personality. Through its focus on the individual in his relation to the group, it was far more "liberal" than were its behavioralist forerunners. With the emphasis on the individual personality it furthered the method of the comparative case study.

Man is central to the perspective of the symbolic interactionist point of view. As Clinard says, "Despite the fact that man is an animal, little that has a meaningful

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[1]Ibid., pp. 6-17.

relationship to the essential qualities of human behavior can be derived from the study of lower forms of animal life."[1]

The Nature of Man as Seen in the Perspective of the Symbolic Interactionists

As Clinard goes on to stress, "Man alone among the animals possesses language with which to convey abstract meanings." This is the center of the focus of interactionist thought. Man interacts using language as communication, and, through communication, he interprets his own actions and the reactions of others to establish meanings and symbols which guide further action. Clinard goes on to point out that "man alone has a self, plays a variety of social roles, and makes moral distinctions."2 Again these ideas are central to the symbolic interactionist perspective. As Blumer says, the human may "perceive himself, have conceptions of himself, communicate with himself, and act toward himself."[3] Human behavior is self-directed and is observable on two plateaus of complexity--the interactional (or behavioral) and the symbolic.

Man also possesses a consciousness as already defined in the foregoing section, which, combined with his plasticity,

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[1]Marshall B. Clinard, Sociology of Deviant Behavior (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1968), p. 67.

[2]Ibid.

[3]Blumer, Symbolic Interactionism.

results in his adapting new habit patterns as the ongoing process of social action evolves new meaning for him.

Since man can act toward himself, he can regard himself as an object and take the view of others toward him ("role taking"). In instances such as this he becomes an object to himself and he guides his behavior and acts toward himself and others in accordance with the kind of object he perceives himself to be.

In terms of game strategy, he becomes a player in the "game" of life using "strategies" by placing himself in the position of others and looking upon himself and acting toward himself from that position. As Blumer puts it, "The roles that the person takes range from that of discrete individuals (the 'play stage') to that of discrete organized groups (the 'game' stage) to that of the organized community (the 'generalized other')."[1] The present author maintains, however, that the whole of the above discussion fits in the "game" stage in the sense of the use of the strategy of gamesmanship in the definition of the situation, the taking and acting of roles, the interpretation in the terms of symbols, and the assigning of meanings in relation to the "self" and the "generalized other" or the "collective."

It can be seen in general from the historical sketch and in particular from the discussion just concluded that the symbolic interactionists are members of the humanistic

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[1] Ibid., p. 13.

viewpoint that puts man and his "self" above all other elements of the physical world. It is liberal in that it does not deal with particular men or groups of men but with all men, as they interact and draw meaning from that interaction.

Thus, by inference, the nature of man to the symbolic interactionists must be good, for, in the process of interaction, the "right" meaning evolves and symbols change over time to cue actions which result in more efficient functioning of the social structure. It is a fluid, dynamic series of situations which refines and revises itself with each new action and reaction to that action. Thus the inference is that the process is headed in a direction that can be given the value judgment of "good" because through the process of reflection and re-reflection of himself in relation to others each individual in the group approaches the ideal of the collective.

As seen from the foregoing discussion, all other aspects of the social structure will be lesser in degree of importance than the individual person in the interactive situation. Since the interactive process is the prime mover of this system of thought, it is obvious that society will have to be defined in terms dictated by it.

The Perspective of the Symbolic Interactionists and Its Relation to the Nature of Society

Blumer, the foremost spokesman for the approach today, defines society simply as symbolic interaction. He has written an article entitled, "Society as Symbolic Inter-

action," Arnold Rose, ed., Human Behavior and Social Processes which was reprinted with the permission of Houghton Mifflin Company.[1]

Society as such is defined quite differently than by the formalistic schools or even the other branches of the behavioral school as was noted in the section on historical development. Already discussed in that section was the concept of social institution as envisaged by Gerth and Mills. Now the author will attempt to give an overview of society as it appears to the symbolic interactionist.

Blumer points out that, usually, most situations that people find themselves in in a particular society are "structured" or defined by them in general in the same way.[2] This has come about through the experience of previous interaction. Thus, they evolve and acquire common definitions or understandings of the behavior that is required of them in a particular situation. It is these common understandings of the meanings involved that allow people to act alike. However, the author goes on to stress that the observance of so much repetitive behavior in ordinary situations should not lead the observer to conclude that there is no interpretation going on. For in every situation there is a certain amount of interpretation that results in some change over time. So, as Blumer states, "antecedent conditions are helpful in under-

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[1] Ibid., p. 78.

[2] Ibid., p. 86.

standing the process insofar as they enter into it, but they do not constitute the process." He continues:

> To try to catch the interpretative process by remaining aloof as a so-called "objective" observer and refusing to take the role of the acting unit is to risk the worst kind of subjectivism--the objective observer is likely to fill in the process of interpretation with his own surmises in place of catching the process as it occurs in the experience of the acting unit which uses it.[1]

Blumer gives credit to the research of R. E. Park and W. I. Thomas for their recognition that the researcher must take the role of the acting unit whose behavior he is studying.

Human beings not only react to each other's actions but they interpret or define them and their "response" does not come automatically or directly but is made in conjunction with the meaning that such actions have for them.

In turn, these meanings are formed, weakened, maintained, enhanced, or transformed through the recurrence of the socially defining process of interaction. The actions involved take on the characteristics of becoming joint actions and these joint actions are linked historically one with the other over time. Thus each joint action arises out of the background of previous joint actions and they are linked to them historically. In sum, then, each new joint action is built on and is the result of a previous joint action. If a new form emerges or a transformation takes place, it is always dependent on the context of the previous joint action. The new meaning cannot be understood out of

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[1] Ibid.

the historical linkage of its context. There is always some continuity and connection with what went on before.

However, joint action and the interactional process not only takes the form of the vertical historical linkage over time; it also has a horizontal aspect, or a network of interrelations that exist at a particular point in time. It is this network of interrelations with its regularized participation by different individuals, acting in diverse ways at distinct points that constructs a picture of the social institution seen by Gerth and Mills. It is this network with its capacity of change that gives human group life the character of being a system. A network in this concept of a system does not function as a closed system. This is because different people, in different ways, at different points furnish increments of input that must be reacted to and incorporated by the whole network (or system). It is an ongoing process of change and accommodation.

Gerth and Mills thus defined social institutions in terms of clusters of roles anchored in an authoritative role. They took this a step further and introduced the two ideas of institutional <u>order</u> and <u>sphere</u>. The institutional order is composed of those institutions which have similar ends and consequences in the social structure, or have objective functions that are similar. According to Gerth and Mills, the skeletal structure of the total society is made up of the following orders: the political order; the economic order; the military order; the kinship order; and

the religious order. Gerth and Mills felt though that the social structure was not sufficiently characterized until the "spheres" of conduct that characterize the universal order are classified. There are four spheres that characterize all institutional orders, and these are: symbols which include the signs, emblems, ceremonies, music and language which maintain the order; status which is made up of agencies with the purpose of accomplishing the distribution of honor, deference or prestige; the educational sphere which accomplishes the preservation of the order through the inculcation of values and the transmission of skills, and the technological sphere which consists of physical devices such as instruments, machines, apparatus and tools. Thus there are nine institutional orders with four interlaced spheres.

It can be seen that the nature of the societal structure as conceived by the symbolic interactionists acts as a medium to facilitate the joint action or interactional process of defining social meaning and resulting in a stable understanding (in a fluid situation) of the significance of the symbols in use. The societal structure is thus an open system consisting of nine plastic clusters of roles that possess a degree of authority which are interlaced by four spheres of social conduct. The emphasis here is on change with the system being open to change in form and in content through the process of interaction over time.

The foregoing sections of the paper and the discussion

involved shows the dynamic, plastic and the processal character of the symbolic interactionist perspective toward man and the social structure. It demonstrates the concept of stability of meanings underlying the ongoing social process that Blumer means when he defines society as symbolic interaction.

Symbolic Interactionists and their Concept of Man's Relation to Society: Or the Process of Interaction and Joint Action

This discussion will recapitulate to a certain extent material that has been covered before in the discussion of other aspects of the symbolic interactionist perspective. There will be an attempt here though to condense, summarize, and integrate the material to elucidate the subject title of this section.

One of the "root images" as they were defined by Blumer deals with the nature of social interaction. He states, "Group life necessarily presupposes interaction between group members; or, put otherwise, a society consists of individuals interacting with one another."[1]

He goes on to say:

> . . . is evident in typical psychological and sociological schemes--they treat social interaction as merely a medium through which the determinants of behavior pass to produce the behavior. Thus, the typical sociological scheme ascribes behavior to such factors as status position, cultural prescriptions, norms, values, sanctions, role demands, and social system requirements; explanation in terms of such factors suffices without paying attention to the social

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[1] Ibid., p. 7.

> interaction that their play necessarily presupposes . . . psychological processes are used to account for behavior without any need of considering social interaction.[1]

However, in the view of the symbolic interactionists, the interaction is the crucial pivotal point around which the other factors of social organization arrange and rearrange themselves.

Furthermore, the interactionist perspective proposes that human behavior is observable on two levels--the behavioral and the symbolic. If this view is accepted, then central to the understanding of such behavior are the variety and range of symbols and symbolic meanings that occur and are shared by interacting selves in social situations and are manipulated and communicated by them in these situations. Denzin states, "Society contributes two essential elements that reflect directly on concrete interactions: the symbols, or various languages provided and communicated through the socialization process; and the concrete behavioral settings in which behavior occurs."[2] He goes on to point out that an interactionist assumes that in any complete analysis of human conduct it is necessary to isolate the symbolic meanings that come about with the passage of time and interactions in series. However, this is not enough to understand the relation of men and the society in the

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Norman K. Denzin, The Research Act (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1970), p. 7.

interactive process; it is also necessary to understand patterns of ongoing behavior that reflect these conceptions of self, images, and symbols. (For diagrammatic representation of the interactive social system and processes see Figures 10, 11, and 12 on the following pages.) Symbols may be of many types: intended and unintended; nonverbal and verbal; and complex, manifold or simple. Such things as manner of speech, nonverbal gesture, verbal expression, and style and mode of dress are translated into and come out of the interactive process and provide insights into symbolic meanings.

Thus according to Blumer, the symbolic interactionist approach "recognizes social interaction to be of vital importance in its own right. So social interaction is not just a setting or a means for the expression or release of human conduct but, instead, is an ongoing process that forms human conduct."[1] The individual personality has to achieve a <u>fit</u> of his own behavior with the line of activity of others.

There are three lines of meaning in an interactive situation (a) an indication of what the receiver of the action is to do, (b) an indication of what the actor intends to do and, (c) an indication of the joint action being formed. Blumer states that joint action is blocked if communication is ineffective through confusion or misunderstanding or if interaction is impeded in any way along any one of the three

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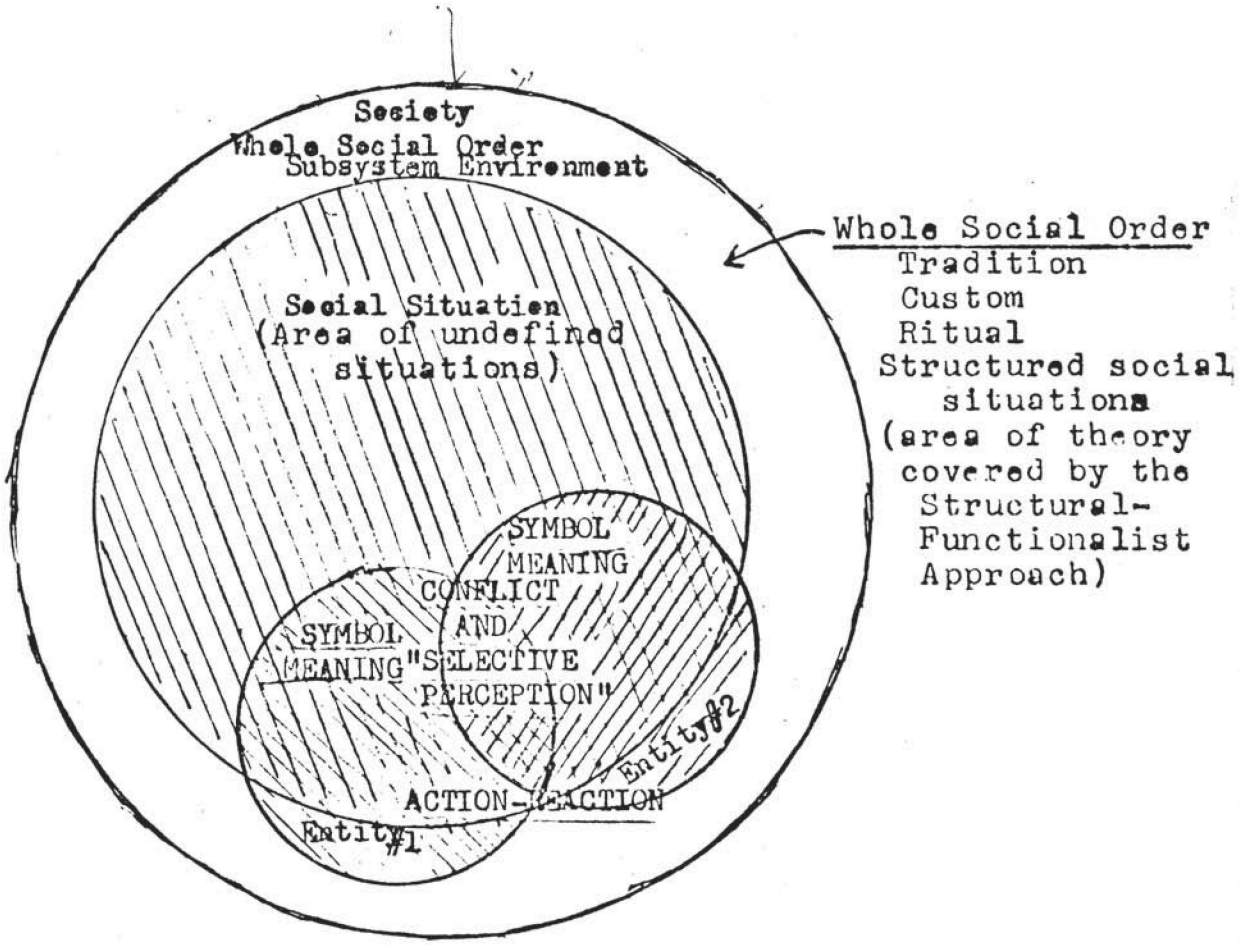
[1]Blumer, <u>Symbolic Interactionism</u>, p. 8.

THE INTERACTIVE BASIS FOR THE SYMBOLIC INTERACTIONIST APPROACH.
INTERACTIVE CONTEXT
, SHOWING AREAS OF CONFLICT AND CONFRONTATION
**HOW ENTITIES DRAW DEFINITIONS OF THE SITUATION
FROM THEIR POSITION IN THE OVERALL SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT AND
THEIR MUTUAL INTERPRETATIONS OF SYMBOL AND MEANING
BASED ON THE EXPERIENCE OF PAST
INTERACTIONS

THE ACTION-REACTION EQUATION IN OPERATION

Figure 10



The Interaction Process
of Behavior Modification
Action-Reaction Equation
Basis for the Symbolic Interactionist
Approach in Sociological Theory

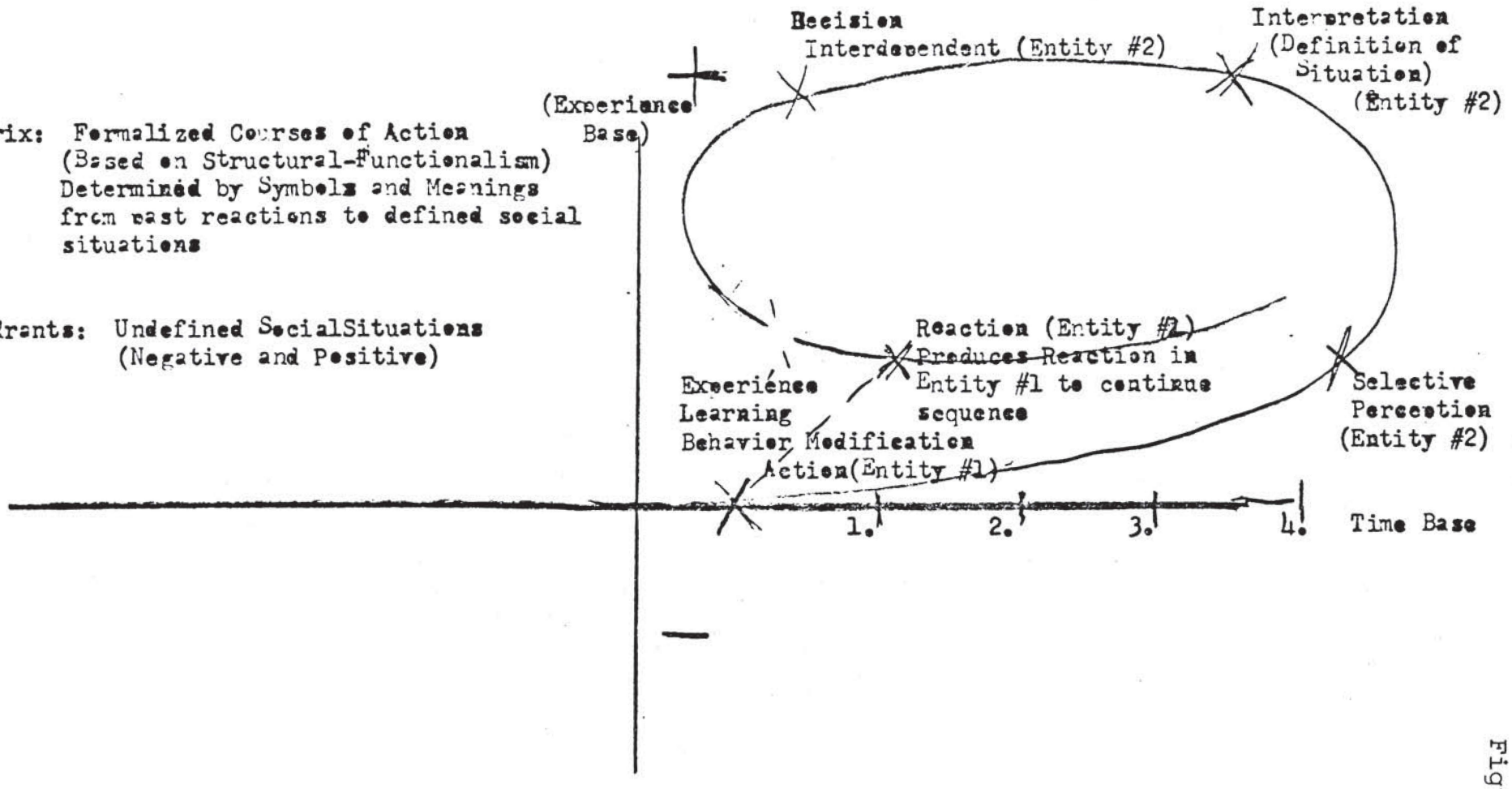


Figure 11

Basic Assumption: Acting Entities hold Values in Common and have Similar Backgrounds of Experience and Common Repetroire of Stereotypes.

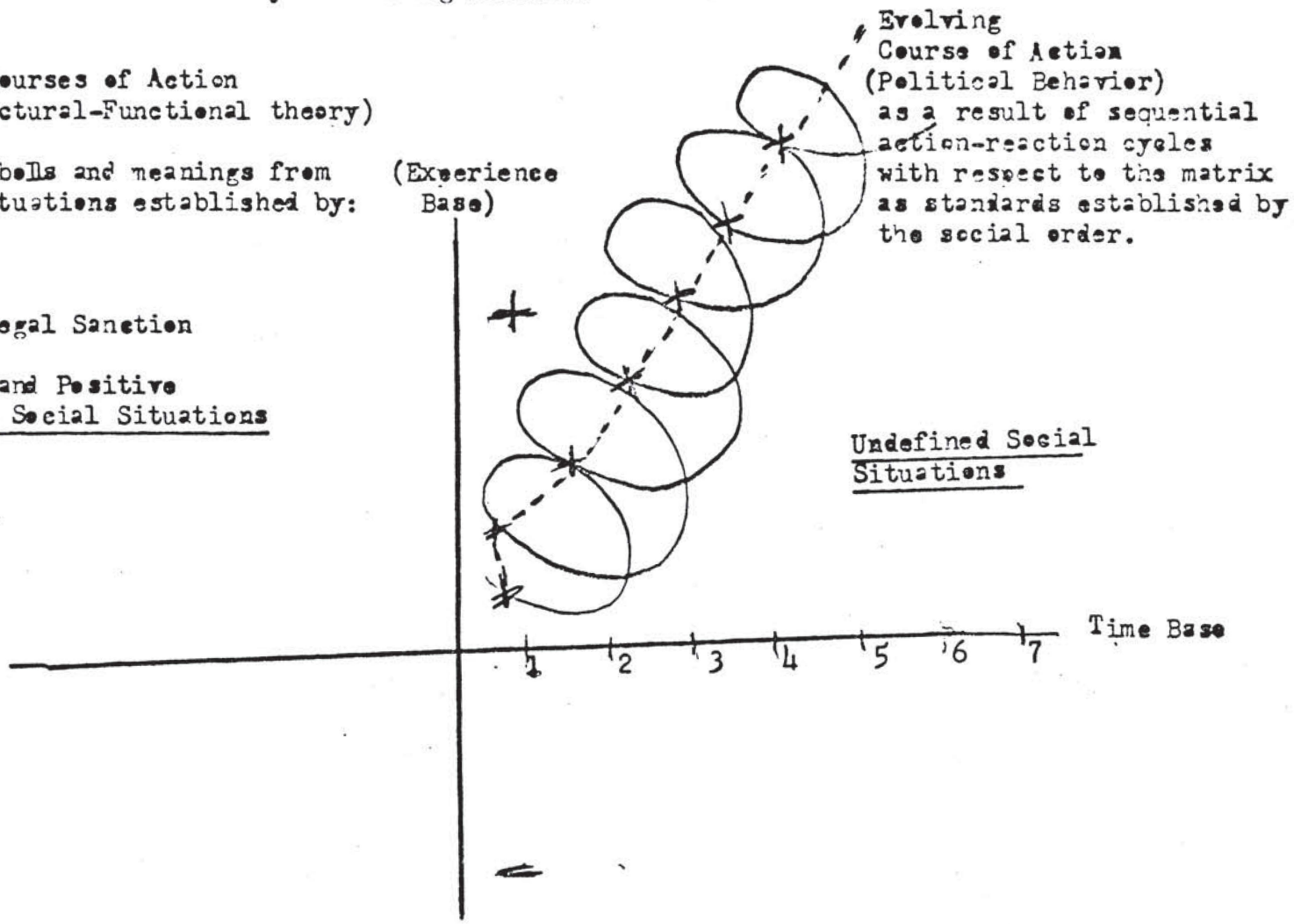
Figure 12

OF THE ACTION-REACTION SPIRAL PLOTTED ON A MATRIX
Action-Reaction grows as each Interactive context adds experience in the sequence to be evaluated in terms of perception by the acting entities

Matrix: Formalized Courses of Action
(Grounded in Structural-Functional theory)

Determined by symbols and meanings from defined social situations established by:
- Tradition
- Custom
- Ritual
- Ethical and Legal Sanction

Quadrants: Negative and Positive
Undefined Social Situations



Basic Assumption (as grounding for theory): Acting Entities hold values in common and have similar background of experience and common repetoire of stereotypes.

lines enumerated above.[1]

One further concept must be brought out in the discussion of man in his relation to himself and society and this concept involves the symbolic interactionists view of the nature of objects. Blumer, the high priest of symbolic interactionism, has stated that "the position of symbolic interactionism is that 'worlds' that exist for human beings and for their groups are composed of 'objects' and that these objects are the product of symbolic interaction."[2]

Objects are divided into physical objects such as cars, houses and so forth, abstract objects such as ideas, moral principles or philosophical doctrines, and finally, social objects such as members of the family, students or other people. Thus an object is anything that can be referred to or indicated, including one's own self. The meaning of objects differs with individuals but there are general descriptive definitions of most that will be recognized by the majority of the people in a particular group or society. The meaning of an object comes from the way it is defined to a person by his interaction or by the interpretation he gives to the actions of others with respect to it. Thus, it is that objects, in the sense of their meanings are defined as social creations, whose current meanings come out of the ongoing process of interaction, definition, interpreta-

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid., p. 10.

tion and redefinition. Objects, then, have no fixed or certain meaning except in terms of the definitions and indications people make of the objects over time.

In sum, man's relation to society in terms of the perspective of symbolic interactionism is one of sustaining himself with strategies of lines of action that appear to be successful in terms of the current situation in the ongoing process of interaction and joint action.

As pointed out before in another section, man's relation to society from this approach comes close to that of a player in a game with respect to the other players and the rules of the game. In the broad sense, symbolic interaction as a perspective for study might be defined as the game theory of sociology.

Wallace points out that if the relations of society could be placed on a continuum the social structuralisms would tend toward the dramaturgical (or restricted) end where the parts one plays are predetermined by the script and symbolic interactionism would tend toward the strategical (game theory) end where decisions are taken in terms of probabilities.[1]

Wallace comments that if

> ready-made and commonly accepted definitions are at hand little strain is placed on people in guiding or organizing their acts. However, many other situations may not be defined in a single way by the

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[1]Walter L. Wallace, ed., Sociological Theory (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1969), pp. 34-36.

> participating people. In this event, their lines of action do not fit together readily and collective action is blocked. Interpretations have to be developed and effective accommodations of the participants to one another have to be worked out. In the case of such "undefined" situations, it is necessary to trace and study the emerging process of definition which is brought into play.[1]

This sense of emergence of meaning, the play of possibility and probability, the undefined flexibility of strategy and tactics parallel the situation in a game situation as defined by Farber in his article, "A Research Model: Family Crises and Games of Strategy," in a book which he edited, Kinship and Family Organization.[2]

Position of the Symbolic Interactionist Approach in Relation to Sociological Thought

In placing the perspective of the symbolic interactionists in correspondence with either the traditionalists or the radical categories, it is obvious that this approach falls within the radical school of thought because of the all-importance that it assigns to man and his joint action as the prime movers of the social structure and to the contention that society is in fact symbolic interaction in process. In conformity with the radical school it is based on the rationality of man; this is demonstrated by the

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[1] Ibid., p. 36.

[2] Wallace quotes in his article from Bernard Farber, "A Research Model: Family Crises and Games of Strategy," in Bernard Farber, ed., Kinship and Family Organization (New York: John Wiley, 1966). Wallace points out to use theatrical terms to illustrate complete restriction may overstate the case but regardless of the weaknesses Farber's analytical points seem valid.

discussion just completed in the previous section of the paper in which it was pointed out that in the process of ongoing joint actions man must make use of strategies of behavior in accordance with his assessment of the significance of social situations--this presupposes rationality. It is liberal as opposed to conservative in that it is interested in change for efficiency rather than the maintenance of order and the preservation of the status quo.

The other views of society that are prevalent today, and outstanding among those is the structural-functionalist school, are markedly at variance with the premises just enumerated which underlie the perspective of symbolic interaction.

Generally speaking, most sociologists do not use the acting unit as the basis of their study of society. In contrast, they tend to view human society as an organization or structure and regard social action as the expression of such organization or structure. The major interests of sociological theorists focus on the key theme of organization. They analyze human society in terms of such structural categories as institutions (static), social stratification, status positions, social roles, social system, values, norms and culture. These serve the dual purposes of analysis and explain and account for the action within the social structure. The chief line of interest is the structural-functionalist school which views the organization in respect to the functions performed within it with each part relating

to the other in terms of functional support. A second body of theory sees societal organization as a system seeking equilibrium. In such a structure the researcher tries to find mechanisms unique to and indigenous in the system. Still another body of theory identifies forces that it views as operating on the organization to effect changes in it. In this case, the sociologist attempts to ascertain relations between causative factors and structural results particularly through comparative studies.

In the symbolic interactionist approach, social organization furnishes a framework (flexible) within which the acting units carry out their actions. Features of structure such as "social roles," "social stratification," "social systems," and "culture," establish certain conditions for the setting of social action but they in no way determine that action. As Blumer puts it, "people,--that is, acting units--do not act toward culture, social structure or the like, they act toward situations."[1] In this view the only way in which social organization enters into consideration is in the way it shapes the situations in which the actions take place and in the degree to which it supplies fixed sets of symbols which the individuals utilize to interpret the situations in which they act. As societies become more complex and the numbers of new and undefined situations proliferate, and the established situations lose stability, the influence of the social structure on the interaction process

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[1]Blumer, Symbolic Interactionism.

lessens. In fact in a highly industrialized society such as in the United States, where there is a jumble of lines of action, many situations arise in which there is no regularization or precedent to use as a standard to regulate behavior. In such situations, the social structure has no influence at all.

It is evident, then, that the two factors of organization and action are the ones that delineate the major difference between the Academic sociology in America as Gouldner has entitled it,[1] and the symbolic interactionist approach.

However, there is another chief area of difference in the formal structuralist schools and the symbolic interactionists. This difference concerns their relative views of social change. The schools that view human society as a structure or an organization do not grasp the full meaning of the part played by change and the part played <u>in</u> change by the acting units of the society. Change results from the reinterpretation of situations in light of new conditions. Since social organization can only regulate the conditions of the situations to some extent, it stands to reason that it cannot prevent or even completely regulate change in accordance with its precepts. Change results from interaction and social organization cannot prevent interaction. In sum, as Blumer says, it is the social process in group life that creates and upholds the rules, not the rules that create and

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[1]Alvin Gouldner, <u>The Coming Crisis of Western Sociology</u> (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1970).

uphold group life.[1]

The chief body of theory prevalent in the institution of American sociology today is structural-functionalism and by nature, according to Gouldner, this perspective on social life is inherently conservative in that it tends to support and stabilize whatever type of society it finds itself in.[2] In this view the status quo is to be maintained with relative functions in balance. Change is to be resisted unless it is inevitable and if it is inevitable it must be incorporated into the system without creating any more conflict than necessary so that the relative balance of the functions can again be achieved within the shortest time possible.

So one can see that change is inherent in the symbolic interactionist perspective, and indeed it is necessary for the ongoing process; while in the functionalist theory, change is viewed in the main as a disruptive influence which must be controlled or eliminated or at the very least explained away in terms of new and heretofore undetected functional relationships.

This writer feels that the two perspectives can exist side-by-side and even, in some cases, be used to support each other. They can be utilized most efficiently at differing levels of society. On the level of macrosociology the grand

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[1]Blumer, Symbolic Interactionism, p. 19.

[2]Gouldner, Coming Crisis.

theory of structural-functionalism seems to be the most applicable while at the microsociological level of the small group, the subcultural group and joint action between individuals, the perspective of symbolic interactionism seems the most efficient for dealing with conflict, change, deviance, and the creation of new situations within the ongoing social process at the institutional level and below. Functionalism might be described as grand theory while symbolic interactionism covers middle range and below.

What are the Main Problems to Which the Symbolic Interactionist Perspective is Uniquely Applicable?

As pointed out in the historical section on the evolution of symbolic interactionist thought, the concepts developed by the leading thinkers were uniquely adapted to the areas of criminology, juvenile delinquency, mental disorder and other areas of deviance. These types of problems are current and ongoing sources of conflict in microsociology.

The first usage of the symbolic interactionist principles and premises in the sociology of deviance was in the area of criminology. This application came particularly in the various concepts of differential responses. The first development was the concept of differential identification. This was an outgrowth of Mead's idea of self which he later integrated into the concept of the "generalized other." Nelson N. Foote saw identity as a factor missing in Mead's

analysis.[1] The self was regarded as an organization of behavior imposed on the individual by the expectations of society. It has a thread of continuity that runs through the passage of time that is supported by the constancy of a personal identity.

Sutherland's theory of differential association was the first of the differential responses of the individual to the group and it had been criticized for appearing to regard "association" in the sense of "contact." It was criticized also for not explaining lone crimes which were not immediately traceable to some source of learning.

From Mead and Foote's work described above Daniel Glaser was able to advance the term, differential identification.[2] Glaser was able to reconceptualize the theory of Sutherland to place more emphasis on the factor of social interaction through which the individual chooses persons who become models with whom he identifies and who influence his behavior.

This concept is important because it is built around the idea of social interaction as the background and setting of the causation of crime and it shows relationships more clearly than had "differential association." It was the work of Glaser that formed the basis for the later development of

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[1]Nelson N. Foote, "Identification as the Basis for a Theory of Motivation," American Sociological Review, XVI (February, 1951), 16-17.

[2]Daniel Glaser, "Criminality Theories and Behavioral Images," American Journal of Sociology, II (March, 1956),440.

reference group theory.

The next theory (or partial theory) that owes its allegiance to the symbolic interactionist perspective is reference group theory. Reference group theory focuses attention on the groups to which specific individuals are oriented. One definition given of the reference group appears in Johnson and states, "that group whose perspective constitutes the frame of reference of the actor without necessarily being the group in which he aspires for acceptance."[1]

Newcomb refined the theory of the reference group in that he made a distinction between positive and negative reference groups.[2] This distinction is particularly useful in the study of criminology.

A further use of the symbolic interactionist perspective in the study of criminology was developed by Sykes and Matza in their idea of neutralization of anticriminal norms which they explained in their article, "Techniques of Neutralization."[3] This was an extension of the idea of the "vocabulary of motives" that was advanced by Gerth and Mills which was explained earlier in the historical section of this study. This study was applied to delinquent boys and thus

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[1]Elmer Hubert Johnson, Crime, Correction and Society (Homewood, Illinois: Dorsey Press, 1968), p. 208.

[2]Theodore M. Newcomb, Social Psychology (New York: Dryden Press, 1950).

[3]Sykes and Matza, "Techniques of Neutralization."

brought the symbolic interactionist perspective into the delinquency area of deviance.

The idea of Sykes and Matza was reversed by Reckless and Dinitz to ask why some boys did not become delinquent in areas of a high incidence of delinquency. Reckless and Dinitz assumed that a "good" self-concept was the representation of favorable life experiences favorably internalized. They thought that this "good" concept is "undoubtedly a product of favorable socialization" which influences boys to keep away from becoming delinquent.[1]

The idea of different kinds of interaction gave rise to the delinquent subcultures advanced by various sociologists.

Howard S. Becker develops what he calls the action-reaction equation and advances the idea of delinquent careers based on the symbolic reactionist perspective.[2] Lemert advanced the theory of "secondary deviance" which resulted from visibility of the deviant as a result of the interaction process.[3] Erving Goffman pointed out that those people labelled in conjunction with Lemert's "labelling theory" and "secondary deviance" were "stigmatized" by this action-

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[1]Walter C. Reckless, Simon Dinitz, and Barbara Kay, "The Self Component in Potential Delinquency and Potential Non-Delinquency," American Sociological Review, Vol. 26 (October, 1957), 566-67.

[2]Becker, Outsiders.

[3]Edwin Lemert, Social Pathology (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1951).

reaction process of society.[1]

Symbolic interactionism as an approach to the study of deviance did not confine itself to criminology and juvenile delinquency. With the rise of the Protestant Ethic and the industrial revolution the emphasis in mental illness shifted from strict confinement and punishment of persons adjudged insane to at least a lip service to the idea of deviance from what was considered normal as a form of mental illness. The germ theory of medicine had resulted in the treatment of pathologies of the body and this was then transferred to the realm of the mind and ushered in the Therapeutic Society as it is referred to by Szasz.[2]

For many years very little progress was made in the area of mental disorder. Then some scholars began to redefine what had been regarded as mental illness in accordance with an operational definition of the situation in which the deviant found himself.

When this step was taken, the importance of the self-conception, the "generalized other," "group expectations," "role taking" and "role playing" and the "definition of the situation" developed as tools for the study of deviant individuals labelled by their groups as mentally disordered or

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[1]Erving Goffman, Asylums (New York: Doubleday & Company, 1961).

[2]Thomas Szasz, The Manufacture of Madness: A Comparative Study of Inquisition and Mental Health Movement (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, Inc., 1970).

mentally ill. Social behavior is acquired and in the process of socialization the behavior of the individual becomes modified in response to the reaction of others and in accordance with the individual's conception of their expectation. Role theory and particularly studies of mentally disordered persons is useful in the study of normal political relationships. All behavior is based on definitions of the situation and the evaluation by the acting unit of the cultural expectations of certain roles. In this way mental illness might be defined as the persistent misinterpretation of cultural expectations in terms of role theory.

Although this investigation does not deal with the subject of mental disorder, the role taking and playing mechanisms work just as effectively in everyday life as they do in the creation of mental disorder. Therefore, the study of mental disorder and particularly the theories of Thomas Scheff[1] (based on the principles of symbolic interaction) have much to offer the study of human interaction within the organizational context which encompasses both personnel and the management function.

Since Mead, Foote and Newcombe have already done much work in defining behavior in terms of role theory to arrive at the way that man achieves identity and self-concept through the roles that he plays in the process of interaction with other individuals and groups, it seems logical that this body

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[1]Thomas J. Scheff, Being Mentally Ill: A Sociological Theory (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1968).

of theory should have application as furnishing us the best clue to the causes of mental disorder.

In this view mental disorder may be viewed as residual role-breaking or residual deviance. It is the context of this behavior that should be the area of study. Thus an operational definition of mental normality should be in terms of "normal for what" and "normal for whom." As Carstairs and Redlich have pointed out, what we really have is a problem of the social "limits of eccentricity for a particular social situation." It is how the individual plays the particular role that he conceives that the "generalized other" expects of him in his "definition of the situation" that will determine whether his behavior is appropriate or not. As the situation changes, he too must be adaptable and able to change his behavior to conform to new group expectations. How far he can deviate from these expectations is determined by what Lemertz has referred to as the "tolerance differentials" of the group. This accounts for the low total number of commitments for subcultural groups such as the Hutterites. In these small social collectivities, it is possible to redefine role limitations and thus reintegrate a deviant individual into the group in a different capacity.

Using role theory it can be seen that in the process of interaction, the mentally disordered person because of the self reproval of unsuccessful attempts at communication may develop a distorted self-conception and as a result of this first distortion, he then distorts the conception of role

expectations and thus plays his social roles deficiently. This is a dynamic process which worsens because of continual reaffirmation of lack of success. Mental disorder is thus the result of a long and cumulative process of unsuccessful role playing rather than a single circumstance or a few mistakes in definition of the situation. This brings about a further concept in role theory--that of Scheff. Scheff sees mental disorder as learned behavior used in trying to overcome stress and anxiety. Finally the individual escapes from reality and stress by building what Cameron refers to as a "protective shell of incapacity." Scheff takes this even further to show that the individual then receives a new role orientation that is reenforced by reward from the society--he begins to play the role of the stereotyped mentally disordered person--at last he has a role at which he can succeed, because, as Scheff has pointed out, he has been introduced to and has been learning this role since early childhood.[1]

In order to understand what Scheff has to say it is best to take a step backward and see how the playing of roles affects the adaptation of the individual and the process the course of which leads to mental disorder.

Roles enter into functional disorders in several ways:

(1) The individual may be unable to shift from one role to another according to the dictates of a new definition of situation.

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[1] Ibid.

(2) There are contradictions in roles and between roles that are expected to which some individuals cannot adapt.

(3) And finally, as pointed out before, the person may find it easier to play the role of a mentally disordered person rather than face the conditions of adaptation demanded by 1 and 2.

Actually the specific individual may combine all three of these in varying proportions. Some people have a non-adapting perspective and so end up playing the role the culture has best taught them and for which they can be rewarded--that of a mentally disordered person. This, according to Lemert's theory of secondary deviance, converts the person into a secondary deviant by having him internalize a picture of himself as a mentally disordered person. Once he has been labelled as deviant he may have difficulty in turning to another role so he begins to accept his role as a deviant as the only one available.

Role theory seems to the present writer to be most universally applicable to the study of mental disorder. It gives the proper stress to group interaction and the collective expectation in the development of the process of becoming mentally disordered. Scheff has been able to state this most concisely in his theory of mental disorder or "the institution of insanity" as he refers to it. An outline of this theory would be set up approximately as follows:

(1) Residual role breaking comes from diverse sources.

(2) The rate of unrecorded rule-breaking is much higher in relation to recorded rule-breaking.

(3) Most rule breaking is "denied" and is of transistory significance.

(4) Stereotyped imagery of mental disorder is learned in early childhood.

(5) Stereotype of insanity is continually reaffirmed through social interaction.

(6) Labelled deviants may be rewarded by the culture for playing the stereotyped deviant role.

It appears that this statement by Scheff of the process of becoming deviant in a particular society is the most applicable to showing the causes of mental disorders. This is truly a working definition of mental disorder in that it can change with the value structure of a particular society and thus keep in step with the dynamism of the process under study. Role theory describes the relationships that exist in the process of interaction of individuals with other individuals and with groups in society. Therefore, it appears to be the best answer so far in the study of mental disorder.

A static description of a process as if it were an absolute will simply not work. All other definitions have been just that--static statements of what the observer believed to be an absolute condition in relation to an unchanging background. This does not take into account the background of change in the culture and the gradual acquisition of an identity and self-concept through the process of dynamic interaction.

The social stresses and the difficulties of role-taking and role-playing affect the normal individual in society (whether he be worker or administrator) just as crucially

as they do the mentally disordered person just discussed. In fact, the mentally disordered person was, in all likelihood, once a normal worker or executive until the stresses and frustrations became so unbearable that he made the change from an unrewarding role to one that could be played successfully, that of the mentally disordered individual.

The foregoing discussion completes the background material for a basic understanding of the principles of symbolic interactionism. If the reader is interested in a more detailed discussion of the approach, he is referred to the Martindale[1] and Rosen[2] texts listed in the bibliography.

In summing up the symbolic interactionist approach, Blumer states:

> The term "symbolic interaction" refers, of course, to the peculiar and distinctive character of interaction as it takes place between human beings. The peculiarity consists in the fact that human beings interpret or "define" each other's actions instead of merely reacting to each other's actions. Their "response" is not made directly to the actions of one another but instead is based on the meaning which they attach to such actions. Thus, human interaction is mediated by the use of symbols, by interpretation, or by ascertaining the meaning of one another's actions. This mediation is equivalent to inserting a process of interpretation between stimulus and response in the case of human behavior.[3]

Goffman has further extended the concepts of symbolic interactionism by adding the element of future time and the process of planning for a specific outcome (or strategy). He

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[1]Martindale, Sociological Theory.

[2]Rosen, Human Behavior and Social Processes.

[3]Ibid., p. 180, citing Blumer.

terms this refinement of symbolic interaction as "strategic interaction."[1]

As Goffman defines his approach in his own words:

> In this paper I have attempted to formulate a definition of strategic interaction and clarify the special perspective this concept implies.
>
> It should be noted that strategic interaction is, of course, close to Meadian social psychology and to what has come to be called "symbolic interaction"--since nowhere more than in game analysis does one see the actor as putting himself in the place of the other and seeing things, temporarily at least, from his point of view. Yet it is quite doubtful that there are significant historical connections between the two types of analysis. In any case, strategic interaction appears to advance the symbolic interactionist approach in two ways. First, the strategic approach, by insisting on full interdependence of outcomes, on mutual awareness of this fact, and on the capacity to make use of this knowledge, provides a natural means for excluding from consideration merely any kind of interdependence. This is important, for if all interdependence is included in the study of interaction, hardly anything distinctive can remain. Second, following the crucial work of Schelling, strategic interaction addresses itself directly to the dynamics of interdependence involving mutual awareness; it seeks out basic moves and inquires into natural stopping points in the potentially infinite cycle of two players taking into consideration their consideration of each other's consideration, and so forth.
>
> Now the main analytical argument. The framework of strategic interaction is quite formal; no limit is placed on its application, including the type of payoff involved, as long as the participants are locked in what they perceive as mutual fatefulness and are obliged to take some one of the available, highly structured courses of action. Because of this inclusion of any kind of payoff, the game approach has an easy application to almost everything that is considered under the ill-defined rubric "interaction." Furthermore, howsoever interaction is defined, the actors involved must be accorded some attributes and given some internal structure and design, and here the propensities of a gamesman will have a place.

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[1]Goffman, Asylums, p. 171.

The strategic approach will therefore always apply in some way. . . .[1]

Goffman goes on to elucidate his concepts of the application of strategic interaction in both the game-playing context and to the flow of information and the operation of communication systems:

> . . . of course, an analysis of the general features of gatherings and the general features of strategic games turn upon different themes. Important applications of strategic interaction involve participants who are not present to each other, and sequences of moves which are not closely bound by time, whereas, generically, face-to-face gatherings entail mutual presence and brief continuities in time.
>
> Here, surely, is a special source of confusion in the social psychological literature. The applicability of the gaming framework to relationships and gatherings, and its great value in helping to formulate a model of the actor who relates and who foregathers, has led to conceptualizations which, too quickly, intermingle matters which must be kept apart, at least initially. Social relationships and social gatherings are two separate and distinct substantive areas; strategic interaction is an analytical perspective which illuminates both but coincides with neither.
>
> There is a third substantive area which is even easier to confuse with strategic interaction than are the two mentioned. I refer to the study of communication systems--the channels, relays, nets, transmitters, receivers, signals, codes, schedules, information loading, security checks, and other specialized practices and equipment by which, in a given organizational setting, the regular flow of explicitly formulated information is maintained.[2]

In summing up his conception of strategic interaction and its connection to game theory Goffman states that if one is:

> . . . willing to restrict ourselves to issues about visibility and invisibility we can, in fact, construct

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[1] Ibid., pp. 171-72.

[2] Ibid., pp. 175-77.

> a little game out of these contingencies, a game wherein the whole value and character of a move has to do with assessment and its management. We can, in fact, abstract or excise from any occasion of strategic interaction an expression game. And this I have tried to do elsewhere. But while this narrowing of focus is possible, we must here see that each of these expression games can properly be considered also as one component, and a variable one, of something more inclusive, a game concerning objective courses of action, an occasion of strategic interaction.
>
> Let me repeat: In the analysis of strategic interaction, moves are central, but these constitute a class that is broader than the one derived from moves in expression games. During occasions of strategic interaction, a move consists of a structured course of action available to a player which, when taken, objectively alters the situation of the participants. Some of these moves are concealed, some visible; when visible, the question will always arise as to the reading that the opponent places on the event, namely the assessment he makes in terms of it. But this reading will be merely a contingency of the interaction, certainly not the whole thing. What is effected by strategic moves is not merely a state of information, but rather courses of action taken. Thus we can expect to find situations where Harry elects a course of action knowing that he thereby provides the other side with information they can use against him, but in spite of this cost finds that the other gains outweigh the price in information.[1]

To further the conception of the applicability of the tenets of the symbolic interactionist approach to the game-playing context, another line of development might be pursued. This line of development concerns the "definition of the situation" within the parameters of the social structure and the choice among "courses of action" toward a "desirable outcome." Herbert Blumer in developing this conception states:

> . . . Some conceptions, in treating societies or human groups as "social systems," regard group action as an

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[1] Ibid., pp. 181-82.

> expression of a system, either in a state of balance or seeking to achieve balance. Or group action is conceived as an expression of the "functions" of a society or of a group. Or group action is regarded as the outward expression of elements lodged in society or the group, such as cultural demands, societal purposes, social values, or institutional stresses. These typical conceptions ignore or blot out a view of group life or of group action as consisting of the collective or concerted actions of individuals seeking to meet their life situations. If recognized at all, the efforts of people to develop collective acts to meet their situations are subsumed under the play of underlying or transcending forces which are lodged in society or its parts. The individuals composing the society or the group become "carriers," or media for the expression of such forces; and the interpretative behavior by means of which people form their actions is merely a coerced link in the play of such forces.[1]

Blumer goes on to explain what he means by acting entities acting within the framework of the organization:

> The acting units may be separate individuals, collectivities whose members are acting together on a common quest, or organizations acting on behalf of a constituency. Respective examples are individual purchasers in a market, a play group or missionary band, and a business corporation or a national professional association. There is no empirically observable activity in a human society that does not spring from some acting unit. . . .[2]

The same author then continues by describing just what is meant by a social "situation,"

> Corresponding respect must be shown to the conditions under which such units act. One primary condition is that action takes place in and with regard to a situation. Whatever be the acting unit--an individual, a family, a school, a church, a business firm, a labor union, a legislature, and so on--any particular action is formed in the light of the situation in which it takes place. This leads to the recognition of a second major condition, namely, that the action is

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[1]Rosen, Human Behavior and Social Processes, p. 186, citing Blumer.

[2]Ibid., p. 187.

> formed or constructed by interpreting the situation. The acting unit necessarily has to identify the things which it has to take into account--tasks, opportunities, obstacles, means, demands, discomforts, dangers, and the like; it has to assess them in some fashion and it has to make decisions on the basis of the assessment. Such interpretative behavior may take place in the individual guiding his own action, in a collectivity of individuals acting in concert, or in "agents" acting on behalf of a group or organization. Group life consists of acting units developing acts to meet the situations in which they are placed.[1]

However, not all social situations can be defined in terms of well-established courses of action which are firmly entrenched in tradition, custom or ritual. Blumer continues to describe certain "undefined social situations" which furnish the element of choice which gave Goffman his concept of "strategic interaction." Blumer observes:

> . . . common repetitive behavior of people in such situations should not mislead the student into believing that no process of interpretation is in play; on the contrary, even though fixed, the actions of the participating people are constructed by them through a process of interpretation. Since ready-made and commonly accepted definitions are at hand, little strain is placed on people in guiding and organizing their acts. However, many other situations may not be defined in a single way by the participating people. In this event, their lines of action do not fit together readily and collective action is blocked. Interpretations have to be developed and effective accommodation of the participants to one another has to be worked out. In the case of such "undefined" situations, it is necessary to trace and study the emerging process of definition which is brought into play.[2]

What Goffman defined as "strategic interaction" was conceptualized by another sociologist, David Matza, as "soft

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid., p. 188.

determinism."[1] Both concepts, although differing in presentation, are based on the element of choice offered by the "undefined situation" as described by Blumer above or by the "tolerance of eccentricity" of the society which was described earlier.

The total control that would give complete determinism to the organizational system is impossible so long as human beings are involved (being imperfect information systems), the outcomes of the systems involved can be varied. And if the outcomes can be varied, then the possibility for the development of a strategy to achieve a certain quality of outcome exists (of course, all this must lie within the potential of the system as determined by the limits of what the structure will stand before breakdown occurs). This then brings to light another concept which would contain many elements of determinism but also the built-in potentiality for alteration in outcome by the actions of the human elements in the system.

This capacity of alteration of outcome by human choice has been developed by David Matza into his concept of "soft determinism." In his book, Delinquency and Drift, David Matza tied this theory to the serial careers of delinquents whom he sees as "drifting" along a more or less wide channel of life situations which are basically determined by the limits of the social system structure. Events which

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[1]David Matza, Delinquency and Drift (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1964).

occur to them in this "drifting" process cause them to make "definitions of the situation" and choices which change the "direction" of their career.[1]

Such a concept can be described as determinism within the potentials of the system and its human components, but it is concerned with a general target area rather than a particular point in that area. This allows the individual, or entity, being observed (depending on the level of the investigation) to "drift" or to pursue a "career" directed at a goal within the parameters of a broad channel whose dimensions are the limits which are tolerance levels built into the organizational structure. This is the concept of "tolerance of eccentricity" as it is known in the subdiscipline of social deviance.[2] So long as the individual entity (whether human, or legal, as a corporation, or mechanical as in missile guidance) stays within the limits of the "tolerance of eccentricity" built into the system, change in the course of action is possible. (This shows the connection to "game theory" as well, when the reader thinks of the "rules of the game" as the overall structure within which "play" must take place. The various "choices" that can be made in connection with the previously constructed "rules" and "odds" framework allow the individual entity in the game, whether man or computer, to assess the possibilities and to make a <u>choice</u> to vary the

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[1] <u>Ibid</u>.

[2] Clinard, <u>Sociology of Deviant Behavior</u>.

outcome.)

In either case, there is a choice made from a range of alternatives which can result in in-course changes in action to adjust to changes in perception of the acting unit within a dynamic social situation to produce a more desirable outcome. The progressive improvement in outcomes can cause sufficient feedback to establish a sequence, or contiguous series of alterations in course of action, to actually achieve a change in the ends of the system and so even effect a degree of change in the environmental situation itself (social consequences).

A further analogy can be drawn here by comparing the social enterprise or corporate system to a ship and the management executive to the man at the helm who can make alterations in the course of the ship within the limits of the shoreline and bottom conditions of the channel in which he is operating.

The relation of this discussion to an extension of the interactive circumstance in which the preceding theoretical section discussed the sociological approach of symbolic interactionism is evident. It is the element of choice which is at the center of this sociological approach which deals with the acting unit and that unit's definition of the situation and the resulting choice of a course of action. This interactive milieu with its range of alternative choices is the essence of political behavior and the consequent derivations of patterns of political behavior which produce

both the agreed upon (traditional) courses of action which come to determine social structure, and the unique courses of action developed in the strategic choice of outcomes by the acting unit acting within the limits outlined by the socially entrenched traditions.

In fact, further evolvement of traditional courses of action which may become limiting elements of the social structure is a result of this determination of choice in terms of outcome which Erving Goffman has termed "strategic interaction."[1] Strategic interaction involves the definition of the situation, the assessment of "the other," how the acting unit is viewed by the "other," and an intelligent estimation as to the social consequences of the action contemplated. On this basis, interaction takes place.

As was mentioned in the foregoing remarks, the compatibility of the concepts "soft determinism," "strategic interaction," and the whole of the symbolic interactionist approach with the theory of "gaming" or "game playing" is readily apparent.

Berne defines a game as:

> . . . an ongoing action of complementary ulterior transactions progressing to a well-defined, predictable outcome. Descriptively it is a recurring set of transactions, often repetitious, superficially plausible, with a concealed motivation, or, most colloquially, a series of moves with a snare, or "gimmick." Games are clearly differentiated from procedures, rituals, and pastimes by two chief characteristics: (1) their ulterior quality and (2) the payoff. Procedures may be successful, rituals effective, and

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[1]Goffman, Asylums.

> pastimes profitable, but all of them are by definition candid; they may involve contest, but not conflict, and the ending may be sensational, but it is not dramatic, as distinct from merely exciting, quality.[1]

The same author notes the importance of the element of information (to be further developed in this study) as the center of skillful game playing. He continues,

> Superficially, then, a game looks like a set of operations, but after the payoff it becomes apparent that these "operations" were really manoeuvers; not honest requests but moves in the game . . . a series of skillful manoeuvers designed to elicit the kind of information he is professionally interested in.[2]

Berne is convinced that game playing "is the most important aspect of social life all over the world." And he goes on to make the observation that "Because of their dynamic qualities, games are easy to distinguish from mere static attitudes, which arise from taking a position."[3]

Berne is careful to point out also that "The use of the word 'game' should not be misleading. As explained in the introduction, it does not necessarily imply fun or even enjoyment."[4]

The same author continues to bring out the points that individuals and entities exert influence on each other's behavior and responses which go to make up social action. He

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[1]Eric Berne, Games People Play: Psychology of Human Relationships (New York: Grove Press, Inc., 1964), pp. 48-49.

[2]Ibid.

[3]Ibid., p. 49.

[4]Ibid.

also notes that each encounter involves the element of implicit or explicit judgment. Berne further observes the importance of roleplaying in the ongoing process of game-playing. This is important in the present investigation, too, because role theory makes up an important partial theory employed in this sociological approach.

Berne concerning role playing in the theory of games:

> As previously noted ego states are not roles but phenomena. Therefore ego states and roles have to be distinguished in a formal description. Games may be described as two-handed, three-handed, many-handed, etc., according to the number of roles offered. Sometimes the ego state of each player corresponds to his role, sometimes it does not.[1]

Since the present investigation has to do with the systems concept of the social environment, another concept which Berne brings out in his work must be considered; this is what he refers to as time-structuring or programming.[2]

Berne observes,

> The operational aspect of time-structuring may be called programming. It has three aspects: material, social and individual. The most common, convenient, comfortable, and utilitarian method of structuring time is by a project designed to deal with the material of external reality; what is commonly known as work. Such a project is technically called an activity; the term "work" is unsuitable because a general theory of social psychiatry must recognize that social intercourse is also a form of work. . . .
>
> . . . As people become better acquainted, more and more <u>individual programming</u> creeps in, so that "incidents" begin to occur. These incidents superficially appear to be adventitious, and may be so described by the parties concerned, but careful scrutiny reveals that they tend to follow definite patterns

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[1] <u>Ibid</u>., p. 54.

[2] <u>Ibid</u>.

which are amenable to sorting and classification, and that the sequence is circumscribed by unspoken rules and regulations. The regulations remain latent as long as the amities or hostilities proceed according to Hoyle, but they become manifest if an illegal move is made, giving rise to a symbolic, verbal or legal cry of "Foul." Such sequences, which in contrast to pastimes are based more on individual than on social programming, may be called games. Family life and married life, as well as life in organizations of various kinds, may year after year be based on variations of the same game.

. . . to say that the bulk of social activity consists of playing games does not necessarily mean that it is mostly "fun" or that the parties are not seriously engaged in the relationship. On the one hand, "playing" football and other "games" may not be fun at all, and the players may be intensely grim, and such games share with gambling and other forms of "play" the potentiality for being very serious indeed, sometimes fatal. On the other hand, some authors, for instance Huizinga, include under "play" such serious things as cannibal feasts. Hence calling such tragic behavior as suicide, alcohol and drug-addiction criminality or schizophrenia "playing games" is not irresponsible, facetious or barbaric. The essential characteristic of human play is not that the emotions are spurious, but that they are regulated. This is revealed when sanctions are imposed on an illegitimate emotional display. Play may be grimly serious, or even fatally serious, but the social sanctions are serious only if the rules are broken.

. . . When one is a member of a social aggregation of two or more people, there are several options for structuring time. In order of complexity, these are: (1) Rituals (2) Pastimes (3) Games (4) Intimacy and (5) Activity, which may form a matrix for any of the others. The goal of each member of the aggregation is to obtain as many satisfactions as possible from his transactions with other members. The more accessible he is, the more satisfactions he can obtain. Most of the programming of his social operations is automatic. Since some of the "satisfactions" obtained under this programming, such as self-destructive ones, are difficult to recognize in the usual sense of the word "satisfactions," it would be better to substitute some more noncommittal term, such as "gains" or "advantages."[1]

Gains, advantages, or satisfactions, it will be

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[1] Ibid., pp. 16-17.

remembered by the reader, were the ultimate results for the actor from political interaction and serve as the impetus for political behavior or action. To achieve advantage, gain, or satisfaction requires an assessment of the situation and action along a course which will produce the most desirable outcome. This is both strategic interaction and game playing as these concepts have been developed in the foregoing material. Therefore, one can conclude that game playing involves strategic interaction, and that strategic interaction makes up the basis of political interaction.

Or, to put it another way, political behavior arising out of the sequence of social interaction is both tactical and strategic in nature--therefore it can be stated that political behavior is strategic interaction and strategic interaction is the essence of game playing. It follows then, that to engage in political behavior (or social behavior of any kind) is to engage in game playing. In fact, as Mackenzie puts it:

> The analogy of games is a very old one, but was, till the last twenty years or so, used primarily with reference to politics, not to economics. One thinks of Kipling's "great game" that of international politics played across the globe; of Cambray's book, The Game of Politics, published in 1932; of persistent metaphors from the chess board and the gaming table. But von Neumann and Morgenstern saw in games theory not politics but economics. Their work was in progress in the 1930s, and led to the publication of their great book, Theory of Games and Economic Behavior, in 1943. This treated the mathematics of games of strategy with intense seriousness, as Pascal had treated the mathematics of gambling, and one result was the creation of a new branch of mathematics. The authors foresaw applications primarily in economics, and it has been of great importance there. But in its latest developments,

> in the work (for instance) of Schelling and Riker, games theory has come home to politics in a form which would probably not meet the rigorous mathematical standards of its creators.[1]

To return specifically to politics, the same author shows the importance of communications and transfer of information in political behavior in the following words:

> In parentheses, it is perhaps worth noting that the analogy of games has also established itself in linguistic philosophy, where the notions of language games of games within games, of mata-languages are used in an effort to find better tools for the analysis of concepts. This is clearly relevant to politics; the politics of any single social unit is in one aspect a "language game," and notions of linguistic "levels" and of "translations" between "political languages" are relevant to politics. It is rather surprising that the idea of politics as language game has not been more fully explored by linguistic philosophers.[2]

In tying in the subject of game theory, the principles of sociological conflict theory and the symbolic interactionist approach in order to derive a political theory of the management of social enterprises, this writer again turns to Mackenzie, who comments further that,

> The second puzzle is about the place of conflict theories in social studies. Classical economic theory was in some sense a theory of conflicting interests; but there was an "invisible hand" to restore harmony, and only Marx treated the "markets" as being in unstable rather than stable equilibrium. Similarly, most social theory has treated conflict (including war) as "dysfunctional" and wasteful; an element of friction and wear in the social fabric, to be eliminated if possible. Some exceptions can be found, especially in social anthropology, but only games theory has attempted to build conflict into social theory, as a component in all or virtually all social

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[1] W. J. M. Mackenzie, Politics and Social Science (Baltimore, Maryland: Penguin Books, Inc., 1967), p. 119.

[2] Ibid., p. 120.

> decision-making. Its analysis of regulated conflict makes games theory very important in political analysis, however broadly or narrowly one defines politics.[1]

Therefore, it has now been shown that games theory not only is applicable to political analysis but has been adapted by von Neuman and Morgenstern to the discipline of economics. It is then, in combination with the symbolic interactionist approach, a relevant tool for the description and analysis of the political and economic aspects of any social enterprise and the political behavior of the human elements concerned, whether management, workers, or customers. This kind of application of social theory then should effectively erase the boundaries between the various disciplines in the investigation of the management function of social enterprises. In this way, the provincialism that has plagued the investigation of management as a social phenomenon can be avoided.

Since the social environment appears to be a system made up of the various subsystems that are the social enterprises, one further linkage must be established before a political behavior theory of the management function can be evolved. This linkage is the application of the principles of game playing to the concepts of rationality and maximization in the systems context.

Mackenzie states that, "There is no agreed statement in the economics textbooks about the axioms of economic

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[1] Ibid.

thought, but one can perhaps identify among them the notions of rationality, maximization, and individuality. . . ."[1]

Mackenzie defines rationality as:

> A rational man is one who behaves as follows: (1) he can always make a decision when confronted with a range of alternatives; (2) he ranks all the alternatives facing him in order of his preference in such a way that each is either preferred to, indifferent to, or inferior to each other; (3) his preference ranking is transitive; (4) he always chooses from among the possible alternatives that which ranks higher in his preference ordering; and (5) he always makes the same decision each time he is confronted with the same alternatives.
>
> This says no more than that the basic unit of account has preferences and that these are consistent. "If by rational we mean 'consistent' behavior then such an assumption is necessary not only for economics but for any subject which attempts to build theories about human behavior."[2]

In making a connection between games theory and the operations of systems the same author comments:

> . . . object was to put the ideas of rationality and of maximization in a new context, and so to produce a theoretical basis of a very general kind for a realistic approach to positive economics. In Ashby's words:
>
> It is clear that games theory (like information theory) is characterized essentially by its dealing always with a set of possibilities, both its primary data and its final statements are always about the set as such, and not about some individual element in the set.
>
> That is to say von Neuman looks at the agent as a member of a game; the agent does not 'prefer' in the abstract, he 'prefers' within a given set of rules, players, and 'pay-offs,' with specified information. A 'game' is not the same as a 'system'; but it has some 'system-like' characteristics, in particular that it is something between the economic unit of account and the 'total system,' something which

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[1] Ibid., p. 121

[2] Ibid.

is essential if these extremes are come into relationship.[1]

Mackenzie talks of dividing games into three kinds: games of chance, games of skill, and games of strategy.[2] If such a division is made, it is evident that political behavior must be classified as a game of strategy.

Games of strategy are played by the manipulation of information, just as information is the lifeblood of systems analysis. The amount of information available, and the character of that information determines the characteristics of the game. For instance, as Mackenzie comments,

> Chess is a game with perfect information, poker is a game with imperfect information; clues are given but the cards are not on the table. This has not been linked formally to information theory, but the tactical advice of games theorists to poker players comes close to it. "Bluff at intervals, not for a win, but to 'destroy information' which would be conveyed if your procedure were regular and never 'lied.' And bluff at random intervals, because this destroys information most completely."
>
> . . . A company may "play games" by computer against a competitor or "against nature": but to do so it must specify exactly the rules, the information (some of which may be merely "gambling information" dependent upon probabilities) and the strategy. In this sense, games theory is not a toy, but a powerful and rigorous tool for computation.[3]

Of course in this context, information means knowledge about both moves and about resources. This also is the lifeblood of the system. Regardless of the nature of the system, whether machine, social, or man-machine, the flow of

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[1] Ibid., p. 123.

[2] Ibid., pp. 123-124.

[3] Ibid., p. 126.

information is necessary for the feedback of knowledge about the success of partial solutions and to trigger new decision-making sequences.

As Mackenzie comments,

> Rules about information are embodied in any game of strategy; are the cards face down on the table, or face up, or a bit of both? Chess is a game of perfect information, poker and bridge are games of imperfect information. Perhaps there can be no games of strategy without some information about the opponent's moves (not necessarily about his hand); perhaps only gambling games (against man or nature) can proceed wholly without information.[1]

In observance of the interplay of time-structuring, programming and decision-making on the basis of competing information sources, the conflict theory orientation of game playing is obvious.

As Mackenzie states the case,

> The essence of Schelling's argument is to "take the zero-sum game to be a limiting case rather than a point of departure." At one extreme is "the limiting case of pure conflict," at the other is "the 'pure collaboration' game in which the players win or lose together, having identical preferences regarding the outcome." If <u>chess</u> is the standard example of a zero-sum game, <u>charades</u> may typify the game of pure coordination. The "games" played in the real world lie between these extremes, and are games partly of conflict and partly of coordination. The theory of games has become endowed with a too conflict-oriented connotation, perhaps something like theory of interdependent decision would be a neutral term that equally covers the two limiting cases as well as the mixed case.[2]

The present writer would like to comment on the quote above and the choice of terminology. The point has already

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[1] <u>Ibid</u>., p. 129.

[2] <u>Ibid</u>., p. 131.

been made in the section dealing with theoretical orientation that conflict does not necessarily mean physical or mental confrontation but exists as an element in social situations ranging from combat, to negotiation and dialogue, to competition, to cooperation. All human interaction has elements of conflict involved in the process--it is this management of conflict that allows the social system to function as has been explained under the headings of conflict theory and the symbolic interactionist approach in the theoretical section. However, the present writer would not quarrel with the term theory of interdependent decision which is nothing new and is simply the symbolic interactionist approach under a different title. The symbolic interactionist approach or the quoted theory of interdependent decisions still involve conflict as both are extensions of the principles of conflict theory into the realm of the interactive milieu and involve a question of not whether conflict exists but rather a question of degree and character of conflict and with whom it is carried out.

So now, by regarding society as a master system and in the use of behavioralism--namely the combination of conflict theory and the symbolic interactionalist approach--plus the concept of game playing--it has been shown that the functions of social enterprises can be encompassed by theory about the mechanics of the "strategic interaction" (which is amply substantiated on the microlevel by the empirical findings of social scientists studying intergroup relations).

(It is the contention of the present author that the universe of these studies can be expanded to whatever size so long as the "entity" or corporate body studied acts as an entity or in concert in its interaction with the social environment in which it exists.)

Mackenzie describes the materials so far presented in this investigation of the possibility of developing a way of studying the problem of gathering management principles of action which are applicable from social enterprise to social enterprise (regardless of whether private, and profit-making, or public and non-profit) as an "economic theory of politics." He states,

> . . . more exactly it says that both economics and politics require a theory of interdependent decisions, and that such a theory is one way of approaching social behavior of any kind.[1]

As Blumer has pointed out,

> Usually, most of the situations encountered by people in a given society are defined or "structured" by them in the same way. Through previous interaction they develop and acquire common understandings or definitions of how to act in this or that situation. These common definitions enable people to act alike.[2]

This defines the area of society which is described and analyzed by the body of theory contained in the structural-functionalist approach. However, the main concern of this investigation is with the area covered by the

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[1] Ibid., p. 132.

[2] Rosen, Human Behavior and Social Processes, p. 187, quoting Blumer.

"undefined situation" or the limits of the "tolerance of eccentricity" of society which allows the choice that provides opportunity for the application of the concepts of "strategic interaction," "soft determinism," "game theory," which are combined in the political behavior resulting from the interactive context--interdependent decisions.

Society then is a system, which can be analyzed by means of a complementary body of theory drawn from the two basic traditions of social thought--structural-functionalism at the society-wide level of structured situations, conflict theory at the middle-range of general subcultural and group interaction, and symbolic interactionism at the particular level of the interactive context between two acting entities whether they be groups, individuals, corporations, or sovereign nations. It is at this level that choice takes place and allows for the element of judgment applied to the future that involves planning or strategy-making. Interaction indicates conflict, and conflict indicates reaction and these are the elements of political behavior.

As has been noted before, all social enterprises are also political bodies, and as such, their management function acts as their legitimatized structure for social control. Then, if this is true, the management function is best studied in terms of political behavior, and the individual manager, or administrator, is best studied in his capacity as an acting unit in the political interactions that take place within the organization or between the organization and its

social environment. As a part of the system, the manager, as an acting unit, has the capacity to affect the whole of the system by exercising his choice within the context of strategic interaction, soft determinism, and game theory to affect the whole structure or character of the system.

IV. UNDERSTANDING MAN AT WORK

Since the theoretical orientation on which the investigation is based has been developed and discussed in its application to the group and the individual, it is now necessary to look at the question of the nature of work itself in the question of morale. For the nature of the work is a part of the organizational environment (climate) and makes up part of the social situation that the individual must define in relating himself to it.

Levinson comments that,

> Until the industrial revolution, the major work role was that of laborer or artisan. To work was largely to do something with one's hands with varying degrees of skill. Comparatively few did commercial, intellectual professional political, or military work. Even the prophets of the Old Testament were artisans. The laborer-artisan usually worked alone or in a small group.
>
> The industrial revolution made a machine-tender of the worker. Often the machine had greater skill and competence than the man. Large numbers of men had to be brought together to operate numbers of machines in plants. The paradigmatic working man was a factory employee who became heavily dependent upon the employing organization, often for a working lifetime. The growth of a factory culture led to the expansion of cities and the proliferation of material goods. The development of cities destroyed the supportive resources of the extended family and small town, requiring development of service roles to replace those losses.
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> . . . Beyond service as the modal work role lies involvement. Involvement as a modal work role means that people are engaged together in joint problem-solving for their mutual benefit and for the good of society. Involvement requires a multiplicity of specialized skills which can be brought together but need not be held together once the problems for which they were assembled are solved. We are just at the

> beginning of the involvement stage. For all practical purposes, involvement will have to take place within social institutions, for contemporary social problem solving is done by institutions and organizations rather than by individuals. Today's problems are outcomes of system functioning and must be solved by working with such systems. For example, today conservation means one must cope with pollution, housing, transportation, and many other factors.
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> . . . The industrial revolution, with its more finely differentiated work roles and responsibilities and work areas located away from the home, gave rise to formal bureaucratic structures in which tasks were defined, responsibilities assigned, and authority delegated. The underlying assumption of a bureaucratic structure is that the head of the organization and the followers respond to the command and direction of the leader and his delegates.
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> . . . bureaucratic structures are essentially static. They work well to the extent that people can be contained and controlled within them and work can be routinized. The less people can be contained within a physical place, the less control can be exerted over them; the less routine the work, the less well bureaucratic structures function.[1]

The Bureaucratic Corporate Structure: The Fundamental Similarity of Private and Public Social Enterprises

What Levinson has to say applies to most social enterprises as they occur in American society today. Social enterprises, if they are formalized, must have a corporate body and if they have a corporate body, they are subject to regulations established for the control of such bodies which pretty well determines that, in order to conform to what is expected of corporate bodies under law, they will have a bureaucratic structure. This insures that the working roles taken from management on down will be hierarchical and

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[1]Harry Levinson, The Great Jackass Fallacy (Boston: Harvard University, 1973), pp. 19-22.

bureaucratic in nature with further and further delegation of authority and division of labor as the corporate body grows. As complexity of bureaucratic structures increases with growth (this is the only way bureaucracy can grow) the bureaucracy, in order to safeguard its existence and perpetuate itself, must accomplish this through division of labor for specialization and finally, the subscription to efficiency and expediency as ends rather than as means to ends.

This operation of bureaucratic organizations tends to produce individuals whose personalities become more and more "bureaucratic" in nature--another way of stating the sociological concept of institutionalization which is in reality an observation that people in total, or quasi-total, institutions become dependent on the security offered by the network of relationships laid out by the organization and are no longer able to make choices or decisions for themselves. Also it detracts from motivation to the individual in that outstanding behavior on either end of the work spectrum will result in unwanted attention from other members of the organization who may feel that their positions are threatened. At the top end of the spectrum superiors may feel themselves to be threatened by a "bright" and "ambitious" subordinate while too much laxity will draw attention that will cost them their jobs. The result is a standard of mediocrity of work performance.

As Levinson has observed,

> While the bureaucratic structure with its heavy emphasis on internal competition for power and position is often touted as a device for achievement, it is actually a system built for defeat. Fewer people move up the pyramidal hierarchy at each step. That leaves a residual of failures, often euphemistically called "career people," who thereafter are passed over because they have not succeeded in the competition for managerial positions. Most such people feel resentful and defeated. Often they have been manipulated or judged arbitrarily. They constitute a heavy burden in most organizations for they are no longer motivated by competitive spirit. There is little need in their eyes to learn more; they simply do as they are told. They usually stay until retirement and are frequently described as the "deadwood" that needs to be cleaned out when a new management takes over. . . .
>
> Bureaucratic structure, with its implicit power struggle orientation, increases infighting, empire building, rivalry, and the sense of futility. It tends to magnify latent feelings that the organization is a hostile environment that people can do little to change.[1]

The commonality of all social enterprises has already been developed and another parallel demonstrates the validity of considering the school as a bureaucratic entity. This is the factor of anonymity and impersonality resultant from "passing the buck" successively upward to lose complaints in levels of responsibility. Janowitz points out:

> Because the public school is a relatively closed system without appropriate grievance procedures, parents must individually negotiate on behalf of their youngsters if they have the skill and motivation, and often in the most indirect fashion.[2]

Anyone who has ever served in the military is already familiar with this phenomenon as it is a prevalent practice to wear down those who would "rock the boat."

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[1] Ibid., p. 12.

[2] Janowitz, Institution Building in Urban Education, p. 34.

Merton's concept of the pathological "bureaucratic personality"[1] is also a symptom of the operation of increasing bureaucratization in the school system as well. Rogers observes critically: The civil service mentality, reinforced by the examination system, has hampered the schools at every turn."[2] He continues in a footnote on the same page to expand on this observation:

> Social scientists have coined the term "bureaucratic personality" to characterize such forms of behavior, and suggest that they are prevalent in large civil service organizations. A preoccupation with rules, procedures, and traditional ways of solving problems is generally seen as the hallmark of this personality type. The New York City Schools have more than their share of such people; the board recognizes the fact, but civil service laws preclude doing anything about it.[3]

According to Coser, Simmel is quoted as saying: "Combination is the essence of organization, and organization is the great device for increased power by a number of unequal and dissimilar units brought into association for a common purpose."[4]

The educational institution as an organization in society has already been described as a "domestic organization" dependent on the political and economic institutions for its existence. This fact gives it a "vested interest" in

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[1]Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure, rev. ed. (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1957).

[2]Rogers, quoted by Sexton, School Policy and Issues, p. 286.

[3]Ibid.

[4]Coser, Functions of Social Conflict, p. 140, quoting Simmel.

maintaining the "status quo." Any major change in the relationships extant in the society threatens its freedom of operation and quite possibly its very existence.

One other characteristic of the educational institution must be noted to round out the description of the institution and to put it into perspective with the other bureaucratic social enterprises of society. Irving Goffman has originated the concept of the "total institution."[1] Under Goffman's list of characteristics of a total institution, the educational institution could qualify for a classification of at least a "quasi-total" institution. The fact that its clients have to accept its services is one aspect, and the latent custodial function that it serves is another that points this up vividly.

Also in line with the discussion of the Educational institution as a bureaucratic organization, it is important to consider what Merton has referred to as the manifest and latent functions of the educational institution.

This concerns the "mission" of the bureaucratic organization of what it deems to be its societal function.

The "ideal" mission of the educational institution (or, its manifest function) is for the perpetuation of culture through the transmission of the generally accepted core values of the culture and the indoctrination into the

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[1]Maurice Stein, Arthur J. Vidlich, and David Manning White, eds., Identity and Anxiety: Survival of the Person in Mass Society (Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press of Glencoe, 1960), pp. 449-80.

ethical framework of the society. This is coupled with the transmission of the historical heritage of accomplishments (factual, legendary, and mythical), traditions and rituals. The "real" manifest function, however, in a complex pluralistic society such as the post-industrial American society, tends to become something else--that is, the transmission of skills needed as worker-consumers in society. Indicative of this "trading off" of the ideal for a real or practical manifest function is the comment by Janowitz, who maintains:

> The most common response to the expansion of educational perspectives is contained in the repeatedly encountered phrase, "the school cannot do the whole job." From this point of view, which is the dominant view of school administrators, socialization goals are adjunctive or secondary objectives that the school must undertake in order to fill its primary function--the transmission of skill. Special personnel, special functions, and special programs are added to achieve these adjunct goals.[1]

It has been substantiated that the bureaucratic organization with its cadres of professional managers and the management function is the prevalent form of administration and is ubiquitous among corporate social bodies regardless of their claims to uniqueness. Therefore the application of a political-sociological theoretical orientation is justified because all social enterprises are also political enterprises. Politicality and "politicking" is the core of the process of intergroup and interpersonal interaction and the tenets of the symbolic interactionist approach and

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[1]Janowitz, Institution Building in Urban Education, p. 55.

conflict theory apply to the conduct of these interactions. Social enterprises are crisscrossed with predetermined formal interactional networks as well as informal networks which change as social situations change. Interactive networks also exist with the social environment and with other social enterprises. Therefore, every action within a social enterprise or between it and any other enterprise or its social environment is a political course of action and is the result of political behavior in the interactional context. The bureaucratic organization of social enterprise only formalizes one particular network to the exclusion of others. This rigid network serves also to inhibit "feedback" on courses of action which becomes relegated to an informal network which does provide some courses of action which tend to circumvent or short circuit path of interchange in the formal network.

This theoretical orientation can be used to analyze the management function and the individual managers that make it up, notwithstanding the kind of social enterprise in which they exist: whether a profit-making private corporation or a non-profit public corporate body such as a public school system.

In the following pages of this investigation the principles of symbolic interaction and conflict theory (the theoretical basis of political forces controlling the theory of interdependent decisions) will be applied to the interactive contexts in which the management component and the

individual educational administrator manager interacts with the nature of the work, the staff worker and the organizational environment, including the student body through the function of control to affect the working climate, motivation, and morale.

Although the society has progressed to the point where it has been designated as a service society by such men as Jack D. Douglas[1] and its character is one of structural pluralism in which the emphasis has shifted from a producer economy to a super consumer economy as has been described in the theory section of the study, its structure is still one of a rural society and the method it uses to control the increasing growth and complexity caused by the pluralistic nature of its composition is by further and further refinements of bureaucratic organization in both the public (including government) and the private sectors.

This finer and finer division of labor in the interests of specialization toward achieving the false goals of efficiency and expediency seems to break down at the worker level after a certain point, which seems to act as a point of diminishing returns. The traditional management theories held that more efficient and knowledgeable management teams could accomplish more production, but this does not appear to be the case. As Battalia and Tarrant demonstrate in the following narrative:

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[1]Jack D. Douglas, ed., The Technological Threat (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1970).

Obviously, different leadership is required beyond a certain point, which is why we so often see a pattern like this develop at the top of growing companies over a period of time: entrepreneur followed by administrator, then marketer, then financial wizard, then husbander of resources. This explains why the founder of a business is so often let out to pasture, usually, but not always with plenty of green money on which to graze --Colonel Sanders of fried chicken fame, Mr. Collins of Collins Radio, etc. Sometimes, as in the acquisition of Collins Radio by North American Rockwell, the supposedly essential new leadership comes in the form of a merger or absorption by an established organization.

Of course, when something like this happens, the men at the top don't know much about the details of the business. But who cares? They are management experts, they don't have to know the business. . . .

Even an organization like General Motors, which traditionally promotes upward from the assembly line, can get trapped by overreliance on the concept of interchangeability in management. The scene of the calamity was the GM Vega plant in Lordstown, Ohio, early in 1972.

Smarting in pride and pocketbook from the long term inroads of Volkswagen, the more recent incursions of Toyota, and the mounting competition from small imports of all types, General Motors decided to put its chips on the Vega. . . .

The top brass at GM knew that if the Vega were to be truly competitive, the critical elements in its production were efficiency and cost control. So a new management team was brought in to meet the challenge. . . . Lordstown, it was reasoned had not been turning out Vegas at peak efficiency. The new team would change the picture around.

Moving in swiftly, the new managers reorganized the Lordstown operation. For the most part this involved restructuring functions to make the assembly line faster and more efficient. True, in the process, some jobs and workers became redundant and were phased out. . . . When the chart was acted on, people were fired. However, the overhaul of the Lordstown operation involved a good deal more reorganization than elimination of jobs.

The target was to bring the assembly line up to somewhere near its full potential, 100 Vegas per hour. This was the key to remaining cost-effective in the current competitive market. As plans progressed toward fruition everything looked good. The flow charts checked out, the sophisticated plant equipment measured up, and there was no reason to doubt the ability of the work force to produce. These were people who were getting more than $4.50 an hour plus added benefits

coming to an extra $2.50 an hour.

The Vega is a simple car, simple to operate, simple to service, simple to build. It's designed that way. It has 43% fewer parts than a full-sized car, making assembly easy and quick.

The new managers stressed making various assembly-line functions simpler so that they could be handled more quickly. But simplification was not the only principle put to use. There was also some additional detail work. A man who tightened four bolts on a clutch housing, say, would now also snap a spring into place. Probably there seemed every reason why he would be glad to do this. Plenty of people in the area were out of work, he was lucky to have a job. Certainly his work was not hard. Good design had practically eliminated heavy lifting and hard physical labor in the plant. He had easy access to the part of the car on which he was working, there was no crawling in and out as was the case in older less efficient plants. Even the landscaping of the plant has been designed so that the worker had only a short walk from the parking lot to his job station.

The hard-nosed management plan swung into action--and the results were disastrous. GM estimated that it lost production of about 12,000 Vegas and 4,000 Chevrolet trucks in not much more than a month. There were times when it seemed that every available foot of paved space around the plant was filled with new Vegas, waiting to go back into the plant for repair before they could be shipped to dealers. Shipments, and concomitantly sales, dropped off drastically.

What was happening? For one thing it was simply a matter of people not doing their jobs. Astounded managers watched an engine block on the line moving past 40 men without one of them doing the job he was supposed to do. . . .

But the problem goes beyond omission of functions. Management claims, and the union admits, that there is sabotage. . . . Instead of building cars, assembly-line workers are junking them. . . .

Why is this happening? . . .

Is it just the worker? . . .

In line with a current business enthusiasm, management has instituted sensitivity sessions in which the brass sits down with the workers and talks things over. This is described as an effort to find out what the workers' complaints are, but the complaints, and the attitudes behind them, seem plain enough. One man: "I actually saw a woman in the plant running along the line to keep up with the work. I'm not going to run for anybody. There ain't anyone in that plant that is going to tell me to run." It probably would not take any elaborate sensitivity sessions to elicit similar

remarks from a great many people in the factory. . . .

A confused and dismal picture. A cloudy future for the Vega. Difficult and disheartening days for the management team. Coult it have been done another and better way? . . . Some industrial engineers and psychologists feel that Vega management went down the wrong road. For some time, influential behavioral scientists have been voicing increasing skepticism about the true efficacy of fragmented and highly specialized work arrangements. . . .

. . . We may now be coming to the point where, however much you pay a worker, he will so despise a repetitive assembly-line job that he will not be productive in doing it.

Within the past couple of years, industrial researchers have achieved some interesting results by taking an opposite tack. They have given the worker more, rather than less, of the job to do; they have moved back toward a bench-assembly operation and away from the production-line idea which has been in common use and acceptance for so many years. . . . The result? Morale went up. Employee satisfaction grew. Turnover and absenteeism went down. These things, some of the researchers had predicted. What many had not predicted, however, was that productivity would climb.

Now a lot of authorities are looking askance at the assembly line. Recent studies into the concept of job enrichment suggest better ways to allocate work. The pioneering studies of Herzberg, among others, have cast doubt on the proposition that you can give a man the most boring job imaginable and be sure that he will continue to do it reasonably well, just so long as you pay him enough. If this were ever a valid idea, it does not seem to be valid anymore. . . .

Where might General Motors have looked for answers in the Vega situation? We cannot say precisely, but we can say this. An assembly-line job looks different from the plant catwalk than it does from the dust and bedlam of the factory floor. . . . Jobs and job functions can be restructured on charts, but people cannot be restructured into those jobs.[1]

The present writer has made use of the overlong foregoing quote because the point made so concisely by Battalia and Tarrant is that more money, better physical working

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[1]O. William Battalia and John J. Tarrant, The Corporate Eunuch (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1973), pp. 23-31.

conditions and fringe benefits simply do not seem to be the answer to improving the effectiveness of the working climate, promoting motivation and maintaining high morale. The element that seems to be lacking is what Levinson has termed involvement.

This whole thing is what Levinson refers to as a Crisis in Motivation. As Levinson comments,

> The crisis takes many forms: The chief executive of a major company complains about increasing absenteeism, greater inefficiency, and lower productivity. He pointedly reminds his company's employees that their product can be manufactured in Germany and Japan. . . .[1]

As Levinson describes the dilemma facing the management component,

> Most executives with whom I come in contact cannot understand why people don't respond to their executives' efforts to sustain effective organizations. Why people seemingly don't want to work, and why people want to leave apparently good organizations. Faced with these problems, often the executives are confused, angry, and hostile to their own people. The terms of chief executives, particularly those in educational and governmental administration, become shorter as the managerial frustrations increase. For example, a recent study by Frederick Harmon of 400 top executives in Europe indicates that they feel menaced.[2] Most see themselves as driving forward toward efficiency but find themselves unsettled by transitions in management styles. They report that they can no longer use the authority of position against subordinates, that they must gain their position by competition with their subordinates and defend that position each step of the way. Sixty-one percent of those interviewed spontaneously mentioned that their main problem was personnel management. Almost all had leadership problems.[3]

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[1]Levinson, Jackass Fallacy, pp. 5-6.

[2]Levinson, quoting from Frederick Harmon, "European Top Managers Struggle for Survival," European Business (Winter, 1971), 14-19.

[3]Levinson, Jackass Fallacy, p. 6.

Levinson continues to explain <u>why</u> he feels that these executives are frustrated when faced with problems in increasing efficiency along standard bureaucratic lines. He comments that,

> Coupled with the fear of losing control is the fact that a disproportionate number of executives are characteristically insensitive to feelings. Many executives have engineering, scientific, legal, and financial or accounting backgrounds. Each of these fields places a heavy emphasis on cognitive rationality and measurable or verifiable facts. People who enter them are usually trained from childhood to suppress their feelings and to maintain a competitive, aggressive, nonemotional front. They are taught to be highly logical, and they seek to impose that kind of rationality on the organizations they encounter. As a result, they simply do not understand the power of human feelings, and all too often such executives are incapable of sensing their own and others' feelings in everyday practice. They are like tone-deaf people who, attending an opera, can understand the lyrics but can't hear the music. Such executives are typified by a company president who was a participant in a seminar on psychological aspects of management. Halfway through the first lecture he broke in to say, "You have already told me more about this subject than I want to know." He was right. Though he stayed to the end of the program, he simply could not grasp what was being taught.[1]

This state of confusion by the administrators in control of the bureaucratic corporate bodies in American society, whether they be public entities such as the school or private profit-making enterprises, is due to what Levinson refers to as the "Great Jackass Fantasy."[2]

As Levinson explains this philosophy of leadership and control,

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[1] <u>Ibid</u>., p. 9.

[2] <u>Ibid</u>., p. 10.

> Frequently, when conducting executive seminars, I ask the participants what the dominant philosophy of motivation in American management is. Almost invariably, they quickly agree that it is the carrot-and-stick philosophy: reward and punishment. Then I ask them to close their eyes for a moment and form a picture in their mind's eye with a carrot at one end and a stick at the other. When they have done so I ask them to describe the central image in that picture. Most frequently they respond that the central figure is a jackass.
>
> When the first image that comes to mind when one thinks "carrot-and-stick" is a jackass, obviously the unconscious assumption behind the reward-punishment model is that one is dealing with jackasses, that people are jackasses to be manipulated and controlled. Thus, unconsciously, the boss is the manipulator and controller, and the subordinate is the jackass. . . .
>
> Thus it becomes vividly clear that the underlying assumption management unconsciously makes about motivation leads to a self-fulfilling prophecy. People will inevitably respond to the carrot-and-stick by trying to get more of the carrot and by protecting themselves against the stick. This predictable phenomenon led to the formation of unions and to the frequent sabotage of management's incentive efforts as well as to the characteristic employees' suspicion of management's motivational (manipulative) techniques. . . .
>
> . . . as long as anyone in a leadership role operates with reward-punishment assumptions about motivation, he is implicitly assuming that he has (or should have) control over others and that they are in a jackass position with respect to him. Such a relationship is inevitably one of condescending contempt whose most blatant mask is paternalism. The result of that psychological position is a continuing battle between those who seek to wield power and those who are subject to it, as reflected in the Harmon study referred to earlier, and in the history of labor-management relations. The consequences are increased inefficiency, lowered productivity, heightened absenteeism, and other modes of withdrawal from engagement in that kind of relationship, or covert engagement in combative struggle.[1]

The foregoing discussion has noted some of the problems growing from the attitude of the administrative component of organizations toward the nature of work and workers that has

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[1] Ibid.

developed as a result of the bureaucratic method of organization and the so-called "Jackass Fantasy." These two mistaken concepts offer formidable obstacles in the path of an effective organizational development. As Levinson points out, they are essentially self-defeating.

The sociological-psychological tenets of the symbolic interactionist approach presented in the previous section bear out the findings of Harmon, Levinson, Hampton and Battalia and Tarrant. In his search for a definition of the situation in terms of symbol and meaning, and in his efforts to obtain a positive identity and favorable self-image as a reflection of the "expectations" of the greater society, man tends to react in predictable ways to the conditions described by the authors quoted. The behaviorally based theory of symbolic interactionism and conflict seem to offer a more effective way to explain the reality of organizational life and environment than do the traditional theories of organizational structure and management that have led to the growth of the bureaucratic structure and the "Jackass Fantasy" of leadership and authority.

Levinson feels strongly that some shift in theoretical orientation is needed. He observes:

> Unless the fundamental assumptions of management (and behavioral scientists) about motivation are changed and unless the organizational structure is changed to match the changing assumptions about motivation, then the underlying jackass assumptions will remain visible to those who are subjected to them no matter what practices the organization undertakes. People will avoid, evade, escape, deny, and reject both the jackass assumption and the military style

> hierarchy, for few people can tolerate being a jackass in a psychological prison without doing something about it.[1]

It is here, the present writer maintains, that the symbolic interactionist approach comes into its own. (And references to the empirical studies to follow will support this contention.) The symbolic interactionist approach combined with the Buckley conception of society as an open-ended conflict-actuated adaptive system offers the element of choice. As was pointed out earlier in the theoretical section, society has in the past been mainly regarded as a "closed system" or, at best, as a "homeostatic" equilibrium-seeking system. These systems either completely eliminate the possibility of change or choice as a part of the system (as in the case of the closed system) or, as in the case of the homeostatic system they keep change or choice to a bare minimum so as not to destroy the equilibrium of the system. Both these systems ignore the ability of man to make a choice among alternative courses of action. The range of alternatives and their desirability in terms of a possible outcome determine the choice that will be made by an individual. For instance where the bureaucratic system is fostered in the belief that it has a network of actions that call for no element of choice in their sequence. This is not true for there is actually the choice of carrying out the action as proscribed, not to act at all, or to impede the

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[1] Ibid., p. 13.

actions of others. The future of the bureaucratic structure then actually depends on which choice is made (as shown in the quote about the Vega production line), for a choice not to act or to impede action by a relatively minor individual in the network can bring the whole organization to a halt or, at the very least, seriously impede its functioning.

This points up the application of symbolic interactionism to the areas of game theory in decision making and to the new conception of an open-ended adaptive conflict-actuated system.

Systems analysis must be the methodology used in evaluating change in such a system. Change must be approached as a problem in the manner of a game—offering alternative sequential partial solutions (each involving priorities of choice in terms of desirable outcomes) in the direction of a selected purpose or goal. What is involved is a strategy of continuous correction in which the human element, with the myriad variables that affect him and determine his range and priorities of choice, is taken into account. Man is regarded as a psychological entity who makes decisions based on feelings, emotions, and abstractions rather than on the logical basis on which the other parts of the system operates.

Understanding Man at Work

It appears then that the management component must subordinate the rules of logic to a method of solving problems which stress coordination and mutual interaction.

As Levinson says in attempting to explain how to make the management function compatible to the nature of work as it is evolving in present-day society;

> When service is the modal form of work, requiring as it does varied but complementary skills, supervision and control by authority are less possible because a greater complexity of function means authority figures can no longer possess all skills or exercise all competencies. Those in authority must depend on the skilled individuals doing the work to exercise the necessary competence as responsible individual partners. This is the point Galbraith makes in discussing the infrastructures of organizations which, for all practical purposes, make organizational decisions.[1] Furthermore, the more flexible an organization must be to adapt to its environment, the more freedom people must have to make decisions at the point of action, which, in large measure, mitigates the central control possibilities of bureaucratic structures. In addition, bureaucratic structures operate on a unit-efficiency basis. They compute their efficiency by counting units produced during a given period of time. This measure is less useful when the assembly line is not the prototype of work, when the work to be done is of a project nature and is a task to be accomplished rather than a number of pieces to be made. All this points to a closer study of the human component in the organizational system rather than a preoccupation with achieving efficiency through greater bureaucratization.[2]

The foregoing discussion brings to light the concept that perhaps a large portion of the motivation that drives man to exhibit goal-directed behavior and achievement is derived from the nature of the work itself.

As Levinson notes,

> Any effort to understand man at work and obtain a perspective on contemporary theory and practice related to work motivation must begin with the roots of both

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[1]John Kenneth Galbraith, The New Industrial State (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1967) as quoted by Levinson in Jackass Fallacy, p. 21.

[2]Levinson, Jackass Fallacy, p. 21

> subjects. All discussions of the meaning of work and the motivation to work are the product of four interacting forces: (1) a theory of psychological motivation; (2) the major social role encompassed by the concept of work at any given time; (3) a conception of the modal organization structure within which people work; and (4) a view of the broader ethos within which work organization functions.[1]

Motivation and Needs

There have been generally two major conceptions of motivational theory up to the present. One conception, the outside, or environmental theory of motivation has come down from Locke through Watson to Skinner and sees man's motivation to come from forces outside himself while the other school of thought sees motivation as nativistic or inside forces stemming from psychological and physiological forces and biologically based. This school of thought conceives of the process as primarily emotional and cognitive. This conception stems from Kant and its most modern proponents were Freud and Piaget.

What appears to be the true way to understanding of motivation and its resulting behavior in humans is to find a theoretical way to unite these two theoretical traditions. It is how the two spheres interact that motivates man and causes him to act. Again, the answer is the conflict-based symbolic interactionist approach.

The environment supplies symbol, meaning and situation. The individual personality must use the element of

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[1] Ibid., p. 18.

choice between alternatives in his definition of the situation, his concept of himself and his identity in relation to the significant "other." The interaction between the two results in the individual's reaction which is exhibited as behavior. Of course, this need not be an individual in the sense of one human but can be expanded to include any acting entity.

To this interactive milieu, the acting entity brings a hierarchy of needs. These needs either exist within the individual or are created in the interaction between him and his environment. Just as stated before--this does not only apply to one human being but to groups as well--so long as they act as entities.

This hierarchy of needs was first set forth by Abraham Maslow. Maslow held that human needs could be classified in ascending order on five levels from the primitive physical needs for survival to the more complicated and abstract psychological needs such as the needs for love and belonging, esteem and self-actualization.[1]

Hampton explains Maslow's theory in the following manner:

> A satisfied need is not a motivator of behavior! This is a fact of profound significance. It is a fact which is regularly ignored in the conventional approach to the management of people. . . .
>
> When the physiological needs are reasonably satisfied, needs at the next higher level begin to dominate

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[1]For a complete discussion of this hierarchy of needs see: Abraham Maslow, Motivation and Personality (New York: Harper & Row, 1954).

man's behavior--to motivate him. These are called safety needs. They are needs for protection against danger, threat, deprivation. . . .

When man's physiological needs are satisfied and he is no longer fearful about his physical welfare, his social needs become important motivators of his behavior for belonging, for association, for acceptance by his fellows, for giving and receiving friendship and love.

Management knows today of the existence of these needs, but it often assumes quite wrongly that they represent a threat to the organization. Many studies have demonstrated that the tightly knit, cohesive work group may, under proper conditions, be far more effective than an equal number of separate individuals in achieving organizational goals.

Yet management, fearing group hostility to its own objectives, often goes to considerable lengths to control and direct human efforts in ways that are inimical to the natural "groupiness" of human beings. When man's social needs--and perhaps his safety needs, too--are thus thwarted, he behaves in ways which tend to defeat organizational objectives. He becomes resistant, antagonistic, uncooperative. But this behavior is a consequence not a cause.

Above the social needs--in the sense that they do not become motivators until lower needs are reasonably satisfied--are the needs of greatest significance to management and to man himself. They are the egoistic needs, and they are of two kinds:

1. Those needs that relate to one's self-esteem--needs for self-confidence, for independence, for achievement, for competence, for knowledge.
2. Those needs that relate to one's reputation--needs for status, for recognition, for appreciation, for the deserved respect of one's fellows.

Unlike the lower needs, these are rarely satisfied. . . . The typical industrial organization offers few opportunities for the satisfaction of these egoistic needs to people at lower levels in the hierarchy. The conventional methods of organizing work, particularly in mass production industries, give little heed to these aspects of human motivation. If the practices of scientific management were deliberately calculated to thwart these needs--which of course, they are not--they could hardly accomplish this purpose better than they do.

Finally--a capstone, as it were, on the hierarchy of man's needs--there are what we may call the needs of self-fulfillment. These are the needs for realizing one's own potentialities, for continued self-development, for being creative in the broadest sense of that term.

It is clear that the conditions of modern life give only limited opportunity for these relatively weak needs

> to obtain expression. . . .
>
> . . . We recognize readily enough that a man suffering from a severe dietary deficiency is sick. The deprivation of physiological needs has behavioral consequences. The same is true--although less well recognized--of deprivation of higher-level needs. The man whose needs for safety, association, independence, or status are thwarted is sick just as surely as is he who has rickets. And his sickness will have behavioral consequences. We will be mistaken if we attribute his resultant passivity, his hostility, his refusal to accept responsibility to his inherent "human nature." These forms of behavior are symptoms of illness--of deprivation of his social and egoistic needs.[1]

This is basically the explanation of the hierarchy of needs and the way it relates to motivation and resultant behavior. Other scientists besides Maslow have studied the same problem and come to fundamentally the same answer with the exception that the discussion is couched in different terminology. For example Frederick Herzberg, instead of working from the individual to the work, started with the work and traced feelings about it back to the individual. He emphasizes job enrichment. Instead of using the term needs he speaks of "satisfiers" and "dissatisfiers."[2] As Levinson explains it,

> Satisfiers are achievement, recognition, the work itself, responsibility, advancement, and growth. Dissatisfiers include company policy and administration, supervision, working conditions, interpersonal relationships (with superiors, subordinates, and peers), salary, status, job security, and personal life.

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[1]Hampton, Behavioral Concepts in Management, pp. 12-13.

[2]For a complete discussion of the Herzbergian conception of motivation see: Frederick Herzberg, Work and the Nature of Man (Cleveland: World Publishing Co., 1966).

> Satisfiers are motivating; dissatisfiers cannot motivate people to work but can counteract motivation.[1]

The two men are saying essentially the same thing but Herzberg is saying it in a more general way.

Maslow deals with the particular. Symbolic interactionism deals with the particular as well. The social consequence in terms of behavior is traced back to the reaction to the environment by the entity of which it is a symptom. It is evident from the description given of the need hierarchy that the acting entity utilizes the tenets of symbolic interaction in formulating a definition of the situation, a conception of self, and tests all the impressions against the reactions of significant "others" while regarding himself as an "object" and finally reacts to his total evaluation in terms of behavior. This is what Becker refers to as the action-reaction equation.[2]

The symbolic interactionist tenet of the "definition of the situation" applies quite logically to the educational "climate" as it has been defined in the introduction. How the individual reacts to the management processes that produce a certain organizational environment that he must assess is the same concept that is involved in the individual sizing up a social situation in terms of symbol and meaning that he has already learned and generalized.

Before progressing to a discussion of morale as it is

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[1]Levinson, Jackass Fallacy, p. 26.

[2]Becker, Outsiders, p. 124.

conceptualized in this investigation, it is necessary to review briefly two more factors which enter into the management-control-morale relationship: authority system and leadership style. (Of course, the leadership referred to here is the formal leadership roles as assigned to certain individuals through the authority system--not the informal leadership system which develops over time within the organization in the same manner as the informal communications network mentioned earlier.)

There are many schemes for the classification of authority into systems and leadership into styles of which one of each has been chosen here to fit into the theoretical framework offered by the symbolic interactionist approach as it has been applied previously in the investigation.

The reason for this discussion of authority system and leadership style and its application to the theoretical framework for analysis utilized here is concisely stated in Likert's thesis concerning management systems and motivation as quoted by Hampton:

> The gist of Likert's thesis is that particular management systems are consistently associated with certain patterns of performance results over time. He expressed the idea cautiously in a technical article: 'The available and growing evidence justifies the view that further research very probably will demonstrate strong and consistent relationships among the causal, intervening, and end-result variables; that certain leadership styles and management systems consistently will be found more highly motivating and yielding better organizational performance than others.'[1]

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[1]Hampton, Behavioral Concepts in Management, pp. 132-33, quoting Rensis Likert, The Human Organization: Its Management and Value (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1967).

Likert lists a total of four systems:

System 1. Exploitive-Authoritative

System 2. Benevolent-Authoritative

System 3. Consultative

System 4. Participative Group.

Likert then points out that system one is generally associated with less effective performance and that system 4 is generally associated with more effective performance. He also points out that studies of individual companies over periods of years have shown that as the management system has moved from a lower to a higher number on this scale of systems.[1] Changes in end-result variables are preceded by changes in intervening variables and the organizational complexity, type of work, and size causes the time lag to vary, the more complex and larger the organization the greater the lag.

The first two systems are paternalistic in posture. The third one allows for influence on the administrative process by the other components of the organization. While the fourth one not only allows the other components of the organizational system to influence the decision-making process but gives them some of the power and responsibility to share in that process. Thus the hierarchy represents a continuum which ranges from the true paternalistic authority

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[1]For a complete discussion of this type of authority system hierarchy, consult: Rensis Likert, The Human Organization.

system where the leadership and power rests wholly with the management function in a straight-line to the peak of the bureaucratic pyramid, to the opposite end in which shared power and responsibility results in a functional division arrived at by consensus. It is not necessary to point out that no empirical evidence is available from the extreme end of the continuum of participatory group leadership and authority except from the various utopian experiments like the Oneida community in New York which have, in every case, appeared to be short lived. With the information available and judging from the evidence given against the bureaucratic form of organizational structure and the results of Likert's empirical studies, the most effective type of authority system appears to lie somewhere between the consultative and the participative systems.

The present writer believes that the Likert hierarchy better describes authority systems than styles of leadership. However, these systems of authority can be compared and matched with types of executives which exhibit these qualities of the exercise of authority in formal leadership positions. These styles of formal leadership are:

Nomothetic--associated with the bureaucratic system

Transactional--which exhibits at various times characteristics of both the nomothetic and of the third type

Idiographic--in which the administrator takes the course of action arrived at by consensus of functional groups.

This system of styles of leadership compares

favorable to the continuum discussed previously, with nomothetic comparing to paternalistic, transactional comparing to consultative, and idiographic comparing to the participative group. Again the evidence tends to support some form of the transactional as the most effective and realistic style.

For the purposes of this investigation, it is not necessary to consider the extreme of the continuum represented by the participative group authority system or the idiographic style of administrative leadership. It is sufficient to point out as Likert has shown by his research that the paternalistic type of authority system represented by the extreme application in very complex bureaucracies is not as effective as <u>some</u> form farther along the continuum.

Nomothetic administrators and paternalistic authority systems, whether exploitative or benevolent, tend to be directive, restrictive and repressive. This tends to be self-defeating for it stifles creativity and innovation on the part of both the administrative personnel and other components of the organizational system as well.

Stifling creativity and discouraging innovation also kill motivation to achieve. In fact, in such a system extra effort may result--either directly or indirectly--in punishment.

To continue in the understanding of man in relationship to the nature of his work it is necessary to show how all these elements relate to the condition of individual,

group and organizational morale.

This brings the investigation to a crucial point in which the administrative process, or the management function, is related directly to morale. As was pointed out earlier the lifeblood of any system--whether it be machine, man, or man-machine is the flow of information. In any system of which man is a part this flow of information involves a process called communication. The nature of the communication process determines the amount and quality of the information that flows in the system. This is the real function of the management component--it deals in the transfer of information through communication. It controls information by the decision as to what will or will not be transmitted to the rest of the organization--but it cannot control the reception or understanding or the reaction to that information by the receiver in another component. Reception, understanding and reaction to the communication efforts of the management component is what makes the character of the authority system, and the style of leadership just discussed plus the techniques utilized to implement them so important to the formation of morale.

The communication process is by its very nature an interaction. It can be direct or indirect, but if there is no interaction, no information flows and no communication takes place. It is this interaction and the very essential reaction (with accompanying behavior) that makes this process peculiarly adaptable to the symbolic interactionist approach

for, the information once it is received is evaluated by the receiver in terms of his generalized catalogue of symbol and meaning to arrive at his definition of the situation and his relation to it to ultimately make his choice among alternatives as to a reaction to it. The manner in which communication takes place, then, can become as important as the actual content of the message for it is the meaning the receiver gives to the interaction and the message and his reaction to it that are important in terms of behavior and social consequences.

Therefore, in the following section, communications and morale will be considered together within the framework of the conceptualization stated in the introduction.

Communication and Morale

In the introduction it was quoted from Galdston and Zetterberg that Dr. Galdston defined morale as,

> "a component of behavior to be judged against a bio-social prototype pattern of dynamic progression." As a hypothesis, he suggested that the broader the spectrum of communication, the more good morale is favored--and conversely, that restriction in the spectrum of communication impedes good morale.[1]

As Galdston and Zetterberg observe,

> This conceptualization of morale makes communication vital to morale. The broader the communication is, the greater is the awareness of the individuals of their situation. Furthermore, the greater this awareness, the more adequate are the bases on which their experience can be integrated and an efficient compromise be reached. In this way, Communication makes our behavior approach more closely the prototype, and thus

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[1]Galdston and Zetterberg, Panic and Morale, p. 267.

enhances morale. It follows that any restriction of communication is detrimental to morale.[1]

To continue with the characteristics of morale as it was conceptualized in the introduction Galdston explains further that:

> If morale is conceived of as a characteristic of behavior, we avoid the trap of reification. When it is judged against a prototype pattern of behavior we fend against studying the unusual, the lacunar situations and concentrate rather on the common scheme of human experience. If this prototype is one of dynamic progression, we avoid the narrow focus that makes morale equal to the performance of limited tasks. In saying that this prototype is rooted in man's biology, we again emphasize a common minimum: from birth to death man completes a necessary cycle determined by an architectonic pattern of growth. Finally, in saying that the prototype against which we judge morale is socially rooted, we allow for the fact that different cultures and subcultures provide their members with different prototypes, different patterns of role expectations. . . .[2]

In accordance with the conceptualization of morale put forth in the introduction it must be seen as a constellation of a large number of variables whose membership varies in intensity from time to time and the overall state of morale is the kind of balance of these variables that is struck at a particular point in time. The absolute number of variables that belong to this constellation cannot be calculated but important aspects of morale can be identified and the variables that contribute to the values attached to these aspects by the group or individual at a particular point in time may be ascertained by observation or by

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 258.

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 290.

attitude or opinionaire surveys.

Zetterberg, in his article Dimensions of Morale, catalogues some of dimensions or aspects of morale. He identifies the various dimensions and classifies them under the following headings:

A. Instrumental aspects
   1. Descriptions (beliefs, cognitions)
   2. Evaluations (values, attitudes)
   3. Prescriptions (norms, expectations)
   4. Non-symbolic actions (performances, skills)
B. Expressive aspects
   1. Symbolic (emotions, sentiment)
   2. Non-symbolic (emoformances, emotions)[1]

An illustration in chart form of this scheme of the dimensions of morale appears on the following page.

In Appendix II of Galdston and Zetterberg these dimensions are cross-compared in brief from the personality system to the social system. It is stated that:

> The dimensions of morale we have delineated above enter both in personal morale and group morale as our examples have indicated. Each of the major dimensions represents a type of social action. These social actions constitute the raw data of social life which we need in order to draw inferences about groups as well as personalities. For example, in studying the written documents in the archives of an organization we observe what may be called the beliefs, values, or norms of that organization. However, these same beliefs, values, and norms before becoming manifest in writing, existed as cognitions, attitudes, and expectations of some personalities. A cognition is that which, if manifest (verbalized), is a belief; an attitude is that which, if manifest, is a norm; etc. Thus we reach the following conceptual scheme of common elements in a personality system and a social system:

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[1] Ibid.
The classification given above is a modification and simplification of a system cited by Talcot Parson in his book The Social System (Glencoe: Free Press, 1951).

Figure 13

The Social System, The Personality System and The Dimensions of Morale

SYSTEM		DIMENSION: INSTRUMENTAL				EXPRESSIVE	
		Symbolized			Non-symbolized	Symbolized	Non-symbolized
		Description	Evaluation	Prescription			
Common Component in	Personality System	Cognition	Attitude	Expectation	Skill	Sentiment	Emotion
	Social System	Belief	Value	Norm	Performance	Emotation	Emoformance
Unique Component in	Personality System	Ego description	Ego evaluation	Ego aspiration	Manipulations with own body	Ego feeling	
	Singular Social Systems (*e.g.*, group)	Beliefs about others	Evaluation of others	Norms for others	Performance with others	Group identification	
	Pluralistic Social System (*e.g.*, community)	Beliefs shared with others	Values shared with others	Norms shared with others	Performance integration with others	Community identification	

Personality System:	Social System
Cognition	Belief
Attitude	Value
Expectation	Norm
Skill	Performance
Sentiment	Emotation
Emotion	Emoformance

It is now possible to formulate somewhat more precisely the relationship between group morale and personal morale.[1]

The connection of morale with the partial theories of role and reference group in the symbolic interactionist approach is nicely outlined in connection with group morale in Appendix I of Galdston and Zetterberg, where it is stated that:

> The conference defined a social group as follows: A group consists of individuals in a system of social roles who have a sense of identification with each other. It was understood that these three criteria could vary independently of each other. In this way the notion of a social group was distinguished from a statistical group (aggregate), that is, individuals with a characteristic in common but not sharing any roles or identifying with each other—for example, all men born on Friday. It was also distinguished from a reference group consisting of individuals who identify themselves with each other but do not necessarily interact in the same system of roles, for example, all Catholics in the world. In summary, the following criteria define the various pluralities discussed:
>
> 1. Individuals — Statistical group
> 2. Identification — Reference group
> 3. Role system — Social group
>
> The first dimension of morale discussed was variable "identification" or, as some preferred to label it, "cohesiveness." The following hypotheses were advanced in regard to this aspect of morale:
>
> 1. The higher the morale (identification) in a group, the greater the likelihood that role

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[1] Ibid., p. 316.

expectations are accepted.

2. Fulfillment of role-expectations has a feedback effect on the group, increasing its morale (identification)

It was noted that role expectations may also include goal expectations. The question whether or not all groups have goals was discussed. Note was taken of the fact that groups having a friendship relation, or primitive communities do not have explicitly formulated goals.

It was also suggested that the morale of a group may be judged against the performances of the role expectations (including the goals) of that group.

Goal-striving was advanced as another dimension of morale. The following hypotheses on morale were formulated:

1. Morale (goal-striving) increases with increasing identification in a group.
2. Morale (goal-striving) in groups with high identification is less affected by obstacles than in groups with low identification.

A third and related dimension of morale combining both of the above criteria could be described as follows: Morale is the potential identification occurring in a group in the face of an obstacle. This definition offered by Dr. Strodbeck was taken as the equivalent of the idea of morale as social tonus.

The participants suggested several other variables as relevant to the study of morale but did not formulate specific hypotheses about them. For example, it was postulated that communication is relevant in the process of orienting group members toward a goal. Also, it was suggested as more realistic to emphasize a series of goals rather than a single goal as the prototype against which morale is to be judged. Furthermore, the process of changing goals was singled out as of considerable interest to the student of morale. Likewise, the degree of self-selection of roles was advanced as a variable affecting morale.[1]

In accordance with the observation that this conception of group morale coincides with the tenets of the symbolic interactionist approach and the partial theories of reference group, and role theory, the action of "role conflict" might be seen as a detractor from high individual

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[1] Ibid., pp. 269-70.

or group morale.

It can be seen readily from the foregoing discussion that every organization is made up of various kinds of groups and that high individual morale does not mean necessarily high group morale, if individuals not having high morale do not belong to that group. Neither does high group morale need necessarily lead to high organizational morale because all groups within the organization do not have the same goals. Moreover, the element or "factionalism" leads to internal division and conflict within the organization, thereby detracting from overall morale.

The relationship and positive correlation of motivation and morale has already been noted. An increase in motivation causes an accompanying increase in morale and vice versa. By the same token the lowering of morale makes it that much more difficult to institute positive motivation. There is here a beginning of a spiral in that each succeeding reaction of morale to motivation results in behavior which kicks off the next circle of the spiral. The similarities of this relationship to the action-reaction equation and spiral illustrated earlier in the theory section is obvious.

It was pointed out earlier that motivation and morale were different concepts. Actually morale is a reaction (state) which results from the interaction in the individual or entity between the aspects of morale (such as attitudes, beliefs or values) to changes in motivating factors in the social environment. Factors in this climate which affect

morale directly through their potentiality to create or dispel motivation are listed by Galdston and Zetterberg in Appendix I.

1. Political considerations e.g., problems related to the threats from external aggression and internal subversion and the methods used to cope with these threats.

2. Disorganization Phenomena, such as divorce, suicide, delinquency, psychosomatic illness, homosexuality, etc.

3. Administrative considerations, e.g., the tendency of leaders to make administrative decisions without regard to their effect on morale.

4. Psychotherapeutic considerations, e.g., the need for an anxiety-controlling device in a time when religion in large measure lost out to science, and science has become more frightening than it used to be.

5. Organizational considerations, e.g., the observation that democratic group structures are rare and not necessarily very stable.

6. Historical-ideological considerations, e.g., the decline of the "melting pot" philosophy as a focus of American national morale.[1]

   (The present writer would add to this final factor the decline of the American Dream of Success and the decreasing relevancy of the Puritan Ethic.)

One final characteristic of morale that should be noted here is that it appears to be "contagious" in the sense that contagion of disease is spread in epidemics. One individual with low morale influences another and so on until it spreads to others, then to particular groups and so on.

In this study, the condition of morale will be inferred backward from behavioral evidence which was observed

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[1] Ibid., p. 264.

over the time dimension by the participant observer or as a result of the assertions of individuals concerning their own reactions to aspects of morale in their personality structures. (These instruments and the information relevant to their validity, reliability and utilization will be found in Appendix I of the study.)

This brings the discussion to the subject of behavior, which is the starting point for the symbolic interactionist approach, and is also the most socially visible evidence of the effect of the administrative process on morale in organizations.

Beliefs, Attitudes, Opinions and Behavior

As Berelson and Steiner state,[1]

> These terms do not have fixed meanings in the literature, but in general they refer to a person's preference for one or another side of a controversial matter in the public domain--a political issue, a religious idea, a moral position, an aesthetic taste, a certain practice (such as how to rear children). Opinions, attitudes are rational and/or emotional judgments on such questions.
>
> They differ from one another in their generality or in the intensity with which they are held. Opinions commonly refer to topical and short-run judgments, usually dealing with questions of public affairs; attitudes are somewhat more enduring and inclusive; beliefs are more basic still, having to do with the central values of life. Thus people have opinions on the latest economic proposal, attitudes regarding the welfare state, and belief about freedom. Or they have opinions on the latest fad in child-rearing, attitudes toward demand feeding, and beliefs about the early development of self-reliance. Opinions and attitudes are presumably adapted to beliefs which are deep-seated,

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[1]Bernard Berelson and Gary A. Steiner, Human Behavior, an Inventory of Scientific Findings (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1964), p. 557.

> but are usually more consciously cognitive in their content. . . . Opinions are sometimes called impressions or guesses, attitudes are sometimes called views or convictions, and beliefs are sometimes called values or sentiments.[1]

The sense in which attitude will be used in this study has already been defined earlier in the theoretical section. And, from the material just presented and the earlier discussion of morale, it is postulated here that beliefs come directly from the individual's interaction with his cultural milieu and are learned from early childhood on. In turn, the constellations of beliefs give stereotyped definitions of various classes of situations which combine to give form to certain attitudes. The beliefs, coupled with the attitudes which grow around their combination in, and interaction with, the individual personality result in the formation of values which finally become integrated into a value system for the individual. The culture has certain values in its value system but, the way that these values are interpreted and are combined in the individual personality determine the individual value system. All of the elements just described combine with the individual's impression of what is happening at a particular time and a particular place and perhaps involving particular individuals (his definition of undefined social situations) give him an opinion about a particular issue. Opinions are a result of this interactive process in which his repertoire of stereo-

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[1] Ibid.

typed ways of dealing with cultural situations are called forth to reduce the tension of his having to deal with an undefined social situation--for once he has fitted it into his repertoire of stereotyped general situations it is no longer undefined and his opinion about it can suggest a definite course of action based on past experience. Of all the elements just discussed, the opinion is easiest to change since it does not involve a fundamental change in belief but simply a recombination and reclassification among the repertoire of stereotypes that the individual uses to facilitate the classification of his experience for future action. (For a graphic explanation of the relationships involved in the elements of the personality and dimensions of morale discussed above, see the illustration on the following page.)

Of course, actual behavior changes more rapidly than the elements that contribute to it. As Berelson and Steiner comment,

> Behavior, being visible, is more responsive to extreme pressures and accommodations. Opinions, attitudes, and beliefs being private until expressed, can be maintained without even being subject to question or argument, and there is no necessary reason for opinions, attitudes, beliefs and behavior to be in harmony; we are polite to acquaintances we really don't like, we go along with the majority in a committee action rather than make a fuss, we go to the polls even though we really don't care about the outcome.[1]

Bauer and Bauer, along with other present-day psychologists, suggest that the foreseeable change in an individual's behavior by the oversociety, can after a period of time force

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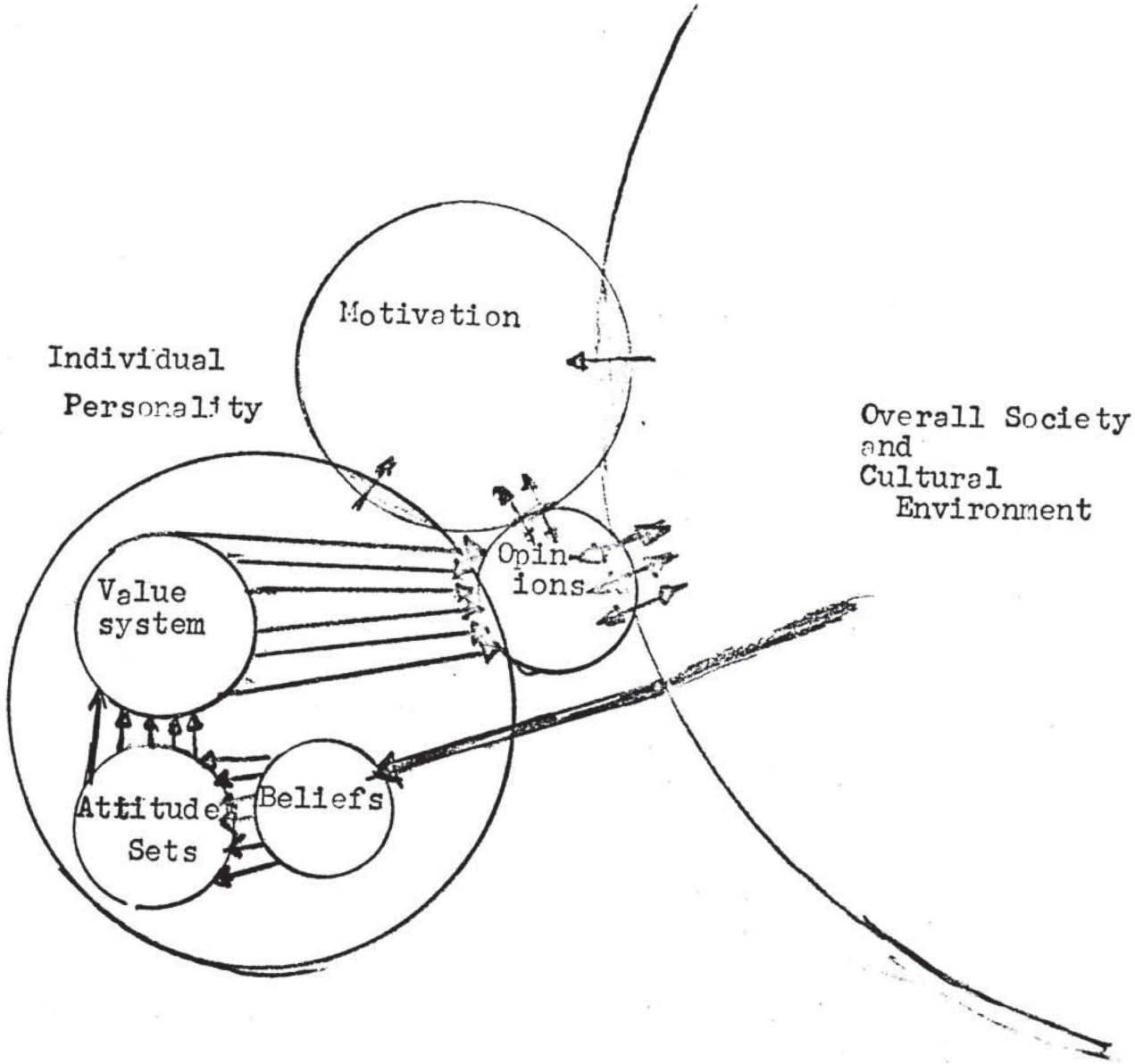
[1] Ibid., p. 576.

Figure 14

RELATIONSHIPS OF CERTAIN ELEMENTS OF PERSONALITY AND DIMENSIONS OF MORALE IN THE INTERACTIVE MILIEU OF THE INDIVIDUAL AND HIS SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT



a change in opinion and attitude in order to relieve the tension of believing one way and acting another. As Bauer and Bauer state their conclusion,

> A considerable body of common sense observation, clinical data, and, more recently, experimental findings indicates that in many instances attitude change follows after behavioral change. Such common phrases as "rationalization," "sour grapes," etc., are adequate labels for the process at work. . . .
>
> Research under the direction of Leon Festinger has shown that precisely this sort of attitude change follows after a commitment to action. Confirmed cigarette smokers are more likely to deny that any relationship has been established between cigarette smoking and lung cancer. Recent car buyers read advertisements that confirm them in the wisdom of their decisions, etc. Kelman, working independently of Festinger, has affected children's attitudes toward comic books by "bribing" them to make statements in favor of one or another type of comic. Kelman's findings make it possible to specify conditions under which a private change of opinion will and will not accompany the coerced change of public position.[1]

The last comment appears to be an instance of the effect of role-playing on change of attitude which has already been discussed with regard to Scheff's work.

Conflict between values (in fact, conflict between any of the dimensions of morale) is likely to result in behavior that is inconsistent with the usual patterns of the individual. For example there is ample evidence that much of the youthful unrest in American society is the result of the conflict of "ideal values" which have been inculcated as beliefs in the personality structures of the young, and the "real values" that they see at work in society which is evidence of

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[1]Raymond A. Bauer and Alice H. Bauer, "America, Mass Society and Mass Media," Journal of Social Issues, 16 (1960), pp. 30-31.

a "double standard."

Conflict builds tension, unrelieved tension breeds frustration and frustration results in anxiety. In an attempt to relieve this frustration and anxiety the individual is wont to interpret the interactive situations in which he finds himself in terms of "selective" or "guided perception." This is an attempt to bring the opinions, attitudes and beliefs into consistency with the stereotype repertoire built up as a result of past experience and so enable a favorable definition of the situation from an unfavorable one or an undefined one. As Berelson and Steiner comment,

> For example, the person plays down the differences between his own attitudes and the positions taken by "his side" (his candidate, strata, social group, party, or organization) and plays up the differences with the opposition; or he agrees with the opposition on ends, but disagrees on means; or, . . . he tends not to notice the difference. . . .[1]

Katz, too, points up this process of selective perception in the process of attitude change. He states:

> Any situation, then, which is ambiguous for the individual is likely to produce attitude change. His need for cognitive structure is such that he will either modify his beliefs to impose structure or accept some new formula presented by others. He seeks a meaningful picture of his universe, and when there is ambiguity he will reach for a ready solution. Rumors abound when information is unavailable.[2]

This same concept is restated by Rosenberg et al.,

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[1]Berelson and Steiner, Human Behavior, p. 578.

[2]Daniel Katz, "The Functional Approach to the Study of Attitudes," Public Opinion Quarterly, 24 (1960) 191.

when they observe that,

> When the affective component of an individual's attitude is altered, there occurs a corresponding and consistent reorganization of his beliefs about the object of that effect.[1]

The present writer believes that all these authors are saying the same thing but that Rosenberg et al. say it better because they talk about the reorganization of beliefs rather than using the word modify which might be interpreted as implying basic change. There is little change of beliefs, rather they are rearranged to comply with a more favorable selective perception of the social situation by the individual personality.

One further observation concerning opinions, attitudes and beliefs that tends to be supported by empirical evidence[2] that has relevance to the present study is stated by Berelson and Steiner when they assert,

> The more that people are subject to social inconsistency, that is, when their group attachments are at variance with one another (conflict among multiple roles, memberships, loyalties, identifications, associations, etc.), the more likely they are to change their opinions, attitudes, and beliefs. In other words, opinions, attitudes and beliefs are more subject to change when people are subject to cross-pressures.[3]

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[1]Milton J. Rosenberg, Carl I. Hovland, William J. McGuire, Robert P. Abelson, and Jack Brehm, Attitude Organization and Change: An Analysis of Consistency Among Attitude Components, Yale Studies in Attitude and Communication, Vol. III, ed. by Carl I. Hovland and Milton J. Rosenberg (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1960), p. 200.

[2]See Seymour M. Lipset, "Political Sociology," as cited in Robert K. Merton et al., eds., Sociology Today: Problems and Prospects (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1959), pp. 94-95.

[3]Berelson and Steiner, Human Behavior, p. 580.

It is suggested that attitudes have many attributes (the result of individual beliefs on many levels) and the discussion so far has mainly been what they are about--their content.

Nevertheless, intensity is also a characteristic of attitudes and must be considered in a discussion of them as contingents of behavior. As Oppenheim observes,

> It has been found that there is a U-shaped relationship between the attributes of intensity and of content. This means that the more extreme attitudes (either positive or negative) are usually held with much vehemence, whereas the more neutral position may be defended with far less intensity. This finding has, in turn, led to the suggestion that to find the neutral point on a scale one must look for the point of minimum strength of intensity.[1]
>
> Some attitudes are more enduring than others. For instance, a man's political beliefs may be fairly stable throughout his lifetime, whereas his attitudes to automobiles or to gambling may undergo multiple changes. Similarly, some attitudes go much deeper than others and touch upon one's fundamental philosophy of life, while others are relatively superficial. Again, some attitudes seem to be more embracing than others; they lie at the base of more limited or specific attitudes and beliefs, thus predisposing the individual in a certain way toward new attitudes and experiences that may come his way. . . .
>
> This . . . should not be taken too literally. Its chief function is to warn against treating opinions and attitudes too much as isolated units and to illustrate the problems we face in trying to bring about a change in anyone's attitudes.[2]

Change is very difficult when underlying belief pat-

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[1]For an extensive discussion of the intensity attribute see Edward A. Suchman, "The Intensity Component in Attitude and Opinion Research," in Samuell A. Stouffer, ed., Measurement and Prediction (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1950).

[2]A. N. Oppenheim, Questionnaire Design and Attitude Measurement (New York: Basic Books, Inc., Publishers, 1966), pp. 108-12.

terns are held intensely. "Free-floating" opinions, which are more or less isolated and seemingly unconnected to any other aspect or level are much rarer.[1]

In tying Oppenheim's analysis in with what has already been said, while discussing the attributes of attitudes he observes,

> So far we have talked about relationships in depth. However, attitudes are also related to one another "across," at the same level. Some of the most interesting research contributions in social psychology have concerned themselves with such interrelationships. We find, for instance, that racial prejudice against one minority group is usually associated with prejudice against several other groups with chauvinistic glorification of one's own group. The word "ethnocentrism" has been coined to reflect such an underlying predisposition,[2] which in turn is part of a personality syndrome known as authoritarianism and which contains many other attitudes besides ethnocentrism. We are dealing here with the difficult problem of isolating one attitude from a considerable number of others to which it is linked and correlated and which, in their turn, may also be part of underlying value systems and personality syndromes. It is difficult to know where to draw the line. On the one hand, exploratory work suggests all kinds of interesting links and patterns with neighboring and underlying fields, but on the other hand, we need, for measuring purposes, a scale covering some relatively well-demarcated area.
>
> Interrelations such as these follow no logic except the "psychologic," the logic of feelings and emotions. It is most important to realize that attitudes are only very rarely the product of a balanced conclusion after a careful assembly of evidence; as a rule attitudes are acquired or modified by absorbing, or reacting to, the attitudes of other people. We like to maintain the fiction of rationality and impartiality in reaching our conclusions, but, in fact, attitudinal predispositions

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[1] Ibid., p. 110.

[2] For a further discussion of the term ethnocentrism and of the authoritarian personality see: T. W. Adorno, Else Frenkel-Brunswik, D. J. Levinson, and R. N. Sanford, The Authoritarian Personality (New York: Harper, 1950).

> play a very considerable part. One must remember always that attitudes are highly emotional, both in the sense of irrational or illogical and in the sense of arousing powerful needs and ego defenses. When we ask a highland Peruvian to boil his drinking water so as to kill the germs of disease, we are, in his eyes, also asking him to adopt the white man's magic, to betray his ancestors, and to make a fool and a renegade of himself and his village.[1] To us this may not seem very reasonable at first, but this is where research can help--by showing the underlying attitude links, with their strong emotional connections.[2]

Since this study uses as evidence both observed behavior and written expression in response and reaction to attitude statements, a word must be said about behavior as evidence of underlying attitudes (and it must be remembered that these underlying attitudes are the dimensions of morale that were discussed in the conceptualization of morale presented earlier).

Oppenheim comments when considering attitude measurement problems that;

> We should also have some idea of the function our scale is to play within the context of the research as a whole. This may tell us how general or specific and how deep or superficial our scale should be, and what sub-areas it should include or leave out. As a rule, the more aspects of a particular attitude one can include, the more one is likely to get scores that will mean something in terms of that underlying attitude, rather than in terms of one or two particular aspects of it. But let us remember that the same attitude may express itself in different ways in different people, while some people may have no such attitude at all.[3]

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[1]See E. Wellin, "Water Boiling in a Peruvian Town," in B. D. Paul, ed., Health, Culture and Community (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1955).

[2]Oppenheim, Questionnaire, pp. 111-12.

[3]Ibid., p. 113.

Oppenheim has remarked on the use of overt behavior and expressed attitudes as to reliability and validity in indicating conditions.[1] He states:

> . . . we remarked . . . on the difference between factual and attitudinal measures and the greater difficulty of validating the latter because of their abstract and indirect nature and because of the absence of suitable criteria. Attitude scales share this problem with other forms of mental measurement. The literature contains but a small number of attempts at direct validation against a criterion, and we may well ask whether the measures employed as criteria were themselves valid. Such attempts have included the use of essay-type questions, experts' judgments, membership in groups with known policies or interests, pictorial material, interviews and case studies, judgments by friends or co-workers, self-ratings, political votes, and such overt behavior as church attendance. New scales are often correlated with older, well-known scales which, however, may themselves be of questionable validity. Scales are often given names or labels that help to create a spuriously high impression of validity. The very fact that they look like tests and can be scored may create expectations of validity and exactitude that may not be fulfilled. . . .
>
> . . . much depends on the quality of the attitude statements and the feelings that they rouse in the respondents; in this sense, validity depends on the respondents' candor and willingness to cooperate and the absence of stereotyped answers or "facade" responses. Some investigators simply state that what the scale measures is indicated by the manifest content of the items; others rely on groups of judges for ascertaining what the items measure. Of particular importance is predictive validity, usually in the sense of predicting some future aspect of behavior. We can see from this that a great deal depends on our purpose in building a scale. It is one thing to require a purely descriptive device, which can roughly divide our sample into several groups with regard to a given attitude, but quite another to ask for a technique that will predict people's actions at some time in the future. Speaking very generally, many of our scales will probably do quite an adequate descriptive job, as long as not too much precision is required of them, but the problems of predictive validity are a long way from being solved.
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> To illustrate the lack of correspondence that is

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[1] Ibid., pp. 151-60.

found at times between verbal attitudes and behavior (predictive validity), the classic demonstration of LaPiere[1] is often cited. In 1934, he traveled through the United States in the company of a Chinese couple. When he later questioned the managers of hotels and restaurants that had served them, over 90 per cent said that they would not accept Chinese guests! Kutner, Wilkins, and Yarrow[2] carried out a study in 1952 similarly showing that ethnic prejudice may not necessarily express itself in discriminatory behavior in a face-to-face situation. Wilkins,[3] on the other hand, found it possible to predict the demand for British campaign stars and medals after World War II with considerable accuracy from an attitude questionnaire.

Can attitude scales, then predict behavior? As we have seen, behavior does not have a simple one-to-one relationship with one type of inner determinant such as an attitude. The relationship is complex and will involve both other attitudes and character traits and environmental determinants.

A well-known formula for the analysis of any form of behavior may help us here.[4]

$$B = f\ (P, E)$$

In words: behavior is a function of the interaction between P (all the person's inner determinants, such as temperament, attitudes, or character traits) and E (all the environmental) factors (which may be differently perceived by different individuals). Therefore, we cannot use it as a measure or index of such inner determinants, and we cannot accurately infer attitudes from behavior unless we have full knowledge of the effects of environmental determinants also.

Furthermore, for the same reasons, we cannot expect a direct prediction of overt behavior merely from knowledge of one inner determinant, such as a score on an attitude scale. Other inner determinants (including conflicting attitudes) may play a part, but

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[1]From Richard T. LaPiere, "Attitudes versus Action," Social Forces, XIV (1934), 230-37.

[2]From Kutner, Carol Wilkins, and Penny R. Yarrow, "Verbal Attitudes and Overt Behavior Involving Racial Prejudice," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, XLVII (1952), 647-52.

[3]Leslie T. Wilkins, Prediction of the Demand for Campaign Stars and Medals (London: Central Office of Information, 1948).

[4]From Kurt Lewin, Principles of Topological Psychology (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1936).

above all we need full knowledge of the effects of the (perceived) environment. An attitude scale may indicate inclinations toward cheating, but the respondent will probably act honestly if he thinks he will be found out. Behavior is a compromise, a resultant of the interaction of multiple forces. (the present writer's italics)

We may conclude, therefore, that failure to predict a particular action does not constitute proof that the attitude scale was invalid. The scale may well have given valid and accurate answers of a given attitude and correctly described the individual's response tendencies. These may, however, have been offset or nullified by other tendencies (which have gone unmeasured) and by his perception of the environment at that time (which, likewise, has not been taken into account). The attitude-scale score constitutes too small a part of our equation to carry the full burden of prediction. However, we may expect better prediction of overt behavior from attitude scales under conditions of "other things being equal," where the perceived environmental determinants can be held constant or near-constant for all respondents (for example, in laboratory experiments) and also when predicting behavior which is itself verbal, as in voting, writing letters to newspapers, applying for campaign stars, signing petitions or membership applications, and so on.[1]

More research is needed on internal conflict between contradictory attitudes or between attitudes and other aspects of personality: we have some measures of these variables in isolation, but we do not know how conflicts between them are resolved within the individual. We also need to make a serious start with the measurement of the perceived environment,[2] such as threats, role expectations, and conformity needs. Not until we have arrived at a fuller measurement and understanding of all the components in the behavioral equation and their interaction will we be able to make valid predictions.[3]

The present study will make use of the participant-observer technique to assess environmental conditions

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[1]Note Gardner Murphy, Lois B. Murphy, and Theodore M. Newcomb, Experimental Social Psychology (New York: Harper, 1937). Their comments on the relationships between behavior and attitudes on pp. 898-900 are especially appropo.

[2]George G. Stern, "B-F (P,E)," Journal of Projective Techniques and Personality Assessment, XXVIII (1964), 161-68.

[3]Oppenheim, Questionnaire, pp. 151-53.

combined with observations of overt behavior and expressed attitudes through attitude scales to describe in particular conditions of the environment over time which have been productive of various states of morale as indicated by either overt behavior. The basic task is one of description of certain conditions in the managerial environment which are associated with certain states of morale as they pertain to organizational effectiveness. The predictive factor in this study will be one of low order. Since the personnel element of the management (or, administrative process) component remains quite stable (changes are easily noted and are described fully in the text) while the quasi-total character of the educational institution holds most other environmental factors relatively constant (the other things being equal element) changes in administrative character and policy can be taken as the most logical source and cause of conflict and imbalance in the attitudinal constellations that result in the conditions of behavior which are ineffective or detrimental to the purposes and goals of the educational organization and which are deemed to be indicative of "low" morale. By following this change in organizational environment (working climate) over time certain trends can be seen to exist and contextual maps can be constructed as showing changes in authority systems and administrative policy are implemented. By plotting these changes and comparing them with the evidence of behavioral expression (particularly aggressive behavior expressing frustration) certain correspondences

become evident between the behavior of management and the behavior of the staff and the clients in response (reaction) to it. The low order predications that can be made from this kind of evidence (when behavioral evidence is taken from the case under study and compared with the theoretical orientation--already somewhat substantiated by empirical studies of the symbolic interactionists and social psychologists) are that since these conditions of the social environment have caused the same behavioral results in varied particular instances in the past, they can reasonably be expected to replicate themselves in general similar social situations in the future. If this is so, then, a strategy of avoidance of the situations that will tend to cause conditions of "low" morale and the fostering of situations which can generally be expected to produce "high" morale, in terms of organizational effectiveness, can be instituted. This process of continuous rearrangement, reorganization and reassessment of the situation in terms of consequent partial solutions is the method of systems analysis and the avoidance of the environmental elements that foster low morale and the espousal of those that are associated with high morale is the institution of the long range planning function.

The advantages and disadvantages of the participant-observer case study have already been discussed and the problems of the construction of attitude scales have been noted. In order to avoid these problems of construction in

that phase of the study, the present writer has decided to use attitude measures which have already been tested to some extent (as explained in Appendix I). Since the evidence presented has indicated that there is a positive correlation between the democratization of authority, the nature of the work, the increase of motivation and morale in terms of increase in production by the workers, the faculty will be given a battery of six tests each of which is designed to scale attitudes in a particular area among those just enumerated. By comparing the results, in terms of statements made by the subjects tested, this correlation should be confirmed and some conclusions about the relationship of administrative authority systems, leadership style and implementation of policy with the conditions of morale as evidenced by behavioral reaction should be possible in terms of the effectiveness of the institution of a strategy for improvement and planning for the future by the utilization of the method of systems analysis in decisionmaking.

The qualitative nature of this study is defended as the only way to evaluate the interactive milieu with many associated variables which defy description in terms of quantitative measures. The interactive process is, after all, the key concept under investigation here. It is central to the theoretical orientation as outlined and to the exhibition of reactive behavior in the acting entity.

As Oppenheim stressed, "Not until we have arrived at a fuller measurement and understanding of all the components

in the behavioral equation and their interaction will we be able to make valid predictions."[1]

It is in the interactive process where the theoretical tenets of the symbolic interactionist approach can be utilized to describe a social situation which is characterized by a "dynamic stability." The interactive process is also the context in which the participant observer is most effective as the interpreter of an evolving social situation.

Of course, some of those social scientists who are mesmerized by the processes of quantification that have become a fad in the behavioral sciences of late, may object to the stress on qualitative data. However, their objections have only limited validity, particularly in this case, for at least three reasons. First of all, there is a very low order of measurement required. Second there is the factor of the questionable worth of quantifiable data in consideration of the lack of exactitude in interpreting quantitative data and in the utilization of statistical tests of significance.[2]

Thirdly, the interpretation of statistical material requires the use of qualitative decisions. In fact, as Ackoff[3] sees it, the two processes, qualification and

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[1] Ibid., p. 154.

[2] For a complete discussion see Denton E. Morrison and Ramon E. Henkel, eds., The Significance Test Controversy (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1970).

[3] Russell L. Ackoff, The Design of Social Research (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953), pp. 74-80.

quantification, are not as incompatible as one might think. He comments,

> Quantification at any stage depends on qualification. What is qualified at one stage may be quantified at another, at any stage some qualitative judgments are required. Consequently, progress in science is a function not only of an increased capacity to quantify efficiently (i.e., to measure) but also of an increased capacity to qualify efficiently.[1]

So, in this framework the concepts of quantification and qualification tend to become a continuum whose ends meet to form a continuous circle--but not on the same plane--therefore, what results is a spiral of quantitative-qualitative relationships of ever-increasing refinement as one follows the progress of the spiral.

Although some of the data in the third part of this investigation is quantitative as compared to the observed behavior used as evidence in the second part, its interpretation in terms of the social situation must be essentially qualitative.

In the foregoing section sociological and psychological theory has been related to evidence collected in empirical research to furnish supportive evidence of the applicability of the proposed theoretical orientation and the methodology advanced by the author to the analysis of management-morale problems in any social enterprise.

In the case study this proposed theoretical orientation, the systems analysis methodology and the participant-

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[1] *Ibid.*

observer format will be applied to the analysis of a <u>particular</u> school situation with the purpose of either supporting or refuting the contention of the thesis statement that a decline in morale can be anticipated by a thorough study of the organizational environment and, obversely, high morale can be deliberately fostered through the initiation of the planning function in decisionmaking and the evolvement of a strategy and program for improvement.

Before continuing with a consideration of the case study proper, the educational institution and the process that is its social mission must be described as it relates to the various concepts of behavioral theory as seen by contemporary theorists in the behavioral sciences.

V. THE RELATION OF THE EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTION AND THE EDUCATIONAL PROCESS TO THE PRINCIPLES OF BEHAVIORAL THEORY

Since the educational process is the expression of the societal "mission" of the educational institution, this process must be outlined and defined in terms of function and then the institutional structure as evolved by society to fulfill that function to locate this social institution in its social dimension with respect to the rest of the social structure.

Education as a Behavioral Process

In the context of an investigation of the educational process with the aid of behavioral theory, the term education must be defined in the behavioral and systems context. The process of education, for the purposes of this study, then, is a process of the modification of an individual's behavior during socialization by providing him with the repertoire of behavioral responses that have the best probability of reinforcement in the social context at some future time.

As Skinner illustrates,

> In an American school if you ask for the salt in good French, you get an A. In France you get the salt. The difference reveals the nature of educational control. Education is the establishing of behavior which will be of advantage to the individual and to others at some future time. The behavior will eventually be reinforced in many of the ways we have already

> considered, meanwhile reinforcements are arranged by the educational agency for the purpose of conditioning. The reinforcers it uses are artificial, as such expressions as "drill," "exercise," and "practice" suggest.
>
> Education emphasized the acquisition of behavior rather than its maintenance. Where religious, governmental, and economic control is concerned with making certain kinds of behavior more probable under special circumstances. In preparing the individual for situations which have not as yet arisen, discriminative operants are brought under the control of stimuli which will probably occur in these situations. Eventually, noneducational consequences determine whether the individual will continue to behave in the same fashion. Education would be pointless if other consequences were not eventually forthcoming, since the behavior of the controllee at the moment when he is being educated is of no particular importance to any one.[1]

The educational process does not exist without an institutional structure to carry it out. Therefore, the next subject that needs to be considered is the character of the American Educational Institution and how it fits into the institutional hierarchy.

The Community, The School and The Individual as Interacting Complimentary Components of The Overall Social System

For some time to come, the individual school will depend upon its surrounding community for acceptance of its method of operation and for approval of its course of instruction.

Whether it is a rich residential suburb of a large population center (Megalopoli will have hundreds of such minor municipal entities.) a "bedroom city" furnishing labor

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[1] B. F. Skinner, Science and Human Behavior (New York: Free Press, 1953), p. 402.

to a central city, a specialized manufacturing city, the seat of a university, or a population center in a rural community, the same conditions will apply generally until the basic conflict of tranditional values with emergent values is resolved and the character of the economic institution is changed. If such changes take place, then the myth of pluralism in power may become reality and the basic structure of society changed to conform with the present-day pluralist character.

However, if present conditions and past evidence are an indication of the future state of American society, this is not likely to occur quickly. At best, it will be a slow and somewhat conflict-ridden process and this will heighten --not lessen--the problems extant in the school-community relationship.

The foregoing discussion was offered because the school must exist in its immediate environment--the community. Naturally, as any hunter knows, the best way to survive in any environment is to learn all you can about it and then take proper measures to overcome the hardships it offers. This is precisely the technique that must be employed by the school administration in order to coexist with its complementary component of the social system--the local community.

The school and the community represent components in a larger social system. The school occupies the place of a "domesticated institution" in the institutional hierarchy.

Most of the observations that can be made for the power structure and the social control establishment also hold true on the local level. Therefore, since the Conservative Tradition, with its emphasis on the Protestant-ethic, the social-Darwinist ideology and the American Dream of Success is as influential at the local level as it is at the national level and since the economic institution at the local level controls the governmental function and thereby policy and the purse strings, it is evident that the educational institution will have to compliment the values of the local community in order to continue its existence but it is the complimentary component of the local community in the overall social system. This immediately brings some logical conclusions--in terms of the change process. Change can be considered to exist on four levels encompassing fundamental change, policy change, strategic change, and tactical change. The likelihood of one school in the educational structure introducing fundamental social change, policy change or even strategic change is highly unlikely because of the nature of the monolithic power structure and the bureaucracy that has been developed to exercise that power. Avenues of change upward are effectively blocked to change, with the exception of technological change, which fits in with the concept of material "progress." Technological change can enter the system at any stage.

Therefore, the only avenue for change at the local level appears to be concerned with tactical change unless an

active campaign for change at all levels involving an institutionalized strategy for change is initiated. This situation is not as bad as it looks on the surface, though, considering the advances that have been made in the systems approach and in behavioralism in psychology. These two factors can be teamed with the changes in behavior that are the result of technological change to achieve substantial change at the local level in spite of the limitations imposed on the system from above. After all, the tactical level is where the action, where the consumers of educational services meet the producers.

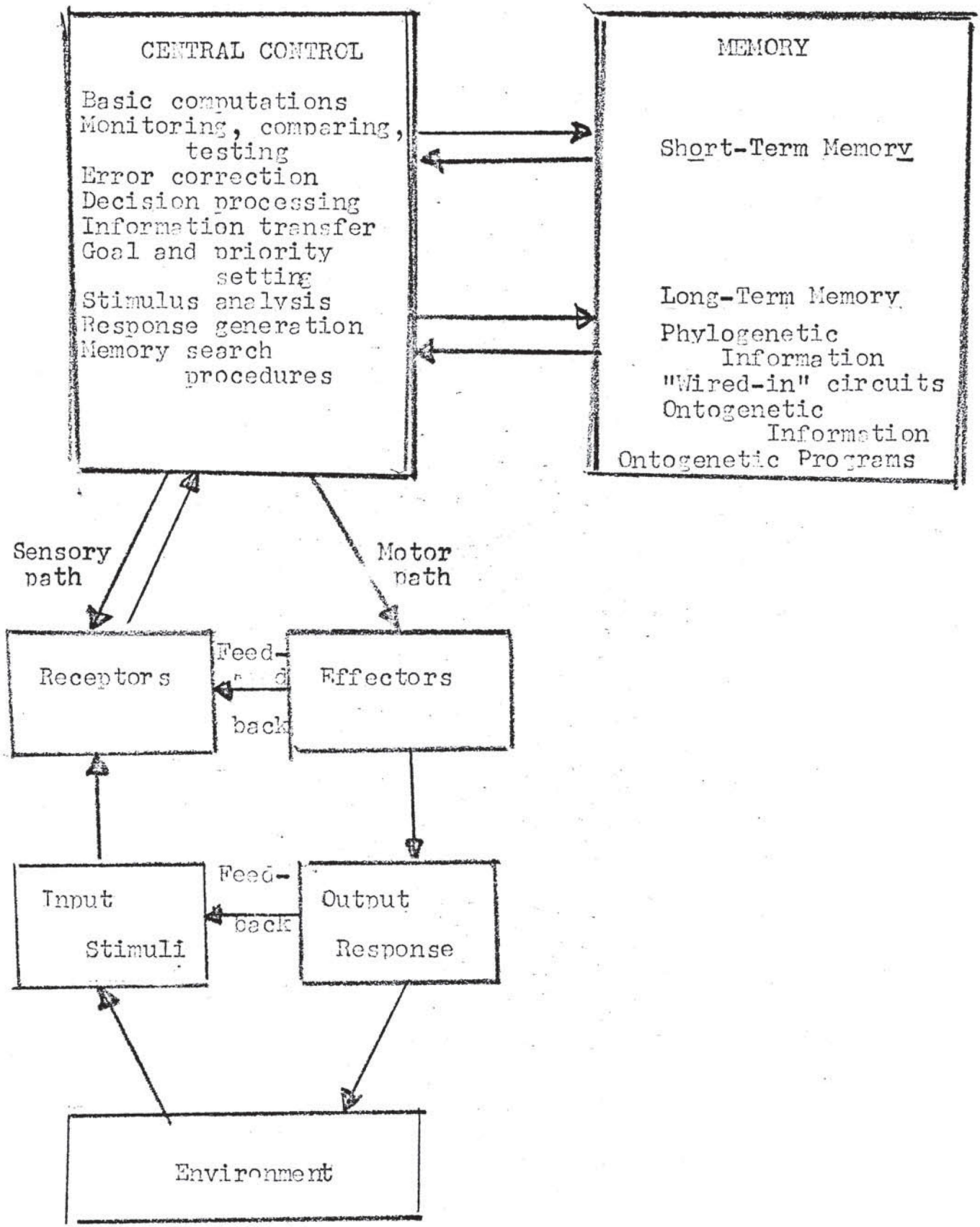
Therefore, in continuing the discussion of the school community relationship and its effects on the process of the administration of educational services, something must be said about the individual and his position in the system.

Continuing with the framework of the systems approach and taking into account the advances that have been made in the studies of human behavior, the present writer feels that it is proper to consider the human being as a system as well. He is the smallest component of the social system if this frame of reference is used.

With the individual human being in place in the social system, the whole becomes one system made up of succeedingly smaller components and fits neatly into the pattern of an information processing system as shown in the accompanying illustration on the following page. In such a system, the social context of the larger society, the community and

Figure 15

DIAGRAM OF AN INFORMATION-PROCESSING CONTROL SYSTEM



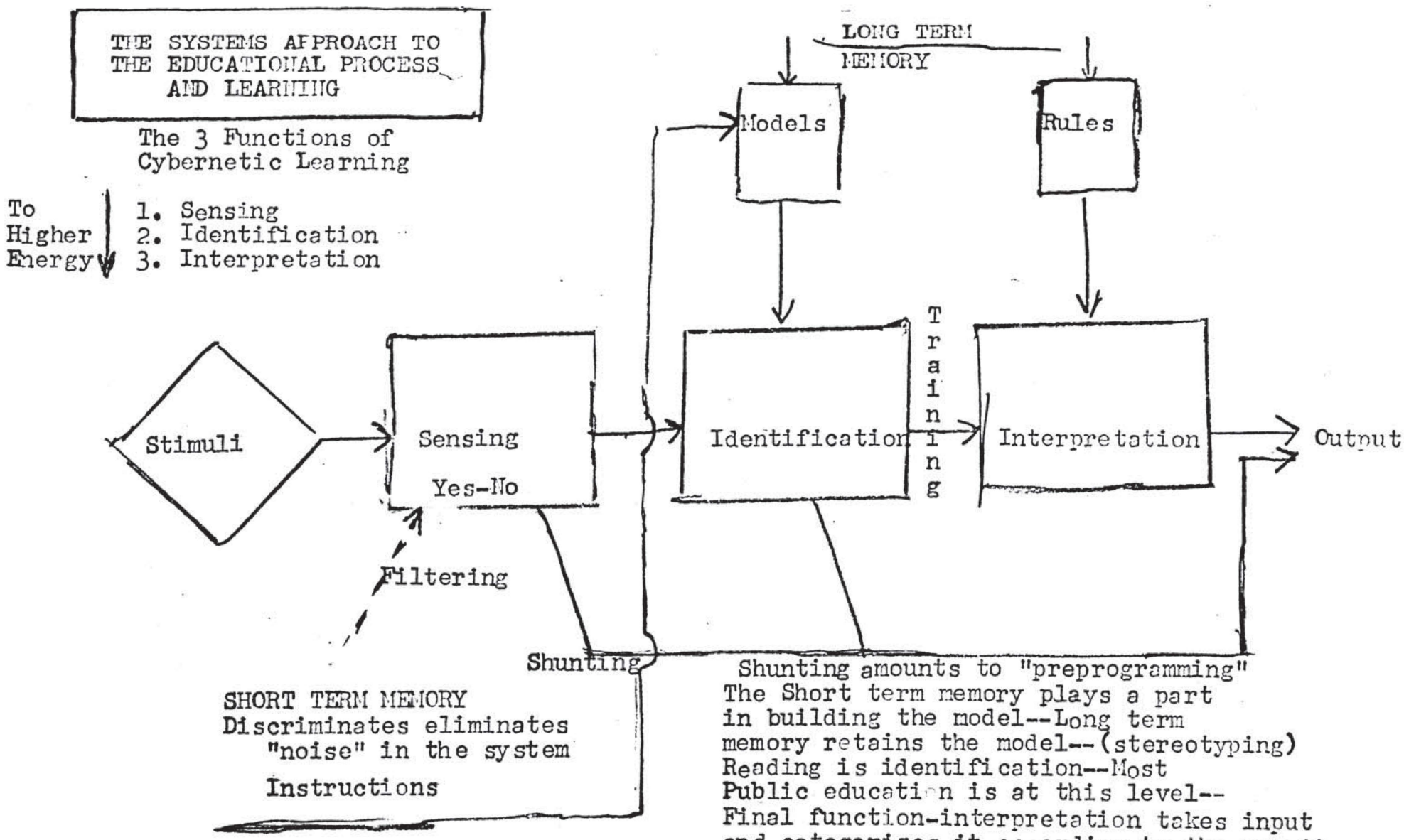
(Peterfreund and Schwartz, 1971: 108)

the school as its agent acts as the central control and the individual actors as both effectors and receptors as they act and monitor the reaction of the larger society as feedback. Of course, such a system has myriads of uncontrollable variables and to say what particular sequence of variables produced a certain behavior is an impossible task. Nevertheless, the individual act can be pinpointed as behavioral evidence and the reaction to it by the greater society monitored and a correction made in the program that produced it in order to insure a more successful outcome in the future. This is behavioral modification. Education, for the purposes of this study, can be defined as the design, patterning, or organization of behavior, and the modification of the behavior of the student to coincide with this design in order to produce the most favorable outcomes in the general societal context.

It has been shown that education is a behavioral modification process and it can further be shown that the behavioral conception of the educational process and learning can be expressed in terms of the systems approach thereby making provision for alteration through the interaction of creativity and change. (An illustration of the systems approach to education can be seen in the illustration on the following page.)

Skinner would refer to educators as cultural designers. Skinner comments,

Figure 16



(Illustration from a classroom diagram in a lecture by Dr. Emory Giles, Eastern Illinois University, August 1, 1973)

> Both the species and the behavior of the individual develop when they are shaped and maintained by their effects on the world around them. That is the only role of the future. . . .
>
> But this does not mean that there is no direction. . . . The task of the cultural designer is to accelerate the development of practices which bring the remote consequences of behavior into play. . . .[1]

He continues when he asserts that, ". . . the individual is at best a locus in which many lines of development come together in a unique set."[2]

Skinner maintains that in man's history as it should be taught by the school,

> . . . you can say that over a period of, say, a hundred thousand years there has been an accumulation of behavioral techniques which have improved the effectiveness of human behavior. Man controls himself but he does so by controlling his environment.[3]

Skinner observes that man,

> . . . builds a world in which his behavior has certain characteristics. He does this because the characteristics are reenforcing to him. He builds a world in which he suffers fewer aversive stimuli and in which he behaves with maximum efficiency.[4]

Dr. Skinner has been criticized by many people who have not read him carefully as wanting to tear down the American educational system which is based on the individual and to change all human beings into robots. This just isn't so and this point should be made clear before going on with the

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[1]B. F. Skinner, Beyond Freedom and Dignity (New York: Bantam Books, Inc., 1972), pp. 138-39.

[2]Ibid., p. 200.

[3]Richard I. Evans, B. F. Skinner: The Man and His Ideas (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1968), p. 107.

[4]Ibid.

discussion of behavioralism as it fits into the social system. (The present writer has chosen Dr. Skinner as an authority here because he has done considerable empirical research in the area of behavior and is recognized as an authority on the latest work in the area, although readers might wish to quarrel with his philosophical persuasion.) In commenting on the state of American education today, Dr. Skinner gives this opinion:

> I would defend our educational system, and John Dewey's ideas as well. American schools are suffering from undersupport and overpopulation, and they haven't solved all their problems, but they are turning out a lot of productive people. They are better than schools of fifty years ago, which couldn't have solved current problems as well, but there is still room for improvement.[1]

and further on, ". . . I think educators have done a very good job given the resources at their disposal and the attitudes of the public toward them."[2]

After expressing this favorable opinion of the overall efforts of education, he offers advice for the improvement of the school-pupil relationship in terms of behavioral science. He observes,

> . . . to effect a change you've got to arrange much better schedule of reinforcement than the teacher can possibly arrange when working with a large group of students. If you had an individual tutor for each student, its conceivable that standard methods could be appropriately employed. But you don't, and so you have to work out other ways in which the student will be appropriately reinforced to shape his behavior progressively toward the goals of education. . . .

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[1] Ibid., p. 68.

[2] Ibid., p. 70.

[3] Ibid., p. 71.

Even though the schools are working ethically within the system toward the mission they are assigned by society, they are creating problems for the students because of the conflict in societal values which they drive home emphatically through their enforced fractionalization of the life of the student. An individual student spends only one-third of his average day for nine months of the year in the school context. The school attempts to be a "hothouse" artificially constructed microcosm of what the oversociety would be if it incorporated all of its ideal values. In addition to this artificial climate, the course of study is broken up into artificial subject areas, which for the most part, teachers tend to guard jealously as the only legitimate ones to study, when knowledge is both cumulative and cross-disciplinary.

Knowledge is of no use if it is not oriented in the world of the student's range of priorities. Knowledge is the basis of the present-day society but this means knowledge for a purpose. Knowledge itself is proliferating at a rate that it is impossible to even remain current, therefore, teaching for knowledge alone is unrealistic. The behavior necessary to locate, organize and use knowledge for specific kinds of tasks is what has to be imparted.

Again even the out-of-class behavior of the teachers belie the artificial environment of the school. In the classroom ideal values are expounded, while in the lunchroom, the office and halls the real values of everyday interpersonal relationships in the societal context take over. As a

quasi-total institution, the school has certain powers to enforce behavior, and in so doing, if the behavior is out-of-joint with the community or the larger society, the student is going to suffer frustration and anxiety because he has unsatisfactory results in monitoring societal reactions to the programs of behavioral responses that he is learning in the school context.

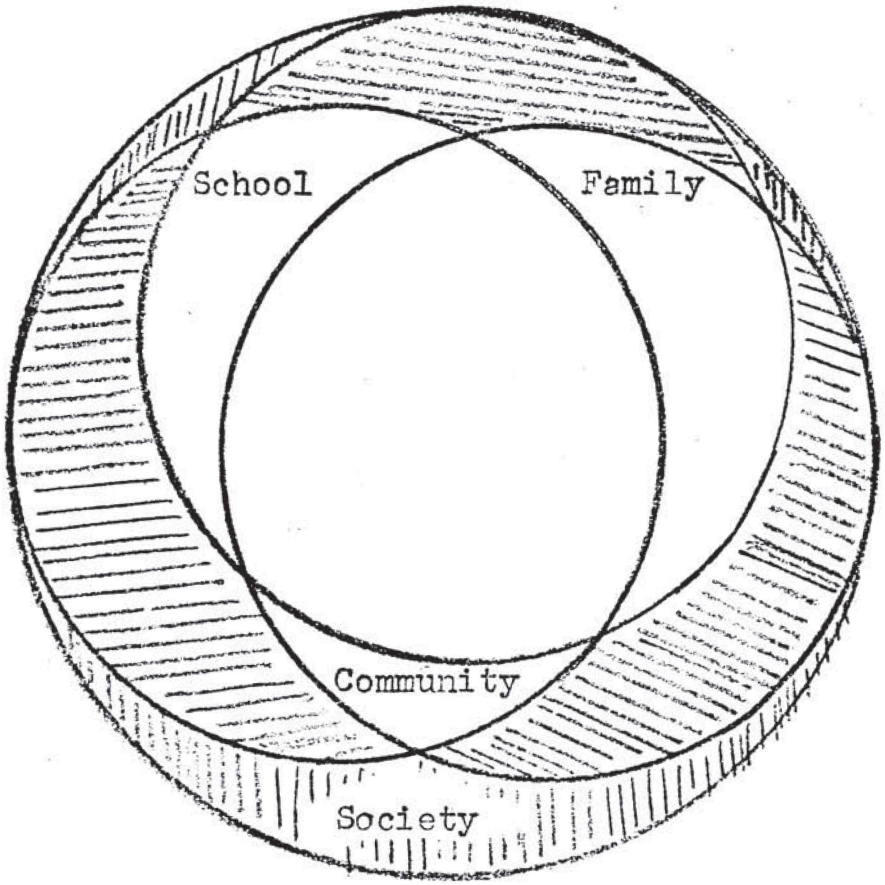
On the following page, the illustration graphically describes the effect of the lack of congruency of his various environments.

Skinner describes the effect of the artificial behavior patterns imposed on the young by the quasi-total institution of education in the following words:

> Consider a young man whose world has suddenly changed. He has graduated from college and is going to work, let us say, or has been inducted into the armed services. Most of the behavior he has acquired up to this point proves useless in his new environment. The behavior he actually exhibits can be described, and the description translated, as follows: he lacks assurance or feels insecure or is unsure of himself (his behavior is weak and inappropriate); he is dissatisfied or discouraged (he is seldom reinforced, and as a result his behavior undergoes extinction); he is frustrated (extinction is accompanied with emotional responses); he feels uneasy or anxious (his behavior frequently has unavoidable aversive consequences which have emotional effects); there is nothing he wants to do or enjoys doing well, he has no feeling of craftsmanship, no sense of leading a purposeful life, no sense of accomplishment (he is rarely reinforced for doing anything); he feels guilty or ashamed (he has previously been punished for idleness or failure, which now evokes emotional responses); he is disappointed in himself or disgusted with himself (he is no longer reinforced by the admiration of others, and the extinction which follows has emotional effects); he becomes hypochondriacal (he concludes that he is ill) or neurotic (he engages in a variety of ineffective modes of escape); and he experiences an identity crisis (he does not recognize the person he once called "I").

Figure 17

A GRAPHIC ILLUSTRATION OF THE AREAS OF INCOHERENCY IN THE STUDENT'S WORLD. THIS [illegible] TO THE CONCEPT OF CONFLICT OF VALUES TAUGHT IN THE SCHOOL WITH THOSE EMERGING FROM THE CHANGE PROCESS IN AREAS OF THE STUDENT'S SOCIAL SETTING, OR, THE CONFLICT BETWEEN PATTERNS OF BEHAVIOR LEARNED IN THE SCHOOL WITH THAT SEEN IN EVERYDAY PRACTICE IN THE SOCIAL CONTEXT



The shaded areas of the diagram illustrate areas in which the spheres of interest that make up the social setting do not coincide--thereby creating anxiety and frustration in the student as a result of not knowing what behavior will be reinforced in terms of the role-playing set demanded of the individual by the expectations of the collectivity.

> The italicized paraphrases are too brief to be precise, but they suggest the possibility of an alternative account, which alone suggests effective action. To the young man himself the important things are to doubt the various states of his body. They are salient stimuli, and he has learned to use them in traditional ways to explain his behavior to himself and others. What he tells us about his feelings may permit us to make some informed guesses about what is wrong with the contingencies if we want to be sure, and <u>it is the contingencies which must be changed if his behavior is to be changed</u>.[1]

One problem that Dr. Skinner takes up that is very relevant to the present discussion is the place of leisure time in the present-day American "world of work." The forces of technology have continually increased the production for each man-hour of work so the total number of man-hours has become less. This is a trend that appears to continue. A serious social problem of the present and of the future will concern what to do with increasing hours of enforced idleness and how to utilize them for the betterment of the individual and of society.

If the present ideology continues in force, it is obvious that the values associated with the "work ethic" and the fact that idleness is associated with sloth and sin will create frustration and anxiety.

Skinner comments,

> A sensitive test of the extent to which a culture promotes its own future is in its treatment of leisure. . . .
>
> The species is prepared for short periods of leisure, when completely satiated by a large meal, or when danger has been successfully avoided, people relax or sleep, as other species do. If the condition

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[1]Skinner, <u>Beyond Freedom and Dignity</u>, p. 139.

survives a little longer, they may even engage in various forms of play--serious behavior having at the moment non-serious consequences. But the result is very different when there is nothing to do for long periods of time. . . .

Leisure is a condition for which the human species has been badly prepared, because until very recently it was enjoyed by only a few, who contributed very little to the gene pool. Large numbers of people are now at leisure for appreciable periods of time, but there has been no chance for effective selection of either a relevant genetic endorsement or a relevant culture.

When strong reinforcers are no longer effective, lesser reinforcers take over. Sexual reinforcement survives affluence or welfare because it is concerned with the survival of the species rather than the individual, and the achievement of sexual reinforcement is not a thing one delegates to others. Sexual behavior, therefore, takes a prominent place in leisure. Reinforcements which remain effective may be contrived or discovered, such as foods which continue to reinforce even when one is not hungry, drugs like alcohol, marijuana or heroin, which happen to be reinforcing for irrelevant reasons, or massage. Any weak reinforcer becomes powerful when properly scheduled, and the variable-ration schedule to be found in all gambling enterprises comes into its own during leisure. The same schedule explains the dedication of the hunter, fisherman, or collector, where what is caught or collected is not of any great significance. In games and sports, contingencies are especially contrived to make trivial events highly important. People at leisure also become spectators, watching the serious behavior of others, as in the Roman circus or a modern football game, or in the theater or movies, or they listen to or read accounts of the serious behavior of other people, as in gossip or literature. Little of this behavior contributes to personal survival or to the survival of the culture.

Leisure has long been associated with artistic, literary, and scientific productivity. One must be at leisure to engage in those activities, and only a reasonably affluent society can support them on a broad scale. But leisure itself does not necessarily lead to art, literature, or science. Special cultural conditions are needed. Those who are concerned with the survival of their culture will therefore look closely at the contingencies in daily life which remain when the exigent contingencies have been attenuated.

It is often said that an affluent culture can afford leisure, but we cannot be sure. . . .

A culture is like the experimental space used in the study of behavior. It is a set of contingencies

> of reinforcement, a concept which has only recently begun to be understood. The technology of behavior which emerges is ethically neutral, but when applied to the design of a culture, the survival of the culture functions as a value. Those who have been induced to work for their culture need to foresee some of the problems to be solved, but many current features of a culture have an obvious bearing on its survival value.[1]

In a work-oriented culture the prospect of enforced leisure for the individual educated in the ideal can be a serious problem. It is as if a ship that was tied to a mooring and anchored to remain in place relative to the shoreline is suddenly cut loose from one of its anchor points and allowed to drift with the vagaries of the currents and the tides. An individual cut loose from his anchor point becomes disoriented and is plagued by anxiety as to his fate.

As a result, his behavior becomes irrational and in monitoring its reaction, he begins to get an unfavorable self-image which if reinforced often enough results in an identity crisis. (For an illustrative explanation of the formation of a self-concept, see the following page.)

In light of the foregoing discussion of the behavior of the individual in the societal context, one can see that any study of the system must include the individual in the school-community relationship. After all, it is the learning of behavior patterns that will result in the most successful outcomes in the general societal context that is desired, and if this is a valid purpose, the information-systems frame of reference within the structural-behavioral-functional orienta-

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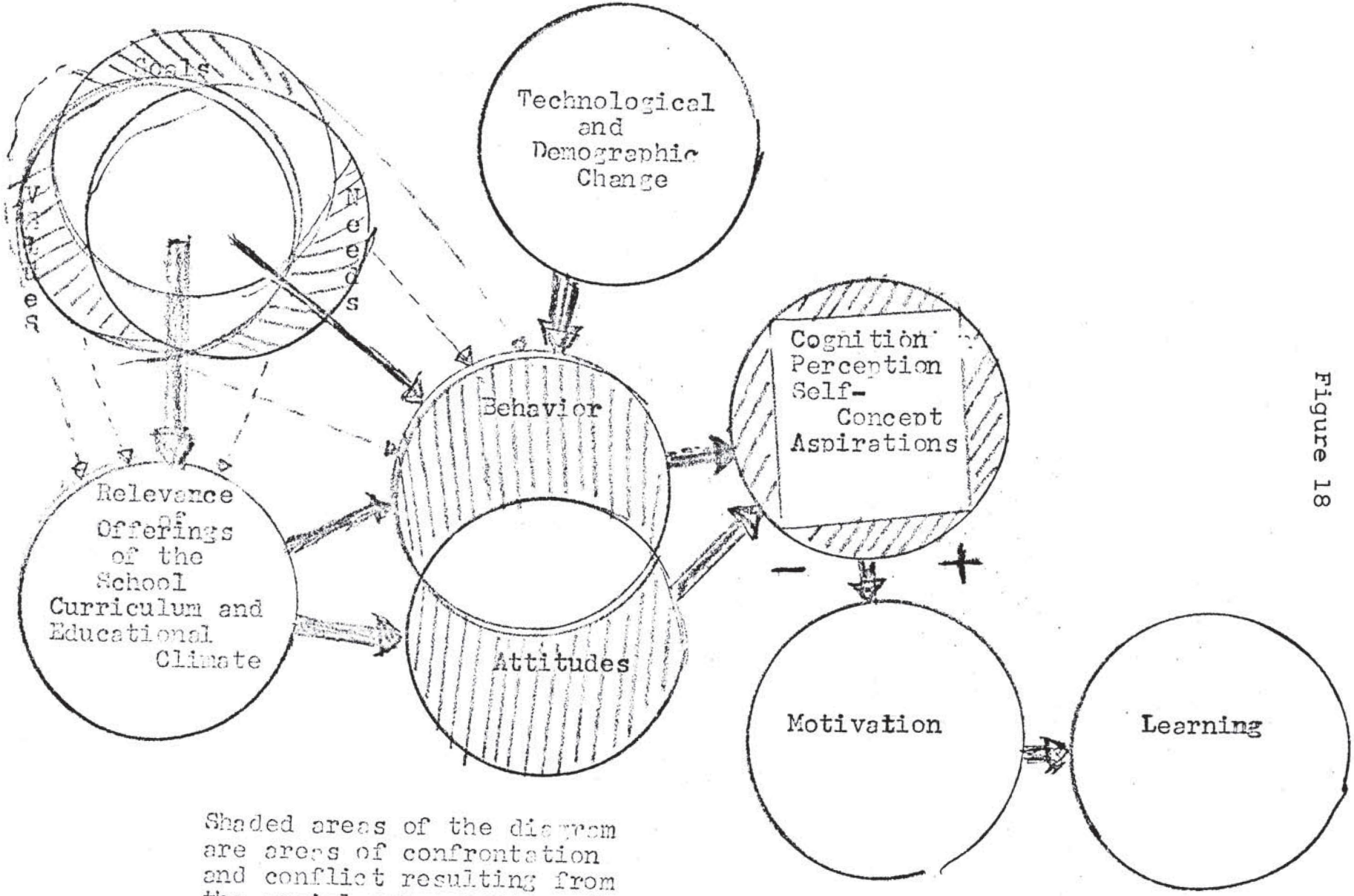
[1] Ibid., pp. 168-73.

Figure 18

GENERALIZED CAUSAL DIAGRAM SHOWING THE FORCES IN THE SOCIETY THAT CHANGE THE INDIVIDUAL'S BEHAVIOR, CHANGE HIS SELF-CONCEPT, BUILD HIS ATTITUDES, CAUSE CONFLICT IN HIS VALUE SYSTEM AND CONSEQUENTLY AFFECT HIS MOTIVATION TO LEARN



Shaded areas of the diagram are areas of confrontation and conflict resulting from the social consequences of technological and demographic change

tion seems vindicated.

To outline the basic approach in viewing the individual in this orientation, Peterfreund and Schwartz offer the following factors which affect the learning process in the individual:

> 1. The central nervous system is viewed as an information processing system of great capacity and complexity.
> 2. The organism enters the world with (a) innumerable "wired-in" circuits and related programs; there are a great number of hierarchically arranged feedback-regulated, information-processing systems, and (b) uncommitted programming capacity, and memory or information-storage capacity. Some of these programs, as well as programming and information-storage-capacity, may maturate over time. These are transmitted by the genetic code. They have evolved over eons of time as a result of mutations and natural selection, and they serve the goals of survival and adaptation.
> 3. Under the impact of new information from various sources, existing programs are reprogrammed and readapted in varying degrees, and uncommitted programming capacity and information-storage capacity are committed in varying degrees. There is constant evolutionary change, representing ontogenetic learning.
> 4. Subjective psychological experiences during sleep and waking--thoughts, fantasies, affects, dreams, and so on--are conceptualized as phenomena which correspond to or parallel the activity of specific, complex, hierarchically arranged programs. Inasmuch as the programming and information-storage capacity of the CNA is enormous, we have, in principle, the means to conceptualize the almost infinite variety of psychological phenomena observed clinically.
> 5. Pathological experience may result from defective or inadequate programming. Conflict results from programming that is logically incompatible with a desired goal.
> 6. Control, adaptation, organization, integration--generally considered to be "ego functions"--are attributes of optimum information-processing control systems, they are all intrinsic attributes of programs that emerge from optimum learning.
> 7. The psychoanalytic process is a learning process which in its optimal form reveals the attributes

> of a complex feedback-regulated system involving patient and analyst.[1]
>
> (The two authors are here referring to the analyst-patient relationship as engaged in in psychiatry--the present writer maintains that this relationship parallels the relationship between the student and school as it exists in the "therapeutic society" of the present day.)

In terms of his behavior, the individual is constantly checking to see how he is affecting (interaction) the rest of the system. As Peterfreund and Schwartz observe,

> Everyone monitors his body, his appearance, and his accomplishments. If standards are reasonable, the monitoring serves its normal adaptive function. One may not like to see a skin blemish on one's face, for instance, but it does not generally lead to alarm or distress.[2]

It is the result of this constant monitoring of the environment in which the individual component of the social system functions, that results in cognition, perception, self-image and the aspirations that determine the degree and the direction of his motivation for learning. (On the following page see drawing illustrating the incorporation of material into cognitive structure.)

Learning itself is made up of relatively permanent modifications of behavior resulting from growth in experience. Peterfreund and Schwartz pose some relevant questions as they apply to the psychoanalytic context:

> How does learning take place? Can we go beyond a simple clinical description of the learning process,

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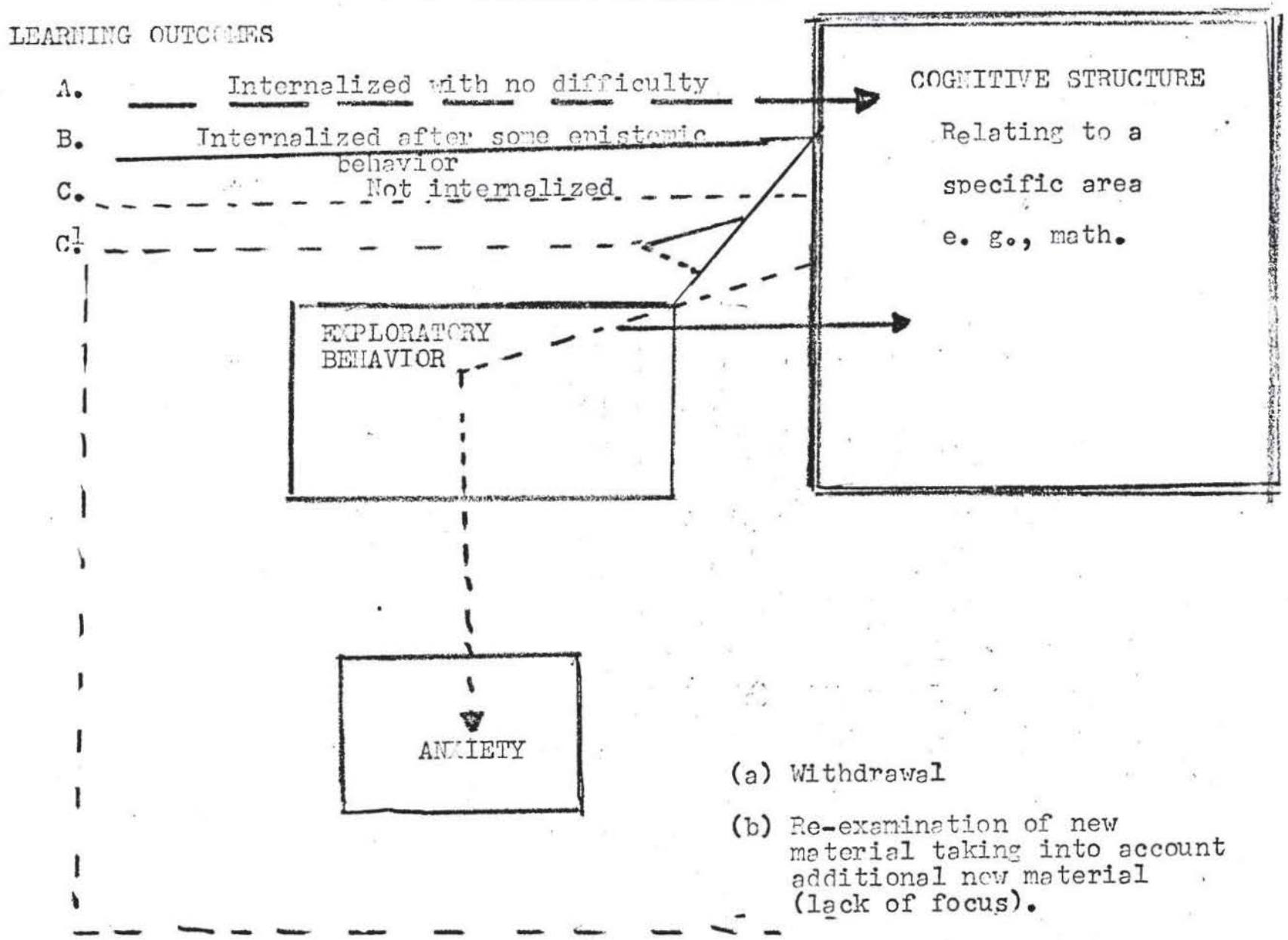
[1]Emanuel Peterfreund and Jacob T. Schwartz, Information, Systems, and Psychoanalysis (New York: International Universities Press, Inc., 1971), p. 147.

[2]Ibid., p. 177.

Figure 19

THE INCORPORATION OF MATERIAL INTO COGNITIVE STRUCTURE



(Raths, Pancella and Van Ness, 1967: 128)

> and can we somehow come to grips with the mechanism of the process? Of course, there is a definite limit to how far a psychoanalytic approach can go in answering these questions. Ultimately, learning must be conceptualized in highly complex, neural, chemical, molecular and electrical terms.[1]

However, the authors continue to outline an approach to a theory of learning which they can apply to the psychoanalytic process.

These authors consider stress first and it is evident that they are considering the human being as a "steady-state" or "homeostatic" system which, in their mind, insures maintenance and survival. For practical purposes this consideration of the human individual as "steady-state" seeking system is valid. The human being must optimize conditions in which he exists because he can do little to change the various components of his system within his life span. Evolution of his organs or components takes many generations to change. Therefore, the search for the optimal state of homeostasis is his best course of action. Thus, if he is well adjusted he will monitor his behavior to receive the greatest number of positive reinforcements from his environment and minimize the negative reactions.[2]

As Peterfreund and Schwartz put it,

> All control systems at all hierarchical levels of the organism are goal directed. One can always identify something that can be called a "purpose" or a goal, but, as discussed previously, this need not mean teleology.

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[1] Ibid., p. 187.

[2] For a more complete discussion of the therapeutic society see Thomas Szasz, Manufacture of Madness.

> An existing state is constantly compared to a "desired" state--the goal--and the difference or the "error" is adjusted. In the broadest sense the main goal or "purpose" is the maintenance of essential biological variables within an acceptable range, ensuring homeostasis and survival. In addition, subsidiary goals can always be identified. If we move a hand toward something, there are obvious goals, and there is constant feedback and error correction as existing states are compared to intended or desired states. A child learning a game or an adult learning a skill must undergo an essentially similar process. . . .
>
> The essential point is this; in order to reduce stress, in order to attain the ultimate goal of homeostasis and survival, or any subsidiary goal, the organism must activate the appropriate adapted organismic program--the product of past learning and of phylogenetically evolved programming. But if the appropriate program is not present, the organism must proceed to learn, it must reprogram itself to reduce stress.[1]

These two authors (again from the psychoanalytic point of view) go on to outline a model of the individual learning process which can be applied in the educational process. They say,

> I will present a very schematic outline of the essential changes that appear to take place in any control system as it responds over time to a new stress-producing stimulus, a stress-producing source of information. When optimal, these changes result in learning. This outline is presented as an initial suggestion for a general model of learning. Most of the activity to be described is not accompanied by awareness. I believe that the model holds for voluntary and involuntary activity.
>
> 1. <u>In the existing control system, biological variables operate as normal or average values and within a normal range.</u>
> 2. <u>There is a new stimulus, a new source of information.</u>
> 3. <u>A stress pattern results.</u>
> 4. <u>A sorting, selecting, scanning, trial-and-error process takes place.</u>
> 5. <u>"Natural" selection occurs.</u> A new program of

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[1] <u>Ibid.</u>, pp. 189-98.

information processing is found that restores the biological variables to their normal or average operating values. Dynamic equilibrium is restored. The broad biological goal and subsidiary goals are fulfilled. Stress is reduced.

6. The new optimum program of information processing is firmly established via reinforcement and reprogramming at all hierarchical levels. Over the course of time appropriate changes are made at all hierarchical levels, there is a "working through" process. Efficiency of operation is restored. There is a new biological order. The new learning which has occurred is adapted to the disequilibrating stimulus. New information, new structure, and new generalizations or abstractions have been formed. The new information-processing program contains information about the disequilibrating stimulus. The improbable has been made probable.[1]

The next point that these authors make is that the central role in the learning process is taken by generalization. Peterfreund and Schwartz comment,

> Generalization or abstraction may well be the central process in all learning. Certainly the ability to generalize appears to be a fundamental property of the central nervous system. . . .
> Learning means that a simplification takes place.[2]

The concept of alternate programs of behavior as answers to generalized situations is discussed by the same two authors in their consideration of conscious and unconscious processes. They say,

> The normal adult does not have to think very carefully about how to walk down steps, tie his shoelaces, or hold a spoon so it does not twist out of his hand, activities that were not easy to learn. In general, as I mentioned earlier, a thousand-and-one activities in life are carried out quite automatically as though they represented well-established stored subroutines which are called into activity by an over-all control and supervisory program. These subroutines are the

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[1] Ibid., pp. 189-90.

[2] Ibid., pp. 208-9.

> products of early learning. To establish them, time and attention--full awareness--were necessary, but they can function with minimal awareness after they have been established if the range of conditions to which they were adapted remains fundamentally unchanged. . . .
>
> Automatic subroutines, both phylogenetically ordained and learned, are monitored constantly. Alarm and alertness result if abnormality is observed, if what is observed does not match the expected. . . . Attention, accompanied by full awareness is automatically turned to the emergency situation. Other activity is interrupted, the emergency has high priority, and all available control processing circuitry is used to deal with it. Specific selections are made of relevant available information, probabilities are weighed, and decisions are made about future courses of action. . . .
>
> Attention involves selection. Relevant information and programs are activated. Automatically irrelevant programs will be deactivated, and many stimuli will not be fully processed.[1]

The final part of the learning process as these authors see it involves the concept of meaning. Meaning, too, is evolved from the results of previous behavior as part of the fund of experience of the organism. These meanings are then generalized and applied to similar situations in the future as is other learning.

The present writer has postulated that there is a parallel between the psychoanalytic process and the educational process. The two processes can be viewed as systems in which the same kinds of things happen. They both involve learning, an approach to the average, or the normal, and the application of the systems approach.

This parallel will be apparent from the discussion of the analytic process by Peterfreund:

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[1] Ibid., pp. 222-23.

> As I mentioned earlier, my interest in information-systems concepts crystallized around my attempts to conceptualize the psychoanalytic process as I understood it. Specifically, the feedback-regulated, homeostatic systems idea occurred to me in my attempt to resolve a basic question that puzzled me for a long time. How can anything valid and scientific emerge from a process involving two systems (patient and analyst) when each system is in constant flux and when each system is constantly influencing the other in ways that at any given moment may be unknown. I found nothing in current psychoanalytic theory that could begin to approach this fundamental scientific issue.[1]

The system involves, according to Peterfreund

> . . . a fundamental model of the psychoanalytic process, the nature of insight, the question of psychoanalytic evidence, the thinking process of the psychoanalyst and the nature of the therapeutic change in analysis. . . .
>
> Fundamentally, I view the analytic process as an extremely complex feedback-regulated, information-processing communication system involving patient and analyst. It is essentially a learning network which, under optimal conditions can lead to change, reprogramming, and adaptation on the part of both patient and analyst. Like other such systems, the analyst-patient system has purposes and goals, and there is, relatively speaking, an optimal strategy--an optimal programming of the system--to achieve these purposes and goals. . . .[2]

When the word pupil or student is substituted for the word patient and the word school is substituted for the word analyst, the parallel between the patient-analyst system and the school-student system becomes apparent.

From the foregoing discussion of the views of Skinner and Peterfreund and Schwartz on the subject of behavior and behavior modification to achieve system balance and positive

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[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 289-90.

[2] *Ibid.*

reinforcement, some generalizations can be derived from the relationship of the individual with his school and community environment.

First of all, in stating strategy of learning and education Peterfreund covers the same ground when he states,

> In general, I believe that we can say that the "grand strategy" of successful advanced living forms is the ability to learn; they are programmed to be able to reprogram themselves. This is another way of saying that they are programmed to adapt to new information, whatever its source. Here we can detect the unity of phylogenetic evolutionary processes and ontogenetic learning.[1]

Since specific learning and meaning are generalized to cover similar situations, it appears that the best tactics for insuring positive reinforcement of behavioral outcomes is to provide the individual with a number of alternative general masterprograms which can be plugged into general types of special situations and can guarantee positive reinforcement with a minimum number of changes in the master sequences. The situation is similar to standard programs that are now prepared for computers to which the individual can apply his own data with an assurance of a satisfactory outcome from readout.

Skinner offers a similar view in somewhat different terminology. It has been stated that the present-day school tends to fractionalize the student and to create an incongruence between his various partial social environments by modifying his behavior to function in the artificial

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[1] Ibid., p. 189.

environment of the school. Skinner comments as follows:

> You can't fragment a school completely for administrative reasons. With proper instructional materials, however, a student in a small country school could pursue a special course of study effectively. The way to avoid aversive control is to maintain positive reinforcement. Other benefits follow. We now teach subject matter: geography, arithmetic, spelling, grammar, and so on--in other words, various repertoires of responses. Indirectly we teach what we call abilities: ways of thinking, ways of solving problems. These can be attacked directly and taught much more effectively. I predict that the curriculum of the future will be designed around various capacities and abilities rather than around subject. It is much more important to teach clear thinking, ways of memorizing or thinking in three dimensions, than geography, history, or mathematics.[1]

Although Skinner is in favor of educational change to accomplish the positive reinforcement of behavior in the social context, his hopes for achieving it seem slim. About general education Skinner says,

> Yes, there again, you have people who are in a position to make decisions. There is no one within the educational system who is in such a position, and unfortunately, those who are on the outside advocating changes are not aware of the possibilities. When we eventually look back on the educational reform in the 1960's, we will see that those who have spoken out most vigorously have completely neglected method.[2]

He goes on to point out the difficulty of implementation of change in the administrative process,

> The problem of implementation is prodigious. I hate to think of the administrative changes required to improve education as we know it could be improved. Change will come slowly. . . .[3]

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[1] Evans, B. F. Skinner: The Man and His Ideas, p. 72.

[2] Ibid., p. 65.

[3] Ibid., p. 73.

As Skinner has pointed out, the implementation of change will present a problem but the method has been pointed out by both Skinner and Peterfreund. The method is, instead of stressing the teaching of values in the school (as illustrated in the drawing on the following page), the school should stress behavioral modification as was discussed in the preceding section. The changing of attitudes is a slow process whenever it is attacked directly.

However, psychologists have found that once behavior has been changed to fit new patterns, attitudes will follow. There have been experimental studies made that have verified this concept empirically. Change in behavior is accepted in American Society, so long as it can be promulgated in the name of technical progress, and as it has been demonstrated, technicalogical change inevitably has social consequences.

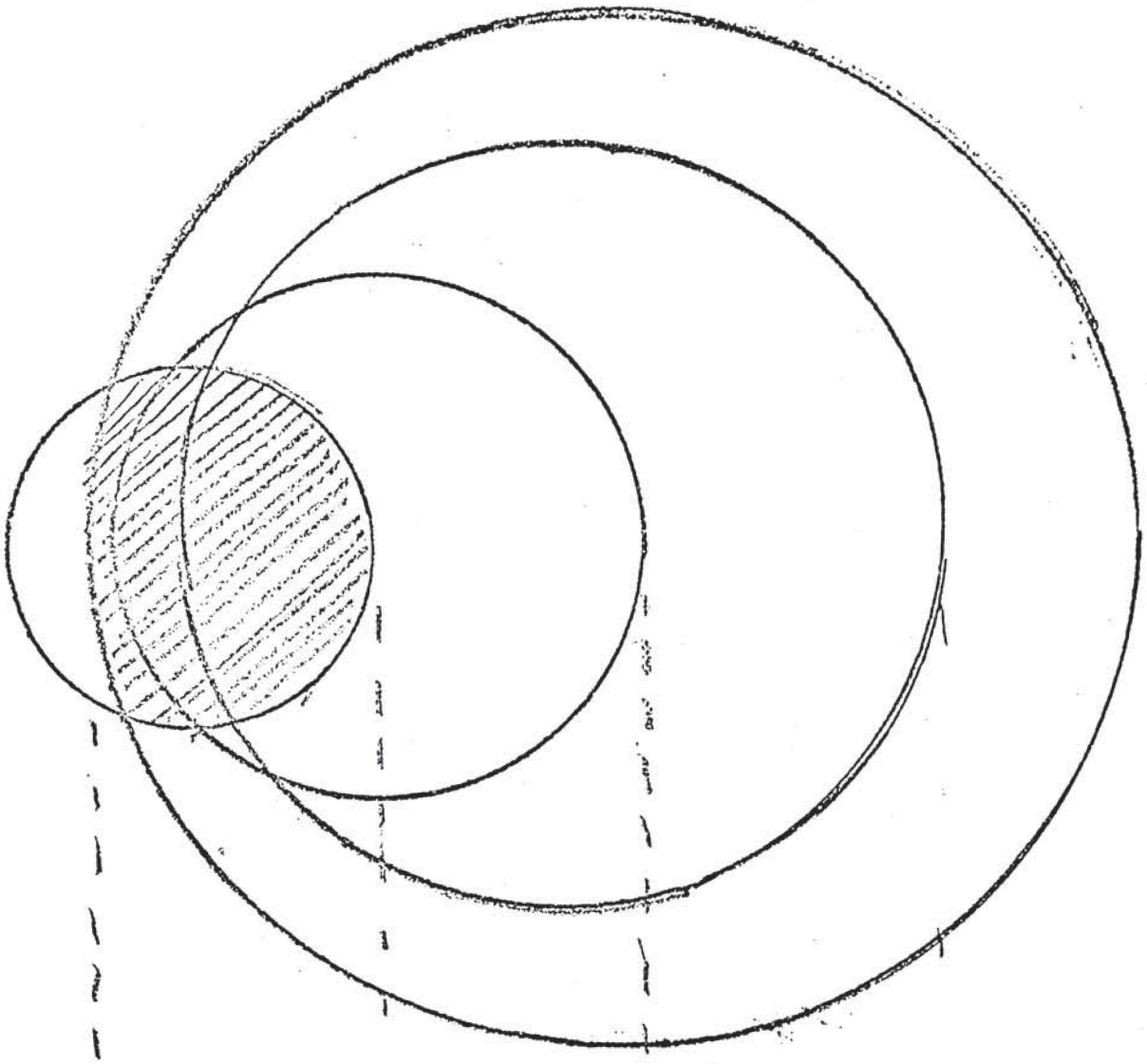
As London puts it a certain amount of change in education as a result of technology is inevitable.

London comments,

> If there is one area where technological acceleration will help enable people to absorb the impact of technological acceleration it is formal education. Three factors, all positive, are most responsible for this: first, our knowledge of the principles of human learning is forming and becoming sophisticated, so that we increasingly understand not only the rules of reinforcement on which learning rests, but also the facts of experience and development which make it possible to apply them intelligently to children of different backgrounds and tasks of different kinds. Second, the proliferation of equipment, from programmed texts to videotape, makes it increasingly possible to present almost anything we want taught in effective packages which communicate subject matter in ways that make it intelligible and memorable. Third, the use of computers as teaching machines creates almost limitless

Figure 20

IDEALIZED SYSTEMS DIAGRAM SHOWING THE RELATIONSHIP OF THE COMPONENTS OF THE SOCIAL SYSTEM AND NOTING THE LACK OF ABSOLUTE CONGRUENCY OF VALUES HELD BETWEEN THE SOCIETY, THE COMMUNITY, THE SCHOOL, AND THE STUDENT BODY



Emergent humanitarian values held by the young that lie outside both the larger society and the component sub-units.

Maximum point of value agreement between the student body and the other components of the social system.

Maximum point to which the values of the school coincide with those of the community in which it is located.

> possibilities for individualizing the instruction of even the most complex topics and for even the most heterogeneous groups of students. The technical future of education, by all means the most pervasive behavior control in human history, is golden. What it will be used for is another matter.[1]

The biggest repressive factor for behavior modification will, of course--as was pointed out in the discussion of the characteristics of the local community--be the Conservative Tradition and its effect on the attitudes of the inhabitants of the social setting in which the school exists.

This situation presents a major problem in communication. In order to make decisions that will result in the optimum function of the school as the complementary component of the community in the social context the administrator must have accurate perception of the social climate and the ability to get innovations in behavior modification accepted by the local community. Without community support, or if hostility is incurred by influential members of the community, new ideas have little chance of being tried, let alone be successful.

The framework of the system approach allows the adjustment of the local component (the individual school) to the specific social situation at the "grass roots" level of the local community. This pupil-school-community interface is at the level where choices have to be made which can determine what the actual character of the experiences of

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[1]Perry London, Behavior Control (New York: Harper & Row, publishers, Inc., 1969), pp. 158-59.

the student in the school will be. In the dynamic American environment the knowledge explosion has gone out of control. The amount of knowledge available has multiplied to such an extent that its recording, classification, and storage are not fully possible, let alone its successful utilization. This, too, presents problems for curriculum design. For instance, should the school attempt to convey bodies of factual knowledge, concepts, or simply try to provide alternate programs of behavior which will allow the student to see, sort, and apply knowledge in a variety of situations? Still in the knowledge area should past efforts to distinguish disciplines in narrow specialized fields of study be continued? Or, again, should generalized paths of inquiry be provided to allow the student to see all knowledge as a unified body, in which disciplinary divisions appear only as techniques to classify knowledge and to use it in particular ways?

Another problem area of local education concerns the individual and the group. The American society was founded on the concept of individualism as was discussed in the section on the American Dream of Success. Yet, in the years since World War II, in parallel with the knowledge explosion, has been a "people explosion." The growth in the population brings into conflict the ideal values of democracy and the ideals of the sanctity of the individual. Should the school be conducted for primarily the group welfare with the individual welfare as secondary, or for the individual with the

group welfare as secondary? This brings a conflict of values --e.g., "all men created free and equal" which is often quoted in the media.

As Dr. Delgado comments,

> The overwhelming experimental evidence shows that human behavior can be controlled by psychological means, and the new approach of physical manipulation of the brain is only one more aspect of possible behavioral control.
>
> The widely accepted principle that "all men are born free and equal" is cherished as the backbone of democratic societies and the basis of human dignity. If we interpret the statement as an ideal for social organization or as a symbolic expression of human rights, the principle is certainly commendable. If we analyze its biological basis, however, we realize that freedom of the newborn is only wishful thinking, and that liberal acceptance of this fallacy may cause frustrations and conflicts. . . .
>
> Heredity is established by pure chance--not chosen by parents or by the individual--and this genetic determination represents the potential to be a genius or an idiot. Denying the existence of mental functions in the newborn, emphasizing the essentiality of extra-cerebral elements for the appearance of the mind, and accepting that the baby lacks the capacity to search and choose the decisive initial inputs leads to the conclusion of the possibility and convenience of intelligent planning as superior to blind chance. . . .
>
> The "personal identity" of the newborn is a question of definition, because initially he has potentialities rather than realities. Being left or right-handed, more or less excitable, possessing a white or black skin, and the faculty--or inability--to learn are genetically determined characteristics. After the baby is born, the choices are: <u>who</u> is going to provide the necessary information and training, <u>what and how much</u> will be provided, and the <u>techniques</u> to be used. The ideological vacuum of the newborn brain cannot be filled by autochthonous neuronal spikes but by experiences and cultural inputs. The unfortunate circumstance is that the baby, for whom the consequences of these choices are so important, is totally unable to participate in the decision.
>
> The elements which form the frame of reference for individual mental structure include, among others: language, knowledge, beliefs, and patterns of response, but the number of existing cultural elements is

> enormous and only a few are received by each person. This requires a process of selection. . . .[1]

The foregoing discussion by Dr. Delgado points up only one facet of a broad area of conflict which is created by the factors of ideology, technology and demographic growth--forcing a confrontation between the ideal of individualism versus the ideal of the "greatest good for the greatest number."

Another important problem created by the growing pluralism and the complexity of society, accompanied with horizontal physical mobility of the population is the problem of the growing number of functions which are being added to the curriculum in addition to the central one of behavioral modification for cognitive learning. The principal contributor of additional functions to the school is the family. Industrialization and urbanization, accompanied by technological progress and the resultant growing equality of women and their utilization as production and service workers in the economy alongside men, has altered both the form and the function of the family. The family has changed from a patriarchal institution to a democratic institution in which the lines of authority have become confused resulting in the loss of clear adult "models" for the young. The growth of technology and the urban movement has lessened the need of children in the home to do chores and has changed

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[1]Jose M. Delgado, Physical Control of the Mind (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1969), pp. 250-51.

them from economic assets to economic liabilities. The growth of technology, too, has resulted in the lack of demand for unskilled labor and has outmoded many other past skills--this has produced a large pool of unemployed heads of families. In some cases this has even spanned two or three generations of one family. Another problem is created by the function of communication and the lack of it. The creation of the mass media which are available to everyone has provided a model of an affluent society with conspicuous consumption. The result is that people who do not have the wherewithal to follow that style of life are exposed to the ideas of conspicuous consumption and this becomes their standard. The result is both conflict and frustration. The result is that they attempt to emulate that style of life without the economic base. Too much mass communication is accompanied with a decrease of intergenerational communication in the home. This is due to other demands on the time of both the parents and the children. The loss of the semi-extended agricultural family and the resulting nuclear family of the spouses and their unmarried children has increased isolation, impersonality, anomie, vividly expressed in the present dependence on the state for security. In primitive societies and in the agricultural society, security was furnished by the family and was not an impersonal service of the state.

All of the foregoing conditions have lead to the necessity for the school to take over certain functions that were formerly carried out by the family. The problem of

immunization and preventative health, insurance protection, physical development programs, and even the factor of a balanced diet have become the concern of the educational institution.

In addition to the functions which the school has inherited from the family, it has also inherited some from other institutions and the community. An example of this is given by the extracurricular program, organized sports, and recreation. This is a trend which is increasing rather than decreasing. The scope of the school program is then liable to grow rather than to diminish in light of the continuously growing range of the functions of the educational institution. A case in point, of the above claim, is the fact that many schools are now serving breakfast for younger children to insure a proper physical state for learning.

The growing number of functions of the school is adding to an existing problem of the nature of the structure and character of the educational institution itself. It is a quasi-total institution which is moving ever closer to the classification of a total institution. Goffman describes a total institution as:

> . . . listed for convenience in five rough groupings, First, there are institutions established to care for persons thought to be both incapable and harmless; these are the homes for the blind, the aged, the orphaned, and the indigent. Second, there are places established to care for persons thought to be at once incapable of looking after themselves and a threat to the community, albeit an unintended one; TB sanitoriums, mental hospitals, and leprosoriums. Third, another type of total institution is organized to protect the community against what are thought to be

> intentional dangers to it; here the welfare of the persons thus sequestered is not the immediate issue. Examples are: Jails, penitentiaries, POW camps, and concentration camps. Fourth, we find institutions purposedly established the better to pursue some technical task and justifying themselves only on those instrumental grounds: Army barracks, shops, boarding schools, work camps, colonial compounds, large mansions from the point of view of those who live in the servants' quarters, and so forth. Finally, there are those establishments designed as retreats from the world or as training stations for the religious: Abbeys, monasteries, convents, and other cloisters.[1]

Then, a total institution seems to be a social arrangement where a group of people tend to sleep, play, work in the same place, with the same set of participants, under the same roof, or in the same compound, with the same authority, and subjected to a formal rational plan which orders their activities. This may either be a voluntary or involuntary association. Generally some of the behavior required is involuntary and even resisted on the part of the individual.

It can be seen that these characteristics fit the school to a great extent. There are a group of students who receive the ministrations of the school whether they want them or not; they increasingly work, play and eat together in the same space (and the possibility of sleeping in the same quarters is not beyond the realm of probability). They are the inmates and subject to the same authority, the staff and the administrators. They cannot enter or leave the premises at will and so are subject to the custodial function of

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[1]Goffman, Asylums, cited by Stein, Vidlich, and White, Identity and Anxiety, p. 450.

the school. (This function has a distinct punitive aspect.) Their activities and duties are prescribed by a rational plan--the curriculum (which can also be administered in a punitive manner).

An example of the negative reinforcement of the punitive aspect of the school as a total institution is pointed up by Dr. Skinner when he observes,

> Devices of many kinds will certainly be used--and for very good reasons. One is to get away from aversive control. There is an article in this morning's paper saying that teachers in New York are no longer going to be allowed to assign homework as punishment. School work is considered punishment. You'll find teachers who excuse students from schoolwork as a reward. That's just the wrong way around. Additional homework ought to be rewarding, and if you want to punish someone, you should deprive him of the opportunity to study. But this is as unthinkable as using positive reinforcement to control traffic violations. We are committed to a punitive system, and we are experiencing all the by-products of it: dropouts, truants, vandalism, and so on. But to effect change you've got to arrange much better schedules of reinforcement than the teacher can possibly arrange when working with a large group of students. If you had an individual tutor for each student, it's conceivable that standard methods could be appropriately employed. But you don't, and so you have to work out other ways in which the student will be appropriately reinforced to shape his behavior progressively toward the goals of education. A technology of teaching should emphasize individual instruction. Educators pay lip service to that; they advocate individual instruction. But their practices are as regimented as they can possibly be. A state board specified exactly what the student should be studying all the way through the system. Nothing could be more regimented than that, but we know they aren't going to learn what is specified and so we're not worried. We now solve the problem of regimentation by teaching badly. . . .[1]

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[1]Evans, B. F. Skinner: The Man and His Ideas, p. 70.

The purpose of this study as stated at the outset has been to show the applicability of a body of social theory in structuring a case study design generally, with the specific goal of showing how behavioral principles and conflict theory apply in the evolution of one educational climate and corresponding conditions of morale.

The idea of a theoretical study is to use the principles of a body of theory to form generalizations that appear to be verified in reality and can be applied from one social context to another which is generally similar.

So far general theoretical tenets have been presented, woven into an overall theoretical orientation, and this body of theory has been applied to certain empirical case studies on the level of the particular which has produced evidence supportive of particular propositions derived from the individual theoretical concepts and partial theories which would tend to support their applicability individually to generally similar social situations. Now, it remains to combine these propositions and theoretical concepts and see if they can be applied across-the-board as a unified body of analysis to a particular situation as it evolved over the time dimension.

In the case study that follows, these propositions and theoretical tenets will be applied as a framework for analysis in an effort to arrive at conclusions concerning the mangement-morale relationship which are correspondingly suggested by logical extrapolation and by behavioral evidence.

PART II

THE ARBITRARY PATERNALISTIC AUTHORITY SYSTEM AND ITS SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES IN TERMS OF AN EVOLVING EDUCATIONAL CLIMATE DURING THE PREPARTICIPATORY PHASE OF THE STUDY

VI. THE SETTING

Nebendorf is a small village of some 800 residents located near the population center of Midland City, Illinois (90,000) which is in turn, located in the very heart of the richest farm land of the Midwest. The district which Nebendorf High School serves is located in parts of two counties. The district was formed in 1948. In the years following, several schools within the district were closed and the number of attendance centers were reduced. Since 1950 this high school has been the only high school in operation in the district.

Approximately 360 students were enrolled in Nebendorf High School at the beginning of the study in 1968. At the time of the beginning of the study the district had an assessed valuation of approximately $27,700,000. This resulted in an assessed valuation per student of about $25,000. In comparison with other unit districts in the state, this might be considered as "high average."

As noted previously, this school district is located in the heart of one of the three richest agricultural areas of the world. Almost all of this area is provided business and professional services by Midland City. Midland City is a center of approximately 90,000 inhabitants and is located about eight miles from the village of Nebendorf. The school

districts of Nebendorf and Midland City are contiguous.

The Nebendorf school district does not include a major population center. Some of the inhabitants farm. A few are self-employed. A large percentage of the population is employed in business and industry in Midland City. In fact, a large percentage of the student body have Midland City addresses, although they are not counted as part of the Midland City school district. These students who reside in the suburban areas of Midland City often come from families who are "suburban" in location, attitude, and philosophy.

The proximity of this school district to the population center of Midland City has had tremendous influence in shaping curriculum, policy and "way of life." The closeness of the two units has also had an effect on the number, kinds, and extent of social problems in the community and in the school.

Examination of the pertinent data available concerning the character of the student body at the beginning of the study revealed that the mental ability (compared) of the student body was somewhat above average. Test results and scholarship performance tended to bear this out. Records indicated that about fifty-one percent of the graduating class of 1967 enrolled in college. Over the several years preceding 1967, the average percentage of class going on to college had been about forty-seven percent.

VII. THE CAST OF CHARACTERS--PERPETRATORS, INITIATORS AND DECISION-MAKERS

The behavior that resulted in the social consequences in terms of social climate and staff morale that will be described and analyzed in this study was, to a large extent, shaped by the attitudes and actions of the following individuals and groups.

Mr. Phillips (retiring superintendent) - Mr. Phillips had been in the school district since the time of its inception in 1948. He had announced his intention to retire at the end of the 1967-68 school year. He was an autocrat who insisted on administrator membership and attendance at teacher meetings--very anti-union.

Mr. England (Principal in the 1967 and 1968 school years) - Mr. England had been principal for a period of more than five years and desired to be the successor to Mr. Phillips as unit superintendent. Mr. England was very much worried about his position in the community.

Mr. Hicks (new principal) - Mr. Hicks was hired as principal at the end of the 1967-68 school year with the successful promotion of the previous principal, Mr. England, to the position of superintendent to replace the retiring Mr. Phillips. An acquaintance of Mr. England and an individual that he believed he could manipulate.

Mr. Kraft (long-time resident of the district, member of prominent family and successful basketball coach) - During the school year 1967-68, this man was changed from his job as Athletic Director, and made Vice-principal. He retained his job as Head Basketball Coach but gave up the mental hygiene classes which he had been teaching in addition to his athletic duties. Mr. Kraft was reactionary and military in both appearance and philosophy.

Mrs. Brown (Guidance counsellor) - Mrs. Brown was academically well-qualified for her position, being the only member of the staff at the time with a Specialist's Degree in Education. She was a local figure, well-known by some of the staff and many of the parents, and felt to be poorly qualified for her position emotionally by reason of the personal problems she had in terms of health and private life. This individual had lived in the community, had been divorced and remarried there, and was experiencing considerable marital and social difficulty in her private life of which she made little secret. She became the butt of jokes for the faculty and students because of her bizarre habits and manner of dress.

Mr. Jacobson (New Athletic Director and Football Coach 1968-69 season) - Mr. Jacobson was a young man who had three years experience in the athletic program of the district (which was greatly interested in its athletic program). He was opportunistic, ambitious--in other words, a man on the way up. He was married to a local girl which gave him a tie with the community. At this point in time he was being groomed as a successor by Mr. Kraft.

Mr. Dole (Industrial arts teacher) - Mr. Dole came to the unit in 1964 and had very definite ideas about the administration of education and the makeup of the program of instruction.

Mrs. Smith, Mrs. Ford, Mrs. Farben, and Mrs. Dobbs (a clique of teachers which Mr. Kraft was wont to refer to as "the old guard"--this group of teachers was academically-oriented, highly conservative and opinionated in their attitudes toward the administrative procedures, the character of the staff, and the program of instruction).

Mr. Fisher (new principal) - This administrator was the man who (at the end of the period covered in this study) took over the school at its lowest point in terms of social climate and morale and started it on an uptrend through changes in leadership, authority patterns and instructional program.

Narrator - A staff member who made up a one-teacher department outside the cliques and power struggles and who, through his membership on the faculty, functioned as participant observer during the time of case study.

Other Staff and Students - These people are important by reason of being the recipients of the policies and actions of the administrative personnel and who reacted to them. It is this reaction and the behavior that accompanied it that is the interest of this study as an indication of the changes in the school climate and staff morale.

VIII. THE NARRATIVE: THE CHRONOLOGICAL SEQUENCE OF EVENTS, THE BEHAVIOR OF CONCERNED INDIVIDUALS AND CERTAIN THEORETICAL CONNOTATIONS

As pointed out in the section on the setting of the investigation, the unit came into existence as a result of the consolidation of two high school districts. In order to bring this about a personality was needed to overcome the objection of both small districts to the act of consolidation. This person was Mr. Phillips. He was the first and only superintendent of the Nebendorf schools until the first change cited in this study was made. As far as the public was concerned this man was a "survivor" and could "trade off" issues and so maintain himself securely in the middle of both camps. As far as the faculty was concerned, he was an authoritarian and an autocrat who maintained his membership in the teachers' organizations and attended faithfully so as to keep his finger on "potential troublemakers" on the staff.

Among the staff, of course, he had his supporters who acted as informants and who used their vote to see that his ideas were the ones that received consideration. These were generally women who worked in the elementary schools and who, being members of the community, and whose husbands were employed, were teaching as their way of rendering some sort of "community service."

In this way the superintendent kept the faculty as "powerless people." An example of this kind of operation made in 1967 was the attempt by the president of the local teachers' organization to have a union organizer to speak to the teachers' organization about unionization in the schools on a purely information basis. There had been a policy of getting resource people from the community to come in and speak to the organization to impart information on various aspects of the educational scene. The superintendent, when he heard of this forthcoming speech, interpreted the situation as a threat to his absolute control of the faculty and he then called the president of the organization into his office and used threats to intimidate him. He steadfastly refused to have such a meeting take place on school property and intimated that if it were to take place anywhere else the results for those who attended, in terms of being reported to the board, would suffer.

The superintendent made it a policy of attending the board meetings without his principals because he wanted to retain all the power in his own hands. The board of education was preponderantly conservative in attitude. Although the community was rural, and the board was made up of a majority of rural landowners or business men, the student body came from homes that had their income from employment in Midland City. The board, too, did not want to lose power by having the union come from Midland City to Nebendorf and so they were solidly behind Mr. Phillips in his move to quash

the organization meeting just discussed. The general philosophical and social orientation of the various components of Nebendorf High School are, of course, not greatly at variance with those of other like communities. A further example of the conservative, if not reactionary, posture of the board at this time (possibly not all on their own--because of the influence of Mr. Phillips) was demonstrated in the matter of the Easter Vacation hassle of 1968. The time of the Easter Vacation had been set on the school calendar at the beginning of the year. During the beginning of the year and in the time preceding the Easter vacation, the students (and the staff generally agreed) decided that a different period (but the same number of days) would be best for the Easter Vacation. A petition was generated in the student body, and some of the teachers signed it. The board members received telephone calls from the students, and, as a result, became adamant and called in a representative group of the faculty to explain the fact that the petition would not be allowed to be circulated at the next board meeting.

They were informed that in the class work in social studies the students learned about citizens' rights to petition. One board member, after hearing this, said, "It's all right to tell them about these things, but they are not to be allowed to practice them in this way." The double standard that was evident in his comment was not evident to him.

Naturally, the superintendent was victorious in his confrontation with the teachers' organization, and he

continued to control the staff with an iron hand. The case of the organization meeting is just one case in point of how this superintendent while manipulating the public used authority in a capricious and arbitrary manner to control and repress any move for change on the staff.

He was so successful in maintaining the "status quo" and acting as "hatchet man" for the board that he was able to survive at the job until reaching mandatory retirement age.

Naturally, he was not popular with the majority of the faculty, and they had many derogatory names for him and the members of his "spy" system. He had a penchant for seeing that the buses operated efficiently (he put himself on bus duty every day and personally started the buses off with a wave of his hand). This action earned him the name of "trail boss" and "head 'em up and move 'em out" became the derogatory comment used frequently by the teachers who, powerless to express their disapproval of his methods, were reduced to name-calling and sarcasm.

As far as discipline was concerned, the superintendent was more interested in the "image" he created in the community than he was in maintaining the educational climate. He appointed a principal who became as expert at manipulating the public and putting the "onus" on the teachers as he had been. But, this was only after several trials had failed. In the past years of the unit there had been a series of local "roughnecks" who, being from relatively powerful families, had their way. These individuals, because of their

family ties or their connection with sports, had pretty much their own way. Sports were stressed over the other parts of the school program (as is still somewhat the case) and, as these roughnecks were on the team they escaped punishment for acts which would have resulted in the expulsion of other students. A single example will illustrate this type of situation. One night while one of the early principals was home with his family, he heard loud noises and foul language in front of his house. When he went to the door, he was roundly cursed by the group in his yard. He called the sheriff, but no action was ever taken because of the social pressures brought to bear from the community.

The last principal, however, (as was previously indicated) was as skilled as the superintendent in "passing the buck" down the ladder to the staff and remaining clear of the community disapproval. This man was a man of considerable skill and acumen. Like Mr. Phillips, he was a "survivor," and he was able to pick out those among the student "troublemakers" who came from less powerful families and make them into examples when this would further his cause. He exercised little direct power because of the nature of the superintendent (who had his office and his secretary right next door to the principal's office in the same building). He was, however, able to use his skill at interpretation of the situation and intrigue to maintain his position in the community and to survive at his job in spite of the superintendent.

As to his relations with the staff, he was much more diplomatic and he concealed the "iron fist" in a "velvet glove." He would back the teacher in grades or disciplinary matters if it were prudent to do so, but if the situation was one that involved a student from a politically vocal family, he would find a way of putting the onus on the teacher while giving the impression that he was trying to be fair.

With the public being manipulated and the faculty rendered "powerless" by Mr. Phillips and the student body controlled through selective enforcement of rules by the principal the "lid" was kept on.

As a result, the educational climate was one of uneasiness and uncertainty to say the least, due to the selective handling of the disciplinary problems, and the preferential status given to athletes. There were many rules but there was confusion and anxiety among faculty and students as a result of the capricious and arbitrary operation of school policy. In order to survive, the teachers had to resort to meting out their own discipline and to handing down the same methods, with consequent damage to their identity and self-images. So it was that the methods of the administration permeated the teacher-student relationship as well.

In the sociological sense, the educational climate had deteriorated and morale was low and continuing to sink. Conflict was the state of the situation but neither the staff nor the students had the power that could be brought to bear through organization to force a confrontation. Therefore,

the conflict between the dominant groups (the administration) and the minority groups (in terms of power--the staff and the students) was not resolved but simply avoided for a time. The situation would not improve in such a climate because there was conflict within the situation that would surface as soon as the pressures of repression slackened, and this came about in the months to come.

Luckily the unit was outside the central city so that the problems of the student bodies of the city schools, although present, weren't as serious in degree as those faced in the city. But this, too, was about to change.

Communication is much better between the youth than it is among adults and, at this point in the historical dimension, the "hippie" and the "drug" scenes hit Midland City with a vengeance. The adult population could do little but condemn these new phenomena in emotional and moralistic terms. Actual knowledge about what these situations were all about was completely lacking. It was at this time, too, that the "freaks" among the student body at Nebendorf established contacts with their own kind in the central city. This gave them a power of organization for dissent that had not existed before. Outside interests supplied information, ideology and organization. The drug and delinquent subculture of the central city was therefore extended to the suburbs and gave a sense of power for confrontation. This became a way that the students involved could gain recognition by the establishment, (reinforcement) even if it was negative. By putting

the establishment on the defensive and forcing them to act against the nonconformists they were able to twist negative reinforcement so as to build positive self-images among the balance of the student body as "martyrs."

By becoming "victims" of the arbitrary exercise of power by the establishment, they called up the majority of the rest of the student body (even though they were not in sympathy with their cause).

This was the case as it had developed just after Phillips retired. Sociologically, it is a sound principle (exemplified by the French Revolution) that it is not during the period of most severe repression that people rebel. It is in a period of relative freedom when repression is relaxed and tension is released. Then rising expectations are built up in the oppressed or repressed group and when repression is clamped on again it will be resisted fiercely.

Such became the case at Nebendorf. With the decision to retire, the superintendent began an active campaign in community relations. He was desirous of leaving with the best impression possible. He eased up on the faculty because he no longer had the problem of control to cope with. He could "coast" out his service and leave the impression, or "image," of being a "democratic" administrator.

On the other hand, Mr. England (who had ambitions of replacing Mr. Phillips as head administrator) felt that he had to do something to promote an image of being a "strong" and "progressive" administrator. He took an "innovative"

attitude, and further released pressure on the students in order to build his community image. He did not want community resistance to his appointment as a result of some kind of unwise disciplinary action. Nevertheless, the anxiety and frustration of faculty members heightened and those who would not chance solving their own instructional and disciplinary problems (particularly new teachers and women teachers) would try to avoid being forced to confront an incident with a student which would put them in danger of punitive action. The result was detrimental to their concept of identity and their self-image and turned them in upon themselves. As a result, an element, who read the educational climate correctly (interpretation of the situation)[1] began to assert themselves more forcefully.

Mr. England was able to stay on top of the situation and win his appointment as superintendent. He found a way to put the faculty to work on a project which again took the pressure off the administration and focused the onus of guilt for any wrongdoing on the staff itself. He hit upon the idea

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[1]The "definition of the situation" is a concept of psychology and of the symbolic interactionist approach which, briefly stated, maintains that an individual, when he walks into a new situation, sizes it up in terms of other situations he has faced, generalizes it, and then categorizes it in terms of a cultural repertoire that he has developed for handling unfamiliar circumstances. Then, he acts according to his analysis. Sometimes, however, the clues that he uses for his analysis lead him astray. For a more complete description of this concept see W. I. Thomas, On Social Organization and Social Personality--Selected Papers, Edited and introduced by Morris Janowitz (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966).

of inviting a North Central Accreditation Evaluation. The first step of such an evaluative procedure is a self-evaluation by the staff of the school concerned and the drawing up of a philosophy of education. While the staff was busy evaluating itself and criticizing the methods they were using, it allowed the administration respite to breathe easier and created the feeling in the community that all was well with their school system because of the campaign of attendant publicity.

In defense of the contention that this was a deliberate program directed at the securing of the appointment is offered the following bitter observation (believed to be started by Mr. Kraft) that the evaluation was the P.I.T.S. program. This name was one given by one faculty member (it signified Promote Ike to Superintendent--his name was Ike) and taken up by others.

This move was excellent because at the end of one of these evaluations a full-blown report is prepared by the evaluating team. Rarely are these reports basically unfavorable (criticisms are couched in much verbiage and circumlocution) and there are ways for the school administration being visited to "pad" the visitation team with people favorable to them personally. As a result, the report of the North Central Association concerning the program of instruction and the educational climate at Nebendorf High School was very complimentary and when shown to the board created a very favorable impression of the leadership of Mr. England. So

it was that Mr. England was able to use this report to buttress his case for not making a change in the administrational setup.

Although all of the personnel involved (including Mr. England) were perfectly ethical in conduct, an inaccurate definition of the situation and picture of the educational climate was created. Three days are not a sufficient time to observe a school to see what conditions really are. The administration had succeeded in keeping the lid on the situation and in keeping the staff occupied in self-criticism so that, on the surface, everything appeared to be free of conflict.

Such was not the case; conflict was everywhere, beneath the surface. Unresolved conflict between the staff and the administration, conflict between the establishment and the student body, and conflict between the students and the teachers all existed to a serious degree. There was even a state of conflict between the members of the staff themselves.

During this period of faculty frustration and crisis, it turned in upon itself in a search for a target. Those members of the faculty who were somewhat "different" in terms of manner, dress, or values, or if they were sympathetic in any degree to the cause of the students, became the object of criticism or attack as incompetent troublemakers. This, too, became a self-fulfilling prophecy in the total lack of an orientation program for new teachers or of any positive help

on the job with disciplining or observation in terms of increasing their competency.[1] This forced nonconformist teachers to fit the role expectations demanded of them by the balance of the staff and the administration.

For example the mortality of English teachers on the job became a serious problem in the next two years. There was a series of seven English teachers in a period of three years time. The chief reason for their failure was in the area of discipline and in the use and interpretation of modern literary works. The use of profanity in the books prompted both public and staff resentment. A campaign for the elimination of certain books was launched. The free interpretation of these works in terms of their social messages further alienated the balance of the staff. They, in turn, were unable to handle disciplinary problems on their own and particularly if it involved an athlete, not only were they not backed up but were criticized openly by the administration and their troubles snowballed.

As pointed out previously, students were exposed to authority which was both arbitrary and capricious. Those who appeared to play the role which outwardly conformed to the expectations of the dominant groups (in their case, the faculty and the administration) were outside the pale of disciplinary action. This was the case, too, with those engaged

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[1]Thomas developed the concept of the self-fulfilling prophecy and it was expanded by Robert K. Merton and others. See Thomas, On Social Organization and Social Personality.

in athletics. Those who by appearance, dress, or manner approached the stereotypes of nonconformity, or the hippie or drug subculture, were legitimate targets for the frustration and resentment of the staff (who felt themselves powerless and needed a target to vent their frustration). As a result the faculty lounge became a forum for the "labeling" or "stereotyping" of certain individuals as deviant. As Mr. Dole would say, these people were obviously "hard core." Frequently these students became secondary deviants for they recognized themselves as deviant and played the only role left open to them that they could play and receive reinforcement--the role of the deviant. In this way they satisfied the group expectations of their "other" (to them the group expectations to be satisfied were those of the group composed of the staff and the administration).

With the slight lift in repressive control of the students during the time of the power play involved in the change of administration, and the lack of support for the faculty, provided a fertile soil for the kinds of events just described.

As time went on, the conflict under the surface began to become more evident as students from the delinquent subculture began to openly resist the rules of discipline and the dress code. Dissension between individuals and groups on the staff began to develop open rifts as people began to take sides vocally and publicly for the first time.

With the advancement of the principal, Mr. England,

to the position of Superintendent for the 1968-69 school year, the position of principal became vacant and the position of vice principal was created to take care of the developing disciplinary problem.

The new superintendent was much more progressively oriented than his predecessor, but he still wanted to keep control of the school. He did initiate a new type of leadership and authority. Where the previous superintendent had not allowed the underlings to assume responsibility and maintained power in his own hands, the new superintendent gave the principals and the vice principal responsibility but he restricted their power. He removed himself from the high school building and thus put social distance between himself and the principal. This allowed him to divorce himself from the unfavorable outcomes of any disciplinary mistakes.

For his first principal the new superintendent chose an acquaintance, the superintendent of a small unit, whom he was certain he could control, and recommended him to the board as good material for the job. His choice was accepted and Mr. Hicks, the new principal, began his duties in August of 1968.

Mr. England fully indoctrinated the new principal with his conception of community relations. So as to remove any threat to his position, he stressed that he wanted things to go on as efficiently as they had been, but, in addition, he wanted to create an atmosphere of professionalism and progress (two factors which hadn't worried Mr. Phillips too

much). The post of vice principal was created and was charged with the specific duties of nipping the developing student trouble in the bud and giving the staff the idea that they were being listened to and their recommendations given consideration (and on occasion acted upon).

The man chosen to head the new position of vice principal was Mr. Kraft, who had been athletic director and head basketball coach. Mr. Kraft had been teaching additional classes in mental hygiene and he thought himself to be a lay psychologist. His conclusions, however, were simplistic, and he made use of stereotyped information from his outdated textbooks to give a quick diagnosis of individuals' ills. He had been a coach for 19 years and his teams were frequently quite good. He had the additional advantage of being from a prominent local family. He wanted to get into administration and he felt that his reputation as a coach, the respect the community accorded him, and his expertise with psychological principles would enable him to handle the situation with a minimum of strain while still maintaining his favored pay status. Also, he had the additional advantage of having been a lifelong friend of the new superintendent. The board and the superintendent agreed that his chances of handling the job were excellent and consequently he was appointed to it.

The educational climate and the morale of both staff and students were at the null point in the fall of 1968 and were capable of being pushed either up or down.

With the opening of school in the fall of 1968, the situation began to deteriorate rapidly. Confrontation between the youth subculture and the establishment increased as a result of local conditions and outside agitation from forces from the larger community of Midland City.

The new vice principal found himself at a loss as to how to stem the tide of resistance to "law and order." He did not get the respect he felt he would receive and his outdated psychology left him powerless to deal with a situation of rebellion that he had never been faced with before. Force which could be brought to bear in the coaching environment, because of the rewards offered, did not work in this new social situation where he had nothing to remove as a threat to maintain control. On the ball team or in his "platoon" system of P.E. practice, he could offer a reward for conformity that made sense to his students. Now he was faced with individuals who did not care about the consequences of rebellion. The new subculture remained unmoved by force and defied his system of classification, for force only made them martyrs for their classmates (who, whether they agreed with their philosophy or not, saw them as victims of the monolithic authority system). This sympathy for the "underdog" by the majority of the students convinced Mr. Kraft that the "hippie" and "pothead" element was growing. Secondary aspects, like hair, dress, and manner, caused him to "stereotype" those nonconformist individuals and generalize their deviances to see them as "symbolic assailants" and as a

threat to order.[1]

His attempts to control these people were fruitless and he could not count on the help of Mr. Hicks, the principal, for he would take no more definite action than to remove a student from a class where he was having trouble, and to give him an extra study period. Mr. Hicks cannot be blamed too much for this situation, either, for he had been given responsibilities without the authority or backing necessary to put them into practice. As pointed out before, the superintendent was concerned with his image of being a progressive and professional administrator, so he felt that he could not afford to clamp down hard on the students as this would make him appear in an unfavorable light to the community. Therefore, he did not back up the principal. The teachers noticed the kind of disciplinary action that the principal was using and the phrase "give him another lunch hour" became their expression of satire for the action that sending someone to the office would provoke. The vice principal was on his own and powerless to act.

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[1]An agency that is charged with dealing with people in the context of enforcement and maintaining order as is the school's role when engaged in the custodial function develops a sort of perceptual shorthand to identify certain types of individuals as symbolic assailants, that is they have language, attire and gestures which the representatives of the enforcement agency recognize as a prelude to trouble. This does not mean to say that trouble from a symbolic assailant is predictable. The enforcement agency simply responds to the indication of a "threat" as indicated by appearance. See Jerome H. Skolnick, Justice Without Trial: Law Enforcement in Democratic Society (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1966) for a more detailed discussion of this concept.

One other factor led to the defeat of the vice principal in his efforts to restore order to the situation. The guidance counsellor at this time, Mrs. Brown, although professionally qualified for her position in terms of formal education (she held a specialist's degree in counselling from the University of Illinois) was emotionally unfit for her job. She was a hypochondriac and had family troubles of her own. Her bizarre appearance, manner and dress lost her the respect of the students (both those in the delinquent subculture and the social conformists). Students who got into a confrontation with the administration could gain an audience by attending the afternoon group counselling sessions. These sessions deteriorated from a group search for answers, to a forum for the drug subculture to plead their case in loud and profane terms in front of representatives from the rest of the student body. The guidance counsellor, in her desire to pick up gossip and to retain the confidence of the students, lost control of these sessions so they became detrimental to both the school and its students. They became destructive instead of constructive forces in the school program.

Of course, the nonconformist representatives of the drug subculture or the "hippie" element never represented more than an insignificant minority (in terms of numbers) but their voices were heard by the majority and their contempt for the arbitrary exercise of authority and repression was grudgingly admired by the others.

The climate continued to deteriorate due to the lack

of decisive action by the principal in backing up the vice principal, the lack of understanding of the true situation (in terms of social change) by the vice principal, and the destruction of student morale which was fostered by the so-called "group guidance" sessions.

By the first of the new year, 1969, the vice principal had become totally disheartened by a situation he did not understand and could not control. He resolved to do nothing for the rest of the year and then to go into retirement. In his bitterness at the lack of support given him by the principal and the superintendent, and in his frustration, he became the center for sowing the seeds of dissension on the staff. He openly criticized his superiors and received a lot of reinforcement from other members because of the total lack of administrative support for the staff.

By the end of the 1968-1969 school year the educational climate had deteriorated completely and faculty morale was at its lowest ebb. As pointed out previously, the teachers' lounge became a center for the criticism and verbal abuse of problem students, nonconformist teachers, and administrators. "Factions" began to become vocal on the staff as conflict became more intense. Even the "old guard" composed of Mrs. Smith (history), Mrs. Ford (math), Mrs. Farben (math) and Mrs. Dobbs (library) became incensed with the situation and took part in the general gripe sessions. These teachers, long in service, conservative in nature, and traditional in method had previously stayed clear of talk of dissension and

had associated only among themselves, but the situation had become so bad that the problems of behavior had become intolerable. Even Mrs. Smith, who generally got superior and college bound classes (and who considered herself to be quite an expert in guidance) became vocal in her criticism of the administration.

The fall of 1969 brought more of the same for things had become so bad that even ideal conditions could not have remedied them without the elapse of considerable time. Mr. Kraft had retired and Mr. Jacobson, his ambitious young protege, had inherited his position with the extra pay increments that accompanied the added responsibility.

By this time, it was clear to the administration from the superintendent down, that some action had to be taken to regain control of the situation. Word had gone out into the community and the school board was aware of the problems. The school had by this time gained a reputation in the county for having a worse drug subculture than the schools of Midland City.

Therefore, the board decided to take decisive action and to back up the efforts of the new vice principal to the hilt in an effort to put the lid back on. The method, of course, was to be one of total repression in confrontation situations. However, the situation had been allowed to exist too long to be recovered overnight, even by an all out aggressive campaign of repression. Mr. Jacobson came down hard on the nonconformists in speech, manner, and appearance

but he was met with open hostility. Signs appeared all over the school, on the water tower, on buildings, and even across the main highways casting aspersions on his character in profane terms. All people have physical characteristics that are capable of being exaggerated in caricature. His physical characteristics earned him the name of "Mr. Spock" after the character from the T.V. show "Startrek."

In his relentless campaign to stamp out rebellion, the subcultural long hairs became martyrs in the battle against the establishment as the struggle continued. Still, there was discretion in exactly who received severe punitive action. Athletes and conformists received preferential treatment in spite of their behavior while the axe fell without mercy on those who, by their appearance and actions, represented "symbolic assailants." These people were suspended and ultimately expelled. In this way the administration was able to "sweep some of the trouble under the rug." Troublemakers were not changed or did not have their behavior modified; they were simply removed from the school environment.

Gradually control was regained but it was "forced" and was not accompanied by any improvement in the educational climate or in staff morale. Teachers were still "on their own" in disciplinary matters and were only backed up so long as they picked on stereotypes of troublemakers or symbolic assailants. Therefore, the teachers' self-images were such that they felt themselves ineffectual. Although the new vice principal reestablished control by the removal of trouble-

makers and, therefore, removed the source of student confrontation, conflict was still evident in the atmosphere of hostility that prevailed in all school relationships.

The principal was still in the position of whatever action he took being wrong, and he received the brunt of the dissension on the faculty. Faculty meetings were, without administrative approval or knowledge, held to discuss the action to be taken in regard to the educational climate and what action was necessary in regard to the administrative personnel.

As previously noted, the superintendent had moved his office out of the high school building. This did much to remove him from first hand contact with the staff. The good feature of this move was that it placed him away from the locus of confrontation. This allowed him to divert the conflict to a subordinate target and thus maintain his image of an administrator of professional attitude and progressive orientation.

The outcome is obvious; such a policy of repression after a time of relative laxity caused so much community disapproval that something had to give.

The action was taken against the symbol of the arbitrary and capricious exercise of authority, the principal. Wisely, he decided to step down from the principalship and take a job as a classroom teacher in the grades, leaving the way open once more to try for a resolution of the intergroup conflict.

With the employment of a new principal from outside, Mr. Fisher, the climate began a slow change for the better after a period of lag. As noted, the superintendent and the board had realized that the principal must be given a freer hand and more authority to act on his own, if the climate was to improve. Mr. England, in contrast to Mr. Phillips, realized that times were changing and that the administrative process must be revised to conform with the conditions of the social environment in a particular geographic location and a particular community situation.

Mr. Fisher started off with a tough, but fair, policy. There was the publication of a written policy for the students in a student handbook. Punishment was standardized in that three suspensions resulted in the expulsion of a student--no matter who he was.

The changing conditions in the area of student rights were recognized and restrictions on dress and manner were gradually relaxed. The martyrs began to disappear. The nonconformists ceased to be the center of attention and lost the pulling power with their peers that persecution had given them.

Mr. Jacobson, too, realized this advantage in a change of tactics and relaxed his policies to conform with the new administrative policy of the principal.

Faculty meetings were held and the members polled for their opinions on methods. The impression of faculty participation and the interest of the new administration in their

efforts again began to be built up. (See Appendix B.)

There began to be an interest in altering the course of study to remove some of the anomolies and irrelevant parts such as supervised study halls which had been a source of trouble. With the change in policy and faculty participation in decision-making processes (whether real or feigned), the educational climate and staff morale began a slow upswing.

There were still problems which were perpetuated either because of design or through necessity. For example, at this time Mr. Kraft decided to come out of retirement. In order to accommodate his return, Mrs. Brown was demoted from guidance counsellor to the position of fourth grade teacher.

Little improvement resulted in the guidance program, however, because new guidance became an agency for control and testing. It became an adjunct of the administrative process (in other words part of the line of authority instead of the staff position that it should occupy). Mr. Kraft had not changed either his military methods or his simplistic ideas about the formation of human attitudes and resultant behavior that had failed him before in his tour of duty as vice principal. Change did not appear to be a part of his makeup. Having a reactionary attitude, he is consumed with the idea that everything in education moves in definite cycles and his favorite expression was that the "pendulum will swing the other way." Also he continued to interfere and interject his ideas in all the other teaching areas much to the chagrin of several of the younger members of the staff.

Nevertheless, by the middle of the next school year, a definite improvement in the educational climate and a parallel rise in staff morale was apparent.

This takes the study through the time period set aside for the second part of the investigation. The course of the state of the educational climate and staff morale have been followed down to their lowest point and the major behavioral events that took place related to them in the situational context.

PART III

THE INITIATION OF A PROGRAM OF CONSCIOUS CHANGE: THE INSTITUTION OF THE PLANNING FUNCTION; THE FORMULATION AND IMPLEMENTATION OF AN OFFICIAL POLICY FOR ORGANIZATIONAL OPERATION; THE ALTERATION OF THE SYSTEM OF AUTHORITY; AND THEIR RAMIFICATIONS FOR THE ORGANIZATIONAL ENVIRONMENT AND FACULTY MORALE

IX. THE NARRATIVE RECORDING THE INITIATION OF THE PLANNING FUNCTION, THE MOVE TOWARD A CONSULTATIVE AUTHORITY SYSTEM, AND THE PARTICIPATION OF THE STAFF IN THE EVOLVEMENT OF A STRATEGY OF PROGRAM IMPROVEMENT

At this point in time there is evidence in the development of a change in the attitude of the administration toward the type of authority system that is more productive in the maintenance of an effective working climate. This is evidenced by the lack of interference of the superintendent with the attempts of the teachers to negotiate a master agreement with the board and the setting up of a negotiations committee for the dealings of the faculty with the board. A second sign was the withdrawal of administrative membership in the local classroom teachers' organization. This was at the instigation of the superintendent, Mr. England. (A copy of the negotiations agreement is to be found in Appendix A.)

Mr. England's attitude had been changing as a result of two factors: the lack of success he had achieved in using Mr. Phillips' arbitrary techniques in the face of changing social conditions, and his acquaintance with more current administrative procedures due to working for his specialist's degree in supervision. The college atmosphere and the new ideas he was exposed to there apparently convinced him that a

change in the character of the administration had to come if the effectiveness of the environmental climate was to improve.

The negotiations contract and getting administrators out of the teachers' organization was the first step in this strategy. With this manoeuvre he was able to draw the majority of the faculty together and achieve a sense of identity and belonging for the individual staff member in working toward a collective goal while still creating little danger for the political position of the superintendent.

By way of explanation the elements of his reasoning process were these. (1) The validity of the right of school teachers to draw up a contract with the board was not supported by legislative action, so, if the board found that they couldn't live with the contract in the future, it had a definite possibility of being repudiated as an illegal contract. (2) The very right of school teachers to bargain with the board is subject to a great deal of question even at the present. Nevertheless, there was little harm to be done in listening to what the teachers had to say for several reasons. First of all, it took away some of the impersonality and arbitrariness of the board's dealing with the teachers and gave them a certain pride in their organization which had the effects previously mentioned. Secondly, it kept the board abreast of what the staff had on its mind without having to get it second hand, and thirdly, it allowed the teachers to air frustration harmlessly in verbal fashion rather than taking it out in the working situation as "misplaced

aggression." The membership of the administrators in the teaching organization had had a negative effect before, and the informational aspect of that membership could be handled quite adequately by the "tale-carriers" (of which there are always representatives on every faculty--or for that matter--any bureaucratic organization).

The second constructive step toward converting the school atmosphere into an effective climate for learning was the compilation of a syllabus of course descriptions. This allowed each teacher to see his (or her) effort in relation to every other staff member. The writing of the syllabi forced the staff members to "think through" their individual positions and also to see the "whole" picture in perspective. In addition to the effect it had on staff integration, the syllabus made the process of scheduling and administrative decision-making more efficient because it offered an articulated program as a foundation for planning operations. In the school year 1971-72 this syllabus was followed with a series of inservice workshops in which brainstorming techniques and questionnaires (See Appendix B.) were utilized to give the administration the benefit of faculty thinking on various aspects of course design, discipline and programming. Meanwhile, during the summer of 1971 a summer school program was indoctrinated which offered the students chances to take courses they were interested in or to make up deficiencies which also did its part in improving student attitude and in giving the school a favorable posture in the community.

Another technique which was used was that the calling of routine faculty meetings was abandoned in favor of calling faculty meetings only when there was urgent business for consideration.

As a final step forward during the 1971-72 school year the device of computer programming was introduced to provide more efficient (faster, more accurate and more economical) service in this area. This was another "spin-off" benefit of the act of designing a complete and articulated syllabus of courses.

During the summer of 1972, both the principal, Mr. Fisher, and the vice principal, Mr. Jacobson, returned to school--Mr. Fisher to pursue the specialist's certificate and Mr. Jacobson to work on a master's degree in administration. This exposure to the intellectual community, as had been the case with Mr. England, infused them with new ideas drawn together and disseminated in the college classroom.

Explanations of the social processes going on in school populations and the clarification of new administrative techniques took root with these two men and they returned to the school in the fall of 1972 to put some of them into practice.

First of all, the lack of emphasis on the dress code which had been indoctrinated the previous year was carried farther and the dress code was relaxed significantly using the concept that so long as dress did not detract from the educational process that it was acceptable.

Secondly, an attempt was made to make the educational institution and its process more relevant to the lives of the students. New courses were begun, among them a course in conservation and a cooperative education program. These plus a course in practical home economics caught the students' interest and registration was strong in these courses as contrasted with the weakening position of certain academic courses.

Thirdly, the school day was changed from an eight period day to a six period day and study halls were eliminated. In order to give one shift of students something to do and to promote the integration of the faculty with the student body, while one shift of teachers and students were eating, the other shift was getting acquainted through informal sessions in which the teacher introduced himself or herself and informed the students to some extent about the subject area being taught and its relevancy to the whole program and to everyday life.

Naturally, this was not enough of a chore to last all year, so after the first nine-weeks after everyone was acquainted the mini-course was instituted in the program. Mini-courses were special-purpose non-credit courses of interest to the students either for informational or hobby purposes. These courses were taught by faculty members who either shared this interest in an area as a hobby or had special skills which were relevant to the student's interests. On the whole, this program was quite successful and a great

deal of interest was shown in it by the students.

Another "spin-off" effect of the elimination of the study halls was the elimination of some discipline problems --particularly those surrounding the final hour of the day.

The official guidance function was provided by Mr. Kraft, who had come out of retirement and was back at his old post of head basketball coach with the guidance department as his assignment instead of teaching duties. Again, he ran the guidance department with the same philosophy he had learned in the military and had applied to coaching. As such it was more a function of direction rather than guidance. His naturally conservative philosophy lead him to disapprove of the administration's change in policy toward liberalizing the conduct of faculty-administrative relations and the relaxing of restrictions on the students. Since he was a local citizen and belonged to a family of some influence, he began to agitate against the administrators with the community and the board. However, the administrators presented a united front to his efforts and he became convinced of two things: first, that they were out to get him (which may have been true to a certain extent) and that there was something going on that was underhanded in the operation of the school. This was the birth of two of the factions which kept the heightening of morale which was so noticeable on the individual level from spreading to create an outstanding organizational climate.

The influence of Mr. Kraft in the community and the

jobs he controlled plus the harm he could do the individual faculty members created a power struggle which was to be the major detractor from communication between the staff and management.

Other factions existed, however, that must be mentioned, and their membership was sometimes split between the Kraft-England factions. The chief of these was the anti-Jacobson faction led by Mr. Dole. The animosity between these two men was just under the surface and reached its most noticeable proportions when the two men gave separate Christmas parties and each invited the whole staff to see how they would line up.

In spite of the factionalism, however, it must be recorded that the overall morale improvement had changed the nature of the relationships within the organizational environment for the better and even the members of the factions were better integrated in the whole effort.

The fourth step forward in the conscious improvement of the organizational climate by the management function in conjunction with the board was the formation and implementation of a written board and administrative policy (see Appendix C). This written policy spelled out courses of action which before had been left to chance, to custom, to expediency, or to the caprices of individual administrators or board members. Now there was a written statement documenting the philosophy of the board, the actions it would take in certain circumstances, the rules under which the educational process

was to operate and the lines of responsibility of the various personnel.

Among the subjects covered by the written policy was the provision for the evaluation of teachers by administrators. (See evaluation construction in Appendix V.)

Up until this time the question of accountability of the teaching staff was largely a result of the arbitrary opinion of a particular administrator or board member as the result of feed back through the community from the students or their parents. In such a situation, the teacher was at the mercy of a small number of very socially "visible" individuals in the community whose voices were out of proportion to their numbers.

The institution of a continuous evaluation program had the effect of getting the administrator into the classroom at least a few times during the year so that he could see the teacher in the teaching situation under varying conditions and thus form a fairer opinion as to the conduct of learning in a particular classroom. Generally the evaluation program as it was defined and finally designed by the administration was as workable as any in use at present (if utilized correctly and according to design). However, it suffered from two distracting properties. It was not implemented as faithfully to the model as it should have been and its true purposes and value was not adequately explained to the faculty (consequently it was regarded by some to be a "threat" much in the way that the word "accountability"

suffers from a negative connotation).

Two further events which contributed to the improvement of overall morale and to the effectiveness of the educational organizational climate was the musical program "Now and Then" and the "Senior Scholastic Bowl." The musical program and the scholastic bowl called into participation in school-community activities other segments of both the student body and the staff and created tremendous interest in the local and surrounding communities in the Nebendorf school system. (See Appendix H for the stories on these events carried in the school newspapers.)

These two events created for the performing arts and the academic subjects the kind of interest that had been previously exclusively reserved for athletic events.

During the last half of the school year in the spring of 1973 a bulletin (see Appendix I) was circulated to the faculty with proposed changes in graduation qualifications set forth by the administration to elicit faculty response. (This is to be discussed further in the fall of 1973.)

Other positive steps leading into the 1973-74 school year were the expansion of the summer school program to include a two week conservation canoe trip to the north woods, the enlargement of the cooperative educational program for the fall and the stress of the planning function as a part of policy.

Of particular note as an indication of the relative improvement in the organizational climate was the fact that

the English department had remained stable for two years and the only turnover in the staff for the 1973 school year can be explained in terms of either pregnancy, regular retirement, or expanding career opportunities.

The attitude survey items used in this investigation were designed around various aspects of the professional "service" occupation (of which teaching is one type). The questions were picked in an effort to effectively "bracket" the whole of the work-supervision situation. The scales and questions chosen have already been utilized in similar circumstances in the past and altered to make them applicable to the school. In this way, various characteristics of the job itself and the effect of the kind of supervisory system can be, to some extent, isolated and observed as they are interpreted as dimensions of morale by the worker.

The purpose of this usage of survey techniques within the body of the participant-observer study was to crosscheck the accuracy of observations of aspects that the participant observer had recorded against the reactions and responses of the staff when questioned about these aspects or dimensions of morale.

Then the observations and the responses to certain key questions were compared to the results of empirical research which had been conducted on the various aspects of morale in other social contexts.

Since the school has been shown to have many of the characteristics of a total institution (it might be called a

quasi-total institution) and is a "people-changing" institution and since it has no easily quantifiable product, it must be concluded that it is in some ways similar to, and in some different, from a profitmaking institution.

The institution is unique, in that it combines aspects both of the business corporation (it is big business) and also of the total institution of which the military institution comes close to paralleling. Both the educational institution and the military institution deal in services, are people changing institutions and are dedicated to the preservation of the society as it exists (including the highest "ideal" values of that society).

This is of special significance in this investigation (as will be discussed in more detail shortly) because morale plays a somewhat different role, and has different characteristics in a profitmaking institution dedicated to production and sales than it does in a quasi-total service institution whose "mission" is to modify the behavior of its captive audience of clients through "persuasive" methods.

The significance of the chosen tests and the "key" questions in terms of the condition and effect of educational morale will be covered more thoroughly in the next section but, for the present, which is simply the descriptive narrative of what happened to morale in the second phase of the study, it is sufficient to describe what attitude scales used and what the writer interpreted their results to mean and how they compare to his already noted observations of behavior in

its social context.

The tests that were chosen dealt with the subjects of

1. Identification with the Work Organization
2. Satisfaction with the work
3. Attitude toward the Supervisor

and, 4. Satisfaction with the Supervisor.

The cumulative data for all the questions used in these attitude scales is to be found (with their description as to their applicability as measuring instruments) in Appendix I.

However, what is of importance to the present discussion is certain general conclusions to be drawn from the tests as a whole and to specific questions in the tests and the basis on which the conclusions are drawn.

First of all, if the mid-point between the total possible positive responses and a rating of zero as to positive responses is to be taken as a point of no preference at all, it is obvious that the previous observations based on the behavioral incidents recorded by the participant-observer have validity. These observations might be summarized as follows:

1. The identification of the individual staff member with the school organization and the job that he does has tended to improve based on the fact that the administration has adopted a more consultative nature in allowing the individual staff member to express his opinions of what his job is and how it is to be done. In satisfaction with work the responses ranged around a positive score of 70 per cent which is a definite improvement from the situation under the previous authority system described in the first phase of the narrative.

2. It is also evident that the character of the administration in dealing with the teachers has changed because of the favorable attitudes expressed toward the supervisor. For instance, a majority (16 out of 20 responses) felt strongly that the supervisor gave "straight answers" to questions. Every response gave the supervisor credit for being courteous in his relationship with staff. All but one respondent felt that they were never criticized by the supervisor for things that were beyond their control. As to a general rating 17 out of 20 stated that they would classify their supervisor as a "good" supervisor. Again, the group response to this test indicated that around 70% of the possible positive points was the average of the organizational behavior. However, in considering the faculty as individuals, the differences were much more marked. Five respondents rated the supervisor with 100% while 3 rated him very low. This is an indication of the factionalism which will be noted in the analytical section to follow.

3. It is also evident that this faculty represents general attitudes now prevalent within the profession. Generally, the respondents chose their profession over the organization for which they work when asked that if some one inquired as to what they did. However, their organization was their second choice for the most part. And an overwhelming majority chose this school over any other in the area. Nevertheless, they seemed to have a low regard for the prestige of the teaching field in general, especially in the eyes of other professions. When asked if they would encourage their children to work at teaching at their school, a significant number said that they would actively discourage such a choice.

4. Finally, and on a more negative note, the faculty --although they gave the supervisor credit for listening to them and for being courteous to them--expressed some doubt as to the sincerity of the administration in dealing with the faculty. This came out as a result of two of the tests. In the identification with the work organization over one-fourth of the faculty stated that they felt that management was generally looking out for its own interests while the employees had to look out for themselves. In the satisfaction with the supervisor scale, over one-fourth felt that the supervisor was not really interested in their suggestions, opinions, and ideas and that he did not really give enough recognition for a job well done.

> On the other hand, the staff acknowledged that the supervisor did deal quickly with complaints. Again, the situation at present is considerably better than it was under the old authority system. Generally speaking, the indication is that there is much higher regard for the individual supervisors and their ability but that there is an element of a lack of credibility as the faculty perceives the situation.[1]

In summary then, in the period from Part II to the present the overall atmosphere of the work environment has improved and the faculty has become <u>involved</u> in their job to a greater degree because they have been consulted at faculty meetings, workshops and through questionnaires as to what their feelings are on issues having to do with teaching operations. As a result the authority system has moved in the direction of the consultative model of authority systems, communication has improved between the administration and the faculty (as has been maintained the function of communication really describes the true character of the management component), frustration and anxiety have been lessened through understanding consequently resulting in better self-images and higher identification of the individuals with the organization (evidenced by less turnover of staff) and consequently more favorable interpretations of the situation.

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[1]This material is taken from the data compiled in the case study by means of the instruments of attitude measurements.

PART IV

ANALYTIC SIGNIFICANCE OF THE EVIDENCE: THE RELATION OF THE BODY OF SYMBOLIC INTERACTIONIST PRINCIPLES AS A WHOLE, RATHER THAN INDIVIDUALLY, TO AN ONGOING PARTICULAR SITUATION AS IT EVOLVED OVER TIME. THIS INVESTIGATION REPRESENTS THE LONGITUDINAL CHRONOLOGICAL APPLICATION OF INTERACTIONAL THEORY AS OPPOSED TO THE CROSS-SECTIONAL STUDIES OF A SPECIFIC THEORETICAL TENET AT A SPECIFIC POINT IN TIME.

X. ANALYSIS OF THE THEORETICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE OBSERVED BEHAVIOR AT NEBENDORF

As was pointed out in the general section of Part II, the school must be considered as a conflict system. As such it is only one component of a larger conflict system which is the whole society.

The school is a component of the educational institution, of society, and since this institution is a social institution it must have a "mission" in order to survive. The nature of what that mission is and what it should be has been previously discussed in Part I of the study. However, the interpretation of just what that mission is to be in reality is in the hands of the administration and the decision-makers. At Nebendorf, in the beginning of the study, the first superintendent saw the mission in terms of the short range goals of all bureaucracies: efficiency and expediency. This, as Merton has shown, places an emphasis on the means rather than on the ends.

Also it has been established that the school and its operation must be considered in terms of a series of dominant-subordinate relationships as in the sociological study of intergroup relations. If the dominant group exercises power for repression or oppression, the minority group (in terms of power, if not numbers) has a growing feeling of

powerlessness.

The school has also been shown to be a quasi-"total institution" which has a strong capability for custodial function. Since the custodial function is a legitimate function of the school in the pursuances of its mission, it is easy for emphasis to shift in practice so that this function becomes exaggerated.

The next factor worthy of consideration in this analysis is the philosophical orientation of the administration. At Nebendorf, in the first two years investigated, this orientation can only be described as a punitive orientation. This orientation has been a very popular one throughout the history of social thought because like the custodial functions, in total or quasi-total institutions it has been one of the easiest concepts to put into practice and to enforce.[1]

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[1]The punitive, therapeutic, and preventative orientations of social thought are simply explained in Elmer Hubert Johnson's survey of criminology as a science, Crime, Correction and Society. In the punitive reaction Johnson states,

> The set of values supported by punishment should appear to the subject to be superior to his own. The punitive reaction assumes superiority as though proof were unnecessary. This assumption suggests that punishment has a moralistic basis, with objective justification appearing as an afterthought (pp. 308-9).

Johnson continues with the therapeutic orientation, by saying,

> The therapeutic attitude merges scientific attitudes with concern for the long-term interest of the client. . . . Therapeutic solicitude recognizes that the client is undergoing psychological or physical pain, but the concern for the client is secondary to the ultimate objective of correcting the defect, (pp. 312-13).

This orientation of thought is further developed by

At Nebendorf, when repressive forces were lifted from the student body at the time of the power transition from one superintendent to another, the rising expectations of the subordinate group (the students) resulted in confrontation because the repressed conflict surfaced.

Such a confrontation with dissenters results in frustration for punitatively oriented forces of authority when their use of force fails to quell the trouble.

In such a situation, the staff of the school finds its position as the man-in-the-middle in which any behavior on its part is not reinforced. The administration uses the staff as a target for its own shortcomings that come to light and the inmates (students) blame the staff as the closest and most accessible target for their frustrations. In such a situation the identity and self-image of the staff has to suffer and anxieties and frustrations develop as no course of action is met with success in terms of reinforcement. The

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Thomas S. Szasz in his book, Manufacture of Madness. This author refers to the American society as a "therapeutic society" and sees it as concerned with an abstract conception of something called "normal," which is a standard extracted from the traditional values of the Protestant ethic and which serves as a standard for everyone to live up to. If the individual deviates from this standard, he is "treated" to return him to the so-called normal orientation for his own and for society's benefit. Szasz sees the judges of just what "normal" is as American institutionalized psychiatry.

The preventative orientation is discussed by Johnson, Crime, Correction and Society, pp. 340-58. "The term is self-defining for it simply means to prevent deviance by stopping it in some way at its source before it can become a danger to either the individual who offers a target for infection or the society in general."

feeling of powerlessness and a feeling of being "outside" the decision-making processes grows in the staff.

The administrators, on the other hand, being punitively oriented and seeing the advantage of the custodial function in physical control make many decisions based on expediency (to which they impugn the aspect of efficiency) according to their mistaken definition of the situation as threatening to their existence. The administration looks at both the faculty and the student nonconformists as a "threat." Because of "different" dress, behavior, or manner, they become "symbolic assailants."

Looking at these individuals as symbols (and drawing meaning from this context) results in their roles being examined, and when they fall short of the expectations of the dominant group (the administration in both cases) they gain "social visibility" and are "labeled" as troublemakers (deviant). This social visibility brings them even more to the attention of dominant conservative forces so that they begin to play roles which the dominant group (in terms of cultural expectations) is willing to reinforce--that of rebels or deviants. Therefore, the deficiency in their role-taking and role-playing efforts that originally resulted in their gaining social visibility as deviants becomes a "self-fulfilling prophecy" in that it sets in motion a negative spiral of action-reaction which Becker refers to[1] as the action-

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[1]Becker, Outsiders, p. 121.

reaction equation, and they begin to follow a pattern of deviancy which results in their recognition (in terms of the definition they take from their "other"--the faculty and administration) of their deviancy. Once they recognize the fact that they are deviants for themselves, the students become "secondary deviants," a term in sociology which Lemert[1] derived for the description of this kind of situation, and evolved a history as a troublemaker or pursued a "deviant career" as Becker[2] conceived the process to be.[3] (See explanatory note for explanation of the terms, "action-reaction equation" and "deviant career.") In other words, the minority group begins to play roles for which they receive reinforcement even if it is negative in terms of societal goals. (As noted before, this process operated for certain members of both the faculty and the students at Nebendorf.)

The foregoing discussion of the character of an

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[1]Lemert, Social Pathology.

[2]Becker, Outsiders, pp. 101-20.

[3]Careers of delinquency have been discussed by David Matza, Delinquency and Drift, and Howard S. Becker. However, Becker was the first to develop the idea and locate it within the symbolic interactionalist (behavioralist) approach in sociology. Becker also develops the concept of the action-reaction equation. Both these concepts are discussed in his book, Outsiders. Specific references are: the equation, p. 121 and the development of the deviant career, pp. 101-120. It is recommended that the reader of this study read both the references cited here in their entirety, for they are short books and they encapsulate the latest thinking from the leading proponents of behavioralism in sociology.

administration that relies upon the punitive orientation and the custodial function to carry out a policy of repression for the purposes of subverting the end of the mission of the educational institution to the ends of efficiency and expediency, continues to compound any problems of conflict that it has until a break in its continuity leaves a period of respite in which hope is born in the breasts of the oppressed and the conflict breaks into the open as confrontation and rebellion. It is a negative spiral that takes over then because other social mechanisms operate to worsen the situation. The administration, by renewed efforts to put the lid back on, actually fosters deviancy by creating martyrs (for rebellion actually brings on a very powerful reinforcement of its own in certain circumstances). In turn, the administration becomes hysterical and tends to look for violations of its policies (real or imagined) and tends to "generalize" deviant individuals (this aspect of generalization of deviancy due to dominant hysteria has been proven by empirical studies) to fit stereotypes of known "threats" to social order.

That this was the case at Nebendorf was demonstrated by the successive firing of English teachers. The literature of the land is the record of change in society. It is also the forum for social interpretation. When an English teacher dares to interpret the social message of any "avant garde," or any literary work out of the mainstream of the cultural ethic, the repressive establishment is going to

fall upon him to quash his rebellion and still his voice of protest which is a source of "contagion of ideas." That has been the case throughout the history of mankind, as it is amply demonstrated in historical studies by the actions of repressive governments against writers and newspaper publishers. In Nebendorf, the English teachers who attempted to interpret literature to the students were a threat to the custodial function and the punitive orientation, because they did not live up to the rules of the social order. Although the majority of their students were not members of the drug culture, they were lumped in with them as being susceptible to being receptive to temptation offered by forbidden information--this was part of the administration's tendency to lump together and "generalize" deviancy and deviants.

The desire of the new superintendent to maintain his image of progressive leadership and to keep the appearance of efficiency of operation did serve to hold off the reapplication of the policy of total repression that had been fostered at first. The principal at the time, Mr. Hicks, because of this policy on the part of the superintendent, did not feel free to take any definite repressive action to remedy the situation (in the view of the authoritarian administration) at the peril of the loss of his job.

The conflict between what the administrators were trying to enforce, and what was actually going on, created frustration and a feeling of powerlessness on the part of the staff, and it conducted a spontaneous search for an

accessible "target" for the release of the built-up tension and frustration. The only legitimate target at the time was the "freak" element of both the faculty and the student body. The members of the faculty directed what power of authority that the staff could exercise at this element. Nevertheless, striking out at this element did not serve to improve the situation--therefore, a new target had to be found because the situation was growing more and more intolerable. The new target proved to be the principal, Mr. Hicks, who appeared, because of his reluctance to act, as the real villain of the situation. When he saw the direction the social winds were blowing, he traded the troubles of his untenable position for the relative security of a tenured teaching position at the lower levels of the system. The superintendent escaped the wrath of the community and the staff by having removed himself physically from the scene of the conflict so that he was protected by social distance.

During this period, the self-image of both the members of the student body and the faculty suffered, and "crises of identity" arose in both.[1] Rationally, correct behavior on the part of both elements was not reinforced and the social sickness that had been incubated at Nebendorf seemed to spread.

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[1]See Richard I. Evans, Dialogue with Erik Erikson (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, Inc., 1967), and Erik H. Erikson, Identity: Youth and Crisis (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1968) for a complete discussion of the concepts of identity, identity crises and their relation to the self-concept.

As mentioned before, the social distance of the superintendent allowed him to stay out of range of the repercussions of the conflict and to maintain his image of the "troubleshooting" professional and progressive administrator.

Despite his efforts to "pour oil on the troubled waters" the community eventually became fully and painfully aware of the problem in its midst and demanded action to correct the situation. So, at this time, the superintendent, the board of education, the faculty, and the community were looking for a scapegoat to sacrifice. The decision of the principal to "make a deal" to "get out from under" offered a logical focus and a partial solution at this level of conflict.

What had been the fundamental cause of the conflict, of course, was the conflict of values developing in the general overall American society, and in Midland City in particular, at this time. The radical left among the young was on the move (of course, they lacked an ideology and direction as Gouldner has pointed out)[1] but the mass media of communication and the forces of radical left such as the Students for Democratic Action made them aware of the ways in which they were being repressed and made "outsiders" by adult society.

In terms of the Nebendorf problem, these outside forces from the general society and in particular the radical element among the young in nearby Midland City brought the

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[1]Gouldner, Coming Crisis.

problem to a head and the student body at Nebendorf lined up on the side of the emergent values. School court cases in other parts of the country focused attention on student rights as a valid concept. This interest in the rights of students grew as a result of various court decisions and the agitation for eighteen-year-old vote. All this added to the "rising expectations" of the student body at Nebendorf High and, as a result, unrest became more widespread.

The faculty, for the most part, remained steadfast in their subscription to the traditional values of education under the influence of the Protestant ethic and the social-Darwinist ideology--ignoring the social consequences of technological and demographic change.

Therefore, the removal of their target, the principal, resulted in a temporary amelioration of morale and a feeling of expectancy for the improvement of the educational climate.

Fortunately, the new choice for the post of principal was sufficiently well informed so as to assess the context of the problem and come up with a more accurate definition of the situation. This does not mean, however, that there was a radical change in either philosophy or policy in the administrative process. Rather, the first step was to officially establish policy for behavior and make it <u>consistent</u> in its enforcement. The administration remained in the camp of the conservative tradition but the fact that change was taking place in society and that new values were emerging began to be recognized.

The growing trend (at that time) for student rights was noted by the new principal, Mr. Fisher, and the oppression of individuals based solely on their dress, manner, or "fit" with a stereotype of a symbolic assailant was discontinued. Dress and hairstyle rules were relaxed to some extent, and the policy was followed that if these features did not detract from the educational process it was not regarded as sufficiently deviant to warrant censure of the offender. In other words, the school's range of "tolerance of eccentricity" was broadened. Conformity continued to be rigidly enforced in the area of sports, but here the reinforcement, in terms of the reward of participation and the accompanying prestige, was great enough to make it worthwhile for the student to go along with the dominant expectations for the role.

As stated previously, the faculty began to be brought in to the decision-making process (at least outwardly) by being polled and consulted on various questions regarding the school program, the instructional program and disciplinary policies. (See Appendix D.)

Because the board of education had been convinced through past experience of the necessity of reestablishing order at all costs, it supported the suspension or expulsions that were necessary--no matter who was involved and discipline was no longer wholly restricted to just the stereotyped deviants. This allowed the superintendent to further his image as a professional and progressive

administrator who efficiently guided the trouble-free operation of the school while innovating to fit practices to the pace of social change.

The superintendent, in this way, was not only able to survive the time of trial but to appear as if he, through his forward-thinking leadership, had improved administrative efficiency and quality through dealing with incompetency and restoring order.

The faculty, as previously noted, experienced an improvement in self-image as a result of the new policy of consistency in discipline and seeming participation in the decision-making process.

The student morale, as well, began to improve gradually because the authority of the teacher in the classroom was buttressed by administrative policy and students no longer were being subjected to what they considered to be unreasonable demands in matters of dress and hairstyle. The actual members of the delinquent drug subculture lost influence and following among the rest of the student body, as they no longer represented a rallying point for the defense of youth against persecution and injustice.

The state of the climate of education began to steady, level off and even to improve slightly. The period of crisis and confrontation at Nebendorf High School had passed.

In the year 1971, the efficacy of the change in tack by the administration began to reap benefits in terms of the

amelioration of the educational climate and the improvement of morale.

The continuing relaxation of the dress code from this point on resulted in a better attitude from the student body because they felt that their individual rights were being respected.

The circulating of questionnaires and the holding of inservice workshops gave the faculty a feeling of participation in the decisionmaking function which had the healthful effects of increasing their identification with the organization, enhancing their identity and creating a favorable self-image while changing, to some extent, their perception of the authority system. The result was more meaningful interaction between the administration and the staff.

As Berelson & Steiner comment,

> The more interaction or overlap there is between related groups, the more similar they become in their norms and values; the less communication or interaction between them, the more tendency there is for conflict to arise between them. And vice versa: the more conflict, the less interaction.[1]
>
> Communication between conflicting groups tends to be suspended. The sense of threat and the increased concern for internal solidarity leads to a blocking of communications channels. For example, when labor-management conflict is intense, union leaders avoid all except the most official and circumscribed contact with the employers, partly because they would be exposed to criticism from their own members.[2]

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[1] Berelson and Steiner, Human Behavior, p. 331.

[2] Ibid., quoting Leonard Broom and Philip Selznick, Sociology: A Text with Adapted Readings (New York: Harper & Row, 1957), p. 33.

The lessening of conflict between the administration and the staff resulted in more efficient communication. And communication, after all, is not only the life blood of the information system, it is the technique by which the management component must carry out its function.

The introduction of interest courses in home economics, conservation and the cooperative education program (to which were later added the mini-courses) created new interest in learning among a segment of the student body that had never been reached before and fostered an improvement in attitude from which all parts of the institution benefitted.

As a result of the liberalizing of the administrative system in the direction of a more consultative posture, and the consequent lessening of the conflict between the administration and the staff (carried on to intrastaff conflict) and the concurrent improvement in student attitudes resulted in less turnover in teaching staff. The years 1971-72, 73 saw none of the previous forced turnover in the English department and the turnover that did occur was for the personal reasons of such things as pregnancy, retirement, and professional advancement. Naturally, this had a beneficial effect on morale and the self-image and identities of individuals in the group. As Berelson and Steiner explain this kind of situation: "The less change there is in a group's membership, the higher the group's morale will be."[1]

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[1]Berelson and Steiner, Human Behavior, p. 330.

> A "tightly knit group" significantly means both a group difficult to enter and one whose members closely identify with one another. The less permeable the group, the more value attaches to membership and, in turn, the more intense the adherence to group perspectives.[1]

As previously has been mentioned, the 70-71 year did have one particularly unfavorable aspect in terms of the development of morale. During this school year, a rift opened up between Mr. Kraft and the members of the administration. Mr. Kraft, who occupied a prominent position in the community as the member of a very respected family and having a long career as a successful athlete and coach, and having been a college classmate of the superintendent expected to have his opinions deferred to more than they were. His popularity was slipping at the same time as the administration's policies were becoming more liberal. Mr. Kraft, being an ultra conservative himself and being very conscious of his loss of prestige among both the faculty and students, began to look for a target for his frustration born of insecurity. He immediately associated the policies of the administration with his own troubles, and rueing his lack of judgment which had allowed a young opportunist like Mr. Jacobson to euchre him in the game of intraorganizational and community politics, began to feel that a conspiracy had been mounted against him. (There may have been some truth to this fear.) He attempted to retaliate by creating ill

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[1]Ibid., quoting Harold D. Lasswell and Abraham Kaplan, Power and Society: A Framework for Political Inquiry (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1950), p. 35.

feeling toward the administration in the community and by lining various members of the faculty up on his side. This he could do because he was not entirely without weapons in this power struggle. He had influence over some of the jobs on the faculty and could effectively destroy a particular teacher in the community if he turned against him or her.

Meanwhile, Mr. Kraft had been using the methods he had learned so well in the army and which had also served him in the building of athletic teams in the performance of his guidance function. This led to a certain dissatisfaction with the guidance function on both the part of the faculty and the student body. The resultant power struggle and the factionalism it promoted did much to detract from the effectiveness of morale of certain individuals and small groups.

As was mentioned earlier, the Kraft-England-Jacobson factionalism was not the only split developing. Mr. Dole, who had trouble hiding his active dislike for Mr. Jacobson, began his own campaign for the removal of Mr. Jacobson from his influential position. (Mr. Dole had what he felt were very good reasons for his attitudes for, after all, Mr. Jacobson was an opportunist, his methods were distasteful to Mr. Dole and this individual also felt that his life style left a great deal to be desired.) This intraorganizational maneuvering was made clear when both men set up simultaneous New Year's Eve parties and then invited the faculty to them to see which party they would attend.

The effect for the morale of the individual and its

consequent divisive effect for the organization as a whole is pointed out by Berelson and Steiner,

> When caught in crosspressures between the norms of different groups of which he is simultaneously a member, the individual will suffer some emotional strain and will move to reduce or eliminate it by resolving the conflict in the direction of the strongest felt of his group ties. . . .
>
> In line with the earlier finding on the importance of sheer frequency of contact, the individual will go along with the group with which he has most active interaction.[1]

Nevertheless, this factionalism, although it detracted from overall morale of the organization, was not sufficiently powerful to lower morale to the level that it had occupied under the patronizing capricious authority of Mr. Phillips and the more benevolent authoritarianism of the early part of Mr. England's tenure before he realized the error of his ways and threw off the bonds of the old system for the more attractive trappings of participation in decision making. The reader will remember that at first Mr. England tried the authoritarian method for, after all, he had learned under Mr. Phillips. In line with this kind of thinking Berelson and Steiner point out that the leader's style of leadership tends to be influenced by the style in which he himself has been led.[2] They go on to support this statement with data taken from a study of conformity and promotional practices in the U.S. Army.[3] However, the lack of success at first

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[1]Berelson and Steiner, Human Behavior, p. 329.

[2]Ibid., p. 376.

[3]Samuel A. Stouffer et.al., "The American Soldier: Adjustment During Army Life," Studies in Social Psychology in World War II, Vol. I (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton Univ. Press, 1949), p. 265.

plus the influence of the intellectual community combined to make Mr. England see the advisability to change the authority system and his leadership style.

This movement by the administration toward a more consultative posture had beneficial effects that overcame much of the factionalism created by personal differences. As has already been pointed out the attitude scales and certain specific questions used in this investigation have indicated that the respect and courtesy of the principal plus the opportunity to participate in discussion of the mutual problems faced by administration and staff have been very definite morale building factors.

Berelson and Steiner attest to the power of the executive's personality to sway his subordinates' feelings by stating that,

> The literature on organizational leadership is largely concerned with the effect of different styles of leadership. Various ways of characterizing such styles have been used, but essentially they seem to come down to a dichotomy represented by these distinctions taken from organizational studies:
>
> | | | |
> |---|---|---|
> | Employee-oriented | as against | Production-oriented |
> | Participatory | | Autocratic (or ultra-permissive) |
> | Considerate | | Initiatory |
> | Loose | | Close |
> | Integrative | | Dominative |
> | Persuasive | | Arbitrary |
> | Self-defined as group leader | | Not so defined. |
>
> The flavor comes through: call it the friendly, helpful boss as against the tough, impersonal one. (Actually, the characteristics above tend to correlate with one another; that is, the participatory leader is also likely to be employee-oriented, persuasive, integrative, etc.) The more friendly-helpful the boss,

1. the less the absenteeism.
2. the more the productivity (if that is a goal of the organization and the unit).
3. the more likely the subordinates are to feel that the organization's requirements are reasonable, and the more willingly they accept changes in organizational practices.
4. the better liked the leader is.
5. the more strongly the subordinates identify with the organization.
6. the less tension there is within the organizational unit, and the more the internal cohesion.
7. the higher the subordinates' morale (and this is especially so).

The general rationale goes something like this. Participatory leadership means that the leader is seen to some extent as another member of the group, not as an outsider with authority. Pressure for production means neglect of personal factors, thus more strain. . . . In short, it appears that the best organizational leader firmly keeps the goal before his subordinates and urges them to meet it; at the same time, he treats them like human beings.[1]

Data to support this contention can be found in Kahn and Katz.[2]

However, in the Nebendorf case, there is once again a negative aspect to this change in the administrative posture and the staff's reaction to it. In some cases where the staff have generally felt one way about a problem and felt that they were receiving a sympathetic hearing from the administration they found that their wishes had been ignored and the original course of action pursued (a perfectly legitimate action on the part of the administration who must, after all, make the final decision on the merits of the

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[1]Berelson and Steiner, Human Behavior, pp. 374-75.

[2]Robert Kahn and Daniel Katz, "Leadership Practices in Relation to Productivity and Morale," in Dorwin Cartwright and Alvin Zander, eds., Group Dynamics: Research and Theory (New York: Harper & Row, 1953), pp. 617-19.

overall situation, but not understandable to individuals whose interests are within a more narrow perspective). The second category for dissatisfaction is that tendency of the administration to whip out a program, ostensibly hand it out for approval, make the statement that it has the approval of everybody and implement it. Certain individuals remain unconvinced of the credibility of the administration and their statement when such actions are suspected.

This has been borne out by the attitude questionnaires when they show that the faculty as a whole has great respect for the ability and courtesy of the leader but doubt his sincerity.

Again there is theoretical and empirical verification for these deductions. Berelson and Steiner make the statement on the basis of their close study of available research that,

> People tend to misperceive and misinterpret persuasive communications in accordance with their own predispositions, by evading the message or distorting it in a favorable direction.[1]

They go on to observe,

> The more trustworthy, credible, or prestigious the communicator is perceived to be, the less manipulative his intent is considered to be and the greater the immediate tendency to accept his conclusions.[2]

Further, "The audience's perception of the source thus tends to influence its interpretation and acceptance."[3]

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[1] Berelson and Steiner, Human Behavior, p. 536.

[2] Ibid., p. 537.

[3] Ibid., p. 538.

The respect and liking that the staff feel for the principal generally though has a very beneficial effect over-all despite the problem with credibility. As Berelson and Steiner observe,

> The more respected and better liked the officer, the more he shares deprivations with his men (such as unpleasant tasks, poor food and quarters, dangers, etc.), the better the officer-enlisted man relationship, the more cohesive the military group, the better the men's morale, and the more effective the performance. For example, a study of Air Force crews found that performance on training problems was associated with the equalitarian treatment received from the officers.[1]

The difference between the words performance and production must be noted here and the notation made that a further explanation will be made later in the section. Berelson and Steiner state that,[2]

> The relationship between satisfaction with the job and performance on it is complicated and conditional: at any rate, there is no direct, positive correlation. Actually, the over-all finding is still in some dispute. Two recent reviews of the literature came to these conclusions:
>
> In 54 per cent of the reported surveys high morale was associated with high productivity; in 35 per cent morale and productivity were not found to be related; in 11 per cent high morale was associated with low productivity. . . . The correlations obtained in many of the positive studies were low. . . . That positive job attitudes are a tremendous asset to industry is supported by much of the experimental evidence now available.[3]

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[1] Ibid., p. 446, quoting Stuart Adams, "Social Climate and Productivity in Small Military Groups," American Sociological Review, 19 (1954), 421-25.

[2] Ibid., p. 411.

[3] Ibid., quoting Frederick Herzberg et.al., Job Attitudes: Review of Research and Opinion (Pittsburgh: Psychological Service of Pittsburgh, 1957), pp. 103, 112.

> There is little evidence in the available literature that employee attitudes of the type usually measured in morale surveys bear any simple or, for that matter, appreciable, relationship to performance on the job.[1]

A further illustration of the nonconclusive results of research on the relationship of morale and production in the work situation is given in the following study of differences between authority systems:

> In one well-known experiment in industry the degree of centralization was systematically varied. In two offices there was close supervision over subordinates, in two similar offices there was delegation of authority. After a year, the more centralized office had higher productivity, but the decentralized one had better morale. Here are some illustrative data and the conclusions:[2]

	"Autonomous" program (Decentralized)		"Hierarchically-controlled" program (centralized)	
	Average before	Average after	Average before	Average after
Index of satisfaction with company	4.01	4.18	4.15	3.88
Index of productivity (per cent)	48.6	58.6	48.5	62.6

Morse and Reimer[3]

> The individual satisfactions of the members of the work groups increased significantly in the Autonomous program and decreased significantly in the Hierarchically-controlled program. Using one measure of productivity,

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[1] Ibid., quoting Arthur H. Brayfield and Walter H. Crockett, "Employee Attitudes and Employee Performance," Psychol. Bulletin, 52 (1955), p. 408.

[2] Ibid., p. 369.

[3] Nancy Morse and E. Reimer, "The Experimental Change of a Major Organizational Variable," Journal of Abnormal Social Psychology, 52 (1956), p. 126-27.

> both decision-making systems increased productivity, with the Hierarchically-controlled program resulting in a greater increase.[1]

The present writer feels that the difference lies in the two terms performance and production. The basic difference is that the word performance does not preclude a product.

The school shares both the characteristics of a total institution and those of a profitmaking organization. The school cannot produce a product that is as capable of ease of measurement and quantification as are the products of the business and industrial sector.

Changes in administrative theory in the educational institution have generally lagged some years behind developments in the business world. As pointed out before, the profit motive in the business sector has furnished incentive for innovation that has been lacking in the educational institution with its overall emphasis on maintaining the status quo and perpetuating the "ideal" values of the culture.

At the present time, there is a move toward quantifiable "accountability" in the educational institution that has in the past been associated with the practice of scientific management in the business sector with its emphasis on production. Since there has been no product that can be quantified to hold the educator accountable, the attempt now is to set behavioral objectives and quantify on the basis of the number of these objectives that are met (leaving out, of

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[1] Ibid., p. 129.

course, the variable of the uniqueness of each individual and his potential to do any one of a number of learning sequences which are tied to the achievement of just one behavioral objective). This idea of emphasizing "production," as opposed to "performance" by trying to create something capable of being measured or counted is starting at the end of the process in an after-the-fact situation.

In the commerical-industrial sector in the past few years the emphasis has been shifting again from the after-the-fact quantifiability to the before-the-fact intervening variables of a qualitative nature as illustrated by the following quote from Hampton,

> We are finding when we measure key causal variables, such as the extent to which a manager is seen by his subordinates as behaving supportively, that we can predict trends in productivity and cost performance two years in advance. . . .
>
> These and other results indicate that we can assess with useful accuracy whether the human organization of a firm is becoming more or less productive.
>
> . . . As the . . . uses of the measurement of the causal and intervening variables indicate, they can be used to give management, especially top management, valuable lead time. Data on productivity, costs, scrap, waste, earnings, grievances, and similar end result variables are extremely valuable. But note that all of these data are after the fact measurement. When these variables reflect adverse shifts, all too often serious costs or consequences have already been experienced by a firm.
>
> The great merit of measurements of the causal and intervening variables is that they provide substantial lead time over the end result variables in enabling management to recognize problems and trends and to cope with them or capitalize on them promptly. The measurement of the causal and intervening variables for every manager and supervisor in a firm can provide every level of management substantially greater lead time than now available in recognizing and acting on its strengths and weaknesses in managing its human organization.[1]

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[1]Hampton, Behavioral Concepts in Management, pp. 136-38.

As stated before, education suffers from the fact that it has an output or product that lacks the feature of easy quantifiability which could be used to "measure" the efficiency of the educational practicioner after the fact (what is now in current vogue with the increasing usage of the term "accountability"). This process has been so much a matter of arbitrary choice and the caprice of the individual administrator that it has been a contributing factor to lowering morale by offering a "threat" (not involving processes understandable to, or correctable by, the teacher it was used on) because of the feeling of being out of an area that the individual could identify or control. (The word "accountability" has a very definite negative connotation to it and the individual teacher is aware of the growing hostility of the public toward the whole formal educational process and the educational institution.)

The present writer offers the theory that education, too, will, in the future, shift from quantifiable "accountability" to continuous qualitative "evaluation" of the intervening variables (which are the various determinants and dimensions of morale). This shift is indicated by the growing emphasis on the study of better ways of teacher evaluation.

The properly presented evaluation program is much less a "threat" than is accountability because evaluation involves "interest" in the individual and is a process the teacher can understand, can become involved in, and also do something about. The process also is a personal one that can

contribute to the identity and self-image of the individual.

Overall, the institution of the evaluation program at Nebendorf High School has had a beneficial effect with the reservations that have already been noted. It does place the administrative personnel in a more personal relationship with the faculty thus overcoming some of the impersonality of the bureaucratic structure of the educational system. The importance of this factor is indicated by the faculty response at Nebendorf to the question concerning whether the administrator was interested in faculty members or not.

High morale in an educational institution is more closely equated with effective performance than it is in production in commercial ventures. The "people changing" nature of the educational institution is, like the military example given earlier, a situation (behavioral setting) in which the interactive process is the key to the effectiveness of operation. Morale is contagious. Like a communicable disease, either high or low morale has the tendency to infect other individuals and to spread at a rapid rate. A "people-changing"[1] institution like the educational institution, the various police agencies, or the military can be brought to a standstill by a serious drop in morale. The examples of this phenomenon are so numerous that there is little need to verify this statement.

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[1]The concept of the educational institution as a "people changing" institution is discussed in Janowitz, Institution Building in Urban Education, pp. 2-7.

In a total institution such as the military, or a quasi-total institution such as the police agencies or education, the organizational environment is so structured that there are only certain channels through which overt behavior can be effected.[1] In such an environment, the effect of a change in morale is magnified even more because it cannot be dissipated by a diverse network of interaction.

This formal network of interaction, created by the structure of the institution, is also important in another way. It has been pointed out that the behavioral response to a particular conflict of values, or an ambivalent undefined situation, by an individual cannot be predicted with any accuracy. However, if the avenues of behavioral response to frustration are limited by the structure of the behavioral environment as it is in the military or the educational institution, certain responses appear more often than others due to the limitations of the opportunity to express behavior. Behavior cannot be predicted in such an environment but it is "channeled" as to a choice of directions by the structure of the behavioral environment itself.[2] In such an environment, the individual can either choose to conform to

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[1]For a complete discussion of the effect of the behavioral setting (milieu) see Roger C. Barker, Ecological Psychology (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1968).

[2]An intriguing discussion of how the individual's behavior is affected by his "life space" is given in: Kurt Lewin, Field Theory in Social Science (New York: Harper & Row, 1953).

behavioral expectations, rebel, or make a choice to refrain from action at all.

In such a structure, the morale factor can either facilitate the movement of information along the communications network, impede the flow, or even stop it. Therefore, it is safe to conclude that morale has a more definite part to play in the performance of "productiveness" of people-changing quasi-total institutions. After all the "clients" and staff of the educational system have only limited choice and are not free to make all the choices open to employees and customers of commercial ventures.

The educational "job" is a service job that is not easily routinized or fragmented and the rules for its effective achievement cannot be laid out for every situation. Therefore, it offers the incentive of "involvement" which was mentioned earlier. As Walker and Guest comment, "The less routinized and fragmented the work, the higher the job satisfaction."[1]

Judging from this comment then, the educational job, all other things being equal, should be a challenging and satisfying one. This again points up the very important part played by administration as the communications function in control of the operation of the process. This function, combined with the element of morale which has been shown to be

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[1]Charles R. Walker and Robert H. Guest, The Man on the Assembly Line (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1952), p. 122.

either capable of facilitating or impeding the flow of information in the communications network, acts to definitely affect the working climate.

The general improvement in morale at Nebendorf during the period covered by the third part of this investigation has been an indication of the success of the shift from a paternalistic capricious authority system in the direction of a participatory relationship, and the initiation of a strategy for improvement that the staff could become involved in. However, there is still, as indicated by the response to the questions of the attitude questionnaires a "distrust" of the motives of the administrators. One further explanation for this ambivocal response to the overtures of management can be attributed to the fact that the administration neglected to "explain" their actions to the staff--therefore the staff must draw its own conclusions about the motives of the administrators and so an adversary relationship grows up in organizations between staff and management--due to the factors of the characteristic bureaucratic structure and the precedent established by labor management negotiation in the business world. This is the most common posture existing between employees and management until the situation is clearly defined.

In terms of the symbolic interactionist approach, as it applies to the staff, both the situations of quantifiable "accountability" and continuous evaluation are "undefined

situations." Nevertheless there are more positive aspects about continuous evaluation than there are about accountability in the individual's repertoire of stereotyped "definitions of the situation." A proper campaign of explanation of the evaluation process by the management could form this process into a definite force for the improvement of the working climate.

By way of review of the foregoing analysis then, and in an attempt to draw some brief general conclusions from the situation as it developed at Nebendorf, the facts lead to the following observations:

The process of communication appears to be central to the operation of information systems, whether human or man-machine. The management component functions to control the organization through its control of the availability of and the content of information by means of selective communication. If this authority system of the management function is authoritarian, information and communication are severely curtailed and the staff becomes frustrated, which in turn affects their perception of the information communicated, their interpretation of it, and the nature of the interaction which evolves. If anxiety and frustration progress far enough morale will drop, and in a quasi-total institution such as the school where the behavior channels are limited, the action precipitated can impede the flow of information.

Naturally, the process can be reversed. In this case study, it appears that in the second part the authoritarian

patronizing capricious authority system of Mr. Phillips led to a deterioration of morale with the systemic effects described above. The movement in the direction of a consultative system of authority stopped the deterioration of morale and started the process in the opposite direction.

Before continuing on to the final section of the paper, it is necessary to say something more about the contagiousness of morale through the communication process. The analogy of a communicable disease can be applied to all aspects of the morale situation in total institutions. In the terminology of this analogy, the study so far has covered three phases, infection, spread, and recovery. Infection and spread were shown in Part II and the recovery phase was illustrated by the changes instituted by the administration in Part II.

In continuing the analogy, there first appears to be a social environment that serves as a source of exposure. If the constitution of the system is vulnerable, infection results (in the administrative context--if repression is lifted temporarily--rising expectations take over and the infection incubates in the same manner as the incubation period of a disease).

As the repressive measures are clamped down again, the infection reaches a critical stage and breaks out and begins to spread through the organism. (In the school situation the critical stage is reached when confrontation takes place.) This process can only be stopped if the organism has

developed immunity. In fact, the clamping down of repressive measures in a critical social situation of confrontation might be likened to administering a medicine to an organism that has become allergic to that form of treatment (the results can be fatal to the organism—as in penicillin allergy). To halt the spread of the disease before the crisis point, the case must be diagnosed (conditions assessed in the social situation and a correct definition of the situation drawn) and a viable treatment begun.

Once an effective treatment as to kind and degree has been found, the spread can be stopped and with consistent application improvement can be effected. (This is consistent with the therapeutic orientation of social thought discussed in the sources quoted earlier in the study.)

As Levinson has suggested, society and social enterprises must consider man as "psychological" man. As Levinson comments,

> This concept is based on a comprehensive theory of personality. Stemming largely from psychoanalytic conceptions, it views man as a complex, unfolding, maturing organism who passes through physiological and psychological stages of development, as an open system interacting with his environment. Man evolves an ego ideal toward which he strives and a complex set of mechanisms and defenses for coping with the basic drives of sexuality and aggression, with the superego or conscience, and with the environment. Work serves different purposes for different people, but for all it is a major device to maintain psychological equilibrium. . . .[1]

Continuing with this theme, Levinson observes that,

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[1]Levinson, Jackass Fallacy, p. 27.

> There is a devastating trend of psychological pollution in contemporary organizational circles. Destructive influences arise out of merger, reorganization, individual and organizational obsolescence, and change. These forces will continue for the foreseeable future. That kind of pollution can be dealt with through the medium of organizational intervention, providing the consultant has sufficient understanding of diagnostic and therapeutic conceptions to discern the phenomena he is dealing with and to be able to act on them. . . .[1]

In line with the view of the spread of morale as a kind of contagion, and the application of the therapeutic orientation to its amelioration, which is analogous to the clinical model in medicine and institutional psychology, Levinson concludes that,

> First, executives can draw more heavily on clinically trained personnel. The clinical psychologist and psychiatrist, trained as they are in individual diagnosis and therapy, have a basic frame of reference for looking at organizational problems in the same way. Many are already working with families as systems. Such work requires a formal diagnostic process built on clinical skills but expanded to view the organization as the client system and to include group and organization processes.
>
> Clinicians can extend their diagnostic frame of reference, as I have recently done,[2] by evolving a five-step procedure. This procedure should include: (1) a detailed organizational history that will delineate both the forces impinging on the organization overtime and its characteristic adaptive pattern and its modes for coping with crisis; (2) a description of the organization that would include its organizational structure, physical facilities, people, finances, practices and procedures, policies, values, technology, and context in which the organization operates; (3) an interpretation of observations, interviews, questionnaires, and other information about the organization's characteristic ways of receiving, processing, and acting upon information, as well as the personality characteristics of the dominant organizational figures and the style of organiza-

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[1] Ibid., p. 168.

[2] Harry Levinson, Organizational Diagnosis (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1972).

> tional personality; (4) a summary and interpretation of all these findings with a diagnostic formulation; (5) a feedback report to the organization to establish a basis for organizational action toward solving its problems.
>
> Such a process is extended from and based on the clinical case study method. It views the organization as an open system with a range of semiautonomous interacting subsystems. Both the subsystems and the organization as a total system can be evaluated in terms of how effectively they adapt to the environments in which they operate. . . .
>
> . . . The ultimate practice of organizational development might better be called "applied clinical sociology." . . . feedback of . . . diagnosis to the client system or . . . guidance of an organizational team to formulate a diagnostic statement becomes the basis for formulating common action. . . . No amount of ad hoc expedience, no amount of talking about "growth," and no amount of depreciating the old as being "in the medical model" will substitute for solid knowledge systematically organized, interpretations based on a comprehensive conceptual system, and diagnostic hypotheses amenable to continuous testing and alterations. Only with a solid clinical base can one come at community and organizational development with a prospect of long-term gain. Inevitably, if he is to have a community impact, the clinician must become an organizational diagnostician, and the organizational development man, a clinician. . . .
>
> . . . Scientifically based interventions require formal diagnostic formulations and choice of methods of change based on such formulations. These require a conception of psychological man to take into account both individual and group processes. . . .[1]

The clinical case study method (which is the basic format of the structure of the present participant-observer investigation) is a technique for the analysis of an ongoing social situation which parallels the use of the scientific method for theory building and verification in the physical and behavioral sciences. In the illustration below, note the similarity in terminology for the steps involved in the two methods:

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[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 168-69.

Figure 21

Clinical Case Study Structure	Evolution of Scientific Theory
1. identification of symptoms	1. description
2. diagnosis	2. analysis
3. prognosis--on the basis of in treatment experience	3. prediction--on the basis of sensory evidence gained from experimentation
4. prevention--based on selective application of controls gained through treatment experience to specific aspects of the prognosis	4. verification and control--the application of experimental evidence to out-of-laboratory situations to determine which techniques are verified in the control situation.

The advantage of both of these methods is that they are self-corrective. Each new bit of information alters the procedure in such a way that the process begins all over again to work toward continuous refinement and reapplication of verified information to the process to allow closer and closer approximation of the ultimate goals which are prevention the occurrences of factors detrimental to the organism in the case study and to control of the process in the scientific model.

These two processes are also compatible to the systems methodology as applied to open systems which will be illustrated with respect to the process involved in the scientific method in the final section of the present investigation.

The clinical case study method, when applied to the ongoing social situation as it developed in the narrative of

the course of events at Nebendorf High School serves to illustrate the points made so far about the punitive and therapeutic orientations of social thought, the contagious nature of deteriorating morale, and how the character of the administrative process (management component) can be used to alter the organizational environment through intervention.

It appears valid to assume that a change from a punitive orientation in the administrative process (patronizing authoritarianism) toward a therapeutic orientation (the movement in the direction of a more consultative authority system) can result in an amelioration of an already deteriorated situation in morale seems to be a valid conclusion from a description of the observations and test results contained in the Nebendorf case and from an analysis of the theoretical significance of the results.

The movement from a punitive to a therapeutic orientation represents improvement, but the information contained in the assessment of the clinical case study method which applied to organizations was contained in the quotes from Levinson and would indicate that the proper orientation to be adopted by the management function would be one of prevention. As is the case in the areas of psychology and public health, this would mean the use of experiential evidence in the formation of a strategy of control through intervention by the initiation of the planning function and the implementation of a program for control.

If the evolution of morale in a quasi-total institu-

tion is viewed as an indicator of the general state of the organizational environment (as has been substantiated by the evidence gained from both observation and testing and interpreted in this analysis) then prevention of conditions detrimental to the organizational environment (working climate) should be possible if some way is found to maintain morale at a high level. This is done in clinical case studies through treatment, and in the scientific method through the introduction of new theoretic principles garnered through experimental evidence. In the organizational framework, it must be accomplished by intervention in the information system by the management component to alter the nature and content of communication (and so the perception of the meaning of the communicative interaction by the staff or worker).

The evidence collected and analyzed in this section indicates that this clinical view of the evolution of organizational environment is valid. It has been shown that in total and quasi-total people-changing institutions (or for that matter, profit-making enterprises as well) the movement of the authority system from complete authoritarianism in the direction of consultative authority (while maintaining sufficient control to insure progress toward the systemic goals) does improve morale. (The only inconsistency in the studies cited is as to whether high morale is always conducive to correspondingly high production). Nevertheless, the empirical studies quoted in this section and the evidence

gained from observation and survey in the body of the case study indicates that organizations involving performance (in the context of human interaction) rather than physical production processes, of which the quasi-total institution represented by the school and the total institution represented by the military do develop a more effective working climate (organizational environment) as a result of high morale which results in correspondingly more effective performance of activities dictated by the institutional goals of the organizations involved.

In the final section of this investigation, statements about the relationships resulting from the analysis made in this section will be interpreted to formulate some specific conclusions and some general conclusions of wide applicability about the propositions postulated (considered as a body), the relative validity of the assertion made by the thesis statement, and the degree to which the present investigation has accomplished its purposes which were outlined in the introduction.

PART V

THE SUMMARY, INTERPRETATION, AND CONCLUSIONS TO BE DRAWN AS THEY APPLY TO CONSTRUCTING A THEORETICAL APPROACH, GROUNDING IT IN REALITY, JUSTIFYING IT WITH EMPIRICAL EVIDENCE AND THEN APPLYING IT TO THE INVESTIGATION OF A PARTICULAR PROBLEM IN AN ONGOING SOCIAL SITUATION

XI. SUMMARY, INTERPRETATION, AND CONCLUSIONS

This has been an investigation of the evolution of a particular social setting through an assessment of the character of the authority system and the administrative process in its relation to the organizational environment (working climate), motivation, and morale over the time dimension.

A number of theoretical principles and partial theories, together with the empirical justification for them as individual theoretical tenets, have been collected into a unified orientation as a framework for analysis. This analytical framework, the present writer has proposed, is uniquely applicable of the study of organizational development from the sociological perspective.

The general structure of this investigation is in a case study format and a systems analysis methodology which follows the pattern of continuous problem-solving through the use of evolving sequential partial solutions over the time dimension. This structure also compares favorably with the structure of scientific investigative processes for the description and understanding of reality through the formation and verification of theory as shown in Illustration No. 22 below.

Figure 22

Participant-Observer Case Study Format and Systems Analysis Methodology	Scientific Method for Continuous Generation and Verification of Theory as a Description of Reality
1. Monitoring and Observation	1. Description
2. Assessment	2. Analysis &
3. Interpretation	3. Experimentation
4. Correction (Partial & Solution)	4. Prediction &
5. Alteration (Change)	5. Control

---Repetition of Process---

(The process is repeated to gain continuity and to again observe and assess the effectiveness of the change or alteration instituted in the previous step through the informational "feedback" of repeating the process based on new knowledge.)

The foregoing illustration, when related to the illustration of the comparison of the scientific method of investigation and the clinical case study method, shows the compatibility of all three of these methods when viewed in a process orientation. All stress similar operations which are simply covered by different terminology.

In the construction of this investigation the present writer first set forth the theoretical orientation to be used for analysis and to be tested in a particular ongoing social situation. This fulfilled the requirements for the element of the information to be fed in at the beginning of the twin diagrams above. The motivating force is, of course, the communication of whatever information that is introduced into the system from one step in the process to the other. (This function is performed by management in business enterprises

and by the administrative process in the educational context.)

In the actual body of the case study, the setting, cast of characters, and the two periods covered by the narrations contained in Parts I and II corresponded to the step variously called monitoring and observation, or description. Attitudes developed through the selective perception of the environment by individuals and groups resulted from their observation of the situation and the consequent formation of a "definition of the situation."

The function of the assessment step was provided in Part IV by the analysis of the theoretical significance and the meaning of the contextual implications deduced from the social consequences of the behavior exhibited by concerned individuals and groups in Parts II and III.

This section of the investigation, which is the final step in the process, involves the interpretation of the material and the conclusions drawn from this data to be used in the functions of correction and alteration of behavior which parallel prediction and control in the scientific model.

The end result of the study, in terms of the application of the systems analysis methodology, is that the evidence shows strong support that certain characters of authority systems and behavioral courses of action of the management component, which controls the amount and kind of communication in the system, will be followed by a relatively

more or less favorable condition of organizational morale in terms of its relation to the performance and effectiveness of individuals and groups within the working climate engendered by the organizational environment. This indicates that the study provides evidential support of the predictability of the social consequences of management's conduct of the administrative process.

The final function, that of control, can only be arrived at inferentially, by extending the findings of the present study to a larger and more general universe and making a cross-comparison with the evidence from other research and other disciplines. This cross-comparison does suggest some conclusions of general applicability to similar situations but await a repetition of the systems analysis process in other contexts to attest to their validity.

Nevertheless, the direct relationship that has been shown between management behavior and the reaction of the staff to it and their selective perception of it evidenced by their behavioral response (in terms of the symbolic interactionist action-reaction equation) can, when observed over time, indicate a direction in which the system can be influenced and in-course corrections be made to facilitate closer and closer approximations of the pre-established systemic goals. This really amounts to the initiation of a planning function and the development of a strategy for continuous intervention through partial solutions and an overall program of development aimed at the target of the preconceived goals

of the organization.

Now that the structure of the research has been shown in its congruency to the systems analysis methodology, the clinical case study, and the continuous verification process of the scientific method, and this structure has been related to the conditions of the social situation of this particular case study as they evolved over time, it is necessary to determine what conclusions result when this conceptual framework (or theoretical orientation) developed and the methodology for implementing it in the analysis of the ongoing social situation are applied to the consideration of the thesis statement in social context of the observational evidence presented in the study.

This evaluation of the evidence in terms of its support for, or the refutation of, the stated thesis has result of testing both the theoretical orientation as a whole, and the methodology for its utilization, as they apply to interactive reality in a particular social situation. This provides the function taking a body of theoretical principles from the broad universe of generality (although they have been tested individually in episodic, crosssectional empirical studies of particular real situations) and applying them in <u>concert</u> to a longitudinal study.

Then after the degree of validity of the thesis statement has been established, it is cross-compared with general results and their theoretical connotations for the behavioral sciences, and in business and industry to draw

certain general conclusions which appear to have relevance to the prediction and control of similar organizational contexts.

The propositions on which the thesis statement was predicated were stated in the introduction as:

1. Motivating forces must be present in the working climate before high morale can be generated.

As is developed in one of the propositions that follow, motivation and morale are not the same thing but they appear to be closely correlated, in that an optimal state in one tends to be accompanied by an optimal state in the other, especially in the organizational atmosphere of a total or quasi-total institution such as the military or the educational institutions.

As Berelson and Steiner define motivation, it is:

> the general term that we . . . use to refer to all those inner striving conditions variously described as wishes, desires, needs, drives, and the like. Theoretical distinctions are often maintained among these more specific labels, but for our purposes the more general notion is adequate. Formally, then, a motive is an inner state that energizes, activates, or moves (hence "motivation"), and that directs or channels behavior toward goals. In short, a motive results in and hence can be inferred from purposive, means-ends behavior.[1]

All behavior is spurred by a stimulus or stimuli which, in some way, motivate the acting entity to express a behavioral reaction. This reaction may be adaptive and goal-directive or may be characterized by avoidance and aversion. The kind and intensity of motivation which results in an increase of adaptive, goal-directive behavior is morale

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[1]Berelson and Steiner, Human Behavior, p. 239.

building and raises the effective morale of the acting entity. However, the lack of motivation, or too much intensity in motivation, with little chance for goal achievement, can lower morale and decrease effectiveness.

As Berelson and Steiner state,

> While a moderate level of tension is normally adaptive--i.e., it improves the chances of attaining the goal--tension in the extreme proves disruptive and incapacitating. In general, performance is most efficient when motivation is high but not too high; behavior deteriorates when motivation reaches "panic" levels (as in freezing or blowing up under pressure). . . .[1]

They then go on to quote statistics from Birch[2] to substantiate their statements with empirical evidence.

These authors, Berelson and Steiner, continue to point out that

> When an external barrier stands between a motivated subject and his goal, he normally tries to circumvent, remove, or otherwise master it. (The rat may learn to run the maze or push the bar; the man, to solve the problem.) But when the barrier is not mastered and/or the motivation increases in intensity, the resulting frustration of the goal-directed behavior produces a number of less-adaptive results. . . . When the actual barrier is physically, psychologically, or socially invulnerable to attack, aggression may be displaced to an innocent but more vulnerable bystander ("displaced aggression").[3]

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[1] Ibid., pp. 264-66.

[2] Herbert G. Birch, "The Role of Motivational Factors in Insightful Problem-Solving," Journal of Comp. Psychology, 38 (1945), p. 305.

[3] Berelson and Steiner, Human Behavior, p. 267.
To back up these conceptions Berelson and Steiner give evidence from the effect of a frustration imposed by the in-group upon attitudes expressed toward outgroups in the study of hostility toward minority groups by Neal E. Miller and Richard Bugelski, "Minor Studies of Aggression: II. The Influence of Frustrations Imposed by the In-Group on Attitudes Expressed Toward Out-Groups," J. Psychology, 25 (1948), p. 440.

The result of such conditions of conflict, and the acting entity's selective perception of them, is that great damage is done to the state of morale which is detrimental to goal-directed efforts as evidenced by disruptive or aggressive behavior.

The foregoing evidence presented by Berelson and Steiner[1] tends to support the proposition that motivating forces must be present in the working climate of organizations before high morale can be generated. In fact, this proposition can be even further limited, these stimuli must be unambiguous and not of such intensity as to cause conflict and frustration which are detrimental to morale.

The evidence of the present case study also bears out this proposition. In the first or preparticipatory phase of the study, it was shown by observed evidence that the presence of conflict in the stimuli to which the faculty was exposed resulted in frustration and displaced aggression which followed deterioration of morale.

In the second phase of the study which indicated a movement toward a consultative-participatory system of authority, there is evidence of less aggression and disruptive behavior and more identification with the goals, purposes, and objectives of the organization as indicated by the results of the attitude scales.

2. High morale and motivation are positively correlated but they are not the same thing.

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[1] *Ibid.*

This was shown to be true as long as there are channels for the realization of the goals set by the motivational forces. If, however, motivation exists but is accompanied by conditions that increase anxiety or result in frustration to the individual morale can be lowered by the unresolved conflict producing the frustration. As Berelson and Steiner describe frustration and its results:

> When an external barrier stands between a motivated subject and his goal, he normally tries to circumvent, remove, or otherwise master it. (The rat may learn to run the maze or push the bar; the man, to solve the problem.) But when the barrier is not mastered and/or the motivation increases in intensity, the resulting frustration of the goal-directed behavior produces a number of less adaptive results. . . .[1]

3. High individual morale is not always indicative of high group or organizational morale.

The results of attitude surveys conducted with the staff indicated that although some individuals had very high scores in such tests as satisfaction with supervision, and evaluation of supervisors, others also scored very low in such tests. When these individuals were compared as to membership to factions, several divisions were discerned. This proposition has been amply substantiated by many studies carried out in business and in the behavioral sciences.

4. High group morale is not always indicative of high organizational morale.

This is borne out too by the evidence of the present study, as well as by the results of other empirical research in the various disciplines. The very high morale of certain

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[1] *Ibid.*

subgroups within the total faculty as compared to the low morale of other factions in the organization with the consequent general morale of the organization which ranges somewhere between the upper and lower limits set by group morale indicates that the level of morale for the individual, the various groups and the organization as a whole may be quite different.

5. High individual or group morale does not necessarily mean high productivity or effective working environment.

The studies quoted in the text indicate that this statement is true. However, the difference in the function and structure of the educational institution, as compared with business enterprise, makes morale more significant to organizational effectiveness. The quasi-total nature of the school is more like the military institution, and from the evidence available on studies of the military institution, it is evident that high morale leads to much better performance of duty and consequently much greater organizational effectiveness.

6. A satisfied need is not a motivator of behavior.

This proposition was shown to be valid in the earlier theoretical discussion of the nature of work.

7. Morale is a component of behavior.

This proposition has been shown to be true by the evidence contained in empirical studies and also is borne out by both the observations of behavior and the expressions of attitude from the survey portion of the present study.

8. Morale is contagious.

There are ample studies to show that bad morale has the characteristic of spreading to become general in situations where conflict is present. This can be traced back to the nature of conflict itself. Conflict that is unresolved causes a deterioration of morale in certain quarters, and if conflict remains unresolved, it tends to spread throughout the social body which it infests. Therefore if unresolved conflict breeds low morale, and conflict which is not resolved spreads, then the low morale that accompanies it will also spread. This has been shown to be particularly true in total and quasi-total institutions like the military organization and the school where the interactive network is laid out in certain very formal channels. Besides the plethora of studies of the spread of low morale in military circumstances, part II of this study which describes the course of events at Nebendorf under the paternalistic authority system shows the tendency for a situation of low morale to spread to other parts and levels of an educational situation.

9. The nature of the work itself and the role of involvement are important factors in the maintenance of high morale.

In the present study, the results of the tests on the satisfaction with the job, and the identification of the individual with the work organization indicate that the nature of the job itself is of great importance to the self-concept that the individual has, his identity, and the extent

to which he wants to be associated with the work, or the organization for which he works.

10. The deterioration of morale can be anticipated by clues in the organizational environment and corrective measures taken to avoid it.

Part three of this study has indicated that the change from the paternalistic authority system toward the consultative system served to improve morale. Similar results have been shown in studies already cited in the body of this investigation. The indications are, then, that if the conditions that bad morale will cause are known, and that if certain authority systems and management behavior tend to improve the state of organizational morale, then trends in the organizational atmosphere can be ascertained and enough corrective measures taken to bring the morale to the desired level. The results of this study and the others cited, indicate that the formation of a strategy for the manipulation of the determinants of morale, the initiation of a participative planning and decision making function and the design of a program for development in line with the aims for the achievement of organizational goals could be used to promote an effective organizational environment.

The consideration of the propositions above in light of the crossdisciplinary theoretical material available and when compared to the empirical evidence available (as shown by observations in this study and in the interdisciplinary studies consulted in the text) makes it apparent that there is ample reason to support these propositions as valid when

they are applied individually to the educational context.

Thus if these propositions are then apparently valid when applied individually, it should be possible to consider their significance, as a constellation, to form a basis for testing the validity of the thesis statement. Toward this end it is possible to combine these propositions in such a way that, considered together with the evidence from the case study proper, they can be applied to the formation of certain specific partial conclusions that can be brought to bear on an evaluation of the assertion made in the thesis statement.

Following through with an application of the propositions as these applications to the evidence form the case study, the following specific conclusions appear to be valid:

(1) Regardless of the kind of administration employed, the use of a consistent policy will assure better control of the system than authority exercised in an arbitrary or capricious manner.

(2) The character and the courses of action taken by the management or administrative component are reflected in changes in the condition of organizational morale.

(3) As far as the condition of morale is concerned, the change from a paternalistic authoritative system in the direction of a consultative authority system in which the staff or workers have some influence in the decisionmaking process seems to have the effect of improving organizational morale.

(4) The state of morale in quasi-total or total institutions, especially those with people-changing functions such as education, seems to have a direct effect on individual and group performance and consequent improvement or deterioration of the effectiveness of the organizational working environment.

(5) The management component of a bureaucratic organization controls the spread of the information, which is

the lifeblood of the system, through its control of the formal interactive network for communication.

(6) Although management selects the information as to type, amount, and priority that is to be communicated through the interactive network of the organization, and determines the method for that communication, it can be effectively stymied by low morale which can slow down, or interrupt, or even stop the flow of information.

(7) Since the condition of morale is dependent on the nature of the work and the organizational environment and management by its control function exercises control over these elements, it is evident that the condition of morale can be considered an indicator of both the character of the management and the condition of the organizational environment.

(8) The presence of unresolved conflict (both external and internal--in the sense of conflict in attitude structures--to the individual) results in the generation and spread of anxiety and frustration which have consequences in the form of unadaptive behavior by concerned individuals evidencing a condition of low morale.

(9) The recognition of currents of social change in the larger community and the allowance for their effects will enable the administration to avert a social crisis and the resulting confrontation through the avoidance, postponement, or averting of conflict, (The concept of administration as conflict management).

(10) The utilization of techniques which allow staff participation in the decision-making process will provide legitimate targets for their frustrations and so relieve pressure on the administrative personnel. The production of legitimate targets for action will lessen the amount of unadaptive behavior exemplified by "misplaced aggression" which is generally the result of low morale caused by intense motivation conflicted by a lack of legitimate channels for achievement.

(11) A strategy for the manipulation of the interactional network and the flow of communication by the management component can control the determinants of morale, vary the dimensions of morale, and through planning and the development of a program directed at organizational goals, manipulate the condition of morale to

> maintain the most effective organizational working environment possible in terms of the structural limitations of the organization and the resources available to it.

When all of the partial conclusions listed above are applied to the assertion made by the thesis statement, they appear to provide ample grounds for substantiation. In fact, the thesis statement could serve as a general summary of the individual conclusions in that it simply asserts that the relationship of the character of the management function and the condition of morale is such that by the formation of a strategy of operation, the initiation of a planning function and the inauguration of a program directed at continuous improvement could be used to maintain morale at the level desired.

Since the thesis statement has been shown to be generally valid as the observed evidence contained in the study tends to support the assertion made, it is important to consider the significance of this deduction if the universe of discourse is extended from the particular to the general in terms of other similar interactional social situations.

For instance, employees' perceptions of management behavior are important to indicate whether the human system (organization) is becoming more or less effective. The methodology to use is systems analysis applied to determine the effect of intervening variables. The instrumentality could well be some form of the attitude survey.

As Hampton observes,

> To assess correctly the state of the human organization, it is necessary to differentiate between causal and intervening variables. These can be defined briefly as follows:
>
> 1. The causal variables are independent variables which can be directly or purposely altered or changed by the organization and its management and which, in turn, determine the course of developments within an organization and the results achieved by the organization. "General business conditions," for example, although an independent variable is not viewed as causal since the management of a particular enterprise can do little about them. Causal variables include the structure of the organization, and management's policies, decisions, business leadership strategies, skills, and behavior.
>
> 2. The intervening variables reflect the internal state, health, and performance capabilities of the organization, e.g., the loyalties, attitudes, motivations, performance goals, and perceptions of all members and their collective capacity for effective action, interaction, communication, and decision making.
>
> We are finding when we measure key causal variables, such as the extent to which a manager is seen by his subordinates as behaving supportively, that we can predict trends in productivity and cost performance two years in advance. . . .
>
> These and other results indicate that we can assess with useful accuracy whether the human organization of a firm is becoming more or less productive. In addition, we can do much more with what we are now able to measure.[1]

The case for using systems analysis is supported by research and concepts developed by Dr. Rensis Likert.[2]

In this study, human organization has been considered as an "open system" and it has been shown that a change in one part of the system is reflected in consequences in other parts throughout the system. For instance, Likert's

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[1]Hampton, Behavioral Concepts in Management, p. 136.

[2]Ibid., pp. 139-40.

conception of the relative efficiency of systems of authority is reflected in the content of the contextual maps present on the next two pages and which were compiled by taking behavioral evidence of observed or asserted behavioral consequences of morale and plotting them with respect to changes taking place in the character of the authority system.

If the systems analysis methodology operates effectively in all instances, as it certainly appears to do, it should be possible to influence the effectiveness of the working climate (organizational environment) through manipulation of the management component (administration) in any social context.

As Hampton states, Likert has pulled together a plethora of studies that have been carried out since World War II to arrive at a series of behavioral modes that provide a coherent description of what the most productive managers did that their less successful contemporaries did not do. He deduced four modes of behavior that set the productive manager apart:

> 1. Lend lots of support, personal and otherwise, to those doing the job.
> 2. Facilitate the job with tools, materials, training, outside help, or whatever is needed to get it done.
> 3. Encourage talk, interaction, mutual help among all members of the work groups.
> 4. Expect high performance standards all the time.[1]

Hampton points out that Likert considered management to be one component in a human system--the controlling

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[1] Ibid., p. 139.

Figure 23

A Generalized Contextual Map of the Interaction of Change in the Organizational Environment and the State of Organizational Morale (Demonstrating the Effect on Morale by a Paternal Authoritarian System of Authority Suffering from Inconsistencies in its Application)

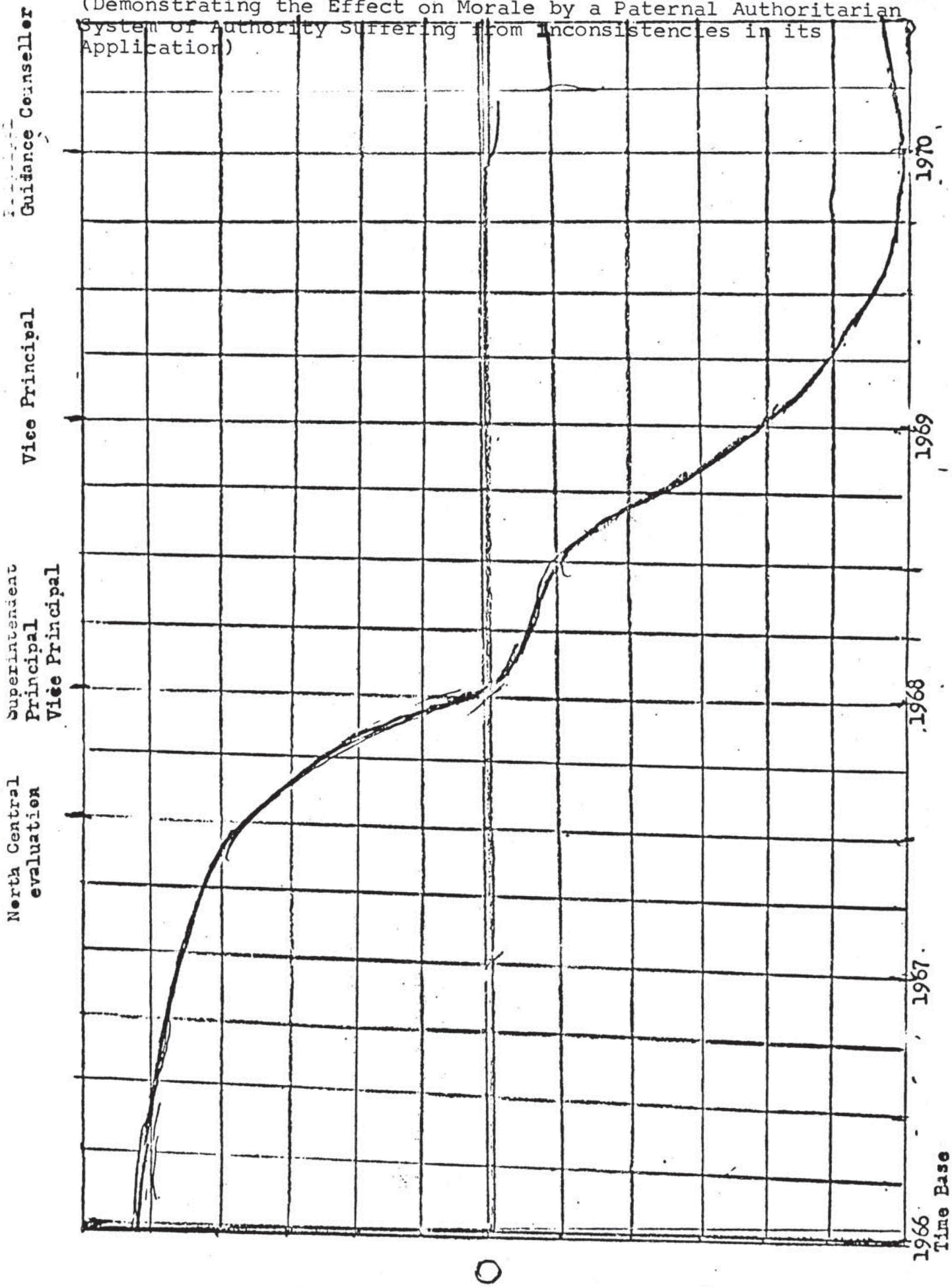
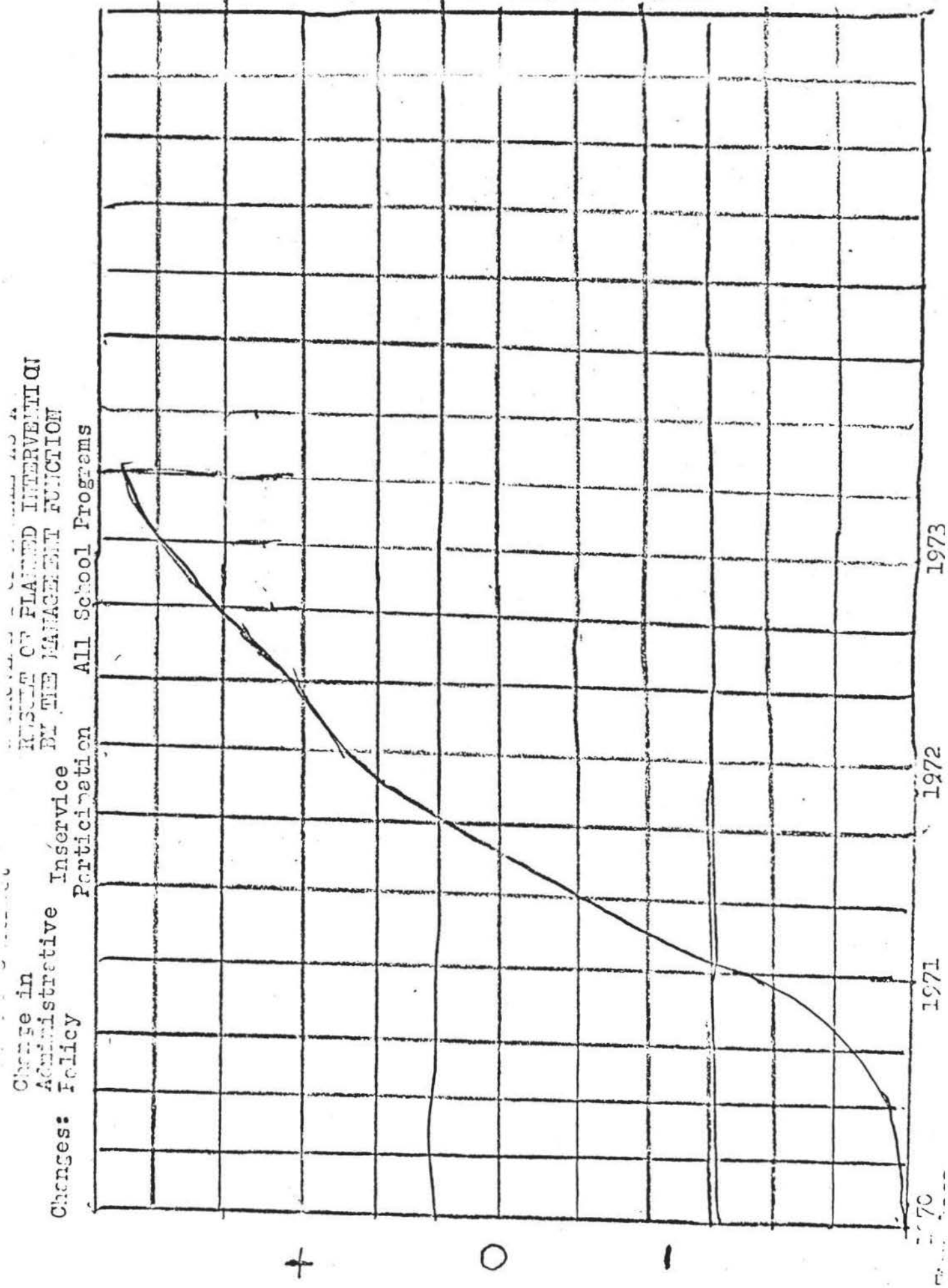


Figure 24

A Generalized Contextual Map Illustrating the Effect of a Change from the Paternalistic Authoritarian System of Authority in the Direction of the Consultative-Participative System



component. He comments, "Likert argued that management really is a system--that structure, policies, practices, and behavior in an organization are closely related to one another, and that these relationships can be measured. . . ."[1]

In accordance with the structure and organization of the present study which has also asserted, and attempted to substantiate that assertion, that social enterprises are systems, Hampton continues,

> Likert argued that management really is a system --that structure, policies, practices, and behavior in an organization are closely related to one another, and that these relationships can be measured. He described four illustrative patterns, from System I (an authoritarian dictator decides everything) to System 4 (managerial groups solve policy and operating problems by consensus). His findings showed that the System I manager has poorer communication, less confidence, less loyalty, lower motivation, and higher resistance to company goals from his employees than the System 3 or 4 manager, who tended to consult others, listen to their problems, delegate responsibility, provide tools and support, and help people set high goals for themselves.
>
> Likert maintains that people would rather compete against their own best group efforts than against one another. He argues that such competition can lead to greater satisfaction and higher output. But how do you get people working toward self-betterment? First, said Likert, you need the "data." A born quantifier, Likert suggests that managers tend to operate with only about half the data they should have. They count buildings, land, equipment, and cash to the penny, but the value of people, despite rote lip service, is never counted at all.[2]

This investigation has put forward the concept that the "lifeblood of social systems is information," and the key process that is the driving force of the system is the

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid., pp. 139-41.

process of communication. Further, the one component in the present organizational structure that has official sanction as to its function as the formal agent of control of organizational communications is the management or administrative component.

Concerning the approach to the use of management information in the process of communications and control, Hampton concludes that

> The innovative approach to management information, which Likert lays out in The Human Organization[1] may be an important breakthrough in the continuing endeavor to make organization life more rational and satisfying. Oversimplifying a complex theory, there are, says Likert, three kinds of "variables" an organization can measure:
>
> Its management structure and behavior ("causal")
> Employee attitudes and motivation ("intervening")
> Productivity and earnings ("end result")
>
> Most businesses, Likert holds, measure only the end product--profits. They would never think to measure the effects, good or bad, of their own managerial behavior, for example, on employee motivation. Human resource management, then, is left to chance and considered a frill to be dealt with only after the serious business of profits has been tended to.
>
> Yet, as research from Michigan and elsewhere has begun to suggest, by measuring "causal" and "intervening" variables too, business can predict what costs and profits will be--two, three, four years later. Oddly enough, however, only a handful of bold companies have made any effort to apply Likert's findings. Much of his work is not well-understood nor widely practiced.
>
> There seems, in fact to be a profound resistance to new technology and ideas in the area Likert has explored. Most executives simply do not believe that it is possible to operate their human systems more productively, especially by permitting more employee influence in decisions, and they often see this as usurpation of control. Moreover, when confronted with "the data," many executives refuse to believe it.[2]

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[1]Rensis Likert, The Human Organization: Its Management and Value (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1967).

[2]Hampton, Behavioral Concepts, p. 140, citing Likert.

The foregoing discussion by Hampton describes effectively the territory covered by the present investigation which considers mainly two of the three kinds of variables in their relation over the time dimension.

First of all, the management structure, its character, and its behavior (what Likert refers to as causal variables) have been described as they evolved during the course of the case study. This longitudinal description has been compared with the interrelationship of employees' attitudes, motivation and the working climate as an environment for the realization of the motivation (herein called morale). This second part of the analysis dealt with what Likert has termed "intervening variables."

Most studies of this relationship in the past have been episodic and crosssectional, but the present case study has allowed the analysis to be carried over time to permit "contextual mapping" (or as Levinson has termed it, "psychological mapping"[1]) to be used to show visually the relationships of variables over the time dimension. The resultant line, which has been plotted and extended as a trend line, shows that there is a correlation which bears out the conception of social organization as a human system. By extension, it is obvious that, since a change in one of the factors studied, management, is reflected by consequences in the other, morale, that, by conscious manipulation of the character

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[1]Levinson, Jackass Fallacy, p. 173.

and behavior of the management component of the system (which Likert calls the authority system), the second theme of the investigation, organizational morale, can be altered (as reflected by the staff perception of the nature of the work and the organizational working environment).

Therefore, the two elements of this investigation are two among the indicators of the state of effectiveness of the organizational environment. One of these (the management component) by virtue of the parameters set by the structural limitations of the organization is capable of altering the other, and it has been shown that such a relationship does in truth exist, both in the observed behavior catalogued in this study and in the other empirical research cited in the body of the study. (It is important to emphasize once again the point made by proposition No. 5 that high individual morale, or high group morale, taken by themselves, are not indicative of an effective organizational environment (although, as has been pointed out, this is much more the case in quasi-total and total people-changing institutions). Because of the different goals of individuals and groups in the bureaucratic structure (i.e., factionalism), the overall condition of organizational morale must be the basis of comparison.

It is also apparent from the evidence of the case study that the overall morale does reflect the character and behavior of the management component (again, especially so in the educational and military contexts).

This leads to the following conclusions of general

applicability in all social organizational contexts:

> 1. Again Likert, in his theoretical work[1] states the gist of the first conclusion succinctly when he asserts that organizations are in need of better interaction-influence systems than now exist. The first conclusion of general applicability then, is that social organizations must be regarded as interaction-influence systems.
>
> 2. The second conclusion is that there must be a strategy for change in every effective organization. Bennis defines this as "an educational strategy instituted to bring about planned organizational change for organizational development."[2]
>
> 3. The final general conclusion is that the interaction-influence systems must be goal-directed, the staff must be strongly motivated by factors in the institutional environment to achieve the chosen goals, and the way smoothed for the achievement of the goals so that motivations will not be frustrated and morale lowered. Finally, systems design must be used in the movement toward set goals, and continuous sequential group problem-solving utilized to provide continuity in assessment, evaluation, correction and alteration.

By putting the three general conclusions into practice in interaction-influence systems, an effective program for organizational development can be evolved through taking measurements at regular periodic intervals of managerial behavior (as it is perceived by the staff-employees by the administration of attitude survey instruments) for "feedback" to the management function to all self-correction in terms of the goals of the overall system.

The foregoing commentary is a verbalization of the systems analysis methodology on which this investigation was predicated. An illustration of the evolution of a more

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[1]Hampton, Behavioral Concepts in Management, p. 152.

[2]Ibid.

effective relationship between management and staff might be compared to the ongoing classroom situation in the school context as it is presented by Levinson:

> . . . Thus the students are closer to being colleagues. The instructor is continuously learning with them and from them as they bring problems from the field and as they test in practice the conceptions he has advanced. They are therefore simultaneously a mode of extending knowledge and conceptions, a group of interdependent allies, extensions of the instructor's conceptual thrust, testers of his assumptions, and unique human beings who critically evaluate in their own daily problem-solving efforts what both he and experience have to offer. They adapt this knowledge and incorporate it in the ongoing thrust of their own identities.[1]

Therefore, the visualization of the organization (whether a school system or a profit-making commercial enterprise) as an interaction-influence system is in congruence with both the theoretic orientation and the management-morale thematic structure of this investigation. The theoretical orientation of this study is based totally on the interactive process (with its concomitant connotations of conflict) and the concept (advanced by Likert and substantiated by the findings of this study) of the most effective authority system for management as the consultative-participative system coincides with the <u>influence</u> side of the <u>influence-interaction system</u>. (The similarity of this systems orientation--based on interaction too--to Becker's theoretical action-reaction equation is striking.) The <u>influence</u> is provided to the management component by the participation of the whole staff in the decision-making process. In this way they (through

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[1]Levinson, <u>Jackass Fallacy</u>, p. 174.

interaction) exert "influence" on the management function to assess, interpret, and alter the control to provide continuous correction in the path toward the set goals of the organization as a result of evolving interactional sequences. This might be compared, as it is in the illustration on the following page, to the manner in which an electronic missile-guidance system functions to cause the missile to make continuous course corrections on its way down range to draw it closer and closer to the true course until with the final correction the missile course and the target's course intersect.

The relevance of the assertion made by the thesis statement of this investigation to the conception of an evolving influence-interactive system is readily evident. The assertion is predicated on the idea that the management component and its behavior directly affects the organizational morale which, in turn, has an effect on the effectiveness of the operation of the organization. If this is so then, then the continuous interaction of the management with the staff furnishes the interactive milieu in which the management can give the staff a legitimate way to influence the course of development of the organization, raise their morale, and at the same time gain valuable "feedback" of pertinent information that can furnish a basis for further development of a program for development.

In the consideration in this study of a comparison, contrast and evaluation of a body of theoretical principles

MISSLE ELECTRONIC GUIDANCE SYSTEM
ANALOGOUS WITH
THE SYSTEMS ANALYSIS METHODOLOGY
OF SEQUENTIAL PROBLEM
SOLVING

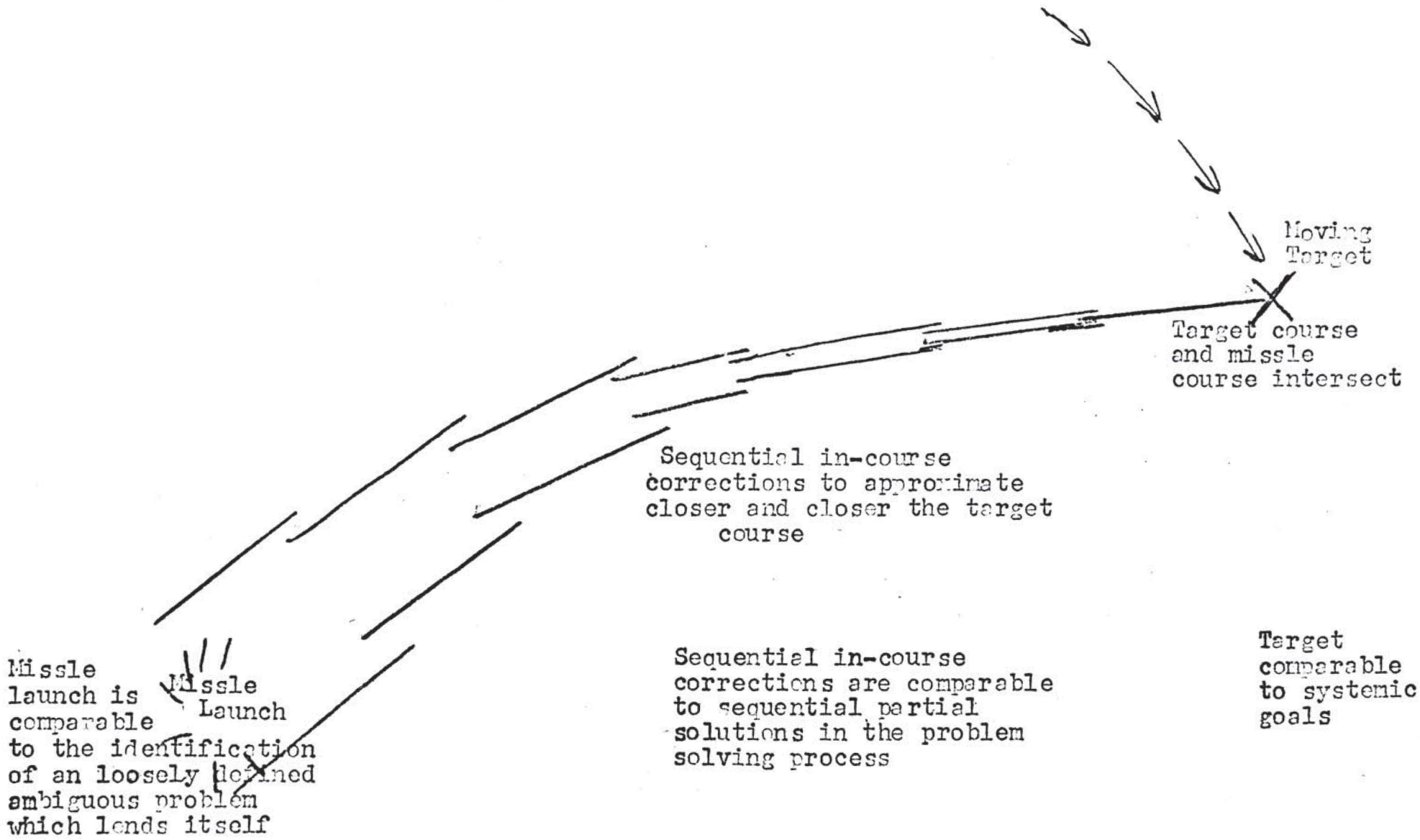


Figure 25

from the behavioral sciences as they apply to the interactive milieu, the evidence of this investigation and the evidence and theory derived from other empirical studies in sociology, psychology, and business and industry has shown an overriding consensus. Their implications have all pointed in the same direction regarding the evolution of policy and methods of operations of social organizations. First, they have been shown both theoretically and empirically to be most effective when viewed as interaction-influence systems in which the management function receives feedback provided by participative consultative authority systems which establish realistic and clear controls toward specific goals. The work (job, position or task and its organizational setting) should be designed to provide the role with feelings of achievement and reward that positively reinforce performance-oriented behavior. In this way, conflicts will be resolved through cooperative relations and high level performance by means of the quick response of the organizational control to turbulent environment (or ineffective working climate) by means of continuous monitoring, assessment, interpretation, correction and alteration of the situation toward the agreed-upon goals.

In conclusion, the present investigation has, for the most part accomplished the goals for which it was designed. The evidence gathered not only tended to support the thesis statement but has enabled the integration of that thesis and the conclusions developed from this integration,

in the accomplishment of the purposes of the research as stated in the introduction. The purposes of the research were: the construction of a unified theoretical orientation; a practical methodology for the implementation of the theoretical framework for analysis; justifying it with empirical evidence from a variety of disciplines; and ultimately applying the methodology in conjunction with the theoretical framework, in the realm of the particular by testing the validity of a thesis in the context of a longitudinal case study.

APPENDICES

MORALE BUILDING TECHNIQUES AND ATTITUDE SCALES UTILIZED IN THE NEBENDORF CASE

APPENDIX A

PROFESSIONAL NEGOTIATION AGREEMENT

BETWEEN

THE BOARD OF EDUCATION OF SCHOOL DISTRICT NO. 11

NEBENDORF, ILLINOIS

AND

THE EDUCATION ASSOCIATION OF UNIT 11

CHARTERED WITH THE ILLINOIS EDUCATION ASSOCIATION

AND THE NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION

I Preamble

A. The Board of Education of Nebendorf Unit School District No. 11 and the Education Association of Unit 11 recognize that the ultimate aim of public schools is to provide the best education possible for children and youth in the district. Attainment of these educational objectives is a joint responsibility of the Board of Education, the administrative and supervisory staff and the professional teaching personnel.

B. Attainment of educational objectives of the district requires mutual understanding and cooperation between the board, the administration and supervisory staff, and the professional teaching personnel. To this end, free and open exchange of views is desirable and necessary, with all parties participating in good faith negotiations.

C. It is recognized that teaching is a profession requiring specialized educational qualifications and that the success of the educational program in the district depends upon the maximum utilization of the abilities of teachers who are reasonably well satisfied with the conditions under which their services are rendered. As evidence of its acceptance of the professional rights and responsibilities of teachers, the Association has endorsed the Uniform Code of Ethics of the National Education Association.

D. It is recognized that the Superintendent has a dual role to fulfill, as educational and professional leader of the staff and as Chief Administrative Officer of the Board of Education. It is recognized that the administration has the responsibility to provide those conditions which enable teachers and other staff members to achieve their professional goals within a framework of improved educational services to pupils. Therefore administrators should be involved in decision on matters which affect the exercise of this responsibility.

II Recognition

A. The Board of Education hereby recognizes the Association as the exclusive and sole negotiation agent only for all certified professional personnel in the district actually engaged in full time positions excluding the Superintendent, the Elementary Principal, the Middle School Principal, the High School Principal, and the High School Assistant Principal.

B. The term "teacher," when used hereinafter in this agreement, shall refer to all employees represented by the Association in the negotiating unit defined above.

III Definition of Responsibilities and Rights

A. The Board agrees to participate in good faith negotiations with the duly designated representatives of the Association.

B. The Association and the Board agree that negotiation in good faith, will encompass only the following items:

1. Salaries
2. Related economic conditions of employment (fringe benefits)
3. Grievance adjustment
4. Negotiating procedures
5. Other matters of mutual concern which directly affect the quality of the educational program and professional service.

C. "Good Faith" is defined as the mutual responsibility of the Board and the Association to deal with each other openly and fairly and to sincerely endeavor to reach agreement on items being negotiated.

D. It is the mutual responsibility of the Board and the Association to confer upon their respective representatives the necessary power and authority to make proposals, consider proposals, and make counter-proposals in the course of negotiations, and to reach tentative agreement which shall be presented to the Board and Association respectively for ratification.

E. Professional employees shall have the right to form, join or assist professional employees' organizations, and to participate in professional negotiations with the school board through representatives of their own choosing. Professional employees shall also have the right to refrain from any or all of such activities.

F. As a duly elected body exercising governmental power under color of law of the State of Illinois, the school board undertakes and agrees that it will continue not to directly or indirectly discourage or deprive or coerce any teacher in the enjoyment of any rights conferred by laws of Illinois or the constitution of Illinois and the United States: that it will continue not to discriminate against any teacher with respect to hours, wages, terms or conditions of employment by reason of his membership in the association, his participation in any activities of the association or collective professional negotiations with the school board, or his institution of any grievance, complaint, or preceeding under this agreement.

G. Consistent with the Code of Ethics of the Educational Profession, teachers shall be entitled to full rights of

citizenship, and the exercise thereof shall not be grounds for any discipline or discrimination against a teacher.

H. The School Board and Association agree that they shall not discriminate against any employee or applicant for employment by reason of race, creed, color, marital status, sex, or national origin, and that the provisions of this agreement shall not be applied in a manner which is arbitrary, capricious, or discriminatory.

I. Reasonable requests for access by Association representatives to work areas of professionals represented by the Association will be granted by the administration provided that no interference with the instructional program would be occasioned by the granting of such requests and provided all visitors check in at the building office.

J. The Association shall have the right to use faculty mailboxes for a reasonable volume of appropriate announcements relating to the conduct of the negotiating agents' business on behalf of the members of the negotiating unit.

K. The Association shall also have the right to hold general membership meetings on school district property provided such meetings in no way interfere with any aspect of the instructional program and provided that such meetings entail no additional maintenance or custodial expense.

L. The Association shall be provided with bulletin board space in each school. Only authorized representatives of the Association will use bulletin boards for Association announcements and all material posted will relate only to the Association's official business as negotiating agent of the teaching staff.

M. No Associations views on matters relating to supervisor-teacher or School Board-Teacher relationships will be discussed in the presence of students.

N. The Board will deduct from the salary of a professional employee, upon receipt of a document signed by such employee and authorizing such deduction, the fees and dues required for membership in the association provided that such authorization shall not be revocable for a period of one year.

O. The Association shall be furnished on request all regularly and routinely prepared information concerning the financial condition of the school including financial statement and adopted budget. In addition, the Board and the administration will grant reasonable requests for any other readily available and pertinent information which may be relevant to negotiations. Nothing herein shall require the central administrative staff to research and assemble information.

IV Effect of Agreement

A. The parties mutually agree that the terms and conditions set forth in this agreement represent the full and complete understanding and commitment between the parties hereto which may be altered, changed, added to, deleted from or modified only through the voluntary, mutual consent of the parties in an amendment hereto.

B. This Agreement shall not be modified in whole or in part by the parties except by an Amendment in writing duly executed by both parties.

C. This Agreement shall be incorporated into the School Board Policies of School District No. 11, Illinois, and shall be a part of the School Board Policies. This Agreement may be altered, changed, added to, deleted from, or modified only through the voluntary mutual consent of the parties in an amendment hereto during the duration of this Agreement.

D. The terms and conditions of this Agreement shall be reflected in individual contracts.

E. Should any Article, Section, or Clause of this Agreement be declared illegal by a court of competent jurisdiction, said Article, Section, or Clause, as the case may be, shall be automatically deleted from this Agreement to the extent that it violated the law, but the remaining Articles, Sections, and clauses shall remain in full force and effect for the duration of the Agreement, if not affected by the deleted Article, Section or Clause.

V Negotiation Procedures

A. Each party in any negotiations shall select its negotiating representatives provided that the Board shall not select a teacher as its representative.

B. Either party may select whomever they wish to represent them in negotiations except as limited in "A" above.

C. Negotiations shall begin no later than February 1, unless both parties agree to an alternate date. Meetings will be held as necessary at times and places agreed to by both parties.

D. During negotiations, agreed-upon material shall be prepared for the Board and the Association and signed prior to the adjournment of the meeting at which agreement was reached.

E. <u>Agreement and Appendices</u>. When the Association and Board reach tentative agreement on all matters being negotiated,

they will be reduced to writing and shall be submitted to the membership of the Association for ratification and to the Board of Education for official approval. Upon ratification by both parties, they shall become an appendix to this Agreement.

F. Definition of Impasse. If Agreement is not reached on all items within 60 calendar days of commencement of negotiations, either party may declare an impasse has been reached and call for the selection of a mediator.

G. Mediation. A mediator shall be selected within seven days from the date on which either party declares in writing to the other that an impasse exists. If the parties cannot agree on a mediator, the mediator shall be selected as prescribed in subsections 1, 2, and 3 below.

1. A list of five mediators shall be secured from the Office of Superintendent of Public Instruction, or other available sources, provided that such list shall not include a resident of the involved school district.

2. Selection of the mediator shall be made by the parties from the list supplied as determined above. Final selection of the mediator shall be made by the parties alternately striking a name from the list until one name remains, and this person shall serve as mediator. The party eligible for the first deletion shall be determined by chance.

3. If the final mediator named is unable to serve, the last name struck from the list shall be alternate.

4. The total time for the mediation process shall not exceed 20 days from the date of selection of the mediator. The mediator shall meet with the parties or their representatives, both forthwith, either jointly or separately and shall take such other steps as he may deem appropriate in order to persuade the parties to resolve their differences and effect a mutually acceptable agreement; provided that the mediator shall not, without the consent of both parties make findings of fact or recommend terms of settlement.

H. Fact-Finding

1. If mediation is not utilized, or is unsuccessful in resolving the dispute between the parties, fact finding may be invoked by either party 45 days or less prior to final budget adoption date.

2. The fact-finding committee, which shall be established as soon as practicable, upon timely request by either party, shall be composed of one member selected by the Board of Education, one member selected by the teacher organization, and one neutral member who shall serve as chairman, to be chosen by the other two members.

3. The fact-finding committee shall convene as soon as practicable after its appointment, hold informal hearings as necessary, and provide adequate opportunity to all parties to testify fully on, and present evidence regarding, their respective positions. The chairman of the fact-finding committee shall make a written report recommending a reasonable basis for the settlement of the disagreement within 30 days after the appointment of all members of the committee.

4. If settlement has not been effected, the recommendations of the chairman of the fact-finding committee shall be made public but will be advisory only and shall not be binding on either party.

VI Attendant Costs

Costs for consultants chosen by any party shall be paid by that party. The costs for the mediator or for the fact finder shall be shared equally by the Board and the Association.

VII Duration of Agreement

A. This Agreement shall be effective as of December 14, 1970, and shall continue in effect through December 31, 1971.

B. This Agreement shall remain in force from year to year after December 14, 1970, unless:

1. Notice is given prior to January 1 of the year in which this Agreement is to terminate, or prior to January 1 of any subsequent year, by either party, of its desire to terminate, amend or modify this Agreement. Upon receipt of such notice, arrangement shall promptly be made for negotiations to commence per Article II, Section B.

2. Recognition of the present negotiation agent is successfully challenged. If a petition deemed valid by the Board, of no less than thirty percent (30%) of the professional employees in the negotiating unit is filed with the secretary of the School Board between September 15 and November 15 of the calendar year preceding the year

in which this Agreement is to terminate, a referendum shall be held within thirty (30) days of the filing of the petition to elect an exclusive representative. The ballot used in the election shall include "No representative" among the choices. The organization designated by the majority of votes cast shall be the negotiation representative. If the choice of "No Representative" received a majority of the votes cast, then the Board will not recognize any representative for at least twelve (12) months thereafter. If no choice receives a majority vote, then a run off election shall be conducted among the top two choices. If a new representative is elected, any negotiations on a new Agreement, if such negotiations are requested, will be conducted as per Article III, Section B of this Agreement with the newly elected representative.

VIII Grievance Procedure

A. Definition - A complaint that there has been an alleged violation, misinterpretation or inequitable application of any of the provisions of this Agreement.

B. Statement of Basic Principles:

1. Every teacher covered by this Agreement shall have the right to present grievances in accordance with these procedures, with or without representation. Nothing contained in this article or elsewhere in this Agreement shall be construed to prevent any individual employee from discussing a problem with the administration and having it adjusted without intervention or representation of organization representatives.

2. A teacher who participates in the grievance procedures shall not be subjected to discipline or reprisal because of such participation.

3. The failure of a teacher or the (Organization) to act on any grievance within the prescribed time limits will act as a bar to any further appeal and an administrator's failure to give a decision within the time limits shall permit the grievant to proceed to the next step. The time limits, however may be extended by mutual agreement.

4. Any teacher has a right to be represented in the grievance procedure. The teacher shall be present at any grievance discussion when the administration and/or the (Organization) deems it necessary. When the presence of a teacher at a grievance hearing is requested by either party, illness or other incapacity of the teacher shall be grounds for any necessary extension of grievance procedure time limits.

5. In any instance where the (Organization) is not represented in the grievance procedure, the (Organization) will be notified of the final disposition of the grievance which disposition shall not be in conflict with any of the terms or conditions of this Agreement.

Any final disposition of grievance alleged by the (Organization) to be in conflict with this Agreement shall be grievable by the (Organization).

6. Hearings and conferences under this procedure shall be conducted at a time and place which will afford a fair and reasonable opportunity for all persons, including witnesses entitled to be present, to attend and will be held, insofar as possible, after regular school hours, or during non-teaching time of personnel involved. When such hearings and conferences are held, at the option of the administration, during school hours all employees whose presence is required shall be excused, with pay for that purpose.

7. It is agreed that any investigation or other handling or processing of any grievance by the grieving teacher or teacher organization representatives shall be conducted so as to result in no interference with or interruption whatsoever of the instructional program and related work activities of the teaching staff.

C. Procedures

1. First step: An attempt shall be made to resolve any grievance in informal, verbal discussion between complainant and his immediate superior.

2. Second step: If grievance cannot be resolved informally the aggrieved teacher shall file the grievance in writing and at a mutually agreeable time, discuss the matter with the principal. The written grievance should state the nature of the grievance, should note the specific clause or clauses of the Agreement allegedly violated, and should state the remedy requested. The filing of the grievance at the second step must be within 10 days from the date of the occurrence of the event giving rise to the grievance. The principal or other administrator who has authority to make a decision on the grievance shall make such decision and communicate it in writing to the teacher and the Superintendent within ten (10) working days.

3. Third step: In the event a grievance has not been satisfactorily resolved at the second step, the aggrieved teacher shall file, within five (5) school days of the principal's written decision or answer at the second step, a copy of the grievance with the Superintendent.

Within ten (10) school days after such written grievance is filed, the aggrieved, representative of the aggrieved as desired, the principal and the superintendent or his designee, shall meet to resolve the grievance. The superintendent, or his designee, shall file an answer within ten (10) school days of the third step grievance meeting and communicate it in writing to the teacher, the principal, and the (Organization).

4. Fourth step: If the grievance cannot be settled at the third step the grievance shall be submitted to the Board of Education to be considered in as timely a fashion as the Schedule of board meetings and the agendas therefore permit. The aggrieved, acting independently or through the (Organization), may present a written brief to the Board and may request an oral hearing on the grievances which will be granted at the direction of the Board. If granted, the hearing will be conducted by the full board or by a subcommittee of the Board, as the Board may designate.

5. Fifth step: If the grievance is not resolved satisfactorily to the (Organization) within five (5) days after consideration by the Board, there shall be available a fifth step of impartial, advisory arbitration. The (Organization) may submit, in writing, a request to enter into such arbitration. The arbitration proceeding shall be conducted by an Arbitrator to be selected by the two parties within seven (7) days after said notice is given. If the two parties fail to reach agreement on an Arbitrator within seven (7) days, the American Arbitration Association will be requested to provide a panel of seven (7) Arbitrators. Each of the two parties will alternately strike one name at a time from the panel until only one shall remain. The remaining name shall be the Arbitrator. The decision of the Arbitrator will be advisory only and shall not be binding on the parties.

Expenses for the Arbitrator's services and the expenses which are common to both parties to the Arbitration shall be borne equally by the Board and the (Organization). Each party to an arbitration proceeding shall be responsible for compensating its own representatives and witnesses.

The Arbitrator, in his opinion, shall not amend, modify, nullify, ignore, or add to the provisions of the Agreement. His authority shall be strictly limited to deciding only the issue or issues presented to him in writing by the Board and the (Organization) and his decision must be based solely upon his interpretation of the meaning or application of the express relevant language of the Agreement.

IX Acceptance

This Agreement is signed and adopted this 14th day of December 1970. In witness thereof:

For the Education Association of Unit 11

_____
President

_____
Secretary

For the Board of Education, School District No. 11

_____
President

_____
Secretary

APPENDIX B

TO: FACULTY

SUBJECT: IN SERVICE

DATE: NOVEMBER 8, 1971

FROM: R. WISHER

Please take time to thoroughly read and answer this Questionaire as honestly as possible.

There is no need to identify yourself. If you feel that your honesty would offend someone, please type your answer.

We are going to use this as a basis for discussion during the In-Service Day November 11, 1971.

After you have completed the paper please place it in the wire basket in my office. No one will be confronted personally as a result of responses.

The meeting will be held in Room 29 beginning at 2:30 Nov. 11 until 3:30 p.m. All Faculty members are to attend.

QUESTIONAIRE

1. Do you approve of our suspension policy for tardiness?

   YES_____ NO_____

2. Would you like to have an organized detention program supervised by teachers after school?

   YES_____ NO_____

3. Do you feel that you receive proper support from the administration in dealing with your discipline problems?

   YES_____ NO_____

4. Would you like to have your classrooms more closely observed by the administration?

   YES_____ NO_____

5. Would you personally like to be evaluated more closely and have it discussed with you?

   YES_____ NO_____

6. Would you as a teacher like to be involved more with parent conferences as a result of disciplinary action you have requested?

   YES_____ NO_____

7. To help solve our hall problems in between classes, would you be willing to stand at your doorway and help supervise?

   YES_____ NO_____

8. In general do you feel that the administration deals punishment fairly and in proportion to the severity of the offense?

   YES_____ NO_____

9. Do you feel we need to have more faculty meetings to keep you more informed?

YES_____ NO_____

10. Do you quite frequently feel misinformed or uninformed of necessary information?

YES_____ NO_____

11. Are you in favor of our cooperating with the Student Teacher Programs?

YES_____ NO_____

12. Would you be in favor of dropping all dress code regulations?

YES_____ NO_____

13. Do you think time should be spent during a faculty meeting discussing grounds for suspension and expulsion?

YES_____ NO_____

14. Do you feel that our students are ignorant of some school rules?

YES_____ NO_____

15. Would you serve on a committee to write a student handbook?

YES_____ NO_____

16. Do you feel that the influence of drugs is more____ less____ same as _____ the past four years?

17. Do you feel students have less respect for teachers at our school than in previous years?

YES_____ NO_____

18. Do you feel that knowing completely what discipline problems a student has had affects your handling of that student?

YES_____ NO_____

19. Do you feel that we are too open about problems students have?

YES_____ NO_____

20. Do you feel that a student is "marked" as a trouble-maker and is never allowed to change?

YES_____ NO_____

21. Is there reason to consider the investigation of new techniques of teaching to cope with student disinterest?

YES_____ NO_____

22. Are there any ways that you have found that help you as a professional teacher in working with a socially mal-adjusted student?

YES_____ NO_____

23. To what extent do you allow student participation in class?

¼_____ ½_____ 1/3_____ 2/3_____ of the time.

24. Do you ever allow students to discuss questions in small groups with the aid of a discussion guide?

YES_____ NO_____

25. Do you have to justify many of the rules you have in your classroom?

YES_____ NO_____

26. What do you think of our Professional Ethics at our school -- Please Comment.

27. Do you feel that our teachers respect students as a whole?

YES_____ NO_____

28. Do you feel that you try to understand and work with all students, including those with the deepest problems?

YES_____ NO_____

29. Would you classify most of your student discipline problems as insubordination?

YES_____ NO_____

30. Do you feel that you are under threat of physical harm at our school?

YES_____ NO_____

31. Thinking of your situation, how many students who have troubled you should have been expelled for the rest of the year?

_____number

32. Do you feel that the students complaint of unequal treatment in discipline cases has merit?

YES_____ NO_____

APPENDIX C

BOARD OF EDUCATION
POLICIES AND REGULATIONS
NEBENDORF SCHOOL DISTRICT NO. 11
Revised - April 1972

The purpose of this manual is to acquaint all with the general organization and the operating regulations and policies of Community Unit School District No. 11. It should be read carefully and referred to often.

ARTICLE I

Board of Education: Functions and Responsibilities

1. The Board of Education has full legislative and judicial authority over the schools in accordance with school law and expressed will of the electorate. Individual members of the Board of Education have power and authority only when acting formally as members of the Board in session or when entrusted by the Board with specific responsibilities.

2. The Board of Education is the policy making body of the district. All policies followed by the schools and/or used in administration or operation of the schools shall be in conformance with general policies established and published by the Board.

3. All meetings of the Board of Education shall be held in the Nebendorf Elementary-Middle School unless otherwise specified, in which case due and timely notice shall be given all members as prescribed by the School Code of Illinois.

   The regular meeting of the Board of Education shall be held on the second Monday of each month. Said meetings to be convened at 7:00 P.M. during the months of November, December, January, February, March and April and at 8:00 P.M. during the months of May, June, July, August, September and October.

   Special meetings may be held as circumstances demand. A special meeting may be called by the President or any three (3) members providing all members are notified in writing at least forty-eight (48) hours prior to the meeting or by personal message from the President or Superintendent twenty-four (24) hours prior to the meeting.

4. A majority of the full membership of the Board of Education shall constitute a quorum. Unless otherwise provided, when a vote is taken on any measure, a quorum

being present, a majority of the votes of the members voting on the measure shall determine the outcome thereof.

5. The Board secretary shall be responsible for seeing that proper records (minutes) of Board meetings be kept.

6. When complaints are brought to individual board members, the complainant should be advised to take his case to the administration and commitments of opinions of the individual board members should be withheld until the matter has been presented to the whole Board at a regular or special meeting.

7. All meetings of the Board of Education shall be conducted in accordance with Robert's Rules of Parliamentary Procedure. All votes on motions authorizing financial expenditures shall be by roll call vote and the result duly recorded.

8. The Board reserves the right to adjourn to closed executive session to consider the acquisition or sale of real estate; to consider information regarding employment; censure or dismissal of employees; hearing student discipline cases; matters of professional ethics or performance; and conciliating complaints of discrimination.

9. Persons wishing to appear before the Board on any matter should request a place on the meeting agenda from the superintendent.

ARTICLE II

Superintendent: Functions & Responsibilities

1. The Superintendent shall be the chief executive and administrative officer for the Board of Education. He shall be in charge of the educational and business administration of the district, subject to the control and direction of the Board of Education.

2. The major responsibilities of the superintendent shall include the following:

   a) The superintendent shall keep the Board informed as to general conditions in the schools, how the policies are being carried out and as to their effectiveness. He shall report to each board meeting such matters and information as are pertinent to the business at hand.

   b) He shall recommend for appointment to, or dismissal from, employment of all certified and non-certified

employees of the Board of Education. The Board reserves the right to employ in the absence of the Superintendent.

c) He shall prepare the district budget and administer same in accordance with the policies of the Board.

d) He shall have the power to make such rules and to give such instruction to school district employees as may be necessary to make the policies of the Board effective in the management of the schools.

e) He shall take steps to develop and maintain cordial public relations. It shall be his responsibility to release news and information concerning the schools. Some of this responsibility may be delegated at his discretion.

f) He shall cause to be maintained adequate and accurate records of finances, attendance, pupil progress and other records needed to comply with the School Code of Illinois.

ARTICLE III

Principals: Functions & Responsibilities

1. The chief administrative officer of the High School, Middle School and Elementary School shall be the Principal, who is responsible to the Superintendent and whose actions shall be governed by Board of Education policies.

2. The duties and responsibilities of the Principal are:

a) He shall be responsible for the successful organization and conduct of all departments within his jurisdiction. Each principal is an ex-officio curriculum coordinator.

b) He shall have immediate authority over the teachers and pupils in his area of jurisdiction, subject to the rules and regulations of the board and superintendent.

c) The principal will call his teachers together as often as he deems it necessary for the efficient operation of his school.

d) The principal will visit the classrooms as often as necessary to determine the character of teachers and to assist in the improvement of instruction and discipline. Principals shall prepare an efficiency

report on all tenure teachers by January 1, and on all non-tenure teachers semi-annually, October 31 and February 15.

e) The principal is the administrative head of his school and, as such, shall make necessary rules for management of the school, provided such rules are reported to, and approved by the superintendent.

f) The principal may suspend a student from riding a bus, if such a measure is deemed necessary, but the student's parents and the superintendent must immediately be notified of such action.

g) The principal shall see that all money collected be banked at least once each week.

h) The principal shall keep the superintendent informed on such items as program changes, serious discipline problems, failure of teachers or employees to carry out assigned duties, hazards of building and grounds, criticism of the school.

i) Any activities planned should be cleared on the superintendent's calendar to avoid conflicts.

3. Additional functions and responsibilities designated to the high school and middle school principals:

a) He is charged with keeping the buildings, grounds and equipment in good condition and reporting all necessary repairs.

b) He is to supervise the custodians and cafeteria workers.

c) He shall conduct fire drills at least three times each year in his building and keep a record of the dates and evacuation times.

4. Principals are considered administrative staff and, as such, it is recommended that they not be members of teacher organizations or unions.

ARTICLE IV

Dean of Students (high school): Functions and Responsibilities

1. He shall be immediately responsible to the High School Principal.

2. His duties shall be determined by and assigned by the High School Principal.

ARTICLE V

Teaching Staff:

1. All teachers must present evidence of their teacher's certificate being registered in the Office of the Superintendent of the Educational Service Region prior to the first pay period. They must also show evidence that they have had a TB test or x-ray and that they are free of TB. All new teachers must have a physical examination and present evidence of that examination to the superintendent's office.

2. Teachers shall be assigned to positions by the superintendent and shall be responsible directly to the principal of the school in which they teach. These assignments are subject to change if deemed necessary in the best interest of the schools.

3. Teachers shall be at their assigned place of duty at 8:00 AM and remain until 4:00 PM unless excused from this schedule by the superintendent or principal.

4. All teachers shall attend meetings called by the superintendent or principal.

5. Each teacher is responsible for equipment assigned to his or her room or department.

6. Teachers shall make a written report of pupil accidents immediately.

7. A teacher in charge of pupils involved in after school extra curricular activities shall at all times know the whereabouts of these pupils and shall not leave the building until all pupils under his sponsorship have left the building.

8. The principal must be kept informed of all the activities of classes and organizations. The sponsor of each group should advise the principal about proposed activities as they are being planned.

9. Teachers shall be entitled to ten days sick leave per year with unlimited accumulation. A statement of the attending physician may be required to establish the fact of illness or for death or serious illness in the immediate family or household. Immediate family to include: wife, husband, child, parent, brother, sister, grandparent, mother-in-law, father-in-law, sister-in-law, or brother-in-law.

10. Teachers should notify their principal of intended absence by 7:00 AM or earlier, if possible.

11. Each teacher shall be permitted a visiting day upon request and subject to the approval of the principal and superintendent, and a report of the visit made to the principal. Teachers may attend the annual state meeting of their teaching field every other year. All such meetings must have prior approval of the superintendent. Reasonable expenses for authorized travel will be reimbursed by the school district.

12. Teachers will be reimbursed at the rate of 9¢ per mile for necessary travel in personal cars in performance of school duties approved by the administration.

13. Any teacher that attains the age of 65 years shall be retired at the end of the school year in which subject teacher reaches that age.

14. Salaries, benefit and conditions of employment shall be in accordance with the professional negotiations agreement and salary schedule currently in effect.

15. Substitute teachers shall receive $25 per day.

16. Pay roll deductions are permitted for local County Credit Union, tax sheltered annuities, and dues for local teachers organizations, IEA and NEA.

17. When school is dismissed for institute and/or in service training, all teachers are expected to attend the entire session unless excused by their principal. Failure to comply shall be considered an unauthorized absence and pay for that day withheld.

18. Smoking in school building must be confined to approved areas.

ARTICLE VI

Secretaries: Functions & Responsibilities

1. The unit secretary shall be under the supervision and direction of the superintendent.

2. The high school, middle school and elementary school secretaries shall be under the supervision and direction of the principal of their individual school.

3. Secretaries shall be entitled to the same sick leave policy as teachers as outlined in Section 8, Article V, of this Board policy.

ARTICLE VII

Transportation

1. The chief administrative officer of transportation shall be the Bus Supervisor. He shall be responsible to the superintendent.

2. The duties and responsibilities of the bus supervisor are:

   a) Be responsible for the successful organization and operation of the department; be charged with keeping all equipment in good condition; effecting and reporting all major repairs.

   b) He shall supervise the bus drivers and enforce rules of the Board and Superintendent. He shall call driver meetings as often as he feels it necessary to do an efficient job of operating the transportation system.

   c) He will be responsible for contacting substitute drivers when needed.

   d) He shall keep necessary monthly records and turn them in to the superintendents office.

   e) He will make requisitions to the superintendent for equipment needed.

   f) The supervisor will submit recommendations to the superintendent as to the employment and/or dismissal of drivers.

3. Bus drivers shall keep in mind the safety of pupils at all times. Occasional safety drills should be held so that students will be familiar with emergency procedures for evacuating buses. These drills should be held in a place that is free from traffic or danger to students.

4. It is the responsibility of the bus driver to keep order on the bus. If necessary, seats may be assigned to trouble makers. Misconduct should be reported to the principal or superintendent immediately. Students are not to be put off the bus between home and school.

5. Drivers are responsible for keeping their bus clean inside and for reporting known defects to the supervisor.

6. No smoking will be permitted when students are on the bus. Use of alcohol is forbidden.

7. Each driver must pass a physical and is charged with the responsibility of knowing and abiding by all state rules and regulations pertaining to school bus operation.

8. Buses shall not go up private lanes and dead end roads unless there is a circular turn-around sufficient for the bus to make a turn without backing--an all weather surface is required.

9. Transportation of pre-school children and other unauthorized passengers is prohibited.

10. Each driver will be given 10 days sick leave each year accumulative to 20 days.

11. Any driver that attains the age of 65 years of age shall be retired at the end of the school year in which he or she reaches that age.

ARTICLE VIII

Custodians and other non-teaching employees

1. Custodians shall be under the supervision and direction of the principal.

2. Custodians are responsible for the security of their buildings at all times, to see that the buildings are properly locked, protected from freezing, cleaned, heated, lighted and ready for use on school days. He shall be available for night activities when needed.

3. Custodians are authorized to order emergency repair work in their building when conditions warrant.

4. Custodians will be paid overtime rate per hour for extra work caused by rental of school building or for any emergency that may arise.

5. Needed supplies will be requisitioned through the building principal.

6. Custodians who have been employed for a full year shall be entitled to two weeks vacation with pay if taken during June and July.

7. Cooks shall be under the supervision and direction of the building principal.

8. Custodians and cooks shall be entitled to the same sick leave provisions as teachers as outlined in Section 8, Article V.

9. Playground and lunch room supervisors shall be under the supervision and direction of the respective principals.

10. Any employee described in Article VIII that attains the age of 65 shall be retired at the end of the school year in which he or she reaches that age.

ARTICLE IX

Use of School Property

1. It is the policy of the Board to allow responsible civic groups within the district to use the buildings subject to certain conditions, to be outlined at time arrangements are made.

2. No charge will be assessed for organizations connected with the school, such as PTA, Band and Athletic Booster Clubs, unless equipment is used requiring a trained school employee, in which case the organization will pay the employee at overtime rates.

3. Other local civic groups renting a building shall agree to pay a regular school janitor for extra work at overtime rate. A fee will also be charged to cover expense of utilities.

4. Use of facilities for privately sponsored functions is permissible on board approval and charges for such usage to be individually negotiated.

5. If school kitchens are to be used by an organization, a regular cook must be present and compensated at an overtime hourly wage.

6. School owned buses cannot be rented to non-school organizations because of license and insurance restrictions.

ARTICLE X

Pupils

1. All children entering kindergarten must be five years of age on or before December 1st of the year entering and all children entering the first grade must be six years of age on or before December 1st of the year entering. A birth certificate should be presented at time of registration.

2. Pupils must present evidence of having a recent physical, visual and dental examination upon entering school and again on entry into the fifth and ninth grades.

3. The parents of a pupil who intentionally destroys or carelessly damages school property shall be required to pay in full for such damage. Failure to do so may result in suspension of the pupil and appropriate legal action initiated against the parent.

4. Any pupil who is flagrantly disobedient or insubordinate may be suspended by the school principal in accordance with the School Code of Illinois. In each case of suspension, the principal shall see that immediate notice of same reaches the parent or guardian and the superintendent.

5. Reasonable corporal punishment is permitted if other disciplinary measures fail. In such case another adult should be present. Courts tend to follow the general rule that the teacher stands "in loco parentis" to pupils under his charge. In taking the place of the parents, the teacher has pretty much the same powers over children in his care as do parents. The teacher may exercise such powers of control, restraint and correction as may be reasonably necessary to enable him to properly perform his duties as teacher and accomplish the purposes of education.

6. Students will observe all individual school rules as published by the principal.

7. Students driving cars to school must not use them during noon hour or during the time school is in session without permission of the principal.

8. Students are not allowed to smoke in school buildings or on school property.

9. Units of Credit

10. A senior must complete the full senior year in this district to be eligible for valedictorian or salutatorian.

11. Over-night, non-educational trips are permitted only with Board approval. Each request will be considered on an individual basis.

12. All participating students will be in the charge of a teacher enroute to, from, and during all activities held outside the school. This includes athletic contests, band trips and field trips of any educational nature.

ARTICLE XI

Miscellaneous

1. The School District will pay $5.00 per month on each full time, non-certified employee's group hospitalization.

2. It is the policy of this district that tuition students will not be accepted.

3. Teacher aides and volunteer helpers will adhere to all published school rules.

4. The Board of Education reserves the right to make exceptions to all policies listed herein on an individual case basis.

5. In any case of conflict between these policies and the School Code of the State of Illinois, the latter will govern.

11. Extra pay shall be paid for extra duties required of teachers unless extra time during the school day is allotted for that duty. Following is a schedule for extra duty pay.

Coaching - High School	
Athletic Director	5%
Head Football Coach	10%
Asst. " "	5%
Fresh-Soph Football	5%
Head Basketball Coach	10%
Jr. Var. Basketball	5%
Freshman Basketball	4%
Baseball Coach	5%
Track	5%
Cross Country	3%
Wrestling	8%
GAA	1½%
H.S.Cheerleaders	1½%
Coaching - Jr. H.S.	
Head Coach-all sports	10%
Asst. " " "	6%
Jr.H.S. Cheerleaders	1½%
Music	
Dept. Head & J.H.S. Instrumental	7%
H.S.	5%
Vocal Music	3%
Dramatics	1½%
Dept. Heads	$120

Years	BA	BA+8	BA+16	BA+24	MA	MA+8	MA+16
0	7700	8008	8316	8624	8932	9240	9548
1	8008	8316	8624	8932	9240	9548	9856
2	8316	8624	8932	9240	9548	9856	10164
3	8624	8932	9240	9548	9856	10164	10472
4	8932	9240	9548	9856	10164	10472	10780
5	9240	9548	9856	10164	10472	10780	11088
6	9548	9856	10164	10472	10780	11080	11396
7	9856	10164	10472	10780	11088	11396	11704
8	10164	10472	10780	11088	11396	11704	12012
9	10472	10780	11088	11396	11704	12012	12320
10	10780	11088	11396	11704	12012	12320	12628
11	11080	11396	11704	12012	12320	12628	12936
12		11704	12012	12320	12628	12936	13244
13			12320	12628	12936	13244	13552
14				12936	13244	13552	13860
15					13552	13860	14160
16							14476

1. A maximum of 9 years of teaching experience will be counted for teachers new to the system.
2. Maximum experience counted for teachers coming into the system may include up to four years in honorable duty in the service of the United States Armed Forces.
3. This schedule is on a 185 day school year basis, of which 180 days shall be days of pupil attendance and/or institutes. Salary adjustments for days not worked shall be at the rate of 1/185 of the contract amount.
5. Credit after the master's degree must be approved by the superintendent before allowable on the schedule.
6. Optional payroll deductions of IEA, NEA, and local dues will be made as follows: Two in June, two in July and one in August.
7. Teachers will be paid bi-monthly on a twelve month basis. Pay periods will be on the 15th and 30th of the month or the nearest work day to these dates.
8. $5.00 per month toward hospitalization, major medical and $5,000 worth of life insurance benefits shall be paid for each certified employee on the salary schedule, if the employee wishes to join the group.
9. Sick leave will accumulate at the rate of 10 days per year to unlimited accumulation.
10. Days of absence for personal reasons must be cleared through the superintendent before salary may be paid.

APPENDIX D

QUESTIONNAIRE RESULTS

THE questionnaires from the first in-service workshop have been tabulated. Hopefully, the brevity will save you reading time but still afford some insight into how your fellow teachers feel on various topics.

IF a question records a number for yes or no answers, these were qualified responses. The other comments are condensed to phrases. Similar responses were not repeated.

THE questionnaire had a two-fold purpose: to help the PN committee determine negotiating issues; and to promote communication between faculty members.

1. Have student attitudes toward school changed in the last 3-5 years?

Yes 23 No 9 Better 7 Worse 16

Comments: less respect for adults -- authority
poor attitudes -- "I don't care"
more serious about education - want to be challenged
students more relaxed and informal

2. Have student attitudes toward fellow classmates changed?

Yes 20 No 15

Comments: think attitudes are better
more tolerant and concerned about fellow students
have little concern for each other
ready to ridicule - don't seem to "like" each other

3. Have student attitudes toward teachers changed?

Yes 27 No 12

Comments: less respect for teachers and all adults
better attitudes and respect
respect teachers that have good rapport

4. Do you feel we are failing as teachers to meet student needs?

Yes 5 No 28 In some ways 3

Comments: most teachers feel they are changing to meet individual needs

failing students by requiring them all to do the same work
a few felt classes should be entertaining
entertainment should only go as far as interest and motivation
need to teach that everything they need is not interesting

5. What suggestions do you have to develop self-discipline and proper language in the classroom?

Comments: praise for proper behavior
give students responsibility
develop pride
improve self-concept
expect the best from each, and you generally get it
teachers set good example

6. Should manners be taught at school?

Yes 38 No 3

Comments: taught by example only
encouraged but not necessarily taught
should be reinforced at home
no - should be taught at home

7. Should be let children succeed?

Yes 3 No 15

Comments: most would not make a definite answer

Yes - if they are unable to handle regular level work
social promotion sometimes necessary
if they show growth
retention leads to successive failures

No - if they have ability and don't use it
must learn to cope with failure
if too much success is given away, success fails to be a reward
based on individual

8. What teaching methods have worked best for you?

Comments: variety - lab., discussion, individual, lecture - visual aides, student reports, small groups, group participation, frequent quizzes, plenty of drill and review, play acting . . . does not apply

9. At what age should students be responsible for homework?

Age: Divided opinions -- 1st grade on up
early primary--not before 3rd grade
4th-5th grade
middle school
depends on individual
all work should be done at school

Time: lower grades minimal
20 minutes an evening for 6th grade
up to 1-2 hours for 8th grade
not every night
1-2 hours for high school students
several with no comment or opinion

10. What is your opinion of all in class work (no outside work)?
Is it helping, hurting, or not affecting the maturing process of our youth?

Comments:

Against: No homework hurts - must work if you want to achieve; should have outside responsibility - create false impression of later life
tends to increase laziness
All in-class work slows learning process as result are within too easy reach
Absolutely not in high school

For: Could help students use time effectively
Homework not maturation factor
Work sent home often not done
Home is for family and friends - not classwork
School day is long enough
Can help attendance if no make-up allowed

11. How do grading standards for two groups compare? Do you have grading keys?

Comments: Most evaluate by levels - lower standards for lower ability groups
Vary with class and individuals
"Grades are the worst thing that have hit education"
Lower students graded too high - if going to be based on individual students abilities there should be no honor roll

12. Do you make extensive use of audio-visual equipment and materials? What equipment have you used?

Yes 21 No 13
A-V equipment mentioned most frequently.

Comments:

overhead	record player
view master	maps
tape recorder	charts
movies	pictures
flannel board	opaque
film strip	slides

13. What form(s) of discipline should be used? What has worked best for you?

Comments: Discipline to fit situation

swats	facial expressions
retention	peer pressure
remove student from class	contact parents
verbal reprimand	let child know you like him
silence	reasoning
removal of privileges	sent to principal
low voice	

14. How should study halls be monitored?

Comments: Monitored by lay person (most popular)

close supervision - quiet
every student have a book or work
limit # of students
no sleeping
eliminate them

15. Do we need more teacher - parent contact? How could this be done:

Yes 26 No 11

Comments: Students resent parents visiting
Against: Not at high school level
Only in offender cases
Parents that need to be concerned never want to talk
Parents need to initiate conferences long before they are asked to come in

Procedure: Instead of planned program in PTA, have parents visit teacher in classrooms
Home visits
Conferences - (2 times a year)
a) set aside in school calendar (school day)
b) before & after school hours
c) 2 - 9 p.m. couple days a week

16. Are teachers setting a good example?

Yes 20 No 3 Yes & No 8

Questions - in what areas? Good examples of what?

Comments: Parents have the most responsibility of being good examples
Some teachers are hypocrites
I hope so
Many felt morale was fine

17. How can teacher morale be helped?

Comments: More voice in educative decisions
Consistent support & communication from admin. and board
Elimination of non-teaching duties

Suggestions:
Stronger local teachers organization
Praise for jobs well done
More preparation time
To be treated as adults
Get rid of "petty" dickering
Work closer with other teachers
Smaller classes, shorter day

18. Of what value might full-time teacher aides be to the classroom?

Most agreed aids could be quite helpful. Five stated they would be of no help.

Areas of help:
Help with labs
Grading tests and papers
Bulletin boards
Small group and Individual student help
Displays
Typing and duplicating
Freeing teacher for more preparation and student help.

19. Do you feel there are good relations between faculty and board?

In comparison to other units Good - 19
A few felt they <u>use</u> to be good

Other Comments:
Board only concerned about finances & not upgrading education
Poor communications
"I wasn't aware that we had any kind of relations"

Relations are good if you are the right person
On the surface

20. High School Faculty: What is your opinion of the present scheduling system?

Qualified Good 6 Bad 4
No specific objections - 1

Comments: Too many lounge lizards (whatever that means)
Try modular scheduling
Want study halls - 2
Does not like 5 required subjects - 1
Would work if all allowed 15 - 20 min. study time

21. List below any other questions that you would like to have answered.

1. Who is responsible for planning programs for in-service (teachers or principal)?
2. Guidance sessions are a waste of time.
3. Do these questions & answers achieve any concrete gain?
4. Would doors in elem.-middle school be beneficial?
5. Would it be possible to get longer in-service days?

22. List below any topics or areas that you would like to have discussed or demonstrated at future in-service days.

Creativity in classroom
In-service visit to other schools
Different scheduling system
Library materials available
Mental Health for teachers
Help disturbed child in classroom

APPENDIX E

TEACHER EVALUATION
Record
Nebendorf C.U. School Dist. #11

NAME:

GRADE OR SUBJECT

SCHOOL

DATE OF OBSERVATIONS

Teacher evaluation will consist of actual classroom visitation, teacher conferences, and administrative conferences. The purpose of evaluation is to (a) improve instruction and (b) establish a record that can be used in effective teacher evaluation.

This record is one of the instruments that will be used in our unit during the present school year by the Superintendent and the Principal in conference with the teacher. The other instrument will be an evaluation guide that will be given to the teacher after each observation.

The Teacher Evaluation Record and the Evaluation Guide are comprehensive instruments that can be used from kindergarten through the twelfth grade. These can also be used by the teacher as an excellent basis for self-evaluation.

The evaluation procedure will be as follows: The Principal will make two visits to each of the non-tenure teachers and one visit to each of the tenure teachers during the school year. The Superintendent will attempt to do likewise.

A short conference will be arranged after each visit. A conference will be arranged with all teachers after the last visit. The Superintendent, the Principal, and the teacher will be involved in that conference. The "record" will be placed in the Principal's office and will become a part of the teacher's personnel file.

The rating scale used will be based on actual observation. The four-point scale will be scored as follows:

0. not observable or did not apply
1. serious problem, needs immediate attention
2. inconsistent practice, teacher may want to correct this in the future
3. consistent practice, capable teacher
4. outstanding qualities, excellent practice

THE TEACHER EVALUATION RECORD

1. Voice

0 1 2 3 4

Sample Evidences
Pleasant vocal quality, distinct, articulation

2. Use of English

0 1 2 3 4

Sample Evidences
Conveys ideas clearly, expression, grammatically correct.

3. Sense of Humor

0 1 2 3 4

Sample Evidences
Capitalizes on sense of humor, teacher can take a joke, humor appropriate to situation

4. Enthusiasm and Initiative

0 1 2 3 4

Sample Evidences
Shows high interest, aggressive, responsible, dependable

5. Alertness

0 1 2 3 4

Sample Evidences
Highly receptive, quick reaction to new situation; generates new ideas and methods

6. Judgement

0 1 2 3 4

Sample Evidences
Inspires confidence, acts responsibly, has restraint

7. Interest in Pupils

0 1 2 3 4

Sample Evidences
Each pupil treated as an individual, understanding, interested in pupil development

8. Relations to the Pupils

0 /_/ 1 /_/ 2 /_/ 3 /_/ 4 /_/

Sample Evidences
Genuine mutual liking and respect, pupils accept teacher, cooperation evident, few conflicts

9. Classroom Climate

0 /_/ 1 /_/ 2 /_/ 3 /_/ 4 /_/

Sample Evidences
Shared enthusiasm, pleasant atmosphere, pupil participation

10. Discipline

0 /_/ 1 /_/ 2 /_/ 3 /_/ 4 /_/

Sample Evidence
Respect of students, pupil self-control inspired by teacher, control of situation

11. Self Control

0 /_/ 1 /_/ 2 /_/ 3 /_/ 4 /_/

Sample Evidence
Poised, even-tempered, remains calm in frustrating situations

12. Interest in Teaching and Growth

0 /_/ 1 /_/ 2 /_/ 3 /_/ 4 /_/

Sample Evidence
Improvement of self-profession, participates beyond job requisites

13. Attitude Toward Learning

0 /_/ 1 /_/ 2 /_/ 3 /_/ 4 /_/

Sample Evidence
Encourages pupil initiative and learning, careful guidance evident, domination of students not evident

14. Reactions to Suggestions

0 /_/ 1 /_/ 2 /_/ 3 /_/ 4 /_/

Sample Evidence
Actively seek suggestions, expands upon ideas, works toward implementation and cooperation

15. Routine Detail

0 1 2 3 4

Sample Evidence
Prompt, accurate, usually on time, dependable

16. Flexibility and Adaptability

0 1 2 3 4

Sample Evidence
Initiative in adjusting predetermined plans, changes method when not effective, meets the varying need of students

17. Teacher Leadership

0 1 2 3 4

Sample Evidence
Consistent in policy, self-sufficient and self-confident in management of pupils

18. Lesson Planning

0 1 2 3 4

Sample Evidence
Purposeful pupil activity, lessons well planned and executed, well organized.

19. Instructional Presentation

0 1 2 3 4

Sample Evidence
Logical, convincing, assured, clear direction

20. Knowledge in Teaching Area

0 1 2 3 4

Sample Evidence
Comprehensive background, content is of use and value, accurate

21. Pupil Response

0 1 2 3 4

Sample Evidence
Eager, alert, interested, active, constructive participation

22. Accomplishment of Objectives

0	1	2	3	4
/_/	/_/	/_/	/_/	/_/

Sample Evidence
Recognizes individual differences, evaluates and diagnoses, completes learning objectives

23. Utilization of Pupil Experiences

0	1	2	3	4
/_/	/_/	/_/	/_/	/_/

Sample Evidence
Adaptation of pupil interests, pupil participation, pupil planning

24. Development of Pupil Leadership

0	1	2	3	4
/_/	/_/	/_/	/_/	/_/

Sample Evidence
Pupils participate and cooperate as leaders, development of activities, organization of purposeful committees

25. Source and Supplementary Materials

0	1	2	3	4
/_/	/_/	/_/	/_/	/_/

Sample Evidence
Use of dictionary, encyclopedias, magazines, newspapers; enriches the basic program with slides, films, maps, etc.

COMMENTS--use this page as needed

_____

_____

SUGGESTIONS FOR IMPROVEMENT

_____

_____

RECOMMENDATIONS

_____

_____

SIGNATURES

Superintendent _____

Principal _____

Teacher _____

APPENDIX F

CONTRACT IMPROVEMENT QUESTIONNAIRE

READ THIS FIRST.....

The leadership of the local association wants to know what you think should be included in proposals for negotiation. Rank the twenty-five (25) most important needs as you see them by placing a number in the blank beside the problem:

Place number one (#1) indicating the need is 1st priority;
Place number two (#2) indicating the need is 2nd priority;
Place number three (#3) indicating the need is 3rd priority;
.....and so on through #25

Please feel free to add and rate other problems which you feel need attention.

A. IMPROVEMENT OF CURRICULUM AND INSTRUCTION

___ 1. Limit class size

___ 2. Reduce class load (i.e., number of classes and total number of students)

___ 3. More teacher aides for all elementary schools

___ 4. Increase staff to handle psychological testing backlog

___ 5. Reduce ratio of students to counselors

___ 6. Music, physical education, art teachers, and nurses for each school

___ 7. Create department chairmen positions in junior high schools

___ 8. Remedial reading teachers for each school

___ 9. More special education classes, programs, and teachers to meet state requirements

___ 10. Preparation/conference periods for all teachers

___ 11. Human relations workshop for increased professional growth credit

___ 12. Full teacher control of textbook selections

___ 13. Improve minority group studies in all aspects of curriculum

___ 14. More teacher control in determining curriculum

___ 15. Develop and implement a twelve-month school year plan

___ 16. Eliminate de-facto segregation of students by re-drawing school boundaries

___ 17. More teacher control in determining in-service programs

___ 18. More supplementary texts

___ 19. Fewer interruptions during class hours (workmen, intercom, etc.)

___ 20. More up-to-date curriculum materials

___ 21. Professional libraries in each school

___ 22. Greater teacher authority with students

___ 23. Greater academic freedom

___ 24. Expanded vocational programs

___ 25. Expanded summer school programs

___ 26. Other _____

B. PERSONNEL POLICIES

___ 27. Less frequent and/or less lengthy faculty meetings with extra pay for unnecessarily long meetings

___ 28. Relief of non-professional duties, such as lunchroom supervision, hall duty, playground supervision, etc.

___ 29. Teacher participation in hiring new teachers

___ 30. Teacher participation in all phases of teacher evaluation

___ 31. Teacher participation in all phases of principal evaluation

___ 32. Hire only certificated professional personnel with completed educational requirements in their areas of competence

___ 33. Develop standards under which student teachers will be accepted

___ 34. Released time for required or necessary conferences and meetings

___ 35. Pay for required meetings other than during normal school day

___ 36. Teaching assignment will be only in teacher's area of competence

___ 37. Longer duty-free lunch period

___ 38. Allow teachers to use their non-instructional/ supervisory time as they choose

___ 39. Provide adequate faculty lunchrooms, lounges, and washrooms

___ 40. Improve policy on teacher transfers and re-assignments

___ 41. Earlier notice to teachers of changes in their schedules (semester-to-semester changes)

___ 42. Improve due process rights for all teachers in dismissal cases

___ 43. Arrangements for teacher access to building after school and on weekends

___ 44. All complaints by parents or students shall be reported to teachers

___ 45. A "break" for all teachers in A.M. and P.M.

___ 46. Improve procedures in posting promotional and other vacancies

___ 47. Teacher participation in filling promotional vacancies

___ 48. Improve procedures in assignments to summer school positions

___ 49. No discrimination on basis of teacher's political activities

___ 50. Hire substitutes for <u>all</u> teachers who are absent

___ 51. Increase number of non-student days at end of semester for evaluation and record-keeping

___ 52. Early dismissal on primary and general election days

___ 53. Establish Building Committee in each school to determine policies on matters unique to that school

___ 54. Allow elementary teachers to use special periods (i.e., music, physical education, library, etc.) as preparation time rather than "sitting" in the class where a special teacher is present

___ 55. Improve school calendar (specify: _____)

___ 56. Require non-Association members to assume financial responsibility by paying an amount equivalent to Association dues

___ 57. Binding arbitration as the final step in the grievance procedure

___ 58. Other _____

C. SALARIES AND RELATED BENEFITS

___ 59. Full payment by school board of family plan health and accident, and major medical insurance for all teachers

___ 60. Dental insurance fully paid by school board

___ 61. Increase amount of group term-life insurance

___ 62. School board pay percent of salary for life if disabled

___ 63. Income protection insurance fully paid by school board

___ 64. Unlimited sick leave accumulation

___ 65. Personal business leave days

___ 66. Professional leave for attending conferences, workshops, conventions

___ 67. Leave for adoption of a child (similar to maternity leave)

___ 68. Improved maternity leave

___ 69. Apply policies on leaves to summer school

___ 70. Leave for illness in family

___ 71. Bereavement leave to include close friends

___ 72. Graduate-study leave with tuition reimbursed

___ 73. School board pay teacher's retirement fund contributions

___ 74. Severance pay based on years of service

___ 75. Bi-weekly paydays instead of monthly

___ 76. Optional pay periods of ten or twelve months

___ 77. Full salary credit for other teaching experiences

___ 78. Add extra-duty extra-pay categories (specify: _____)

___ 79. Cost-of-living factor on salary schedule

___ 80. Reach maximum salary sooner

___ 81. Retain index on salary schedule

___ 82. Increase beginning salary

___ 83. Salary increments for graduate credits beyond normal masters degree requirements, whether or not masters has been received

___ 84. Strictly voluntary acceptance of extra-curricular assignments, such as PTA, chaperoning, etc., with pay for assignments accepted

___ 85. Eliminate professional growth credit requirements

___ 86. Pay for covering absent teachers' classes

___ 87. Allow outside accumulated sick leave to be transferred

___ 88. Study adoption of merit pay system instead of current index

___ 89. Require masters degree within five years after beginning employment with "grandfather clause" excluding current staff members

___ 90. Other_____

PLEASE ANSWER, REGARDLESS OF PRIORITY: I strongly feel that teachers in our district should receive a percentage increase in 1971-72 over 1970-71 of at least (circle one):
6% 8% 10% 12% 14%

D. SCHOOL BUILDINGS, FACILITIES, AND MATERIALS

___ 91. Greater teacher involvement in planning construction of new schools

___ 92. Special rooms in all schools for special services

___ 93. Space in all schools for private conferences with students and parents

___ 94. Private telephone facilities for teacher use

___ 95. Teachers determine allocation of their individual school's funds

___ 96. More filing, storage, and desk space (lockable) for teachers

___ 97. More mechanical equipment (TV, AV equipment, AV materials)

___ 98. Improved service with AV Materials

___ 99. More classroom supplies (paper, chalk, ditto masters, pencils, etc.)

___100. Adequate off-street parking for teachers

___101. Improved custodial cleaning services in classroom, and in buildings in general

___102. Other _____

PERSONAL DATA

In order to evaluate the questionnaire properly, it is important to have certain statistical information concerning the composition of our professional staff. Please be certain to complete each section below:

TEACHING LEVEL (Please check appropriate box or boxes):

Elementary /_/ Junior High /_/ High School /_/

ADDITIONAL EMPLOYMENT:

After hours Weekdays _____

Weekends _____

Summers (include next summer's plans) _____

_____

VITAL STATISTICS:

Age 20 thru 25 years /_/
26 thru 30 years /_/
31 thru 35 years /_/
36 thru 40 years /_/
41 thru 50 years /_/
51 thru 60 years /_/
Over 60 years /_/

Male /_/ Female /_/

Married /_/ Single /_/

Number of dependents _____

Are you the sole wage earner in the household?

Yes /_/ No /_/

NO SIGNATURE NECESSARY

APPENDIX G

NEBENDORF HIGH SCHOOL

January 30, 1973

ATTENTION FACULTY:

In preparation for student scheduling and class scheduling for next year we would like for you to express your views (ideas or complaints) on our present methods. We are, retroactive to the beginning of this year, now giving full credit for Band, Chorus, and Physical Education. Graduation credits for the future will be as follows:

Freshmen	(Class of '76)	22 credits
Sophomores	(Class of '75)	21 credits
Juniors	(Class of '74)	20 credits
Seniors	(Class of '73)	18 credits

Each of these classes will have the potential of earning two more credits than necessary except Vocational and Co-op students which will be one credit short per year of their participation in either of these programs.

One recommendation which we are proposing is holding exactly to our course prerequisites and course structure outline. For example if a course is a full year course it may not be dropped at semester and by the same token a final grade may be given at the end of the year. A first semesters failure would not constitute failure for the year.

Please comment on this recommendation and any other recommendation you would like to make and return to me by Friday, February 2, 1973.

STUDENT GUIDE FOR REGISTRATION
NEBENDORF HIGH SCHOOL
1973-74

REQUIREMENTS FOR GRADUATION:

We are, retroactive to the beginning of this year, now giving full credit for Band, Chorus, and Physical Education. Graduation credits for the future will be as follows:

Freshmen	(Class of '76)	22 credits
Sophomores	(Class of '75)	21 credits
Juniors	(Class of '74)	20 credits
Seniors	(Class of '73)	18 credits

Each of these classes will have the potential of earning two more credits than necessary except Vocational and Co-op students which will be one credit short per year of their participation in either of these programs.

STUDENTS ARE REQUIRED TO TAKE AND PASS THE FOLLOWING:

(A) 3 units in English
1 unit in Mathematics
1 unit in Science
1 unit in Social Studies
1 unit in U.S. History

(B) Consumer Education: one-half unit of credit in one of the following subjects must be passed to meet the state requirement for Consumer Education.
Economics
Consumer Homemaking
General Business

(C) All students must take Four Years of Physical Education unless excused by a physician. Included in Physical Education are Health Education (1 semester), Driver Education (1 semester), Safety Education (1 semester), and Conservation (1 semester).

(D) All students are to take Driver Education Classroom and behind the wheel.

Students are encouraged to have a four year high school experience. Students are classified according to the number of credits earned. A student will need 3 credits to be a Sophomore, 7 credits to be a Junior, and 11 credits to be a Senior. Classification may be changed at the beginning of each Semester.

Computation for class rank will be done at the end of the Sixth, Seventh, and Eighth Semester of school attendance. Grades for music, Physical Education, and Driver Education will be counted in computing class rank and grade point average.

COURSE OF STUDY AND COURSE PREREQUISITES FOR 1973-74 SCHOOL YEAR

I BUSINESS EDUCATION

Bookkeeping — Student should average C or above in all subjects. Open to juniors and seniors. Student should be interested in clerical or secretarial major. Full year (1 credit).

Business Machines — Student MUST have one full year of typing. Open to seniors. Student should be interested in clerical or secretarial major. Half year (½ credit)

Clerical Practice — Student must have one full year of typing. Open to seniors. Student should be interested in clerical or secretarial major. Half year (½ credit)

Typing I — No prerequisite. Open to all classes. Full year. Arrange with teacher for half year. Either full or ½ credit.

Typing II — Student must have successfully completed typing I. (1 credit)

Shorthand I — Student must have one year of typing or current enrollment in typing. At least a C average in English and typing. Student should be interested in clerical or secretarial major. Full year. (1 credit)

General Business — No prerequisite. Open to Sophomores. The enrollment and completion of this course meets the economics credit toward graduation. Full year. (1 credit)

II FOREIGN LANGUAGE

Spanish I — No prerequisites. Open primarily to freshmen. Full year. (1 credit)

Spanish II — Student must have completed and passed Spanish I or equivalent. Full year. (1 credit)

Spanish III — Student must have completed and passed Spanish I and Spanish II or equivalent. Full year. (1 credit)

French I — No prerequisites. Full year. (1 credit)

French II — Student must have completed French I. Full year. (1 credit)

III ENGLISH

English 9 No prerequisites. Full year. (1 credit)

English 10 Student entering English 10 must have passed English 9. Full year. (1 credit)

English 11 Prerequisite: Completion of English 9-10 Course is designed for students not intending to go to College. Open to Juniors. Full year (1 credit).

American Lit. Prerequisite: Completion of English 9 & 10. Course is designed for College bound. (full or ½ credit)

Speech Prerequisite: Completion of English 9-10. Recommended for College bound. Open to Juniors and Seniors. Full or ½ credit.

Modern Lit. Prerequisite: Two years of English. C average in English. Recommended for College bound seniors. First semester. (½ credit)

Creative Writing Prerequisite - two years of English. C average in English. Recommended for College bound Seniors. Second semester (½ credit)

English Lit. Prerequisite: Two years of English - C average. College bound seniors. Full or ½ credit.

Business English Prerequisite: Two years of English. Primarily designed for students majoring in Clerical and Secretarial Business. Recommended for Seniors (Full or ½ credit)

Journalism Prerequisite: Two years of English at least a C average in English, College Bound seniors. (full or ½ credit)

IV HOME ECONOMICS

Personal Occupational Orientation No prerequisites. Open to boys and girls. Primarily for Freshmen. Full year (1 credit)

Orientation to Child Care Prerequisite: Personal Occupational Orientation. Open to boys and girls. Sophomores only. Half year (½ credit)

Introduction to Food Service Prerequisite. Personal Occupation Orientation. Sophomores only. Half year (½ credit)

Advanced Clothing Construction Prerequisite. Clothing Construction ability. Open to Junior and Senior girls. Half year (½ credit)

Family Foods and Nutrition Open to Junior and Senior boys and girls. Half year (½ credit)

Housing and Home Furnishing Open to Junior and Senior boys and girls. Half year (½ credit)

Consumer Homemaking Open to Seniors. Economics education requirement met with this course. Full year (1 credit)

V INDUSTRIAL ARTS

Industrial Arts I Open primarily to freshmen - Four quarters of work in Drawing and Wood. Full year (1 credit) Semester arranged by permission of instructor.

Industrial Arts II Open primarily to sophomores. Four quarters of work in Drawing and Wood. Full year (1 credit)

Advanced Wood Prerequisite - Industrial Arts I and II. Open to Juniors and Seniors. Full year (1 credit)

Mechanical Drawing I Primarily for Sophomores and Juniors. Full year (1 credit) Seniors also.

Advanced Metal Prerequisite - Industrial Arts I and II. Open to Juniors and Seniors. Full year (1 credit)

Mechanical Drawing II Prerequisite - Mechanical Drawing I. Open to Juniors and Seniors. Full year (1 credit)

Electronics Prerequisite - Algebra I. Open to Juniors and Seniors. Full year (1 credit)

VI MATHEMATICS

General Math No Prerequisite. Primarily open to Freshman. Full year (1 credit)

<u>Algebra I</u> Prerequisite - C average in junior high mathematics or by recommendation. Full year. Freshman primarily (1 credit)

<u>Algebra II</u> Prerequisite - Algebra I and Geometry. Student should have at least a C average in previous math. Full year. Unless requested by teacher to drop at semester. Junior level. (1 credit)

<u>Geometry</u> Prerequisite - Algebra I, at least a C average in Algebra I. Full year. At least Sophomore. (1 credit)

<u>Trigonometry</u> Prerequisite - C Average in Algebra I, Algebra II, and Geometry half year. Seniors. (½ credit)

<u>Intro to Analysis</u> Prerequisite - At least a C average in Algebra I, Algebra II, Geometry, Trigonometry, Half year. Seniors. (½ credit)

VII SCIENCE

<u>Biology I</u> No prerequisite. Open to sophomores and some Freshman who have the ability. Full year (1 credit)

<u>Biology II</u> Prerequisite - Biology I. Recommended that student have credit in Chemistry. Primarily open to Juniors. Full year (1 credit)

<u>Physical Science A</u> Prerequisite - credit or concurrent enrollment in General Math. Full year. Primarily sophomores. (1 credit)

<u>Physical Science B</u> No prerequisite. Open to sophomores primarily. Full year (1 credit)

<u>Physics</u> Prerequisite - Credit in Geometry, Credit in Biology I. Recommended that student enrolled in this course have credit or currently enrolled in Algebra II and Chemistry. Full year (1 credit)

<u>Chemistry</u> Prerequisite - Credit or concurrent enrollment in Geometry. Biology I credit is desirable. Junior or Senior. Full year (1 credit)

<u>Qualitative Analysis</u> Prerequisite - Credit in Chemistry. Credit or concurrent enrollment in Algebra II. Full year - Senior. (1 credit) (extra curricular)

VIII SOCIAL STUDIES

Social Studies No prerequisite. Freshman requirement. Full year. (1 credit)

U.S. History Required during Junior year. Full year (1 credit)

Consumer Economics Senior year course for Economics. (½ credit) Half year.

Social Problems Senior level course. Half year (½ credit)

Mental Hygiene Senior level course. Half year (½ credit)

World History No prerequisite - recommended for Seniors, college bound liberal arts major.

Conservation and Recreation Senior level course. Definite interest in Research of Conservation theory and practice. Full year (1 credit) Will substitute for P.E. Conservation course at Senior level.

IX PHYSICAL EDUCATION

P. E. I Freshman level. (½ credit)

P.E. II Sophomore level. (½ credit)

P.E. III Junior level. (½ credit)

P.E. IV Senior level. (½ credit)

X HEALTH EDUCATION

Health Education Required one semester of all freshman with time allotted from P. E. class (½ credit)

XI DRIVER EDUCATION

Driver Education Required one semester primarily of sophomore students according to both date and teacher scheduling. Includes classroom and behind the wheel instruction. Students whose birthdays do not fall during the sophomore year will be moved forward or backwards a year dependent upon birthday. (1/4 credit) Classroom, (1/4 credit) behind the wheel.

XII SAFETY EDUCATION

Safety Education Required one semester of all Juniors. Time allotted from P. E. The elective class of Conservation will substitute for this requirement.

XIII CONSERVATION

Conservation Required of all Seniors taking Physical Education. Time allotted from P.E. The elective class of Conservation will substitute for this requirement. 1 semester (½ credit)

XIV BAND

Band Instrumental music - open to all classes - full year (1 credit)

XV CHORUS

Chorus Vocal Music - open to all classes. Full year (1 credit)

XVI MUSIC THEORY

Music Theory History and theory behind music appreciation. Full year (credit)

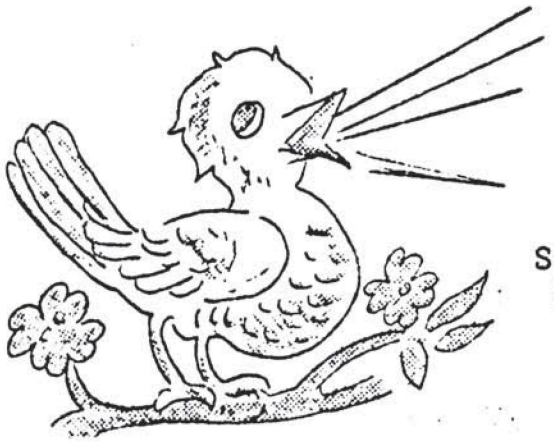
XVII VOCATIONAL STUDIES 2 credits per course. Open to Juniors and Seniors

Voc. Arc Drafting
Voc. Auto Body
Voc. Auto Mechanics
Voc. Building Trades
Voc. Cabinet Making
Voc. Child Care
Voc. Clerical Office Practice
Voc. Cosmotology
Voc. Data Processing
Voc. Electricity
Voc. Electronics
Voc. Food Service Co-op
Voc. Food Service
Voc. Graphic Arts
Voc. Health Service Co-op
Voc. Machine Accounting
Voc. Machine Shop
Voc. Mechanical Drafting
Voc. Nurses Aid Co-op
Voc. Practical Nurse
Voc. Nurse Aide

Voc. Secretarial Office Practice
Voc. Small Engine Repairs
Voc. Welding

XVIII CO-OP 2 credits. Open to Juniors and Seniors

APPENDIX H



[redacted] DISTRICT #11

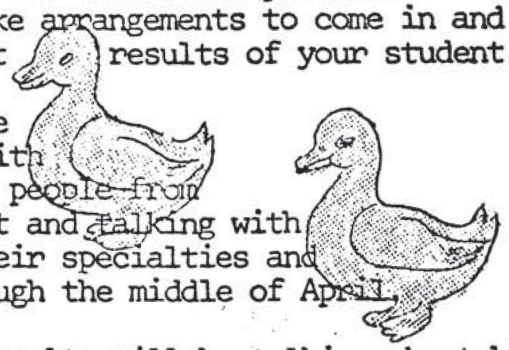
C A L E N D A R

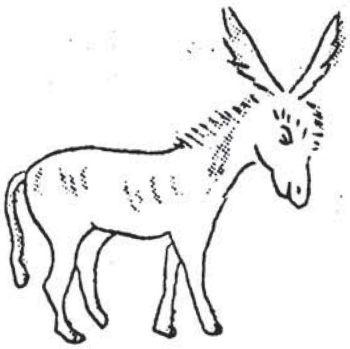
S P R I N G I S H E R E ! ! !

date	event
March 21	Gymnastic Assembly, Middle School
March 23	End of third quarter
March 28	Assembly - - Bands from Woodrow Wilson--Middle School
March 29	Report cards out
March 30	Gamma Phi Circus---[redacted] High School-7:30 p.m.
March 31	PTA Spring Carnival, W-L Elementary & Middle School Cafeteria
April 4	[redacted] Athletic Booster Club-High School - 7:30 p.m.
April 5 & 6	"THEN AND NOW" Band & Vocal Program - High School Gym, 7:00 p.m.
April 12	In-Service Training for Teachers: SCHOOL DISMISSED AT 1:30 p.m.
April 14	School Board Election
April 19	Elementary Easter Party-- afternoon session and Morning Kindergarten
April 19	PTA meeting--Middle School Cafeteria 7:30 p.m.
April 19	W-L Athletic Booster Club & Lettermans Club=DONKEY BASKETBALL High School Gym 7:30 p.m. *** Faculty vs School Board
April 20	NO SCHOOL --Good Friday
April 23	no school --Vacation Day (unless we have to use another snow day).
April 26	Middle School Athletic Banquet
April 27	Macon County Choral Festival, Niantic High School 7:30 p.m.
April 28	High School Junior-Senior Prom: Decatur Club, Decatur, Illinois

S P O R T S C A L E N D A R

date	event	team	Place
March 27	Track, Middle School	Macon	there
April 4	Track, High School	St. Teresa	here
April 2	Track, Middle School	Niantic	here
April 3	Track, Middle School	Argenta	there
April 4	Track, Middle School	St. Teresa	
April 6	Track, High School	Lakeview	there
April 9	Track, Middle School	Macon-Maroa	here
April 10	track (F-S) High School	Mt.Zion & Lakeview	Mt.Zion
April 11	Track, High School	Argenta	there
April 11	Track, Middle School	Mt.Zion	here
April 13	Track, High School	Mt.Pulaski & Clinton	here
April 16	County Track meet at [redacted]	-Middle School	
April 18	Track, High School	County meet at Argenta	
April 20	Track, High School	Lovington & Maroa	here
April 23	District Track meet	Middle School	
April 25	Tract-High School	Cerro Gordo	There
April 26	Middle School Athletic Banquet		
April 27	Track-High School	Niantic	there





APRIL

[redacted] DISTRICT #11 NEWSLETTER

MIDDLE SCHOOL GUIDANCE DEPARTMENT NEWS

During the month of March, Mrs. Proctor has been interpreting test scores to all interested parents. You are still welcome to make arrangements to come in and discuss the achievement test results of your student.

Also, the eighth graders are having assemblies dealing with the world of work. Various people from Decatur have been coming out and talking with the eighth graders about their specialties and will continue to do so through the middle of April.

Mr. Sullivan, who is a police Lt. will be talking about his work to the boys this Friday. Mrs. Schrodt is coming to talk to the students about all of the medical careers available in the Decatur Area.

Mr. Turner will be telling about firefighting; Dan Andrews will be discussing his work in forestry and conservation and relating it to ecology; Mrs. Eimer will talk on becoming a beautician; and Mrs. Hamilton, an R.N. from Decatur will be discussing her profession and related topics.

The eighth graders have been registered for their Freshman year and have had their questions answered.

Mrs. Proctor and Mr. Miller have begun working on scheduling for the Middle School for the new fall term.

Mrs. Kay Proctor, Middle School
Guidance Counselor

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

The [redacted] Athletic Booster Club will meet Wednesday, April 4th, in the High School Gym. The track team will be introduced. There will be a demonstration on the Universal Gym Set. A business meeting will follow. Refreshments will be served.

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

The [redacted] Athletic Booster Club and the Lettermans Club will jointly sponsor a DONKEY BASKETBALL game in the [redacted] High School Gym on Thursday, April 19, 1973 at 7:30 p.m. TICKETS WILL BE AVAILABLE AFTER APRIL 4th AND MAY ALSO BE PURCHASED AT THE DOOR ON APRIL 19.

The game will be a contest between the COMBINED HIGH SCHOOL AND MIDDLE SCHOOL FACULTIES vs THE BOARD OF EDUCATION!!!

Tickets are $1.50 and $1.00

IT WILL BE A GOOD SHOW -----------PLAN TO ATTEND!

"THEN AND NOW"

April 5 and April 6

[redacted] HIGH SCHOOL GYM

7:00 p.m.

ADULTS=$1.00 CHILDREN= $0.50

SONGS FROM THE FIFTIES TO THE SEVENTIES!!!

Mr. Brennan and Mr. Main of the High School Faculty, are presenting a most unusual and exciting Musical program on the above dates. The program, called THEN AND NOW consists of a selected band members and four girl vocalists presenting songs from the 1950's to the present day.

The program is in a floor show-type format with the use of multiple lighting effects. The people involved have been putting in long hours of rehearsal daily and the final product should be a VERY POLISHED AND PROFESSIONAL MUSICAL PROGRAM THAT NONE OF US SHOULD MISS!!!! Please get your tickets early and they may also be purchased at the door on either night.

Since this is a floor-show type program, some seating will be at individual tables of four. COME EARLY AND RESERVE YOURSELF A TABLE!!!!!

* * * * * * * * * * * * *

PTA

The April PTA meeting will be held in the Elementary and Middle School Cafeteria on April 19 with the social hour at 7:00 p.m. and meeting called to order at 7:30 p.m.

April 19th will be FOREIGN EXCHANGE NIGHT. Our foreign Exchange Student, Chris Ahrens from Germany, will present a very interesting program. During this year in our country, his host family has been the Willard Parks family. This is also "PTA ELECTION NIGHT". Don't wait to be asked ----------V O L U N T E E R ! ! ! ! ! ! !

* * * * * * * * * * * * *

MUSIC CONTEST RESULTS - CHORAL

Saturday, March 10th, the High School State Solo and Ensemble Contest took place at Millikin University in Decatur. The following vocal events received first place= SUPERIOR RATINGS: Solos:Mark Rau, Beth Nansen, Chuck Miller, Cindy Janvrin, Steve Major, and Howard Loveless. TRIOS: Boys trio, girls trio & the girls sextet.

The following events received a second place= EXCELLENT RATING: SOLOS:K.C.Heckler, Linda Mears, Cindy Matherly, Donna Gillespey; DUET: mixed duet & Madrigal:
The following events received a third place=GOOD RATING: SOLO: Ann Mears; DUET: girls duet.

* * * * * * * * * * * * *

THE [redacted]

SENIOR BOWL

DON'T MISS IT!

This year, [redacted] is experiencing a new activity. On May 5, [redacted] will host their first Senior Bowl. Fourteen teams are being invited from area schools along with two teams from Warrensburg. The schools participating are: Monticello, Blue Mound, Kewanee, Tampico, Niantic-Harristown, Tolono Unity, Tuscola, Farmington East, Mt. Pulaski, Arcola, Mt.Zion, Arthur, Lovington and Illiopolis. (Arthur and Illiopolis have been invited but have not yet replied).

The Senior Bowl will be run in a fashion similiar to the G.E.College Bowl which was a televised program a few years ago. Questions for the Senior Bowl will be taken from the subject areas of physics, chemistry, history, music, math, current events, literature, and miscellaneous. The Moderators will be:

ART JACOBY	LARRY METZGER	THOMAS ISRAEL
HANK HAYNES	LOREN BOATMAN	HOWARD E. BROWN

[redacted] will have a very good chance of a victory with its two teams competing. One team consists of Paul Young, Brian Haynes, Tootie Holmes, Craig Hammitt, Howard Loveless, Roy Mosser, and Phil Gillen. The other team consists of Bill Barnes, Bill Baker, John Waddell, Carol Dipper, Nancy Disbrow, Beth Nansen, and Greg Peters.

Both the students and Mr. Smith have been working hard, trying to set up the Senior Bowl. We hope that many people from this school district and all other competing districts will take an interest and will support their teams so that Warrensburg-Latham may hold this Senior Bowl for many years to come.

[redacted] will also be competing in the KEWANEE SENIOR BOWL at Kewanee on April 7, 1973.

If you would like to know more about the [redacted] Senior Bowl, contact Richard Smith at [redacted] High School = Phone: 672-3531.

The SENIOR BOWL will begin on May 5, 1973 about 9:30 a.m. and the CHAMPIONSHIP MATCH will begin that afternoon at 4:30 p.m. THE PUBLIC IS CORDIALLY INVITED TO ATTEND ANY OR ALL OF THESE SESSIONS. (Senior Bowl will be held in High School Bldg.)

THERE IS NO ADMISSION CHARGE!!!!!

SUMMER SCHOOL

ATTENTION HIGH SCHOOL PARENTS ! ! ! ! ! !

During Summer School this year, we are going to offer a full year credit course in WILDERNESS CANOEING AND CAMPING!

The class will be offered to both boys and girls, fifteen years of age and older. The class will be set up on a four week session with the first two weeks used for preparation and planning and the second two weeks for a twelve day canoe trip to the Superior-Quetico National Park area of Upper Minnesota and Canada.

Cost of this course will be somewhere between $50 and $100. For further information contact Art Jacoby at the High School = 672-3531. Fifteen will be necessary to have the course and reservations for the class will be on a first come--first served basis.

MORE SUMMER SCHOOL NEWS * * * 1973

Summer School has been tentatively set for June 11. Information about Summer School will be coming out soon.

Transportation of children has been a problem for parents the last two summers. We have checked with the state office to see if they would provide funds to transport children in the summer. They informed us that they had no funds available. The School Board has ruled that we may use the buses, if we are able to take care of the cost. Mr. Israel has said that we could afford to run the buses, if every child would pay fifty cents a day. This would be a total of Fifteen Dollars for the six weeks of summer school. This would have to be paid during Summer school Registration.

Please send back the attached questionnaire below if you would be willing to have bus transportation on this basis.

(detach and return immediately to Mr. Swallow-Elementary office)

I would like the school to provide transportation for my child during Summer School.

I would be willing to pay fifty cents per day (fifteen dollars total - IN ADVANCE) for this transportation. (The fee is 50¢ per day for each student riding).

_____
(Signature)

STUDENT NAMES

_____

_____

PHONE NUMBER _____

APPENDIX I

THE ATTITUDE SCALING INSTRUMENTS USED IN THE NEBENDORF STUDY:

THEIR HISTORY, FORM, DESIGN, ADAPTATIONS AND RESULTS

(These instruments were administered to the faculty at Nebendorf with a return of 20 out of 23 faculty members.)

SATISFACTION WITH SUPERVISION (Draper 1955)

Variable	The scale attempts to measure worker's satisfaction with immediate supervisors, primarily in terms of personal rather than formal work relationships.
Description	The scale was developed in conjunction with a survey of plant nonmanagerial employees of a midwestern farm tractor manufacturer. The original scale contained 15 items though the form presented here has only fourteen. One item has been dropped since its discriminating power was relatively low and its content seemed to be out of line with the other scale items. While the verbal level of the items is not low they seem fairly straightforward and direct. The items were selected from a questionnaire previously used at the same company, and through consultation with management personnel.
Sample	The author does not clearly describe his sample. Apparently, it includes 1345 nonmanagement employees from various departments.
Reliability	A split half coefficient of .91 (corrected) is reported for a random sample of 250 employees.
Validity	Item analysis of a random sample of 500 questionnaires indicated that all the items can discriminate at the .01 level or better (sic). Further comment related to validity will be found in the Results and Comments section.
Location	Draper, Richard D., "Higher levels of management and employee attitude toward the foreman," Ph.D. dissertation, Purdue University, 1955. Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Inc., Pub. No. 11, 622.
Administration	The scale may be completed in less than 15 minutes. Scoring may be accomplished by summing the number of answer categories marked with (*) which are chosen.
Results and Comments	The study for which this scale was developed revealed that higher levels of management influence employee attitudes through the foremen and that attitudes toward the foremen will vary depending on the foreman's supervisor.

No relation was found between pay method and attitude and only a slight relation between work pacing (i.e., ". . . The amount of freedom which an employee has to work at his own rate of speed.") and attitude toward the foreman.

Although the sample is larger than most encountered in this sort of work it represents workers in one company who were members of one union. Local norms should be established for the proper use of this scale.

1. Does your immediate supervisor take an interest in you as a person as well as in how well you do your job? No. Yes (*).

2. Does your immediate supervisor give you "straight answers" when you ask him something? Usually (*). Occasionally. Never.

3. Generally speaking, does your immediate supervisor criticize you in front of others? Yes. No (*).

4. Does your immediate supervisor usually follow through on his promises? No. Yes (*).

5. Do you feel that you have proper opportunity to present a problem, complaint, or suggestion to your immediate supervisor? Yes (*). No.

6. Are you criticized by your immediate supervisor for happenings over which you have no control? Often. Occasionally. Never (*).

7. Is your immediate supervisor usually prompt in taking care of your complaints? Yes (*). No.

8. Do you feel that your immediate supervisor is interested in getting your ideas and suggestions? No. Yes (*).

9. Does your immediate supervisor usually give you recognition for work well done? Yes (*). No.

10. Is your immediate supervisor usually courteous to you? Yes (*). No.

11. Is your immediate supervisor concerned about your safety on the job? Yes (*). No.

12. When you are given a new job, do you feel you are reasonably well trained for that job? Yes (*). No.

13. Does your immediate supervisor try to see that you have the things you need to do your job? Yes (*). No.

14. Generally speaking, is your immediate supervisor a good supervisor? Yes (*). No.

ADAPTATION TO SCHOOL SITUATION

1. Does your immediate supervisor take an interest in you as a person as well as in how well you do your job? No. Yes.

2. Does your immediate supervisor give you "straight answers" when you ask him something? Usually. Occasionally. Never.

3. Generally speaking, does your immediate supervisor criticize you in front of others? Yes. No.

4. Does your immediate supervisor usually follow through on his promise? No. Yes.

5. Do you feel that you have proper opportunity to present a problem, complaint, or suggestion to your immediate supervisor? Yes. No.

6. Are you criticized by your immediate supervisor for happenings over which you have no control? Often. Occasionally. Never.

7. Is your immediate supervisor usually prompt in taking care of your complaints? Yes. No.

8. Do you feel that your immediate supervisor is interested in getting your ideas and suggestions? No. Yes.

9. Does your immediate supervisor usually give you recognition for work well done? Yes. No.

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11. Is your immediate supervisor concerned about safety on the job? Yes. No.

12. When you are given a new job, do you feel you are reasonably well trained for that job? Yes. No.

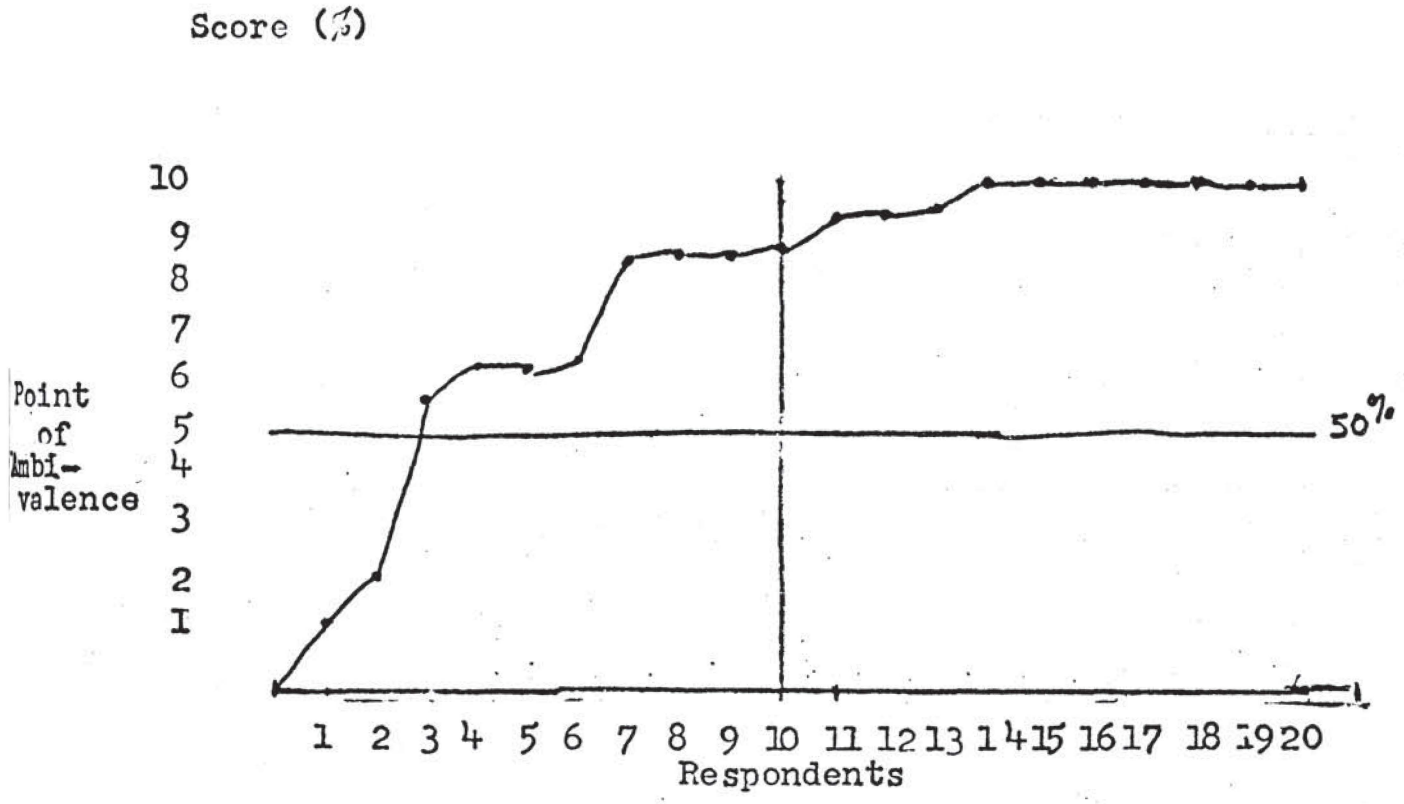
13. Does your immediate supervisor try to see that you have the things you need to do your job? Yes. No.

14. Generally speaking, is your immediate supervisor a good supervisor? Yes. No.

TEST SATISFACTION WITH SUPERVISOR PAGE 172

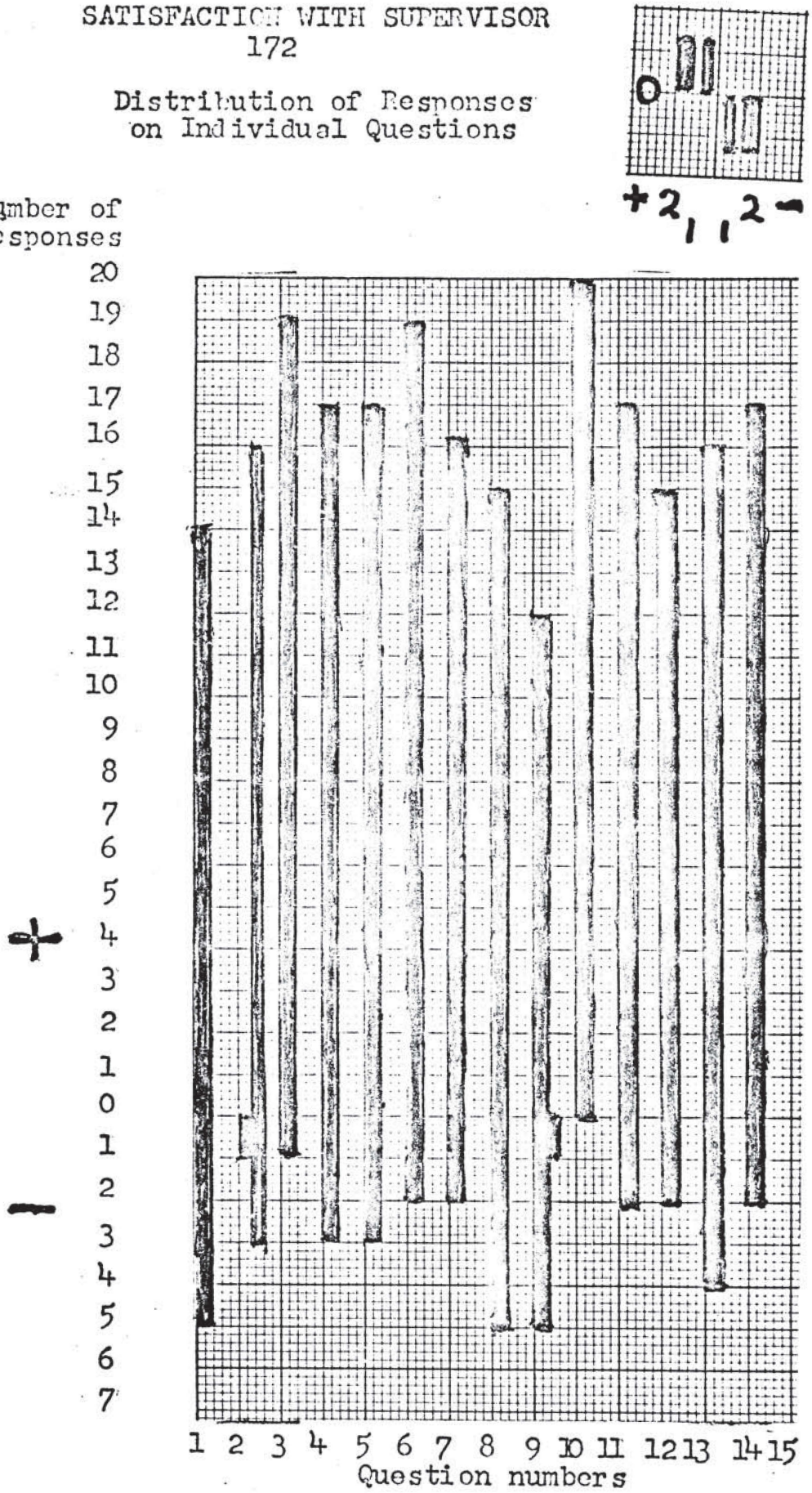
WEIGHT	STRONGLY AGREE YES	USUALLY AGREE	0	DISAGREE	NEVER STRONGLY DISAGREE NO
YES 1.	14				5
USUALLY.		16		3	
NO 3.	1				19
YES 4.	17				3
YES 5.	17				3
NEVER 6.				1	19
YES 7.	16		1		2
YES 8.	15				5
YES 9.	12			1	5
YES .00.	20				
YES 11.	17				2
YES 12	15		1		2
YES 13	16				4
YES 14	17		1		2

SATISFACTION WITH SUPERVISOR
172
Distribution of Individual
Total Scores



SATISFACTION WITH SUPERVISOR
172

Distribution of Responses
on Individual Questions



ATTITUDES TOWARD THE SUPERVISOR

(Schmid, et al. 1957)

Variable	This is a short scale covering workers' perceptions of their supervisors' style of behavior.
Description	There are 14 items in the scale, with five alternative Likert-type responses to each format. The items emerged from factor analysis of 60 items dealing with various aspects of job satisfaction.
Sample	A total of 238 supply, clerical and personnel specialists at one Air Force Base were given the 60-item questionnaire.
Reliability/ Homogeneity	No test-retest data are reported. A Kuder-Richardson internal consistency coefficient of .90 was reported for 17 items from which the final set of 14 is given below. Factor loadings of .31 to .57 for the items were reported as additional evidence of homogeneity.
Validity	No validity data are reported.
Location	Schmid, J., Morsh, J., and Detter, H. Analysis of Job Satisfaction Research Report AFPTRC-TN-57-30, March 1957, ASTIA Document #098935.
Results and Comments	The other two factors to emerge were "Sense of personal achievement" and "Stress". Readers may wish to examine the items comprising these scales in the original reference.

ATTITUDE TOWARD THE SUPERVISOR
(AS) SCALE

Answer each item by entering the appropriate letter in the space provided according to the following scale:

A. Strongly agree
B. Agree
C. Undecided
D. Disagree
E. Strongly Disagree

_____ 60 My supervisor is admired and respected by all of his men.
_____ 6 My supervisor praises his men for a job well done.
_____ *27 My supervisor ignores opinions of those who disagree with him.
_____ 30 My supervisor confidently handles emergency situations.
_____ *9 My supervisor takes all the credit when others do good work.
_____ *3 My supervisor ignores the feelings of his men.
_____ 12 My supervisor always backs up his men.
_____ 24 My supervisor treats his men unusually well.
_____ 15 My supervisor considers the safety of his men above all else.
_____ *45 My supervisor gives instructions that are hard to understand.
_____ *33 My supervisor has the wrong opinion of some of his men.
_____ 39 My supervisor has genuine interest in his work.
_____ 57 My supervisor works hard and welcomes additional responsibilities.
_____ *51 My supervisor is not always fair in judging our work.

*Items marked with an asterisk indicate negative attitudes.

ADAPTATION TO SCHOOL SITUATION

ATTITUDE TOWARD THE SUPERVISOR
(AS) SCALE

Answer each item by entering the appropriate letter in the space provided according to the following scale:

A. Strongly agree
B. Agree
C. Undecided
D. Disagree
E. Strongly Disagree

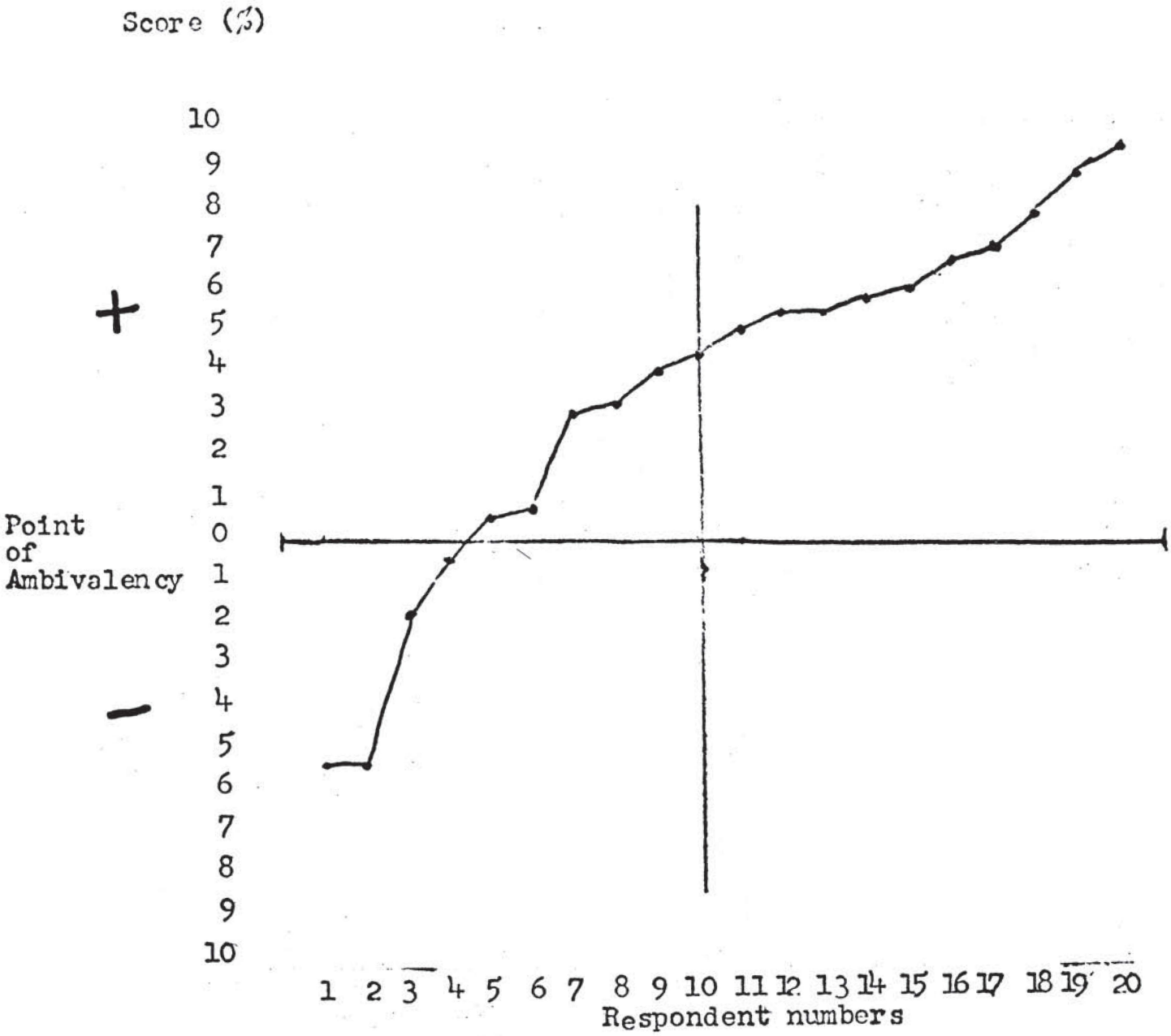
_____ My supervisor is admired and respected by all of his men.
_____ My supervisor praises his men for a job well done.
_____ My supervisor ignores opinions of those who disagree with him.
_____ My supervisor confidently handles emergency situations.
_____ My supervisor takes all the credit when others do good work.
_____ My supervisor ignores the feelings of his men.
_____ My supervisor always backs up his men.
_____ My supervisor treats his men unusually well.
_____ My supervisor considers the safety of his men above all else.
_____ My supervisor gives instructions that are hard to understand.
_____ My supervisor has the wrong opinion of some of his men.
_____ My supervisor has genuine interest in his work.
_____ My supervisor works hard and welcomes additional responsibilities.
_____ My supervisor is not always fair in judging our work.

TEST ATTITUDE TOWARD SUPERVISOR PAGE 174

WEIGHT		+2 STRONGLY AGREE A YES	+1 AGREE B	0 C	-1 DISAGREE D	-2 STRONGLY DISAGREE E NO
A	1.		7	5	7	2
A	2.	3	9	4	2	2
E	3.	1	4	3	7	6
A	4.	6	8	5	1	--
E	5.	2	--	3	5	10
E	6.	--	1	3	7	9
A	7.	5	8	2	3	2
A	8.	4	8	7	1	--
A	9.	1	6	7	5	--
E	10.	1	1	2	11	6
E	11.	3	3	7	5	3
A	12	10	8	1	2	1
A	13	6	7	3	2	1
E	14	3	1	3	8	5

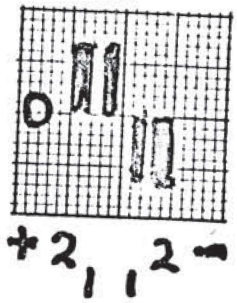
ATTITUDE TOWARD SUPERVISOR
Page 174

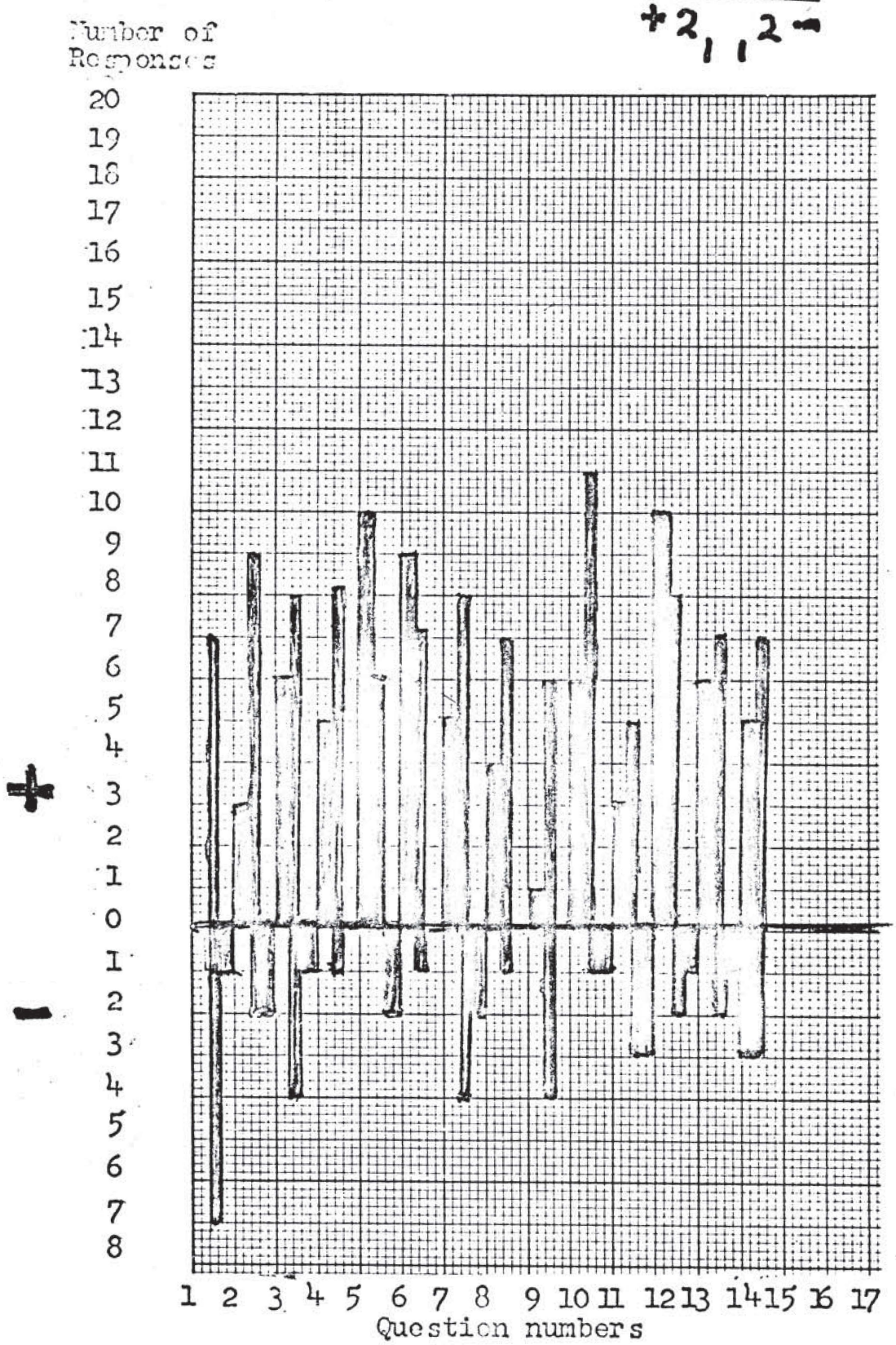
Distribution of Individual
Total Scores



ATTITUDE TOWARD SUPERVISOR
Page 174

Distribution of Responses
to Individual Questions





IDENTIFICATION WITH THE WORK ORGANIZATION

(Patchen 1965)

Variable	This instrument attempts to measure employee organizational identification, that is, the sense of solidarity with other members of the organization, especially with the top leaders.
Description	The instrument consists of eight modified Likert-type items. Scores assigned to each response are indicated by numbers in parentheses before the items as given below. From the eight items, three indices were computed: Index B, based on the sum of scores on Q 1, 2, and 3, used both at TVA and at the electronics company; Index C, composed of Q1, 2, and 3, and also Q5, which was used only at the electronics company; and Index D, a seven item index including all items used at TVA which showed evidence of validity (five other questions were discarded).
Sample	The sample population was the same as that described for the previous motivation measure.
Reliability/ Homogeneity	Reliability sample was the same as that described for the motivation index, and also included one engineering division at TVA. Test-retest reliability coefficients for the different indices were as follows: Index B, .69 for individuals and .75 for work units; Index C, .75 for individuals and .79 for groups; Index D, .71 for individuals and .98 for a small number of work groups. The inter-item correlation matrix showed items 2, 3, and 4 moderately correlated but items 6, 7, 8 with almost no inter-correlation among themselves or with items 2, 3, and 4.
Validity	Following the same procedure of supervisory ranking described for the motivation index, judges ranked individual employees they knew personally on their "sense of belonging" to the organization. Ranking scores were then correlated (median r=.24) with index scores. The items were also related to a probable behavioral indicator of identification--the use of a TVA sticker on one's car. Over five times as many "high" identifiers than "low" identifiers had a sticker.

To evaluate the construct validity of the Index, scores were correlated with turnover data, with employees' expectation of remaining with the organization, length of service, attendance, and with the TVA cooperative program. Significant relations were found with length of service and expectation of remaining with the organization.

Location — Patchen, M., Some Questionnaire Measures of Employee Motivation and Morale: A Report on Their Reliability and Validity, monograph #41, Ann Arbor, Michigan, Institute for Social Research, 1965.

Administration—Estimated administration time: under ten minutes. Scoring is accomplished by simple summation.

1. On most days on your job, how often does time seem to drag for you?

   (1) _____ About half the day or more
   (2) _____ About one-third of the day
   (3) _____ About one-quarter of the day
   (4) _____ About one-eighth of the day
   (5) _____ Time never seems to drag

2. Some people are completely involved in their job--they are absorbed in it night and day. For other people, their job is simply one of several interests. How involved do you feel in your job?

   (1) _____ Very little involved; my other interests are more absorbing
   (2) _____ Slightly involved
   (3) _____ Moderately involved; my job and my other interests are equally absorbing to me
   (4) _____ Strongly involved
   (5) _____ Very strongly involved; my work is the most absorbing interest in my life.

3. How often do you do some extra work for your job which isn't really required of you?

   (5) _____ Almost every day
   (4) _____ Several times a week
   (3) _____ About once a week
   (2) _____ Once every few weeks
   (1) _____ About once a month or less

4. Would you say you work harder, less hard, or about the same as other people doing your type of work at (name of organization)?

(5) _____ Much harder than most others
(4) _____ A little harder than most others
(3) _____ About the same as most others
(2) _____ A little less hard than most others
(1) _____ Much less hard than most others

Results and Comments

While the first five items showed adequate intercorrelations, questions 6, 7, and 8 used at TVA showed no correlations with other items and there is some question as to what they may be measuring. For the electronics firm data, question 4 showed negative and positive relations with other items, an indication that it was properly discarded from the total index for this group.

In addition to the two measures described here, Patchen presents data on three other indices too specialized to cover here. The three indices are:

1) Interest in Work Innovation (6 items)
2) Willingness to Disagree with Supervisors (4 items)
3) Acceptance of Job Changes Index (5 items)

Substantial item reliability and validity information is given for these indices as it was for the two indices reviewed here.

Identification with the work organization indices

1. If you could begin working over again, but in the same occupation as you're in now, how likely would you be to choose (TVA) as a place to work?

   (1) _____Definitely would choose another place over (TVA)
   (2) _____Probably would choose another place over (TVA)
   (3) _____Wouldn't care much whether it was (TVA) or some other place
   (4) _____Probably would choose (TVA) over another place
   (5) _____Definitely would choose (TVA) over another place for my occupation.

2a. Following are two somewhat different statements about the relations between management and employees at TVA:

   a. The relations between management and employees at (company name) are much different than in most other companies, because in (company name) both are working together toward the same goals.

   b. Relations between management and employees at (company name) are not really very different than in other companies; management is looking out for the organization's interests, and employees have to look out for their own interests.

   Which of the two statements above comes closer to your own opinion:

   (5) _____Agree completely with A
   (4) _____Agree more with A than with B
   (3) _____Agree more with B than with A
   (1) _____Agree completely with B

The following almost identical question was used at the electronics company:

2b. Following are two somewhat different statements about the relations between management and employees at (name of company):

   a. The relations between management and employees at (company name) are much different than in most other companies, because we (company name) both are working together toward the same goals.

   b. Relations between management and employees at (company) are not really much different than in other companies; management is looking out for the

organization's interests, and employees have to look out for their own interests.

Responses scored as in 2a, above.

3a. How do you feel when you hear (or read about) some one criticizing the TVA method of public power or comparing it unfavorably to private power?

(1) _____ I mostly agree with the criticism
(2) _____ It doesn't bother me
(4) _____ It gets me a little mad
(5) _____ It gets me quite mad
_____ I never hear or read such criticism

3b. The following similar question was used at the electronics company:

How do you feel when you hear (or read about) some one criticizing (company name) or (company name) products, or comparing (company names) unfavorably to other companies?

(2) _____ It doesn't really bother me; I don't care much what other people think of (company name)
(4) _____ It bothers me a little
(5) _____ It bothers me quite a bit; I'm anxious to have people think well of (company name)
_____ I never hear or read such criticism

4. If someone asked you to describe yourself, and you could tell only one thing about yourself, which of the following answers would you be most likely to give? (Put a number 1 next to that item.)

_____ I came from (my home state)
_____ I work for (TVA)
_____ I am a (my occupation or type of work)
_____ I am (my church membership or preference)
_____ I am a graduate of (my school)

If you could give two answers, which of the items above would you choose second? (Put a number 2 next to that item.) If you would give three answers, which one of the items would you choose third? (Put a number 3 next to that item.) (Scored 1 through 4, with those choosing (TVA) as first choice getting a 4 and those not choosing it at all getting a 1.)

5. If you have or were to have a son, how would you feel if someone suggested that he work for the same company that you work for? (If you are a woman, answer for a daughter.)

(5) _____ Would completely approve
(4) _____ Would generally approve, but with some reservations
(3) _____ Would neither approve nor disapprove
(2) _____ Would disapprove a little
(1) _____ Would strongly disapprove

6. In general, how often do you tell someone in your immediate family (wife, child, parent, brother, sister) about some project that TVA has done or is doing?

(5) _____ Once a week or more
(4) _____ Several times a month
(3) _____ About once a month
(2) _____ Once every few months
(1) _____ About once a year
_____ Don't have any immediate family to talk to

7. In general, how often do you tell someone outside your immediate family (friends, neighbor, store clerk, etc.) about some project that TVA has done or is doing?

Responses same as in Q6.

8. During the past two years, how many times has your part of TVA had a dinner, a picnic or other social event outside of office hours?

(5) _____ Five or more times
(4) _____ Four times
(3) _____ Three times
(1) _____ Once
(0) _____ Never that I know of

If any social events held:

(5) _____ Five or more
(4) _____ Four
(3) _____ Three
(2) _____ Two
(1) _____ Once
(0) _____ None

(Score on item 8 was proportion of events attended, recorded on a five point scale.)

ADAPTATION TO SCHOOL SITUATION

Identification with the work organization indices

1. If you could begin working over again, but in the same occupation as you're in now, how likely would you be to choose (N schools) as a place to work?

   (1) _____ Definitely would choose another place over (N Schools)
   (2) _____ Probably would choose another place over (N Schools)
   (3) _____ Wouldn't care much whether it was (N schools) or some other place
   (4) _____ Probably would choose (N schools) over another place
   (5) _____ Definitely would choose (N schools) over another place for my occupation.

2a. Following are two somewhat different statements about the relations between management and employees at N Schools:

   a. The relations between management and employees at (N. school) are much different than in most other companies, because in (N schools) both are working together toward the same goals.

   b. Relations between management and employees at (N schools) are not really very different than in other companies: management is looking out for the organization's interests, and employees have to look out for their own interests.

   Which of the two statements above comes closer to your own opinion?

   (5) _____ Agree completely with A
   (6) _____ Agree more with A than with B
   (7) _____ Agree more with B than with A
   _____ Agree completely with B

The following almost identical question was used at the electronics company:

2b. Following are two somewhat different statements about the relations between management and employees at (name of Company):

   a. The relations between management and employees at (school name) are much different than in most other companies, because we (school) both are working together toward the same goals.

b. Relations between management and employees at (school) are not really much different than in other companies; management is looking out for the organization's interests, and employees have to look out for their own interests.

Responses scored as in 2a, above.

3. How do you feel when you hear (or read about) some one criticizing (N-Schools) or (N-Schools) affairs, or comparing (N-Schools) unfavorably to other schools?

_____ It doesn't really bother me; I don't care much what other people think of (N-Schools)
_____ It bothers me a little
_____ It bothers me quite a bit; I'm anxious to have people think well of (N-Schools)
_____ I never hear or read such criticism

4. If someone asked you to describe yourself, and you could tell only one thing about yourself, which of the following answers would you be most likely to give? (Put a number 1 next to that item.)

_____ I came from (my home state)
_____ I work for (N)
_____ I am a (teacher)
_____ I am (my church membership or preference)
_____ I am a graduate of (my school)

If you could give two answers, which of the items above would you choose second: (Put a number 2 next to that item.) If you would give three answers, which one of the items would you choose third? (Put a number 3 next to that item.)

5. If you have or were to have a son, how would you feel if someone suggested that he work for the same school system that you work for? (If you are a woman, answer for a daughter.)

_____ Would completely approve
_____ Would generally approve, but with some reservations
_____ Would neither approve nor disapprove
_____ Would disapprove a little
_____ Would strongly disapprove

6. In general, how often do you tell someone in your immediate family (wife, child, parent, brother, sister) about some project that NS has done or is doing?

_____ Once a week or more
_____ Several times a month
_____ About once a month
_____ Once every few months
_____ About once a year
_____ Don't have any immediate family to talk to

7. In general, how often do you tell someone <u>outside</u> your immediate family (friends, neighbor, store clerk, etc.) about some project that NS has done or is doing?

8. During the past two years, how many times has your part of NS had a dinner, a picnic or other social event outside of office hours?

_____ Five or more times
_____ Four times
_____ Three times
_____ Once
_____ Never that I know of

<u>If any social events held:</u>

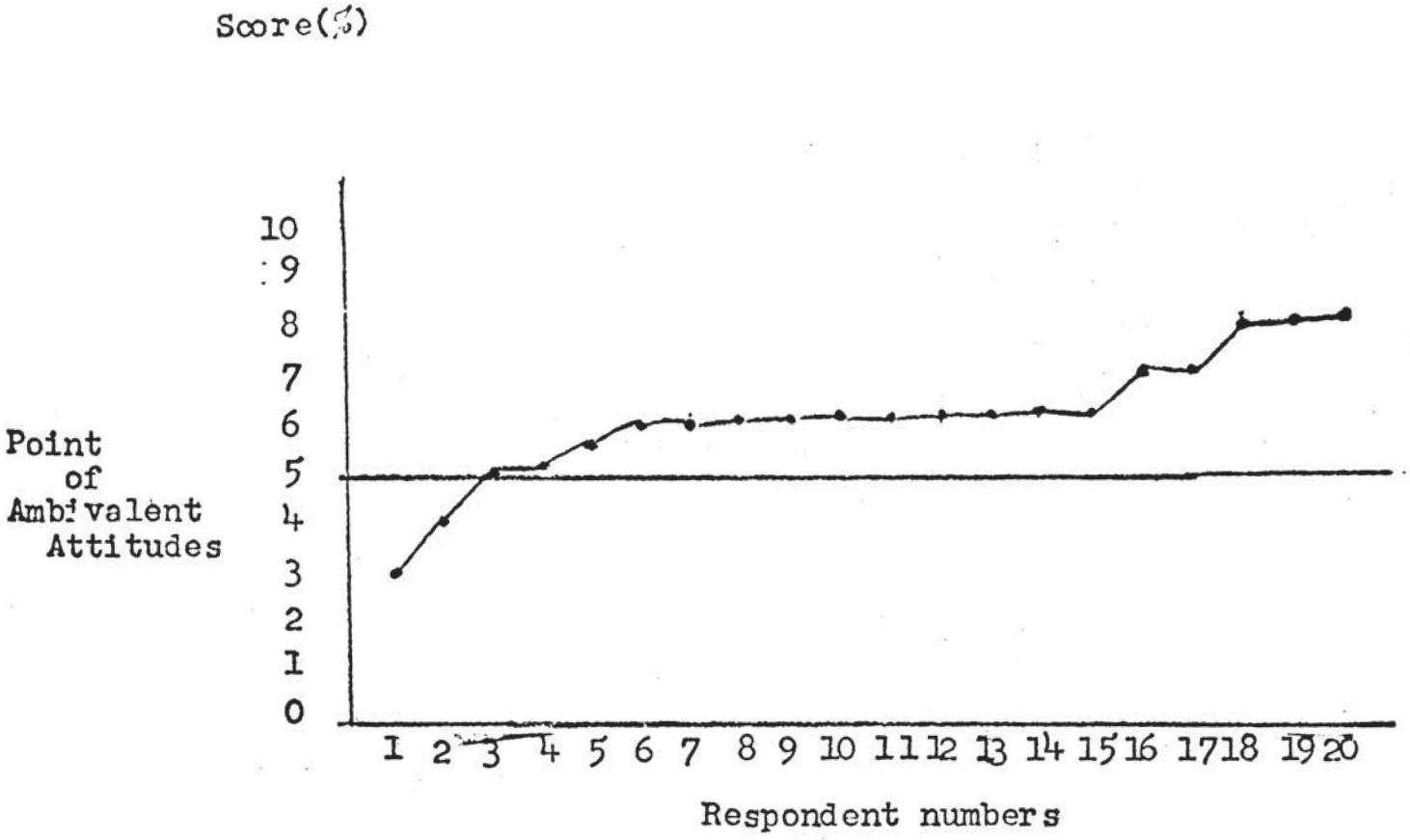
How many of these social events did you attend?

_____ Five or more
_____ Four
_____ Three
_____ Two
_____ Once
_____ None

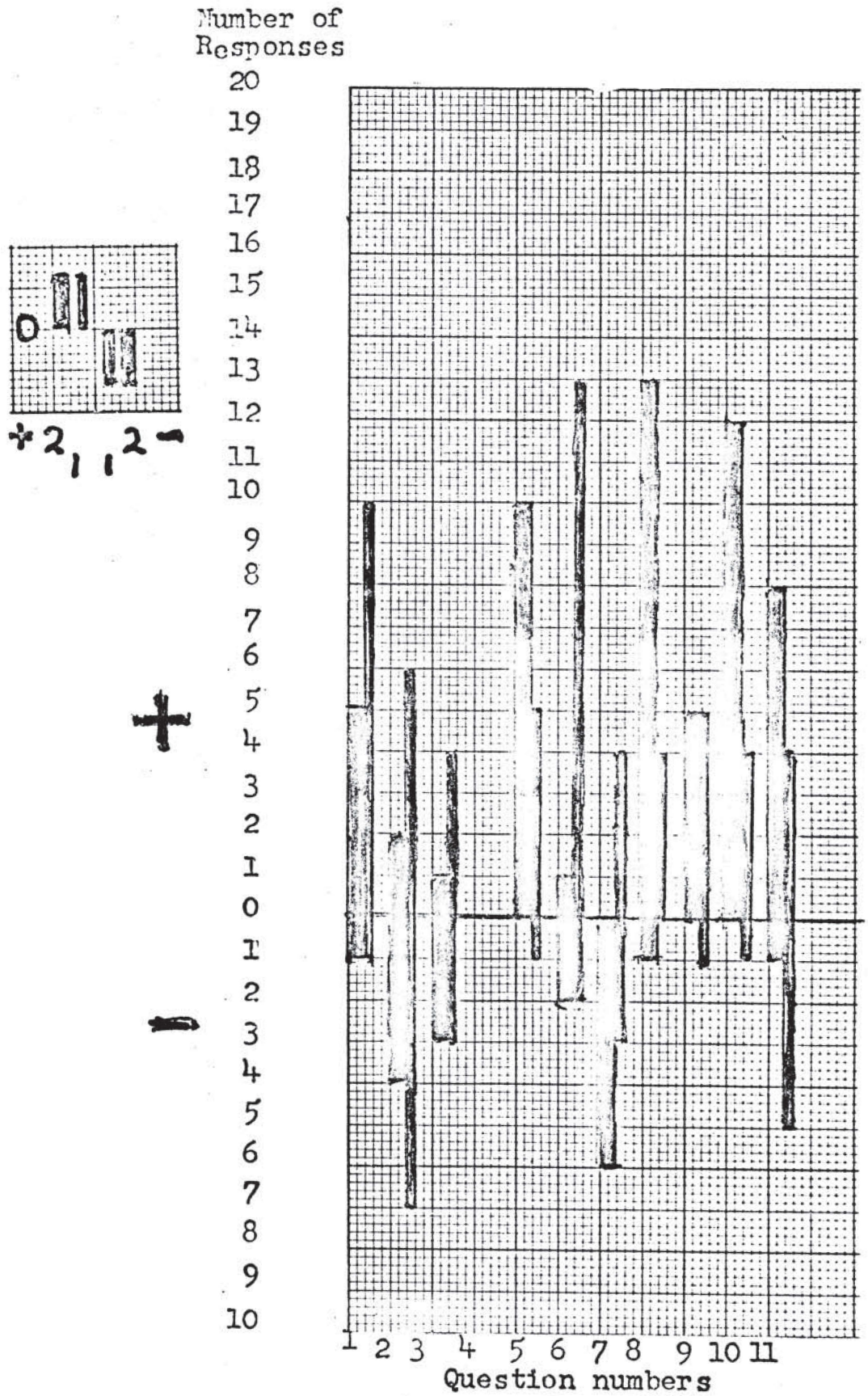
TEST IDENTIFICATION WITH THE WORK ORGANIZATION PAGE 214

WEIGHT	STRONGLY 5 2 AGREE YES	4 1 AGREE	3 0	2 1 DISAGREE	STRONGLY 2 DISAGREE 1
1.	5	9	3	1	1
2.	2	6	--	7	4
3.	1	4	--	3	3
4.	omit	omit	omit	omit	omit
5.	10	5	--	1	--
6.	1	13	2	2	--
7.	--	4	5	3	6
8.	13	3	2	--	1
9.	5	5	4	1	--
.10.	12	4	2	1	--
11.	7	4	--	5	1

Distribution of Individual
Total Scores



Distribution of responses on the
Individual Questions



NEED - SATISFACTION IN WORK (Schaffer 1953)

Variable

This instrument is based on the theory that the mechanisms which operate to make people satisfied or dissatisfied in general also make them satisfied or dissatisfied at work.

Description

Over 125 items (not reproduced here) were devised to measure the strength of 12 human needs. The 24 items reproduced here consisted of two items to measure the degree to which each of the 12 needs were satisfied in the person's job. These items were rated on a five-point Likert scale from "completely" satisfied to "not at all" satisfied.

Sample

The author used an "opportunity" sample of 72 persons (out of 113) who mailed back their replies. These were mainly professionals and managers (37) and clerical and sales workers (20); respondents were usually under 40 and apparently from the New York City area.

Reliability/ Homogeneity

No test-retest data are reported. The correlations between the two items for each of the 12 need areas are as follows:

A)	Recognition and approbation	.66
B)	Affection and interpersonal relationship	.20
C)	Mastery and achievement	.29
D)	Dominance	.61
E)	Social welfare	.49
F)	Self-expression	.06
G)	Socioeconomic status	.63
H)	Moral value scheme	.48
I)	Dependence	.71
J)	Creativity and challenge	.72
K)	Economic security	.78
L)	Independence	.53

Validity

The best prediction of job satisfaction was obtained on the need seen as most important to the individual (r=.54). The second most important need correlated .47; the third, .36; the fourth, .18; etc. There were some reversals in this trend for less important needs.

Location

Schaffer, R., "Job satisfaction as related to need satisfaction in work" Psychological Monographs, 1953, 67, Whole Number 364.

Administration—Self-administered in about 15 minutes. The letter preceding the items below identify the need area as specified under Reliability/ Homogeneity above.

Results and Comments

The correlation between "creativity and challenge" need satisfaction with job satisfaction was .51 and for "social welfare" .47, which are practically as high as the correlation between the respondents' most important need and satisfaction.

The multiple correlation was .54 for the first need, .58 for the first two needs, but then decreased with the addition of more needs e.g., .57 for three, .45 for ten.

Correlational data on the need-strength items indicated two clusters: passive or hostility-restraining (affective, social welfare, moral value and dependence) and aggressive or assertive (recognition, dominance, status and independence). No such data are available for the need-satisfaction items presented here.

Item homogeneities for areas B, C and F are, of course, quite low.

DIRECTIONS. In this section you are asked to rate your satisfactions with specific aspects of your work. DO NOT consider your attitude toward your job as a whole (you have already done that in another part of the questionnaire). As you read each statement, think about how well you are satisfied with the specific item. Let your feelings be your guide in rating these items.

Use this scale:

5) completely satisfied
4) very well satisfied
3) well satisfied
2) slightly satisfied
1) not at all satisfied

You can use any of the numbers as often as you like. Rate every item.

A) 1. On my job when I do a piece of work I know that I'll get enough praise for it.
B) 2. Where I work I get all the opportunity I want for making friends and enjoying the company of my fellow-workers.
C) 3. When I've finished a day's work I can really be satisfied with the knowledge that I've used all my skills and abilities.
D) 4. In the course of my work I have all the opportunity I might want to direct others.
E) 5. My work results in benefits to many people.
F) 6. My work offers me a real opportunity for self-expression.
G) 7. The income I receive from my job enables me to live in a manner which I consider adequate.
H) 8. I do not have to do anything on my job which is not in accordance with my ideas of right and wrong.
I) 9. In my work I get all the help and supervision I need.
J) 10. There is ample opportunity in my work to use my ingenuity and inventiveness.
K) 11. I feel that my job is a secure one.
L) 12. I have as much freedom as I want on my job.
A) 13. In my work I always get the credit I deserve for any work I do.
C) 14. I have to concentrate and put forth some effort to do my work, but it is not too hard for me.
J) 15. I often have to think up some new ways of doing things and solving problems in the course of my work.
B) 16. My job gives me plenty of opportunity to enjoy time with my family and friends.
L) 17. On my job I am free from too much supervision.
D) 18. I have as much responsibility as I want with respect to supervising the work of others.

E) 19. My work is as worthwhile as most others I would want to be in with respect to helping other people.

H) 20. In my job I am completely free of any worry about violating my religious or ethical values.

F) 21. On my job I can always act just the way I picture myself--I don't have to act like somebody else.

I) 22. I get all the help and advice that I need from my supervisors.

K) 23. My job is quite permanent. It will be there as long as I might want it. If not, I at least know that I'll always have some sort of adequate income.

G) 24. My present job enables me to have a good social standing.

ADAPTATION TO SCHOOL SITUATION

DIRECTIONS. In this section you are asked to rate your satisfactions with specific aspects of your work. DO NOT consider your attitude toward your job as a whole (you have already done that in another part of the questionnaire). As you read each statement, think about how well you are satisfied with the specific item. Let your feelings be your guide in rating these items.

Use this scale:

5) completely satisfied
4) very well satisfied
3) well satisfied
2) slightly satisfied
1) not at all satisfied

You can use any of the numbers as often as you like. Rate every item.

1. On my job when I do a piece of work I know that I'll get enough praise for it.
2. Where I work I get all the opportunity I want for making friends and enjoying the company of my fellow-workers.
3. When I've finished a day's work I can really be satisfied with the knowledge that I've used all my skills and abilities.
4. In the course of my work I have all the opportunity I might want to direct others.
5. My work results in benefits to many people.
6. My work offers me a real opportunity for self-expression.
7. The income I receive from my job enables me to live in a manner which I consider adequate.
8. I do not have to do anything on my job which is not in accordance with my ideas of right and wrong.
9. In my work I get all the help and supervision I need.
10. There is ample opportunity in my work to use my ingenuity and inventiveness.
11. I feel that my job is a secure one.
12. I have as much freedom as I want on my job.
13. In my work I always get the credit I deserve for any work I do.
14. I have to concentrate and put forth some effort to do my work, but it is not too hard for me.
15. I often have to think up some new ways of doing things and solving problems in the course of my work.
16. My job gives me plenty of opportunity to enjoy time with my family and friends.

17. On my job I am free from too much supervision.
18. I have as much responsibility as I want with respect to supervising the work of others.
19. My work is as worthwhile as most others I would want to be in with respect to helping other people.
20. In my job I am completely free of any worry about violating my religious or ethical values.
21. On my job I can always act just the way I picture myself--I don't have to act like somebody else.
22. I get all the help and advice that I need from my supervisors.
23. My job is quite permanent. It will be there as long as I might want it. If not, I at least know that I'll always have some sort of adequate income.
24. My present job enables me to have a good social standing.

ABOUT YOUR COMPANY (King 1960)

Variable	This instrument purports to measure various employee perceptions of the organization.
Description	There are 20 Yes-No items in the scale. Factor analysis of the item generated three factors, one general and two specific: respect for personal rights, and opportunity for self-improvement.
Sample	A total of 735 respondents from ten plants took part in the study.
Reliability/ Homogeneity	No test-retest results were reported. Internal structure was determined by combining items on factors which had loadings over .3 on that factor. A split-half reliability of .92 was secured.
Validity	No data on validity were reported.
Location	King, D. C., "A multiplant factor analysis of employees' attitudes toward their company," J. Applied Psych. 1960, 40, 241-3.

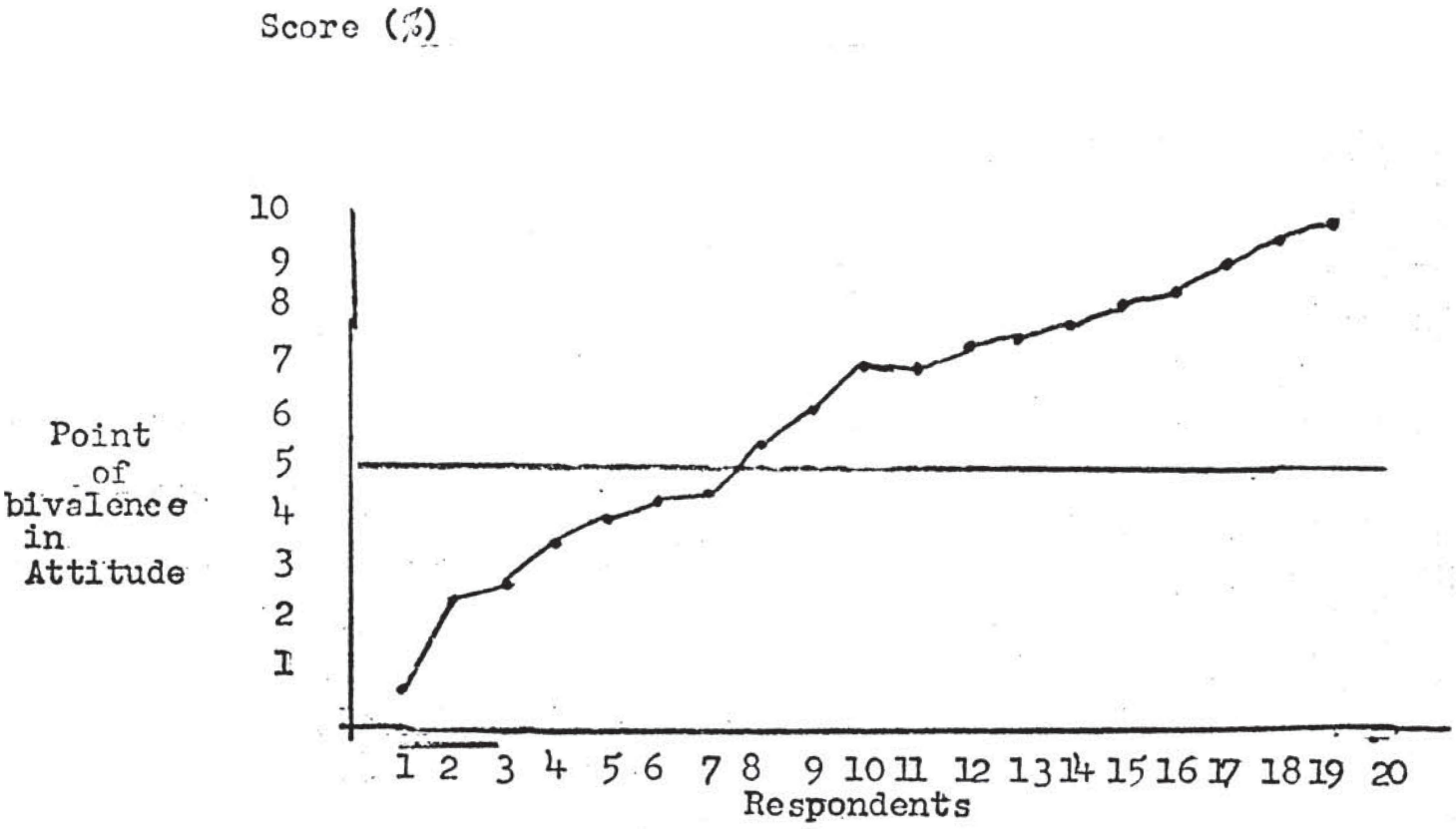
Administration-Self-administered in less than 15 minutes.

All items loaded over .6 on the general factor and should be used to compute the overall score of satisfaction with company. "Respect for Personal Rights" consists of items 4, 6, 7, 9, 11 and 15, while "Opportunity for Self-improvement" uses items 7, 9, 11, 13, 14, 16, 17, 18, and 19.

TEST SATISFACTION IN WORK PAGE 179

WEIGHT	STRONGLY AGREE +4 YES	AGREE +3	+2	DISAGREE +1	STRONGLY DISAGREE -2 NO
1.	4	2	5	5	2
2.	7	5	6	2	--
3.	1	6	7	4	1
4.	5	5	5	3	1
5.	5	9	4	1	--
6.	5	7	6	--	--
7.	3	4	4	7	1
8.	9	3	3	4	--
9.	6	2	7	2	2
10.	8	4	4	3	--
11.	7	4	4	2	2
12	12	2	5	--	--
13	2	7	4	4	2
14	7	6	3	1	--
15	3	7	8	1	--
16	5	5	4	3	1
17	10	5	2	1	1
18	6	5	5	2	1
19	7	9	2	--	1
20	12	3	3	--	1
21	5	5	5	2	2
22	7	3	6	2	1
23	6	5	4	3	1
24	4	4	7	2	2

Distribution of
Individual Total
Scores

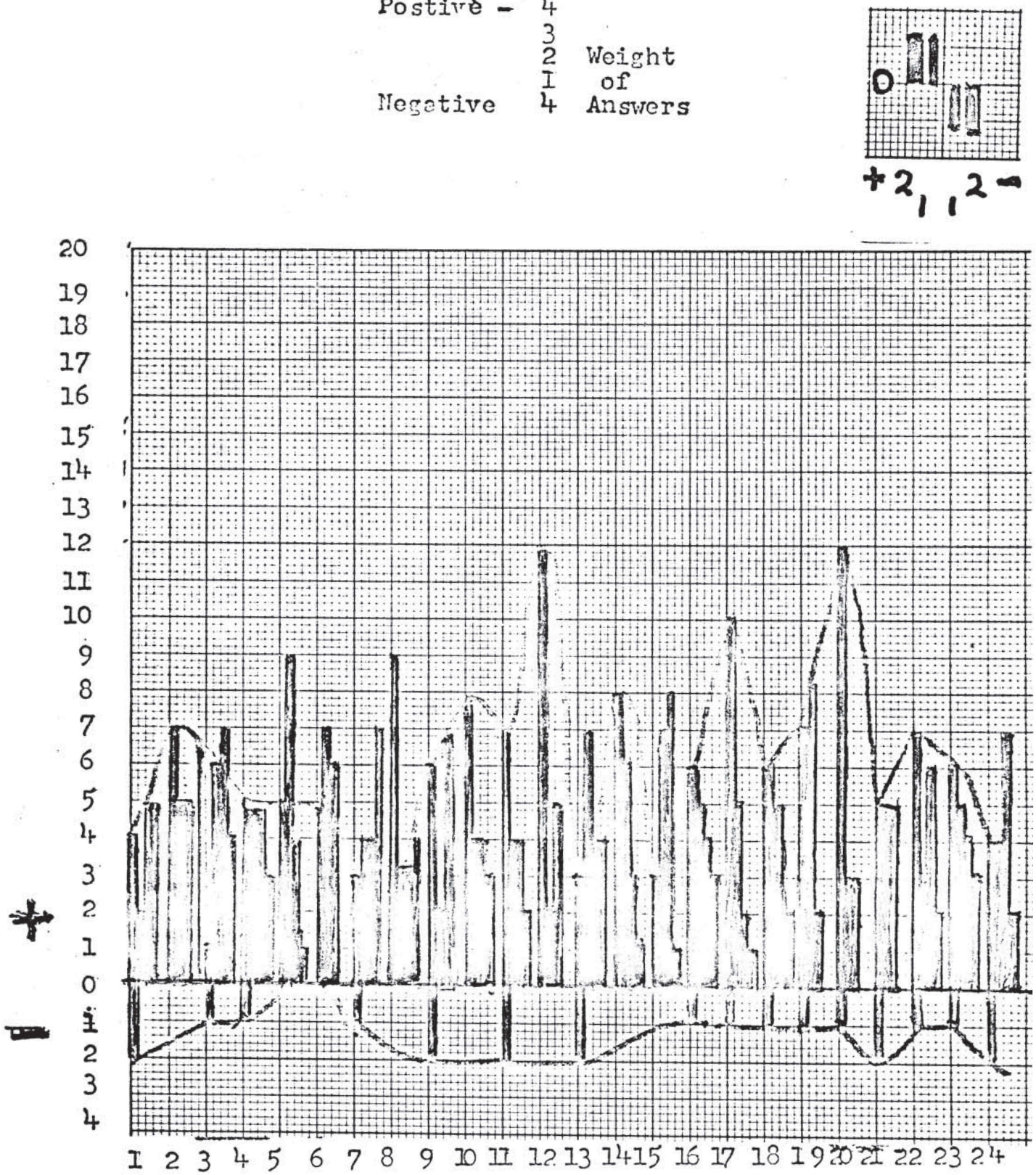


SATISFACTION IN WORK

Page 179

Distribution of Answers to
Individual Questions

Postive - 4
3
2 Weight
I of
Negative 4 Answers



Green line in upper portion of the illustration delimits greatest weight (positive) absolute agreement with question. In bottom, the opposite

1. Would you say that the company is usually hardboiled and tough with its employees?

2. Do you like to have your friends know where you work?

3. Considering everything about the company, are you fairly well satisfied with it?

4. Does the company sometimes interfere with your personal rights?

5. Do you think your company has more dissatisfied employees than most companies?

6. Do the top people respect your rights as a person?

7. If you were in real trouble would you probably get a square deal from the people at the top?

8. Is there any other company around here where you would rather work?

9. Do you feel that the top men in the company are trying to do the right thing?

10. If you were starting over again, would you probably go to work here?

11. Do you have confidence in the business judgment of top management?

12. Is there a friendly feeling in your company between the employees and management?

13. Do you think the company is really trying to improve relations with its employees?

14. Does management usually keep you informed about the things you want to know?

15. Does the company ever take advantage of the employees?

16. Is your company a good one for a person trying to get ahead?

17. Does your company offer enough chance for self-improvement and learning?

18. Do employees usually have to fight for what they get in your company?

19. Do the people at the top pay enough attention to ambition and effort?

20. Would you say that your company is a better place to work than most around here?

ADAPTATION TO SCHOOL SITUATION

1. Would you say that the company is usually hardboiled and tough with its employees?

2. Do you like to have your friends know where you work?

3. Considering everything about the company, are you fairly well satisfied with it?

4. Does the company sometimes interfere with your personal rights?

5. Do you think your company has more dissatisfied employees than most companies?

6. Do the top people respect your rights as a person?

7. If you were in real trouble would you probably get a square deal from the people at the top?

8. Is there any other company around here where you would rather work?

9. Do you feel that the top men in the company are trying to do the right thing?

10. If you were starting over again, would you probably go to work here?

11. Do you have confidence in the business judgment of top management?

12. Is there a friendly feeling in your company between the employees and management?

13. Do you think the company is really trying to improve relations with its employees?

14. Does management usually keep you informed about the things you want to know?

15. Does the company ever take advantage of the employees?

16. Is your company a good one for a person trying to get ahead?

17. Does your company offer enough chance for self-improvement and learning?

18. Do employees usually have to fight for what they get in your company?

19. Do the people at the top pay enough attention to ambition and effort?

20. Would you say that your company is a better place to work than most around here?

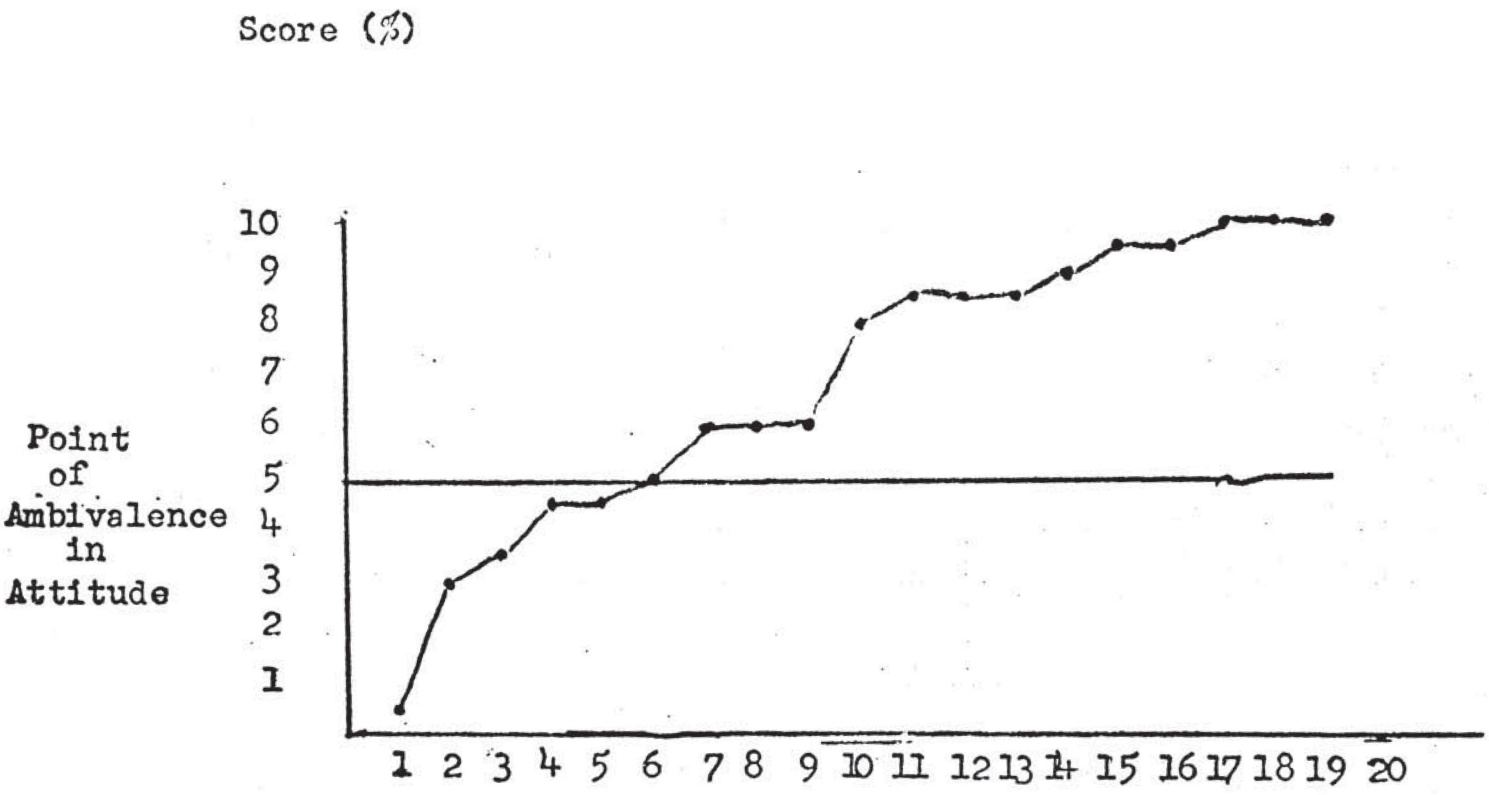
TEST ABOUT YOUR COMPANY PAGE 183

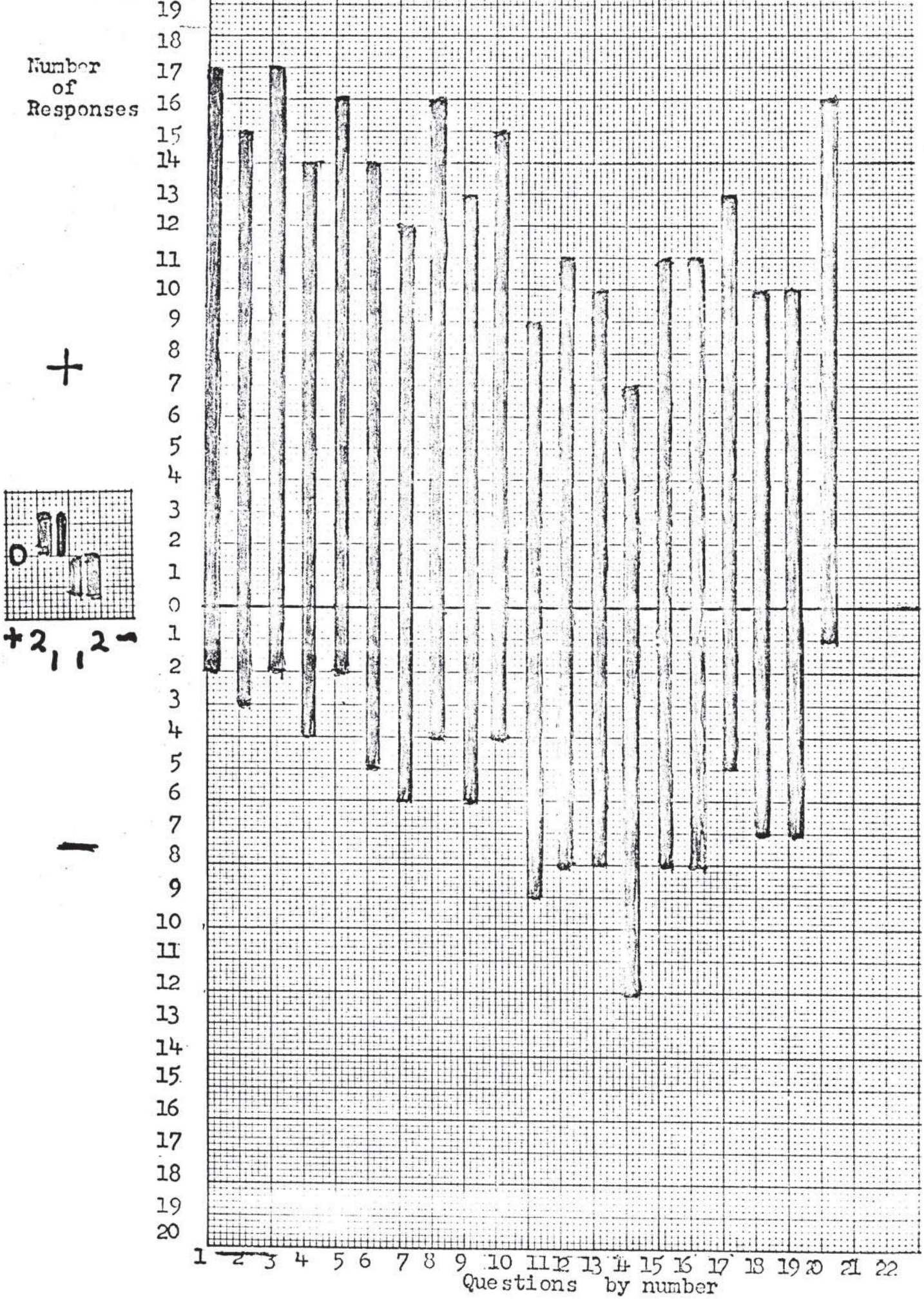
WEIGHT		STRONGLY AGREE (YES)	AGREE		DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE (NO)
NO	1.	2				17
YES	2.	15				3
YES	3.	17				2
NO	4.	4				19
NO	5.	2				15
YES	6.	13				5
YES	7.	12				6
NO	8.	4				16
YES	9.	13				6
YES	.DO.	15				4
YES	11.	9				9
YES	12	11				9
YES	13	10				8
YES	14	7				12
NO	15	8				11
YES	16	11				8
YES	17	13				5
NO	18	7				10
YES	19	10				7
YES	20	17				1

ABOUT YOUR COMPANY

PAGE 183

Distribution of Individual Scores




Number of Responses
+
−
0
+2, 1, 2−
19 18 17 16 15 14 13 12 11 10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22
Questions by number

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