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THE UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA

GRADUATE COLLEGE

IDENTIFYING TYPES OF BUREAUCRATIC PATTERNS IN AN ELEMENTARY SCHOOL

A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE FACULTY

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the

degree of

DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

BY

HENRY F. MORSE

Norman, Oklahoma

1972

IDENTIFYING TYPES OF BUREAUCRATIC

PATTERNS IN AN ELEMENTARY SCHOOL

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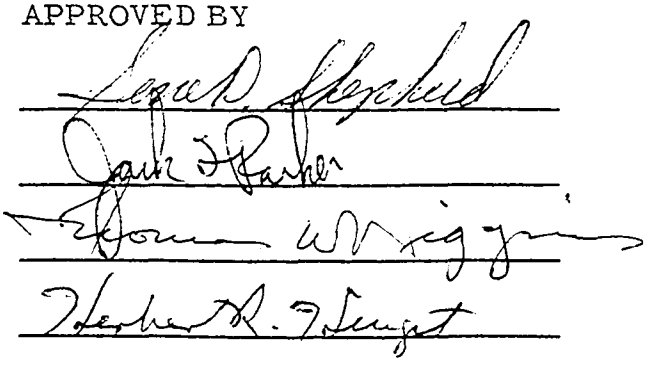

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The writer wishes to express his sincere gratitude and appreciation to those who have contributed to the development and completion of this study.

The writer is especially indebted to Dr. Gene D. Shepherd, chairman of the committee, for his careful guidance and supervision. Thanks and appreciation are expressed to Dr. Herbert R. Hengst, Dr. Jack F. Parker, and Dr. Thomas W. Wiggins for their interest and their kind and contributive assistance.

The deepest expression of gratitude and appreciation is reserved for the writer's wife, Donamarie, whose skill and care in typing the study constituted but a small portion of her unfailing encouragement, love, and support.

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IDENTIFYING TYPES OF BUREAUCRATIC PATTERNS IN AN ELEMENTARY SCHOOL

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Background and Need for the Study

"Bureaucracy is not a new phenomenon."[1] This statement by Blau is founded upon the fact that literature describes bureaucracy as functioning in some rudimentary forms in early Egypt, Rome, and China. The phenomenon of change predates the history of man. So it is that two ancient phenomena, change and bureaucracy, have combined to cast a giant shadow of influence over today's process of education--in an era when, according to Harris, "The 'in' word nowadays in education is 'new'."[2]

Suffice to say, ours is a rapidly-changing civilization--we are in what Boulding calls the great transition.[3] The sheer number of people produce

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[1]Peter M. Blau, Bureaucracy In Modern Society (New York: Random House, 1956), p. 20.

[2]Ben M. Harris, "New Leadership and New Responsibilities for Human Involvement," Educational Leadership, XXVI (May, 1969), p. 739.

[3]Kenneth E. Boulding, "The Great Transition," in Controversy In American Education, ed. by Harold Full (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1967), pp. 14-25.

nations of enormous size and complexity. The organizations, wrought by change, needed to deal with the questions of gigantic size and population are, themselves, complex and large in size. Merton and others contend that "The growth of bureaucracy, both public and private, is widely recognized as one of the major social trends of our time."[4] Blau says: "...the trend toward bureaucratization has greatly accelerated during the last century. In contemporary society bureaucracy has become a dominant institution, indeed, the institution epitomizes the modern era."[5]

Because education reflects, in great part, the society that supports it, its structure has become bureaucratized. Coleman, in analyzing today's urban-school situation, states that "Schools are large administrative bureaucracies, even in medium-sized cities."[6] Page uttered essentially the same thoughts, "...bureaucracy's features mark more and more areas of modern life, including, for example, many associations devoted to education...."[7] The following observation is made by Hartley:

Two of the most pronounced recent trends in the administrative

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[4]Robert K. Merton, and others, ed., Reader in Bureaucracy (3rd ed.; Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1963), p. 11.

[5]Blau, Society, p. 20.

[6]James C. Coleman, "Education And Urbanism," Education And Urban Society, I (November, 1968), p. 7.

[7]Charles H. Page, "Foreward," in Bureaucracy In Modern Society by Blau, p. 5.

> organization of public schools are the reduction in the total number of school districts in the United States and the increased specialization within the administrative offices. Consolidation and other factors trimmed the figure from 117,000 in 1940 to fewer than 20,000 operating public school districts in less than three decades. The reorganization and merging of local schools, often spurred on by state mandates and financial incentives, resulted in a net loss in the number of schools but it also produced a sharp increase in the size and bureaucratic characteristics of many of the remaining districts.[8]

It is argued that the image being projected by education consists of components that have been described as the basic characteristics of bureaucratic organization--"specialization, a hierarchy of authority, a system of rules, and impersonality."[9] A seeming paradox to this image looms when one is continually confronted in education circles with such terms as "involvement," "humanizing," and "actualization." Superimposed upon this apparent paradox is, as Gouldner describes it, "...the emotional cargo that the term 'bureaucracy' usually hauls along with it."[10] Hall has warned that "...too often organizations have been labeled 'bureaucratic' ...when little evidence has been presented that they are in fact bureaucratic."[11] Hall goes on to say, "Bureaucracy in general...may be

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[8]Harry J. Hartley, Educational Planning-Programming-Budgeting (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1968), pp. 182-83.

[9]Blau, Society, p. 19.

[10]Alvin W. Gouldner, Patterns of Industrial Bureaucracy (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1954), p. 9.

[11]Richard Hall, "The Concept of Bureaucracy: An Empirical Assessment," The American Journal Of Sociology, LXIX (July, 1963), p. 32.

viewed as a matter of degree, rather than of kind."[12] Paradoxically, Parsons had predated Hall's statement with the following observation: "...there has been a tendency to think of 'bureaucracy' as a kind of monolithic entity which can vary in degree of development but not significantly in type."[13] Thus, one can glean from but a cursory view of the literature that relevant questions are inherent in the education-bureaucracy relationship.

"One might ask why we need leaders when we have bureaucracies.... It permits ordinary men to take crucial roles in organizations and to perform in ways that are adequate to keep things going."[14] The hierarchical design of authority--characteristic of bureaucracy--produces various positions of leadership. It is generally accepted that bureaucratic authority ideally resides in the office rather than in the individual performing an official role. Accordingly, various obligations and privileges inhere in varying leadership-levels. The writing of Weber contains the thought that administration is the exercise of control. Etzioni suggests,

The power of an organization to control its members rests

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[12]Ibid., p. 37.

[13]Talcott Parsons, "Some Ingredients of a General Theory of Formal Organization," in Administrative Theory in Education, ed. by Andrew W. Halpin (Danville, Illinois: The Interstate Printers and Publishers, Inc., 1958), p. 70.

[14]Nevitt Sanford, "On Filling a Role and on Being a Man: Leadership for Improved Conditions for Learning and Research," in In Search of Leaders, ed. by G. Kerry Smith (Washington, D. C.: American Association for Higher Education, 1967), p. 11.

> either in specific positions (department head), a person (a persuasive man), or a combination of both (a persuasive department head). ... An individual whose power is chiefly derived from his organizational power is referred to as an 'official.' An individual whose ability to control others is chiefly personal is referred to as an 'informal leader.' One who commands both positional and personal power is a 'formal leader.'[15]

The elementary-school principalship is an example of a hierarchical position. Its occupant may be, at most, a formal leader but is, at the least, an official leader.

Anderson has proposed that the school official may resort to one or a combination of methods of control over other school personnel; 1) direct supervision; 2) extensive professional training; 3) performance measures; and 4) rules.[16]

> Most compelling of all of the administrative mechanisms used to control individual behavior is the formal authority which is articulated through a body of bureaucratic rules. These rules, important structural variables within the organization, are used extensively to direct and control actions of subordinates by making explicit approved attitudes and behavior. They also impersonalize and make legitimate the exercise of authority by superiors and protect the organization and its members from outside influences which might prove inimical to the organizational endeavor. In short, rules become the bearers of organizational authority for the institution.[17]

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[15]Amitai Etzioni, Modern Organizations (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1964), p. 61.

[16]James G. Anderson, Bureaucracy In Education (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1968), p. viii.

[17]Ibid.

The bureaucratic organization is ordered by rules, regulations, and policies; consequently a better understanding of the school bureaucracy and its administration dictates perforce a better understanding of its rules and regulations.

Reflecting Parson's challenge to think of bureaucracy as capable of varying in type, Gouldner constructed a model of three patterns of bureaucracy.[18] Gouldner directed inquiry into the problems and tensions evoked by bureaucratization--his inquiry focused upon the functions of bureaucratic rules. He was guided in his study by the theoretical framework of bureaucracy devised by Weber. Gouldner's study was made in an industrial setting--he examined rules and programs within the plant and contrasted them with each other, "noting the variations that were thereby revealed."[19] Three distinct patterns of bureaucracy were found to be evident through an analysis of the part rules play in the operation of the organization. The following synopsis is based upon the findings of Gouldner:

Functions of Bureaucratic Rules

A. The explication function:

> ...rules comprise a functional equivalent for direct, personally given orders. Since the rules are also more carefully expressed [than are orders] the obligations they impose may be less ambiguous than a hastily worded personal command.

---

[18]Gouldner, Bureaucracy.

[19]Ibid., p. 182.

> ...the rules explicate the worker's task while on the other [hand], they shape and specify his relationships to his superior.
>
> ...the rules serve to narrow the subordinates 'area of discretion.' The subordinates now have fewer options concerning what they may or may not do, and the area of 'privilege' is crowded out by the growing area of 'obligation.'[20]

B. The screening function:

> ...they provide a substitute for the personal repetition of orders by a supervisor.
>
> ...the rules provide the foreman with an impersonal crutch for his authority, screening the superiority of his power which might otherwise violate the norm of equality. Instead, equality presumably prevails because, 'like everyone else, he too, is bound by the rules...'
>
> The screening function of the rules would seem, therefore, to work in two directions at once. First, it impersonally bolsters a supervisor's claim to authority without compelling him to employ an embarrassing and debatable legitimation in terms of his personal superiority. Conversely, it permits workers to accept managerial claims to deference without committing them to a merely personal submission to the supervisor that would betray their self-image as 'any man's equal.'[21]

C. The remote control function:

> Administrators could 'tell at a glance' whether rules...were being followed. In part, then, the existence of general rules was a necessary adjunct to a 'spot check' system; they facilitated 'control from a distance' by those in the higher and more remote reaches of the organization.[22]

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[20] Ibid., pp. 162-64.

[21] Ibid., pp. 164-66.

[22] Ibid., pp. 166-68.

D. The punishment-legitimating function:

> Bureaucratic rules... serve to legitimate the utilization of punishments. They do so because the rules constitute statements in advance of expectations.
>
> ...the establishment of a rule explicating an obligation is frequently accompanied by a specific statement of the punishment, i.e., another rule specifying the punishment which will result if the first rule is violated.[23]

E. The leeway function:

> ...the rhythmic quality with which rules were enforced. Sometimes demands for rigorous conformance to a rule would be made, but would later lapse into periods of disinterest when the rules were ignored or only fitfully observed. By a strange paradox, formal rules gave supervisors something with which they could 'bargain' in order to secure informal cooperation from workers. The rules were the 'chips' to which the Company staked the supervisors and which they could use to play the game; they carved out a 'right' which, should supervisors wish to, they could 'stand upon.' In effect, then, formal bureaucratic rules served as a control device not merely because they provided a legitimating framework for the allocation of punishments, but also because they established a punishment which could be withheld. By installing a rule, management provided itself with an instrument which was valuable even if was not used; the rules were serviceable because they created something which could be given up as well as given use.[24]

F. The apathy-preserving function:

> ...rules actually contributed to the preservation of work apathy. Just as the rules facilitated punishment, so, too, did they define the behavior which could permit punishment to be escaped. The rules served as a specification of a minimum level of acceptable

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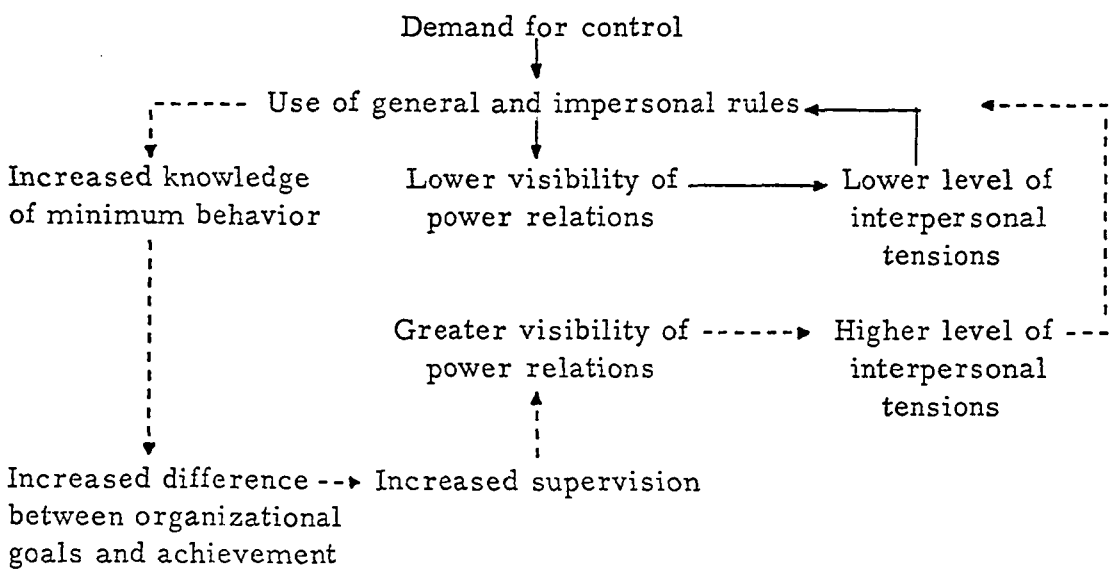
[23] Ibid., pp. 168-72.

[24] Ibid., pp. 172-74.

> performance. It was therefore possible for the worker to remain apathetic, for he now knew just how little he could do and still remain secure. Thus bureaucratic rules may be functional for subordinates, as well as for superiors; they permit 'activity' without 'participation;' they enable an employee to work without being emotionally committed to it.[25]

Gouldner contends that rules serve both a tension-reducing role and a tension-defense role. March and Simon commented on Gouldner's idea concerning rules in the following manner, "...he attempts to show how a control technique designed to maintain the equilibrium of a subsystem disturbs the equilibrium of a larger system, with a subsequent feedback on the subsystem."[26] As adapted from Gouldner's model, the dynamics of the situation appear below:



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[25] Ibid., pp. 174-76.

[26] James G. March and Herbert A. Simon, Organizations (5th printing; New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., Publishers, 1964), p. 44.

Emanating from Gouldner's analysis of rules as they applied within the organization, three types of bureaucratic patterns were identified. "In an effort to empirically bracket off those aspects of bureaucracy that induced tensions, three types of bureaucratic patterns were described: i.e., the 'mock,' 'representative,' and 'punishment-centered' forms. These differed according to whether or not they enforced the rules, and the manner in which they did so."[27] Gouldner summarizes the defining characteristics or symptoms of the three patterns as follows:

1) Mock Bureaucracy:

   (a) Rules are neither enforced by management nor obeyed by workers.
   (b) Usually entails little conflict between the two groups.
   (c) Joint violation and evasion of rules is buttressed by the informal sentiments of the participants.

2) Representative Bureaucracy:

   (a) Rules are both enforced by management and obeyed by workers.
   (b) Generates a few tensions, but little overt conflict.
   (c) Joint support for rules buttressed by informal sentiments, mutual participation, initiation, and education of workers and management.

3) Punishment-Centered Bureaucracy:

   (a) Rules either enforced by workers or management, and evaded by the other.
   (b) Entails relatively great tension and conflict.
   (c) Enforced by punishment and supported by the informal sentiments of either workers or management.[28]

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[27]Gouldner, Bureaucracy, pp. 242-43.

[28]Ibid., p. 217.

The work of Gouldner has served as a guide for studies of industrial bureaucracy; his findings have been cited in writings concerned with organization and leader behavior. Recently, papers and books concerned with the topic of education have made increasing reference to the patterns described by Gouldner. Two dissertations report the study of the bureaucratic environment at the secondary-school level.[29] Both dissertation writers found that the patterns proposed by Gouldner were identifiable in the secondary-school setting and can serve to offer further understanding of the administrative process. This investigator found no evidence in the literature that Gouldner's patterns of bureaucracy have been systematically explored at the elementary-school level.

Today's elementary school is buffeted by mounting pressures--the roles of principal and teacher are rapidly changing and in need of greater understanding. School systems are displaying evidence of greater bureaucratization, and individual schools reflect their larger system's image. There is a need for further study of the bureaucratization of the public schools--a particular void appears at the elementary-school level. "If ...we are indeed living in an epoch of 'the bureaucratization of the

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[29]Arthur R. Dermer, "A Study Of The Significant Variables Relating To Union And Administrative Behavior In An Educational Bureaucracy" (unpublished Ed. D. dissertation, New York University, 1968).

Bernard A. Fox, "The Application Of Gouldner's Theory of Bureaucracy To The Bureaucratic Behavior Of A Principal Operating Under A Union Contract From The Perception Of The Principal" (unpublished Ed. D. dissertation, New York University, 1968).

world,' then it may well be that we have all the more need for theoretical tools which will point up distinctions among bureaucracies and bureaucrats."[30]

Statement of the Problem

Assumptions and Rationale

The elementary school is bureaucratically organized and promises to become more so in the future, thus increasing the likelihood of tension inducing situations due to the element of bureaucratic control. The widespread appeal of the bureaucratic structure is evidenced by the multitude of institutions which have adopted its administrative procedures. Weber foresaw the continuous advance of bureaucracy as inevitable due to its "technical superiority" over all other forms of organization. The institutions of education are generally acknowledged to be among those bureaucratically organized--suffice to say the interaction of influence between the organizations and the professionals within them are less than fully understood. Rapid changes are occurring at all levels of formal education--the elementary school being no exception. Bureaucracy offers one means by which the elementary-school situation may be systematically viewed. Endemic to a coordinated effort to achieve organizational goals in a changing environment is the element of bureaucratic control. One recognized method of bureaucratic control over individuals is achieved through the use of rules,

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[30]Gouldner, Bureaucracy, p. 182.

regulations, and policies. Griffiths explains,

> When an administrator attempts to achieve a goal he takes precautions to ensure that the people in an organization act in ways that will gain the goal. This is often called control. The administrator, further, would like to have the people feel 'good' while they function in a prescribed manner. This is called maintaining a low level of interpersonal tension. He would also like to keep the visibility of power relations low and so relies on the use of general and impersonal rules rather than on confronting employees personally.[31]

Studies of bureaucratic rules and their attendant functions and dysfunctions have led some investigators to seek varying types of bureaucracies--distinctions in patterns of bureaucracy based upon the initiation and use of rules. Gouldner has described three types of industrial bureaucratic-patterns that vary in their tendency to induce tensions. Such a basis served as the focus for this study--the identification of patterns of bureaucracy at the elementary-school level based upon an analysis of rules and their uses in the ongoing activities of the school. Anderson arranged school rules under three headings--1) behavioral, norms that pertain to a teacher's actions both inside and outside of school; 2) administrative, concerned with a teacher's relationship to the school and his superiors; 3) instructional, concerned with a teacher's relationship to students in instructional matters--which served to order the analysis of rules.

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[31]Daniel E. Griffiths, "The Nature and Meaning of Theory," in Behavioral Science and Educational Administration, ed. by Daniel E. Griffiths, Sixty-third Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, Part II (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964), p. 109.

The problem was stated in the form of the question: "What is the operational status of the elementary school as it relates to Gouldner's notion of bureaucratic patterns?"

Purpose

It was the purpose of this investigation to examine and compare Gouldner's model of three types of bureaucratic patterns at the elementary-school level. The basic question posed was, "Can the three types of bureaucratic patterns--mock, representative, and punishment-centered--described by Gouldner and identified through an analysis of rules and their uses be found to exist in the operation of the elementary school?"

The following ancillary questions were explored:

1. Which type of bureaucratic pattern as described by Gouldner can be observed most often in the conduct of the organizational affairs of the elementary school?

2. Rules belonging to what particular category (instructional, behavioral, or administrative) will be found to appear most often in the types of bureaucratic patterns described by Gouldner?

3. Can types of bureaucratic patterns be identified that do not fit any of the types described by Gouldner?

Procedure Used in the Study

Type of Research

A descriptive type of research was used for the purposes of this investigation--more specifically, an exploratory field study was conducted. Kerlinger explains that field studies are "ex post facto scientific inquiries aimed at discovering the relations and interactions among sociological, psychological, and educational variables in real social structures."[32] Katz is cited by Kerlinger as stating that the exploratory type of field study is concerned with "what is" rather than predicting relations to be found.[33] It is stated that of all types of studies the field study is the most realistic--it is the closest to real life. The data used in this study consisted of 1) observed activities and interactions of administrative and teaching personnel of the cooperating elementary school as they pertained to rules, regulations, and policies; 2) responses to questions needed to clarify observations; and 3) printed and duplicated materials that pertain to rules, regulations, and/or policies obtained from the cooperating school and school system.[34]

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[32]Fred N. Kerlinger, Foundations of Behavioral Research (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1967), p. 387.

[33]Ibid., p. 388.

[34]The term "rules" will, throughout the remainder of this study, refer to rules, regulations, and policies.

Source for the Data Collection

A large, suburban school district with rules (rules, regulations, and policies) contained in a written handbook was invited to serve as the cooperating district. One, large elementary-school within the district, that had many of its unique rules included in written, weekly bulletins, was invited to serve as the cooperating school. Since an objective of descriptive research is the attainment of accurate information concerning the group at hand, extended exposure to one situation more clearly focused information pertinent to the study. The use of but one school enhanced the opportunity for the investigator to gain and maintain much-needed rapport with the teachers and principal involved in the study.

Data Gathering

The data-gathering procedures used in this investigation approximated those used by the anthropologist as described by Rubenstein. "(1) Obtaining background information on the organization being studied; (2) making field notes and keeping the notebook; (3) gaining rapport with the people to be studied; (4) ...interview construction and administration; and (5) direct observation of organizational behavior."[35] The following paragraphs describe how the aforementioned data-gathering procedures

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[35]Albert H. Rubenstein, "Field Study Techniques," in Some Theories of Organization, ed. by Albert H. Rubenstein and Chadwick J. Haberstroh (Homewood, Illinois: Richard D. Irwin, Inc., and The Dorsey Press, 1966), p. 690.

were adapted to this study:

1. Obtaining background information: Background information concerning the organization being studied was designed to allow the investigator to get as close as possible to the "real" phenomena being studied. The investigator sought not to avoid the obvious and basic things about the organization. Questions used as a guide for the search of background information concerning the cooperating district and school were provided as follows:

> Who runs the organization? Who are the important people in it?
> How are duties divided in the organization? Who is who and who does what?
> What is the history of the organization? How did it get to its present stage of development?
> What significant organizational events have occurred?
> Apart from its formal function, what kind of organization is it in comparison with other, similar organizations?[36]

Of particular importance was the search for information concerning district and building rules. Present handbooks, bulletins, meeting notes and minutes were viewed for the purpose of arranging rules under three headings--behavioral, administrative, and instructional. Anderson developed such a plan,

> Behavioral rules include all the norms that pertain to the teacher's personal actions both inside and outside of the school--smoking in the school, maternity leave, and discussion of school policies. Administrative rules are concerned with the teacher and his relationship to the school and to his superiors. They cover arrival and departure times, personal telephone calls

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[36] Ibid., p. 691.

> during the school day, deadlines for reporting grades, extra duties, handling of student absences and late arrivals, student discipline, attendance at faculty meetings, and extracurricular assignments. Pedagogical rules define the teacher's relationship to students in instructional matters. They include teaching methods, lesson plan preparation, discussion of controversial topics in class, selection of textbooks, academic preparation required for teaching, grading standards, home assignments for students, curriculum selection, supervision of instruction and testing of students.[37]

The information derived from this aspect of the background search served to focus the observational process.

2. Making field notes: The investigator's observations of activities and interactions of administrator and teacher as they were related to rules were recorded in the form of field notes. An added source for field notes was the investigator's questions and the resultant responses needed to clarify observations and/or identify non-written rules. The field notes were identified as to source, time of collection, category of rules, and surrounding circumstances. They were inserted chronologically into a field notebook.

3. Gaining rapport: The selection of a cooperating school was made with the importance of gaining rapport with the people being studied held prominently in mind. The investigator made every effort to insure that his presence was unobtrusive and accepted.

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[37]Anderson, Bureaucracy In Education, p. 53.

4. Interview: Blau has emphasized that the field situation is rife with serendipity, consequently, questions needed to clarify observations were posed in the manner of an informal interview.[38] The questions asked and the responses gained were recorded in the field notebook.

5. Direct observation: Clearly, the most difficult and important of the data-gathering procedures used in this investigation was that of direct observation. Gold has described four roles that one might assume in conducting field observations.[39] The roles range from that of complete participant to complete observer. Between these extremes, Gold has placed the participant-as-observer and the observer-as-participant. The role used in this investigation best fits that of "observer-as-participant." In essence, the investigator asked questions in order to clarify what was being or what had been observed--this procedure corresponds with what Blau terms active observation. The investigator observed the ongoing activities of the school in order to determine how the administrator and teachers related to behavioral, administrative, and instructional rules. The activities and interactions of the administrator and teachers as they related to the aforementioned rules were observed and then described in the field notebook--later to be examined and compared with the Gouldner model of bureaucratic patterns. The investigator devoted four school-weeks

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[38]Blau, Society.

[39]Raymond L. Gold, "Roles In Sociological Field Observations," Social Forces, XXXVI (March, 1958), pp. 217-23.

to the direct observation of organizational behavior. The role of observer-as-participant was assumed by the investigator for a period of no less than eight-hours-per-day for the twenty days devoted to direct observation.

Treatment of the Data

The observations of activities and interactions of the principal and/or the teachers as they related to the rules intended to order and control the elementary school and the responses to questions needed to clarify observations were examined and compared with the types of bureaucratic patterns described by Gouldner. The data were contained in the field notebook. A comparison of the data with Gouldner's model of bureaucratic types was intended to enable the investigator to identify those bureaucratic patterns that appeared in the operation of the cooperating school. Data factors associated with the three patterns of bureaucracy were identified through the following criteria:

1. Who usually initiates the rules?
2. Who usually enforces the rules?
3. Whose values legitimate the rules?
4. Whose values are violated by enforcement of the rules?
5. What are the standard explanations of deviation from the rules?
6. What effects do the rules have upon the status of the participants?

7. What functions are being served by the rules?[40]

Case studies were prepared from which such factors were gleaned and described. Ranniger and others explain that "Cases are written reports of actual happenings."[41] "The case...is a slice of reality that provides an almost unlimited opportunity for discussion and analysis...."[42]

Riley describes the case study method as a procedure that "...can be highly effective, especially for exploratory research, in developing a remarkably full understanding of the social system under study."[43]

Definition and Use of Terms

Activity: The term "activity" is used by Homans as an element of behavior useful in guiding observation. The "...things people do...movements of the muscles of man...."[44] He uses such words as "sawing," "sits," "drinking," and "smoking" to exemplify the concept.

Bureaucracy: Bureaucracy, as used in this study, refers to a form of administrative organization--the term is devoid of commonly assumed negative connotations.

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[40]Gouldner, Bureaucracy, pp. 216-17.

[41]Bill J. Ranniger, E. Wailand Bessent and John T. Greer, Elementary School Administration: A Casebook (Scranton, Pennsylvania: International Textbook Company, 1969), p. 1.

[42]Ibid.

[43]Matilda White Riley, Sociological Research: A Case Approach (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1963), p. 75.

[44]George C. Homans, The Human Group (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1950), p. 34.

Gouldner's Patterns of Bureaucracy: Gouldner identified three patterns of industrial bureaucracy based upon an analysis of rules and the parts they play in the actual operation of the organization. Gouldner's model is designed as a typology which provides "clues concerning the specific organizational characteristics which generate tensions and arouse complaints."[45] The patterns of bureaucracy are of three types:

1. Mock Bureaucracy:

   (a) Rules are neither enforced by management nor obeyed by workers.
   (b) Usually entails little conflict between the two groups.
   (c) Joint violation and evasion of rules is buttressed by the informal sentiments of the participants.

2. Representative Bureaucracy:

   (a) Rules are both enforced by management and obeyed by workers.
   (b) Generates a few tensions, but little overt conflict.
   (c) Joint support for rules buttressed by informal sentiments, mutual participation, initiation, and education of workers and management.

3. Punishment-Centered Bureaucracy:

   (a) Rules either enforced by workers or management, and evaded by the other.
   (b) Entails relatively great tension and conflict.
   (c) Enforced by punishment and supported by the informal sentiments of either workers or management.[46]

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[45]Gouldner, Bureaucracy, p. 215.

[46]Ibid., p. 217.

Interaction: Homans' definition of "interaction" is used in this study--"...both verbal and nonverbal communication."[47] "When we refer to the fact that some unit of activity of one man follows, or, if we like the word better, is stimulated by some unit of activity of another ...then we are referring to 'interaction'."[48]

Rules: As used in this study, the term "rules" will refer to rules, regulations, and policies intended to order and control the operation of the elementary school. Rules may be written or spoken--they have been categorized under three headings:

1. behavioral--norms that pertain to the teacher's personal actions both inside and outside of the school.

2. administrative--concerned with the teacher's relationship to the school and his superiors.

3. instructional--concerned with the teacher's relationship to students in instructional matters.

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[47]Homans, Human Group, p. 37.

[48]Ibid., p. 36.

CHAPTER II

RELATED LITERATURE

Bidwell has stated that "Few students of organizations have turned their attention to schools, and few students of schools have been sensitive to their organizational attributes."[1] While acceptance of such a statement depends upon one's perception of the term "few," a perusal of the literature suggests that increasing numbers of students of schools are becoming sensitive to schools' organizational attributes. Varied approaches are being employed to analyze the school organization; one major approach utilizes the model of bureaucracy.

The review of literature as presented in this study was organized into three categories; that related to Weber's ideal-type construction of the bureaucratic organization; that related to general works; and that related to the school as a bureaucracy.

The Ideal Type

The term "bureaucracy" lays claim to being ambiguous in meaning.

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[1] Charles E. Bidwell, "The School as a Formal Organization," in Handbook of Organizations, ed. by James G. March (Chicago: Rand McNally and Company, 1965), p. 972.

It is popularly defined in a derogatory sense as all that is wasteful and frustrating in the modern organization. In the non-derogatory sense it "refers to principles of organization that find varying degrees of expression in a wide variety of organizations."[2] Stone explains that the literal meaning of the word is "rule by the office or rule by officials."[3] The crux of the matter is that bureaucracy is a complicated phenomenon not appropriately described by one phrase or one sentence. Merton and others have stated that there exists no well-defined, single conceptual scheme for understanding that may be referred to as "the theory of bureaucracy."[4] "Nevertheless, categories for description and analysis, and empirical generalizations connecting these categories have been developed, and these prove helpful in analyzing the structure of bureaucracy...."[5]

The pioneer work in the study of bureaucracy, which has influenced almost all subsequent studies of the phenomenon, was that of Weber. His interest in bureaucracy was stimulated by events occurring in his Germany at about the turn of the century. His great concern with and analysis of

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[2]Robert C. Stone, "Bureaucracy," in A Dictionary Of The Social Sciences, ed. by Julius Gould and William L. Kolb (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1964), p. 61.

[3]Ibid.

[4]Robert K. Merton and others, Reader in Bureaucracy (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1952), p. 17.

[5]Ibid.

authority and control spawned his description of bureaucracy.

> Weber saw organizational forms evolving from a primitive, sacred, non-specialized kind of society at one extreme toward a complex, secular, associational, contractual, and highly specialized kind of society at the other extreme. In this context bureaucratic behavior in one form or another is inherent in every type of organization where there are complex administrative problems to be resolved. Accordingly, bureaucracy is not to be confined to political and business institutions as is commonly assumed; it is to be found in all human institutions--economic, religious, political, cultural, recreational--and... in all educational endeavors.[6]

Weber applied the concept of the "ideal type" to his analysis of bureaucracy and his development of the bureaucratic model. Weber's formulations which have served as well-springs for most studies of bureaucracy must be viewed through his use of the ideal-type concept. Blau and Scott write:

> Weber analyzes bureaucratic organizations not empirically but as an ideal type. He does not characterize the 'average' administrative organization; rather, he seeks to bring together those characteristics that are distinctive of this type. Just as we can imagine physicians constructing a model of the perfectly healthy man, so Weber attempts to characterize a perfectly bureaucratized organization.[7]

The ideal type is likened to a Utopia by Parsons. He explains

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[6]Mozell Hill, "Toward A Taxonomy Of Bureaucratic Behavior In Educational Organizations," in Developing Taxonomies of Organizational Behavior in Education Administration, ed. by Daniel E. Griffiths (Chicago: Rand McNally and Company, 1969), p. 129.

[7]Peter M. Blau and W. Richard Scott, Formal Organizations: A Comparative Approach (San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Company, 1962), p. 33.

that the only positive characterization of the ideal type given by Weber is that it is an abstraction from the concrete, a group of elements forming a unified conceptual pattern.[8] Following Parson's interpretation, Hill states, "...the concept is a heuristic device, a methodological tool, derived by abstracting the most characteristic aspects of all known modern organizations."[9]

Presthus, in explaining his use of the ideal type in relation to his work with big organizations, offers the following:

> There is an analytical fiction known as the 'ideal type' concept that recognizes the diversity of big organizations yet enables one to study them with the hope of building generalizations. Max Weber called this tool a 'generalized rubric within which an indefinite number of particular cases may be classified.' By this conception, it is not essential to work out an ironclad definition of 'big organization.' As the term suggests, an 'ideal type' is actually an illusion, a sort of Platonic ideal or composite of all cases in a given class....[10]

Bendix, while explaining that the conditions of the modern state enable the closest approximation to achieving the attributes specified in the ideal type, states that Weber emphasized that "an ideal type simplifies and exaggerates the empirical evidence in the interest of conceptual

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[8]Talcott Parsons, The Structure of Social Action (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1949), p. 603.

[9]Hill, "Toward A Taxonomy Of Bureaucratic Behavior in Educational Organizations," p. 129.

[10]Robert Presthus, The Organizational Society: An Analysis And A Theory (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1962), p. 14.

clarity."[11] Thus, the ideal type will never be found to exist in total in a concrete situation. Hall, too, states that the characteristics possessed by the ideal type are emphasized tendencies of concrete structures.[12]

Parsons' commentary is, perhaps, the most thorough. He endeavors to outline what the ideal type is not:

> ...Weber is quite clear what it is not: (1) It is not a hypothesis, in the sense that it is a proposition about concrete reality which is concretely verifiable, and to be accepted in this sense as true if verified. In contrast to this sense of concreteness, it is abstract. (2) It is not a description of reality if by this is meant a concretely existing thing or process to which it corresponds. In this sense also it is abstract. (3) It is not an average (Gattungsbegriff, in one meaning) in the sense that we can say the average man weighs 150 pounds. This average is not an ideal type. (4) Nor, finally, is it a formulation of the concrete traits common to a class of concrete things, for instance in the sense that having beards is a trait common to men as distinct from women--this is a Gattungsbegriff in a second meaning.[13]

Parsons describes the ideal type as both abstract and general. He sees it as plotting a normatively ideal course as opposed to a concrete course of action. "But it does describe what Weber called an 'objectively

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[11]Reinhard Bendix, "Bureaucracy," in International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, ed. by David L. Sills (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1968), p. 207.

[12]Richard Hall, "The Concept of Bureaucracy: An Empirical Assessment," The American Journal Of Sociology, LXIX (July, 1963), p. 33.

[13]Parsons, Social Action, pp. 603-604.

possible' course of action."[14] While the ideal type contains no particular statements of fact, it does "involve a fixed relation between the values of the various variable elements involved."[15] Observed deviations from the rational ideal-type are termed irrational. Parsons quotes Weber: "by comparison with this (i.e. the ideal type) it is possible to understand the ways in which actual action is influenced by irrational factors of all sorts, such as affects and errors...."[16]

Lane, Corwin, and Monahan state that the purpose of the ideal type is to alert observers of bureaucratic organizations to certain characteristics such as rules, specialization, and hierarchy. They emphasize that the ideal type is not to be compared with reality, "rather it provides the criteria by which to compare different parts of the real world."[17] Empirical investigation will decide if bureaucracies exist in the form specified by the ideal type.

Commenting further, Lane, Corwin, and Monahan, seemingly ignoring Parsons' translation of Weber, opine: "Weber's stress on

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[14]Talcott Parsons, "Introduction," Max Weber, The Theory of Social and Economic Organization, trans. by A. M. Henderson and Talcott Parsons (6th ed.; New York: The Free Press, 1969), p. 13.

[15]Ibid.

[16]Ibid., p. 15.

[17]Willard R. Lane, Ronald G. Corwin, and William G. Monahan, Foundations Of Educational Administration: A Behavioral Analysis (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1968), pp. 187-88.

rationality... tends to obscure the facts of irrationality; the emphasis on rules directs the observations away from conflict; the emphasis on the public goals of efficiency has led to the assumption that efficiency is the only goal of bureaucracy...."[18] They caution that the ideal type should be used with discrimination and is most meaningful when used as a standard to compare observed situations.

Blau and Scott maintain that Weber's ideal type is an admixture of a conceptual scheme and a set of hypotheses.[19] As a conceptual scheme, Weber emphasized what he considered the key elements for understanding the bureaucratic organization--his way of defining the phenomenon to be studied. Weber, report Blau and Scott, said in effect that bureaucratic organizations will exhibit identifiable combinations of characteristics. Such a conceptual scheme provides important frameworks for analysis and research.

While Parsons quoted Weber as saying the ideal type was not a hypothesis, Blau and Scott contend that it contains a series of hypotheses.

> Weber suggests that many of the characteristics attributed to bureaucracies are interrelated in particular ways; for example, specialization is said to promote expertness, the authority structure and the existence of formal rules are assumed to make vital contributions to the coordination of activities, and detachment is held to increase rationality. Further, Weber states

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[18] Ibid., p. 189.

[19] Blau and Scott, Formal Organizations, pp. 33-34.

> that these characteristics, and specifically, their combination function to maximize administrative efficiency. A careful reading of Weber indicates that he tends to view elements as 'bureaucratic' to the extent that they contribute to administrative efficiency. This contribution to efficiency appears to be the criterion of 'perfect' embodied in his ideal type.[20]

It has been held by some that the ideal type has contributed to the creation of organizational myths, that there is nothing ideal about bureaucracy, that its use as a model has served to prevent innovation, and that its concept should be abandoned because it ignores conditions of the modern organization. Yet, it remains that Weber's theoretical analysis of the principles of bureaucracy as perceived through the ideal type serves as the most logical and respected starting point for the study of bureaucracy.

General Works

A compact summary of Weber's conception of bureaucracy is presented by Merton:

> As Weber indicates, bureaucracy involves a clear-cut division of integrated activities which are regarded as duties inherent in the office. A system of differentiated controls and sanctions is stated in the regulations. The assignment of roles occurs on the basis of technical qualifications which are ascertained through formalized, impersonal procedures (e.g. examinations). Within the structure of hierarchically arranged authority, the activities of 'trained and salaried experts' are governed by general, abstract, clearly defined rules which preclude the necessity for the issuance of specific instructions for each

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[20] Ibid., p. 34.

> specific case. The generality of the rules requires the constant use of categorization, whereby individual problems and cases are classified on the basis of designated criteria and are treated accordingly. The pure type of bureaucratic official is appointed, either by a superior or through the exercise of impersonal competition, he is not elected. A measure of flexibility in the bureaucracy is attained by electing higher functionaries who presumably express the will of the electorate (e. g. a body of citizens or a board of directors).[21]

Merton not only concerns himself with what the bureaucratic structure attains through its proper function, but is equally concerned with its dysfunctions. In discussing rules and regulations he warns of overconformity:

> (1) An effective bureaucracy demands reliability of response and strict devotion to regulations. (2) Such devotion to the rules leads to their transformation into absolutes; they are no longer conceived as relative to a given set of purposes. (3) This interferes with ready adaptation under special conditions not clearly envisaged by those who drew up the general rules. (4) Thus, the very elements which conduce toward efficiency in general produce inefficiency in specific instances. Full realization of the inadequacy is seldom attained by members of the group who have not divorced themselves from the 'meanings' which the rules have for them. These rules in time become symbolic in cast, rather than strictly utilitarian.[22]

Hall reviewed the literature and identified six dimensions of bureaucracy with which to view organizations.[23] He considered the

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[21]Robert K. Merton, "Bureaucratic Structure And Personality," in Reader in Bureaucracy, ed. by Robert K. Merton and others (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1952), p. 362.

[22]Ibid., pp. 366-67.

[23]Richard Hall, "The Concept of Bureaucracy: An Empirical Assessment," The American Journal of Sociology, LXIX (July, 1963), pp. 32-40.

theoretical importance and frequency of citation of characteristics of bureaucracy as stated by the following authors: Weber, Friedrich, Merton, Udy, Heady, Parsons, Berger, Michels, and Dimock.

Hall's composite is as follows:

1. A division of labor based upon functional specialization
2. A well-defined hierarchy of authority
3. A system of rules covering the rights and duties of position incumbents
4. A system of procedures for dealing with work situations
5. Impersonality of interpersonal relations
6. Promotion and selection for employment based upon technical competence[24]

He concluded that, "...organizations are indeed composed of the commonly ascribed dimensions, but these dimensions are not necessarily all present to the same degree in actual organizations.[25] He contends that bureaucracy should be viewed as a matter of degree rather than of kind.

Gouldner conducted a study in industrial sociology whereby he investigated a factory using Weber's theory of bureaucracy as a guide.[26] He constructed case studies which directed inquiry into the tensions and problems evoked by bureaucratization. Documents, interviews, and direct observation were used to obtain empirical data. Gouldner focused upon the functions of rules within the bureaucratic setting. Through his study,

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[24]Ibid., p. 33.

[25]Ibid., p. 38.

[26]Alvin W. Gouldner, Patterns Of Industrial Bureaucracy (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1954).

Gouldner described three types of bureaucratic patterns: mock; representative; and punishment-centered.[27]

Another empirical study based upon direct observation, documents, and interviews was that conducted by Blau. He produced a case study of two, bureaucratic government-departments. "The inquiry focuses upon the interpersonal relations that developed in these two formal organizations and upon the ways in which these relations influenced operations."[28] Blau found it essential to determine which employee practices corresponded to official procedures and which practices did not. Blau used both the work of Weber and Merton to establish the foundation for his study--Weber's requirements for bureaucracy and Merton's functional analysis.

Peabody and Rourke condensed Blau's findings as follows: "Instances of overconformity and resistance to change, although sometimes enhanced by a dependence on hierarchical authority, were found to be alleviated by such factors as employment security, allegiance to work groups, high professional orientation, and changing organizational goals."[29]

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[27]A "Summary Of Factors Associated With The Three Patterns Of Bureaucracy" as presented by Gouldner is contained in the appendix of this study.

[28]Peter M. Blau, The Dynamics Of Bureaucracy: A Study Of Interpersonal Relations In Two Government Agencies (Revised Edition; Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1966), p. v.

[29]Robert L. Peabody and Francis E. Rourke, "Public Bureaucracies," in Handbook of Organizations, ed. by James G. March (Chicago: Rand McNally and Company, 1965), pp. 811-12.

Blau commented on the paradox of democracy and bureaucracy, describing them as two fundamentally different analytical types of social organization.

> While bureaucracy is not suited for deciding between alternative ends, it is better suited than democracy for implementing these decisions. Hence, the two forms of organization are complementary....
>
> The co-existence of democratic and bureaucratic institutions in a society...poses a paradox. Bureaucracies seem to be necessary for, and simultaneously incompatible with, modern democracy. In a mass society democracy depends on bureaucratic institutions, such as a complex machinery for electing representatives and efficient productive units that make a high standard of living for all people possible. Yet, by concentrating power in the hands of a few men in business and government, bureaucracies threaten to destroy democratic institutions.
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> Our democratic institutions originated at a time when bureaucracies were in a rudimentary stage and hence are not designed to cope with their control. To extend these institutions by developing democratic methods for governing bureaucracies is, perhaps, the crucial problem of our age.[30]

Thompson discussed the conflict between hierarchical authority and professional specialization.[31] In his view, the most evident characteristic of modern bureaucracy is an increasing distance between professional specialists and the incumbents of hierarchical position. The situation is rife with tension. The insecure bureaucratic office-holder, through his dedication to routine and procedure, resists change and becomes increasingly

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[30]Blau, Dynamics Bureaucracy, pp. 264-65.

[31]Victor A. Thompson, Modern Organization (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1961).

aloof. Thompson contends that while tension of this sort is a natural consequence of bureaucracy, it can be mediated by leadership steeped in human-relations skills.

Presthus conducted an analysis that was concerned with assessing the influence of social values and bureaucratic structures upon members of the big organizations diffused throughout our society. "More specifically, it attempts to define the patterns of individual accommodation that occur in the bureaucratic milieu."[32] In Presthus' inquiry the terms "big organizations" and "bureaucratic structures" are synonymous. He defined "big organization" as any bureaucratic system large enough to prevent face-to-face interpersonal relations among most of the system's members. He contends that all such organizations operate similarly. Presthus was influenced by Weber's description of bureaucracy and Merton's idea of functional analysis.

Presthus views big organizations as instruments of socialization "providing physical and moral substenance for their members and shaping their thoughts and behavior in countless ways."[33] He postulates that big organizations' impersonal, long-range objectives have dysfunctional, anxiety-producing results for their members. He distinguishes three personality types for adapting to the demands of the organizational society:

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[32]Robert V. Presthus, The Organizational Society: An Analysis And A Theory (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1962), p. 3.

[33]Ibid., p. 16.

upward-mobiles, indifferents, and ambivalents.

> The upward mobiles are those who react positively to the bureaucratic situation and succeed in it. The indifferents are the uncommitted majority who see their jobs as mere instruments to obtain off-work satisfactions. The ambivalents are a small, perpetually disturbed minority who can neither renounce their claims for status and power nor play the disciplined role that would enable them to cash in such claims.[34]

School and Bureaucracy

In 1965 Bidwell stated: "There is no existing study of the prevalence or incidence either of bureaucratic structures or processes in school systems or of their consequences for school-system operations. Nor has there been any adequate work on the interplay of bureaucratization and professionalism in schools...."[35] Bidwell laments the fact that few studies have followed the lead of Waller's Sociology of Teaching in viewing the school as a bureaucracy structured by modification. "...Waller was suggesting...that the intrinsic nature of teaching runs counter to the bureaucratic principle of school organization and that, paradoxically, to perform adequately in his office the teacher is forced to violate the rules of performance."[36]

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[34] Ibid., p. 15.

[35] Charles E. Bidwell, "The School as a Formal Organization," in Handbook of Organizations, ed. by James G. March (Chicago: Rand McNally and Company, 1965), p. 992.

[36] Ibid., p. 979.

Bidwell interprets Waller as viewing the school not only as an organization but also a small society. Waller argued that,

> the relations of students and school staffs center on conflict and mutual hostility. This forms the teaching staff in the school into a tightly knit 'fighting group' struggling to maintain order and motivation through the use of official and adult authority, mixed with efforts to penetrate the boundaries of the student group by personal warmth and responsiveness. The students also are formed into a 'fighting group,' that attempts to preserve its own way of life and to deflect or assimilate the demands of teachers.[37]

Thus, in Waller's analysis, school administrators are faced with two distinct social structures existing in the school society--the staff, centered on colleague interests, and the students, centered on childhood interests.

Bidwell concluded his interpretation of Waller in the following manner:

> Consequently, the school administrators, like teachers, must exercise primarily dominative authority and enforce teachers' compliance to rules and policies. To borrow Gouldner's terms..., the effect of the small society of the school, interacting with the school's vulnerability to its environment, is to push its formal structure in the direction of punishment-centered, rather than representative bureaucracy.[38]

Addressing themselves to the question of professional-employee role conflicts, Lane, Corwin, and Monahan reiterate the often-made statement that inconsistencies between professional and bureaucratic principles

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[37] Ibid., p. 979-80.

[38] Ibid., p. 980.

are responsible for tensions.[39] They chose three bureaucratic principles to serve as a point of departure for conceptualizing organizational role conflicts--1) standardization of work; 2) specialization of jobs; and 3) centralization of authority. They represent each principle as a separate continuum ranging in nature from more to less bureaucratic--refer to their table on the following page.

Lane, Corwin, and Monahan state that the varying arrangements of these bureaucratic principles in the school organization determine the degree of professionalism or bureaucratization displayed by teachers and administrators in their school relationships and interactions. They contend, also, that tensions vary in kind from organization to organization:

> ...group practice of medicine is characterized by a highly specialized but uncentralized form of bureaucracy. On the other hand, school systems probably do not differ from factories in degree of centralization, or even of standardization, but they differ fundamentally in level of specialization of their personnel. Therefore, because of these different configurations of bureaucratic principles, different types of tensions would be expected in schools, medical centers, and factories.[40]

Moeller investigated the influence of bureaucratic organization upon teachers' sense of power to affect policy within the school system.[41]

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[39]Willard R. Lane, Ronald G. Corwin, and William G. Monahan, Foundations Of Educational Administration: A Behavioral Analysis (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1968).

[40]Ibid., pp. 406-407.

[41]Gerald H. Moeller, "The Relationship Between Bureaucracy In School System Organization And Teachers' Sense Of Power," Dissertation Abstracts, XXIII (April-June, 1963), pp. 4589-4590.

Contrasts in the Bureaucratic- and Professional-Employee Principles of Organization[42]

Organizational Characteristics	Bureaucratic-Employee Expectations	Professional-Employee Expectations
Standardization		
Routine of Work	Stress on uniformity of clients' problems	Stress on uniqueness of clients' problems
Continuity of Procedure	Stress on records and files	Stress on research and change
Specificity of Rules	Rules stated as universals; and specific	Rules stated as alternatives; and diffuse
Specialization		
Basis of Division of Labor	Stress on efficiency of techniques; task orientation	Stress on achievement of goals; client orientation
Basis of Skill	Skill based primarily on practice	Skill based primarily on monopoly of knowledge
Authority		
Responsibility for Decision-Making	Decisions concerning application of rules to routine problems	Decisions concerning policy in professional matters and unique problems
Basis of Authority	Rules sanctioned by the public	Rules sanctioned by legally sanctioned professions
	Loyalty to the organization and to superiors	Loyalty to professional associations and clients
	Authority from office (position)	Authority from personal competence

[42]Lane, Corwin, and Monahan, Educational Administration, p. 406.

Twenty schools were rated by a panel of judges as to their degree of bureaucratization--the rating was based upon reputation. Teachers responded to a questionnaire which included a sense of power scale and indices designed to determine teachers' exposure to powerlessness-producing effects.

Moeller's major hypothesis was that bureaucratic structure would induce a sense of powerlessness in teachers. "Contrary to the hypothesis, teachers in bureaucratic systems were significantly higher in sense of power in all analyses of subgroups than were teachers in the less fully bureaucratic systems."[43] He concluded that bureaucratic structure seems to induce feelings of power in teachers because of bureaucracy's inherent predictability.

The contention that Weber's ideal-type model of bureaucracy has not been applied to various contemporary organizations, motivated Miller to investigate five public schools.[44] Miller offered ten hypotheses predicting close relationships among the variables expertise, authority, control, and legitimacy. He contends that Weber's original analysis of bureaucracy is useful for predicting behavior in the school organization. He interprets Weber as insisting that impersonality and rigidity are necessary elements of organization; Miller found these two elements

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[43]Moeller, Dissertation Abstracts, pp. 4589-4590.

[44]Jon Patterson Miller, "Relations Among Expertise, Authority, Control And Legitimacy In Weber's Model of Bureaucracy: Contemporary Evidence," Dissertation Abstracts, XXIX (January-March, 1969), p. 3236.

missing in the schools included in his study.

Anderson's study examined the contrasting functions of rules in the school bureaucracy.[45] A sample of ten junior high schools from a large metropolitan school district provided the data for his complex-designed examination of bureaucracy in education. He organized the rules of the school district into three categories: 1) behavioral, those rules that pertain to the teacher's personal actions; 2) administrative, those rules concerned with the teacher and his relationship to the school and his superiors; and 3) instructional, those rules related to the teacher's relationships to students in instructional matters. Behavioral, administrative, and instructional rules are viewed as patterns of administrative control with functional and dysfunctional ends. Anderson states that rules become the bearers of organizational authority.

In his study, Anderson found that the degree to which teachers were permitted to exercise discretion in instructional matters was related to their sex, tenure, and teaching experience. He found that rules served to make the imposition of hierarchical authority more tolerable to teachers--hence, rules appear to mediate authority conflict. He advocates investing a substantial amount of authority in the hands of teachers.

Sheppard based a study "upon the conceptual framework that organization of productive activities is essential to achievement of prescribed

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[45]James G. Anderson, Bureaucracy In Education (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1968).

goals, that goals of public education could be met within an organizational arrangement characteristic either of bureaucratic or professional orientation, but that the two create authority structures incompatible with one another."[46] Bureaucratic authority was defined by Sheppard as that in which final instructional decisions were made near or at the top of the organizational hierarchy. Professional authority was defined as that in which instructional decision-making was made near the instructional task--principals, department chairmen, and teachers were considered occupants of offices near the instructional task.

A questionnaire was used by Sheppard to determine elementary and secondary teachers' perceptions of current and preferred authority structures. Among his conclusions were:

> 1. Elementary and secondary teachers uniformly perceived existing authority structures as more nearly bureaucratic.
> 2. Secondary teachers perceived preferred structures as more nearly professional, and elementary teachers view them as more nearly bureaucratic.
> 3. Teachers preferred classroom and faculty matters to be within the professional structure and educational policy and fiscal matters to be within the bureaucratic.[47]

Dempsey attempted to explain the part that the clash between bureaucratic structure and teacher professionalism contributed to conflict within

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[46]Bertram F. Sheppard, "Differences In Professional And Bureaucratic Self-Perception Of Public School Teachers," Dissertation Abstracts, XXX (November, 1969), p. 1794.

[47]Ibid.

a public school system.[48] He assessed the degree of bureaucracy existing in a public school system through the use of Corwin's "Measures of Bureaucratic Characteristics." He then administered a professional-orientation questionnaire to the teachers of the system. The construction of case studies enabled him to identify, describe, and analyze areas of conflict.

Dempsey wrote: "It was found that indeed the school system was a firmly entrenched bureaucracy; that the teachers were militant and espoused professionally oriented goals; and that recent, severe conflict within the school system was brought about directly by the clash of these two forces."[49]

In a study designed to "determine whether or not teachers' professional or bureaucratic-employee orientations have different effects on teachers' perceptions of their satisfaction and self-effectiveness in relation to their perception of system-oriented and person-oriented leader behavior of the principal," McQuillin found:[50]

1. Differences between bureaucratic-employees' and professionals'

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[48]Vincent F. Dempsey, "An Assessment of Conflict Between Bureaucracy And Professionalization In A School System," Dissertation Abstracts, XXX (January, 1969), p. 2746.

[49]Ibid.

[50]Wayne R. McQuillin, "Teachers' Perception Of The Principal's Leader Behavior Examined In Relation To The Teachers' Professional or Bureaucratic-Employee Orientations And Their Perceptions Of Satisfaction And Self-Effectiveness," Dissertation Abstracts, XXXI (December, 1970), p. 2652.

perceptions of satisfaction and self-effectiveness were not related to the differences in perceived leader behavior.

2. There was no significant difference in the way professionals and bureaucratic-employees perceived the leader behavior dimension for a given principal.

3. Bureaucratic-employees perceived higher degrees of satisfaction and self-effectiveness than did professionals.

Hill has set forth a taxonomic scheme for classifying bureaucratic behavior in modern educational organizations.[51] He contends that the "flow of authority is the discriminating variable that determines the structure and function of bureaucratic behavior in any formal organization."[52] Through a system of recording and classifying field study data, Hill devised eight classes of bureaucratic behavior ranging from Rational-Specific-Universalistic to Non-rational-Diffuse-Particularistic.

The following propositions were offered by Hill:

1. School administrators whose organizational behaviors are rational with regard to goal directions tend to delegate more authority than do school administrators whose organizational behaviors are non-rational.

2. School administrators whose organizational behaviors are functionally specific with regard to role dimensions tend to handle the 'flow of authority' in their school organizations more

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[51]Mozell Hill, "Toward A Taxonomy Of Bureaucratic Behavior In Educational Organizations," in Developing Taxonomies of Organizational Behavior in Educational Administration, ed. by Daniel E. Griffiths (Chicago: Rand McNally and Company, 1969), pp. 128-164.

[52]Ibid., p. 139.

rationally than do school administrators whose behaviors are functionally diffuse.

3. School administrators whose organizational behaviors are universalistic, that is, based on impersonal considerations, tend to use less power in their interactions with staff members and to evoke fewer sanctions for compliance than do school administrators whose organizational behaviors are particularistic and whose interactions with staff are based on personal considerations.

4. Administrative behavior that depends upon tradition and the charisma of the 'men at the top' of the hierarchy as the source of authority in the school organization tends to generate more role conflict among organization members than administrative behavior that depends upon 'legal' and official rules as the source of authority does.

5. School administrators whose behaviors are particularistic in the affectivity dimension tend to co-opt personnel that has low morale and accordingly is indifferent to the goals of the school organization, while school administrators whose behaviors are universalistic tend to co-opt personnel that has high morale and accordingly is committed to the goals of the school organization.

6. School administrators whose behaviors are rationally based tend to allocate greater prestige and greater amounts of privileges to staff personnel than do school administrators whose behaviors are non-rational. [53]

Dermer "sought to determine if the theoretical framework presented by Gouldner could account for the process of effective leadership styles within an urban school operating under a union contract." [54] Gouldner's model served as a methodological tool for Dermer to describe and analyze the behavior of teachers and administrators in a secondary school. It was

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[53] Ibid., p. 161.

[54] Arthur R. Dermer, "A Study Of The Significant Variables Relating To Union And Administrative Behavior In An Educational Bureaucracy," Dissertation Abstracts, XXIX (June-August, 1968), p. 2472.

found that Gouldner's patterns of bureaucracy--mock, representative, punishment-centered--were identifiable and could account for human behavior.

Dermer described a fourth pattern of bureaucracy. From observed behavior which did not conform with Gouldner's patterns he identified and labeled mock-compliance, a pattern combining features of both mock bureaucracy and representative bureaucracy.

Fox designed a study to test Gouldner's model of patterns of industrial bureaucracy in the junior-high-school setting.[55] Fox used direct observation for collecting data. His observations were guided by Homans' elements of activities, interactions, and sentiments. Case studies were constructed by which the data were analyzed through comparison with Gouldner's model.

Fox found that the patterns described by Gouldner were operating in the school environment used in the Fox study. He found that mock, representative, and punishment-centered patterns could account for only part of the behavior of the teachers and principal operating under a union contract. A deviant pattern was described--inverse punishment-centered.

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[55]Bernard A. Fox, "The Application Of Gouldner's Theory Of Bureaucracy To The Bureaucratic Behavior Of A Principal Operating Under A Union Contract From The Perception Of The Principal," (unpublished Ed. D. dissertation, New York University, 1968).

Summary

Weber's theoretical analysis of the principles of bureaucracy as perceived through the ideal type serves as the most logical and respected starting point for the study of bureaucracy. The use of the bureaucratic model is an accepted way of analyzing organizations. Several schemes have been developed whereby varying kinds of organizational patterns have been compared with the ideal-type bureaucracy or with particular characteristics of it. All researchers and writers recognize a system of rules, regulations, and procedures as an essential characteristic of bureaucracy.

The school organization is bureaucratic in nature and reflects the complexities associated with the term "bureaucracy." Many of the tensions found in the school organization can be related to the functioning of the principles of bureaucracy. Most studies of school bureaucracy have been concerned with degree of bureaucracy rather than type. Inadequate attention has been given to identifying kinds or types of bureaucratic patterns operating within the school organization, especially at the elementary-school level.

CHAPTER III

PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF DATA

The data for this study were gathered from an elementary school in a large, suburban school district. The investigator assumed the role of "observer-as-participant" and observed the ongoing activities of the elementary school in order to determine how the administrator and teachers related to behavioral, administrative, and instructional rules. Current district and school handbooks, bulletins, faculty-meeting minutes, and notes were systematically searched for the purpose of arranging rules under the headings of behavioral, administrative, or instructional.

The activities and interactions of the administrator and teachers as they related to the aforementioned rules were observed and then described in a field notebook. Case studies were then written using the data contained in the notebook. Each case was examined, analyzed, and compared with the types of bureaucratic patterns described by Gouldner. A comparison of the data as contained in the cases with Gouldner's model of bureaucratic types was intended to enable the investigator to identify those bureaucratic patterns that appeared in the cooperating school.

Prevailing Bureaucratic Pattern

One question explored by this study was: Which type of bureaucratic pattern as described by Gouldner can be observed most often in the conduct of the organizational affairs of the elementary school? This investigator collected data for twenty-eight cases. A comparison of each case with Gouldner's model allowed the investigator to identify each case as an example of mock, representative, or punishment-centered bureaucracy. Fourteen, or fifty percent, of the cases observed were discovered to be of the mock bureaucratic-type.

TABLE 1

NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF THE CASES REPRESENTING GOULDNER'S BUREAUCRATIC PATTERNS AS IDENTIFIED IN THE COOPERATING SCHOOL

Type of Bureaucratic Pattern	Number of Cases	Percent
Mock	14	50.0
Representative	8	28.6
Punishment-Centered	6	21.4
Total	28	100.00

The punishment-centered type of bureaucratic pattern was represented by six cases. Eight cases were identified as representative bureaucratic-types. The prevailing pattern discovered in the cooperating school was that

of mock bureaucracy with its attendant characteristic of relatively low tension-inducing potential. The punishment-centered bureaucratic pattern, with its high potential for inducing tension, appeared the fewest number of times in the cases observed.

During the period of observation, the prevailing pattern within the conduct of the organizational affairs of the cooperating elementary school was observed to be that of the mock bureaucratic type.

TABLE 2

NUMBER OF IDENTIFIED RULES BELONGING TO PARTICULAR CATEGORIES FOUND IN EACH TYPE OF BUREAUCRATIC PATTERN OBSERVED IN THE COOPERATING SCHOOL

Type of Bureaucratic Pattern	Rule Category			Total
	Instructional	Behavioral	Administrative	
Mock	5	2	7	14
Representative	3	0	5	8
Punishment-Centered	3	0	3	6
Total	11	2	15	28

Table 2 displays the number of times in which instructional, behavioral, and administrative rules were identified as appearing in the twenty-eight cases described by the investigator. Rules categorized as administrative

were represented in fifteen of the twenty-eight cases. Behavioral rules were observed in two cases. Eleven of the observed cases were concerned with rules categorized as instructional.

Deviant Bureaucratic Patterns

A final ancillary question explored by this study was: Can types of bureaucratic patterns be identified that do not fit any of the types described by Gouldner?

Fox conducted a study using the Gouldner model for identifying patterns of bureaucracy at the secondary-school level. He was able to identify a deviant pattern; he termed the pattern "Inverse Punishment-centered."[1]

> To explain the deviant data, this study has described an additional pattern of bureaucracy (Inverse Punishment-centered) in which the one who makes the rule opposes its enforcement through strict interpretation while the one who does not make the rule enforces its strict interpretation. This pattern, like the punishment-centered pattern, usually entails relatively great tension and conflict.[2]

Dermer, using the Gouldner model at the secondary-school level, stated: "The writer observed some behavior which did not conform to any of the patterns described by Gouldner. A new pattern combining

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[1]Bernard A. Fox, "The Application Of Gouldner's Patterns Of Bureaucracy To The Bureaucratic Behavior Of A Principal Operating Under A Union Contract From The Perception Of The Principal" (unpublished Ed. D. dissertation, New York University, 1968).

[2]Ibid.

several of the features of both the 'mock' and representative patterns was identified and labeled 'mock-compliance.'"[3]

This investigator did not discover a deviant bureaucratic-pattern. While many cases differed in part from the model described by Gouldner, each case did display in total the characteristics or symptoms defined by Gouldner to qualify as mock, representative, or punishment-centered. The one factor Gouldner associated with the three patterns of bureaucracy that deviated the most in the data collected for this study was in who initiated the rule. Not all mock patterns were products of rules initiated by some outside agency such as the state or federal government, the local fire department, police department, or insurance company. Most rules that produced mock patterns were initiated by local school-district individuals or groups from outside the cooperating school but from within the cooperating school district. Not all representative patterns were initiated jointly by teachers and administrator. Not all of the punishment-centered patterns were initiated and enforced by administrator as opposed to teachers or vice-versa.

Existence of the Bureaucratic Patterns

The basic question posed by this study was: Can the three types of bureaucratic patterns--mock, representative, and punishment-centered--

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[3]Arthur R. Dermer, "A Study of the Significant Variables Relating to Union and Administrative Behavior in an Educational Bureaucracy," Dissertation Abstracts, XXIX (February, 1969), p. 2472.

described by Gouldner and identified through an analysis of rules and their uses be found to exist in the operation of the elementary school? The investigator contends that the three bureaucratic patterns described by Gouldner were in evidence at the cooperating elementary school during the period of observation.

Data were collected for twenty-eight cases that, when analyzed, provided examples of mock, representative, and punishment-centered bureaucracy. Nine case studies and their analyses are herein presented. Each pattern of bureaucracy is represented by three case studies and analyses.

Mock Bureaucracy

Gouldner summarizes the defining characteristics or symptoms of mock bureaucracy as follows: "(a) Rules are neither enforced by management nor obeyed by workers. (b) Usually entails little conflict between the two groups. (c) Joint violation and evasion of rules is buttressed by the informal sentiments of the participants."[4]

The case studies that follow conform to the aforementioned defining characteristics or symptoms of mock bureaucracy. All names used in the case studies are fictitious.

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[4]Alvin W. Gouldner, Patterns of Industrial Bureaucracy (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1954), p. 217.

Teachers-In-Rooms Case Study (An example of Mock Bureaucracy)

Rule: "Teachers shall be in their respective rooms ready to receive pupils thirty minutes before the beginning of the morning sessions and shall remain on duty in their rooms thirty minutes after the afternoon session..." (Administrative)

Each morning a group of teachers, varying in composition but numbering about fifteen, meet in the teachers' lounge which is situated adjacent to the office of the principal. The principal is often moving in and out of the lounge exchanging pleasantries and discussing topics of interest concerning the school, its inhabitants, and its environment. Morning classroom sessions are scheduled to begin promptly at 8:30. Some teachers are in the lounge by 7:40 each morning, most enter at 8:00 a.m., while a few join the group between 8:00 a.m. and 8:10 a.m. The principal is in the lounge-office area by 7:30 each morning. The media center, across the hall from the principal's office, is the scene of busy teacher-activity every morning between 7:45 and 8:15. Approximately one-fourth of the school's twenty-eight teachers spend the half hour before school commences in their individual rooms.

The situation following the dismissal of the children at the end of the school day is similar. The location of the greatest teacher-gathering

does shift, though, from the lounge to the media center and to a small workroom contiguous with the lounge. The principal is usually working in his office or circulating among the teachers visiting with them. While more teachers spend the half hour following the dismissal of the children working in their individual rooms than spend the morning working in their rooms, less than half of all the classroom teachers spend the half hour after school in their rooms.

On Tuesday a note from the building principal was posted in the lounge on the door of the cabinet that holds the teachers' coffee cups. The district's Director of Elementary Education would be a visitor in the building sometime during the day on either Thursday or Friday. The note was a reminder to try to "...take care of most of your business in your rooms both before and after school during these two days."

> Ralph Towers [the district's Director of Elementary Education] has indicated that he will visit us [the school] sometime during the day either this Thursday or Friday. I think it would be a good idea for you to take care of most of your business in your rooms both before and after school during these two days.

On Thursday of the week four teachers stayed in the lounge as late as 8:05 a.m. before leaving, all other teachers had left before 8:00 a.m. The majority of the teachers were in their rooms for a half hour following the end of school on Thursday. On Friday morning no teacher was in the lounge after 8:00 a.m. It appeared as though nearly all of the teachers were in their rooms. That Friday evening many teachers left for home

early and many relaxed in the lounge. The media center and workroom were being used by some teachers. Few teachers stayed in their rooms for one-half hour following the dismissal of the children.

Analysis of Rooms Rule

Who initiated the rule?

The rule was initiated in the central office of the school district and appeared in the handbook for teachers prepared by the central office staff. No individual from the cooperating school was involved in the decision-making process which promoted the establishment of the rule. This observer asked each of the twenty-eight teachers the following question: "Did you have any say in the development of this rule?" No teacher responded affirmatively.

Who usually enforces the rule?

The rule was observed to be rarely enforced. Neither principal nor teachers strived to enforce it.

Whose values legitimate the rule?

Neither the principal nor the teachers could legitimate the rule according to their own values. Stated a sixth-grade teacher: "So many of the things I need to do to prepare for my teaching can't be done in my room. If I can use fifteen minutes in the media center or the workroom, I'll take it."

A fourth-grade teacher said, "I enjoy the opportunity to visit with the other teachers in the lounge. The children aren't supposed to be in the rooms before 8:15 anyway. And, those that do come earlier always know what to do and how to behave--good for self-discipline."

Whose values are violated by enforcement of the rule?

Both teachers and principal felt that the rule violated certain values. The principal stated: "The rule shows little intelligent thinking--it seems like a carry over from years past. We all know our responsibilities toward teaching these kids. We use our time well without being told how and when to leave the rooms. I feel that the meetings that take place in the lounge both before school and after help strengthen the school morale."

A typical teacher-response was: "I think I know best what needs to be done in my room and how long it will take me to do it. No one consulted me as to the need to be in my room for a half hour. It really is silly."

What are the standard explanations of deviation from the rule?

The principal and the teachers expressed the opinion that the rule could not be justified on any grounds. It made no contribution to the objectives of the school. The deviant pattern is viewed as an expression of professional autonomy.

What effect does the rule have upon the status of the participants?

No conflict was evident among the teachers and principal concerning

the avoidance of following the rule. Solidarity seemed evident through their joint rejection of the rule.

Said one teacher, "Most principals follow the rule--we're lucky."

What function is being served by the rule?

The leeway function of rules as defined by Gouldner best describes the function of this rule.

> ...the rhythmic quality with which rules were enforced. Sometimes demands for rigorous conformance to a rule would be made, but would later lapse into periods of disinterest when the rules were ignored or only fitfully observed. By a strange paradox, formal rules gave supervisors something with which they could 'bargain' in order to secure informal cooperation from workers. The rules were the 'chips' to which the Company staked the supervisors and which they could use to play the game; they carved out a 'right' which, should supervisors wish to, they could 'stand upon.' In effect, then, formal bureaucratic rules served as a control device not merely because they provided a legitimating framework for the allocation of punishments, but also because they established a punishment which could be withheld. By installing a rule, management provided itself with an instrument which was valuable even if it was not used; the rules were serviceable because they created something which could be given up as well as given use.[5]

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[5]Alvin W. Gouldner, Patterns of Industrial Bureaucracy (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1954), pp. 172-74.

Television Case Study (An example of Mock Bureaucracy)

Rule: "All teachers are to use all television programs offered for their grade level." (Instructional)

Each classroom in the building has somewhere on display a chart showing the times of district television programs. All intermediate-level programs are aired in the mornings; all primary-level programs are to be seen in the afternoons. Each grade level has a total of one hour of television time each day designed for it. The one-hour total is divided into two sessions of one-half-hour each with an hour of no television-viewing separating the sessions.

Instructional television has been used in the district for three years. Lessons are offered in the areas of science, mathematics, and art--each lesson is considered supplemental to the regular lessons being presented by the classroom teachers. Special programs are offered that display plays or projects that are products of the district's children. The studio instructors are subject-matter specialists with some training in teaching through television. At least one program a week in each subject area and at each grade level is designed to use a regular classroom teacher as the television instructor.

At 9:30 a.m. on Monday the wall of the hallway outside the four fifth-grade classrooms was lined with three television sets sitting upon their moveable carts (the building has six television sets that are moved from room to room for viewing). One fifth-grade group was watching the mathematics program being offered over television. Three of the fifth-grade groups were having mathematics sessions minus the use of the television sets. The program being presented to the fifth-grade children over television was concerned with teaching the fundamentals of chess. The three classes not using the television presentation were engaged in various activities: one class was reviewing problems in the Addison-Wesley textbook; one class was using the Individual Mathematics Program materials; one class was divided into two groups, one group was reviewing fractions with the teacher while the children in the other group were working individually with Madison Math Project materials. The period from 9:15 a.m. and 9:45 a.m. was to be used for mathematics instruction via television--one of the four fifth-grade teachers used television during this period. During the remainder of the morning two fourth-grade rooms and two sixth-grade rooms declined to view the television math-lessons.

The pattern observed on Monday was followed closely each day of the week. It was observed, also, that not all classes were following the science programs carried by television; the televised art programs appeared to be universally followed. The principal was well aware of the situation

and was observed teaching a science lesson on air pressure to a sixth-grade group during the period when a science display of projects made by one school's sixth graders was being shown on television.

Analysis of Television Rule

Who initiated the rule?

The rule was initiated by the central office of the pre-unified district and was still official in the schools being served by the television studio. A memo sent during the first week of the school year by the district's Director of Elementary Education to the principals of all elementary schools said that he was following the policy used by the pre-unified school district concerning the use of television.

Who usually enforces the rule?

The rule was not observed to be enforced either by the teachers or the principal. Certain programs were recommended by the principal as being exceptionally worthy of viewing. At no time was the principal observed ordering teachers to view a certain program. On two occasions the media-center teacher asked two grade levels to be sure to observe particular programs--on both occasions the programs were viewed.

Whose values legitimate the rule?

While the use of instructional television could be legitimated by teachers' values, the rule that all programs must be viewed was considered

inhibiting to teaching.

"Some of the programs are just too far out. I don't mind the children learning to play chess, in fact I think it's great, but I don't want to use math time for it."

The principal commented, "By requiring all programs to be watched, we're telling these people how to teach."

Whose values are violated by enforcement of the rule?

Enforcement of the rule would violate the values of both principal and teachers.

A second-grade teacher made the following comment: "Television is nice to have. The children have been exposed to some great teaching and some special materials. But, I don't think all programs are worth the time they take and I feel that I should have a right to judge what is good for my particular group. I've told the television people what I like and don't like."

The principal stated, "The teacher has the obligation, I feel, to use the television as she would any teaching tool. The important point is that the teacher should be able to plan when it is to be used."

What are the standard explanations of deviation from the rule?

Twelve of the teachers felt that the quality and the topics of the programs did not warrant the use of teaching time for viewing. A third-grade

teacher drew nods of approval from other staff members with the statement, "The television teachers need to consult with us more about what we want and when we want it. A lot of the lessons that are shown are pretty bad for our kids."

Said the principal, "I think the television programs must earn the right to be seen."

It is felt that the rule curbs certain professional judgments--"Any intelligent person off the street could come in and sit with the children during a television program and then ask some questions about what they saw. I've been trained to do better than that and I won't let television dictate what is done during a day." Statements similar to the previous teacher-comment were echoed by eleven members of the staff.

What effect does the rule have upon the status of the participants?

The mutual violation of the rule enhanced the status of the principal and the teachers. One teacher said, "It boils down to the fact that we think the teacher is more important than the television. Phil [the principal] could make us watch everything. We appreciate his understanding."

The principal offered, "If the programs were better than what the teachers can do I would demand that all programs be watched, but I have confidence in this staff."

What function is being served by the rule?

The leeway function as described by Gouldner and the apathy-preserving

function as described by Gouldner appeared to be served by the television rule.

The leeway function:

> ...the rhythmic quality with which rules were enforced. Sometimes demands for rigorous conformance to a rule would be made, but would later lapse into periods of disinterest when the rules were ignored or only fitfully observed. By a strange paradox, formal rules gave supervisors something with which they could 'bargain' in order to secure informal cooperation from workers. The rules were the 'chips' to which the Company staked the supervisors and which they could use to play the game; they carved out a 'right' which, should supervisors wish to, they could 'stand upon.' In effect, then, formal bureaucratic rules served as a control device not merely because they provided a legitimating framework for the allocation of punishments, but also because they established a punishment which could be withheld. By installing a rule, management provided itself with an instrument which was valuable even if it was not used; the rules were serviceable because they created something which could be given up as well as given use.[6]

The apathy-preserving function:

> ...rules actually contributed to the preservation of work apathy. Just as the rules facilitated punishment, so, too, did they define the behavior which could permit punishment to be escaped. The rules served as a specification of a minimum level of acceptable performance. It was therefore possible for the worker to remain apathetic, for he now knew just how little he could do and still remain secure. Thus bureaucratic rules may be functional for subordinates, as well as for superiors; they permit 'activity' without 'participation;' they enable an employee to work without being emotionally committed to it.[7]

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[6] Ibid., pp. 172-74.

[7] Ibid., pp. 174-76.

Reading Case Study (An example of Mock Bureaucracy)

Rule: "Scott Foresman reading materials are to be used exclusively at all grade levels. Do not mix reading series." (Instructional)

The second-grade class was composed of twenty-three children--fourteen boys and nine girls. On this particular morning all twenty-three children were present. The classroom teacher is a veteran of nearly twenty years' teaching, eleven years in this district and six years in this school. She had begun her teaching career at the secondary level and had, at the elementary level, taught all primary grades. She has been rated an excellent teacher by her principal. The class had been divided into three groups for the purpose of reading instruction--average, above average, and below average.

At 9:20 on Tuesday morning the teacher was seated at the back of the room partially encircled by a group of eight children. The remaining fifteen children were busy at their desks following the work procedure that was printed on the chalkboard. The eight children working with the teacher represented the average readers. They were reading the words that had been printed on a large chart. The introductory words were from a story being read from the Ginn reading series. The teacher explained

that she preferred to use the Ginn book with her average group.

A fourth-grade team room with forty-seven children was being guided in reading by two teachers. The combined teaching experience of the two teachers is ten years--one teacher has taught for six years, five in this one school; the other teacher has taught three years in this building and one year in another district. The children assigned to the team room were chosen with the idea in mind that they were "mature enough to function in a large group situation."

The reading instruction for these fourth graders was designed to be individualized. A group of ten children was out of the room using film strips and loop films in the media center. Five boys were in the back of the room using written directions to put together a model airplane. Three boys and four girls were in a conference room adjacent to the team room working with a teacher on an original play. Five children were at the back of the room with a teacher sharing vocabulary words that they had encountered in their readings. Three children were using an advanced SRA reading laboratory. Seven children were reading library books; four children were in a third-grade classroom serving as "tutors" for third graders having reading problems; and three children were reading stories from Scott Foresman readers. Three fourth-graders were absent on this particular morning. The teachers stated that Scott Foresman was not used as the major tool for teaching reading, and that they were "...pleased that Phil

[the building principal] is as excited about our program as we are."

Analysis of Reading Rule

Who initiated the rule?

The rule was initiated in the central office. The central office acted upon a recommendation contained in a reading survey conducted for the district by a university. The recommendation called for greater continuity through the grades in the reading program. A district committee of teachers was chosen by the reading coordinator to select a basal reading series.

Who usually enforces the rule?

It was observed that no one strived to enforce the rule. The teachers who did use the official readers exclusively stated that they liked them or "We would use something else. We have lots of materials and Phil [the principal] says use them." The aforementioned second-grade teacher said, "One basal reader program isn't adequate for all children. I use what experience has shown me to be best for certain children."

The principal stated that although he agreed that continuity was important through all the grades, "I cannot in clear conscience enforce a rule that I feel will hinder some good reading teaching that is going on."

Whose values legitimate the rule?

When asked, over half of the teachers and the building principal found the rule contrary to what they valued for reading instruction. The teachers

who had taught in the building prior to the rule enactment felt that the rule was unfair and unnecessary. Said one veteran teacher, "The survey itself showed that our reading achievement was way above average. We had an excellent program, but somebody just wanted to change. I guess I can adjust." The principal commented, "This is one rule that is going to be changed!"

Whose values are violated by enforcement of the rule?

The principal and a majority of the teachers (thirteen intermediate and six primary) felt that enforcement of the rule would violate the autonomy needed to provide the reading program with creative, innovative teaching. The teachers felt: "We wouldn't be doing our professional job if we didn't use any and all means available to us for reaching these kids."

What are the standard explanations of deviation from the rule?

Nearly every teacher and the principal expressed an opinion that it is futile to think that there can be a single best method for teaching reading to all children.

What effect does the rule have upon the status of the participants?

Deviation from the rule appeared to be status enhancing for the teachers. The principal said, "We have some truly imaginative things going on in reading that I don't think you can find in some other schools. We've got some teachers who want to be doers."

The principal appears to gain status as witness a teacher's statement, "Phil [the principal] gives us a free hand to pursue our trade--he admits we know more about reading than he does. We admire the guy for his honesty."

A teacher who is adhering to the rule said: "I like what I'm doing with the children, and I like knowing I can keep on doing it or change if I want to."

What function is being served by the rule?

The leeway function as defined by Gouldner was being served.

> ...the rhythmic quality with which rules were enforced. Sometimes demands for rigorous conformance to a rule would be made, but would later lapse into periods of disinterest when the rules were ignored or only fitfully observed. By a strange paradox, formal rules gave supervisors something with which they could 'bargain' in order to secure informal cooperation from workers. The rules were the 'chips' to which the Company staked the supervisors and which they could use to play the game; they carved out a 'right' which, should supervisors wish to, they could 'stand upon.' In effect, then, formal bureaucratic rules served as a control device not merely because they provided a legitimating framework for the allocation of punishments, but also because they established a punishment which could be withheld. By installing a rule, management provided itself with an instrument which was valuable even if it was not used; the rules were serviceable because they created something which could be given up as well as given use.[8]

It appeared as though the apathy-preserving function as defined by Gouldner was being served.

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[8]Alvin W. Gouldner, Patterns of Industrial Bureaucracy (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1954), pp. 172-74.

> ... rules actually contributed to the preservation of work apathy. Just as the rules facilitated punishment, so, too, did they define the behavior which could permit punishment to be escaped. The rules served as a specification of a minimum level of acceptable performance. It was therefore possible for the worker to remain apathetic, for he now knew just how little he could do and still remain secure. Thus bureaucratic rules may be functional for subordinates, as well as for superiors; they permit 'activity' without 'participation;' they enable an employee to work without being emotionally committed to it.[9]

Representative Bureaucracy

Gouldner summarizes the defining characteristics or symptoms of representative bureaucracy as follows: "(a) Rules are both enforced by management and obeyed by workers. (b) Generates a few tensions, but little overt conflict. (c) Joint support for rules buttressed by informal sentiments, mutual participation, initiation, and education of workers and management."[10]

The case studies that follow conform to the aforementioned defining characteristics or symptoms of representative bureaucracy. All names used in the case studies are fictitious.

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[9] Ibid., pp. 174-76.

[10] Ibid., p. 217.

Representative Bureaucracy

Substitute Teacher Case Study (An example of Representative Bureaucracy)

Rule: An up-to-date folder of materials which the substitute teacher will need is to be kept in the classroom teacher's desk. This folder should include or tell where to find the following:

a. Lesson plans.
b. Daily schedule.
c. List of student groupings, reading, speech, music, safety patrol, etc.
d. List of students with special problems--discipline, emotional, etc.
e. List of pupil helpers.
f. Seating chart or name tag on desks.
g. Grade book or attendance record.
h. Texts and manuals.
i. Cafeteria procedures.
j. Classroom teacher duty assignments.
k. Emergency exit procedures, fire drill, severe storm warnings, etc.
l. Information about all necessary materials and general duties, such as closing windows, adjusting shades and locking doors.

(Instructional)

Chris Jordan arrived at school at 7:45 a.m. This was her first experience as a substitute at this particular school. The district office had contacted her to substitute for a second-grade teacher. She introduced herself to the principal and was taken to the second-grade classroom. Upon the teacher's desk in the classroom were six textbooks and one library book. All of the books had large, colored markers protruding from them. The teacher's planbook was lying near the textbooks. Clipped to the outside of

the planbook was a two-page note of information for the substitute. Attached to each child's desk was a name tag.

As the principal and Mrs. Jordon went over the material at the teacher's desk, Mrs. Beery, another second-grade teacher, came in. She introduced herself to the substitute teacher and explained that she had picked up the absent teacher's plans and had brought them to school. "Joan [the absent teacher] said she thought she put down all the information you might need. I'm right next door if you have a question; don't be afraid to stick your head in."

During lunch time, Mrs. Jordon (the substitute teacher) was sitting in the lounge with Mrs. Beery (second-grade teacher). The substitute was describing how complete the regular teacher's plans were. She exclaimed that this was the best situation she had "ever walked into." Mrs. Beery explained that the teachers try to give a substitute all she needs to be able to teach and not "just babysit." At 3:30 that afternoon the substitute teacher was told by the building secretary that the regular teacher would return the next day.

During a three-week observation period four substitute teachers were used in the cooperating building. On each occasion the substitute was provided with the information and materials called for in the rule. In three of the situations the children took care of the cafeteria and attendance records. On one occasion a tornado drill was held and the principal came into the room to help with the details of execution.

Analysis of Substitute Rule

Who initiated the rule?

The principal of the cooperating school stated that the rule was formulated in the district office. He had served as a member of the formulating committee. The provisions of the rule are very similar to those used in the cooperating building prior to the enactment of the rule.

Who usually enforces the rule?

Both teachers and the principal endeavor to enforce the rule. The principal said: "We all recognize the importance of having a good substitute. We know we can help one be good by providing her with the things she needs to really teach."

Whose values legitimate the rule?

The teachers and the principal legitimate the rule by associating it with high-quality education and their professional views as to how substitutes should be used. A kindergarten teacher said: "When a substitute works here she knows she's done something, and I think she feels good about it."

A third-grade teacher offered, "Each week we [the third grade teachers] check our substitute folder to make sure it's up-to-date. If one of us is ill we send additional information for the sub. --Phil [the principal] has even come to my house to pick some plans up."

Whose values are violated by enforcement of the rule?

No teacher voiced objection to the rule. Four teachers did say that they felt substitutes didn't need all of the information presented to them in order to do a good job. Two teachers said that a substitute teacher should not be expected to do the day's teaching on as high a level of performance as does the regular teacher.

What are the standard explanations of deviation from the rule?

Deviation from the rule was not viewed as being deliberate. The principal remarked, "A few times we do get caught short. The lesson plans aren't complete enough for a substitute to really understand. Once a teacher ended up in the hospital one evening and couldn't do any more. Usually, though, we're in good shape--the teachers really try."

A fifth-grade teacher said: "I've come to school some days when I shouldn't just because I wasn't up to getting everything ready for someone else."

What effect does the rule have upon the status of the participants?

Status improvement accrues to those who conform to the rule. Repeated violation of the rule would impair teacher status. A first-grade teacher offered: "We think we do an outstanding job in this area, and we're proud of it."

What function is being served by the rule?

The explication function as defined by Gouldner was being served by

this rule. The explication function:

> ...rules comprise a functional equivalent for direct, personally given orders. Since the rules are also more carefully expressed [than are orders] the obligations they impose may be less ambiguous than a hastily worded personal command.
>
> ...the rules explicate the worker's task while on the other [hand], they shape and specify his relationships to his superior.
>
> ...the rules serve to narrow the subordinates 'area of discretion.' The subordinates now have fewer options concerning what they <u>may</u> or <u>may not</u> do, and the area of 'privilege' is crowded out by the growing area of 'obligation.'[11]

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[11]Alvin W. Gouldner, <u>Patterns of Industrial Bureaucracy</u> (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1954), pp. 162-64.

Audio-Visual Case Study (An example of Representative Bureaucracy)

Rule: "All audio-visual machines and materials taken to the classroom must be checked out through the media-center office." (Administrative)

A fourth-grade girl entered the media center with a large smile on her face. "I've got to sign for a slide machine. We already took it to the room and Mrs. George asked if we had signed it out."

A kindergarten teacher hurried into the media center and signed out for a loop machine and loop film. Two sixth-grade boys came to tell the media-center teacher that they were taking the motion picture machine that Mr. Bliss had signed for the previous day. All of this activity occurred within a ten-minute period early on a Tuesday morning.

A check of the audio-visual machines in the media center revealed that five were missing: one sixteen-millimeter movie projector; two eight-millimeter loop machines; one slide projector; and one phonograph. All of the machines were accounted for with the exception of one eight-millimeter loop machine. At noon another check revealed that all of the machines, with the exception of the missing loop machine, had been signed in to the center. The sixteen-millimeter movie projector had been checked out to the third-grade team room. Following the noon lunch period a third-

grade teacher came into the media center and said, "I hate to say this but we've had a loop machine in our room. It was on the bottom of the cart that held the movie projector--sorry."

During a two-week period machines had been checked out sixty-seven times. Five times machines were out for which no one had signed. On one occasion the principal had taken a slide projector into his office to be used that evening at a meeting with a group of parents. He apologized to the media-center teacher the following day.

Analysis of Audio-Visual Rule

Who usually initiates the rule?

The rule was formulated by the Faculty Council of the school in early November. The audio-visual machines were kept in a storage room across the hall from the media center. Teachers had not been using the sign-out sheet hanging in the storage room. Problems and tensions had arisen because of poor cooperation in signing for equipment. The teachers offered ideas to remedy the situation, and the present rule was formulated. The teachers recognized the rule as being their own.

Who usually enforces the rule?

The rule is enforced by both the teachers and the principal. A teacher commented, "If one of us forgets to check something out, we expect Mrs. Ray or Mrs. Mox [the media-center teachers] to remind us. We try

to remind each other."

Whose values legitimate the rule?

Both principal and teachers could legitimate the rule according to their own values. A fourth-grade teacher said: "Having to check out through the media center has made us more careful. There were times in the past [before the enactment of the rule] when we wasted a lot of precious teaching time just looking for machines. It got so we were avoiding using a lot of our materials."

The principal said: "More teachers are using more equipment now. It's good for our program and the cooperation is good for morale."

Whose values are violated by enforcement of the rule?

One teacher defended not signing out for a machine on the grounds that she was in an exceptional hurry--she explained that she normally will "always sign out." Under normal conditions the rule appeared not to violate the values of teachers or the principal.

What are the standard explanations of deviation from the rule?

Deviation from the rule is attributed to "forgetfulness," "mistake," or the pressures of time. A teacher commented, "When I send a child after something he may forget to sign for it, and I may forget to remind him."

The principal stated: "Some teachers mistakingly check out the wrong

machine, go back hurriedly, and not check the correct one out."

The media-center teacher offered, "The teachers are really good about checking the equipment out. About the only time they don't do it is when they are rushed for time. They usually always come in and apologize later."

What effect does the rule have upon the status of the participants?

Conformance to the rule was status enhancing--it facilitated teachers' ability to modernize their programs. The principal said: "We need to take advantage of all the materials we have available in the media center. Audio-visual equipment can up-date a classroom and make it more enjoyable for the kids. Cooperating with the equipment makes a better environment for everyone."

What function is being served by the rule?

The screening function as defined by Gouldner is being served by the rule. The screening function:

> ...they provide a substitute for the personal repetition of orders by a supervisor.
>
> ...the rules provide the foreman with an impersonal crutch for his authority, screening the superiority of his power which might otherwise violate the norm of equality. Instead, equality presumably prevails because, 'like everyone else, he too, is bound by the rules...'
>
> The screening function of the rules would seem, therefore, to work in two directions at once. First, it impersonally bolsters a supervisor's claim to authority without compelling him to employ

an embarrassing and debatable legitimation in terms of his personal superiority. Conversely, it permits workers to accept managerial claims to deference without committing them to a merely personal submission to the supervisor that would betray their self-image as 'any man's equal.'[12]

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[12]Gouldner, Bureaucracy, pp. 164-66.

Conduct Case Study (An example of Representative Bureaucracy)

Rule: "Orderly conduct is every teacher's responsibility, no matter where it occurs." (Administrative)

Three sixth-grade girls were walking down the hall returning to their classroom from the art-supply room. As they passed the media center one girl bumped another with her hip causing the one bumped to slightly lose her balance and fall against the glass partition of the center. The girls all laughed and continued down the hall. A first-grade teacher came out of the media center and asked the girls to stop. In what sounded like a firm but friendly manner the teacher admonished the girls for disturbing the first-grade class in the media center and for causing a situation that could have injured one of them.

The girls explained that they were "just kidding around" and were sorry. The teacher asked the girls to go on to their classroom quietly. Later that same day in the teachers' lounge the first-grade teacher told the teacher of the three girls, "I had to talk with three of your darlings today in the hall." The sixth-grade teacher asked if there had been any trouble and if he should talk with the girls. The first-grade teacher described the situation. The girls' teacher thanked her, apologized, and said it would

not happen again.

A group of second graders was waiting to use the restrooms. The boys and girls were lined up outside their respective restrooms waiting to go in three-at-a-time. The second-grade teacher was in the girls' restroom. Voices could be heard coming from the boys' room. One boy came running out of the room laughing. He stumbled and fell to one knee. A fifth-grade teacher, coming out of the workroom, walked briskly to the second grader and took hold of his arm. She then led him into the restroom. She related that she told the boys to "settle down and show some responsibility." Walking back into the hall she met the second-grade teacher and told her that everything was "alright now." The second-grade teacher thanked her for helping.

Occurrences similar to these were observed on six other occasions. In every instance a teacher with no special duty admonished a child or children other than her own for conduct the teacher considered disorderly.

Analysis of Conduct Rule

Who initiated the rule?

The rule originated in the central office but was emphasized as important for the well-being of the school program by the Faculty Council of the cooperating school. The principal and teachers felt that the rule was theirs. Through weekly bulletins and faculty meetings the Faculty Council

and principal had enlarged upon the original rule and had encouraged constant awareness of the children's conduct.

Who usually enforces the rule?

Both principal and teachers enforced the rule. A teacher said: "Most of us feel that you can't have good teaching without orderly conduct. We try to help each other and all the children by asking for good discipline from everyone." The principal commented, "I try to encourage each teacher to feel as though she has a responsibility for each child in this school. I also ask teachers not to be offended if other teachers reprimand their kids--we have to share responsibilities."

Whose values legitimate the rule?

The teachers and the principal legitimated the rule by associating it with the quality of teaching that went on in the building. A statement from the Faculty Council stated: "We have to help build an environment that will make learning possible for all children. We can start by making sure that we and the children respect the rights of others. We must realize that as guides for these children, we must let them know what is expected from them as citizens of this school."

As a teacher asserted: "You have to set boundaries for conduct and give children freedom within those boundaries. You can't have teaching without orderly conduct."

Whose values are violated by enforcement of the rule?

Under normal conditions it appeared as though enforcement of the rule violated the values of neither the principal nor the teachers. Every teacher indicated that she felt the rule was fair and necessary.

What are the standard explanations of deviation from the rule?

Deviation from the rule was attributed to inexperience or experimentation. A teacher said: "We [teachers] realize that some of us are going to let down at times. We see this a lot from the beginning teacher. But, with some experience and help she usually sees the importance of proper discipline." Said the principal: "Often our teachers, experienced and inexperienced, will try new means of teaching self-discipline to the kids. We can then have some problems if communication isn't open to everyone."

What effect does the rule have upon the status of the participants?

Adherence to the rule was status enhancing to both principal and teachers. The teachers felt that conformance to the rule increased their professional prestige. Said a fifth-grade teacher, "We have a fine school because we try hard to make it a place where children can learn. The overall behavior of our children is excellent, and this shows what kind of teachers and program we have."

Prolonged deviation from the rule impaired a teacher's status. The

principal said, "A teacher has to make some commitment to the goals of the school. One of our goals is to have the kids display orderly conduct. A teacher can be as innovative and creative as possible and still demand orderly conduct from each kid. If she can't do this, then she is not fulfilling an important goal of this school."

What function is being served by the rule?

The following functions appear to be served by this rule: The explication function as defined by Gouldner.

> ...rules comprise a functional equivalent for direct, personally given orders. Since the rules are also more carefully expressed [than are orders] the obligations they impose may be less ambiguous than a hastily worded personal command.
>
> ...the rules explicate the worker's task while on the other [hand], they shape and specify his relationships to his superior.
>
> ...the rules serve to narrow the subordinates 'area of discretion.' The subordinates now have fewer options concerning what they may or may not do, and the area of 'privilege' is crowded out by the growing area of 'obligation.'[13]

The screening function as defined by Gouldner.

> ...they provide a substitute for the personal repetition of orders by a supervisor.
>
> ...the rules provide the foreman with an impersonal crutch for his authority, screening the superiority of his power which might otherwise violate the norm of equality. Instead, equality presumably prevails because, 'like everyone else, he too, is bound by the rules...'

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[13]Alvin W. Gouldner, Patterns of Industrial Bureaucracy (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1954), pp. 162-64.

> The screening function of the rules would seem, therefore, to work in two directions at once. First, it impersonally bolsters a supervisor's claim to authority without compelling him to employ an embarrassing and debatable legitimation in terms of his personal superiority. Conversely, it permits workers to accept managerial claims to deference without committing them to a merely personal submission to the supervisor that would betray their self-image as 'any man's equal.'[14]

The remote control function as defined by Gouldner.

> Administrators could 'tell at a glance' whether rules...were being followed. In part, then, the existence of general rules was a necessary adjunct to a 'spot check' system; they facilitated 'control from a distance' by those in the higher and more remote reaches of the organization.[15]

Punishment-Centered Bureaucracy

Gouldner summarizes the defining characteristics or symptoms of punishment-centered bureaucracy as follows: "(a) Rules either enforced by workers or management, and evaded by the other. (b) Entails relatively great tension and conflict. (c) Enforced by punishment and supported by the informal sentiments of either workers or management."[16]

The case studies that follow conform to the defining characteristics or symptoms of punishment-centered bureaucracy. All names used in the case studies are fictitious.

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[14]Ibid., pp. 164-66.

[15]Ibid., pp. 166-68.

[16]Alvin W. Gouldner, Patterns of Industrial Bureaucracy (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1954), p. 217.

Recess Case Study (An example of Punishment-Centered Bureaucracy)

Rule: "Each grade level is to have two recess periods each day. One period may be free play. Teachers are to use one recess period for organized games and/or physical education follow-up." (Instructional)

It was 7:55 a.m. and the lounge was filled with teachers. A faculty meeting was in progress. The nurse had just finished describing some materials that she had received that were available for classroom use. The principal stood up, put his coffee cup down, and thanked the nurse. He asked if anyone had any announcements they wished to make before he got to "the business at hand." No one offered any comments.

The principal began: "I'm really upset by what we're not doing at recess. All year I've talked with you about this, and it's still a problem, and you know what I mean." He explained that the physical education teacher had talked with him about a lack of follow-up with physical education activities. He went on to explain that every recess he had observed had been dominated by free play. He made a plea for more organization at recess and for the teachers to participate more in the games themselves.

A fifth-grade teacher said, "Phil [the principal], you know we're trying to get aides to take over for us. If we go ahead and keep things

beautiful like they've always been, then we won't get relief." The teachers sitting around the fifth-grade teacher nodded their heads affirmatively and some said, "right." A sixth-grade teacher explained that he intended to organize some recess periods but that doing it every day would, indeed, help maintain the status quo. He went on to say that the school's Faculty Council and the district's teachers' organization have recommended that paid aides assume recess duties. The principal countered by saying he was aware of all that but that he was aware, also, of greater responsibilities that the teachers have to the children and the school.

A second-grade teacher spoke out, saying, "Phil [the principal], we're going to do our job with the kids. We know our responsibilities, but we also know that nothing is going to be done without pressure--it's not aimed at you." The principal said: "Wherever it's aimed, it hits me. If you people can't do a better job with follow-up, I'm going to schedule a recess-duty sheet with planned activities. It's late in the year to do it, but I will."

The time was now 8:10 a.m. The principal thanked the teachers for their cooperation in coming to such an early faculty meeting, complimented them on the overall job they were doing with the children, and said they were free to go about their work. At 8:12 the lounge was empty of teachers.

During the day it was observed that less than half of all the grade

levels (with the exception of kindergarten) participated in an organized recess period. The recess periods appeared to be dominated by free-play activities. The pattern remained the same throughout the week. The principal was observed to be on the playground during recess periods on three occasions during the week.

Analysis of Recess Rule

Who initiated the rule?

The rule was initiated by a group of elementary-school principals. The principal of the cooperating school was a member of the initiating group. The rule had been in operation and had been observed for approximately four years prior to this year. Said a Faculty Council member, "We need to change the rule. We're trying to have this time free. Until such time as we can get aides, we want to operate under a rule of our making. But, Phil [the principal] won't let us replace this one."

Who usually enforces the rule?

The principal enforced the rule. The kindergarten teachers enforced the rule: "We have to have organized recess periods. They're part of what we learn." The majority of the teachers opposed the rule and endeavored to avoid complying with it.

Whose values legitimate the rule?

The principal viewed the rule as a necessary one for deriving the

full educational value from a recess period: "One recess period should be an instructional session. It's not a break time for the kids. We need follow-up on phys. ed. and to give kids practice in playing and competing with each other. The teacher should become a part of the lesson. It's the best way to really get to know all the kids."

Whose values are violated by enforcement of the rule?

The teachers felt as though their values were being violated by enforcement of the rule. The teachers were waging a campaign to have the Board of Education hire aides to supervise the recess periods.

One teacher commented, "Our time can be put to much better use than watching children at recess. Good, well-trained aides could conduct follow-up phys. ed. lessons."

What are the standard explanations of deviation from the rule?

The teachers felt that deviation from the rule was necessary for the long-range betterment of their working conditions. A statement typical of those made by seventeen of the school's staff was: "We have to show that we will not devote time to something that can easily be turned over to non-professionals. We prove our dedication in lots of other ways. Someday we'll be able to use that recess time in constructive ways."

The principal felt that deviation from the rule constituted an abrogation of professional responsibilities. "My teachers have always done a

great job in providing a worthwhile recess program for the kids. Now that we have phys. ed. they seem to think that their responsibilities end. They oppose me for insisting on recesses that contribute to education. It can be a very bad situation for all of us."

What effect does the rule have upon the status of the participants?

The teachers viewed the principal's efforts to enforce the rule as damaging to the principal's status. The teachers felt that teacher deviance from the rule was status enhancing. The principal considered teacher deviance from the rule as status damaging.

What function is being served by the rule?

The punishment-legitimating function as defined by Gouldner is being served by the rule:

> Bureaucratic rules... serve to legitimate the utilization of punishments. They do so because the rules constitute statements in advance of expectations.
>
> ...the establishment of a rule explicating an obligation is frequently accompanied by a specific statement of the punishment, i.e., another rule specifying the punishment which will result if the first rule is violated. [17]

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[17] Gouldner, Bureaucracy, pp. 168-72.

Supervision Case Study (An example of Punishment-Centered Bureaucracy)

Rule: "No student is to be left in the room while the teacher and student's classmates are out unless under the direct supervision of another teacher." (Administrative)

The principal walked out of the first-grade classroom followed by three first-grade children. The children were carrying worksheets and pencils. The children followed the principal to the office area where they were instructed to sit down and finish their work. The principal went to two more first-grade rooms and returned with three more children. They were asked to sit down (on the floor) and continue their work. It was 10:20 a.m. and three of the four first-grade classrooms were out of the building for recess. Two first-grade teachers were on the playground watching the play of the children. One first-grade teacher was in the workroom using a duplicating machine. One first-grade teacher was conducting a reading lesson in her classroom with a group of her children.

The principal approached the first-grade teacher at the duplicating machine and said, "Jane, I asked the boy in your room to come down here and sit by the office until you could take him back. I've got five others here, too--you know I don't want them in the rooms without some supervision."

The principal turned away and walked out of the room. The first-grade teacher continued to use the duplicating machine--she stayed in the work-room for approximately three minutes. Going to the office area she asked the first-grade children to "gather up your things and let's go back to our rooms." As the children were preparing to leave, the principal stepped out of his office and asked the teacher to take only her child. "Will you please ask Mrs. Jackson and Miss Trimble to get their children?" The first-grade teacher replied that she would take all of the children back and watch them until their classes returned. The principal said that he would prefer to have each child's teacher come to the office area.

At 10:32 a. m. two first-grade children came to the office and asked if their classmates could return to their rooms. The building secretary told the children that she would ask the principal. The principal came out of his office and said: "I'm sorry but I asked Mrs. Jackson and Miss Trimble to come for their kids. I'll walk back to your rooms with you and tell them." Four minutes later Mrs. Jackson came to the office area and took her children and Miss Trimble's with her. At 10:40 a check by this observer revealed that the fourth first-grade classroom had gone out of the building for recess. Two children were in the room working and the teacher was playing with the remainder of the children on the playground.

Analysis of Supervision Rule

Who initiated the rule?

The rule was initiated by the principal of the building. The school's Faculty Council did not participate in the formation of the rule.

Who usually enforces the rule?

The principal usually enforces the rule: the teachers do not enforce it. Said one fifth-grade teacher: "The fifth-grade teachers think it's a bad rule. In everything we do we try to encourage self-discipline and then Phil [the principal] has us do this. I'm all for letting children learn to take care of themselves."

Whose values legitimate the rule?

The principal legitimates the rule according to his values: "Too many times I've seen kids left in the room without supervision and something happen. Either a kid hurts himself or someone else or the room is damaged. I've said that another teacher can supervise them, but this is hard to work out. I feel that recess is important, and rarely should a kid have to stay in. If some kid gets hurt, the teacher has to bear the responsibility. My job is to see that the teacher doesn't get into that position."

The teachers often concede on the grounds of expediency but do not legitimate the rule: "It's easier to keep the kids after school with me than it is to argue with Phil [the principal]. But I don't feel that a teacher always

has to be with the children--they get tired of us too."

Whose values are violated by enforcement of the rule?

The teachers felt as though their values were violated. Said one first-grade teacher, "There are times when a child has to finish his work. We have a lot of children who would never complete their work if they didn't have to pay a price for laziness. We don't make a practice of keeping the same children in day after day from recess."

A sixth-grade teacher commented: "Part of my program for these young people is to be able to leave them alone without adult supervision. Phil [the principal] and I go around on this. I think I'm right and so do most of the teachers. I think the faculty should have a greater voice in this matter--it's an educational matter."

A comment from a third-grade teacher was: "The whole staff is committed to good school discipline, but not being able to leave kids alone for a short time makes us look as though we're not."

What are the standard explanations of deviation from the rule?

The principal viewed deviation from the rule as deliberate and willful: "The teachers know exactly what they're doing. They want me to change my thinking, but I know what I want. When teachers let kids stay in the rooms without supervision they're opposing me and they know it."

What effect does the rule have upon the status of the participants?

Conformance to the rule enhanced teacher status as far as the principal was concerned. The principal said, "The teachers that do follow the policy all the time are the ones I can always count on to help the school--the standbys."

Deviance from the rule enhanced teacher status as far as the teachers were concerned. Said a fourth-grade teacher: "We can't just play dead. We have to keep trying to show Phil [the principal] that we're right. There are plenty of us that are trying."

What function is being served by the rule?

The following functions as described by Gouldner appear to be served by the rule:

a. The explication function.

> ... rules comprise a functional equivalent for direct, personally given orders. Since the rules are also more carefully expressed [than are orders] the obligations they impose may be less ambiguous than a hastily worded command.
>
> ...the rules explicate the worker's task while on the other [hand], they shape and specify his relationships to his superior.
>
> ...the rules serve to narrow the subordinates 'area of discretion.' The subordinates now have fewer options concerning what they may or may not do, and the area of 'privilege' is crowded out by the growing area of 'obligation.'[18]

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[18]Alvin W. Gouldner, Patterns of Industrial Bureaucracy (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1954), pp. 162-64.

b. The remote control function.

> Administrators could 'tell at a glance' whether rules...were being followed. In part, then, the existence of general rules was a necessary adjunct to a 'spot check' system; they facilitated 'control from a distance' by those in the higher and more remote reaches of the organization. [19]

c. The punishment-legitimating function.

> Bureaucratic rules...serve to legitimate the utilization of punishments. They do so because the rules constitute statements in advance of expectations.
>
> ...the establishment of a rule explicating an obligation is frequently accompanied by a specific statement of the punishment, i. e., another rule specifying the punishment which will result if the first rule is violated. [20]

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[19] Ibid., pp. 166-68.

[20] Ibid., pp. 168-72.

Principal-Informed Case Study (An example of Punishment-Centered Bureaucracy)

Rule: "Keep me [the principal] informed as to what is being planned, especially in areas of controversy." (Administrative)

The building secretary stepped into the principal's office and told him that Mrs. Greene (a parent) was on the telephone and wished to speak with him. The principal excused himself, told the observer there was no need to leave the room, and answered the telephone. The principal said very little, a frown appeared across his brow, and he simulated hitting the side of his head with his fist. The conversation ended with the principal apologizing for his lack of knowledge concerning the incident and assuring the parent that he would collect some information and call her back.

The principal looked at the observer and said, "Damn, here's a case for you. Some of these teachers still don't let me know what's going on. I had to tell that parent that I didn't even know what was happening in my own school--I don't like to be put in that situation." The mother had called to ask the principal about a film that had been shown to a fourth-grade group of children. The film was about drugs, their uses and abuses.

The principal knew that the film had been received and had been shown in the building. The fifth-grade teachers had approached him about a unit

concerned with drugs and they, with the principal and nurse, had previewed the film. It had been agreed upon that the film was appropriate for fifth and sixth-grade viewing providing pre-viewing instruction had taken place. The principal had stated his opinion at the film previewing that the film should not be shown to the fourth-grade children.

Upon investigation the principal discovered that the fourth-grade team room had used the film. The fourth-grade teachers had heard of the film from the fifth-grade teachers and had asked to show it to their children before it was returned to the distributor. The film was shown one day in the morning to the fifth graders and in the afternoon to the children of the fourth-grade team.

One week before the parent's telephone call was received the principal had devoted nearly one-half of a faculty meeting to a discussion concerning the need to keep him informed as to what was being done in the classrooms.

The principal met with the fourth-grade teachers and told them of the conversation he had had with the parent. He explained that he was upset by not having been consulted about showing a film of that nature. He told the teachers that he was to be notified of any film showing that was not of a routine nature. The principal met with the fifth-grade teachers and admonished them for having given the film to the fourth-grade teachers. He reminded them that he had approved viewing of the film for fifth and sixth-grade children only. They replied that they had not judged the film as being controversial

and that they saw no harm in allowing the fourth-grade teachers to use it.

Analysis of the "Principal Informed" Rule

Who initiated the rule?

The principal initiated the rule. He had constantly asked the teaching staff to make him aware of projects, plays, special assignments, teaching plans and practices that were taking place in the building.

Who usually enforces the rule?

The principal enforced the rule. "I know they [the teachers] think I'm nosy sometimes, but I want to be on top of what's happening." Over half of the teachers (eighteen) said that they did not observe the rule. A first-grade teacher commented: "I love to share what we're doing with Phil [the principal], but I don't always do it. I believe in good communication but not constant reporting."

Whose values legitimate the rule?

The principal legitimated the rule. "I'm the guy that has responsibility for the total school program. We [the teachers and the principal] have to work together to have a good school. The teachers must let me see letters they send to parents, talk with me about new methods they're using with children, let me see films or materials that may cause controversy--keep me informed. I see this as one of their professional responsibilities."

Whose values are violated by enforcement of the rule?

The teachers felt as though their values concerning professional judgment were being violated. One fourth-grade teacher said: "I feel that I can make a sound judgment as to whether something is good for my children or not."

A sixth-grade teacher offered: "It's not always clear what Phil [the principal] considers controversial. We talk a lot and I try to keep him up on what we're doing, but I feel as though I'm capable of making choices for my students."

Nineteen of the teachers in the building said that they were not exactly sure what the rule meant. They expressed the belief that the rule should be operationally defined.

What are the standard explanations of deviation from the rule?

Teachers viewed deviance as an expression of their ability to make mature judgments. Said one fifth-grade teacher, "Phil [the principal] is going to have to realize that we can't always tell him everything. He is just going to have to have faith in our judgments." A second-grade teacher said: "I don't think anyone purposely keeps information from him [the principal]. We have to be able to make decisions, and Phil [the principal] says we're an excellent staff."

The principal viewed deviance as an expression of apathy: "Some of our teachers just don't care enough."

What effect does the rule have upon the status of the participants?

Those teachers that followed the rule enhanced their status with the principal. The principal said: "The teachers that really care about the quality of the total school program are the ones that always keep me informed. There are just a few of them."

Those teachers that did not follow the rule damaged their status with the principal: "I know the majority of the teachers fight my request. They can't see the importance for public relations of me knowing exactly what's happening in their rooms. They hurt the total effectiveness of the school program, and I don't mind telling them so."

What functions are being served by the rule?

The following functions as defined by Gouldner appeared to be served:

The apathy-preserving function:

> ...rules actually contributed to the preservation of work apathy. Just as the rules facilitated punishment, so, too, did they define the behavior which could permit punishment to be escaped. The rules served as a specification of a minimum level of acceptable performance. It was therefore possible for the worker to remain apathetic, for he now knew just how little he could do and still remain secure. Thus bureaucratic rules may be functional for subordinates, as well as for superiors; they permit 'activity' without 'participation;' they enable an employee to work without being emotionally committed to it.[21]

The punishment-legitimating function:

> Bureaucratic rules...serve to legitimate the utilization of punishments. They do so because the rules constitute statements in advance

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[21] Alvin W. Gouldner, Patterns of Industrial Bureaucracy (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1954), pp. 174-76.

of expectations.

...the establishment of a rule explicating an obligation is frequently accompanied by a specific statement of the punishment, i.e., another rule specifying the punishment which will result if the first rule is violated.[22]

[22]Ibid., pp. 168-72.

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This study has been an attempt to identify patterns of bureaucracy at the elementary-school level based upon an analysis of rules and their uses in the ongoing activities of an elementary school. Gouldner's model of three types of bureaucratic patterns served as a basis for comparison and examination of the activities of the elementary school.

The conclusions derived from an exploratory field study cannot be generalized, and the results of this study are limited to the events observed at the cooperating school during the period of data gathering.

Conclusions

Gouldner's three types of bureaucratic patterns--mock, representative, and punishment-centered--were identified as existing in the operation of the cooperating elementary school during the period of observation for this study. The cooperating school was operating under a set of rules that could be identified according to type--behavioral, administrative, or instructional. The activities and interactions of the principal and teachers of the cooperating elementary school as they related to the rules of the school were subject to observation and comparison with Gouldner's patterns of bureaucracy.

It was observed that the mock bureaucratic pattern appeared most often in the conduct of the school's organizational affairs, and that many rules were serving the "leeway function" as described by Gouldner in that they were serviceable by not being used.[1] Teacher-principal cooperation appears to have been enhanced by the mock bureaucratic pattern. This conclusion is supported by Gouldner's findings which indicated that mock bureaucracy produces few tension-inducing situations and does produce participant solidarity through mutual violation and evasion of rules.[2]

The representative bureaucratic pattern was observed to be nearly free of teacher-principal conflict. Teacher-principal interactions appeared supportive of one another as each participant upheld and obeyed commonly approved rules. Thus, teacher-principal cooperation appears to have been enhanced by the representative bureaucratic pattern.

The bureaucratic pattern described by Gouldner as punishment-centered was accompanied by conflict among teachers and principal. It appears that teacher-principal cooperation was damaged by the punishment-centered type of bureaucratic pattern. This conclusion is supported by Gouldner's findings which indicate that punishment-centered bureaucracy "entails relatively great tension" through participant resistance to rule enforcement.[3]

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[1]Alvin W. Gouldner, Patterns of Industrial Bureaucracy (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1954), pp. 172-74.

[2]Ibid., pp. 216-17.

[3]Ibid.

Using Anderson's model for arranging rules under the headings of behavioral, administrative, or instructional, it was found that administrative and instructional rules were identified in all but two of the cases describing bureaucratic patterns in the cooperating elementary school.[4] Inasmuch as this investigator was able to cite only two cases in which behavioral rules were identified within bureaucratic patterns, it appears as though behavioral rules, those rules that pertain to a teacher's personal actions both inside and outside of school, had little effect upon the observed ongoing activities of the cooperating school.

The three types of patterns of bureaucracy as described by Gouldner were sufficient to account for all of the behavior associated with the uses of rules in the operation of the elementary school. The one factor Gouldner associated with the three patterns of bureaucracy that deviated the most in the data collected for this study was in who initiated the rule. Not all mock bureaucratic patterns were products of rules that were imposed from outside the cooperating school. Not all representative bureaucratic patterns were products of rules that were initiated jointly by teachers and administrator of the cooperating school. Not all punishment-centered bureaucratic patterns were products of rules that were initiated and enforced by administrator as opposed to teachers or vice-versa. It appears as though the

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[4]James G. Anderson, Bureaucracy In Education (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1968).

factor of who initiates the rule is not as important in identifying bureaucratic patterns as are the factors associated with whether or not a rule was enforced and the manner in which the enforcement was or was not accomplished.

Recommendations

The findings of this study seem to support the following recommendations:

1. That additional descriptive studies be conducted in elementary schools to determine the status of the schools as they relate to Gouldner's notion of bureaucratic patterns. In addition, descriptive studies should be conducted at the secondary-school level.

2. That future descriptive research utilize a team of researchers for collecting and analyzing data on larger samples of cases.

3. That descriptive and experimental studies be conducted at the elementary and secondary-school levels into the functions of bureaucratic rules as described by Gouldner: explication function, screening function, remote-control function, punishment-legitimating function, leeway function, apathy-preserving function.

4. That experimental research studies be conducted which attempt to test statistically specific hypotheses about the inter-relationships of variables associated with the Gouldner model and the ongoing activities of the elementary school. Questions that could be developed are:

Can the generalization be made that patterns of bureaucracy can be found to exist in the operation of nearly all elementary schools?

Can elementary schools be rated by degree of effectiveness through analyses of the patterns of bureaucracy found to exist in such schools?

Are there certain times of the school year when one pattern of bureaucracy can be observed more often than at other times of the school year; are there periods of high and low activity for bureaucratic patterns during the school year?

Do particular teachers and administrators work better within one particular type of bureaucratic pattern?

Is the punishment-centered bureaucratic pattern always associated with tension-inducing situations?

What is the relationship between teacher and administrator morale and each one of the three patterns of bureaucracy?

5. That school administrators investigate Gouldner's patterns of bureaucracy as a unique and useful way of observing and evaluating their schools' environs. The implications for educational practice suggest:

That all school rules, policies, and procedures be in written form.

That a building-level council (composed of teachers and administrator) have the responsibility for reviewing, reconstructing, eliminating, and developing building rules throughout each school year.

That a district-level council (a majority of its members being teachers) have the responsibility for reviewing district-wide rules throughout each

school year.

That district administration allow some district-wide rules to not be followed in individual schools thus allowing mock bureaucratic patterns to develop.

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APPENDIX A

SUMMARY OF FACTORS ASSOCIATED WITH THE THREE PATTERNS OF BURAUCRACY[1]

MOCK	REPRESENTATIVE	PUNISHMENT-CENTERED
1. Who Usually Initiates the Rules?		
The rule or rules are imposed on the group by some "outside" agency. Neither workers nor management, neither superiors nor subordinates, identify themselves with or participate in the establishment of the rules or view them as their own. e. g.--The "no-smoking" rule was initiated by the insurance company.	Both groups initiate the rules and view them as their own. e. g.-- Pressure was exerted by union and management to initiate and develop the safety program. Workers and supervisors could make modifications of the program at periodic meetings.	The rule arises in response to the pressure of either workers or management, but is not jointly initiated by them. The group which does not initiate the rule views it as imposed upon it by the other. e. g.--Through their union the workers initiated the bidding system. Supervisors viewed it as something to which the Company was forced to adhere.

[1]Alvin W. Gouldner, Patterns of Industrial Bureaucracy (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1954), pp. 216-17.

MOCK	REPRESENTATIVE	PUNISHMENT-CENTERED
2. Whose Values Legitimate the Rules?		
Neither superiors nor subordinates can, ordinarily, legitimate the rule in terms of their own values.	Usually, both workers and management can legitimate the rules in terms of their own key values. e. g.--Management legitimated the safety program by tying it to production. Workers legitimized it via their values on personal and bodily welfare, maintenance of income, and cleanliness.	Either superiors or subordinates alone consider the rule legitimate; the other may concede on grounds of expediency, but does not define the rule as legitimate. e. g.--Workers considered the bidding system "fair," since they viewed it as minimizing personal favoritism in the distribution of jobs. Supervisors conformed to it largely because they feared the consequences of deviation.
3. Whose Values Are Violated by Enforcement of the Rules?		
Enforcement of the rule violates the values of both groups. e. g.--If the no-smoking rule were put into effect, it would violate the value on "personal equality" held by workers and supervisors, since office workers would still be privileged to smoke.	Under most conditions, enforcement of the rules entails violations of neither group's values. e. g.--It is only under comparatively exceptional circumstances that enforcement of the safety rules interfered with a value held by management, say, a value on production.	Enforcement of the rules violates the values of only one group, either superiors or subordinates. e. g.--The bidding rules threatened management's value on the use of skill and ability as criteria for occupational recruitment.

MOCK	REPRESENTATIVE	PUNISHMENT-CENTERED
4. What are the Standard Explanations of Deviations from the Rules?		
The deviant pattern is viewed as an expression of "uncontrollable" needs or of "human nature." e. g.--People were held to smoke because of "nervousness."	Deviance is attributed to ignorance or well-intentioned carelessness--i.e., it is an unanticipated by-product of behavior oriented to some other end, and thus an "accident." This we call a "utilitarian" conception of deviance. e. g.--Violation of the safety rule might be seen as motivated by concern for production, rather than by a deliberate intention to have accidents. If for example, a worker got a hernia, this might be attributed to his ignorance of proper lifting technique.	In the main, deviance is attributed to deliberate intent. Deviance is thought to be the deviant's end. This we call a "voluntaristic" conception of deviance. e. g.--When a worker was absent without an excuse, this was not viewed as an expression of an uncontrollable impulse, or as an unanticipated consequence of other interests. It was believed to be willful.

MOCK	REPRESENTATIVE	PUNISHMENT-CENTERED
5. What Effects Do the Rules Have Upon the Status of the Participants?		
Ordinarily, deviation from the rule is status-enhancing for workers and management both. Conformance to the rule would be status-impairing for both. e. g.--Violation of the no-smoking rule tended to minimize the visibility of status differentials, by preventing the emergence of a privileged stratum of smokers.	Usually, deviation from the rules impairs the status of superiors and subordinates, while conformance ordinarily permits both a measure of status improvement. e. g.--The safety program increased the prestige of workers' jobs by improving the cleanliness of the plant (the "good housekeeping" component), as well as enabling workers to initiate action for their superiors through the safety meetings. It also facilitated management's ability to realize its production obligations, and provided it with legitimations for extended control over the worker.	Conformance to or deviation from the rules leads to status gains either for workers or supervisors, but not for both, and to status losses for the other. e. g.--Workers' conformance to the bidding system allowed them to escape from tense relations with certain supervisors, or to secure jobs and promotions without dependence upon supervisory favors. It deprived supers of the customary prerogative of recommending workers for promotion or for hiring.
6. Summary of Defining Characteristics or Symptoms		
(a) Rules are neither enforced by management nor obeyed by workers. (b) Usually entails little conflict between the two groups. (c) Joint violation and evasion of rules is buttressed by the informal sentiments of the participants.	(a) Rules are both enforced by management and obeyed by workers. (b) Generates a few tensions, but little overt conflict. (c) Joint support for rules buttressed by informal sentiments, mutual participation, initiation, and education of workers and management.	(a) Rules either enforced by workers or management, and evaded by the other. (b) Entails relatively great tension and conflict. (c) Enforced by punishment and supported by the informal sentiments of either workers or management.

APPENDIX B

Cases with Rule Category and Type of Bureaucratic Pattern

Case	Rule Category	Bureaucratic Pattern
Check Sheet Case	Administrative	Mock
Controversial Topic Case	Instructional	Mock
Faculty Meeting Day Case	Administrative	Mock
Faculty Meeting Attendance Case	Administrative	Mock
Grade Report Case	Administrative	Mock
Homework Case	Instructional	Mock
Lesson Plan Case	Instructional	Mock
Parent Organization Case	Administrative	Mock
Reading Case	Instructional	Mock
Smoking In Rooms Case	Behavioral	Mock
Teacher Apparel Case	Behavioral	Mock
Teachers In Rooms Case	Administrative	Mock
Television Case	Instructional	Mock
Telephone Use Case	Administrative	Mock
Audio Visual Case	Administrative	Representative

Case	Rule Category	Bureaucratic Pattern
Balanced Grouping Case	Instructional	Representative
Conduct Case	Administrative	Representative
Curriculum Guide Case	Instructional	Representative
Emergency Procedures Case	Administrative	Representative
Notify Parents Case	Administrative	Representative
Substitute Teacher Case	Instructional	Representative
Teacher Discussion Case	Administrative	Representative
Desk Check Case	Administrative	Punishment-Centered
Extra Help Case	Instructional	Punishment-Centered
Principal Informed Case	Administrative	Punishment-Centered
Recess Case	Instructional	Punishment-Centered
Supervision Case	Administrative	Punishment-Centered
Team Member Case	Instructional	Punishment-Centered