The behavioral sciences and findings from important research studies are used as the theoretical basis for describing many of the concepts, practices, and issues in educational administration. Seven chapters cover the following topics: (1) The system of education, (2) the legal basis for education, (3) the use of theory and research in educational administration, (4) concepts and principles of organization and administration, (5) concepts and studies of educational leadership, (6) types and trends of cooperative procedures in educational administration, and (7) external environment and the schools. A list of selected references completes each chapter. (TT)

second edition

Educational Organization and Administration

CONCEPTS, PRACTICES, AND ISSUES

EDGAR L. MORPHET

ROE L. JOHNS

THEODORE L. RELLER

Prentice-Hall Education Series

DAN H. COOPER, *Editor*

second edition

Educational Organization

and Administration

Concepts, Practices, and Issues

EDGAR L. MORPHET

Professor of Education Emeritus
University of California, Berkeley

ROE L. JOHNS

Head, Department of Educational Administration
University of Florida

THEODORE L. RELLER

Dean, School of Education
University of California, Berkeley

In its first edition this book was called:

Educational Administration
Concepts, Practices, and Issues

Preface

During the eight years since the first edition of this book was published, many changes have occurred in education and in educational organization and administration. Because these changes have been so significant and far-reaching, it became apparent to the authors that mere updating and minor revisions in the book would not suffice to meet present and future needs. Consequently for this edition, the original materials have been almost completely rewritten and many new concepts introduced.

In the first part of the present edition we have drawn on the behavioral sciences and on the findings from important research studies to provide a sound theoretical basis for many of the concepts, practices, and issues discussed and analyzed in later sections of the book. While educational administration has not yet become a science based on rational and defensible theory, much progress has been made. Most of the significant research in educational administration during recent years has been cast in a theoretical framework. There are now many defensible guidelines that can and should be used by school boards and administrators throughout the country in planning changes and making adjustments in educational programs. This book, therefore, should be of interest and value to school-board members and administrators, as well as to college and university students who are preparing to become administrators or researchers and to the increasing number of teachers who are interested in or concerned about the organization and administration of education.

In this edition theories pertinent to educational organization and administration are presented and applied to practice. Both theory and managerial "know how" are emphasized. All practice is based on some kind of theory, and the modern administrator as well as the researcher should understand the theoretical assumptions underlying educational organization and administration.

As stated in the preface to the original edition, the authors believe that:

> The kind and quality of leadership provided in educational administration is particularly important in the democratic society in which we live, because education is so basic to the satisfactory functioning of that society and superior leadership is essential for the development of an adequate program of education. The educational leader of the future ... must be a highly competent person who believes in democracy, in the potentialities inherent in people, and in the significance of the educational process; a person who has the knowledge, insights, ability, and skills needed to function successfully as a recognized educational leader in helping people identify, analyze, and solve satisfactorily the problems with which they and their society are confronted.

One of the distinctive features of this book is the selection and rather extensive discussion of pertinent problems and emerging issues relating to the topics considered in each chapter. Part 1 is concerned primarily with basic principles, concepts, and issues relating to the organization and administration of education in America; Part 2, with the implications of these theories and concepts for the organization of public education; Part 3, with the implications for the administration of the educational program.

EDGAR L. MORPHET
ROE L. JOHNS
THEODORE L. RELLER

Contents

part one

Basic Principles, Concepts, and Issues

part one

*Basic Principles, Concepts,
and Issues*

1

The System of Education

The leaders of most countries now recognize that education, or the lack of it, may represent the difference between orderly progress and chaos; however, their assumptions in developing and implementing programs of education vary greatly. Such assumptions have a direct bearing on the purposes that will be recognized, on the plan for the organization and administration that will be developed, and on the procedures that will be used to implement the program of education. They may not only affect the progress of a nation, but also may help to promote understanding or serve to create international tensions.

SOME INTERNATIONAL CONCERNS

The purposes of education that are accepted and the procedures used by a nation's leaders in implementing the program may promote enlightenment and progress for all citizens or may perpetuate ignorance and misery or generate dangerous biases for many. Education has tremendous potential for good or for evil. Among the problems faced by nations that attempt to develop an adequate plan and program for education are one or more of the following:[1]

[1]Adapted from Theodore L. Reller and Edgar L. Morphet, eds., *Comparative Educational Administration* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1962), Chap. 1; and Roe L. Johns and Edgar L. Morphet, *Financing the Public Schools* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1930), pp. 1–7.

1. The leaders or the group in power may not want the masses to be educated or even recognize the importance of an adequate program of education for all citizens, including minorities against whom there may be strong biases.

2. The members of the controlling group may be so interested in promoting some ideology or fostering some form of nationalism that they fail to recognize the dangers inherent in such a policy and ignore the importance of attempting to provide a sound basis for encouraging better understanding among the peoples of the world.

3. A country's resources may be so limited that little progress can be made, even though the people and their leaders recognize the importance of a good program of education for all and desire to create one.

4. Although a nation may have the resources needed to provide an excellent program of education, the people or their leaders may become complacent because their material needs have been satisfied and may fail to devote a sufficient proportion of their resources to education to assure good schools and institutions of higher learning.

Recent Developments and Needed Studies

During recent years, most nations have become increasingly interested in providing better and more defensible systems and programs of education. This interest has been stimulated by many developments, including the establishment and contributions of the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). The UNESCO constitution succinctly states some basic objectives for all member nations and, hopefully, for all nations. However, these trends do not suggest that nations will or should adopt identical systems of education. Some differences, growing out of the diverse cultures, are to be expected and may, in fact, be stimulating and challenging to others. At this stage, most national plans have some weaknesses as well as some strengths. Continuing study is needed to provide background and information that will enable the people of each country to gain better insights into some of their own problems and possibilities.

Improved communication and transportation, provisions for exchange of educational personnel, programs of international cooperation, the establishment of international professional societies and organizations, and many other recent trends have contributed to a growing interest in educational policies, problems, and procedures in other countries. Such trends have also led to an awareness of the need for and value of various kinds of comparative and analytical studies and to more widespread recognition of the fact that much can be learned from studies

of certain major developments and problem areas that transcend national boundaries. Systematic analytical and comparative studies in such areas as the following, in which present "solutions" or ways of dealing with problems often differ significantly, should be of interest and benefit to people in many nations:

1. The major educational problems, needs, and ways of meeting them in the rapidly growing cities and metropolitan areas in many countries;

2. The problems for students and the profession arising from increasing specialization in education and ways of maximizing the advantages and minimizing the disadvantages of such specialization;

3. Ways of making the curriculum more functional and meaningful for students at all levels, and of placing in proper perspective the traditional "classical" emphasis, especially in underdeveloped countries:

4. The most appropriate uses of newer media of instruction (such as educational television, programmed learning and audiovisual materials) and the role of the teacher in connection with each;

5. The role, use, and misuse of tests and examinations in the learning situation;

6. The role of educators and of laymen in developing and implementing policies relating to various aspects of the educational program in the schools;

7. The contributions, advantages, and disadvantages of the various kinds of professional organizations for education that have been developed in various countries;

8. The extent to which theory relating to instruction and to the organization and administration of education is culturally oriented, and the possibility of developing culture-free theories;

9. The provisions for, the role and the use of research in education, and ways of increasing its contributions;

10. The extent of control of education by political, religious and other groups and the implications for organization, administration, teaching and learning;

11. The extent of centralization and decentralization for various aspects of education and the implications;

12. The preparation, selection, and role of administrators in relation to teaching and learning and to the operation of the instructional staff;

13. The procedures used and the people involved in the development of national educational policies as related to the kinds of policies developed and to the appropriateness of the program;

14. The procedures used in developing long-range plans for organizing, administering, and financing education and in adjusting them to meet emerging needs, and their implications for the program and its functioning.

The Purposes of Education

Every society and nation has been and will continue to be confronted with the same basic problem: How can its members, especially the children and youth, best learn what they must know and what they should do to survive and to contribute to the preservation, welfare, and improvement of the group to which they belong?

Each society or nation has not only established procedures for educating the young but has also come to accept purposes of education such as one or more of the following: to provide for security, to assure conformity, to preserve stability, to prepare for the hereafter, to develop the potentialities of each individual, or to provide for the continuous improvement of society. The purposes of education that grow out of the ideas, beliefs, values, and ways of looking at things developed by members of a particular group, society, or nation tend to change somewhat over a period of years but, in the absence of some catastrophic or unusual circumstances, generally evolve slowly.

Issues Relating to Educational Organization and Administration

In developing a system of education, the leaders—or the people—of each nation have been confronted at one time or another with the four basic issues listed below, each of which has implications for the others. The manner in which each of these issues was resolved had direct implications for the educational structure as well as for the program.

What should be the relation of education to organized religion?

What should be the relation of education to the political state?

What should be the relation of education to the individual citizen?

What should be the relation of the state to the individual and his development?

RELATION TO RELIGION.   In many countries in which the leaders and a majority of the people belong to one church or religious organization, that organization has either been given control of education or has had a decisive voice in determining how the schools should be organized and operated. For example, the Concordat at Rome signed by Spain in 1857 provided that "Public instruction in the universities, colleges, and seminaries, public and private schools of every description must be at

all points in harmony with the teaching of the Catholic Church."[2] In the Concordat of 1953, the right of the Church to control education was again affirmed. At the other extreme is the Soviet Union, which has sought to prevent religious groups from having any active role in education. The United States has attempted to avoid both extremes, providing for the separation of church and state but recognizing the right of religious groups to organize and operate schools of their own.

RELATION TO STATE. Education may be either partly or entirely an instrument of the group in control of the national government or political state, or may have a more autonomous position. Communist Russia and other totalitarian countries have made education a definite arm of the group controlling the political state for the purpose of perpetuating and promoting communist or fascist ideologies. On the other hand, the people of America have gone to great lengths to ensure that education is not dominated by any partisan political organization or controlled by any agency of the federal government. However, this does not imply that education has been isolated from political considerations, or that it should be.

EDUCATION AND THE INDIVIDUAL. The relation of education to the individual citizen has also varied greatly from country to country. The medieval concept of preparing leaders with a strong religious background constituted the basis for the class systems of education developed in many countries. The emphasis in those countries was on the organization of a system of higher education for the leaders, often the most wealthy, with only schools of lower grade for the others. In the United States, the emphasis to some extent has been reversed. Elementary schools were developed for everyone and only gradually were provisions made for secondary schools and colleges. Thus schools in America have been organized to provide opportunities for all, rather than primarily for selected leaders.

THE STATE AND THE INDIVIDUAL. One of the key issues to be resolved in the various countries concerns the relationship of the central government to each individual citizen and his development.[3] In totalitarian countries, chief emphasis has been placed on preserving and perpetuating the state by molding and using individuals for state purposes. In the democratic nations of the world, on the other hand, emphasis generally has been placed on the development of the individual citizen as a con-

[2]Nicholas A. Hans, *Comparative Education* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, Ltd., 1950), p. 111.
[3]I. L. Kandel, *Comparative Education* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1953), Chap. 3.

tributing member of the group. It is believed that if each citizen is helped to develop in accordance with his capacity and is encouraged to learn to think and evaluate for himself, he will contribute more to the welfare of the state than a citizen who is molded in some predetermined pattern. As stated in the 1956 report of the White House Conference on Education: "This policy of encouraging each child to develop his individual talents will be of greatest use to the nation, for in the long run, if no talent is wasted in our land, no skill will be lacking."[4]

Organization and Administration Related to Purposes

Not only the different purposes of education, as recognized and accepted by the nations existing today, but also the different decisions regarding the basic issues discussed previously, have tended to determine the plan for organization, control, and administration of schools that each country has developed. The countries that believe education should serve the interests of the controlling group, whether that group be political or religious or a political-religious partnership, have generally developed a highly centralized system of education. In such countries, the policies are developed primarily by the leaders and must be observed by all schools and by the groups interested in operating the schools. The entire educational program must be operated within the pattern established for the purpose of developing citizens who will contribute directly to the objectives and welfare of the group that controls the government. Any thinking that is encouraged must be within the framework of the ideologies accepted by the controlling group.

In the democratically organized countries, however, especially in the United States and England, most people have been seriously concerned about avoiding centralized partisan control of education by any group, especially in matters relating to what is taught and how it is taught. In most of these nations the chief objective has been to develop a government that promotes national welfare by educating citizens to think through problems and reach sound conclusions. The control of schools has generally been primarily in the hands of the citizens instead of being vested in religious or political leaders.

Thus in any society the establishment of an educational program calls for some kind of a plan and an organization for carrying it out. In primitive groups the organization was usually relatively simple. As society became more complex and formal educational institutions were developed, the need for an appropriate organization to facilitate achievement of the accepted purposes of education became apparent. As modern nations began to develop, they came to accept different purposes for

[4]*A Report to the President* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1956), p. 10.

education, consistent with what seemed to be their national interests. Each attempted to create a system of education and an organization that seemed appropriate to carry out its purposes. As would be expected, these systems and organizations differed considerably in both structure and functions.

SIGNIFICANCE OF CHANGE

Changes that affect people in one way or another have occurred throughout the history of man. Some of these resulted from natural events; others were brought about by man himself. Thus, the fact of change is not new. What is new is the sharply increasing rate at which changes have occurred during recent years, the variety and kinds of changes that have been taking place, and the role of man in the process of effecting changes.

This challenging and, to many people, disturbing new situation has come about largely because (1) a far larger proportion of the people in many countries are much better educated and informed than ever before and, consequently, are more able to understand problems, recognize inconsistencies, and contribute to solutions; (2) the great increase in new knowledge and understanding tends to stimulate and facilitate the development of further knowledge, discoveries, and inventions, and (3) in several countries an ever increasing share of the resources is being devoted to many kinds of research that result in new knowledge, new theories and, in some cases, in discrediting traditionally accepted assumptions.

All available information points to the conclusion that the rate of discovery, change, and the addition of new knowledge will continue to increase. In the immediate future, however, the rate of increase will be much greater in some parts of the world and perhaps in certain areas of knowledge and action than in others. The resulting imbalances are almost certain to create major tensions and problems that will need to be resolved.

This rapid expansion of knowledge and insights carries tremendous —probably even some unanticipated—implications for the future of mankind. It could and should lead to the further liberation of man and to marked improvements in civilization, but it will also bring new dangers and problems. Many of the assumptions and myths to which substantial numbers of people presently subscribe will be so completely discredited they will have to be abandoned. Even some of the values and value systems held by individuals and groups in various parts of the world will have to be modified. There will probably be difficult periods of confusion

and uncertainty for many, but new possibilities and hope for almost everyone should emerge if mankind can learn how to manage and utilize new knowledge and change for the improvement of civilization.

Implications for Education

Not only new knowledge and insights but many innovations and changes have implications for education. Perhaps the most obvious are the curriculum implications of new theories, information, and discoveries in the sciences and mathematics that have already resulted in some major adjustments. Curriculum changes require not only new instructional materials but modifications in teaching-learning procedures, perhaps even in classrooms and in certain aspects of organization or administration. But even more far-reaching changes involving many aspects of the entire educational system are already in prospect as a result of developments during the past few years.

In most organizations there are some people who might well be classified as perennial advocates of change. They seem to view change as something that is highly desirable, regardless of the evidence pertinent to a particular situation. At the other extreme are some—often many—who resist change. Their reaction to any proposal for change tends to be negative, perhaps because it is viewed as a threat to their established habits and patterns of thought. Between these two extremes are those who view change as something that may be either beneficial or harmful, depending on the factors involved, and who support the kinds of change that should enhance their own potential, or enrich and improve the society in which they live.

The above statements are apparently as applicable to people serving in educational organizations as to people generally. At any rate, there is considerable evidence that many school systems and institutions of higher learning have been quite slow in adopting important innovations in education.[5] Such evidence indicates that many educators, for some reason, have failed to adopt a number of changes found to be beneficial. In view of the rapidly increasing rate at which change is taking place in society and the wide variety of changes that are occurring, any serious lag in making needed adaptations should become a major concern, and vigorous steps should be taken to remedy the situation. Some of these should be concerned with the organization, and others with the perceptions and points of view of the personnel involved.

As Gardner has so appropriately pointed out, "it is necessary to discuss not only the vitality of societies but the vitality of institutions

[5]See D H. Ross, ed., *Administration for Adaptability* (New York: Metropolitan School Study Council, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1958).

and individuals. They are the same subject. A society decays when its institutions and individuals lose their vitality."[6]

The vitality of an organization, an institution, or a society is basically determined by the vitality of its personnel. In the field of education, this means that the vitality of administrators, of the facilitating staff, of the teachers and other employees, and of the students is directly related to the vitality of schools and institutions of higher learning.

The attitude of teachers toward change and innovation, as it is reflected in the teaching and learning process, is important in any society. If teachers encourage their students to court change indiscriminately, they may help to establish the climate for chaos. If, on the other hand, they assist their students to develop a sound basis for appraising the implications of change and to bring the results into line with the evolving purposes of society, they are contributing to orderly progress.

These observations, supplemented by evidence already available concerning the teaching and learning process, point to the conclusion that all teachers must clearly recognize and accept their responsibility for helping to prepare every student to do the following:

1. Look forward to a future that will bring many changes and to accept the responsibility for helping to shape that future;
2. Recognize his special aptitudes and abilities, and thus facilitate the development of his individuality;
3. Develop a sound basis for accepting a defensible and evolving system of moral and ethical values for guidance in exercising his responsibilities as a citizen;
4. Recognize that happiness comes primarily from progress in achieving and helping others to achieve worthwhile goals and objectives;
5. Seek and utilize learning and knowledge as a basis for understanding meanings in relationship to his life and to society;
6. Learn to use the scientific method as a basis for studying and resolving the problems he encounters.

Implications for Organization and Administration

If teachers and other educators are to contribute significantly to the vitality and progress of students and of society, the organization (school system or institution) with which they are associated must provide a favorable climate. Among other things, this means that the purposes, policies, and regulations must facilitate the employment and

---

[6]John W. Gardner, *Self Renewal: The Individual and the Innovative Society* (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1964), p. 2.

effective functioning of competent personnel who are interested in preparing students to contribute to constructive, orderly change. This climate is least likely to be found in communities in which substantial numbers are fearful of any change and suspicious of those who believe in preparing for change. It is unlikely to be favorable in situations in which administrators are primarily concerned with stability based on traditional concepts, as contrasted with the "stability in motion" that should be associated with progress.

In every community and state, there are pressures for and against change that come from individuals and groups. These pressures create problems that, unless resolved, can result in confusion and chaos for students as well as for staff. One important step is for administrators, teachers, and all other members of the staff to find ways of helping people realize that many of the changes that are occurring require adjustments to be made in the educational program and process, if the needs are to be met. Another is for everyone, especially administrators, to understand better the process—the dynamics—of constructive change. This is a matter concerning which many people in education have been poorly informed, and about which greater understanding is urgently needed.

First, it is essential that some of the barriers to change be recognized. Gardner has listed several under the heading, "Obstacles to Renewal."[7] He points out that most of these are to be found in the minds of people, rather than in external arrangements. Thus, major obstacles include the habits, attitudes, precedents, and belief systems of people. He also notes the tendency of people to become nostalgic about the "good old days" and often to defend present practices by relating them to "high moral principles." Among the obstacles are vested interests, detailed and stultifying rules and regulations, an overconcern with how to do things the "approved" way, and a tendency to be suspicious of innovators and to discredit them.

Carlson, after expressing concern "about the ability of the public schools to make rapid and adequate adaptation to our fast changing times,"[8] listed three barriers to change: (1) The absence of an institutional "change agent" position, such as the county agent for agriculture, who has as his major function the advocacy and introduction of innovations into practice; (2) a weak knowledge base about new educational practices (evidenced by the limited research, experiment, and development practices), as contrasted with that available to the county agent;

[7]*Ibid.*, Chap. 5.

[8]Richard O. Carlson, "Barriers to Change in Public Schools," in *Change Processes in the Public Schools* (Eugene, Ore.: Institute for the Advanced Study of Educational Administration, University of Oregon, 1965), pp. 3–8.

and (3) the establishment of the public school system as a "domesticated" organization which cannot select its clients and whose clients must accept its services. He notes that when important elements of the environment are stable, the necessity for changes is reduced. He might have added that, as important changes occur in certain aspects of the environment of the schools, the situation becomes less stable and change may be facilitated.

In most school systems the administrators are in a position to play a key role in facilitating or in retarding changes and innovations. Those who seek to play the latter role can hardly claim to be "educators" in the modern sense. Those who serve as facilitators can attempt to serve directly as "change agents" or advocates of particular changes, or as what has been called "process initiators." When the evidence regarding the need for a change is strong or reasonably conclusive, the administrator might be justified in assuming the role of "advocate." When the evidence is weak or controversial, the administrator might better assume the role of process initiator—that is, of appointing or arranging for the appointment of a committee or taking other steps to assure that all aspects and implications of the proposal are carefully studied and discussed as a basis for recommendations. A third role, which would be appropriate under certain conditions, might be that of a mediator or catalyst, whose purpose is to facilitate agreement so decisions can be made.

Miles has noted that ". . . successful efforts at planned change must take as a primary target the improvement of *organization health* —the school system's ability not only to function effectively, but to grow and develop into a more fully functioning system."[9] He listed six interventions aimed at improving organizational health: (1) team training, (2) survey feedback of information about attitudes, opinions, and beliefs of members of the system, (3) role workshop or conference of all people in a particular role, (4) target setting and supporting activities, (5) organizational diagnosis and problem solving, and (6) organizational experiment.

It seems apparent that every state and local school system and educational organization must develop defensible plans for effecting appropriate changes, if it is to be prepared to meet future needs. (Consult Chapters 3 to 6 for discussion of basic theory and research.) These plans should be based on considerations such as the following:

1. Appropriate steps should be taken to attempt to ensure that the organizational health is good and that the climate is conducive to the introduction and implementation of defensible innovations.

[9]Matthew B. Miles, "Planned Change and Organizational Health," in *Change Processes in the Public Schools*, pp. 11–32.

2. There should be a conscious effort to include as members of the organization people who are interested in new ideas and procedures and are sufficiently mature that they are not likely to be seeking change for the sake of change.

3. There should be a continuing search within the system, in other school systems and universities and even in other countries and other disciplines, for ideas that seem worthy of consideration and that can be used to develop an inventory and categorization of promising concepts.

4. Appropriate procedures should be developed for analyzing and evaluating the ideas and concepts that seem most promising. The findings of pertinent research studies, analyses of experiences elsewhere, and value judgments should be sought as a basis for distinguishing between defensible concepts and ideas that have little merit.

5. From time to time, the most promising concepts should be selected, with the concurrence of the people who would be involved, for introduction in some school or aspect of the educational program. There should be assurance that all conditions are as favorable as possible for the successful introduction and implementation of these concepts.

EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION AND THE BEHAVORIAL SCIENCES

While educational administration undoubtedly differs in a number of respects from other types of administration, there apparently are some common elements. Lazarsfeld commented as follows on four major tasks faced by all administrators which vary chiefly in relative emphasis:[10]

1. The administrator must fulfill the *goals* of the organization.

2. The administrator must make use of *other people* in fulfilling these goals, not as if they were machines, but rather in such a way as to release their initiative and creativity.

3. The administrator must also face the humanitarian aspects of the job. He wants people who work for him to be happy. This is *morale*—the idea that under suitable conditions people will do better work than they will under unsuitable conditions.

4. The administrator must try to build into his organization *provisions for innovations*, for change and for development. In a changing world, people must adapt to changing conditions.

Administration has been discussed as a common-sense approach to and method of dealing with problems, as an art and as a series of techniques that can best be transmitted from one administrator to another.

[10]Paul F. Lazarsfeld, "The Social Sciences and Administration: A Rationale," in *The Social Sciences and Educational Administration*, eds. Lorne Downey and Frederick Enns (Edmonton: University of Alberta, 1963), pp. 3 and 4.

While some of these elements will undoubtedly persist, the evidence shows that the study and practice of administration is becoming more scientific from year to year. But, as Gross has pointed out, ". . . although administrative thought has made tremendous advances the greatest advances still lie ahead."[11]

The practice of educational administration, as well as of administration in general, is becoming more scientific because the body of pertinent knowledge is being increased by scientific study. Progress in the development of a theory or theories of administration, increases in the volume and quality of research, and other developments have brought new knowledge and understanding that provide sounder bases for improvements in various aspects of administrative operation.

Both education (including teaching and learning) and educational administration are much more complex and have many more facets than were formerly recognized by most people. Through research by psychologists, social psychologists, anthropologists, sociologists, political scientists, and economists, as well as by professional educational researchers, many of the dimensions of the educational and administrative process have been discovered. These findings have resulted in many significant improvements in the curriculum and in methods, materials, organization, and administration. It is important to recognize that many of these advances would not have been possible without the contributions made by the behavioral sciences (often referred to as the social sciences). All of these sciences are concerned with the behavior of man, as are people in the field of education. However, each is concerned with different aspects of man's behavior, or with analyzing the same item of behavior in terms of different concepts.[12]

All these sciences hold that the behavior and products of men can best be understood on the basis of three concepts: (1) *goals* (end states or conditions), (2) *functions* (activities by which men achieve goals), and (3) *arrangements* (structures and mechanisms for arranging activities). Psychology has been primarily interested in the study of individualistic attributes of people and other organisms; the other disciplines, with collective attributes that grow out of group interaction.

Many studies made by behavioral scientists have not been directly concerned with education or educational administration. Nevertheless, these studies have provided significant information and insights that have led to a better understanding of individual behavior, group processes,

---

[11]Bertram M. Gross, "The Scientific Approach to Administration," in *Behavioral Science and Educational Administration*, ed. Daniel E. Griffiths, The Sixty-third Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, Part II (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964), p. 33.

[12]This discussion is based largely on statements by Fred Fosmire and Richard A. Littman, "The Behavior Sciences—an Overview" in *Social Sciences View School Administration* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1964), pp. 36–53.

and organizational problems. Fortunately, during recent years a number of behavioral scientists have become interested in various aspects of education ranging from board-superintendent relations, communication, and decision making, to the economics of school finance, and have made studies that provide much-needed insights and knowledge. Several of these studies are discussed at appropriate places in later chapters in this book. The major point to be emphasized here is that not only students of educational administration but practicing administrators need to be familiar with and make use of these contributions as a basis for effecting improvement in education and in educational administration.

SOME UNIQUE FEATURES OF AMERICAN EDUCATION

The policies and plans that have been developed for the organization and administration of education in the United States have a number of unique features. These features were not designed in an effort to be different; they grew out of the beliefs, attitudes, and experiences of the people who evolved the nation and its institutions.

Neither the schools nor other institutions of a nation can be understood merely by studying them as they are at present. Back of any institution is a long and complex history involving many conflicting ideas, struggles among and within various groups, a variety of experiences, and many other factors.[13] Thus, origins of the American system of education are found in European culture, but the schools were not transplanted in the form in which they had developed in any country. Concepts and practices that seemed to have value were tried out, and either modified or discarded. New ideas that were developed in this country went through a similar process. As pointed out by the Educational Policies Commission some years ago, "Every system of thought and practice in education is formulated with some reference to the ideas and interests dominant or widely cherished in society at the time of its formulation."[14] In every case the crucial but often unrecognized test applied was: *Was the practice or proposal consistent with, and did it contribute to the attainment of, the ideals and value systems that were developing in America?*[15]

[13]For a thorough discussion and analysis of the forces and factors that influenced the development of schools and other educational institutions and the provisions for the organization, administration and control, see R. Freeman Butts and Lawrence A. Cremin, *A History of Education in American Culture* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, Inc., 1953), especially Chaps. 7, 8, and 16.

[14]Educational Policies Commission, *The Unique Function of Education in American Democracy* (Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, 1937), p. 6.

[15]For discus 'on of sociological background and meanings, see George S. Counts, *The Social Foundations of Education* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1934); also Emile Durkheim, *Education and Sociology* (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, Inc., 1956).

Some of the unique features of the organization and administration of education found in the United States are discussed briefly below:

1. *The system of education is relatively decentralized.* The people in the respective states (not in the federal government) have the basic responsibility for the organization and control of education. In most states, much of the responsibility for the actual organization and administration of public schools has been delegated to local school districts. However, the increasing concern of the federal government about education has been indicated by provisions for financial assistance, Supreme Court decisions about the implications of Constitutional provisions, and in other ways. The extent of decentralization in the United States contrasts sharply with the marked centralization of control found in many other countries.

2. *The people, rather than educators or government officials, are ultimately responsible for all basic policies relating to education.* Though in practice many policies are cooperatively developed, the decision as to what policies are to be adopted and followed is usually delegated to the legislature and state board of education (for state policies) and to local lay boards of education selected by the people (for local policies) or, in some cases, the decision is made by the people themselves. The recommendations of educators are usually considered and often followed. In many countries, most operating policies are determined chiefly by educators.

3. *A single-track system of education open freely to all has been established.* This system, contrasting sharply with the dual systems found in many countries, is one logical outgrowth of the concept of equal opportunity in and through education for all citizens. Thus, every person, regardless of his social, economic, political, or racial background, presumably has equal opportunities to develop his talents fully so he may become a socially and economically productive citizen. These opportunities are provided through a system of public education extending from nursery school or kindergarten through comprehensive secondary schools and higher education.

4. *Although primary emphasis is placed on public schools, provision is also made for private and parochial schools.* The American people generally believe that public schools have a special and necessary contribution to make to the development and unity of the American way of life. Provision is made for such schools supported by public tax funds to be available to all, and special effort is made to assure that they are organized and operated in the interest and for the benefit of all people. Parents may, however, send their children either to public or to non-public schools. Private and religious agencies have been given considerable freedom to establish, control, operate, and support schools and

other educational institutions in accordance with their own concepts.

5. *The public schools and educational institutions are safeguarded insofar as possible from partisan political control.* Control of the schools or other public educational institutions by any partisan political group is considered not only undesirable but potentially dangerous. Therefore, provision is generally made for the schools to have a comparatively independent status, so there is an opportunity to resolve educational issues separately from other issues and so school boards and educators can be relatively free from domination or control by partisan agencies or groups, and even by other governmental agencies.

6. *Education in the public schools and educational institutions is nonsectarian.* No religious creed or doctrine may be taught in the public schools. Special provisions are made to assure that these schools on all levels are safeguarded against domination or control by any religious organization. Such provisions make it possible for the public schools to teach about religion and to instruct in moral and ethical values but not to present these matters from the point of view of any sect or religious organization.

7. *Americans believe that those who are responsible for the administration of their schools, as well as those who teach in the schools, should be especially prepared to meet their responsibilities.* The idea that educational administrators should have special preparation has developed slowly but is now accepted in practically all states. Outside of this country and a few others, the concept of special preparation for administrators has had comparatively little recognition or acceptance.

Purposes, Policies, and Values

As the nation developed, despite many sharp disagreements and bitter battles along the way, most people began to recognize the need for certain purposes to be achieved and to agree upon some of the basic policies and characteristics of a program of education suitable for America. These agreements grew out of the beliefs, judgments, and experiences of the people.

Statements of purposes and policies that are acceptable must reflect the values and aspirations of the people and should be based on consideration of such concepts as the following:

1. *They should be consistent with the concept that education should help the people of the nation approach the democratic ideal.* Although this ideal has never been defined to the satisfaction of all, practically everyone believes in the democratic way of life as the one most suitable for America and agrees that the schools should help to assure that it is achieved.

2. *They should make clear that the schools must provide for the education of all as a basis for national stability and progress.* It is generally recognized that democracy cannot function satisfactorily unless all members are sufficiently well educated to participate intelligently and constructively in the democratic processes and their improvement.

3. *They should assure that provisions will be made for each individual to have the opportunity to realize fully his own potentialities and, thus, be prepared to contribute to the improvement of his community, state, and nation.* When the potentialities of each individual are fully and properly developed, he should become the type of citizen needed to contribute to the improvement of the nation and, indirectly at least, of the world in which he lives.

4. *They should recognize that education constitutes one essential key to a better life for all.* Although some people are concerned primarily with abundance in a material sense, most recognize that the lives of people will be most meaningful and the improvement of civilization will proceed most satisfactorily when the "abundant" life is interpreted to include cultural, spiritual, and ethical values, as well as material qualities.

5. *They should be developed through intelligent participation, discussion, and understanding by the people.* In matters pertaining to education, Americans are not willing to leave vital decisions such as those involving purposes and policies for education to their leaders or to any one segment of the population. They believe that education is so basic and potentially so significant for the future of the nation and of the world that everyone should be encouraged to attempt to understand the problems, think through the issues, and cooperate in arriving at sound conclusions.

Purposes and Social Policy

The generally accepted statements of purposes of education in the United States constitute the guidelines for one major aspect of social policy that must be fully implemented if the democratic way of life is to function satisfactorily. Such statements have become the basis for a program of action in establishing, organizing, and operating educational institutions designed to serve as the means of satisfying the imperatives for socialization and individualization in modern society. Whether these purposes are classified under self-realization, human relationships, economic efficiency, and civic responsibility, as suggested by the Educational Policies Commission,[16] or under other defensible headings, may not be

[16]Educational Policies Commission, *The Purposes of Education in American Democracy* (Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, 1938), pp. 45 ff.

important as long as the objectives are sound and can be agreed upon.

One of the problems at present confronting the people of each state and of the nation arises from the fact that there are substantial minorities who either do not agree with some of these purposes or objectives, or are not willing to make the effort to provide the kind and quality of schools needed to attain them. At times, differences of opinion may serve to stimulate further thinking and discussion, but long-continued and emotionally supported differences may result only in confusion and uncertainty. Unless some way can be found to resolve major differences, they are likely to interfere with desirable developments. The problem has been complicated during recent years by the organization of vigorous groups of extremists who seem to be more interested in attempting to mold the educational institutions to suit their own narrow purposes than in seeking to understand the educational problems and needs of the nation.[17] The process of serious discussion—attempting to understand, taking into consideration the pertinent evidence and the points of view of others, and striving to find common ground as the basis for agreement —which has been so significant in the past, must be pursued vigorously in the future if the schools and other educational institutions are to continue as a vital force in American life.

In considering purposes of education, four important observations should be kept in mind,

1. Any program of education, including the stated or implied purposes, tends to be continued or perpetuated even after changes have occurred in the society that established the purposes, or after evidence from research has shown the need for modification.
2. Because education is so important and because of its inherent potentialities, a constant struggle may be expected between those who would use education for the improvement of mankind and those who would use it to enhance their own power and position or that of their group.
3. Continuing studies and discussions are necessary to ensure that there is agreement on purposes of education consistent with the desires and needs of the people and that schools are dynamic rather than static institutions.
4. Constant vigilance is essential to ensure that the educational program is developed for the benefit of all and not controlled by or in the interest of any one group or class.[18]

[17]See Roald F. Campbell, Lavern L. Cunningham, and Roderick F. McPhee, *The Organization and Control of American Schools* (Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill Books, Inc., 1965), Chap. 13.

[18]Adapted from statements in Malcolm MacLean and Edwin H. Lee, *Change and Process in Education* (New York: Dryden Press, 1956), Chap. 1.

ORGANIZATION AND ADMINISTRATION OF AMERICAN SCHOOLS

The general plan for organizing schools in America had to be evolved by the American people somewhat as they evolved purposes. In the early days, a relatively simple organization sufficed. However, as communities became larger and the nation developed, more thought had to be given to problems of organization. Since the educational program that was 'eing developed had some unique features, it is not surprising that the plan for organization and control of education that eventually emerged should also be unique in certain respects. The major features of this plan are:

1. The people in each state are responsible for developing and establishing plans and making provisions for the organization and operation of public schools and institutions of higher learning designed to meet the needs of the state. (See Chapters 2 and 9.)

2. The people in each community during the early days, and now the people in each school district created as a political unit of the state, are responsible for establishing and operating schools designed to meet needs in accordance with standards established by the state. (See Chapters 10 and 11.)

3. The federal government constitutionally has no direct responsibility for controlling, organizing, or operating schools or institutions of higher learning in a state but is expected to encourage and assist the states in developing adequate and effective programs. However, the interest of the federal government in education has increased sharply and its role seems to be changing.

The plans and provisions for the organization and administration of education in this country vary considerably from state to state and, to some extent, among school districts within the same state. But there are more basic similarities than differences. These similarities have grown out of the commonly accepted purposes of education, of experiences with various types of organization, and of studies relating to the subject. As a result, there has been a gradual elimination of some of the least satisfactory developments and an increasing similarity in basic provisions that are considered desirable on the basis of purposes, experiences, and the conclusions from numerous studies. For example, the small school districts established in the early days have generally been found to be inefficient and unsatisfactory and have gradually been replaced in many parts of the country by larger districts.

There was no provision for professional educational administration

of the schools in any state for many years after the nation was established. As communities and schools increased in size, more schools were established, and provision was made for financial support through taxation, it became apparent that it was necessary for some competent person to devote his attention to the problems of organization and administration. This was first considered largely a matter of management that could be carried out by a member of the board or a lay citizen. Gradually, however, it became apparent that all aspects of the program should be coordinated and improved as needed and that this was largely a professional job to be assumed by a qualified person.

As the American people have learned from various types of experiences and have had an opportunity to develop realistic concepts regarding educational administration, they seem to have reached general agreement on the following characteristics of a sound plan for the administration and operation of local school systems: (1) the policies for education should be established by a lay board of education representing the people of the area; (2) the educational program and the schools should be administered by professional personnel prepared for that specific purpose; (3) the professionally prepared administrator of the district, with the assistance of his staff, should be expected to recommend policies for consideration and approval by the board, and to execute those that are approved; (4) the schools should be adequately staffed by professionally prepared teachers and other educational specialists, whose work is facilitated by competent operation and maintenance personnel.

Many of the concepts relating to organization and to the administration of education have been considerably modified during the past few years as a result of changes in society, of governmental functions, and of insights based on research studies and findings. Further modifications seem inevitable, because the evidence, some of which is discussed in subsequent chapters, points clearly to the need for such changes.

The system (or systems) of education in this country should be viewed as constituting a (presumably) coordinated unit or part of the system of government. The organization comprises the staff that is organized for the purpose of achieving the purposes and objectives of education. The development and modification of the organization is a function of administration that attempts to relate and fuse the purposes of the schools, the staff, and of society. "It is the continuously developing r' 'n which defines the job and shows how it can be efficiently and effectively accomplished by the people functioning in a certain social environment."[19]

[19]Daniel E. Griffiths, David L. Clark, D. Richard Winn, and Laurence Innaccone,

All organizations are affected to some extent by the prevailing forces and factors in the society and culture in which they operate. Most large organizations in particular tend to develop some of the characteristics of what has come to be called a bureaucracy.

Four fundamental concepts have commonly been used as a basis for studying, attempting to understand, and proposing improvements in organization: the task (or job), the position (relates to a grouping of tasks), the authority (who may initiate action for whom), and the administrative unit or department. For educational organizations, Charters has proposed an analysis of the *work flow* (sequence in which work operations are performed and techniques used in order to effect results) and of the *division of labor* (manner in which tasks in the school's work flow are broken up and distributed among instructional and noninstructional personnel).[20] He considered "organizational maintenance" as comprising input-output functions and work-coordinating functions. Lonsdale explained organizational maintenance as ". . . sustaining the organization in dynamic equilibrium through a developing integration of task-achievement and needs-satisfaction."[21] He noted this is a complex process which involves achieving the tasks of the organization and meeting the needs of the individual.

During recent years, the concepts of administration have moved far from the old idea of "scientific management" and "efficiency" as primary concerns, to a much greater emphasis on consideration of factors involved in human relations. In some respects, an interpretation given fifty years ago is still appropriate: "Administration is the capacity of coordinating many, often conflicting, social energies in a single organization so adroitly that they shall operate as a unity."[22]

Griffiths, after emphasizing and explaining the value of the tridimensional concept (the job, the man, and the social setting) for educational administration, analyzed the human-relations aspects of the motives of man, perception, communication, power, authority, morale, group dynamics techniques, decision making, and the human-relations approach to leadership.[23] Simon also gave considerable attention to the

---

Organizing Schools for Effective Education (Danville, Ill.: Interstate Printers and Publishers, Inc., 1962), p. 10.

[20]W. W. Charters, Jr., "An Approach to the Formal Organization of the School," in *Behavioral Science and Educational Administration*, Chap. 11.

[21]Richard C. Lonsdale, "Maintaining the Organization in Dynamic Equilibrium," in *Behavioral Science and Educational Administration*, Chap. 7.

[22]Brooks Adams, *The Theory of Social Revolutions* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1914), p. 207.

[23]Daniel E. Griffiths, *Human Relations in School Administration* (New York: Appleton-Century & Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1956).

use of fact and value in decision making (both are usually involved), as well as to rationality in behavior.[24]

Present authorities are concerned with the development of a unifying theory as a way of looking at organization and administration, procedures for examining these areas, and the implications of findings from research studies. These and other basic concepts and principles of organization and administration and some of their implications for education are considered in detail in Chapter 3.

PUBLIC AND NONPUBLIC EDUCATION

Because of their belief in democracy and their conviction that all citizens must be educated as a means of assuring that democracy will function satisfactorily, most Americans have become convinced that a good system of public schools and institutions of higher learning is essential. They have depended upon the public schools to help citizens develop the knowledge and understanding necessary to resolve differences and agree upon policies and courses of action to serve the common good —that is, to create national unity out of diversity. The public schools have become the people's schools, and in general the people have been proud of their schools. Nearly eight out of every nine citizens have attended the public schools.

The American people have also recognized that, for one reason or another, some parents may not want their children to attend the public schools. The right of people to provide nonpublic schools and of their children to attend them has been established by the courts.

Theoretically, all schools are subject to control by the state, but in practice in most states there has been little control or supervision of nonpublic schools. The public schools, by the nature of their organization, are publicly controlled. Nonpublic schools are generally privately controlled. They operate under the direction of the owner or the manager, of a specially established board of trustees or, in the case of the denominational schools, under the auspices of church authorities. In this sense they are private schools, and the term "private" is frequently used to refer to all schools other than the public schools.

This book is concerned primarily with the organization and administration of public education. However, many of the basic theories of organization, administration, and leadership discussed in subsequent chapters are equally applicable to nonpublic schools.

[24]See Herbert A. Simon, *Administrative Behavior: A Study of Decision-Making Processes in Administration*, 2nd ed. (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, Inc., 1957).

SOME IMPORTANT PROBLEMS AND ISSUES

As indicated by the previous discussion, there are many unresolved issues relating to the systems of education developed in various countries. A few of the most important are discussed briefly on the following pages, and others are considered in subsequent chapters.

How Should Education Contribute to Community, State, and National Development?

Two major problems that should be of concern to educators as well as all other citizens are: (1) How can the educational program best be adapted to the needs of a rapidly changing civilization? and (2) How can and should education contribute to community, state, and national development (improvement) and help to assure that the direction and results of change will be beneficial rather than harmful?

A group of social scientists from the United States and one of the Latin American countries recently proposed the following assumptions for guidance in considering certain aspects of these problems:

1. There are important educational, social, economic, and other improvements that should be made in every nation, state, and community. The need for improvement is especially urgent in underdeveloped areas and communities.

2. From a long-range point of view, the best way to assure that needed improvements will be effected in any society is to improve the education of the people. Thus improving the knowledge, insights, understanding, and skills of the people becomes a key to the improvement of a community, state, and nation.

3. Effective planning for social change should be founded on a real desire of people for improvement and a willingness to take action leading to change on the part of the individual members of the group or groups concerned.

4. The objective of all national, state, and community improvement programs should be to promote and facilitate needed and orderly social and economic changes (improvements) by maximizing the improvement and contributions of individuals (as persons and as members of cooperating groups) and thus preserving, protecting, and enhancing respect for the rights and obligations of every citizen.

5. Insofar as practicable, improvements should be carefully and systematically planned, rather than left to chance or caprice. Plans should be developed on the basis of scientific studies and research; goals and objectives should be established by agreement among informed and competent people who should cooperate in their attainment. However, there must be an awareness that social change may occur (1) through a process of evolution, (2) through a revolution, (3) through diffusion, and (4) through planned action.

6. Community, state and national development are interrelated in many ways. Weaknesses in national or state planning and development handicap all communities; weaknesses in communities of any kind retard national and state planning and progress.

7. National plans should include policies for national, state and community development. They should provide for the national government to (1) implement directly only those aspects of the general plan which must be undertaken at that level, and (2) stimulate and encourage state and local planning in those aspects which are appropriate for state and local decisions and which, if undertaken nationally, would retard or discourage local creativity and initiative and tend to increase and to perpetuate needless centralization and control.

8. Careful development and implementation of appropriate plans for the improvement of the rural life and economy are essential for the well-balanced development and continuous progress of any nation. No aspect of the economy or culture can be neglected or permitted to lag seriously without handicapping other aspects. Changes are often interrelated.

9. While wisely and carefully developed national plans are essential for sound national progress, state and community studies and development programs need not and should not be neglected or delayed because of the lack or inadequacy of such plans. In fact, meaningful state and community development programs may stimulate and facilitate the national planning process.

10. The process of planning involves many little-understood aspects and factors and, therefore, should be continuously studied and improved as a means of safeguarding against mistakes or correcting them. Optimum safeguards are provided when competent people who are genuinely interested in bona fide community, state, and national improvements cooperate in the process of developing and appraising plans. The process is most likely to be defective or dangerous when undertaken by uninformed or selfish people who are concerned primarily with their own vested interests.

11. All plans should incorporate procedures for evaluation designed to assure that imperfections will be discovered as promptly as possible, so steps can be taken to assure needed adjustments and to avoid undesirable developments and outcomes.[25]

In what respects should these assumptions be supplemented or modified? What are some of the implications for programs and procedures for preparing teachers, administrators, and technicians who are concerned with aspects of community, state, or national improvement? for educational programs and for the organization and administration of education?

How Much Centralization Is Desirable?

There are many people who believe in a considerable amount of centralization for the purposes of efficiency. Many others vigorously

[25]Developed by the Staff, Instituto de Estudos Rurais, Fundação Escola de Sociologia e Política de São Paulo (Brazil).

resist the idea, especially at the stage of practical application. One difficulty is that the terms "centralization" and "efficiency" mean different things to different people. It is, therefore, difficult even to discuss these concepts without giving some attention to definition and interpretation.

Centralization in the field of education is often used to mean the organization of larger schools or larger school systems. On the other hand, it may mean that an increasing number of things are done—and decisions made—centrally, that is, by the central office of the school system, by the state, or even by tne national government.

Such questions as the following are frequently raised: Are there certain things that can be accomplished more effectively and satisfactorily in some central office, by the state, or by the federal government than where they are now attempted? What would be the effect on the educational program of assigning additional functions to ? more central organization? Could the following criteria be used for general guidance in resolving such questions: (1) *those things should be done (or decisions made) centrally that do not require or involve local initiative and responsibility and which can be done more efficiently and economically on a centralized basis; (2) those things should be decentralized and carried out at the local level which require decisions relating particularly to local needs and which, if done centrally. would prevent or limit desirable initiative and handicap the development of effective local leadership and responsibility.*

Americans generally believe that maximum provision should be made and encouragement given to local responsibility and to the development of local leadership, which becomes a major source of state and national leadership. However, the people in many other countries do not seem to be especially concerned about this concept.

It is becoming evident to many people in this country that, while primary emphasis should be on the development of a state-local partnership in education, there are probably certain things that can and should be centralized. For example, both the state and the federal government are in a much better position than most local school systems to tap and utilize effectively certain sources of revenue that should be used for support of the schools. On the other hand, teaching must be carried out in the local community, but effective teaching is made possible by resources and materials, some of which must come from without the community and state.

Issues such as the following must be resolved if some of the disadvantages of extreme decentralization or extreme centralization are to be avoided: What aspects of the program should be centralized and to what extent? How can the state, the intermediate unit, and the local

school system best cooperate in developing the educational program without creating a situation in which desirable local initiative and responsibility are discouraged?

Who Should Control Education?

One of the major concerns of the American people has been to assure that public schools and educational institutions are not directly subject to control by groups or organizations that might seek to use them for their own purposes. In no other country have the people provided the safeguards sought in most sections of thi.: country. However, the schools are always in some danger. Certain individuals and groups are constantly seeking to influence or even to control education for their own advantage. Control of education offers one promising opportunity to control the thoughts and destinies of the people in the community, state, or nation.

Most people apparently believe that education is so basic and has such tremendous possibilities for good or evil as far as community, state, and national progress is concerned, that special provisions are essential to assure that the schools will not be diverted from their major purposes. But the people are not yet fully agreed on how this can best be accomplished.

By constitutional provision, the public schools are nonsectarian. However, in some Protestant communities, school officials have collaborated in introducing or maintaining practices that have Protestant biases. In certain predominantly Catholic communities the public schools, in effect, have been operated as Catholic institutions. These practices and many others have resulted in sharp, often bitter controversies in many communities. Some of them have been held by the courts to be unconstitutional; yet they have persisted in other communities or states. How can the public schools best be operated as nonsectarian institutions in all communities, or should they l_?

Most states have made a determined effort to ensure that schools will be safeguarded from attempts to use them for partisan political purposes. There are still states, however, in which not only the county superintendent but the state superintendent is elected as a Republican or as a Democrat, rather than as a professional educational leader. There are also a number of communities and some states in which board members are elected by political parties and, consequently, may owe some allegiance to those parties. Attempts to use the schools for partisan political purposes have occurred from time to time in many communities, but fortunately such attempts are usually vigorously resisted. What additional safeguards, if any, are needed to assure freedom from partisan political influences?

In almost every community and state, there are some individuals

or organizations who are constantly seeking to keep the schools from doing certain things or to see that they do other things that would be contrary to the basic purposes of education. Bitter attacks have sometimes been made on boards of education and school administrators who resisted these efforts. Certain groups would, if they could, prevent children from studying about UNESCO, about evolution, about family relationships, in fact about many other matters that must be studied if children are to learn to understand and think through some of the problems of the modern world. Groups that have "axes to grind," sometimes deliberately set about to control the board of education and consequently the school program, by supporting candidates, openly or secretly, who are committed to their particular point of view. What steps can be taken to ensure that minority or even majority groups do not take over control of the schools for their own particular purposes? How can attempts to get the schools to do something that is contrary to their proper functions best be resisted?

How Can Greater Agreement Be Reached on Purposes and Objectives of Education?

Among the distinctive features of the educational program as developed in many of the democratic nations of the world, Kandel pointed out one that seems especially significant:

> A system of administration conceived as it is in England and the United States is itself educative; it demands intelligence and it elicits intelligence; it relies for the progress and success of education on public opinion and that public opinion must be enlightened; it calls for cooperation and participation of all who are concerned with education but it also creates that concern.[26]

At no time has there been adequate understanding of this unique role of education, nor has there been agreement on purposes and objectives. Complete agreement probably should not be expected. Yet, when there are significant differences of opinion, there are bound to be controversies regarding the schools, criticisms, and difficulties in working out a satisfactory program of education. The public schools need the support of the people. To the extent that this support is not forthcoming from any substantial number, the schools will be handicapped.

There are marked differences of opinion concerning the tasks of the public schools, "the fundamentals," the nonsectarian nature of public schools, adult education, vocational education, preparation of teachers—in fact, about almost every significant aspect of the educational program.

[26]I. L. Kandel, *Types of Administration* (New York: Oxford University Press, Inc., 1938), p. 43.

What procedures can be used to bring about greater agreement than exists at present on purposes and goals and in establishing priorities? In areas where substantial agreement is impossible, what should the schools do?

What Kind of Organization Is Needed to Facilitate the Attainment of Acceptable Purposes?

All citizens should have a direct concern about education. If it is seriously neglected in any state, the nation may be handicapped. The fact that a good program of education is essential for the development and continuation of a sound democratic form of government has been recognized by many from the beginning. If the federal government had been given more responsibility for education when the nation was organized, could some of the mistakes and weaknesses found in various parts of the country have been avoided? Are there any respects in which steps should be taken to develop a national system or program of education?

A few states have left public school education to be developed pretty much by communities, with comparatively little state direction or influence. In fact, schools throughout the country are often thought of as "local" schools. Would it be feasible to consider education as a local rather than a state responsibility? What should be the major responsibilities of the state for the educational program? What kind of local organization for schools is needed to facilitate the attainment of purposes generally agreed upon?

What Should Be the Place of Nonpublic Education in American Life?

The American people have overwhelmingly placed their faith in public tax-supported schools. But many individuals and groups from the beginning have vigorously opposed the development of such schools. On the other hand, the significant contributions of the nonpublic schools, and especially of the nontax-supported institutions of higher learning, have sometimes not been fully recognized.

Not only the number but the proportion of children attending nonpublic schools has increased during the past quarter of a century. By far the greatest proportion of the increase has been in attendance at Roman Catholic parochial schools. This growth apparently has resulted primarily from the policy of Catholic church officials that: "Catholic children must not attend non-Catholic, neutral or mixed schools . . ." except with special permission.[27] There has also been some growth in Jewish and Protestant schools during the past few years.

[27]From Title XXII, "Concerning Schools," Catholic Canon Law.

A majority of parents representing most denominations apparently prefer that their children attend public schools. Many Catholics also take this point of view. In fact, there is currently a vigorous debate within the Roman Catholic Church in this country about the future of Catholic elementary and secondary schools. Some contend that the present policy should be continued; others that it should be materially revised. Several writers have vigorously supported the latter point of view.[28] The issue of financial support and criticisms of education in parochial schools have helped to bring the problem into focus.

The controversial provision for "shared time" in the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 may have considerable impact on this situation. Some contend that it may result in an increase in parochial schools, partly because the financial pressure will be decreased to some extent; others that parochial schools may become primarily institutions for religious instruction for pupils who take most of their regular class work in public schools. Still others think the provision may be declared invalid by court action.

Up to the present time, a relatively small minority of all children have attended nonpublic schools. Suppose the time comes when a majority attend nonpublic schools of one type or another. What will be the effect on American life and attitudes? Will the ability to look at problems from a common background and point of view, and to resolve most differences of opinion satisfactorily, be decreased? Would the divisive influences in American life become more serious than they are at present?

The public schools necessarily depend on the support of the people and cannot be expected to do an adequate job unless that support is provided. When an overwhelming majority of the people in any community believe in the public schools and what they are trying to accomplish, the climate is favorable for these schools to continue to improve and to make increasing contributions to the life and welfare of the American people. When they do not have that support, they may be so seriously handicapped that they cannot provide a satisfactory educational program.

There are communities in some states where a majority of the people are supporting nonpublic schools and sending their children to them. In certain cases, these people have elected representatives to the board of education who, for one reason or another, have failed to support the public school program. In some of these communities the children who are attending public schools are being denied the opportunities to which they should be entitled. What is likely to happen to the public

[28]See, for example, Mary Perkins Ryan, *Are Parochial Schools the Answer?* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winsto.., Inc., 1964).

schools and to their contribution to American life in those communities or states in which a majority of the citizens send their children to and support nonpublic schools? Do some of the developments in Holland have any implications for people in America?[29]

Some competition between public and nonpublic schools is unavoidable and may to a certain extent be beneficial. However, Americans have learned that competition in any phase of life may have its unwholesome as well as its wholesome aspects. There has been some unfair criticism of nonpublic schools by public school supporters. Criticism of the public schools by some supporters of nonpublic schools has also, on occasion, been not only unfair but misleading. For example, the charge has frequently been made that the state is attempting to establish a monopoly of public schools even though the Supreme Court has held that cannot be done. Another criticism charges that there is an unfair system of "double taxation" on those who send their children to nonpublic schools, in spite of the fact that this is a voluntary choice.

In what respects has the American public generally been unfair in its attitude toward or criticism of public schools? of nonpublic schools? What would be the "best" solution to the problems in this area?

Selected References

Bennis, Warren C., *The Planning of Change: Readings in the Applied Behavioral Sciences*. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, Inc. 1962.

Brameld, Theodore, and Stanley Elam, eds., *Values in American Education*. Bloomington, Ind.: Phi Delta Kappa, 1964.

Carlson, Richard C., and Keith Goldhammer, *Change Processes in the Public Schools*. Eugene, Ore.: Center for the Advanced Study of Educational Administration, University of Oregon, 1965.

Cramer, John Francis, and George Stevenson Browne, *Contemporary Education*. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc. 1956.

Graff, Orin B., and Calvin M. Street, "Developing a Value Framework for Educational Administration" in *Administrative Behavior in Education*, ed. Roald F. Campbell and Russell T. Gregg. New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1957.

Graff, Orin B., Calvin M. Street, Ralph B. Kimbrough, and Archie R. Dykes, *Philosophic Theory & Practice in Educational Administration*. Belmont, Calif.: Wadsworth Publishing Company, Inc., 1966.

Lippitt, Ronald, Jeanne Watson, and Bruce Wheatley, *The Dynamics of Planned Change*. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc. 1958.

[29] See Reller and Morphet, *op. cit*, Chap. 4.

Miles, Matthew B., ed., *Innovation in Education*. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia Universit., 1964.

Reller, Theodore L., and Edgar L. Morphet, eds., *Comparative Educational Administration*. En₆'ewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1962, Chaps. 1, 18–21.

Russell, James E., *Change and Challenge in American Education*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1965.

Selznick, Philip A., *Leadership in Administration*. New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1957.

2

The Legal Basis for Education

In this chapter, major attention is devoted to the origin, development, and implications of constitutional provisions, laws, board policies, administrative regulations, and court decisions relating to education. There must be a rational authority—that is, a legal basis—for everything that is done in the way of formal education. In this country the legal basis for education, as well as for other aspects of government, has been developed and modified from time to time by the people or their representatives. The constitutional and other legal provisions, as interpreted in many instances by court decisions, determine the kind of educational program that can be provided and the provisions that can be made for organizing, administering, financing, and operating the program. In addition, the perceptions and attitudes of state and local school board members and the competencies and points of view of the educational personnel they employ have an important and often a significant influence on the effectiveness and quality of the program provided. An understanding of the major legal provisions is important for all who are concerned with education and is essential for those who have administrative responsibilities.

BASIS FOR LEGAL PROVISIONS

In all countries the legal provisions (ranging from those incorporated in the constitution, if there is one, through enactments of a legislative body, decrees or other official policy statements, administra-

tive regulations, and court decisions) grow out of the value structure, beliefs, and concerns of the people or their rulers. The legal system may be designed primarily to protect the privileges of the group in control, to assure the perpetuation of certain customs or practices, or to provide the basis for orderly progress. In the United States, the legal provisions (of the federal government and of the states) that relate to education are a direct outgrowth of the value systems and beliefs of the citizens of the nation and of the various states regarding the place and role of education in the lives of people and in the governmental structure. These provisions are an integral part of a comprehensive legal system that constitutes a body of rules for many aspects of human conduct and that are prescribed and enforced by representatives of the organized society.

The Conceptual Design

In general, the legal provisions for education are based on what Hamilton and Mort have termed the "conceptual design."[1] This is the expression of purposes to be achieved through education and is an outgrowth of the beliefs, values, and aspirations of the people. These legal provisions are organized into a more or less consistent and rational system, and provide a place for policies and practices that are considered "good" or desirable, and a basis for rejecting those that are considered "bad" or undesirable. The conceptual design for education is not static; however, many of the basic elements are relatively constant, such as the purpose of developing a system that will provide for the education of all the children of all the people.

The evolving design is affected by changes in society that have implications for education and by new ideas and concepts regarding education. Basically, the design is affected by such factors as the following, which are often interrelated: (1) a developing theory or series of related theories concerning education and its organization and administration, (2) the findings and conclusions based on important research studies in areas ranging from learning through finance, (3) the evaluation of experiences resulting in conclusions as to what works well and what does not, and (4) new and challenging ideas and concepts which seem to hold promise.

Histories of education have directed attention to the differences in purposes and provisions that developed in the New England area, in the Middle Colonies, and in the South. Had some of the original elements of the emerging design for education in any one of these areas been accepted, the nation might have developed primarily parochial or church-

[1] Robert R. Hamilton and Paul R. Mort, *The Law and Public Education*, 2nd ed. (New York: Foundation Press, Inc., 1959), Chap. 2.

controlled schools, fee or tuition schools to which many children of poor families would not have had access, public pauper schools for the poor and private schools for the more wealthy, or some other kind of school system based on purposes quite different from those finally accepted and incorporated in the national design. However, the purposes eventually accepted were those that seemed best suited to meet the needs of the new nation. Had different purposes been accepted, the legal structure for education would necessarily have differed in basic respects from that found at present.

Apparently only a few early leaders, such as Jefferson, had much insight into the place and significance of education in a government of, by, and for the people. The process of thinking through and envisioning the kind of educational program and structure needed by the evolving democratic nation presented many problems and difficulties. While conflicting views and important differences of opinion have continued throughout the history of the nation and will undoubtedly continue into the future, the majority of the people eventually began to agree upon such concepts as the following:

1. All citizens must be reasonably well educated if a democratic form of government is to survive and to function satisfactorily.

2. The citizens themselves are responsible and must make provisions through public schools for the opportunities that are necessary to assure that everyone will be educated, since education cannot satisfactorily be left to parents, to church groups, to private institutions, or even to the discretion of local communities.

3. The people of the entire nation should be concerned about education and should be interested in helping to provide for and stimulate the development of a satisfactory program.

4. The people of each state should directly assume the responsibility for education implied by the Tenth Amendment to the federal Constitution, and should recognize and provide for the implementation of that responsibility by appropriate provisions in the state constitution and laws.

Thus the people in each state and throughout the nation began to agree on some of the chief characteristics of an educational program that they considered essential for a democratic nation. Neither the people of the nation nor those in the areas that later became states started with laws relating to education. They started with beliefs, attitudes, and ideas—with the elements of a conceptual design—that constituted the basis for legal provisions. This design is still evolving with some differences among the states, is still not entirely consistent or rational in

certain respects in the minds of many people, and some aspects continue to be controversial.

Many different procedures have been used in arriving at purposes and objectives that should underlie the legal provisions for education. During recent years the people in a number of states have developed more definite plans for reviewing explicit or implied statements of purposes and objectives and for attaining agreement on those that seem appropriate for the state. This has sometimes been done by committees comprised of laymen and educators officially designated to carry on a study of the state program of education. In other cases it has been done by legislative committees. In still others it has never been assumed that the people agree on purposes that are implied by laws on the statute books, and that revisions will be indicated when new laws are enacted whether or not there has been any formal statement.

Continuing or periodic study and review of basic purposes and objectives should be considered essential in every state and community. To the extent that agreement can be reached, there is an acceptable basis for developing legislation and for planning the educational program. New purposes and objectives or new emphases will emerge from time to time, and these, of course, will have implications for developments throughout the state.

There must also be policies or general guides for action that are agreed upon as useful in attempting to attain the purposes and objectives. Policies may either be expedient devices which provide for some immediately acceptable steps, or guides for carefully planned courses of action designed to facilitate the attainment of the objectives. Soundly conceived policies should result in a program of legislation and education that is consistent with statements of purposes and objectives and should promote their attainment.[2]

Cooperatively developed policies involving participation of leaders from throughout the state should help to avoid laws and actions that are inconsistent with the accepted purposes and objectives. Properly developed local policies serve for guidance of the board of education, citizens in the community, and the educational staff in planning and carrying out the local program. They should constitute the basis and serve as guides for any standards or regulations approved by the board.

The Structural Pattern

Since public education is "one instrumentality of society for the carrying out of a function which society has decreed to be a desirable

[2] See James Bryant Conant, *Shaping Educational Policy* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1964), Chaps. 2 and 3.

one,"[3] it is not surprising that the basic provisions for the organization and operation of education are determined by the society in which it operates. Thus, the society, in the final analysis determines not only the conceptual design for education but also the structural pattern. Educators, through their concepts, ideas, and research studies, undoubtedly influence both the design and the structure in many ways, but they do not necessarily determine what either is to be. This means that educators must recognize that they are operating to some extent in the public domain and in the political arena and cannot go much beyond what the people will accept. In other words, educators can neither expect to be successful in attempting to preserve the *status quo* when the people are prepared for progress, nor to institute changes the people or their representatives are unwilling to accept. Effective two-way communication is essential. Educators must communicate and interpret research findings and new concepts and their implications, and the people must communicate effectively their own concerns and concepts. Understanding and agreement should constitute the basis for progress.

Ideally, the structural pattern for education should emerge from the conceptual design and be consistent with it. Actually, the structural pattern is determined basically by the legal system that establishes the plan for organization and operation by creating the agencies to be utilized in attaining the desired ends and allocating functions among them within prescribed limits. However, the legal system is often supplemented or extended by practices and procedures in areas not closely defined or restricted by law.

The structural pattern tends, in certain respects, to lag behind the evolving conceptual design for education. In other words, constitutional provisions, laws, and even court decisions are based on elements of the conceptual design as of a particular time. As the design changes, the legal system usually continues to require some practices and concepts that are outmoded. Many examples can be given: the continuation of small obsolete school districts, the county as an intermediate unit with an elected superintendent in areas where districts have been reorganized, the apportionment of funds on bases found by research to be unsound, and so on. Moreover, the structural pattern, for one reason or another, often omits important elements of the conceptual design or includes nonrational aspects that prevent the development of an effective program of education, at least in certain parts of the state. For example, Section 183 of the Kentucky Constitution of 1891 requires the general assembly to "provide for an effective system of common schools throughout the state." However, Section 186, until significantly revised some sixty years later, required that all state school funds be apportioned to districts on the basis of the number of children of school census age, thus making

[3]Hamilton and Mort, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

an effective system of schools impossible in many areas. Several states have so limited the authority of the board and even of the voters in local school districts that they cannot provide the funds needed to assure effective schools, even if the people may want and are expected to do so on the basis of other legal provisions.

Such inconsistencies and limitations should not be surprising. Constitutional conventions and legislatures often include some people who do not subscribe to the generally accepted conceptual design for public education or do not understand the implications of some of the provisions they advocate. The problem is likely to be particularly acute in states in which there are sharp differences of opinion concerning element of the conceptual design, the design itself is vague or poorly formulated in certain respects, or the people are relatively uninformed or indifferent about changing needs and the characteristics of an effective program of education.

Some steps that might well be taken in any state in an effort to ensure that the structural pattern is as consistent as possible with the evolving conceptual design are the following:

1. Educational and lay leaders should systematically review the conceptual design for education periodically, in an effort to ensure that all appropriate concepts are included, that it is internally consistent, clearly stated, and has the concurrence of everyone involved.

2. Legislators and citizens in all parts of the state should be encouraged to discuss this tentative statement and to propose revisions or clarifications. This procedure should result not only in improving the statement and making it more meaningful but should facilitate understanding, agreement, and support.

3. All major legal provisions should then be reviewed as a means of identifying any handicapping lags or inconsistent aspects, and proposing revisions.

4. The legislature should be encouraged to incorporate into the legal structure elements that seem to be fully substantiated by evidence and experience, so as to make the structure as consistent as possible with the design.

5. The legislature should be expected to refrain from mandating any aspect of structure that is inconsistent with the design or that is based on an emerging concept that has not yet been adequately tried out or tested.

6. As a basis for assuring greater flexibility in introducing locally promising innovations, the legislature should provide for considerable local discretion and should refrain from restricting local boards to those educational policies and practices that are specifically authorized by law.

CONSTITUTIONAL PROVISIONS

The basic legal provisions relating to or having implications for education are found in the federal and state constitutions. Those in the federal Constitution are of significance for education throughout the country, whereas provisions found in each state constitution are applicable only to the educational program within the state.

The Federal Constitution

As far as education is concerned, one of the most significant provisions of the federal Constitution is found in the Tenth Amendment, which—like other sections of the Constitution—does not even mention education. This amendment reserves to the states or to the people all powers not delegated to the federal government by the Constitution. The power of each state to provide and maintain public schools is thus inherent in state sovereignty as established by this amendment. The provision of education for all citizens is one means the state may use to assure its own preservation. Without such a system, which provides for the development of citizens who can act rationally and intelligently on matters of public concern as well as on their own affairs, the future of a state might be jeopardized. The system of education provided by the state, therefore, is to be considered as a service to the citizens for benefit of the state, rather than as a service to the individual primarily for his own benefit, or as a charitable or philanthropic service.[4]

Four other provisions in the federal Constitution and its amendments, commonly recognized as having considerable significance for education, are discussed in Chapter 8. Most of them are concerned with the protection of what is often referred to as the inherent rights of individuals. Sections 8 and 10 of Article I prescribe, respectively, that Congress shall have power to provide, among other things, for the general welfare, and that no state shall pass any law impairing the obligation of contract. The First Amendment prohibits Congress from making any law "respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." One clause of the Fifth Amendment, which is concerned with the protection of individuals against self-incrimination in criminal cases, has been invoked in cases in which investigation committees have sought to inquire into connections teachers and others may have had with so-called "subversive organizations." The Fourteenth Amendment prohibits any state from making or enforcing any law

---

[4]Lee O. Garber, *Education as a Function of the State* (Minneapolis: Educational Test Bureau, Inc., 1934) p. 21.

abridging "the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States," or from depriving any person of "life, liberty, or property, without due process of law," or from denying "to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws." Each of these provisions has been the basis of a number of controversies involving education, as pointed out later.

Although each state has the responsibility for developing its own public school program, it cannot through its constitutional provisions or laws violate any of the provisions of the federal Constitution or of its amendments. There are thus important controls on what states may do in certain respects, but as long as these limitations are observed, the people of each state are free to develop their own educational program as they see fit.

State Constitutional Provisions

The people of each state have incorporated in their constitution some of their basic beliefs about education as well as about other aspects of government for which they are responsible. However, as new information has become available, insights and points of view have gradually changed. Some of these changing concepts have tended to be reflected in most states either in new constitutions adopted by the people or in amendments to the original constitution.

The constitution, of course, does not incorporate all the beliefs or points of view regarding any aspect of government. Others are expressed through laws, court decisions, policies, and regulations. All of these constitute the rational—and legal—authority for organizing and operating school systems and schools. Constitutional provisions are usually more difficult to modify or repeal than statutes. For that reason, it is generally considered wise to include in the constitution only those fundamental expressions of policy that guide but do not handicap the development of the educational program and are not likely to need revision in a relatively short time.

One of the policies that has found expression in some form in every state constitution (but was modified in a few of the southern states following the 1954 Supreme Court decision on segregation) is that the state legislature must provide for a uniform and effective system of public schools. Thus the people generally have not left the legislature any discretion as to whether public schools shall be established. Usually, however, it has considerable discretion as to steps and procedures that may be used in establishing such schools.

Other policies relating   cation that have been expressed in the constitution of nearly eve   ate include the following: the permanent school fund is to be kept sacred and inviolate, and only the income

from the fund may be used for public school purposes; public schools are to be provided at public expense, and public tax funds made available for educational purposes are to be used only for the support of public education.

Although one objective of the people in each state seems to have been to incorporate in their constitution those provisions that require and facilitate the development of an adequate program of public education, experience has shown that restrictive or handicapping provisions have from time to time been included. For example, constitutional provisions in some states prescribe such rigid limits on taxes or bond issues for school purposes that the people in many communities cannot make the effort they would be willing to make to support schools. Thus the provisions relating to education that are incorporated in a state constitution have vital significance. They may either stimulate and facilitate the development of an adequate program of public education or make such a program difficult if not impossible of attainment until they are repealed.

The legislature of a state has full power, commonly referred to as plenary power, to enact laws regarding the schools as well as other aspects of government. However, such legislation should not conflict with provisions of the state or federal Constitution. If any such conflict exists and the matter is taken to the courts, the law will be declared unconstitutional. The following statement in a New York court decision is significant: "The people, in framing the constitution, committed to the legislature the whole law making power of the state which they did not expressly or impliedly withhold. Plenary power in the legislature for all purposes of civil government is the rule."[5]

LAWS RELATING TO EDUCATION

Laws as well as constitutional provisions relating to education should be of concern to everyone interested in education or government. Laws express policies of the people for implementing constitutional provisions and intent, and may be as significant in certain respects as constitutional provisions in determining the scope and adequacy of the educational program that can be provided. Unsound or unwise laws may be as serious as limiting constitutional provisions.

Federal Laws

Since education has been established as a function of the respective states, the basic laws relating to the organization, administration, and operation of schools are state rather than federal laws. However, the

[5]*The People* v *Draper*, 15 N.Y. 532.

people of the entire nation have always been interested in education, and as a consequence, from the time of the early land grants there have been federal laws relating to one aspect or another of education (see Chapter 8). While many of these laws are concerned with direct responsibilities of the federal government (for education of the military forces or wards of the federal government, education in certain federal areas and territories, and educational services provided by the federal government through various agencies), others are designed to aid or stimulate education in and through the states. These laws have provided for grants and services to the states for various educational purposes.

The chief problems from the point of view of many people have arisen over the requirements or controls that have been incorporated in some laws relating to financial assistance. Congress undoubtedly has a right to establish requirements that are not inconsistent with provisions of the federal Constitution. The issue is basically one as to the kind and extent of controls that seem to be needed and are prudent. Usually, states have been given the right (theoretically, at least) to decide whether they will accept the funds authorized. However, if a state is willing to accept the funds authorized by any law, it must observe the conditions attached to the acceptance.

State Laws

State laws supplementing the constitutional provisions presumably express the will and policy of the people of the state regarding education and its operation. The number and complexity of laws relating to education have increased rapidly during the last few years in practically every state. Compilations of laws relating to education that required only a few pages to print fifty years ago have in some instances grown into a volume of more than a thousand pages. In some states several hundred bills relating to education are introduced at each session of the legislature and many may be enacted. A large proportion of these usually are concerned with minor amendments or with relatively brief proposals for new sections, but others may require several printed pages and incorporate many details regarding some one aspect of the educational program.

The basic question underlying educational legislation in each state is: What kinds of laws are essential to provide for the development of an adequate and effective program of public education? Appropriate laws are those that facilitate the attainment of this objective; those that do not are undesirable. Undoubtedly, every state has some laws that, properly assessed, would be found undesirable.

The process of evaluating laws is constantly taking place in every state. Sooner or later, unwise or hastily enacted laws are likely to be

found unsatisfactory on the basis of studies and experiences in various parts of the state and may be repealed or materially modified. Unfortunately, however, once laws are enacted, the process of evaluation often tends to be slow or ineffective. Many inappropriate laws tend to be continued indefinitely.

Some state legislatures have accepted quite literally the concept that education is a function of the state, and tend to assume that local school systems should have no responsibility or authority unless it is specifically granted by the state. Such states have developed very detailed laws, because such detail has been found necessary in order to enable school systems to operate reasonably satisfactorily. A system of laws prepared on the basis of this premise is referred to as a "mandatory" system or code. California is a good example of a state that has a mandatory system of school laws, since school districts are prohibited from doing anything that is not authorized or clearly implied by legislation. Some years ago, the state attorney general advised that:

> The question is not whether the payment of expense [as proposed by a school board] would contribute to the education of pupils, but whether the authority is vested in the board to make such an expenditure. . . . School districts are *quasi* municipal corporations of the most limited power known to law.[3]

Such a system results in a vast volume of detailed legislation that places a burden not only on the legislature but also on school officials who are attempting to conform to the provisions of law. Perhaps even more significant, it tends to stifle local initiative and may prevent local school systems from experimenting or instituting some promising innovations until the legislature has authorized the action. Especially during this period of rapid change and search for helpful innovations, such a policy can be defended only on the basis of tradition.

Several states have attempted to observe the principle that, while basic responsibilities must be prescribed, some discretion should also be granted to local school systems to assume responsibilities not inconsistent with law that are found necessary for an effective program of education. Provisions of this type, sometimes called a "mandatory-discretionary" system of laws, seem to be favored by an increasing number of states. In a study of the powers and duties of local school boards in selected states with "mandatory" and others with "mandatory-discretionary" types of school codes, Hall found the difference in wording to be small but significant.[7] In the latter group of states, a clause, worded somewhat as

[6]California Attorney General Opinion 47–38, 1947.

[7]Donald Ellis Hall, "Discretionary and Mandatory Provisions of State Education Law" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1959).

follows, was added to the section giving the powers and duties allocated to local school boards: ". . . and in addition thereto, those which it may find to be necessary for the improvement of the school system in carrying out the purposes and objectives of the school code." After analyzing court decisions in these states, Hall concluded that, in the absence of abuse of discretion, the courts generally ruled in favor of the board in its use of the discretionary authority granted.

Most states have found it necessary, especially during the past half-century, to organize their laws relating to education into a code. When many different laws are enacted at each session of the legislature, some provisions are likely to be inconsistent with provisions in older laws. Under these conditions, it may become difficult or impossible for school officials or even lawyers to determine what the law on a given subject may mean in terms of responsibilities of local school officials. A plan for codification of the laws on any subject means in essence a plan for organizing the laws logically so that they can be more readily located and understood. In many states the school code (or education code) is one of a series of codes comprising laws on different subjects or aspects of government.

Studies show that there is great variation in the progress states have made in organizing and codifying their laws relating to education. Although many state codes met reasonably well almost all standards and criteria used in a 1954 study, some of them met none satisfactorily.[8] School laws, unlike laws on many other subjects, have to be used by both professional educators and laymen serving on boards of education. Few of them have had much legal training. Even well-drafted laws may have relatively little meaning for laymen unless they are well organized, written so they can be readily understood, presented so they can be easily located, and properly indexed. For this reason, many states are giving increasing attention to standards for codification.

Several plans have been proposed for organizing and codifying laws relating to education. One of the simplest of these provides for a code comprising two or three major parts. The first part would include laws that have implications for all aspects of education, with appropriate divisions, chapters, and sections; the second part would include the more specific provisions with divisions, chapters, and sections incorporating laws dealing with personnel, pupils, program, plant, finance, and so on; a third part, or separate code, would include laws relating to institutions of higher learning and other aspects of the educational program.

[8]National Education Association, "The Codification of School Laws," *NEA Research Division, Research Bulletin*, 32, No. 1 (February 1954), 45.

BOARD POLICIES, STANDARDS, AND REGULATIONS

In some cases, laws have included details that have resulted in needless handicaps to the educational program. An extreme illustration is afforded by a law enacted some years ago in one of the states providing that a course on safety education be "taught by lectures." A more common illustration is found in laws providing that a designated number of minutes each day be devoted to a certain subject in every school.

Experience has shown that it is not practicable and usually not desirable to include all minor policies or details in laws enacted by the legislature. In every state, therefore, provision is made for the development and adoption by some state agency (usually the state board of education) of policies, standards, and regulations that have the effect of law. Similarly, local boards are authorized to adopt policies and regulations that are not inconsistent with state laws or regulations and which, if properly developed and adopted have the effect of law in the local school system.

If the legislature were to attempt to grant unlimited regulatory powers to a state board of education or to a chief state school officer, the courts could be expected to hold that the legislature cannot delegate its responsibilities, that the powers granted are too broad and, therefore, null and void. When the legislature prescribes the general policies and establishes definite limits within which administrative policies or regulations must come, difficulties should be avoided. But, the policies and regulations adopted as authorized by law must be consistent with the provisions of law and must be reasonable.[9]

A good example of legislation that requires the adoption of administrative policies and regulations can be found in the field of teacher certification. In many states the law sets forth the purposes of certification, the general procedures to be used, and perhaps, the major kinds or classes of certificates authorized. The responsibility for prescribing detailed policies, standards, and regulations is usually delegated to the state board of education. The state board should establish application procedures and prescribe requirements to be met before a certificate can be issued. These regulations, however, would have to be reasonable and consistent with the purpose of the law to assure fair treatment for all applicants. The board could not reasonably require that the applicant have blue eyes, a designated racial background, or come from a certain type of family, nor could it alter the requirements for the issuance of certificates without giving reasonable notice.

[9]Newton Edwards, *The Courts and the Public Schools*, rev. ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955), p. 31.

All major policies and directives should, therefore, be incorporated in law, but details that might handicap the program or might need to be changed from time to time :hould be avoided. Laws should clearly delegate responsibility, when appropriate, for administrative policies and regulations but should carefully define the limits. Boards or agencies to which such responsibilities are delegated should take steps to assure that their actions are authorized by and consistent with provisions of law, are reasonable, and do not constitute an impulsive or arbitrary exercise of delegated power.

The process of developing policies in a local school system often involves some difficulties. Each proposed policy must be considered in relationship to other policies; otherwise, there may be conflicts and crosscurrents with resultant confusion, dissension, or inefficiency. Studies by a competent and representative committee in advance of board consideration should mean that if the board adopts the recommended policy, it is not only likely to be sound but to have a reasonably good prospect of being accepted by the staff and by the community. Adoption of the policy by the board means that the board then has a guide for action in that field, subject to possible revision on the basis of further studies. Once a policy has been adopted, a board should not need to spend time in considering individual problems that arise in that area. Nor should it have to risk the possibility of inconsistent action while attempting to work out a solution for each problem without reference to previous decisions.

As is pointed out in Chapter 13, the board should not enact, nor should the administrator prescribe, detailed rules and regulations governing the implementation of board policies. Unless reasonable flexibility is provided for management, there will be little innovation in a school system. It is not good policy for the legislature, the state board of education, the local board of education, or the administrator to prescribe in detail the activities of principals and teachers. Better educational programs are found in those systems which provide for a considerable amount of decision making at the operating level.

COURT DECISIONS

Any law or any board regulation may be constitutional or unconstitutional. However, in America, laws and board or administrative regulations are presumed to be constitutional, unless or until they are declared unconstituticnal. The courts do not on their own initiative or volition rule on the constitutionality of a law. The ruling comes only when appropriate legal steps have been taken in connection with a

controversy that results in a challenge regarding the constitutionality of a particular law or some aspect of the law.

The Role of the Courts

Many provisions in both federal and state constitutions are stated in rather broad general terms; they are designed to set forth basic policies, rather than specific guides to action or conduct. Such general provisions leave to Congress and state legislatures greater latitude in making adaptations to changing conditions than would be the case if the constitutional provisions were more specific. Such latitude is generally considered desirable. However, in many areas the broad constitutional provisions make it difficult, if not impossible, for many legislators, congressmen, or even lawyers to determine by reading a proposed law whether it is constitutional. They may have their own opinions, but these opinions have no legal significance. It has often been necessary, and will continue to be necessary on many occasions when controversies arise, for some person or group to resort to the courts to determine whether a particular law is constitutional or unconstitutional.

For example, the power to provide for the general welfare is so broad that many kinds of legislation could be considered desirable by substantial numbers of people. The courts eventually may have to determine whether a given law is consistent with the intent of the constitutional provision. Since more than one interpretation is often possible, especially when the arguments and evidence presented by both parties have almost equal validity, it is evident that the courts have considerable power in determining what is or is not constitutional. Thus, in one sense, the courts in directing the course of law may, from time to time, tend to determine the course of various aspects of social policy, including education.[10]

Many questions in addition to those involving constitutionality are constantly coming before the courts. There are frequent differences of opinion among the citizens of a community or state regarding their legal rights and liabilities or those of others. Many such differences are either resolved through study and discussion of the problems at issue or are considered of such limited importance that no appeal is made to the courts. Many others, however, of both major and minor importance, are taken to court for a decision.

Since education affects practically all people in one way or another at some time during their lives, there are many differences of opinion regarding the rights, privileges, and obligations of people relating to schools. As society becomes more complex, as attempts are made to adapt education to the rapidly changing needs, and as educational

[10]Clark Spurlock, *Education and the Supreme Court* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1955), p. 13.

laws increase in number and scope, more and more questions regarding the purposes and intent of those laws are likely to arise. Thus, the courts in every state are called upon from time to time to interpret one aspect or another of the laws relating to schools. Since in many cases more than one interpretation is possible, the courts may in some situations find themselves in the position of establishing certain educational policies, although that is presumed to be the prerogative of the legislature and boards of education. Conservative courts by making conservative and strict interpretations of new laws may nullify the intent of the legislation and handicap the development of the educational program.[11] On the other hand, courts may, and usually do, attempt to interpret legislation in accordance with its stated or implied purposes and thus help to make it possible for schools to meet emerging needs.

The courts have been established to attempt to resolve the many controversies that are certain to arise in a pluralistic society. They function in accordance with established rules or criteria in an effort to assure equity and justice for all in every aspect of life, including education. Fortunately, courts do not always decide issues merely by precedent or weight of evidence. As the United States Supreme Court stated in ruling on the Social Security Act, "Nor is the concept of general welfare static. Needs that were narrow or parochial a century ago may be interwoven in our day with the wellbeing of the Nation. What is critical or urgent changes with the times."[12]

In this way, controversies are rationalized in the legal and judicial frame of reference. The result has been a slowly changing conceptual pattern to which the courts have made significant contributions. At times, they have helped to free education from some outmoded legislative constraints, and, in a way, have served as an adapting agency between legislation and educational administration.[13]

In addition to the federal system of courts, to which recourse may usually be had only when a federal question or statute is involved, each state has its own judicial system. Practically all educational controversies except those involving federal questions are resolved in state courts.

In most states the courts have been faced with the necessity of attempting to resolve two kinds of controversies relating to education: (1) those involving questions that are clearly legal in nature, and (2) those involving technical and clearly educational problems. In view of the rapidly increasing burden on the courts as civilization and laws become more complex, and of the relative unfamiliarity of courts with educational problems, there are many who believe some other plan

[11]Hamilton and Mort, *op. cit.*, p. 23.
[12]*Helvering* v *Davis*, 301 Cr. S 619, 57 Sup. Ct. 904.
[13]Hamilton and Mort, *op. cit.*, pp. 1 and 11.

should be devised for resolving strictly educational controversies. The precedent has already been established for certain other agencies of government (for example, utility commissions), and progress in the fie'd of education has been made in some states. In New York, the decision of the state commissioner of education on technical educational matters is final and presumably is not subject to review by state courts. In some other states it is final unless reversed by the courts. In many states, however, no such authority or responsib'lity has been granted to the chief state school officer or to the state board.

Federal Supreme Court Decisions

Since education is not mertioned in the federal Constitution, it is never involved directly in questions that come before the United States Supreme Court. The involvement is always incidental, and comes through other questions, but often is quite significant.

According to Spurlock, 45 cases involving education to a rather significant extent came before the Supreme Court between the time the Constitution was adopted and 1954.[14] Most of these cases were concerned with questions of (1) state or federal power and functions, (2) civil rights under the First and Fifth Amendments, and (3) due process of law and equal protection of law under the Fourteenth Amendment. The cases were also classified under the following headings: (1) contests involving rights of parents and students, (2) contests involving rights of teachers and touching on property rights and personal freedoms, (3) contests involving rights of races in schools in states maintaining segregated schools, (4) contests involving powers of school authorities in fiscal matters or in matters involving rights of citizens, (5) contests involving rights of nonpublic schools.

It is interesting to note that most of these cases occurred after 1925. Before that time, only eighteen cases had concerned education rather directly. Of these, only nine had occurred before the beginning of the present century. Between 1925 and 1954, however, there were 27 cases. Many of these touched on conflicts between individual rights and state requirements, conflicts relating to separation of church and state, and conflicts over civil rights or segregation. Most of the cases relating to education since 1954 have been concerned, in one way or another, with segregation and with the separation of church and state.

The *Brown* Case in 1954 established the controlling legal or judicial principle that *racial discrimination in the public schools is in violation of provisions of the United States Constitution.*[15] In 1964 and 1965, by the refusal of the Supreme Court to review decisions by U.S.

[14]The authors are indebted to Spurlock, *op. cit.*, for much of the basic information presented in this section.
[15]*Brown* v *Board of Education of Topeka*, 347 U.S. 483.

ment of education in the various states than most people realize. This control has been in the direction of stabilization and of unification in certain aspects of the conceptual design for education.[17]

In a case some years ago, one of the justices expressed concern that the Supreme Court might be tending to become a national board of education. However, it seems apparent that the Supreme Court, in its expressed philosophy underlying decisions, has generally tended to reflect the point of view of the American people and has avoided questions involving state policy except where provisions of the federal Constitution are at issue.

State Supreme Court Decisions

United States Supreme Court decisions, by implication at least, affect education throughout the United States. On the other hand, a decision by a state supreme court is of direct significance for education only in that state, although it may have indirect significance in other states if it is used or cited by courts in those states. Courts do not legislate, but their decisions have the effect of law. Consequently, reference is frequently made to *statute law* or law enacted by legislature, and to *case law* or law interpreted in specific instances through court cases.

The courts have no responsibility for determining the *wisdom* of a particular law, but they have a legitimate concern with the *reasonableness* of a law. The guide for determining what is reasonable in a given situation has to be established by the court itself. One court may hold unreasonable a provision of a law that might be held reasonable by a court in another state, or a higher court may, on appeal, reverse a decision by a lower court in the same state. Thus there have been variations in decisions regarding similar laws among the different states, and from time to time state court decisions have been modified or reversed.

Almost every aspect of the educational program has at some time been involved in court decisions in each of the states. The laws among the states differ so widely and there are so many different types of court decisions that generalization would seem to be difficult if not impossible. Yet there are many basic similarities in state laws and, likewise, many basic similarities in court decisions relating to fundamental issues. Although it is necessary to consult the laws and court decisions of a particular state before authoritative statements can be made regarding many aspects of the educational program, there are certain legal principles that have become sufficiently well established to permit generalization. Among the most important are the following:

[17]Spurlock, *op. cit.*, p. 238.

ment of education in the various states than most people realize. This control has been in the direction of stabilization and of unification in certain aspects of the conceptual design for education.[17]

In a case some years ago, one of the justices expressed concern that the Supreme Court might be tending to become a national board of education. However, it seems apparent that the Supreme Court, in its expressed philosophy underlying decisions, has generally tended to reflect the point of view of the American people and has avoided questions involving state policy except where provisions of the federal Constitution are at issue.

State Supreme Court Decisions

United States Supreme Court decisions, by implication at least, affect education throughout the United States. On the other hand, a decision by a state supreme court is of direct significance for education only in that state, although it may have indirect significance in other states if it is used or cited by courts in those states. Courts do not legislate, but their decisions have the effect of law. Consequently, reference is frequently made to *statute law* or law enacted by legislature, and to *case law* or law interpreted in specific instances through court cases.

The courts have no responsibility for determining the *wisdom* of a particular law, but they have a legitimate concern with the *reasonableness* of a law. The guide for determining what is reasonable in a given situation has to be established by the court itself. One court may hold unreasonable a provision of a law that might be held reasonable by a court in another state, or a higher court may, on appeal, reverse a decision by a lower court in the same state. Thus there have been variations in decisions regarding similar laws among the different states, and from time to time state court decisions have been modified or reversed.

Almost every aspect of the educational program has at some time been involved in court decisions in each of the states. The laws among the states differ so widely and there are so many different types of court decisions that generalization would seem to be difficult if not impossible. Yet there are many basic similarities in state laws and, likewise, many basic similarities in court decisions relating to fundamental issues. Although it is necessary to consult the laws and court decisions of a particular state before authoritative statements can be made regarding many aspects of the educational program, there are certain legal principles that have become sufficiently well established to permit generalization. Among the most important are the following:

[17]Spurlock, *op. cit.*, p. 238.

1. The courts are generally ag·eed that education is a function of the state and that the control and management of the public schools is an essential aspect of state sovereignty.

2. The legislature has full and complete power to legislate concerning the control and management of the public schools of the state, except in respects in which that power is restricted by the state constitution or by the federal Constitution.

3. The legislature may delegate certain powers and responsibilities for education to designated state and local agencies, but it may not delegate all of its powers. It must establish reasonable limits that are required to be observed by state or local agencies as they exercise their delegated responsibilities.

4. Public schools are state not local institutions. In reality the public school program is a partnership program between the state and the local unit created by the state. The state may create and reorganize local school districts and delegate to them definite powers for the organization, administration, and operation of schools. These districts may be especially created for school purposes or may be municipal or county districts. However, the municipality or county has no authority or power over the schools within its boundaries except as such authority or power is definitely granted by the state.

5. On the basis of an old common-law principle, school districts are not liable for the negligence of their officers or agents acting in their official capacity unless there is a state law imposing such liability. Although only a few states have such laws, there has been a tendency during recent years for the courts to recognize increasingly the responsibility and liability of the state and its agencies.[18]

SOME IMPORTANT PROBLEMS AND ISSUES

A few of the many important issues relating to the legal aspects of education are discussed briefly on subsequent pages.

How Much Educational Policy Should Be Incorporated into Law?

Although it may not be possible in any state to get complete agreement on educational policies, majority concurrence on all or most aspects of the conceptual design for education is both feasible and desirable. Without such concurrence, some laws would probably deviate sharply from a rational pattern, and the educational program could be seriously handicapped.

[18]Adapted from Garber, *op. cit.*, pp. 68–70.

One of the first concerns of many who want to change the school program seems to be to incorporate their "idea" into law. Some apparently believe that when a law has been placed on the statute books, the problem has been solved. However, those who understand the situation recognize that laws do not necessarily solve problems. A law requiring counseling in all schools or providing for conservation education does not necessarily mean that all local school boards, administrators, or teachers are in a position to implement rationally the intent of the law or will do so.

Difficulties often arise as a result of the situation in small school districts that cannot afford competent leadership, or in certain other districts in which the leadership or personnel may not have developed a sound program. Inept and incompetent local leadership on the part of the board, the administrator, or the staff has frequently helped to set the stage for laws that handicap other districts.

Laws, of course, are necessary if local school systems are to operate, because their basic authority and responsibilities must be established by the state. For example, because of differences in wealth among school districts, legal provision must be made for financial support to supplement that provided by local effort. Beyond such basic provisions, what other laws are necessary? How can the number of laws be kept to a reasonable minimum, when there are so many demands by different groups for laws to protect their interests?

In an effort to avoid the need for many detailed laws, a number of states, as previously noted, have incorporated in their code a section providing that each local school board is authorized to assume such responsibilities and perform such duties, in addition to those prescribed, as are necessary in the opinion of the board for the development of an effective educational program in the district, and as are not in conflict with provisions of existing law. What are the advantages and disadvantages of such a discretionary provision?

How Should School Legislation Be Developed?

Laws originate in many different ways. Sometimes they grow out of careful studies by some appropriate group concerned with the conceptual design and needs and ways of meeting those needs. In other cases, some individual or group may become concerned because school expenditures have increased rapidly, because some board has inaugurated a controversial type of program, or for some other reason, and may seek legislation designed to prevent the schools from doing those things they consider undesirable. Ignorance, selfishness, and provincialism are likely to lead to bad legislation in any state. While there is probably no way to prevent some unwise or handicapping laws, there are some important safeguards. The most fundamental is widespread understanding of the

role and significance of high-quality education by citizens and legislators. However, even this needs to be supplemented by effective political activity by those who believe in and support public education and vigorous leadership by competent leaders who understand the conceptual design and appropriate means of achieving it. This kind of climate should contribute to the development of a "conscience" by the people and in the legislature that will be favorable to sound legislation for education.

Below are some elements of a proposed plan for developing and evaluating legislation relating to education:

1. Proposed legislation should be designed to aid in attaining appropriate purposes and objectives—that is, to implement the conceptual design for education—and should be evaluated on the basis of the extent to which it seems to contribute to that end.

2. The bills or proposed laws should be carefully prepared by competent people who are in agreement with the purposes and objectives and who understand the conceptual design; bills should be systematically checked to assure that they are free from undesirable features including inappropriate controls and limitations and, when the basic features are generally agreed upon, should be presented to the legislature for consideration.

3. There should be a systematic review of the laws enacted at each session of the legislature to determine whether there are conflicts or provisions that are not in harmony with the objectives of the educational program. The findings should be used as a basis for planning needed revisions.

What other criteria should be used in determining whether proposed legislation is desirable or undesirable?

Sponsoring legislation. There are always a number of groups interested in legislation pertaining to schools. The educational groups that may sponsor legislation from time to time, include the state department of education, the state education association. the school boards association, and others. Almost any noneducational organization may sponsor certain types of legislation pertaining to schools.

The concerns of some of these groups are likely to differ and their objectives to be conflicting. For example, one group may be primarily interested in providing for more local leeway and initiative, while another may be so concerned with efficiency that it attempts to limit local responsibility. The resulting conflicts and differences of opinion pose difficult problems for the legislature and for the people of the state. The problem becomes especially serious when educational organizations

have different proposals and objectives. When educators fail to agree, the legislature finds itself in the position of having to decide what it believes to be the best educational policy.

In several states, reasonably effective plans have been developed for coordinating the interests and efforts of major lay and educational groups. Councils composed of representatives of important educational and lay groups concerned with education have been established to sponsor studies, evaluate findings, and attempt to get agreement on objectives. What steps should be taken to avoid serious conflicts of interest concerning legislation among educational groups? Among lay and educational groups?

PREPARING LEGISLATION.   When bills are to be prepared for consideration by the legislature, there is often a question as to how and by whom they should be written. Most bills relating to education have probably been prepared by lawyers or by persons with some background in law. Since such laws have to be used and understood primarily by board members and school officials, they should be written, insofar as possible, to be understandable by laymen. For that reason, in some states the original drafts of many proposed bills have been prepared by educators who understand law as well as the purposes and objectives upon which agreement has been reached. These drafts have then been checked and necessary revisions made by competent attorneys, legal consultants, or bill-drafting specialists. How can a satisfactory plan be worked out for assuring cooperation between educators and legal experts in drafting legislation relating to schools?

LEGISLATIVE ETHICS.   The point of view and attitude of the public and of the legislators they select is usually a decisive factor in determining the kind of legislation relating to education that is enacted in each state. This attitude is determined by the concepts and philosophy of each individual involved but, no doubt, is greatly influenced by his understanding of the role, contributions, and problems of education in an evolving society. Hamilton and Mort have suggested the need for a legislative "code of ethics" with reference to education.[19] Would such a code be feasible and helpful? How could its acceptance be facilitated? How should the following criteria, adapted in part from their proposal, be modified and supplemented?

1. Legislative committees and the legislature (and the courts when they are called on to resolve conflicts over law) should keep in mind the basic purposes (conceptual design) of education and should attempt to obtain and utilize pertinent valid information as a basis for evaluating, revising, and acting on

[19]*The Law and Public Education*, pp. 619–620.

proposed legislation. Proposals that would not contribute to the attainment of the basic purposes should be rejected.

2. The methods used by the legislature in exercising its powers should always encourage and facilitate meaningful local responsibility and orderly procedures in local school administrative units. Uncertainty and disruptive changes resulting from legislation should be reduced to a minimum.

3. Legislatures should delegate to the state agency for education only those responsibilities and functions that can most appropriately be assumed by that agency, and should clearly delegate to the local school systems the responsibility for organizing and operating the schools and educational program needed in their respective areas. Legislatures should not make changes in details of the educational structure without appraising the implications for the basic structural pattern. They should never impose restrictions on all districts that would interfere with bona fide local responsibility because of problems that may have arisen in a few districts.

What Kinds of Standards and Regulations Should Be Developed?

Because of changing conditions and new insights, every state and every school system is almost constantly in the process of developing or revising policies, standards, or regulations for certain aspects of the educational program. These have often been worked out by the administrator and members of his staff and presented to the board for approval. On the other hand, during recent years there has been a tendency to organize representative committees to study all aspects of the problem and to prepare tentative proposals. These proposals are reviewed by everyone concerned before being submitted for approval. What are the advantages and disadvantages of each of these procedures?

STATE REQUIREMENTS. Each state has established standards and other requirements for certain aspects of the educational program. State and local officials should always consider carefully the kind of standards that should be established, the purposes to be accomplished, the details to be included, and how standards should be developed. Adoption of unattainable standards would be meaningless. Establishment of handicapping regulations would be unfortunate. Acceptance of properly developed minimum standards or requirements, however, may help local school systems to improve their own programs and may facilitate progress in the state. When is a state standard desirable? How can the state avoid prescribing details that may handicap local school systems? What criteria should be used in evaluating proposals for standards or requirements?

LOCAL POLICIES AND REQUIREMENTS.   No local school board can take any action contrary to the requirements established by law and by the state board. Within these limits, however, every local board finds it necessary to establish a number of policies and requirements that are considered important for a well-planned and well-organized program.

General and specific objectives and the policies considered necessary to aid in attaining those objectives should be agreed upon and used for guidance in developing administrative standards and regulations. It is now generally recognized that any one concerned with an objective, a policy, or even a regulation should have an opportunity to participate in some way (directly or through representatives) in its development.

Many boards have followed the policy of organizing committees to study and propose policies and regulations relating to the various aspects of the educational program. Any such committee might be comprised of lay citizens (assisted by competent members of the staff in assembling information, interpreting findings, or arriving at conclusions), of both lay citizens and educators, or entirely of educators (see discussion in Chapter 6). However, no committee can adopt policies or standards for a school system. That is the prerogative of the board.

Committees usually proceed slowly, because understanding must be developed as they proceed. Some problems do not need committee consideration. When should a committee be organized to study a problem and submit policy recommendations to the board? Is it better to organize such a committee after difficulties have arisen or when there are no serious difficulties? Why?

Selected References

Counts, George S., *Education and American Civilization*. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1952. Chaps. 13, 17, and 18.

Drury, Robert L., ed., *Law and the School Superintendent,* Legal Problems of Education Series, Vol. I. Cincinnati: W. H. Anderson Co., 1958.

Drury, Robert L., and Kenneth C. Ray, *Principles of School Law with Cases.* New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1965.

Edwards, Newton, *The Courts and the Public Schools* (rev. ed.). Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955. Chaps. 1, 7, and 21.

Garber, Lee O., *Yearbook of School Law.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, Annual Yearbook Series beginning 1950.

Gauerke, Warren E , *School Law.* New York: Center for Applied Research in F ication, 1965.

Hamilton, Robert R., and Paul R. Mort, *The Law and Public Education* (2nd ed.). New York: The Foundation Press, 1959. Chaps. 1, 2, 4, and 17.

Remmlein, Madaline Kinter, *The Law of Local Public School Administration*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1953.

Spurlock, Clark, *Education and the Supreme Court*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1955.

3

The Use of Theory and Research
in Educational Administration

Some executives have been inclined to scoff at the use of theory in educational administration. The exp ssion "That is all right in theory but it won't work in practice" has been frequently used by self-styled "practical" school administrators. The myth that theory and practice are incompatible has been attacked by Coladarci and Getzels. "Theorizing is not the exclusive property of the laboratory or the ivory tower. Everyone who makes choices and judgments implies a theory in the sense that there are reasons for his action. When an administrator's experiences have led him to believe that a certain kind ot act will result in certain other events or acts, he is using theory."[1] The authors also state that when an administrator learns from experience, he is theorizing, ". . . it may be poor theorizing, but it is theorizing nevertheless."[2]

Much progress has been made in recent years in laying the foundations for a science of educational administration. No systematic science in any discipline has ever been developed by the trial-and-error process; however, until comparatively recently that was the principal method used to develop our knowledge of educational administration. Progress in the physical sciences was very slow as long as knowledge was derived

[1]Reprinted with permission of the publishers from *The Use of Theory in Educational Administration*, by Arthur P. Coladarci and Jacob W. Getzels (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1955), p. 5.
[2]*Idem.*

primarily from trial-and-error methods folklore, and superstition. When the scientific method was applied, our knowledge of the physical sciences developed at an astounding rate.

In recent years, we have begun to apply the scientific method to develop knowledge in the social and behavioral sciences. The scientific method involves the conceptualization of theories from which hypotheses may be formulated and tested. The development of theory and research in the disciplines of psychology, sociology, social psychology, anthropology, political science, and economics has provided a number of useful theoretical bases for developing a science of educational administration. Some of these theories will be presented and discussed briefly in this chapter. These theories and some other concepts will be applied to organizations in Chapter 4, leadership in Chapter 5, and to cooperative procedures in Chapter 6.

GENERAL SYSTEMS THEORY

There is a discernable linkage among all the sciences. Systems theory provides an important part of that linkage. According to Hearn:

> General systems theorists believe that it is possible to represent all forms of animate and inanimate matter as systems; that is all forms from atomic particles through atoms, molecules, crystals, viruses, cells, organs, individuals, groups, societies, planets, solar systems, even the galaxies, may be regarded as systems. They are impressed by the number of times the same principles have been independently discovered by scientists working in different fields.[3]

The journal *Behavioral Science* is devoted to general systems theory. The following statement was made in an editorial appearing in the first issue published in January 1956.

> Our present thinking—which may alter with time—is that a general theory will deal with structural and behavioral properties of systems. The diversity of systems is great. The molecule, the cell, the organ, the individual, the group, the society are all examples of systems. Besides differing in the level of organization, systems differ in many other crucial respects. They may be living, nonliving, or mixed; material or conceptual and so forth.[4]

Griffiths defines a system as follows:

> A system is simply defined as a complex of elements in interaction. Systems may be open or closed. An open system is related to and exchanges matter with its environment, while a closed system is not

[3]Gordon Hearn, *Theory Building in Social Work* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1958), p. 38.

[4]*Behavioral Science,* 1, No. 1 (1956).

related to nor does it exchange matter with its environment. Further, a closed system is characterized by an increase in entropy, while open systems tend toward the steady state. (Given a continuous input, a constant ratio among the components is maintained.) All systems except the smallest have subsystems and all but the largest have suprasystems, which are their environment.[5]

Each system and subsystem is conceptualized as having a *boundary*. There is more interaction among the units included within the boundary of a system than between units within the boundary and units outside it. It also requires more energy to transmit energy across the boundary from within to without or from without to within than to exchange matter or information among the units included within the boundary of a system.[6]

The environment of a system, subsystem, or suprasystem is everything external to its boundary. There are numerous factors both within a system and its environment that affect the behavior, structure, and function of both the system and its environment.[7]

In Chapters 1 and 2, considerable attention was given to the value structure of our society. There has been much controversy concerning whether scientific research should be "value free." Since values are factors both in a social system and in its environment, the social scientist cannot ignore values. But, he will treat a value in the same manner as he would treat any other factor affecting a system or its environment.

The School as a Social System

The system theory discussed in this book deals only with open, living systems.[8] A school system is an open, living social system which can be conceptualized in a number of ways in terms of system theory. For example, an individual school might be conceptualized as a system; its departments, sections, and divisions as subsystems; and the central staff, the board of education, the state education agencies, and, if present trends continue, even federal education agencies may all in the order listed be conceptualized as suprasystems. The environment of any given system consists not only of its subsystems and suprasystems, but also of all of the other systems in the society with their attendant beliefs, values, and purposes.

Parsons has suggested a useful conceptualization of the formal

[5]Daniel E. Griffiths, ed., *Behavioral Science and Educational Administration.* Sixty-third Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964), p. 116.

[6]James G. Miller, "Toward a General Theory for the Behavioral Sciences," *American Psychologist,* 10 (1955), 516–517.

[7]Hearn, *op. cit.,* p. 42.

[8]For an extensive theoretical analysis, see James G. Miller, "Living Systems: Basic Concepts," *Behavioral Science,* 10, No. 4 (1965), 193–237.

school organization.[9] He proposed that the hierarchical aspect of school organization be broken down according to function or responsibility. Using this concept, Parsons classified the hierarchical levels of authority in school systems as the "technical" system, the "managerial" system, and the 'community" or "institutional" system. The teaching function is in the technical system, the management system controls the technical system, and the community legitimizes the management system through creating agencies for the control of schools or by direct vote.

Systems theory can also be used to conceptualize informal organizations in social systems. This topic will be treated more completely in Chapter 4.

Research and Systems Theory

Systems theory has proven to be extremely useful for conceptualizing and organizing research dealing with organization and administration. It provides a systematic method for utilizing research from the social and behavioral sciences to understand and control organizational and administrative phenomena. Research on administration and organization conceptualized on meaningful theoretical bases will bring that research into the mainstream of valid research in the social and behavioral sciences and should eventually produce a science of administration.

Miller, after making an exhaustive study of research based on systems theory, listed 165 hypotheses which had been proposed by various researchers including himself.[10] He noted that some of these hypotheses had been confirmed by research but that some were probably entirely wrong or partially wrong and needed to be modified. Miller also observed that, undoubtedly, many other hypotheses relating to living systems could be formulated. His work is highly significant for practicing educational administrators and for researchers in educational organization and administration. Because of their significance, a few of the 165 hypotheses listed by Miller are quoted below and their significance for educational systems indicated.

1. "In general, the more numbers or components a system has, the more echelons it has."[11] The larger the school system, the more pupils and teachers and the longer the chain of command. As we lengthen the chain of command, it can be hypothesized that we retard communication and increase the internal friction of the system. There are many econ-

[9]Talcott Parsons, "Some Ingredients of a General Theory of Formal Organization," Chap. 3 in *Administrative Theory in Education,* ed. Andrew W. Halpin (Chicago: Midwest Administration Center, University of Chicago, 1958), p. 41.

[10]James G. Miller, "Living Systems: Cross-Level Hypotheses," *Behavioral Science,* 10, No. 4 (1965), 380–411.

[11]*Ibid.,* p. 383.

omies of scale that can be obtained by making school systems larger. If, however, as we make school systems larger, we must increase the echelons of control, how large can we make school systems until the disadvantages of internal friction and difficulty of communication arising from increasing the echelons of control outweigh the advantages of economy of scale gained by increasing the size of school systems? Available research on educational administration has not yet provided the answer to that question.

2. "System components incapable of associating, or lacking experience which has formed such association, must function according to strict programing or highly standardized operating rules."[12] The armed services are sometimes criticized for the regimentation inevitably arising from "highly standardized operating rules." However, when consideration is given to the situation facing officers dealing with recruits and constantly changing personnel, it is probable that the armed services could not function efficiently by any other plan. Is the school system similar to or different from the army? Does the fact that the school system and the army have different purposes affect the validity of the processes of control of each? Those who believe that the purposes of a school system can best be achieved by strict programing and highly standardized rules probably assume a set of purposes for the schools different from those who disagree with them. If research sustains the hypothesis, then the educational administrator who wishes to avoid strict programing or highly standardized operating rules in any system or subsystem he is administering should select as components of that system or subsystem persons who are capable of working with each other and provide them with opportunities to do so in group situations.

3. "The larger a system is and the more components it has, the larger is the ratio of the amount of information transmitted between points within the system to the amount of information transmitted across its boundary."[13] A number of the largest city school systems in the United States have experienced serious crises in recent years. Is it possible that these large school systems have lost some public support because of failure to transmit sufficient information across their boundaries?

It might also be hypothesized that the larger the school system, the greater the difficulty in getting information from the environment across the boundary into the school system.

4. Miller presented several hypotheses, supported by some research, concerning communication channels. Following are two examples: "The further away along channels a subsystem is from a process, the

[12]*Ibid.*, p. 384.
[13]*Ibid.*, p. 385.

more error there is in its information about that process."[14] "The probability of error in or breakdown of an information channel is a direct function of the number of components in it."[15] The application of these hypotheses to educational organization and administration is obvious. The further the teachers are removed from contact with the central administration and the more the echelons placed between the teacher and the central administration, the greater the chance of error in the teachers' perceptions of the actions of the central administration and the greater the number of errors in the factual information reaching the teachers.

SOME THEORETICAL MODELS

In the remainder of this chapter, some theoretical models will be presented and applied to problems of organization and administration.

Toward a General Theory of Action

A bold attempt was made in 1951 by a group of psychologists, sociologists, and anthropologists to develop a general theory of the social sciences.[16] Their frame of reference for a theory of action was based on personality, social system, and culture. Personality was defined ". . . as the organized system of the orientation and motivation of action of one individual actor."[17] A social system was defined as "Any system of interactive relationships of a plurality of individual actors . . ."[18] Although culture can be conceptualized as a body of artifacts, and systems of symbols, it is not organized as a system of action and, therefore, is on a different plane from the personality and social systems. However, cultural patterns tend to become organized into systems.

The personality is viewed as a relatively consistent system of need dispositions which produce role expectations in social systems. Roles rather than personalities are conceptualized as the units of social structure.

Cultural patterns may be internalized both by the individual personality system and by the social system. These patterns are not always congruent, and the integration of personalities in social systems with different cultural patterns frequently presents serious difficulties.

Rewards, roles, and facilities in a social system are scarce and must be allocated. Therefore, the social system, or organization, must deal

[14]*Ibid.*, p. 388.
[15]*Ibid.*, p. 389.
[16]Talcott Parsons and Edward S. Shils, eds., *Toward a General Theory of Action* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1951).
[17]*Ibid.*, p. 7.
[18]*Idem.*

with the problems of allocation and integration. Furthermore, "The regulation of all of these allocative processes and the performance of the functions which keep the system or the subsystem going in a sufficiently integrated manner is impossible without a system of definitions of roles and sanctions for conformity or deviation."[19]

The formulation presented by Parsons and his associates seems highly general and abstract. But, the conceptualization of the reciprocal integration of the personality, the social system, and the culture through interaction processes stimulated much creative thinking by other social scientists.

Can the theories of Parsons and his associates be applied to the development of solutions of educational problems? From what theoretical bases will we develop solutions to the problems of integration of the races in the schools? From what theoretical bases will we develop educational programs to accomplish the purposes of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 and Titles I and III of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965? The educational provisions of these acts both deal with the educationally and culturally disadvantaged. It may be inappropriate to refer to pupils as "culturally disadvantaged." It may be more appropriate to use the term "culturally different." For example, a child reared in a slum develops a culture which enables him to cope with his environment in a slum. A child from the middle class has acquired a culture that ill equips him to survive in a slum environment but serves him well in his own environment. The problem of developing educational programs for culturally different children and adults and educationally disadvantaged children and adults is one of the greatest challenges to the educational leadership of the nation. Solutions to this problem by trial-and-error methods will be very slow. The intelligent application of appropriate theory should greatly speed up the development of education programs to alleviate this problem.

The Organization and the Individual

Perceptive administrators have long recognized that the administrator must deal with the organization, the individual, and the environment. The organization and the environment must come to terms with each other—the organization establishing and attaining purposes wanted by the environment, and the environment supporting the organization that satisfies its wants. Similarly, the individual and the organization must come to terms with each other by the individual accepting and facilitating the attainment of the purposes of the organization, and the organization satisfying the wants of the individual.

One of the earliest writers placing these propositions in theoretical

---

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 25

form was a business executive, Chester Barnard.[20] He conceived of an organization as a system which embraced the activities of two or more persons coordinating their activities to attain a common goal. He considered organization as the binding element common to all cooperative systems. According to Barnard's theoretical formulation, the continuance of a successful organization depends upon two conditions: (1) the accomplishment of the purposes of the organization, which he termed "effectiveness," and (2) the satisfaction of individual motives, which he termed "efficiency." Two types of processes were required for meeting these conditions: (1) those relating to the cooperative system itself and its relationship to its environment, and (2) those related to the creation and allocation of satisfaction among individuals.[21]

Getzels has developed a model for explaining social behavior which has been extremely fertile in producing hypotheses and stimulating research.[22] He started with the assumption that the process of administration deals essentially with social behavior in a hierarchical setting: ". . . we may conceive of administration *structurally* as the hierarchy of subordinate-superordinate relationships within a social system. *Functionally*, this hierarchy of relationships is the locus for allocating and integrating roles and facilities in order to achieve the goals of the social system."[23]

He conceived ". . . the social system as involving two classes of phenomena which are at once conceptually independent and phenomenally interactive."[24] Those two phenomena are the institution with roles and expectations fulfilling the goals of the system, and the individuals with personalities and need dispositions who inhabit the system. The observed interaction he termed social behavior. He asserted that ". . . social behavior may be understood as a function of these major elements: institution, role, and expectation, which together constitute what we shall call the *nomothetic* or normative dimension of activity in a social system, and individual, personality, and need-disposition, which together constitute the *ideographic* or personal dimension of activity in a social system."[25]

Getzels summarized his theoretical formulation in a simple model, which he presented pictorially as follows:[26]

[20]Chester I. Barnard, *The Functions of the Executive* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1938).

[21]*Ibid.*, Chap. 1.

[22]Jacob W. Getzels, "Administration as a Social Process," Chapter 7 of *Administrative Theory in Education*, ed. Andrew W. Halpin (Chicago: University of Chicago, Midwest Administration Center, 1958). NOTE: Getzels credits Egon Guba with assisting him in developing his theoretical formulations.

[23]*Ibid.*, p. 151.

[24]*Idem.*

[25]*Ibid.*, p. 152.

[26]*Ibid.*, p. 156.

Nomothetic Dimension

Ideographic dimension
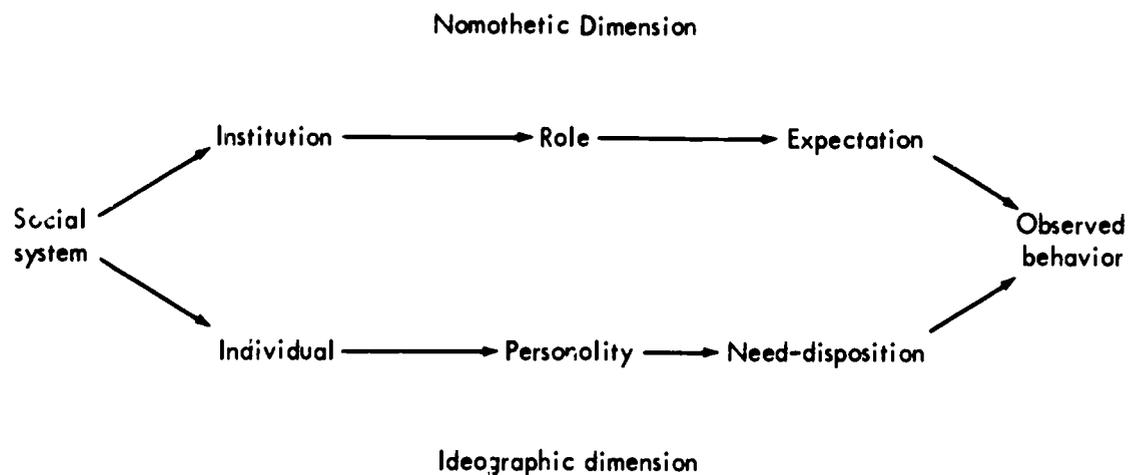
This model has already become a classic because of its simplicity and seminal properties. It clearly demonstrates the utility of models in presenting abstract theoretical concepts. A number of empirical research studies have been based on hypotheses originating in Getzels' formulation.[27]

Organizational Equilibrium

Any system has a tendency to achieve a balance among the many forces or factors operating upon the system and within it.[28] Chin distinguishes between different types of equilibriums as follows: "A *stationary equilibrium* exists when there is a fixed point or level of balance to which the system returns after a disturbance. . . . A *dynamic* equilibrium exists when the equilibrium shifts to a new position of balance after disturbance."[29] Current literature on systems theory usually refers to stationary equilibrium as "equilibrium," and to dynamic equilibrium as "steady state." In this chapter, steady state and dynamic equilibrium will be used as synonymous terms. Chin theorized that a system in equilibrium reacts to outside impingements by: "(1) resisting the influence of the disturbance, refusing to acknowledge its existence, or by building a protective wall against the intrusion, and by other defensive maneuvers . . .; (2) By resisting the disturbance through bringing into operation the homeostatic forces that restore or re-create a balance . . .; (3) By accommodating the disturbance through achieving a new equilibrium."[30] Strategies (1) and (2) are designed to attain a stationary equilibrium without making changes; strategy (3) is designed to attain a dynamic equilibrium or steady state by making changes.

[27]*Ibid.*, pp. 159–165.

[28]Robert Chin, "The Utility of Systems Models and Developmental Models for Practitioners" in *Planning of Change*, ed. Warren G. Bennis, Kenneth D. Benne, and Robert Chin (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, Inc., 1961), pp. 201–214.

[29]*Ibid.*, p. 205.

[30]*Idem.*

The concepts of stationary equilibrium and dynamic equilibrium or steady state are of great significance to educational administrators because of the consequences of alternate strategies to the social system called the school system, which is at the present time receiving more signals from its environment than ever before.

The concept of "feedback" is closely related to the concept of equilibrium. "Cybernetics" is the study of feedback control. Lonsdale defines feedback as follows: "As applied to organization, feedback is the process through which the organization learns: it is the input from the environment to the system telling it how it is doing as a result of its output to the environment."[31] It is hypothesized that if any social system fails to learn from its environment, it will eventually fail to survive in that environment or the environment will force changes in the system. If research sustains this hypothesis, what will be the eventual fate of a school system that makes continuous use of strategies (1) and (2)?

There are other concepts of equilibrium which are of great importance to administrators. As has been pointed out already, every living system strives to maintain a steady state. It will resist a disturbance if it can, and adjust to it if it must. "Entropy" is the tendency toward homogeneity or state of equilibrium.[32] Every system produces entropy, but at a minimal rate when the system is in a steady state. When a system is under such stress or strain that its components cannot bring it back into a steady state, the system may collapse. Systems under threat will usually use first the most available and least costly processes to relieve the strain to the system by returning the disturbing variable to a steady state. Later, the less quickly available and more costly processes will be utilized if necessary to restore the equilibrium of the system.[33] Thus, any living system, including such social systems as the school system, has a precarious existence. It needs feedback in order to receive the information necessary for the system to serve the environment and to adjust to it, if the system is to survive. But the feedback disturbs the equilibrium and if the steady state cannot be restored, the system will break down. Change is necessary for the survival of the system, but it usually causes stress and strain. These times, which require a rate of change greater than ever before, present an unparalleled challenge to the educational administrator to provide leadership for making desirable innovations and at the same time maintain a dynamic equilibrium in the school system.

[31]Richard C. Lonsdale, "Maintaining the Organization in Dynamic Equilibrium," Chap. 7 in *Behavioral Science in Educational Administration*, ed. Daniel E. Griffiths, Sixty-third Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, Part II (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964), p. 173.

[32]Hearn, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

[33]See James G. Miller, "Living Systems: Cross-Level Hypotheses," *Behavioral Science*, 10, No. 4 (1965), 394–397.

Compliance Relationship

It is assumed that any formal organization must fulfill its purposes at least to the extent required by its environment or it will cease to exist or be substantially restructured. It is also assumed that the actors in an organization must accept the organizational roles assigned to them and comply with the directives of superordinates, if the organization is to accomplish its purposes. Etzioni has formulated a middle-range theory of organization, utilizing compliance as the primary variable for the classifications in his typology. He defines compliance as "a relation in which an actor behaves in accordance with a directive supported by another actor's power, and the orientation of the subordinated actor to the power applied."[34] Etzioni assumed that the exercise of power involved the manipulation of physical, material, and symbolic means to secure rewards and deprivations, depending upon a person's perception of the legitimacy of the exercise of power by his superordinate and the need disposition of his subordinate. These factors determine the involvement of the individual in the organization, ranging on a continuum from positive to negative. The term "alienative" was used to refer to an intensely negative orientation; "calculative" to a low-intensity involvement, either positive or negative, and "moral" to a high-intensity commitment.[35]

Another basic assumption of Etzioni's theory was that social order in an organization was accounted for by three sources of control: coercion, economic assets, and normative values. He constructed the following typology of compliance relations based on these assumptions.[36]

A Typology of Compliance Relations

Kinds of power	Kinds of involvement		
	Alienative	Calcuiative	Moral
Coercive	1	2	3
Remunerative	4	5	6
Normative	7	8	9

The terms coercive and remunerative in his typology are self-explanatory. Normative power depends upon the regulation of symbolic rewards and deprivations involving esteem, prestige, social acceptance, ritualistic symbols, and other factors associated with values.

The numbers in Etzioni's typology model are used to identify the

[34]Amitai Etzioni, *A Comparative Analysis of Complex Organizations* (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, Inc., 1961), p. 3.

[35]See Douglas Richard Pierce, *An Analysis of Contemporary Theories of Organization and Administration* (Uupublished doctoral dissertation, University of Florida, 1963), for an interesting analysis of Etzioni's theories as well as a number of other contemporary theories.

[36]Etzioni, *op. cit.,* p. 12.

types of possible involvement resulting from the use of a kind of power. That is, Type 1 is alienative involvement from the use of coercive power, Type 2, calculative, and Type 3, moral. Each number identifies a different type of power-involvement response.

Etzioni further theorized that organizations exhibiting similar compliance structures exhibit similar goals. Goals were classified as follows: (1) order goals to control actors considered deviant, (2) economic goals to provide production and services to outsiders, (3) culture goals to institutionalize attempts to preserve and create culture and to create or reinforce commitments to these ends. A prison would be an example of an organization with an order goal, a factory, an organization with an economic goal, and a school system, an organization with a culture goal.

Following are some other hypotheses Etzioni derived from his formulation: (1) organizations tend to emphasize only one means of power, and when two means of power are used on the same actors in an organization simultaneously, they tend to neutralize each other; (2) organizations exhibit all three kinds of power but emphasize only one kind or segregate the application of different kinds of power; (3) Types 1, 5, and 9 from the preceding model represent the responses most likely to be received from the application of the different means of power.

Etzioni's theories have many applications to educational administration. Should the same means of power be used on all classes of actors in an educational organization to obtain compliance? For example, should there be any differences in the types of power used with teachers, custodians, secretaries, and students? Assuming that the goal of the total school system is cultural, can it be assumed that the goal of each subsystem is cultural? If a new principal uses normative power at the first meeting of his faculty, coercive power at the second meeting, and normative power again at the third meeting, what kind of involvement on the part of the faculty can he anticipate at the third faculty meeting?

Innovation and Change

Numerous theoretical formulations have been developed to account for innovation and change. Only a few examples are discussed here.

Presthus has developed an interesting theory relating to the individual's reaction to the organization in which he finds himself.[37] He assumes that organizations have manifest as well as latent goals. The manifest goals are in terms of the organizational purposes, particularly productivity. The latent goals are in terms of the need dispositions of

[37]Robert Presthus, *The Organizational Society* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1962).

members for security, recognition, and self-realization. He hypothesized that the attainment of the manifest goals would be promoted by recognition of the legitimacy of the latent goals of the actors in the organization. It is noteworthy that Presthus' formulation bears a close resemblance to the assumption on which Getzels' model was based.

Presthus developed a comprehensive analysis of complex hierarchical organization and hypothesized that there are three types of personal accommodations of actors who remain with the organization: (1) upward-mobiles; (2) indifferents; and (3) ambivalents.

According to this hypothesis, the upward-mobiles become "organization men" and internalize organizational values that become the premises for action. Personal goals are synthesized with organizational goals. The upward-mobiles recognize authority as the most functional value and are sensitive to authority and status differences. They tend to perceive their superiors as nonthreatening models and their subordinates with organizational detachment.

Indifferents adapt to big organizations by withdrawal and redirecting their interest to nonorganizational activities. Since they lack identification with organizational values, they withdraw from organizational activities and decisions.

Ambivalents exhibit dysfunctional behavior in relation to both personal and organizational goals. They depend upon rational values that might be in conflict with the values of the hierarchical organization. The ambivalents are a source of conflict, but they provide the insight, motivation, and the dialectic that inspire change. Therefore, the conflict created by ambivalents is considered as a creative catalyst. Should school administrators deliberately include on a school faculty some ambivalent persons who disturb the "steady state" from time to time?

The concepts "local" and "cosmopolitan"[38] have some relationship to the formulations of Etzioni and Presthus. Local actors tend to identify closely with their organization and to have a stronger allegiance to the vertical institutional subculture than do cosmopolitan actors. The latter tend to have a stronger allegiance to the horizontal subculture of the profession to which they belong than to the subculture of the particular organization in which they are actors. It can be hypothesized that the cosmopolitan actor is more likely to initiate change in an organization than is a local one. He is also more likely to be ambivalent than either indifferent or upwardly mobile. It can also be hypothesized that normative power would be more effective than any other means of power in dealing with a cosmopolitan actor.

[38]See Alvin W. Gouldner, "Cosmopolitans and Locals: Toward an Analysis of Latent Social Roles," *Administrative Science Quarterly,* 2 (Dec. 1957), 281–306; 2 (Mar. 1958) 444–480.

Thompson has theorized that the bureaucratic, hierarchical type of organization advocated by Max Weber retards innovation.[39] He hypothesized that "other things being equal, the less bureaucratized (monocratic) the organization, the more conflict and uncertainty and the more innovation.[40] Based on this hypothesis, Thompson proposed that the hierarchical organization be "loosened up" and made less tidy, if innovation and change were desired:

> In the innovative organization, departmentalization must be arranged so as to keep parochialism to a minimum. Some overlapping and duplication, some vagueness about jurisdictions, make a good deal of communication necessary. People have to define and redefine their responsibilities continually, case after case. They have to probe and seek for help. New problems cannot with certainty be rejected as *ultra vires.*[41]

Thompson assumed in his organizational model that some immediate production must be sacrificed in order to assure innovation within the organization.

Carlson has developed a typology of client-organization relationships in service organizations, as opposed to production organizations, from which he has formulated a number of useful hypotheses.[42]

Following is Carlson's typology:[43]

Selectivity in Client–Organization Relationship
in Service Organizations

		Client control over own participation in organization	
		Yes	No
Organizational control over admission	Yes	Type I	Type III
	No	Type II	Type IV

According to this classification, Type I organizations select their clients and the clients select the organization. Type IV represents the opposite set of conditions under which the organization does not select its clients nor the clients the organization. Private universities, hospitals, and legal

[39]Victor A. Thompson, "Bureaucracy and Innovation," *Administrative Science Quarterly,* 10, No. 1 (1965).

[40]*Ibid.,* p. 4.

[41]*Ibid.,* p. 15.

[42]Richard O. Carlson, "Environmental Constraints and Organizational Consequences: The Public School and Its Clients," Chap. 12 in *Behavioral Science and Educational Administration,* Sixty-third Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education (Chicago: University of Chicago Press), 1964.

[43]*Ibid.,* p. 265.

firms are examples of Type I, while public schools, state mental hospitals, and reform schools are examples of Type IV.

Carlson designated Type IV organization as "domesticated" for the following reasons: "By definition, for example, they do not compete with other organizations for clients; in fact, a steady flow of clients is assured. There is no struggle for survival for this type of organization. Like the domesticated animal, these organizations are fed and cared for. Existence is guaranteed."[44]

He classified Type I organization as "wild" because: ". . . they do struggle for survival. Their existence is not guaranteed, and they do cease to exist. Support for them is closely tied to quality of performance, and a steady flow of clients is not assured. Wild organizations are not protected at vulnerable points as are domesticated organizations."[45]

It was hypothesized "that domesticated organizations because of their protected state, are slower to change and adapt than are wild organizations."[46] Following are some of the hypotheses that Carlson formulated from his model concerning how an organization adapts itself to unselected clients: (1) An adaptive response of domesticated organizations to not being able to select its clients is segregation. Example: "dumping" students unsuited to academic programs into vocational areas, special sections, or even special schools. (2) Segregation may lead to goal displacement, which is the replacement of the original goal by some other goal. Example: discipline may be substituted for learning. (3) Preferential treatment may be given the clients that accommodate themselves to the purposes of the organization. Example: research has shown that preferential treatment is frequently given in the public schools to middle- and upper-class children in such matters as discipline, punishment and curriculums.[47]

It was also hypothesized that the inability of the student client to select his organization resulted in the following adaptations: (1) receptive adaptation, (2) drop-out adaptation, (3) situational retirement, (4) rebellious adjustment, and (5) side-payment adaptation.

There is much interest at the present time in innovation and change in education. Griffiths has identified some propositions aiding or inhibiting change which have been derived from the system theory model. They are as follows:

> The major impetus for change in organizations is from the outside.
> The degree and duration of change is directly proportional to the intensity of the stimulus from the suprasystem.
> Change in an organization is more probable if the successor to the

[44]*Ibid.*, p. 266.
[45]*Ibid.*, p. 267.
[46]*Idem.*
[47]*Ibid.*, pp. 269–273.

chief administrator is from outside the organization than if he is from inside the organization.

When change in an organization does occur, it will tend to occur from the top down, not from the bottom up.

"Living systems respond to continuously increasing stress first by a lag in response, then by an over-compensatory response, and finally by catastrophic collapse of the system."[48]

The number of innovations expected is inversely proportional to the tenure of the chief administrator.

The more hierarchical the structure of an organization, the less the possibility of change.

The more functional the dynamic interplay of subsystems, the less the change in an organization.[49]

In this chapter, we have presented only an introduction to some of the theoretical formulations which are useful in studying the phenomena of change. Some additional concepts relating to innovation and change are applied to organizational and leadership problems in the chapters immediately following.

Community Power Structure

Kimbrough and Johns and their research assistants have developed a typology of community power structure and related it to community decision making.[50] It was assumed from existing research that a small minority of elite influential persons in each school district had more influence on the political decisions made in that district than did the unorganized majority. It was hypothesized that this elite formed informal organizations in order to communicate and exercise influence. It was also hypothesized that different communities had different types of power structures. Kimbrough and Johns and their assistants in their investigations formulated the following typology for community power structures:[51] Type I: the *monopolistic-elite* single-group power structure

[48]James G. Miller, "Toward a Theory of the Behavioral Sciences," *American Psychologist*, 10 (1955). 525.

[49]Daniel E. Griffiths, "The Nature and Meaning of Theory," Chap. 5 in *Behavioral Science and Educational Administration*, Sixty-third Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964), pp. 117–118.

[50]Ralph B. Kimbrough and R. L. Johns, Co-directors of Cooperative Research Project 2842, *Relationship Between Socioeconomic Factors, Educational Leadership Patterns, and Elements of Community Power Structure and Local School Fiscal Policy* (Gainesville, Fla.: College of Education, University of Florida, 1967).

[51]This typology was first described by William Robert Marsh, a research assistant for Cooperative Research Project 2842, in his unpublished doctoral dissertation: *Characteristics of the Power Structures of Six Florida School Districts Selected on the Basis of Population, Educational Effort, and Elasticity of Demand for Education* (Gainesville, Fla.: College of Education, University of Florida, 1965).

described by Hunter as existing in Regional City;[52] Type II: *multigroup noncompetitive elite* comprised of two or more overlapping groups of elite members who generally agree on community issues with little regime conflict; Type III: *multigroup competitive elite* comprised of two or more groups of elite members with limited overlapping, who disagree on some community issues and engage in some regime conflict; Type IV: *segmented pluralism*, a segmented or diffused structure with numerous competing groups which have very little overlapping, but with regime conflicts among many groups.

It will be noted that this typology of power structures constitutes a continuum ranging from a single-group monopolistic structure to the political scientists' ideal of pluralism.

The following hypotheses were developed from this formulation: (1) that school districts with Type I and II power structures tended to make less financial effort in relation to ability than districts with Type III and IV structures; (2) that the influential persons in districts with Type I and II power structures tended to be more conservative in their civic and economic beliefs than those in districts with Types III and IV; (3) that educational innovations and change were less likely to occur in districts with structures of Types I and II than in districts with structures of Types III and IV. At this writing, research has not confirmed or rejected these hypotheses, although it has confirmed that these types of power structures (and perhaps others) do exist.

These different types of conditions existing in the environment of the social system called the school system undoubtedly require different strategies on the part of the school administrator if he is to succeed in obtaining political decisions favorable to the public schools. There are no recipes available to the administrator for dealing with each situation. Even if there were, the situation might change with great rapidity. The administrator is more likely to develop a successful strategy if he conceptualizes his problem theoretically and develops his solution in accordance with sound theory. Bailey and his associates,[53] Kimbrough,[54] and others have amply demonstrated that public school administrators are inevitably participants in political decision making when public school issues are decided by the political process.

Theories From Economics

There are many theoretical formulations from economics that have significance for educational organization and administration. Theories of investment, input—output, division of labor, economic growth, the

[52]Floyd Hunter, *Community Power Structure* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1953).

[53]Stephen K. Bailey, Richard L. Frost, Paul E. Marsh, and Robert C. Wood, *Schoolmen in Politics* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1962).

[54]Ralph B. Kimbrough, *Political Power and Educational Decision Making* (Skokie, Ill.: Rand McNally & Co., 1964).

allocation of resources, marginal utility, taxation, and credit are only a few examples. Fortunately, in recent years a number of economists have directed their research toward a study of the economics of education. For example, Fabricant in 1959 presented estimates showing that a large portion of the economic growth of the nation between 1889 and 1957 could not be explained by increased inputs of land, labor, and capital.[55] The classical economists had long used an economic model that included land, labor, and capital as the only factors for explaining production. Fabricant hypothesized that investments in education, research, and development and other intangible capital might account for the unexplained difference in economic growth. In 1961, Schultz tested this hypothesis and found that approximately one half of the unexplained increase in national income could be attributed to investment in education.[56] He concluded that a large part of the resources allocated to education could be classified as an investment, because it resulted in the formation of human capital.

The educational literature on school finance is beginning to include numerous concepts based on theories from economics.[57] Space does not permit discussion of these concepts.

Mathematical Models of Theory

Economics is the first of the social and behavioral sciences in which theoretical models were developed and utilized for formulating hypotheses to be tested by scientifically acceptable methods of research. Economists discovered that many concepts in economics could be expressed in mathematical form. This was a great advantage. The preciseness of the language of mathematics made it possible for researchers to express hypotheses exactly in mathematical equations and to test these hypotheses by valid methods. The extensive use of this approach to the study of economics gave rise to a new specialty in economics called econometrics.

Recently, there has been a trend toward the use of mathematical models in research on organization and administration. Simon was one of the first social scientists to make extensive use of mathematical formulations for expressing theoretical concepts in administration and organization. For example, Simon expressed in mathematical form

[55]Solomon Fabricant, *Basic Facts on Productivity Change,* Occasional Paper 63 (New York: National Bureau of Economic Research, 1959).

[56]Theodore W. Schultz, "Education and Economic Growth," Chap. 3 in *Social Forces Influencing American Education,* Sixtieth Yearbook, National Society for the Study of Education (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961).

[57]See Charles S. Benson, *The Economics of Public Education* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1961), Chaps. 1, 2, 3, 11; and Roe L. Johns and Edgar L. Morphet, *Financing the Public Schools* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1960), Chaps. 3 and 4.

Homans' theoretical system of group relationships in 1954.[58] Subsequently, March and Simon made extensive use of mathematics in presenting a comprehensive theoretical approach to organizations.[59] Miller used a considerable number of mathematical formulas in presenting 165 cross-level hypotheses on living systems.[60] Griffiths has been the pioneer among professors of educational administration in using mathematical formulations of organizational theory.[61] It is probable that mathematical formulations for research in educational organization and administration will be used even more extensively in the future. Furthermore, mathematical formulations adapted to computers are already used widely in decision making by the armed services and some types of business and industry. It is anticipated that a considerable amount of middle-management decision making may be done by computers in the near future. Thus, as so often happens, theoretical mathematical formulations, which were originally applied primarily to pure research problems, are now being applied to day-to-day operations.

SOME IMPORTANT PROBLEMS AND ISSUES

In this chapter we have presented only a sampling of the rich body of significant theory already available. No general field theory of educational organization and administration has yet been formulated. Nor is this likely to occur soon. However, system theory does provide an extremely useful means by which it is possible to tie together much significant research in educational organization and administration. In the following paragraphs, some further applications of theoretical formulations to educational problems and issues are presented.

Can Theory Be Used as a Basis for Obtaining Support for a Bond Issue?

The board of education of a large, rapidly growing urban school district employed a firm of educational consultants to make a school plant survey. It was a competent firm, and it made a thorough and accurate engineering-type, school plant survey. The technical report was submitted to the board, which accepted the major part of the recom-

[58]Herbert A. Simon, "Some Strategic Considerations in the Construction of Social Science Models," in *Mathematical Thinking in the Social Sciences*, ed. Paul F. Lazarsfeld (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, Inc., 1954).

[59]James C. March and Herbert A. Simon, *Organizations* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1958).

[60]James G. Miller, "Living Systems: Cross-Level Hypotheses," *Behavioral Science*, 10, No. 4 (Oct. 1965).

[61]Daniel E. Griffiths, *Administrative Theory* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1959).

mendations. Among those recommendations was the proposal that a bond issue of $30 million be submitted to the electorate for approval. The evidence in support of the bond issue seemed overwhelming. At the time the issue was submitted, 10,000 pupils were on double session and thousands of other children were in overcrowded rooms or housed in substandard facilities. The school population was increasing at the rate of 6,000 per year, but current revenue was sufficient to provide new housing for only approximately 2,000 pupils per year. The district had very little outstanding indebtedness, and the legal limit on indebtedness was more than adequate to cover the proposed issue. There had been no school bond issue for fifteen years.

The board voted to call a special election for a referendum on the bond issue. Numerous news releases on the bond issue were given by the superintendent to the press, and to radio and television stations. Great quantities of mimeographed material explaining the bond issue were sent to parents through the pupils. The superintendent and individual board members made frequent speeches to service clubs, parent-teacher associations, womens' clubs, and other organizations. The superintendent and board members also were frequently on radio and television programs.

When the bond election was held, it was soundly defeated. What theoretical formulations could help explain the defeat of this bond issue? What strategies based on these concepts might be used to pass such a bond issue?

How Can Change Be Initiated in a Junior College Faculty?

The public junior college in a thriving, growing city of 100,000 has been in existence for seven years, but it was started by taking over the facilities and staff of a private junior college. That college had been in existence for 37 years, when it was changed to a tax-supported institution. The private junior college had selective admissions and a good academic reputation, but it was designed to provide only a two-year program equivalent to the first two years of a four-year college. The board of trustees of the private junior college was willing to turn the institution over to the board of education for operation as a public institution because of financial difficulties.

When the institution became a public junior college, the board of education continued the president, his administrative assistants, the deans, and the faculty in their positions. However, additional faculty members were provided because of a large increase in enrollment. The junior college president was administratively responsible to the superintendent of schools and thence to the board.

When the board of education assumed responsibility for the junior

college, it inaugurated nonselective admissions and defined the purposes of the junior college as including vocational, technical, and general adult education as well as the two-year college parallel program. It requested the superintendent of schools and the president of the junior college to change the curriculum of the institution to include these purposes, and it provided the necessary funds for staff and facilities.

The superintendent of schools supported the broad-purpose program and the open-door policy, but the president of the junior college and most of his staff opposed both. The new facilities were constructed and some staff members provided for implementing the additions to the program. But the new programs in vocational, technical, and general education for adults did not flourish. The new faculty members added for these new purposes were not accepted by the other faculty members as peers. The president, instead of promoting the new programs, seemed to apologize for their existence. No effort was expended to advertise them and to recruit students for these new programs.

A new situation developed when the president of the junior college resigned and accepted the presidency of a senior college. He took two of his deans with him. When the president resigned, he recommended one person on his staff to succeed him and two other persons on his staff to succeed to the vacant deanships. His recommendation, submitted to the superintendent, was accompanied by a petition signed by 85 per cent of the faculty.

The board of education expected the superintendent of schools to make recommendations to fill vacancies. The board also desired some substantial changes in the program and in the general climate of the junior college.

What theoretical formulations would help the superintendent to plan recommendations for bringing about change in this junior college? What are some strategies that would be consistent with these formulations?

How Can the Recent Increase in Teacher Unrest Be Explained?

During recent years, classroom teachers in the public schools have become increasingly vocal, active, and aggressive. The membership of teachers in labor unions has increased, and many local education associations have adopted some of the tactics of labor unions, such as collective bargaining and withholding of services for certain functions. Sanctions have been imposed on entire states as well as on a number of local school systems. Teachers have been demanding a more aggressive professional leadership at local, state, and national levels. In one school system of 400,000, the classroom teachers by a majority of 90 per cent

voted in 1964 to censure their superintendent, their board of education, their legislative delegation, the state superintendent of schools, the state legislature and the governor, and then voted to impose sanctions on their local school system.

What theories can be used to conceptualize this problem? What hypotheses can be derived from these theories to explain this phenomenon?

Selected References

Argyris, Chris, *Interpersonal Competence and Organizational Effectiveness.* Homewood, Ill.: Richard D. Irwin, Inc. 1962.

Barnard, Chester I., *The Functions of the Executive.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1938.

Bennis, Warren G., Kenneth D. Benne, and Robert Chin, *The Planning of Change.* New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, Inc., 1961.

Berelson, B., and G. A. Steiner, *Human Behavior: An Inventory of Scientific Findings.* New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1964.

Blau, Peter M., and W. Richard Scott, *Formal Organizations: A Comparative Approach.* San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Co., 1962.

Charters, W. W., Jr., *et al., Perspectives on Educational Administration and the Behavioral Sciences.* Eugene, Ore.: Center for the Advanced Study of Educational Administration, University of Oregon, 1965.

Culbertson, Jack A., and Stephen P. Hencley, *Educational Research: New Perspectives.* Danville, Ill.: Interstate Printers and Publishers, Inc., 1963.

Etzioni, Amitai, *A Comparative Analysis of Complex Organizations.* New York: Free Press of Glencoe, Inc., 1961.

Golembiewski, Robert T., *Behavior and Organization.* Skokie, Ill.: Rand McNally & Co., 1962.

Griffiths, Daniel E., *Administrative Theory.* New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1959.

Griffiths, Daniel E., ed., *Behavioral Science and Educational Administration.* Sixty-third Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964.

————, *Taxonomies of Organizational Behavior.* Skokie, Ill.: Rand McNally & Company, 1967.

Halpin, Andrew W., ed., *Administrative Theory in Education.* Chicago: Midwest Administrative Center, University of Chicago, 1958.

Hearn, Gordon, *Theory Building in Social Work.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1956.

March, James C., and Herbert A. Simon, *Organizations.* New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1958.

Miller, James G., "Living Systems: Basic Concepts," *Behavioral Science,* **10**, No. 3 (July 1965).

————, "Living Systems: Structure and Process," *Behavioral Science,* **10**, No. 4 (Oct. 1965).

————, "Living Systems: Cross-level Hypotheses," *Behavioral Science,* **10**, No. 4 (Oct. 1965).

Parsons, Talcott, *Structure and Process in Modern Society.* New York: Free Press of Glencoe, Inc., 1960.

Parsons, Talcott, and Edward A. Shils, eds., *Toward a General Theory of Action.* New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1962.

Presthus, Robert, *The Organizational Society.* New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1962.

Thompson, Victor A., *Modern Organization.* New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1961.

Tope, Donald E., *et al., The Social Sciences View School Administration.* Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1965.

Weber, Max, *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization,* trans. A. M. Henderson and Talcott Parsons, ed. Talcott Parsons. New York: Free Press of Glencoe, Inc., 1947.

NOTE: The following periodicals emphasize theoretical concepts significant for educational organization and administration: *Behavioral Science, Administrative Science Quarterly, Educational Administration Quarterly, Journal of Applied Behavioral Science.*

4

Concepts and Principles of Organization

and Administration

A number of authorities on organization and administration have insisted that most, if not all, of the currently accepted principles of administration are unscientific. For example, Simon wrote in 1950 that the currently accepted principles of administration are "little more than ambiguous and mutually contradictory proverbs."[1] He found many so-called principles of administration to be mutually incompatible when applied to the same situation. For example, it had been stated as a principle that administrative efficiency is improved by keeping the number of persons supervised (span of control) at any given level to a small number. It had also been stated as a principle that administrative efficiency is improved by keeping to a minimum the number of levels through which a matter must pass before it is acted upon. Simon considered these two principles contradictory. He asked, how is it possible to keep the span of control at any given hierarchical level to a small number and at the same time hold the number of hierarchical levels to a minimum? One can agree with Simon that current statements of principles of span of control and number of hierarchical levels leave much to be desired. Nevertheless, every administrator of an organization, especially a large complex organization, must make decisions on how many persons to place under the control of one administrator at each level in the organization, how

[1]Herbert A. Simon, *Administrative Behavior* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1950), p. 240.

83

many persons for each type of task to place under the control of one administrator, and how many hierarchical levels to establish in the organization. Perhaps research based on systems theory discussed in Chapter 3 might develop a principle (or perhaps valid criteria), incorporating both the concept of span of control and number of hierarchical levels, which would be useful in making decisions on these matters.

Another example of contradiction is the statement of principles presented by a number of writers relating to "flexibility" and "stability." These two concepts seem to be contradictory. Actually, many concepts of administration and organization are like some mathematical functions that are valid only within certain limits. Unfortunately, the limits of the applicability of many concepts of administration and organization have not yet been determined. When these limits are defined, it should be possible to state more generalizations in the form of principles that can be used as reliable guides for decision making.

Griffiths wrote in 1957, "At the present time, there appear to be no established principles of administration."[2] He generally agreed with the point of view expressed by Simon.

Blau and Scott commented as follows concerning the development of principles:

> The object of all science is to explain things. What do we mean by a scientific explanation? An observed fact is explained by reference to a general principle, that is, by showing that the occurrence of this fact under the given circumstances can be predicted from the principle. To first establish such an explanatory principle as theoretical generalization, many particular events must be observed and classified into general categories that make them comparable. To explain a principle requires a more general proposition from which this and other specific principles can be inferred.[3]

Very few (if any) principles of administration have been developed in strict compliance with the standards proposed by Blau and Scott. Nevertheless, the literature on administration is filled with statements of principles of administration.[4] In this chapter, some of the most commonly accepted "principles" will be presented and discussed. These cannot be considered as scientifically determined but rather as operating rules of thumb which have been developed largely from experience. They constitute a part of the "folklore" of administration, and should be studied

[2]Daniel E. Griffiths, "Toward a Theory of Administrative Behavior," Chap. 10 in *Administrative Behavior in Education*, ed. Roald F. Campbell and Russell T. Gregg (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1957), p. 368.

[3]Peter M. Blau and W. Richard Scott, *Formal Organizations: A Comparative Approach* (San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Co., 1962), p. 10.

[4]Mary Elizabeth Schlayer, *Certain Principles and Criteria for the Internal Organization and Administration of Institutions of Higher Learning* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Florida, 1951).

because they point to the areas in which principles of administration are needed.

Principles of administration developed in accord with the standards proposed by Blau and Scott are value-free. That is such principles should be equally applicable in authoritarian and democratic societies. However, values are variables and, since democratic administrators and authoritarian administrators have different value structures, administrative processes and organizational structures will vary even though the same principles are applied. The implementation of principles of organization will vary widely in different countries and different communities, depending largely upon the philosophical assumptions of those in a position to make decisions. The administrator holding an authoritarian philosophy will make many assumptions concerning the implications of theories of administration and organization that differ from those made by the person holding a democratic philosophy. Therefore, some of the assumptions underlying contrasting philosophies of administration will be presented.[5]

No attempt is made in this chapter to distinguish between the principles of organization and the principles of administration. In accord with systems theory, the school administrator is conceptualized as an actor in a social system interacting with the environment. Since the administrator is always an actor in an organization, it is extremely difficult to distinguish between principles of organization and principles of administration.

SOME CHARACTERISTICS OF ORGANIZATIONS

In this chapter, we are concerned primarily with the administration of certain types of formal organizations, although certain propositions and theories are probably applicable to all types of organizations. It is difficult to define a formal organization in precise terms. March and Simon observed that "It is easier, and probably more useful to give examples of formal organizations than to define them."[6] Thus, a business firm and a public school system are examples of formal organizations, as contrasted with such face-to-face groups as work groups in a factory or office and groups of interacting influential persons in the community power structure, which are examples of informal organizations.

[5] Some of the concepts presented in the following pages were adapted from Chap. 9 of *Better Teaching in School Administration* (Nashville, Tenn.: Southern States Cooperative Project in Educational Administration, George Peabody College for Teachers, 1955).

[6] James C. March and Herbert A Simon, *Organizations* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1958).

Classification of Organizations

With reference to formal organizations, Blau and Scott stated, "Since the distinctive characteristics of these organizations is that they have been formally established for the explicit purpose of achieving certain goals, the term 'formal organization' has been used to designate them."[7] These authors have developed a useful typology for classifying organizations. They started with the assumption that the following four basic categories could be distinguished in relation to any formal organization: the members or rank-and-file participants, the owners or managers, the clients and the public-at-large.[8] The following typology was then developed in terms of who benefits from the organization: "(1) 'mutual benefit associations' where the prime beneficiary is the membership; (2) 'business concerns' where the owners are prime beneficiary; (3) 'service organizations' where the client group is the prime beneficiary; and (4) 'commonweal organizations' where the prime beneficiary is the public at large."[9] Examples of mutual benefit associations are unions, teachers associations, and clubs; examples of business concerns are factories, stores, and private utilities; examples of service organizations are public schools, hospitals, and social work agencies, and of commonweal organizations are the armed services, police forces, and fire depaitments.

Crucial Problems of Different Types of Organizations

Blau and Scott made the following observations concerning the crucial problems of these different types of organizations:

> Thus the crucial problem in mutual benefit associations is that of maintaining internal democratic processes—providing for participation and control by the membership; the central problem for business concerns is that of maximizing operating efficiency in a competitive situation; the problems associated with the conflict between professional service to clients and administrative procedures are characteristic of service organizations; and the crucial problem posed by commonweal organizations is the development of democratic mechanisms whereby they can be externally controlled by the public.[10]

Attention is directed to the fact that these observations concerning the crucial problems of the different types of organizations are applicable only to organizations located in countries with a capitalistic economy and a democratic value system, such as the United States. These are not the crucial problems of the same types of organizations in a country with a socialist economy and an authoritarian value system, such as Russia. In

[7]Blau and Scott, *op. cit.*

[8]*Ibid.*, p. 42.

[9]*Ibid.*, p.43.

[10]*Ibid.*, p. 43.

fact the business concern, as we know it in the United States, does not even exist in Russia.

It seems that all these problems for different types of organizations are crucial in a public school organization, with the possible exception of "maximizing operating efficiency in a competitive situation." However, a crucial problem of public school administration is competition with other governmental services and also with the private sector of the economy for allocation of the national product. Furthermore, public school administrators are under pressures quite as severe as administrators of private firms to make efficient use of resources.

Relationship of Informal Organizations to Formal Organizations

Attention has already been directed in Chapter 3 to a number of other typologies by which organizations may be studied. It is obvious that the study of organization is a very complex matter. Since we are concerned primarily in this chapter with the phenomena of formal organizations, it would seem that our problem should be simplified. However, numerous authorities have pointed out that it is impossible to ignore informal organizations in the study of formal organizations, because informal organizations of actors are factors in the functioning of formal organizations. Therefore, considerable attention will be given to informal groups in Chapter 5.

One of the important distinctions between formal and informal organizations is that formal organizations usually have a longer life than the actors in the organization, while the informal organization usually has a shorter life than the actors in it. In a formal organization such as a school system, the organization will continue after the services of a particular group of teachers are terminated, but the informal organization of a particular group of teachers dies when that group of teachers severs its connection with the school system. The formal organization has long-term purposes which must be continuously met, and the personnel of the organization must be replenished to do this. The informal group usually has a short-term purpose directed toward satisfying the personal needs of the actors in the informal organization. When those needs are met, the group may disappear. These differences between formal and informal organizations affect organizational structure, which is discussed in the following section of this chapter.

Need for Organizations

The purpose of an organization is to provide the means by which the actors in the organization may cooperate.

An organizational structure is necessary when any group has a

common task.[11] This is true for gregarious animals as well as human groups.[12] An unorganized group is only a mass of people. It can neither determine its purposes nor accomplish its ultimate objectives. Therefore, in order to survive, the group must organize. The organization, no matter how simple, must provide for at least the following procedures for making decisions and taking action:

1. a procedure for selecting a leader or leaders;
2. a procedure for determining the roles to be played by each member of the group;
3. a procedure for determining the goals of the group;
4. a procedure for achieving the goals of the group.

Advocates of democratic procedures sometimes infer that organization and administration are less necessary in a democracy than in an authoritarian government. Thomas Jefferson's statement, "The least governed is the best governed," is sometimes quoted as authority for that belief. Even Plato, who was not an advocate of democracy, contemplated in *The Republic* the idea of a simple communistic society without government. He rejected the idea, because he believed that man was naturally ambitious, acquisitive, competitive, and jealous. The researches of social psychologists, anthropologists, political scientists, and authorities in business and educational administration do not reveal less necessity for organization and administration in democratic than in authoritarian government. Patterns and procedures of organization and administration will differ, of course, but organization and administration are equally necessary in all forms of human society.

Decision Making

Every organization must make provision for decision making. Decisions must be made concerning what goals, purposes, objectives, policies, and programs will be accepted by the organization as legitimate. Decisions need to be rendered continuously with respect to the implementation of policies and programs. Therefore, every organization, in order to be effective, must have the ability to make decisions. These decisions may be made by the leader, by the group, by authorities external to the group, or by a combination of methods. Regardless of how decisions are made or who makes them, an organization cannot operate unless decisions are rendered.

The processes of decision making are so vital to the understanding

[11]George C. Homans, *The Human Group* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc. 1950), Chaps. 4 and 5.
[12]W. C. Allee, "Conflict and Cooperation: Biological Background," in *Approaches to National Unity, Fifth Symposium*, ed. Lyman Bronson, Louis Finkelstein, and Robert MacIver (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1945).

of administration and organization that significant progress has been made in their theoretical analysis. Simon has suggested that the understanding of the application of administrative principles is to be obtained by analyzing the administrative process in terms of decisions.[13] He theorized that the effectiveness of organizational decisions could be maximized by increasing the rationality of organizational decisions. He assumed that there are limits to human rationality and that this creates a need for administrative theory. According to Simon:

> Two persons, given the same possible alternatives, the same values the same knowledge, can rationally reach only the same decision. Hence administrative theory must be concerned with the limits of rationality, and the manner in which organization effects these limits for the person making the decision.[14]

Griffiths has formulated a theory of administration as decision making based on the following assumptions:

> 1. Administration is a generalized type of behavior to be found in all human organization.
> 2. Administration is the process of directing and controlling life in a social organization.
> 3. The specific function of administration is to develop and regulate the decision-making process in the most effective manner possible.
> 4. The administrator works with groups or with individuals with a group referrent, not with individuals as such.[15]

He presented a set of concepts on decision making, perception, communication, power, and authority, and formulated the following major propositions:

> 1. The structure of an organization is determined by the nature of its decision-making process. . . .
> 2. If the formal and informal organization approach congruency, then the total organization will approach maximum achievement. . . .
> 3. If the total organization is not approaching maximum achievement, then, in all probability, the formal and informal organization are divergent. . . .
> 4. If the administrator confines his behavior to making decisions on the decision-making process rather than making terminal decisions for the organization, his behavior will be more acceptable to his subordinates. . . .
> 5. If the administrator perceives himself as the controller of the decision-making process, rather than the maker of the organization's decisions, the decision will be more effectiv . . . .[16]

[13]Simon, *op. cit.*, p. 240.

[14]*Ibid.*, p. 241. Also see Daniel E. Griffiths, *Administrative Theory* (New York: Appleton-Century & Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1959), pp. 57–60 for a discussion of Simon's theories.

[15]Griffiths, *Administrative Theory*, p. 91.

[16]*Ibid.*, pp. 89–91.

Using these concepts, Griffiths presented the view that the central process of administration is decision making, which is composed of the following aspects:

1. Recognize, define, and limit the problem.

2. Analyze and evaluate the problem.

3. Establish criteria or standards by which solution will be evaluated or judged as acceptable and adequate to the need.

4. Collect data.

5. Formulate and select the preferred solution or solutions. Test them in advance.

6. Put into effect the preferred solution.
   a. Program the solution.
   b. Control the activities in the program.
   c. Evaluate the results and the process.[17]

Griffiths' approach to the study of administration is an example of the modern scientific methods being used in the study of administration, as contrasted with the work of Fayol[18] and Gulick.[19] Fayol saw administration as the processes of planning, organizing, staffing, directing, coordinating, reporting, and budgeting. Griffiths presented his assumptions, stated his hypotheses, which can be tested, and stated his conclusions in the framework of a theoretical formulation. Fayol and Gulick did not really present any theoretical formulation. They only described what they had observed about administration in accordance with certain functional classifications of administrative processes. The work of Griffiths and other similar theorists is seminal *for the creation of new knowledge;* the approaches of Fayol and Gulick, terminal.

Miller has proposed a number of significant hypotheses of decision making in social systems.[20] Further research on these and other hypotheses related to the processes of decision making will undoubtedly produce significant advances in understanding principles of administration and organization.

Selecting a Leader

There are many methods by which a group may secure necessary leadership. The leader (here not distinguished from the administrator) may be selected by instinct, as in the case of bees, or by a test of physical

[17]*Ibid.,* p. 113.

[18]Henri Fayol, *Industrial and General Administration,* trans. J. A. Courborough (Geneva: Industrial Management Association, 1930).

[19]Luther Gulick, "Notes on the Theory of Organization" in *Papers on the Science of Administration,* ed. Luther Gulick and L. Urwick (New York: Institute of Public Administration, Columbia University, 1937).

[20]James G. Miller, "Living Systems: Cross-Level Hypotheses," *Behavioral Science,* 10, No. 4 (Oct. 1965), 394–397, 406.

strength, as in the case of the wolf pack. The leader may be selected by force or chicanery, in accordance with the patterns usually followed in dictatorships. The leader may be selected by the group itself or by representatives of the group, as in a democracy or a republic. Regard- less of the method of selection, an effective group will always have leadership. The role of the leader will vary widely in different types of groups, depending upon the goals and values of the group, the leader's perception of his role, the group's perception of the leader's role, and other factors.

The group cannot attain its maximum productivity and the maxi- mum satisfaction of individual members unless functions, activities, interests, and assignments are coordinated. That is one of the principal functions of executive leadership.

The executive head of an organization, in order to be of maximum usefulness to the organization, must also be a leader. The functions of leadership are many and varied. The definition of the term "leadership" itself is an involved undertaking. This subject is discussed in detail in the following chapter.

Determination of Roles

The organization must also provide for the determination of the roles of each member of the group. Again, the method of determining these roles will vary widely among different groups, depending upon the nature of the group. In the lowest order of animals, the individual role of a group member may be assigned largely by instinct. In a higher order of animals, such as human beings, the roles of individual members may be determined arbitrarily by the leader, or they may be determined largely by the choice of individual members of the group, or by various combinations of these methods. Regardless of how roles are determined, each member of the group or organization must have an appropriate role for the social system to function with maximum efficiency.

Determination of Goals and Purposes

The organization must provide some method by which a group may determine its common goals. This is very easy in the case of some groups, such as the wolf pack. The common goal of obtaining food was the reason the group was formed. Even in animals of a higher order, such as human beings, common goals are usually the basis of group formation. When human beings are arbitrarily forced together, they cannot become an effective group until common goals have been determined. This phenomenon is sometimes observed in faculties of schools which do not have common purposes. Conflicts sometimes develop within a group over the determination of purposes. If these conflicts are not resolved,

the group will either disintegrate or break into two or more factions.

Miller has stated the following two hypotheses concerning the determination of goals and purposes which have been supported by some research:

1. Lack of clarity of purpose or goals in a system's decisions will produce conflict between it and other components of the suprasystem.
2. If a system has multiple purposes and goals, and they are not placed in clear priority and commonly known by all components and subsystems, conflict among them will ensue.[21]

Attainment of Goals

All groups must develop procedures for taking action to attain goals. If these goals are not attained, the group will either disintegrate or be reorganized. The goals must include the goals of individual members as well as those of the organization if it is to maximize its production possibilities (see Getzel's model presented in Chapter 3). It is impossible to attain organizational goals with efficiency if there is a crucial conflict between organizational goals and the goals of the actors in the organization.

A distinction should be made at this point between goal attainment of formal organizations and of informal organizations. An effective organization must be an active one. In fact, activity is essential for organizational survival. Since formal organizations usually have long-range goals which must be continuously met, the need for activity is continuous. But informal organizations usually have short-range goals arising from the needs of the actors in the informal organization. If the goal is attained and no other goal is substituted for it, activity ceases and the organization disappears. The same thing is true even of some types of formal organizations, such as a political organization formed to elect a particular candidate at a given election. After the election, the goal is either attained or abandoned, activity ceases and the organization dissolves. Thus, we have the paradox of the necessity for the organization to attain its goals in order to succeed but the probability of nonsurvival once it attains its goals. This points to the necessity for the public schools to formulate new goals from time to time, consistent with the changing purposes of the schools.

Nature of Organizational Structures

The tendency in formal organizations is to develop pyramidal, hierarchical structures with superordinate-subordinate relationships among the actors in the organization. This phenomenon has been observed in all societies, regardless of stage of civilization, economic system,

[21]Miller, *op. cit*, pp. 404–405.

or political philosophy. The larger and more complex the organization, the more bureaucratic and hierarchical is the structure of the organization. For example, the organizational structure for a rural elementary school district that provides educational services for only 150 pupils in a six-teacher school is far less hierarchical and bureaucratic than the organizational structure for a municipal district with a population of 500,000 providing numerous elementary and high schools, a junior college, and many special educational services. Further attention will be given to the structure of formal organizations later in this chapter.

Informal organizations are usually small in size and have a very simple structure with few organizational hierarchies. Berelson and Steiner have reported that most informal groups have an upper limit of fifteen to twenty persons.[22] Informal organizations usually have face-to-face relations in small groups.

CONCEPTS OF ORGANIZATION AND ADMINISTRATION

In the following sections of this chapter, a number of concepts of organization and administration are presented. Although each of these "principles" is stated in terms of its relationship to the effectiveness of the organization in surviving in its environment and attaining its goals, it could just as readily be stated in terms of "administrative efficiency." For example, the proposition concerning the single executive could be stated: (1) administrative efficiency is increased by having a single executive head of an organization; or (2) the effectiveness of an organization is enhanced by having a single executive head. These two statements illustrate the relationship of principles of administration to principles of organization. However, the ultimate purpose of an organization is not to establish conditions that increase administrative efficiency but to establish conditions that will enhance the effectiveness of the organization in attaining its goals. Sometimes this important point has been forgotten by an administrative hierarchy snarled in red tape. Administrative efficiency is valid only to the extent that it contributes to the attainment of the goals of the organization, the goals of the actors in the organization, and the extent that it meets the requirements of the environment for the survival of the organization. In the future, more meaningful and useful principles of administration and organization than those presented here will no doubt be developed from current and future research, much of it based on systems theory. Educational administrators administer social systems usually comprising a complex of suprasystems and subsystems. Therefore, useful principles must deal with cross-level factors

[22]Bernard Berelson and Gary A. Steiner, *Human Behavior—An Inventory of Scientific Findings* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1964), p. 325.

as well as factors at one system level. The work of Miller may well point the direction for future research on theories of organization and administration.[23]

Single Executive

THE EFFECTIVENESS OF AN ORGANIZATION IS ENHANCED BY HAVING A SINGLE EXECUTIVE HEAD. The executive must provide central coordination for the activities of an organization. Although an organization may have a number of leaders, one of these leaders must serve as the coordinating head of the group. Unless this is done, no organization can achieve its purposes, because division of central leadership will prevent the coordination of its activities. The necessity for the recognition of this principle becomes more imperative as the size of the organization's membership increases. This principle of administration was among the earliest generally recognized. Despite the fact that numerous experiments in divided central executive leadership have failed, proposals are still being advanced to provide an organization with two executive heads. In educational administration numerous attempts have been made to divide the executive functions for education into educational and business administration. Boards of education have sometimes employed two superintendents, one for educational and one for business administration, each directly responsible to the board and neither responsible to the other. These experiments have almost invariably resulted in friction and in the failure of the organization to attain its objectives effectively. The activities of any effective organization must be coordinated, and this can best be achieved through a single executive head.

Unity of Purpose

THE EFFECTIVENESS OF AN ORGANIZATION IS ENHANCED BY CLEAR DEFINITION OF GOALS AND PURPOSES. The processes of determining goals and purposes may be formal or informal. The members of a simple organization may have tacitly agreed upon its purposes before the organization was formed. However, a complex organization such as an educational structure has many purposes and goals. In such an organization these must be carefully determined. Unless that is done, the organization is likely to operate with conflicting objectives. Such an organization will almost inevitably end in conflict among members of the group or between the group and the official leadership. Unresolved conflicts will eventually destroy informal organizations and "wild" formal organizations (defined in Chapter 3). The members of a public school organization are members of a "domestic" organization. Such a group, with undetermined or conflicting purposes, may legally continue in existence past its period of

[23]See Miller, *op. cit.*

usefulness. The turnover in such a group is high and the group is ineffective. Therefore, it is vital that any organization determine its purposes and goals if it wishes to continue serving a useful function.

Unity of Command

THE EFFECTIVENESS OF AN ORGANIZATION IS ENHANCED WHEN EVERY PERSON IN THE ORGANIZATION KNOWS TO WHOM AND FOR WHAT HE IS RESPONSIBLE. This principle, as its name implies, was first recognized by the armed services. As pointed out later in this chapter, there is much disagreement concerning the validity of this proposition. Following are some of the assumptions underlying it.

The organization should provide for the definition of the role of each individual. It is demoralizing to the individual and destructive to the productivity of the organization to have individuals uncertain of their duties. Whether the individual is assigned his duties by the status leader or participates himself in their selection, he will not be an effective member of the organization unless he knows what his obligations are. Unless the lines of responsibility and authority are clearly defined, chaos is inevitable. It follows that no individual in the organization should be compelled to take direct orders from more than one person, because conflicts will inevitably arise.

Delegation of Authority and Responsibility

THE EFFECTIVENESS OF AN ORGANIZATION IS ENHANCED WHEN SUPERORDINATES DELEGATE AUTHORITY TO SUBORDINATES. It would seem that this is a self-evident fact rather than a principle. However, the problem of delegation of authority and responsibility has plagued mankind since the development of organizations. One of the assumptions back of this principle is that when a superordinate delegates responsibility for a task to a subordinate, he should at the same time delegate to the subordinate the necessary authority to accomplish the task.

As is true with many principles of organization and administration, there are limits to the operation of this principle. Miller has hypothesized that segregation (compartmentalization) increases conflict among subsystems.[24] He cited in support of that hypothesis the observation of March and Simon that the delegation of authority to departments in firms increased the disparity of interests and created conflict among them.[25]

Division of Labor

THE EFFECTIVENESS OF AN ORGANIZATION IS ENHANCED BY THE DIVISION OF LABOR AND TASK SPECIALIZATION. Provision for an appropriate division

[24]Miller, *op. cit.*, p. 403.
[25]March and Simon, *op. cit.*, pp. 41–42.

of labor in order to increase productivity was the basic reason private firms were established. Adam Smith presented an excellent illustration of this principle in his famous book, *The Wealth of Nations,* published in 1776. In his illustratiou, he demonstrated that if a group of men making pins divided the labor and each specialized on a task, the same number of men could greatly increase their production of pins in a given length of time.

Much of the increase in the productivity of the economy of Western civilization during the past two centuries has been due to the formation of large numbers of complex organizations which have applied the division-of-labor principle. The growth in technology and the industrialization of society have greatly increased the emphasis on division of labor and specialization during the past 25 years. This trend has created some critical problems which will be treated later in this chapter.

Miller has hypothesized that the segregation of functions in a system is increased by structurally increasing the types of its members or components.[26]

Standardization

THE EFFECTIVENESS OF AN ORGANIZATION IS ENHANCED BY THE DEVELOPMENT OF STANDARDIZED PROCEDURES FOR ROUTINE ADMINISTRATIVE OPERATION. Standardized procedures are applicable to such operations as accounting, data gathering, statistical reporting, and record keeping. Standardization of routine operations saves labor on the part of all members of the organization. In many instances such procedures are also essential to collecting the data necessary for evaluation.

Span of Control

THE EFFECTIVENESS OF AN ORGANIZATION IS ENHANCED BY ASSIGNING TO EACH ADMINISTRATOR NO GREATER A NUMBER OF PERSONS THAN HE CAN DIRECTLY SUPERVISE. This is an extremely controversial principle, as will be shown later. However it is a time-honored principle, generally accepted by military and business c ganizations. Perhaps this principle is applicable to some types of organizations and not applicable to others. Or perhaps the most efficient span of control differs for different types of organizations and for different types of tasks within an organization.

Stability

THE EFFECTIVENESS OF AN ORGANIZATION IS ENHANCED BY CONTINUING POLICIES AND PROGRAMS UNTIL RESULTS CAN BE EVALUATED. An organization which changes its policies or programs capriciously is almost certain

---

[26]Miller, *op. cit.*, p. 384.

to be an ineffective organization. If policies and programs are carefully defined and given a thorough trial before being abandoned or changed, "sunk costs" are minimized and the probability of establishing a favorable ratio between input and output is increased.

Flexibility

THE EFFECTIVENESS OF AN ORGANIZATION IS ENHANCED WHEN IT MAKES PROVISION FOR INNOVATION AND CHANGE. Innovation and change are facilitated when policies are stated in broad enough terms to permit reasonable flexibility in management. The principle of flexibility also implies that, once a program or policy has been continued long enough for evaluation, provision should be made for change. Therefore, the principle of flexibility might be interpreted as a contradiction of the principle of stability. However, these two principles do not contradict each other as much as they tend to balance one another. What is sought in effective administration is an appropriate balance between stability and flexibility. The need for flexibility of administration and organization increases in these times of rapid change.

Security

THE EFFECTIVENESS OF AN ORGANIZATION IS ENHANCED WHEN THE ORGANIZATION PROVIDES SECURITY FOR ITS MEMBERS. Different members of the group have many different individual needs, but the need for security is universal. This universal craving for security makes it essential that this need be met in any group, regardless of political philosophy. As a matter of fact, security itself is frequently the goal or purpose for which informal groups are formed. The need for security is no less present in formal groups, such as educational organizations, than in informal groups.

Personnel Policies

THE EFFECTIVENESS OF AN ORGANIZATION IS ENHANCED BY PERSONNEL POLICIES, WHICH INCLUDE SELECTING THE COMPETENT, TRAINING THE INEXPERIENCED, ELIMINATING THE INCOMPETENT, AND PROVIDING INCENTIVES FOR ALL MEMBERS OF THE ORGANIZATION. Even informal organizations such as street gangs follow these procedures. Personnel policies in formal groups, such as school faculties, must be carefully defined. Selecting the competent is essential to recruiting potentially effective group members. Training the inexperienced is essential to obtaining maximum productivity from individual members of the group. Eliminating the incompetent is essential to maintaining the integrity and cohesiveness of the group. Providing incentives by meeting the individual needs of group members is essential to maintaining group morale and assuring maximum productivity.

Evaluation

THE EFFECTIVENESS OF AN ORGANIZATION IS ENHANCED WHEN PROVISION IS MADE NOT ONLY FOR EVALUATING THE PRODUCTS OF THE ORGANIZATION BUT ALSO THE ORGANIZATION ITSELF. Activity without evaluation may be fruitless. The ability to evaluate is one of the characteristics which distinguish the human species from lower orders of animals. Evaluation is provided not only by actors within the organization, but also by the environment of the organization if evaluation is effective. Evaluation by the environment is obtained by making provision for the organization to receive feedback, as pointed out in Chapter 3.

Leavitt has presented evidence indicating that two-way communication in an organization providing feedback reduces error.[27] Feedback provides one means of continuous evaluation.

There are numerous technical and scientific methods available for evaluation of the material products of an organization. The instruments available for the evaluation of the nonmaterial products of the educational system are far less precise. This does not relieve the educational system of the necessity for evaluation. It only makes the problem more difficult.

TRADITIONAL AND EMERGING CONCEPTS
OF ORGANIZATION AND ADMINISTRATION

There are two principal competing concepts of organization and administration, which we will call the traditional monocratic, bureaucratic concept and the emerging pluralistic, collegial concept. The use of the terms "traditional monocratic, bureaucratic concept" and "emerging pluralistic, collegial concept" should not be interpreted as suggesting that we have a clear dualism in types of administration and organization.

As Bennis has said, "So we hear of 'Theory X vs. Theory Y,' personality vs. organization, democratic vs. autocratic, task vs. maintenance, human relations vs. scientific management, and on and on. Surely life is more complicated than these dualities suggest, and surely they must imply a continuum—not simply extremes."[28]

Therefore, in this section we will describe not dual concepts of administration and organization but the extreme ends of a continuum. The principles of administration discussed in the previous section are

[27]Harold K. Leavitt, *Managerial Psychology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958), p. 123.

[28]Warren G. Bennis, "Theory and Method in Applying Behavioral Science to Planned Organizational Change," *Journal of Applied Behavioral Science*, 1, No. 4 (1965), 356.

equally applicable throughout this continuum. However, as will be shown in this chapter, the structure of the organization and administrative procedures will vary greatly, depending upon the assumptions made and the value systems of those applying these principles.

The Traditional Monocratic, Bureaucratic Concept

The traditional monocratic, bureaucratic concept of organization and administration is defined as a pyramidal, hierarchical organizational structure, in which all power for making decisions flows from superordinates to subordinates. This concept has been described by Weber.[29]

We are indebted to Abbott for the following succinct description of Weber's monocratic, bureaucratic model:

> For Weber, the essential and distinctive characteristics of a bureaucracy were somewhat as follows:
>
> 1. The regular activities required for the purposes of the organization are distributed in fixed ways as official duties. Since the tasks of an organization are too complex to be performed by a single individual, or by a group of individuals possessing a single set of skills, efficiency will be promoted by dividing those tasks into activities which can be assigned to specific offices or positions. This division of labor makes possible a high degree of specialization which, in turn, promotes improved performance in two ways. First it enables the organization to employ personnel on the basis of technical qualifications; second, it enables employees to improve their skills by limiting their attention to a relatively narrow range of activities.
>
> 2. The positions in an organization are arranged on the principle of office hierarchy and of levels of graded authority. This means that there is a firmly ordered system of superordination and subordination in which the lower offices are supervised by the higher ones. Although specialization makes possible the efficient performance of specific tasks, specialization also creates problems of coordination. To achieve the required coordination, it is necessary to grant to each official the requisite authority to control the activities of his subordinates.
>
> 3. The management of activities is controlled by general rules which are more or less stable, more or less exhaustive, and which can be learned. These rules are general and abstract, and they constitute standards which assure reasonable uniformity in the performance of tasks. They preclude the issuance of directives based on whim or caprice, but require the application of general principles to particular cases. Together with the hierarchical authority structure, rules provide for the

[29]Max Weber, *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*, trans. A. M. Henderson and Talcott Parsons, ed. Talcott Parsons (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, Inc., 1947).
NOTE: Max Weber (1864–1920) was a remarkably productive German scholar. He began with the study of law but soon went on to study economics. After writing a number of outstanding works on economics, he turned to the development of a science of sociology. Every serious student of administration should read *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*.

coordination of organizational activities and for continuity of operations, regardless of changes in personnel.

4.   Bureaucracy develops the more perfectly the more completely it succeeds in eliminating from official business love, hatred, and all purely personal, irrational, and emotional elements which escape calculation. The essence of bureaucratic arrangements is rationality. A spirit of formalistic impersonality is necessary to separate organizational rights and duties from the private lives of employees. Only by performing impersonally can officials assure rationality in decision making, and only thus can they assure equitable treatment for all subordinates.

5. Employment in a bureaucracy is based upon technical competence and constitutes a career. Promotions are to be determined by seniority, or achievement, or both; tenure is to be assured; and fixed compensation and retirement provisions are to be made. Since individuals with specialized skills are employed to perform specialized activities, they must be protected from arbitrary dismissal or denial of promotion on purely personal ground.[30]

Weber wrote as follows concerning the superiority of his model for human organization:

> Experience tends universally to show that the purely bureaucratic type of administrative organization—that is, the monocratic variety of bureaucracy—is, from a purely technical point of view, capable of attaining the highest degree of efficiency and is in this sense formally the most rational known means of carrying out imperative control over human beings. It is superior to any other form in precision, in stability, in the stringency of its discipline, and in its reliability. It thus makes possible a particularly high degree of calculability of results for the heads of the organization and for those acting in relation to it. It is finally superior both in intensive efficiency and in the scope of its operation, and is formally capable of application to all kinds of administrative tasks.[31]

Weber was definitely at one end of the continuum. He insisted that, considering the needs of mass administration, the only choice was between bureaucracy and dilettantism in the field of administration. His opinion of "collegiality"—the formal requirement that legitimate acts of a body require the participation of all its members in decision making—was expressed as follows:

> Furthermore, it divides personal responsibility, indeed in the larger bodies this disappears almost entirely, whereas in monocratic organizations it is perfectly clear without question where responsibility lies. Large-scale tasks which require quick and consistent solutions tend in general, for good technical reasons, to fall into the hands of monocratic "dictators" in whom all responsibility is concentrated.[32]

[30]Max G. Abbott and John T. Lovell, eds., *Change Perspectives in Educational Administration* (Auburn, Ala.: School of Education, Auburn University, 1965), pp. 42–43.

[31]Weber, *op. cit.*, p. 337.

[32]Weber, *op. cit.*, p. 399.

Strangely enough, Weber did not consider his idealized bureaucracy as authoritarian. On the contrary, he thought that it foreshadowed mass democracy, because according to his model, technical experts would be placed in the executive, decision-making positions in the hierarchy, instead of staffing these positions through the traditional methods of patriarchalism, patrimonialism, and charisma. Viewed from this standpoint, the development of the modern bureaucracy was a step toward democracy because, theoretically, positions of power in the hierarchy would be opened to experts who could come from the masses.

Thompson has pointed out, however, that at the present time one of the crucial problems in modern organizations is the reconciliation of conflicts between specialists on the staff of an organization who know and executives in the power structure of the line organization who do not know.[33]

Weber's monocratic, bureaucratic model has been severely criticized, in ways discussed later in this chapter. Despite such criticism, the monocratic, bureaucratic concept of administrative organization is the prevailing model of organization found in every advanced country of the world, regardless of its political philosophy or economic organization. It is the basic model for organizing the public school systems of the United States, especially the larger systems.

In the following section, some of the assumptions underlying the monocratic, bureaucratic concept are presented. It will be noted that a number of these assumptions are not value-free.

Some Assumptions Underlying the Traditional Monocratic, Bureaucratic Concept

Administrators differ widely in theory concerning the application of the principles of organization and administration to: first, those activities relating to the formulation of goals, programs, and policies; second, those activities relating to goal attainment through the implementation of programs and policies; and third, those activities relating to maintaining the group. There is no recognized field theory of administration. Furthermore, it is difficult for the student to find anywhere in the literature of educational administration a coherent statement of theory on how the principles of organization and administration should be implemented.

Critics of administrators, sometimes administrators themselves, have tended to categorize administration as good or bad, efficient or inefficient, without attempting to differentiate carefully between different concepts of administrative theory. In this chapter, an attempt is made to distinguish between the traditional monocratic, bureaucratic and the emerging

[33]Victor A. Thompson, *Modern Organization* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1961), pp. 81–113.

pluralistic, collegial concepts of administration and organization, but even these words unfortunately, have good and bad connotations to many people. Sometimes the arbitrary classification of administrative theory by labels that have good and bad connotations retards a scholarly analysis. It is better to assume that administrators are neither good nor bad but that they differ in their assumptions concerning these concepts. In the following paragraphs, an analysis is made of some of the important assumptions underlying the monocratic, bureaucratic concept.

LEADERSHIP IS CONFINED TO THOSE HOLDING POSITIONS IN THE POWER ECHELON.   Those accepting such a premise generally assume that the population is divided into two groups, the leaders and the followers. The leaders should be assigned to power positions in the hierarchy, where it is their responsibility to exercise leadership. If persons other than power holders exercise leadership, conflicts are bound to arise. A capable person should secure a power position if he wants to be a leader. If such a person attempts to exercise leadership when he does not hold a power position, he will become a trouble maker and interfere with the administrative leadership of the person holding the superordinate position. If the superordinate permits leadership to develop, his own position is threatened. If a person does not exercise his authority, he will lose it. The superordinate must carefully protect his prerogatives, or he is likely to lose his leadership position.

GOOD HUMAN RELATIONS ARE NECESSARY IN ORDER THAT FOLLOWERS ACCEPT DECISIONS OF SUPERORDINATES.   The decisions of the officials in the power hierarchy must be accepted and implemented, or the enterprise fails. The power holder can use force on his followers and require them to accept his decisions, but force requires rigorous inspection and supervision, which is expensive in time and energy. Therefore, he should establish good relations between his followers and himself so that they will voluntarily follow him without question.

AUTHORITY AND POWER CAN BE DELEGATED, BUT RESPONSIBILITY CANNOT BE SHARED.   The top executive may delegate power and authority to sub-executives, and he may hold them responsible for the proper exercise of the power and authority he has delegated to them. Nevertheless, all responsibility is ultimately his if things go wrong.

FINAL RESPONSIBILITY FOR ALL MATTERS IS PLACED IN THE ADMINISTRATOR AT THE TOP OF THE POWER ECHELON.   The top executive in the organization is ultimately responsible for everything that happens. He should receive the credit and he should receive the blame. This assumption logically follows the assumption with respect to responsibility. Certainly, if the executive is ultimately responsible for everything, he should have the authority to veto any decision of his subordinates.

THE INDIVIDUAL FINDS SECURITY IN A CLIMATE IN WHICH THE SUPER-ORDINATES PROTECT THE INTERESTS OF SUBORDINATES IN THE ORGANIZATION. The person holding the top position in the power echelon should defend his subordinates, right or wrong, so long as they take his orders and are loyal to him. This assumption is similar to the assumptions of feudalism, whereby a person made himself a vassal of a feudal lord for protection. The success of the feudal system was based upon the loyalty of vassals and on the effectiveness with which the feudal lord protected his vassals.

Thompson made the following comment concerning this point:

> Bureaucratic hierarchy has inherited the rights and privileges of the early charismatic leader and his retainers, the traditionalistic king and his nobility, and the entrepreneurial owner-manager and his family protégés. Consequently, to be socially defined as "successful" in our culture, one must proceed up some hierarchy.[34]

UNITY OF PURPOSE IS SECURED THROUGH LOYALTY TO THE SUPERORDINATE. Since the superordinate will protect his subordinates, right or wrong, his subordinates owe him their undivided loyalty. This loyalty requires that subordinates defend him and also accept his decisions without question. This, too, is an essential assumption of the feudal system.

THE IMAGE OF THE EXECUTIVE IS THAT OF A SUPERMAN. According to Thompson, "The impression is fostered that occupants of hierarchical positions are, of all people in the organization, the ablest, the most industrious, the most indispensable, the most loyal, the most reliable, the most self-controlled, the most ethical, which is to say the most honest, fair, and impartial."[35]

Since money is one of the most important factors in determining prestige and status, the person occupying the top position in the hierarchy, should be paid the highest salary. For example, a requirement for accreditation of high schools by the Southern Association of Schools and Colleges is that no person in the school system may be paid a salary higher than that of the superintendent of schools.

MAXIMUM PRODUCTION IS ATTAINED IN A CLIMATE OF COMPETITION AND PRESSURE. People excel in their efforts when they compete with each other. Life is a competitive struggle for survival, and greater rewards should be given to the persons who are successful. This competition should be supplemented by pressure, taking the form of either rewards or punishment. Competition and pressure are good for people.

THE LINE-AND-STAFF PLAN OF ORGANIZATION SHOULD BE UTILIZED TO FORMULATE GOALS, POLICIES, AND PROGRAMS, AS WELL AS TO EXECUTE POLICIES AND PROGRAMS. Since the best leadership is placed in the line-and-staff

[34]*Ibid.* p. 96. Reprinted from *Modern Organization* by Victor Thompson by permission of Alfred A. Knopf, Inc. Copyright © 1961 by Victor Thompson.
[35]*Ibid.* p. 143.

structure, this leadership is most competent to formulate goals, policies, and programs. That structure has the responsibility for implementing the goals, policies, and programs, and therefore should have the responsibility for formulating them.

AUTHORITY IS THE RIGHT AND PRIVILEGE OF A PERSON HOLDING A HIERARCHICAL POSITION.   Authority is inherent in the position itself. The authority should be given to the person who has the greatest ability. Superordinates have the greatest ability, or they would not be in the hierarchy. This assumption can be traced back to the divine right of kings theory.

THE INDIVIDUAL IN THE ORGANIZATION IS EXPENDABLE.   The purpose or goal of the organization is more important than the individual. For that reason, the individual should be sacrificed if necessary to accomplish the goals of the organization. The individual exists in order to serve the organization, rather than the organization to serve the individual.

EVALUATION IS THE PREROGATIVE OF SUPERORDINATES.   Since the superordinate is finally responsible for everything, logically he should have the exclusive authority to evaluate persons and production. Evaluation is one of the means by which he enforces discipline in the organization.

THE EMERGING PLURALISTIC, COLLEGIAL CONCEPT

Unfortunately, no scholar with the brilliance of a Weber has attempted to describe the model for the pluralistic, collegial concept of administration and organization. Many writers have described in detail the defects of the bureaucratic model, but none has suggested its complete abandonment.[36] The emerging pluralistic, collegial concept of organization can perhaps best be described as a modification of the monocratic, bureaucratic concept, providing for a pluralistic sharing of power to make policy and program decisions on a collegial basis. Under this concept, the organization is structured hierarchically, as in Weber's bureaucracy, to implement programs and policies, and is structured collegially on an egalitarian basis for making policy and program decisions. Perhaps the best example of this model is a college which: (1) emphasizes academic freedom, scholarship, and the dignity of the individual; (2) provides that the faculty, and not the administrative hierarchy, shall

[36]For example, see Victor A. Thompson, *Modern Organization* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1961); Chris Argyris, "The Individual and Organization: Some Problems of Mutual Adjustment," and Wallazz B. Eaton, "Democratic Organization: Myth or Reality" in *Educational Administration: Selected Readings,* ed. Walter G. Hack *et al* (Boston: Allyn & Bacon, Inc., 1965).

make major policy and program decisions, and (3) pays distinguished professors salaries as high as or higher than those of persons holding positions in the administrative hierarchy. This is not a hypothetical case. This concept of organization and administration is actually found in most of the leading colleges and universities of the nation.

Thompson noted that the monocratic, bureaucratic organization is not innovative.[37] Following is a summary of his proposals for making a bureaucratic organization more innovative: (1) the organization will be more loosely structured, with less emphasis on a precise definition of duties and responsibilities; (2) jobs will be described in terms of professional responsibilities, as contrasted with duties; (3) communications will be freer; (4) appropriate types of decisions will be decentralized; (5) there will be less stratification in the organization, and salary scales will no longer reflect chiefly "awesome status differences"; (6) greater use will be made of group processes and less emphasis made of authority; (7) work assignments will be made broader; (8) more opportunities will be provided for multiple group membership and interpersonal communication; (9) departmentalization will be so arranged as to keep parochialism to a minimum; (10) the organization will not be as tidy as the monocratic bureaucracy, because some overlapping of functions and vagueness concerning jurisdictions promote interdepartmental communication.[38] While Thompson did not attempt to conceptualize the pluralistic, collegial organizational model, he made the following proposals, which take us a considerable distance on the continuum toward this model.

> If formal structures could be sufficiently loosened, it might be possible for organizations and units to restructure themselves continually in the light of the problem at hand. Thus, for generating ideas, for planning and problem solving, the organization or unit would "unstructure" itself into a freely communicating body of equals. When it came time for implementation, requiring a higher degree of coordination of action (as opposed to stimulation of novel or correct ideas), the organization would then restructure itself into the more usual hierarchical form, tightening up its lines somewhat.[39]

Thus, he has recommended a major modification in Weber's model in order to promote innovation.

Argyris has presented an extremely interesting analysis of the conflict between the healthy human personality and a monocratic bureauc racy established in accord with the principles of formal organization

[37]Victor A. Thompson, "Bureaucracy and Innovation," *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 10, No. 1 (June 1965).

[38]Adapted from Victor A. Thompson, "Bureaucracy and Innovation," *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 10, No. 1 (June 1965).

[39]*Ibid.*, p. 16.

already discussed in this chapter.[40] He did not accept the arguments of some advocates of formal organization that the choice was between the monocratic, bureaucratic organization or no organization at all. Nor did he accept the arguments of some human-relations researchers that formal structures are "bad" and that the needs of the individual actors in the organization should be given priority over organizational goals. He assumed that, to date, no one has defined a more useful set of formal organizational principles than those discussed in this chapter. He then proceeded to demonstrate how each of the formal principles of organization, such as division of labor, unity of chain of command, unity of purpose, and span of control, was in conflict with the psychological needs of a mature, healthy human personality. He cited research showing that the self-actualizing personality through the process of growth passes from a state of being passive as an infant to a state of increasing activity as an adult, tends to develop from a state of dependency upon others as a child to relative independence as an adult, tends to develop from being only able to use a few of his capacities as an infant to the ability to use many capacities as an adult, tends to grow from a subordinate position as an infant toward an equal position as an adult, and tends to grow and mature in many other ways.[41] After comparing the needs of the human personality with the requirements for strict application of the principles of formal organization, Argyris observed:

> If the principles of formal organization are used as ideally defined, then the employees will tend to work in an environment where (1) they are provided minimal control over their work-a-day world, (2) they are expected to be passive, dependent, subordinate, (3) they are expected to have a short-time perspective, (4) they are induced to perfect and value the frequent use of a few superficial abilities, and (5) they are expected to produce under conditions leading to psychological failure.[42]

Argyris concluded that these conditions lead to conflict. He made no proposals for major changes in the bureaucratic organization. But he stated that the basic problem was the reduction in the degree of dependency, subordination, and submission required of the employee, and suggested that "job enlargement and employee centered (or democratic or participative) leadership are elements which, if used correctly, can go a long way toward ameliorating the situation."[43]

[40]Chris Argyris, "The Individual and Organization: Some Problems of Mutual Adjustment," Chap. 14 in *Educational Administration: Selected Readings*, ed. Walter G. Hack *et al.* (Boston: Allyn & Bacon, Inc., 1965).
[41]*Ibid.*, pp. 161–162.
[42]*Ibid.*, p. 176.
[43]*Ibid.*, p. 182.

Some Assumptions Underlying the Emerging
     Pluralistic, Collegial Concept

Some of the assumptions underlying the pluralistic, collegial concept of administration differ sharply from those underlying the traditional monocratic, bureaucratic concept. In the following paragraphs an analysis is made of some of these assumptions.

LEADERSHIP IS NOT CONFINED TO THOSE HOLDING STATUS POSITIONS IN THE POWER ECHELON.   Any person who helps a group to formulate goals, programs, and policies, any person who assists a group to attain its goals, or any person who helps maintain the group, is prov... leadership. Therefore, leadership is not a narrow or restricted fun ... exclusively reserved to superordinates, but leadership potential is widely dispersed throughout the organization. The superordinate will be more effective if he develops, rather than restricts, this leadership potential throughout the group. Instead of losing his leadership by sharing it, he will increase his own potential. He can prevent conflicts from multiple leadership by the appropriate use of the coordination function of executive leadership.

GOOD HUMAN RELATIONS ARE ESSENTIAL TO GROUP PRODUCTION AND TO MEET THE NEEDS OF INDIVIDUAL MEMBERS OF THE GROUP.   Good human relations improve group morale, and high group morale generally facilitates production. Individual members of the group feel the need for acceptance by other members. When individual needs as well as group needs are met, the organization is more productive.

RESPONSIBILITY, AS WELL AS POWER AND AUTHORITY, CAN BE SHARED.   If leadership can be shared, responsibility can be shared. If potential leaders in the organization are permitted to exercise their leadership potential, they will voluntarily accept responsibility as well as authority and power. Since all responsibility is not placed in the executive at the top of the power echelon, he should not receive all the credit or all the blame.

THOSE AFFECTED BY A PROGRAM OR POLICY SHOULD SHARE IN DECISION MAKING WITH RESPECT TO THAT PROGRAM OR POLICY.   This assumption is stated as follows in the Declaration of Independence: ". . . Governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. . . ." Lincoln stated basically this same assumption in the following words: ". . . Government of the people, by the people, for the people. . . ." Perhaps traditional and emerging administrative theories differ more on this assumption than any other. Due to the development of large, complex educational organizations, not all mem-

bers can participate directly in all types of policy decisions. But all members can participate through their representatives.

THE INDIVIDUAL FINDS SECURITY IN A DYNAMIC CLIMATE IN WHICH HE SHARES RESPONSIBILITY FOR DECISION MAKING.   A person is more secure in implementing goals, policies, and programs if he understands them. He will understand them better if he helps to formulate them. A person is more secure if he helps to determine his own fate. A free man is more secure than a vassal.

UNITY OF PURPOSE IS SECURED THROUGH CONSENSUS AND GROUP LOYALTY. When members of a group participate in the formulation of goals, policies, and programs, the group is more likely to accept them than if they are handed down through the hierarchy. As the group works together, interactions occur which make the group more cohesive. If the leader works effectively with the group, he will be accepted by the group as a member. When the group develops goals, policies, and programs, they tend to be the pr.perty of the group, and the group will be loyal to what it has developed and to the members who have shared in that process. Unity of purpose is secured through these interactional processes.

MAXIMUM PRODUCTION IS ATTAINED IN A THREAT-FREE CLIMATE.   The by-products of competition and pressure may ultimately reduce, rather than increase, production. A threat-free climate does not mean a problem-free situation.

> The solution of problems promotes the growth of the individual and also gives him a feeling of satisfaction. External pressures are sometimes exerted on an individual in order to force him to accept a value or achieve a goal. A pressure is a threat if it is resented by the individual concerned and is destructive of his personality. A threat is particularly destructive to the individual if the pressure is exerted to force him to accept a value or attain a goal which he does not believe is valid. If the individual participates in the determination of acceptable values and goals and they become his own values and goals, he will be under pressure to attain goals that are consistent with his values, but the pressure will be internal rather than external. This internal pressure will then become a felt need of the individual. As he meets his needs, he will solve problems which promote his growth and give him satisfaction.
>
> The emerging theory of administration provides a climate which avoids the use of external pressures that are destructive of human personality. The traditional theory of administration does not hesitate to use external pressures in order to attain production.[44]

THE LINE AND STAFF ORGANIZATION SHOULD BE USED EXCLUSIVELY FOR THE PURPOSE OF DIVIDING LABOR AND IMPLEMENTING POLICIES AND PROGRAMS

[44]*Better Teaching in School Administration* pp. 92–93.

DEVELOPED BY THE TOTAL GROUP AFFECTED.   It will be noted that the emerging collegial concept, as well as the traditional monocratic concept of administration, accepts the necessity of a line-and-staff organization. However, these two concepts differ in the way the line-and-staff organization is used. Under the monocratic concept, it is assumed that the line-and-staff organization determines and also executes policies and programs. The emerging collegial concept of administration calls for group participation in decision making. Therefore, the line-and-staff organization alone will not meet the requirements of emerging theory. Two structures are needed under the emerging theory of administration: one structure for determining goals, policies, and programs, and another structure for executing policies and programs. Under the emerging theory of administration, the structure for implementing policies and programs is usually a line-and-staff organization. The structure for developing policies and programs is usually some type of a committee organization in which all members of the organization have a peer status, regardless of position in the power echelon.

THE SITUATION AND NOT THE POSITION DETERMINES THE RIGHT AND PRIVILEGE TO EXERCISE AUTHORITY.   Authority arises out of the situation, rather than out of the position. The point of decision making should be as near the scene of action as practicable. The situation itself demands that authority be exercised by someone. The administrator finds himself in a situation in which he must exercise authority in order to meet the needs of the group. Therefore, he exercises that authority due to the necessities of the situation not due to the prerogatives of his position. The teacher is in a situation which requires that authority over certain matters be exercised. He exercises that authority, not because of privileges he holds by reason of being a teacher, but because the situation demands authority.

THE INDIVIDUAL IN THE ORGANIZATION IS NOT EXPENDABLE.   The ultimate purpose of an organization is to meet the needs of individuals in human society. The individuals in the organization are a part of that society. Government was created to serve people, and not people to serve government. Therefore, the worth of the individual should not be ignored by the organization. Furthermore, the organization can better achieve its own purpose by conserving and improving the members of the organization.

EVALUATION IS A GROUP RESPONSIBILITY.   If there is broad participation in the formulation of goals, policies, and programs, then there must be broad participation in evaluation. Participation in evaluation by the group is necessary to develop the competencies of the group. Collegial

group evaluation is more valid and reliable than evaluation by one individual. Furthermore, broad participation in evaluation provides valuable feedback.

SOME CONTRASTS BETWEEN THE MONOCRATIC, BUREAUCRATIC AND THE PLURALISTIC, COLLEGIAL CONCEPTS

It has already been pointed out that the assumptions made and the values held by those in a position to formulate the structure of an organization and to administer it determine largely the point on the monocratic, bureaucratic–pluralistic, collegial continuum (hereafter shortened to monocratic-pluralistic continuum) on which an organization can be located. Although the principles of formal organization are generally applicable to all types of formal organization, there are vital differences between school systems on one end of the monocratic-pluralistic continuum and those on the other end. Some of those differences are discussed in the following section of this chapter.

Climate

The climate of human relations is different in school systems operating under the monocratic and pluralistic concepts of administration. The absence of fear of the hierarchy, the feeling of equality, and the knowledge that one is master of his own fate beget different personalities in systems at the opposite ends of the monocratic-pluralistic continuum. The monocratic school system tends toward a *closed climate*, as contrasted with the tendency toward an *open climate* in a pluralistic system.[45]

Structure

It has already been pointed out that there are wide differences in organizational structures developed in accordance with the assumptions underlying the monocratic concept and with the pluralistic concept. Structures based on the monocratic concept of administration emphasize centralized authority for planning, controlling, and decision making. Such structures also usually exercise a close inspectional type of supervision. Since the executives in such organizations are responsible for all decision making and planning and, at the same time, for exercising

[45]See Andrew W. Halpin and Don B. Croft, "The Organizational Climate of Schools," *Administrators Note Book*, **2**, No. 7 (Mar. 1963). These researchers did not specifically study the variations in climate of school systems at opposite ends of the monocratic-pluralistic continuum; they did define carefully the characteristics of schools with open and closed climates. Although not intended to do so, those descriptions rather accurately distinguish between the climates of school systems at opposite ends of the continuum.

highly centralized control over all operations, the span of control or the number of persons supervised by the executive in the monocratic organization is usually less than the executive span of control in the pluralistic organization. Therefore, the monocratic organization requires more echelons of authority and tends to have longer chains of command supervised by each executive.

There has been some misunderstanding concerning the line-and-staff structure. Some writers have even inferred that the line-and staff structure is outmoded and should be abandoned. This reasoning seems to be based on the assumption that structure is inherently undemocratic. Actually, the line-and-staff structure is not at fault; the fault lies with the way in which it is used. For instance, in one organization the line-and-staff structure may be so used as to require that all decisions, even routine ones, be cleared with the executive head of the organization before action is taken. This method of operating ignores the possibility of increasing the efficiency of the organization by a judicious delegation of authority. Furthermore, it violates the principle that the decision should be made as near the point of action as practicable. In another organization, line-and-staff structure for the implementation of programs and policies is accompanied by proper delegation of authority and supplemented by machinery for broad participation in decision making with respect to policy and program. Both organizations use a line-and-staff structure, one inappropriately and the other appropriately.

Structures for pluralistic, collegial administration emphasize wide sharing of authority for planning, controlling, and decision making, and such centralized authority as is necessary for coordinating the total organization. The organizational structure may actually be more complex than that for the monocratic, bureaucratic organization. However, this additional complexity is introduced for the purpose of making the arrangements necessary for broad participation in decision making.

It is sometimes said that there is less emphasis on structure in pluralistic than in monocratic organization. It is probably true that the skeleton of monocratic structure is more stark, because of its constraints, than the skeleton of pluralistic structure. On the other hand, the structure for pluralistic organization is designed to give maximum freedom to the individual; therefore, the individual is less conscious of the structure itself.

Communication

The communication patterns differ widely in monocratic and pluralistic organization. The communication pattern for monocratic organization is quite simple. It goes   ̄d down a vertical line organization. A communication from th   must pass through all intermediate echelons of authority before it reaches the bottom, but no

intermediate echelon can stop the communication from the top down. A communication from the bottom to the top must also pass through each intermediate echelon, but any intermediate echelon can stop the communication from a lower level from reaching the top. Therefore, the channel of communication is not strictly a two-way channel. Furthermore, great emphasis is given to "going through channels," and any communication from the bottom to the top which does not go through channels is frowned upon. The administrator in the monocratic hierarchy uses his control over communications to increase his status, power, and prestige.

There are many channels of communication in pluralistic organizations. Such organizations have provisions for communicating through a vertical channel, but it is a two-way channel. Communication is also circular and horizontal in pluralistic organization. The organization provides for a committee structure or some other arrangement whereby members at the bottom of the line structure may communicate in a face-to-face relationship with the top executives. Since communication is much freer among all members of the organization in a pluralistic structure, the opportunity for beneficial interactions is much greater.

Administrative Behavior

For want of better terminology, we have already referred to democratic and authoritarian administration. The assumptions underlying traditional monocratic, bureaucratic concepts of administration are largely authoritarian, and the assumptions underlying emerging pluralistic, collegial concepts of administration are largely democratic by popular definition. It should not be inferred, however, that democratic administration is *ipso facto* good and that authoritarian administration is *ipso facto* bad. History provides numerous examples of successful and unsuccessful democratic administration and successful and unsuccessful authoritarian administration. Furthermore, it is not strictly accurate to classify administration as democratic and authoritarian. It would be difficult, if not impossible, to find an administration which is completely authoritarian or completely democratic. It is more accurate to think of democracy and authoritarianism as part of the same continuum. Democratic and undemocratic behavior were defined in a series of studies at the University of Florida of school principals. The definitions are as follows:

Democratic behavior:
    (a)   Action involving the group in decision making with respect to policy and program.
    (b)   Implementation in line with democratically determined policy.
    (c)   Action promoting the group or individual creativity, produc-

tivity, and satisfaction without harm to other groups or individuals.

(d) Behavior or attitude respecting the dignity of individuals or groups.

(e) Action that indicates that the principal seeks to become an accepted member of the group.

(f) Action that indicates that the principal seeks to keep channels of communication open.

Undemocratic behavior:

(a) Action that indicates that decision making is centered in the status leader or his inner circle.

(b) Implementation that ignores democratically determined policy.

(c) Action that frustrates group or individual creativity, productivity, and satisfaction.

(d) Action that indicates that the principal attains objectives by pressures that jeopardize a person's security.

(e) Action that indicates that the principal considers himself above or apart from the group.

(f) Action that indicates that the principal discourages or blocks free communication.[46]

These definitions were developed to describe the behavior of school principals, but they are equally applicable to other types of administrators. According to these definitions, the words "undemocratic" and "authoritarian" are synonymous terms.

Innovation and Change

Attention has already been directed to the fact that a number of investigators have found that monocratic, bureaucratic organizations are not as innovative as pluralistic, collegial organizations. This is not surprising, because monocratic control limits feedback both from the environment and the subsystems of an organization. Furthermore, in monocratic organization the upwardly mobile person must become an organization man; follow the chain of command, observing closely all rules, regulations and norms of the organization; and above all things, avoid becoming a threat to his superordinates by being an innovator. Consequently, innovation and change, when it does come, usually comes from the top of the hierarchy downward.

In pluralistic, collegial organization, there is more feedback from the environment and from subsystems in the organization. Leadership which promotes change is encouraged at all hierarchical levels. Therefore,

[46]Carroll D. Farrar, *Refinement of an Instrument to Determine Certain Characteristics of the Working Patterns of School Principals* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Florida, 1956), pp. 14–15.

in the pluralistic organization, there tends to be more change and innovation, and it may come from the bottom of the hierarchy as well as the top.

SOME IMPORTANT PROBLEMS AND ISSUES

A summary of some of the most commonly accepted concepts and principles of organization and administration was presented in the first part of this chapter. It is apparent that many of these concepts and principles are not sure guides to administrative action because of possible wide differences in interpretation and application. Perhaps what is needed is a unifying theory of administration which will make possible a rational interpretation and application of principles. Additional problems associated with the interpretation of these concepts and principles are presented in the following paragraphs.

How Can Principles Be Validated?

It has already been pointed out that principles of organization and administration have been developed largely by the empirical process. How can these principles be scientifically tested? Griffiths has tentatively suggested the following steps for theory development in administrative behavior:

1. A *description* of administrative behavior in one situation.
2. A *definition* of certain basic concepts.
3. A more *general statement* which is descriptive of the average behavior in a limited number of situations.
4. A statement of one or more *hypotheses.*
5. An *evaluation* and *reconstruction* of the hypotheses in accordance with later observations.
6. The statement of one or more principles.[47]

It would seem that some procedure, such as that suggested by Griffiths, should be used to test principles of organization and administration. The scientific approach would certainly sharpen the statements of those principles, define the operating limits of a principle, and might reveal that some are not even principles. A principle should serve as a guide to action. If these guides are invalid or crudely defined, they are not of much use to school administrators. Therefore, research on theory is probably one of the most needed types of research. Can the so-called principles of administration presented in this chapter be validated by the procedures recommended by Griffiths?

[47]Daniel E. Griffiths, "Toward a Theory of Administrative Behavior," Chap. 10 in *Administrative Behavior in Education,* ed. Roald F. Campbell and Russell T. Gregg (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1957), p. 379.

How Can Assumptions Be Tested?

It has already been pointed out that traditional monocratic concepts are based on somewhat different assumptions than emerging pluralistic concepts of administration. How can these assumptions be tested? Some are philosophical in nature and cannot be tested by objective research. Philosophical assumptions must be tested against the value system of the society in which the organization finds itself. This test of philosophical assumptions would yield somewhat different results in the United States of America than in Russia. For instance, the assumptions underlying traditional monocratic administration are fairly consistent with the assumptions of Plato and Nietzsche. Emerging concepts of administration, however, are fairly consistent with the philosophy of John Dewey and the philosophy expressed in the great political documents of this country, such as the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution with its amendments.

Assumptions dealing with such factors as production, group morale, and human relations can be tested by objective research. As a matter of fact, a considerable body of research dealing with these assumptions is already available.[48] The weight of available evidence indicates that the assumptions underlying pluralistic, collegial concepts of administration relating to production, group morale, and human relations are more valid than the assumptions of monocratic concepts. Some of that research is reviewed in the following chapter. However, this research has been done largely in the United States, a country with a democratic orientation. Whether the same research would yield the same results in a country such as Russia with an authoritarian orientation, is unknown. Much additional research needs to be done on identifying the assumptions underlying different concepts and theories of administration. Furthermore, those assumptions should be subjected to much more rigorous testing and examination than has been the case up to the present time. This will involve the development of more precise theoretical models than have yet been developed, from which appropriate hypotheses may be formulated and tested.

The testing of assumptions is not as simple a matter as it might seem. For instance, before assumptions with respect to production can be tested, production itself must be defined. Production may be defined solely as the output of the organization, or the definition may include what happens to members of the organization along with the output. If

[48]See, for example, Bernard Berelson and Gary Steiner, *Human Behavior: An Inventory of Scientific Findings* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1964), and Darwin Cartwright and Alvin Zander, *Group Dynamics: Research and Theory* (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1960).

one accepts the first definition, process and product are separable, because members of the organization are expendable. If one accepts the second definition, process and product are inseparable, because members of the organization are not expendable. To state the problem in another way, if one accepts the second definition, production will be measured not only in terms of the quantity and quality of production over a definite period of time, but it will also include the future production potential of the organization. Similar difficulties will no doubt be encountered as other assumptions are tested. Can values be ignored when testing assumptions?

How Can Individuals and Minorities Be Protected from Group Domination?

The group can be quite as authoritarian as the executive in suppressing individuals and minorities. The group itself, if it so chooses, can exercise powerful sanctions against its members to force compliance with group norms, values, and goals. The rights of individuals and minorities are likely to be jeopardized if the administrative group shifts suddenly from the benevolent, paternalistic, directive authoritarian style to a permissive, democratic style. A sudden change from monocratic decision making to pluralistic decision making is likely to create a power vacuum. Group members with authoritarian tendencies are likely to rush into this power vacuum and take over. Thus, a group inexperienced in democratic group operation will hardly become democratic overnight, simply because the administration is changed. There is no assurance that the group will act democratically, unless group members are dedicated to democratic values. Even such dedication does not always protect individuals and minorities from capricious group action. The government of the United States is based on a constitution with amendments that incorporate a bill of rights protecting individuals and minorities from capricious group action. Should educational organizations also develop constitutions incorporating a bill of rights and an internal judicial system for protecting the rights of individuals and minorities?

How Much Collegiality in Decision Making Is Practicable?

When large numbers of people are involved, it is impracticable to submit all matters to the total group for decision. The government of the United States is a republic rather than a pure democracy. Nevertheless, certain matters are submitted to a vote of the total electorate.

In large school systems and even in large schools, it is impractical to submit all matters to the total faculty. The problem then arises as to what matters should be decided by the total faculty, what matters should

be decided by committees representing the faculty, and what matters should be decided by the executive head.

There is also the problem of lay participation in decision making. Boards of education are selected to represent the people. But the existence of thousands of citizens' committees and parent-teacher associations throughout the nation is evidence that present legal means of lay participation in decision making with respect to the schools do not meet the demand for wider participation. This problem is so important that it is treated more adequately in another chapter of this book.

What criteria could be used to determine the matters that should be decided by the faculty or its representatives and the matters that should be decided by the hierarchy?

How Wide Should the Span of Control in a Large School System Be?

Recently, one of the authors made studies of two relatively large school systems which differed widely in their interpretations of the span of control principle. Each of these school systems had approximately 36,000 pupils, 1,200 teachers, and 90 separate schools, but the organizational structures were quite different.

System "A" had organized the district into ten areas of approximately nine schools each. A supervising principal served as a line officer between the superintendent and the building principals in each area. The central office provided the usual services, but a building principal had to clear all communications with the central office through the area supervising principal. The superintendent in turn cleared all communications with a building principal through the area supervising principal. The ten area supervising principals met monthly with the superintendent, and the building principals of each area met monthly with their supervising principal. This was a very neat scheme of organization, but the building principals complained that service was very slow from the central office and that the supervising principals of the different areas gave different interpretations of the rules and regulations of the board. They also complained that they had very little to do with policy making.

System "B" had no area supervising principals. The central office had an adequate central staff for providing administrative and supervisory services. Each principal dealt directly with the member of the central staff who had the responsibility for the particular matter concerned. Action was taken in accordance with policies established by the board, but if the matter was not covered by an existing policy, it was presented to the superintendent. The superintendent and his central staff met monthly with a committee of principals and teachers. The principals met monthly as a group. In this system, the building principals were

warm in their praise of the central office for the proi.;ptness of service. They also felt that they had a part in policy making.

It is apparent that each of these school systems needed an organizational structure. No superintendent can deal directly with 1,200 teachers. The superintendent of System "A" believed that all operations should be coordinated through a line structure in which the number of persons dealing with each person in the organization was held to a minimum. The superintendent of System "B" believed that most members of the central staff should serve as executive as well as staff personnel. He also assumed that each person in the central office could deal with a great number of persons for a specific function. What are the points for and against these two interpretations of the span of control principle?

Are the Monocratic, Bureaucratic and Pluralistic, Collegial Concepts of Administration Equally Suitable for All Types of Organizations?

Earlier in this chapter, reference was made to Blau and Scott's typology of organization based upon who benefits.[49] These authors classified organizations as mutual benefit, business concerns, service organizations, and commonweal organizations.

A public school system is a service organization operated for the benefit of its clients, as contrasted with a mutual benefit association operated for the benefit of its members, a business concern operated for the benefit of its owners, and a commonweal organization operated for the benefit of the general public. Will organizations with such widely different functions as a labor union serving its members, a factory making automobiles to provide profits for the stockholders, a school system serving children, or an army protecting the general public be equally effective in utilizing either the monocratic, bureaucratic concept of organization of the pluralistic, collegial concept?

Teachers are becoming "cosmopolitans" rather than "locals" in their orientation.[50] Therefore, teachers may be oriented to the goals of the profession quite as much as to the goals of an organization. Most college professors are also cosmopolitans. There is considerable evidence that teachers and professors are more productive in pluralistic, collegial organizations than in monocratic organizations. Would the same thing be true of army personnel? Would the type of organization that is most effective for producing automobiles be equally effective for educating students?

[49]Peter M. Blau and W. Richard Scott, *Formal Organization, A Comparative Approach* (San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Co., 1962), p. 43.

[50]Alvin W. Gouldner, "Cosmopolitans and Locals: Toward an Analysis of Latent Social Roles," *Administrative Science Quarterly* 11 (Dec. 1957), 281–306, 11 (Mar. 1958), 444–480.

Selected References

Argyris, Chris, *Interpersonal Competence and Organizational Effectiveness.* Homewood, Ill.: Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1962.

Berelson, B., and Gary A. Steiner, *Human Behavior: An Inventory of Scientific Findings.* New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1964.

Blau, Peter M., and W. Richard Scott, *Formal Organizations: A Comparative Approach.* San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Co., 1962.

Etzioni, Amitai, *A Comparative Analysis of Complex Organizations.* New York: Free Press of Glencoe, Inc., 1961.

Golembiewski, Robert T., *Behavior and Organization.* Skokie, Ill.: Rand McNally & Co., 1962.

Griffiths, Daniel E., ed., *Behavioral Science and Educational Administration.* Sixty-third Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964.

March, James C., and Herbert A. Simon, *Organizations.* New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1958.

Miller, James G., "Living Systems: Cross-Level Hypotheses," *Behavioral Science,* **10**, No. 4 (Oct. 1965).

Presthus, Robert, *The Organizational Society.* New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1962.

Thompson, Victor A., *Modern Organization.* New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1961.

Weber, Max, *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization,* trans. A. M. Henderson and Talcott Parsons, ed. Talcott Parsons. New York: Free Press of Glencoe, Inc., 1947.

5

Educational Leadership

Concepts of leadership and administration are rapidly changing. Since 1925, hundreds of research studies on group characteristics, leader behavior, human relations, formal and informal organization have been creating a new and exciting body of knowledge. The implications of these studies are so significant that the demand for new theoretical concepts of administration and organization is widespread. Such interest is not limited to educational administrators. In fact, much of the significant research in these areas has been conducted by business and industry, the armed services, the National Training Laboratories, and university research centers such as the Personnel Research Board at Ohio State University, the Research Center for Group Dynamics at the University of Michigan, the Graduate School of Business Administration at Harvard University, and the Yale Labor and Management Center.

This movement has had a significant impact on educational administration. An organization called the National Conference of Professors of Educational Administration was formed in 1947 primarily to improve preparation programs for school administrators. The Cooperative Program in Educational Administration, sponsored by the American Association of School Administrators and supported in part by grants from the W. K. Kellogg Foundation, was established in 1950 to improve the theory and practice of educational administration.

The National Conference of Professors of Educational Administra-

tion in 1954 approved a project involving the preparation of a book to synthesize research findings of significance to educational administration and to preparation programs for educational administrators. A committee of eighteen professors prepared this synthesis, which was published in 1957.[1] The findings of this study indicated clearly that many traditional concepts of leadership or leader behavior are not supported by the latest evidence.

An organization called the University Council for Educational Administration was formed in 1956. The council encourages basic research and the dissemination of important research findings through seminars and publications including the *Educational Administration Quarterly*, the only research-oriented journal in this field published in the United States. It has also fostered the use in educational administration of theoretical concepts developed in the social and behavioral sciences. This has contributed significantly to the beginnings of a science of educational administration, because most of the significant research on leadership, organizations and social systems has been done by social and behavioral scientists.

SOME CONCEPTS OF LEADERSHIP

In Chapter 3, major attention was given to systems theory and the value of theory and research in dealing with problems of organization and administration. In Chapter 4, systems theory was applied to the examination of concepts and principles of organization. In this chapter, attention will be given to the leader and his role in the social system. This is not a simple task for a number of reasons. In the first place, there is no general agreement among researchers and writers on the meaning of the word "leader." For example, some writers, especially historians, do not distinguish clearly between a leader and the holder of a position with status in the organizational hierarchy. These persons, as well as lay persons generally, assume that the holder of an important position in the hierarchy is, by virtue of that, a leader. Most behavioral scientists do not hold that view.[2] Lipham has attempted to solve this problem by suggesting in effect that the term leader be restricted to the role of change agent and the term administrator to the role of maintaining the organization. Some valid reasons exist for accepting this definition, but it is not the concept of leadership utilized in the research designs

[1] Roald F. Campbell and Russell T. Gregg, eds., *Administrative Behavior in Education* (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1957).

[2] James M. Lipham, "Leadership and Administration," Chap. 6 in *Behavioral Science and Educational Administration*, ed. Daniel E. Griffiths, The Sixty-third Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, Part II (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964).

tion in 1954 approved a project involving the preparation of a book to synthesize research findings of significance to educational administration and to preparation programs for educational administrators. A committee of eighteen professors prepared this synthesis, which was published in 1957.[1] The findings of this study indicated clearly that many traditional concepts of leadership or leader behavior are not supported by the latest evidence.

An organization called the University Council for Educational Administration was formed in 1956. The council encourages basic research and the dissemination of important research findings through seminars and publications including the *Educational Administration Quarterly*, the only research-oriented journal in this field published in the United States. It has also fostered the use in educational administration of theoretical concepts developed in the social and behavioral sciences. This has contributed significantly to the beginnings of a science of educational administration, because most of the significant research on leadership, organizations and social systems has been done by social and behavioral scientists.

SOME CONCEPTS OF LEADERSHIP

In Chapter 3, major attention was given to systems theory and the value of theory and research in dealing with problems of organization and administration. In Chapter 4, systems theory was applied to the examination of concepts and principles of organization. In this chapter, attention will be given to the leader and his role in the social system. This is not a simple task for a number of reasons. In the first place, there is no general agreement among researchers and writers on the meaning of the word "leader." For example, some writers, especially historians, do not distinguish clearly between a leader and the holder of a position with status in the organizational hierarchy. These persons, as well as lay persons generally, assume that the holder of an important position in the hierarchy is, by virtue of that, a leader. Most behavioral scientists do not hold that view.[2] Lipham has attempted to solve this problem by suggesting in effect that the term leader be restricted to the role of change agent and the term administrator to the role of maintaining the organization. Some valid reasons exist for accepting this definition, but it is not the concept of leadership utilized in the research designs

[1] Roald F. Campbell and Russell T. Gregg, eds., *Administrative Behavior in Education* (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1957).

[2] James M. Lipham, "Leadership and Administration," Chap. 6 in *Behavioral Science and Educational Administration*, ed. Daniel E. Griffiths, The Sixty-third Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, Part II (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964).

of most behavioral scientists. It is the position of the authors that leadership can be provided by an administrator in his acts of maintaining an organization as well as in his acts as a change agent. Furthermore, leadership can operate to prevent change as well as to facilitate it. Therefore, Lipham's typology is not used in this book.

Cartwright and Zander in 1953 wrote:

> It is not possible at the present stage of research on groups to develop a fully satisfactory designation of those group functions which are peculiarly functions of leadership. A more promising endeavor, at least for the present, is to identify the various group functions, without deciding finally whether or not to label each specifically as a function of leadership, and then to discover by empirical investigation such things as what determines this distribution within the group and what consequences stem from various distributions among members.[3]

Since 1953, considerable research has been based on role differentiation in a social system. Many behavioral scientists now conceptualize leadership in that context.[4] In this chapter *we conceptualize leadership as the influencing of the actions, behaviors, beliefs, and feelings of one actor in a social system by another actor with the willing cooperation of the actor being influenced.* The top leader in any system, subsystem, or suprasystem, is the actor who most often influences in critical matters the actions, behaviors, beliefs, and feelings of the greatest number of other actors in that system with the willing cooperation of the actors being influenced. Under this concept, there are many leaders with different degrees and kinds of influence in a social system, and a leader may or may not hold a position in the hierarchy of the formal organization.

We are confining ourselves in this chapter to leadership in formal organizations and in informal groups. There are other types of leaders which are worthy of study, but they are beyond the scope of this book. Some examples are: (1) opinion leaders such as interpreters of news events, (2) intellectual leaders such as Albert Einstein, and (3) societal leaders such as Marx and Engels.

In examining the leadership phenomena of educational organization and administration, we are concerned primarily with concepts and theories of leadership that are applicable to those who hold decision-making positions in the various hierarchies of educational organizations and in informal organizations that interact with formal educational organizations. These persons include superintendents of schools, school principals, college and university presidents, leaders in teacher organizations, leaders in parent-teacher organizations, and leaders of informal

[3]Darwin Cartwright and Alvin Zander, eds., *Group Dynamics—Research and Theory* (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1960), p. 494.

[4]See Paul F. Secord and Carl W. Backman, *Social Psychology* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1964).

organizations. Educational organizations commonly include suprasystems, subsystems, and numerous informal organizations or groups. Educational administrators not only deal with a complex of systems within the educational organization but also with a complex of social systems in the environment of the school system, all of which are exchanging inputs and outputs of information, energy, and matter with each other. Unfortunately, most research on leadership has been confined to leadership in small face-to-face groups. Most of the literature on group dynamics is based on research with small groups. Lipham commented on this situation: "Leadership roles in structure organizations are, indeed, complex. Thus, the methodology and findings of leadership studies concerned with small, unstructured, randomly selected groups are likely to be of only limited value when transplanted indiscriminately to large, complex, hierarchical organizations."[5]

Berelson and Steiner published a comprehensive review of the research relating to human behavior in 1964.[6] They compiled from the research available in the behavioral and social sciences 1045 propositions or hypotheses of moderate generality dealing with groups. organizations, social processes, and other phenomena of human behavior. Most of the propositions they advanced concerning leadership are based on research in small face-to-face groups.[7] Their propositions relating to leadership in organizations did not seem to be based on much research.[8]

Miller has pointed out that a hypothesis or proposition which does not apply to two or more levels of systems does not have much generality.[9] He listed 165 cross-level hypotheses (applicable across different levels of suprasystems and subsystems within a social system) which could reasonably be supported by available research. He did not list a single cross-level hypothesis on leadership.

How many of the conclusions concerning leadership that have been reached from research in small face-to-face groups are applicable to administrators of complex, bureaucratic, hierarchical organizations such as medium and large school systems, colleges and universities? We will not know until more cross-level research is carried out, and this will require sophisticated designs conforming to rigorous standards.[10] With the above limitations in mind, we present certain generalizations and phenomena relating to leadership in the remainder of this chapter.

[5]Lipham, *op. cit.* p. 125.

[6]Bernard Berelson and Gary A. Steiner, *Human Behavior: An Inventory of Scientific Findings* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1964).

[7]*Ibid.,* pp. 341–346.

[8]*Ibid.,* pp. 372–377.

[9]James G. Miller, "Living Systems: Cross-Level Hypotheses," *Behavioral Science,* 10, No. 4 (1965).

[10]*Ibid.,* pp. 382–384.

TRENDS IN STUDIES OF LEADERSHIP

Leadership is very highly valued in human society, so it is not surprising that many books have been written and many studies conducted concerning leaders and leadership. Classical literature is filled with references to leaders and leadership. The need to lead and the need to be led is a pervasive characteristic of the human animal. Some approaches to the study of leadership are presented next.

Studies of Traits

Prior to 1945, most of the studies of leadership were devoted primarily to the identification of the traits or qualities of leaders. These studies were based in part on the assumption that human beings could be divided into two groups—the leaders and the followers. Therefore, leaders must possess certain traits or qualities not possessed by followers. Some persons in each generation since the dawn of recorded history have believed that "leaders are born, not made."

In 1948, Stogdill examined 124 studies on the relationship of personality factors to leadership. A summary of his findings follows:

1. The following conclusions are supported by uniformly positive evidence from fifteen or more of the studies surveyed:

   A. The average person who occupies a position of leadership exceeds the average members of his group in the following respects: (1) intelligence, (2) scholarship, (3) dependability in exercising responsibilities, (4) activity and social participation, and (5) socioeconomic status.

   B. The qualities, characteristics, and skills required in a leader are determined to a large extent by the demands of the situation in which he is to function as a leader.

2. The following conclusions are supported by uniformly positive evidence from ten or more of the studies surveyed:

   A. The average person who occupies a position of leadership exceeds the average member of his group to some degree in the following respects: (1) sociability, (2) initiative, (3) persistence, (4) knowing how to get things done, (5) self-confidence, (6) alertness to and insight into situations, (7) cooperativeness, (8) popularity, (9) adaptability, and (10) verbal facility.[11]

Stogdill, however, after further study of the evidence, concluded:

A person does not become a leader by virtue of the possession of some combination of traits, but the pattern of personal characteristics of the leader must bear some relevant relationship to the characteristics,

[11]Ralph M. Stogdill, "Personal Factors Associated With Leadership, A Survey of the Literature," *Journal of Psychology*, 25 (1948), 63.

activities, and goals of the followers. Thus, leadership must be conceived in terms of the interactions of variables which are in constant flux and change.[12]

Therefore, leadership is not a matter of passive status, nor does it devolve upon a person simply because he is the possessor of some combination of traits. Rather, the leader acquires leader status through the interactions of the group in which he participates and demonstrates his capacity for assisting the group to complete its tasks.[13]

In 1954, Myers analyzed more than two hundred studies of leadership that had been made in the previous fifty years.[14] Following is a summary of some of Myers' conclusions concerning the relationship of personality traits to leadership:

1. No physical characteristics are significantly related to leadership.
2. Although leaders tend to be slightly higher in intelligence than the group of which they are members, there is no significant relationship between superior intelligence and leadership.
3. Knowledge applicable to the problems faced by a group contributes significantly to leadership status.
4. The following characteristics correlate significantly with leadership: insight, initiative, cooperation, originality, ambition, persistence, emotional stability, judgment, popularity, and communication skills.[15]

Myers observed the following concerning the characteristics just enumerated:

These characteristics denote qualities of an interactional nature. They are present in leadership situations much more often than are characteristics that denote status or qualities of more individualistic nature. Some characteristics of the latter kind are socioeconomic background and self-confidence.

The research indicates, however, that the personal characteristics of leaders differ according to the situation. Leaders tend to remain leaders only in situations where the activity is similar. No single characteristic is the possession of all leaders.[16]

Thus it is seen that Stogdill and Myers are substantially in agreement concerning the relationship of personality traits to leadership. The study of personality traits alone will not explain leadership. These studies have shown clearly that the assumption, "leaders are born, not made," is largely false. The only inherited trait that has been identified as having some relationship to leadership is intelligence. Even this relationship is quite low.

[12]*Ibid.*, p. 64.
[13]*Ibid.*, p. 66.
[14]Robert B. Myers, "The Development and Implications of a Conception for Leadership Education" (Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Florida, 1954).
[15]*Ibid.*, pp. 105–106.
[16]*Ibid.*, p. 107.

Stogdill investigated 33 separate research studies on the relationship of intelligence to leadership.[17] He found that the average of the coefficients of correlation between intelligence and leadership was only .28. A coefficient of correlation this low is only slightly better than a chance guess. Hopper and Bills made a study of the relationship of the intelligence of school administrators to success as administrators.[18] They reported that the school administrators studied were considerably above average in intelligence but that there was very little correlation between intelligence and success within the group of administrators studied.

All the other personality traits identified as being related to leadership are acquired traits and, as such, are subject to modification by training and experience. Actually, most of the personality traits or characteristics that have been found to be associated with leadership should be classified as skills or competencies rather than personality traits. Therefore, it should be possible within limits to attain these skills and competencies through an appropriate program of learning experiences. This emphasizes the importance of preparation programs for school administrators.

It must not be assumed that the many studies of personality traits in relation to leadership have been totally unproductive. Although the traits approach has not provided a comprehensive description of leadership, it has opened the way for further research that gives promise of great significance. Researchers in this area have had great difficulty in defining and measuring leadership and the traits being studied. Different researchers have used different definitions and different instruments. Situational factors have been ignored in most studies. It is not surprising that the conclusions of a number of studies have been contradictory. With sharper definitions, improved instruments, and better control of conditions, researchers in the future will undoubtedly contribute additional knowledge needed in this area.

The "Times Make the Man" Approach

When it became apparent that the traits approach to the study of leadership had limited value, other approaches were sought. The "times make the man" approach captured the imagination of some about 1940. Hitler, Mussolini, and Stalin were certainly leaders. Yet each lacked many of the qualities that rationally should be associated with leadership. Perhaps they were products of their times. Historians in other days have frequently speculated on that point with respect to other figures in history. This approach produced much speculation but little research. Perhaps its principal contribution was to give emphasis to the need for studying the leader in relation to his social environment.

[17]Stogdill, *op. cit.*
[18]Robert L. Hopper and Robert E. Bills, "What's a Good Administrator Made Of?" *The School Executive,* 74 (1955), 93–95.

The Interactional or Group Approach

Another approach is known as the interactional or group approach to the study of leadership. It is generally accepted as being the most productive to the understanding of leadership. Although the individual leader is still an important object of study, it is now generally recognized that he cannot be studied in isolation. The leadership behavior of Robinson Crusoe could not be studied until Friday came to his island. The focus of most research on leadership is now on "leader behavior" in a social system, rather than on "leader traits."

The remainder of this chapter presents some generalizations concerning leadership that have been derived principally from studies of leadership in relation to a social system.

Some Definitions and Concepts

Before we proceed further, it is advisable that a few definitions be given of some of the concepts and terms used in this chapter. Leadership has already been defined in terms of the influence of one actor in a social system on another actor in that system with the willing cooperation of the actor being influenced. But the many concepts of leadership cannot be encompassed by a single definition. Following are some additional concepts necessary to the understanding of leadership.

LEADERSHIP ACTS. A person performs leadership acts when he: (1) helps a group to define tasks, goals, and purposes, (2) helps a group to achieve its tasks, goals, and purposes, (3) helps to maintain the group by assisting in providing for group and individual needs.

ATTEMPTED LEADERSHIP, SUCCESSFUL LEADERSHIP, AND EFFECTIVE LEADERSHIP. Hemphill has defined these terms as follows:

1. Attempted leadership acts are acts accompanied by an intention of initiating structure-in-interaction for solving a mutual problem.
2. Successful leadership acts are acts that have initiated structure-in-interaction during the process of mutual problem solution. An attempted leadership act may or may not become a successful leadership act depending upon subsequent observation of its effect upon the structure of interaction.
3. Effective leadership acts are acts that have initiated structure-in-interaction and that have contributed to the solution of a mutual problem. An effective leadership act is always also a successful leadership act, but a leadership act may be successful without being effective for solving mutual problems.[19]

SOME INFORMAL GROUP CHARACTERISTICS. The informal group, sometimes called an informal organization, has the following characteristics:

[19]John K. Hemphill, "Administration as Problem Solving," Chap. 5 in *Administrative Theory in Education,* ed. Andrew W. Halpin (Chicago: Midwest Administration Center, University of Chicago, 1958).

1. Each member of the group is able to interact with every other member of the group.
2. The group develops its own structure and organization.
3. The group selects its own leader or leaders.
4. The group has been voluntarily formed to achieve certain common tasks, goals, and purposes.
5. It does not have an officially prescribed hierarchical structure.

SOME FORMAL ORGANIZATION CHARACTERISTICS. The formal organization, sometimes called the formal group, has the following characteristics as contrasted with the informal group:

1. Each member of the group usually is not able to interact with every other member of the group.
2. The formal organization of the group is usually structured by authority external to the group.
3. The holders of positions of status in the organization are usually determined by authority external to the group.
4. The tasks, goals, and purposes of the group may be determined in part by authority external to the group.
5. It usually has an officially prescribed hierarchical structure.

There are many variations in types of human groups other than those identified above. For example, a state education association is a voluntary group with some of the characteristics of an informal group and some of a formal organization. Attention was directed in Chapter 4 to four types of formal organizations based on who benefits. It would require an extensive treatment to present a comprehensive analysis of all types of human groups. Attention has been directed to the fact that much of the research on leadership has been done in small informal groups and only a limited amount in large formal organizations. However, all educational administrators deal with informal groups as well as with a formal organization. Furthermore, if the assumptions back of general systems theory are valid, it is possible that more of the findings concerning leadership in small groups are applicable to leadership in formal organizations than has been assumed by some behavioral scientists. Therefore, in the next section we will examine some group phenomena that are important to an understanding of leadership.

THE GROUP

School administrators spend much of their time working with groups. The most effective administrators are leaders as well as holders of "headships. Effective administrative leadership involves an under-

standing of the behavior of people in groups. Many studies of group behavior and structure have been made. Some principal findings of one of the most significant of these studies, that of Homans, are presented in the following paragraphs.[20]

The Human Group

Homans, after studying numerous small groups sometimes called "face-to-face groups," concluded that the underlying human relationships differ from group to group in degree rather than kind. This concept is of great significance because, if it is valid, it is possible to make a systematic analysis of group behavior.

Each group is conceived of as having a boundary, outside of which lies the group environment. Each person may belong to many different groups, and large groups may be subdivided into smaller groups and cliques. Each group has an external environment that differs for every group, and the behavior of each group must be such that it can survive in its environment.

The elements of the behavior of a group are sentiment, activity, and interaction. These elements are all mutually interdependent. Homans analyzed these elements of behavior with respect to the external and internal systems of the group, these two systems together being conceived of as making up the total social system.

The sentiment, activity, and interaction of a group are conditioned by the external environment of the group. That is why Homans calls it the external system. Sentiment in the external system is defined as the motives, drives, and attitudes that individual group members bring to the group from the external environment. Activity in the external system is defined as the activities demanded by the job. The environment conditions the behavior of the group, but the group will in turn change its environment in order to survive. For instance, the behavior of a school faculty is certainly affected by its environment. But the faculty will attempt to change its environment with respect to salary, tenure, community attitudes, and working conditions if it feels this to be necessary for survival. Thus, in the external system of the group, the elements of sentiment, activity, and interaction are mutually dependent and are in constant flux. These elements are being conditioned by the external environment, and the group is changing its environment. Therefore, the entire external system of the group is constantly changing.

Homans then examined these same three elements of behavior in the internal system of the group. He defines the internal system as "group behavior that is an expression of the sentiments toward one another de-

[20]George C. Homans, *The Human Group* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1950).

veloped by members of the group in the course of their life together."[21]
The life together of the group could be considered the internal environment of the group as contrasted with the external environment. Sentiment, activity, and interaction are also mutually dependent in the internal system. Sentiment in the internal system is defined as the feelings that people develop toward each other and their group as they work together. As a group works together, it develops norms as part of the internal system. A norm is "an idea in the minds of the members of a group, an idea that can be put in the form of a statement specifying what the members or other men should do, ought to do, are expected to do, under given circumstances."[22] Since norms and the various elements of behavior in the internal system are all mutually dependent, the internal system of a group is constantly changing. But this is not all, because the total internal system of the group affects the total external system, and vice versa. Therefore, the total social system of a group is constantly changing.

Homans presented some hypotheses concerning these interactions that are of great significance to the understanding of leadership. Some of these hypotheses are as follows:

1. If the frequency of interaction between two or more persons increases, the degree of their liking for one another will increase, and vice versa.

2. If the interactions between the members of the group are frequent in the external system, sentiments of liking will grow up between them, and these sentiments will lead in turn to further interactions over and above the interactions of the external system.

3. A decrease in the frequency of interaction between the members of a group and outsiders, accompanied by an increase in the strength of their negative sentiments toward outsiders, will increase the frequency of interaction and the strength of positive sentiments among the members of a group, and vice versa.[23]

Let us apply these hypotheses to a school. We might generalize as follows:

1. The more all people—faculty, students, and parents—interact with each other, the more opportunity they have to like each other.

2. Sentiments of liking grow up between teachers and administrators who work on the job together, and these sentiments will lead to other activity beyond the requirements of the job.

3. If the communications between a faculty group and a community group are reduced and this lessening of communications is accompanied by an increase in the negative sentiments of

[21]*Ibid.,* p. 110.
[22]*Ibid.,* p. 123.
[23]*Ibid.,* p. 112–113.

each group toward the other, then the members of each group are drawn closer together, but intergroup hostility is increased.

Let us apply this sar : reasoning to the relationships between the superintendent or principal and the teacher group. If the administrator is not accepted by the teachers as a member of the teacher group, then he is an outsider and a part of the external environment of the group. As already pointed out, a group has sentiments and norms in its internal system. A group endeavors to survive in its environment. In order to do so, it protects its norms and sentiments. Any attack on these norms and sentiments, especially from an outsider, solidifies the group and develops negative group sentiments toward the source of the attack. If a member of a group violates or offends the norms and sentiments of the group, the group itself disciplines the group member. The group may discipline the administrator by making him an "outsider." The American Federation of Teachers excludes administrators from membership. The National Education Association accepts administrators as members. What are the implications of this difference in the policies of the two organizations?

But group norms and sentiments are not likely to be positively changed by interaction unless the sentiment climate is positive. This seems to be a defect in Homans' hypotheses. He assumes that the liking of group members for each other will always increase as interactions increase. It is conceivable that the negative sentiments of group members for each other might increase with an increase in interactions if the climate of the group is such as to stimulate negative sentiments.

Summarizing: Human society is comprised of innumerable groups, each with a different environment. But all groups have certain common elements of behavior, and those elements are sentiment, activity, and interaction. The elements of behavior differ in degree in each group, but they are always present and mutually dependent. In the external system of the group, each element of behavior conditions the other, the external environment conditions the elements of behavior, and the group conditions its environment. In the internal system, each element of behavior conditions the other, interactions produce group norms, and the internal and external systems of the group are mutually dependent. Within a formal organization such as a large school system, groups tend to increase in number. For instance, the board, the superintendent and his central staff, the principals, and the teachers might each be a tight, separate group. This is especially true if interactions between these groups are minimized. In addition, there will be innumerable informal groups.

Homans' remarkable work has become a landmark in the study of leadership. He was the first to make extensive use of systems theory in the study of groups. There have been numerous studies of groups

since Homans' original study,[24] but that study has had more influence on the conceptualization of group phenomena than any other study.

Group Dimensions

Further light has been thrown on group characteristics by the studies of Hemphill.[25] He identified fifteen measures of group characteristics or dimensions and studied leadership in relation to those dimensions. Hemphill's group dimensions are: *size*, the number of persons in the group; *viscidity*, the feeling of togetherness or cohesion of the group; *homogeneity*, the similarity of group members to each other; *flexibility*, the degree to which the group adheres to fixed modes of behavior; *permeability*, the degree to which the group maintains an exclusive membership; *polarization*, the degree to which the group's goals are clear and definite; *stability*, the degree of turnover in group membership; *intimacy*, the degree of mutual acquaintance; *autonomy*, the degree of independence from other groups; *control*, the amount of control the group exercises over its members; *position*, the status of each member within the group; *potency*, the extent to which vital individual needs are satisfied by group membership; *hedonic tone*, the degree of satisfaction group members obtain from group membership; *participation*, the spread of participation among group members; and *dependence*, the degree to which group members depend upon the group leader.[26]

Hemphill found that only two of these group dimensions had a significant positive correlation with leadership behavior. Those dimensions were viscidity and hedonic tone, and the correlations were .52 and .51 respectively.[27] It is interesting to note that Hemphill's dimensions of viscidity and hedonic tone are similar to Homans' element of sentiment. Hemphill's concept of group dimensions is of value in describing, analyzing, and evaluating group behavior.

SOME GENERALIZATIONS ON LEADERSHIP

A number of generalizations and hypotheses concerning leadership have developed from studies in this area. Although these propositions have not all been completely confirmed by research, they are worthy of study.

[24]See A. Paul Hare, Edgar F. Borgatta, and Robert F. Bales, eds., *Small Groups: Studies in Social Interaction* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1965).

[25]John K. Hemphill, *Situational Factors in Leadership* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1949).

[26]*Ibid.*, pp. 31–33.

[27]*Ibid.*, pp. 51–57.

Generalizations Proposed by Myers

As has already been pointed out, a great number of studies have been made cf leadership and the relationship of leadership to the group. Myers, aftei making an extensive analysis of these studies, proposed the following generalizations which are supported by two or more studies:

1. Leadership is the product of interaction, not status or position.
2. Leadership cannot be structured in advance. The uniqueness of each combination of persons, of varying interactional patterns and jf varying goals and means, and of varying forces within and without impinging upon the group will bring forth different leaders.
3. A leader in one situation will not automatically be a leader in another situation.
4. Leadership does not result from a status position, but rather how a person behaves in the organization.
5. Whether a person is a leader in a group depends upon the group's perception of him.
6. The way a leader perceives his role determines his actions.
7. Most groups have more than one person occupying the leadership role.
8. Leadership fosters positive sentiments toward the group activity and persons in the group.
9. Leadership may be democratic or autocratic but never laissez-faire.
10. Leadership protects the critical group norms.
11. Leadership is authority rendered to some who are perceived by others as the proper persons to carry out the particular leadership role of the group.
12. Program development that involves only persons of a single position (such as principals, or supervisors, or teachers) is not as comprehensive or lasting as that which involves people of various positions in the organization.[28]

Although each of these generalizations is supported by some research, it must not be assumed that each generalization is completely valid. Much additional research needs to be done for the further validation of these and other generalizations.

Some Hypotheses Formulated by Berelson and Steiner

Berelson and Steiner made an extensive survey of the scientific findings in the behavioral sciences and formulated a number of propositions and hypotheses. Following are a few of their most important formulations related to leadership in small groups:

[28]Robert B. Myers, "A Synthesis of Research in Leadership" (Unpublished paper presented to A.S.C.D., Mar., 1957), pp. 4–9.

1. The closer an individual conforms to the accepted norms of the group, the better liked he will be; the better liked he is, the closer he conforms; the less he conforms, the more disliked he will be.

2. The higher the rank of the member within the group, the more central he will be in the group's interaction and the more influential he will be.

3. In general, the "style" of the leader is determined more by the expectations of the membership and the requirements of the situation than by the personal traits of the leader himself.

4. The leadership of the group tends to be vested in the member who most closely conforms to the standards of the group on the matter in question, or who has the most information and skill related to the activities of the group.

5. When groups have established norms, it is extremely difficult for a new leader, however capable, to shift the group's activities.

6. The longer the life of the leadership, the less open and free the communication within the group and probably he less efficient the group in the solution of new problems.

7. The leader will be followed more faithfully the more he makes it possible for the members to achieve their private goals, along with the group's goals.

8. Active leadership is characteristic of groups that determine their own activities, passive leadership of groups whose activities are externally imposed.

9. In a small group, authoritarian leadership is less effective than democratic leadership in holding the group together and getting its work done.[29]

Berelson and Steiner also formulated some hypotheses concerning leadership in organizations. However, these authors did not distinguish between leaders as defined early in this chapter and holders of power positions in the hierarchy of an organization. But their formulations do point up some of the difficulties of an executive in the hierarchy when he attempts to provide leadership. They point out that holders of intermediate positions in the hierarchy are under pressure from their superiors for productivity and under pressure from their subordinates for human consideration, and this cross-pressure is the source of actual or potential conflict in their behavior.[30] Following are a few of the hypotheses proposed by Berelson and Steiner relating to leadership (more properly, headship) in formal organizations:

1. The leader's style of leadership tends to be influenced by the style in which he is led.

[29]Bernard Berelson and Gary A. Steiner, *Human Behavior: An Inventory of Scientific Findings* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1964), pp 341–344. Note: This important work should be read by every serious student of administration.
[30]*Ibid.*, p. 372.

2. The more the member holds to the organization's professed values, the more likely he is to be promoted within the organization.

3. The requirements for organizational leadership change with the life of the organization: at the start the leader is characterized more by doctrinal loyalty, aggressiveness, and personal quality ("the charismatic leader"); later, when the organization is well established, by administrative skills ("the bureaucratic leader").

4. Within an organization, conflict between leader and subordinates tends to increase the number and the concreteness of the organization's regulations, and vice versa—i.e., regulations go along with conflict.[31]

Although these hypotheses relate to management rather than leadership, they are quite provocative.

Homans' Exchange Theory of Leadership Determination

Homans has developed an interesting theory of exchange for explaining social behavior.[32] It can be used to explain when a person decides to lead and when he decides to follow. The exchange theory is a complex formulation. Homans attempts to explain behavior in terms of costs incurred and rewards exchanged by actors interacting in a social system. He incorporates some of the market exchange concepts from economics and reinforcement concepts from psychology. Exchange theory incorporates four basic concepts: reward, cost, outcome, and comparison level.

Let us apply these concepts to a leadership situation. Let us assume that an actor in a group is contemplating initiating a leadership act in a problem situation. He considers what rewards he may receive if he provides leadership in terms of increased status, need for dominance, desire to see the problem solved, etc. He then considers the cost in terms of loss of status if the group rejects him or his solution fails, increased effort and responsibility on his part, etc. He then attempts to determine the outcome by subtracting the costs from the rewards. If the outcome is positive, it is a profit, and if negative, a loss. His decision to act will also depend on the comparison level. The profit must be sufficiently above a "break-even" point, and his past experiences in comparable situations must have been successful often enough for him to take the chance of leadership. The more frequently he has succeeded in leadership attempts in the past, the more likely is he to attempt another leadership act (reinforcement).

In a similar manner, the actor in a social system who decides to follow also seeks a fair exchange. He weighs the costs against the re-

[31]*Ibid.*, pp. 376–377.
[32]George C. Homans, *Social Behavior: Its Elementary Forms* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc. 1961).

wards, considers the qualifications of the person offering to lead, and how successfully he has led in similar situations in the past. He then decides whether there is a fair profit for him if he follows rather than leads.

LEADERSHIP AND EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION

An understanding of leadership, group phenomena, and systems theory is of vital importance to educational administrators. The job of the school administrator is much more complicated than the process of dealing with a primary group. He deals with many groups, both formal and informal, within and without the school system. Many of these groups have conflicting goals and purposes. In addition, he must operate within the limitations of statutory and constitutional law, both state and federal, and within the regulations of the state board of education and his own board of education. He is far from autonomous.

Campbell has described the conflicting expectations faced by administrators.[33] Different groups within the community and within the school system have different perceptions of the role that should be played by the administrator. The board of education also has its perception of the administrator's role. Individuals even within the same group have different perceptions of the role of the administrator. The administrator has his own perception of his role, and somehow he must reconcile all these differences in role perceptions. Therefore, many situational factors condition the behavior of the educational administrator.

The following paragraphs indicate the relationships of some of the concepts of leadership to educational administration presented earlier in this chapter.

A Model for the Study of Administrative Behavior

Halpin has proposed a model or paradigm for the study of administrator behavior in education.[34] He developed this model to facilitate research in administrative behavior and to contribute to the development of a theory of administration. This model has been useful in examining leadership theory as related to educational administration.

Halpin defines administration as a human activity with at least the following four components: (1) the task, (2) the formal organization, (3) the work group (or work groups), and (4) the leader (or leaders).[35]

[33]Campbell and Gregg, *op. cit.*, Chap. 7.
[34]Andrew W. Halpin, "A Paradigm for the Study of Administrative Research in Education," in *Administrative Behavior in Education*, ed. Campbell and Gregg (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1957), Chap. 5.
[35]*Ibid.*, p. 161.

Halpin points out that the Office of Strategic Services, Cartwright and Zander, Barnard, and others have defined the fundamental group goals as group achievement and group maintenance.[36] They also find that the group leader must be committed to these goals. Halpin then reasons that leader behavior associated with group goals must be delineated. He accepts as the two major dimensions of leader behavior "initiating structure in interaction" and "consideration," dimensions that were identified by the Ohio State group.[37] A study was made by Halpin of the relationship between the two leader-behavior dimensions, initiating structure and consideration, and the two group goals, group achievement and group maintenance.[38] He found that effective leaders are those who score high on both dimensions of leader behavior.

Using these concepts, Halpin developed a paradigm for analyzing leader behavior.[39] He presented the paradigm in a series of diagrams. In brief outline form, the paradigm or model follows:

Panel I   Organizational task

Panel II   Administrator's perception of the organization's task
  1. Behavior as decision maker
  2. Behavior as group leader

Panel III   Variables associated with administrator's behavior
  1. Administrator variables
  2. Intraorganization variables
  3. Extraorganization variables

Panel IV   Criteria of administrator effectiveness
  1. Evaluation of administrator as decision maker
     a. Organization maintenance
     b. Organization achievement
  2. Evaluation of administrator as a group leader
     a. Organization maintenance
     b. Organization achievement[40]

This scheme was designed for studying the organization at Time A and Time B, and the change is used as a measure of leader effectiveness. This brief description does not do justice to the implications of the paradigm for the study of leader behavior, but it is sufficient to suggest

[36]*Ibid.*, p. 170.

[37]John K. Hemphill *et al.*, "Relation Between Task Relevant Information and Attempts to Lead," *Psychological Monographs*, 70, No. 7 (1956).

[38]Andrew W. Halpin, "Studies in Aircrew Composition III: The Combat Leader Behavior of B-29 Aircraft Commanders," HFORL MEMO No. TN–54–E (Washington, D. C.: Bolling Air Force Base, Human Factors Operations Research Laboratories, Air Research and Development Command, 1955).

[39]For a complete description see Andrew W. Halpin, "A Paradigm for the Study of Administrative Research in Education." in *Administrative Behavior in Education*, ed. Campbell and Gregg (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1957), Chap. 5.

[40]*Ibid.*, adapted from Fig. 6, p. 190.

the following relationships between the concepts of leadership presented earlier in this chapter and the job of educational administration:

1. The school system's task may be largely defined by authorities external to the group by means of laws and regulations.
2. The administration's perception of the school system's task may be different than the perceptions of other members of the organization. This is a potential source of conflict.
3. Different groups within the system may have goals that are in conflict with the task of the organization. This is a potential source of difficulty.
4. The administrator, in order to be effective, must be a group leader, and this may be difficult if the goals of primary groups are in conflict with the goals of the formal organization. When such a situation occurs, informal organizations develop in order to achieve the goals of primary groups. The task of the administrator-leader is then to bring the formal and informal groups into congruence with respect to goals, if he is to be an effective leader.

Although Halpin developed his model some years ago, it is still useful for the study of administrative behavior when adapted to take into consideration the basic concepts of systems theory.

Coffey and Golden have made the following observations concerning the formal and informal structures:

> Along with the formal structure are the informal functions which have much less structure, are characterized by more spontaneous flow of interpersonal relationships, and are often effective in either aiding the formal structure in reaching goals or working as a very antagonistic core and in a private way against the public goals of the institution. An institution is likely to function more effectively and with greater satisfaction to its employees if the needs which are expressed in the informal social relationships are dealt with in the formal structure.[41]

The Administrative Process

Gregg has made an excellent analysis of the administrative process.[42] He describes the administrative process in terms of the following seven components: (1) decision making, (2) planning, (3) organizing, (4) communicating, (5) influencing, (6) coordinating, and (7) evaluating.

In describing each of his seven components, Gregg dealt with some of the concepts of leadership, group process, and human behavior.

[41]Hubert S. Coffey and William P. Golden, Jr., *In-Service Education for Teachers, Supervisors, and Administrators*, Fifty-sixth Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, Part I (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957), pp. 101–102.

[42]Campbell and Gregg, *op. cit.*, Chap. 8.

As he observed, "Leadership and group processes as well as the whole matter of human relations, are unquestionably important aspects of the administrative process."[43]

There has been less emphasis in recent years on studying administrative processes as separate entities. As Gregg pointed out, these processes are all interrelated.[44] Fortunately, systems theory provides a framework by which the interrelationships of administrative processes may be studied. Gregg complained in 1957 that "Empirical research relating to the administrative process is notably lacking."[45] Unfortunately, the research in this area is still very meager. With greater use of systems theory, especially hypotheses that cut across various levels of social systems, more useful generalizations concerning administrative processes will surely be developed.

Power and Authority

There has been a tendency on the part of some to abhor the terms "power" and "authority" as being inconsistent with democracy. Those who hold that belief seem to assume that if proper leadership is provided, power and authority are not essential to the social system. Let us take a look at power and authority.

For the purposes of this chapter, it is best to conceive of power in terms of behavior. Hunter has presented such a definition. Power, according to Hunter, is "the acts of men going about the business of moving other men to act in relation to themselves or in relation to organic or inorganic things."[46]

Dubin defines authority as "institutionalized power."[47] Simon defined authority in behavioral terms. According to him, "a subordinate may be said to accept authority whenever he permits his behavior to be guided by a decision reached by another, irrespective of his own judgment as to the merits of that decision."[48] Authority is always backed by power. Therefore, it might be said that a person has authority when he is perceived by the group to have the institutionalized right to "move other men to act in relation to themselves or in relation to organic or inorganic things."[49]

Griffiths has presented a thoughtful analysis of power and author-

[43]*Ibid.*, pp. 273–274.

[44]*Ibid.*, p. 274.

[45]*Ibid.*, p. 316.

[46]Floyd Hunter, *Community Power Structure* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1953).

[47]Robert Dubin *et al.*, *Human Relations in Administration* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc. 1951), p. 188.

[48]Herbert A. Simon, *Administrative Behavior* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1951), p. 22.

[49]Hunter, *op. cit.*

ity as affecting human relations.[50] Following are two of his conclusions concerning power which are of particular signif ·nce to the study of leadership:

1. Power is the cement which holds our society together as well as the societies of totalitarian states such as Soviet Russia and Nazi Germany. . . .
2. A democratic society is one in which the power command is held by a large number of people and is subject to the will of all of the people.[51]

We see that power cannot be ignored in a democracy any more than in an authoritarian state. School administrators certainly are not the only wielders of power in the school systems of the United States. Back of the superintendent is the board, and back of the board the people. Teachers and pupils also have power in certain situations.

Wiles has pointed out that power is used differently by persons with different concepts of leadership.[52] He distinguishes between "power over" and "power with" the group. "A 'power over' approach decreases the possibilities of releasing the full power of the group. It limits the potential accomplishment of the group."[53] Wiles states his concept of "power with" the group as follows:

> Under the group approach to leadership, a leader is not concerned with getting and maintaining personal authority. His chief purpose is to develop group power that will enable the group to accomplish its goal. He does not conceive of his power as something apart from the power of the group. He is concerned with developing the type of relationships that will give him "power with" the group.[54]

Wiles insists that there is greater control over group members under the "power with" approach, because the group itself will bring pressure to bear on individual group members to achieve group goals.[55] It should not be assumed, however, that Wiles is advocating a system in which the official leader of the group has nothing to do with power. On this point he states: "The official leader administers the controls the group imposes on itself."[56] This is perhaps the ideal for which to strive. However, as has already been pointed out in this chapter, informal group goals are sometimes inconsistent with the goals of the total organization. In that event, the administrator may be compelled to resort

---

[50]Daniel E. Griffiths, *Human Relations in School Administration* (New York: Appleton-Century & Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1956), Chaps. 5 and 6.

[51]*Ibid.*, p. 105.

[52]Kimball Wiles, *Supervision for Better Schools*, 2nd ed. (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1955), pp. 161–167.

[53]*Ibid.*, p. 163.

[54]*Ibid.*, p. 164.

[55]*Ibid.*, p. 167.

[56]*Ibid.*, p. 223.

to the "power over" approach, and this will reduce his acceptance as a leader. Therefore, one of the primary objectives of the administrator-leader must be to bring informal group goals and organizational goals into congruence.

Since authority in an organization is backed by institutionalized power, it cannot be exercised effectively unless the person exercising the authority is perceived by the members of the organization as having the right to do so. There are further limitations on authority. Griffiths makes this point:

> Although there is a line of authority in each organization, there are also modifying conditions which change the effectiveness of the power being exerted. We note that the authority of an administrator is affected and modified by the board of education, the teachers, non-teaching staff, parents, students, patrons, the state school law, the customs and traditions of the community, and the authority of the profession.[57]

This concept is also extremely important to each group within the school faculty. No school group is completely autonomous in authority. All school groups, both formal and informal, are subgroups of the total organization. The ultimate "group" that has the final authority to determine school goals is the people. Therefore, no group within a school system has the legal or moral right to consider itself a completely autonomous primary group. Participation in decision making by all groups and individuals concerned is now being widely advocated. As groups participate in decision making, it is vital that the limits of authority of each group be clearly defined. The administrator-leader must also make clear to groups and individuals participating in decision making the decisions that he reserves for executive decision making and the decisions in which they can share. To do otherwise would result in chaos. These implications are important for state school administration as well as for local school administration.

Areas of Critical Behavior

The School-Community Development Study Project, coordinated by the College of Education of the Ohio State University, identified nine areas of critical behavior of educational administrators.[58] Those areas are as follows: (1) setting goals, (2) making policy, (3) determining roles, (4) appraising effectiveness, (5) coordinating administrative functions and structure, (6) working with community leadership to promote improvements in education, (7) using the educational resources of the community, (8) involving people, and (9) communicating.[59]

[57]Griffiths, *op. cit.*, p. 142.
[58]John A. Ramseyer *et al.*, "Factors Affecting Educational Administration," Monograph No. 2 (Columbus: College of Education, Ohio State University, 1955), p. 20.
[59]*Idem.*

These nine areas were identified for the purpose of classifying observations of administrator behavior with respect to interpersonal and environmental factors that have been found to make a difference in administrator behavior. A conceptual scheme for studying administrator behavior was then developed, based upon these nine critical areas. This approach is contrasted with an approach to the study of administration based upon the application of learned technique. It has facilitated the development of research on administrator behavior. It is interesting to note that these nine critical areas of administrator behavior are closely related to several of the administrative processes identified by Gregg.

SOME IMPORTANT PROBLEMS AND ISSUES

The emerging concepts of leadership described in this chapter have great significance for administrative action. Some of the problems and issues associated with the application of these concepts are discussed in the following paragraphs.

Can a Person Pe a Leader and at the Same Time Hold an Executive Position in an Organization?

Attention has already been directed to the fact that the executive holding a position in the hierarchy of an organization is under pressure from his superordinates to attain the goals of the organization, and he is under pressure from his subordinates to meet their personal needs (the nomothetic vs. iodiographic dimensions of the social system). Thompson commented as follows concerning this dilemma:

> Modern social scientists are coming to the conclusion that headship and leadership are incompatible or that their consolidation in the same hands is very unlikely. Leadership is a quality conferred upon a person by those who are led, and in this sense the leader is always elected. An appointed person on the other hand, must work to advance the interests of his sponsors. He cannot be a leader for his subordinates and still serve his sponsors unless there is complete harmony between the two, an unlikely event.[60]

Is the situation as hopeless as Thompson infers? Would the application of the emerging pluralistic, collegial concepts of organization and administration help to resolve the dilemma?

Is There a Need for Role Differentiation Among Leaders?

Leadership acts include those acts intended to help meet group goals and also acts intended to maintain the group by meeting group

---

[60]Victor A. Thompson, *Modern Organization* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1961). Reprinted by permission of Alfred A. Knopf, Inc. Copyright © 1961 by Victor Thompson.

and individual needs. Berelson and Steiner have pointed out that even in small face-to-face informal groups the "intellectual leader" who structures the group and initiates action to attain group goals is usually not the same person as the "social leader" who meets group and individual needs by promoting mutual acceptance, harmony, liking, etc.[61] That is, the top position in an informal group on both "liking" and "ideas" is not frequently held by the same person. If this hypothesis is sustained by research on informal face-to-face groups, can it be assumed that the same findings would be applicable to different leadership roles in formal organizations? Some organizations have placed a "tough" man to say no as a second man to the top executive. Is the purpose of this arrangement to give a better image to the top executive, so that it will be possible for him to play a leadership role when the situation seems to require it? Despite the myth that the top executive in an organization must assume final responsibility, sometimes a subordinate in the executive hierarchy is sacrificed when a serious mistake has been made, in order to preserve the favorable image of the top executive. This policy has been justified because "it was for the good of the organization." What would be the long term effect of this policy on the leadership potential of the top executive?

What Officials Should Be Elected by the Group?

Research indicates that if a group elects its head, the person elected is perceived by the group as being its leader. He is accepted by the group as a group member, and he is in a strategic position to provide leadership for the group. But research has also shown that the person chosen by a group to be its leader is likely to be the person who most nearly is representative of the norms of the group. Rate of production is one of the norms in a factory group. The production norm is the average rate of production that the group believes ought to be maintained. If a group member produces considerably more or considerably less than the group norm, he is not likely to be accepted by the group as its leader.

A school faculty is a formal school group, but the elements of behavior of a face-to-face formal group are similar in some respects to the elements of behavior of a primary or informal group. The executive officer of the faculty is the school principal. The almost universal practice in the United States is for the principal to be appointed by the board of education upon the nomination of the superintendent. Considering the concepts of leadership presented in this chapter, should the present practice be continued, or would it be better for the principal to be elected by the faculty?

[61]Berelson and Steiner, *op. cit.*, pp. 244–245.

In some large high schools and in some institutions of higher learning, department heads are elected by the members of the department concerned. Is this good practice?

In some states the county superintendent of education, who is presumably the executive officer of the board, is elected by the people. What are the advantages and disadvantages of this procedure?

The prevailing practice in the United States for the selection of board members is election by the vote of the people. The board of education is a legislative and policy-forming group. Do the concepts of leadership and group dynamics presented in this chapter justify that practice?

Committee members in school faculties are sometimes appointed by the principal and sometimes elected by the faculty. What criteria should be used to determine whether members of a committee should be elected or appointed?

When the Goals of Two Groups Are in Conflict, How Can They Be Harmonized?

The school community is an aggregation of many groups, some of which have conflicting goals. Sometimes these groups make the school a battleground. Following is an example of such a situation.

In a certain school community, a patriotic group is violently opposed to the United Nations and insists that the school teach a doctrine of extreme nationalism. It demands that all UNESCO materials be removed from the school library and that the school faculty indoctrinate students in national isolation. The League of Women Voters, however, takes exactly the opposite view, believing that one of the school's goals should be to promote international understanding. The majority of the board of education supports the patriotic group, but the teacher group supports the point of view of the League of Women Voters.

What can the administrator-leader do to help the community arrive at mutually acceptable goals? How can Homans' theories of interaction be applied to this situation?

What Is the Relation Between Group Morale and Task Achievement in the Formal Organization?

Let us first consider informal groups that are subgroups of the formal organization. Each informal group, as has been pointed out, has two principal goals: group achievement and group maintenance. Each group defines its own achievement goals. The group maintenance goal is attained when both group and individual needs are substantially met and members get satisfaction from group membership. When a group continues to attain its two primary goals, the morale is high; but if it

fails, the morale is low. An informal group with high morale is more productive in terms of its own standards of measuring production than a low-morale group. However, a high-morale group may not be productive as measured by the achievement of the tasks of the organization.

Let us now consider the formal organization of which the informal groups are subparts. The formal organization also has two principal functions: achievement of its goals and organizatic.al maintenance. Let us assume, for example, that we have a formal organization such as a school faculty that has no real achievement goals accepted by its members. Let us assume further that the formal organization has been ineffective in meeting group and individual needs. In fact, the formal organization is not an entity, but rather a collection of individuals subdivided into primary groups and cliques. The informal organization, rather than the formal organization, holds the real power and authority. The morale of the actors in this organization is low.

What can the administrator-leader do to make the formal organization a real group?

How Can the Administrator-Leader Bring About Change and Innovations?

The public school system must constantly change its tasks, goals, and purposes if it is to meet the changing needs of society. This involves changes in the curriculum, the organizational structure, and the services provided. But the administrator always encounters some resistance to change. This is especially true if the changes conflict with critical group norms or threaten the status roles of individuals in the organization. But the administrator, if he is to be a leader, cannot assume a laissez-faire role and avoid change, because change is inevitable. On the other hand, if the administrator in bringing about change ignores certain vital factors of human relations, he will lose the leadership of his group. Under what conditions can institutional changes be made? Coffey and Golden, after an extensive review of applicable research, suggested the following conditions for facilitating organizational change:

> (a) When the leadership is democratic and the group members have freedom to participate in the decision-making process; (b) when there have been norms established which make social change an expected aspect of institutional growth; (c) when change can be brought about without jeopardizing the individual's membership in the group; (d) when the group concerned has a strong sense of belongingness, when it is attractive to its members, and when it is concerned with satisfying member needs; (e) when the group members actually participate in the leadership function, help formulate the goals, plan the steps toward goal realization, and participate in the evaluation of these aspects of leadership; (f) when the level of cohesion permits members of the group

to express themselves freely and to test new roles by trying out new behaviors and attitudes without being threatened by real consequence.[62]

Recently, there has been much interest in planned change. Bennis, Benne, and Chin and their associates have presented a design for planned change.[63] Under this concept there is ". . . the application of systematic and appropriate knowledge to human affairs for the purpose of creating intelligent action and change."[64] The process involves the deliberate collaboration of the change agent and the client system. These authors objected to the conceptualization of a change agent exclusively as a "free" agent brought in as a consultant from outside the client system. They comment on this issue as follows:

> For one thing, client systems contain the potential resources for creating their own planned change programs under certain conditions; they have inside resources, staff persons, applied researchers, and administrators who can and do act as successful change agents. For another thing, we contend that a client system must build into its own structures a vigorous change-agent function, in order for it to adapt to a continually changing environment.[65]

Is the change-agent role a leadership role when the change is made with the "willing cooperation" of the members of the client system? What theoretical concepts discussed in this chapter can be used to predict the by-products of imposing change on a group against its will? Should outside consultants be used as change agents as well as personnel within an organization?

Selected References

Bennis, Warren G., Kenneth D. Benne, and Robert Chin, *The Planning of Change.* New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, Inc., 1961.

Berelson, Bernard, and Gary A. Steiner, *Human Behavior: An Inventory of Scientific Findings.* New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1964.

Campbell, Rc ld F., and Russell T. Gregg, eds., *Administrative Behavior in Education.* New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1957.

Carlson, Richard O., Art Gallaher, Jr., Mathew B. Miles, Roland J. Pellegrin, and Everett M. Rogers, *Change Processes in the Public Schools.* Eugene, Ore.: Center for the Advanced Study of Educational Administration, University of Oregon, 1965.

[62]National Society for the Study of Education, *op. cit.,* pp. 101–102.

[63]Warren G. Bennis, Kenneth D. Benne, and Robert Chin, eds., *The Planning of Change* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, Inc., 1961).

[64]*Ibid.,* p. 3.

[65]*Idem.*

Cartwright, Darwin, and Alvin Zander, *Group Dynamics: Research and Theory*. New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1960.

Griffiths, Daniel E., ed., *Behavioral Science and Educational Administration*. The Sixty-third Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965.

Hare, A. Paul, Edgar F. Borgatta, and Robert F. Bales, *Small Groups: Studies in Social Interaction*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1965.

Homans, George C., *The Human Group*. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc. 1950.

————, *Social Behavior: Its Elementary Forms*. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1961.

Kimbrough, Ralph B., *Political Power and Educational Decision-Making*. Skokie, Ill.: Rand McNally & Company, 1964.

Lionberger, Herbert F., *Adoption of New Ideas and Practices*. Ames: Iowa S ate University Press, 1960.

Petrullo, Luigi, and Bernard M. Bass, eds., *Leadership and Interpersonal Behavior*. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, Inc., 1961.

Saunders, Robert L. Ray C. Phillips, and Harold J. Johnson, *A Theory of Educational Leadership*. Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill Books, Inc., 1966.

Secord, Paul F., and Carl W. Backman, *Social Psychology*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1964.

6

Cooperative Procedures

In Chapter 3, major emphasis was given to systems theory in order to introduce a rational, scientific theoretical framework for studying the phenomena of organization and administration. In Chapter 4, systems theory was applied to organization and in Chapter 5 to leaders and administrators of social systems. In this chapter, systems theory as well as other theoretical concepts from the social and behavioral sciences are applied to an analysis of the procedures by which living systems (individuals as well as social systems) relate themselves to each other in order to survive and in order to promote growth beyond survival.[1] We call this relationship "cooperative procedures," and it is similar to Kropotkin's concept of "mutual aid." As will become apparent later in this chapter, this is not entirely a value-free concept as used by the authors. The cooperative concept of human relationships as contrasted with the individual struggle for existence is undoubtedly partly a choice of values arising from a cultural background of political democracy, but we present in this chapter what we believe to be some solid, scientific evidence supporting the validity of this position.

[1] See James G. Miller, "Living Systems: Basic Concepts," *Behavioral Science*, 10, No. 4 (Oct. 1965).

TRENDS IN COOPERATION RELATING
TO EDUCATIONAL DECISION MAKING

The historical record of public education in America shows the birth, the decline, and the rebirth of cooperative procedures in educational administration. In colonial New England, a public school was a genuine community enterprise. The building itself was frequently constructed by the school patrons. The purposes of the school were defined and understood by the lay people. The policies and budget were usually determined in the town meeting by people in a face-to-face relationship.

As towns grew into cities, and the industrial revolution spread during the nineteenth century, education began to assume new functions. The urban districts grew too large to be managed by town meeting procedures. Representative government was substituted for direct government by the people. Boards found it increasingly unsatisfactory to assume administrative responsibility, and consequently the need for professionally trained administrators began to be recognized. Prevailing theories of administration and organization were adapted to educational administration and organization. These theories were drawn largely from business and industry, which had attained high prestige by the end of the first quarter of the twentieth century.

The public school system had made great strides between 1900 and 1925. Public elementary and secondary education was well on its way to becoming available everywhere in the United States. Professional school administrators were employed to serve most of the larger school districts. A literature on school administration was being written. The words "efficient" and "businesslike" appeared frequently in that literature. The dynamic, bustling, aggressive administrator was confident that he could use the proven methods of business and industry to solve all the important problems of educational administration.

The "gospel of efficiency" dominated the thinking in the first third of the twentieth century.[2] Frederick Taylor, Henri Fayol, Luther Gulick, and Lyndall Urwick were all influential promoters of administrative and organizational efficiency. All of these men with the exception of Gulick were identified primarily with engineering. The efficiency formulations developed by these men did not conceptualize human beings as living systems but rather as inanimate parts of an organization. Consequently,

---

[2]See Bertram M. Gross, "The Scientific Approach to Administration," Chap. 3 of *Behavioral Science and Educational Administration*, The Sixty-Third Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964).

these men gave but little emphasis to human relations and the interactions of social systems. They were concerned primarily with getting more from the workers, the managers, and the organizational structures, without giving much consideration to what happened to the human components of organizations.

Then came the Great Depression. Procedures that had seemed so infallible a short while ago began to be questioned. Some of the theories of business and industry were found to be unsupportable. The depression was followed by World War II. That war had a profound effect on the thinking of people everywhere. To the people of the United States, that war was a struggle between the free democracies and the totalitarian states. Following the war, they wanted the freedom for which they had fought.

In the meanwhile, the schools had grown away from the people in most school systems. Boards of education set policies, and superintendents administered the schools. It was a simple scheme of things, but unfortunately it did not provide adequate solutions for many vital educational problems. Following World War II, the need for major expansions in the public school system became imperative. But the people were confused and divided on many educational issues. Even the purposes of the public schools were no longer clear to the people. This is not surprising, because for many years the mass of the people had not had the opportunity to really study, and reach agreement on, the purposes of the schools. There was little consensus in many districts on such vital issues as: what should be taught, how it should be taught, who should be educated, what it should cost, and how the funds should be provided. Administrators and boards of education found it difficult, even impossible in many districts, to develop adequate educational programs when there was but little agreement on these and other vital issues. An educational crisis of major proportions began to develop after World War II.

But long before World War II, pioneering superintendents and boards of education had already begun to experiment with methods to resolve these issues. The methods which had most frequent success usually included cooperative efforts involving many people. Space does not permit the detailing of the history of cooperative efforts in education. They have probably always been present to some extent, but the relative emphasis on cooperative effort versus directive control has certainly shifted from time to time. For instance, the Parent-Teacher Association was organized in 1897. But most administrators for many years did not permit Parent-Teacher Associations to share significantly in decision making.

It is interesting to note the influence of John Dewey and his stu-

dents on "cooperative procedures," a term he used practically synonymously with "democratic procedures." Dewey wrote his *Democracy and Education* in 1916, placing great emphasis on cooperative efforts as being essential to the growth and development of children. However, even though Dewey and his colleagues have had a profound influence on the thinking of many people, numerous surveys have shown that both administrative and instructional practices have changed at a slow rate.

Although both teachers and administrators have been slow to accept genuinely cooperative procedures, the use of these procedures has been widely extended in recent years. In fact, it seems safe to predict an accelerated rate of acceptance of cooperative procedures by both classroom teachers and administrators in the future.

The National Citizens' Commission for the Public Schools was established in 1949, primarily to promote the welfare of the public schools. The commission was particularly active in developing lay interest in public education. As a means of doing this, it stimulated the creation of citizens' advisory committees on education throughout the United States. The National Citizens' Commission was in direct communication with some 2500 state and local citizen committees by 1955, and it is estimated that approximately 7500 additional committees were also operating at that time.

The National Citizens' Commission for the Public Schools was superseded by the National Citizens' Council for Better Schools in 1955. The council promoted the improvement of both public and private schools. It operated for a few years and then dissolved itself in 1959, in accordance with the original plan, when it appeared that lay-professional cooperation for better schools had become firmly established throughout the nation. The number of *ad hoc* lay-professional committees that operate at the present time is unknown. The practice has become so universal that it is now considered standard operating procedure.

The Year-Book Committee of the National Society for the Study of Education made a national survey of citizen cooperation for better schools in 1954.[3] The committee found a great increase in educational activities involving the cooperation of citizens. These activities were of many types, and they were being carried on at all levels of school government. The study also presented analyses of the reasons for the success or the failure of cooperative activities involving citizens.

It is not the purpose of this chapter to present recipes for successful cooperative procedures in educational administration. Each situation is different and, although some generalizations are justifiable, recipes may not be too helpful. Cooperative procedures in administration may

[3]National Society for the Study of Education, *Citizens Cooperation for Better Public Schools* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954).

involve lay citizens, teachers, or pupils, or all three groups. They may involve cooperative relationships with other governmental agencies. They may also involve cooperation among local, state, and national educational groups. The primary purpose of this chapter is to present some of the concepts and theories upon which cooperative procedures are based. Almost everyone in the United States professes to believe in democratic procedures. But democracy means so many different things to so many people that the authors have deliberately used the words "cooperative procedures" rather than "democratic procedures." Even the term "cooperative" may be subject to different interpretations. The authoritarian administrator may describe a person in his school system as cooperative if he accepts his orders without question. Any other person is considered noncooperative. The term "cooperative procedures" as used by the authors has quite a different meaning.

SOME BASIC THEORIES

Fortunately, there is a rich body of research produced by anthropologists, sociologists, psychologists, physiologists, social psychologists, biologists, and others from which we can secure much evidence concerning the validity of cooperative procedures. It is not possible in a book of this length to present even an adequate review of the pertinent research. However, a few of the more important findings are presented in the following paragraphs.

Early Theories of Economics

The economist Adam Smith gave great emphasis to self-interest. His monumental work *The Wealth of Nations* was published in 1776. He believed that the natural unfettered effort of every individual to improve his own condition "is so powerful a principle that it is alone and without any assistance, not only capable of carrying on the society to wealth and prosperity but of surmounting a hundred impertinent obstructions with which the folly of human laws too often incumber its operations." The postulates of Adam Smith dominated economic theory during the nineteenth century and have had great influence even during the twentieth century. His emphasis on extreme individualism also had a significant influence on theories of human relations during this same period of time.

Ricardo, a close friend of Malthus, accepted Malthus' population theory (though not most of his economic theories) and published in 1817 a brilliant exposition of economic theory in his *Principles of Political Economy*. Of interest here is Ricardo's "iron law" of wages. Accord-

ing to Ricardo, a worker should be paid only a subsistence wage, defined as a wage sufficient for the worker to survive and reproduce a sufficient number of workers to meet the needs of the economy. If a worker were paid wages above the subsistence level, the reproduction rate would increase to the point where a surplus of workers would be produced, which would drive wages back down to the subsistence level. At that level, poverty, misery, disease and reduced reproductive activity would hold the number of workers down to the number needed. Ricardo saw little need for cooperation of workers with the managers and owners because in his view their interests were conflicting.

The "Survival of the Fittest" Theories

The "survival of the fittest" theory of life reached a high point of acceptance during the latter part of the nineteenth century. It was even held by many to be the law of life. In fact, this theory has a powerful influence on the social thinking and actions of many people on the contemporary scene.

Malthus laid the foundation for the "survival of the fittest" theory in his famous *Essay on Population*, written in 1798. In that essay he stated the theory that poverty and distress were unavoidable, since population increases in geometric ratio whereas the food supply increases in arithmetic ratio. He accepted war, famine, and disease as necessary to human survival, because the population must be kept in balance with the food supply.

Darwin, stimulated by the work of Malthus, wrote his *Origin of the Species* in 1859. He started with the assumption that more of each species are born than can possibly survive. The surplus starts a struggle for existence, and if any individual in the species varies in any way profitable to itself, it has a better chance of survival. Thus, the surviving individual has been "naturally selected."

The scientist Huxley supported and advanced still further the theories of Darwin in his *Struggle for Existence*, written in 1888. But the theories of Darwin and Huxley needed philosophical justification. This was done in masterly fashion by Nietzsche in his *The Will to Power*, written in 1889. He looked upon life as a battle in which strength rather than goodness, pride rather than humility, unyielding intelligence rather than altruism, and power rather than justice are needed. He concluded that theories of equality and democracy had been disproven by the laws of selection and survival; therefore, democratic procedures were decadent.

The Smith-Darwin-Huxley-Nietzsche theories found a fertile ground indeed in the last half of the nineteenth century. The industrial revolution was in full swing. Industrial and business empires were being es-

tablished. The demands for cheap labor were great. The business and industrial barons needed ethical justification for exploitation of the weak and the ruthless conflicts they had with one another. They found it in these theories.

The "survival of the fittest" theories gave rise in the latter part of the nineteenth century to a school of thought known as Social Darwinism.[4] Herbert Spencer, a brilliant English thinker, was the intellectual leader of this movement. His *First Principles,* published in 1864, *The Study of Sociology,* published in 1872–73, as well as his other publications, were widely read in the United States.

The Social Darwinists applied Darwin's theories of biological evolution directly to social institutions and the life of man in society. The "struggle for existence" and "survival of the fittest" concepts suggested that natural law demanded that these factors be permitted to operate in human sociey or that society would degenerate. Competition would eliminate the unfit, and this would assure continuing improvement.

Social Darwinism was embraced wholeheartedly by the economic and political conservatives of the nineteenth century. It sanctified by natural law the ruthless activities of the "robber barons" and their imitators. It preserved the *status quo,* because it suggested that social change should come about very slowly by evolution, as contrasted with revolution. It is interesting to note that the conservatives, including many industrialists not only of the nineteenth but also of the twentieth century, oppose social change bitterly and yet are the leaders in promoting revolutionary technological changes in business and industry. This glaring inconsistency has never seemed to bother conservatives in the economic power structure.

Another strange thing about Social Darwinism is that Karl Marx, the arch-enemy of the conservative industrialists, also embraced Darwin. He saw in Darwin's "struggle for existence" scientific justification for his "class struggle" theories.[5]

Students of political science have long known that there is not a great ideological difference between the extreme right and the extreme left. Each denies the dignity of the individual, each uses ruthless power to make decisions, each is based on the authoritarian concept of human relations, and each uses the same tactics to gain its ends. This should not be too surprising because the extreme right and the extreme left are both basing their ideologies on the same value assumptions with respect to what man's life in society should be.

[4] See Richard Hofstadter, *Social Darwinism in American Thought* (New York: George Braziller, Inc., 1959).

[5] *Ibid.,* p. 115. Hofstadter quoted the following from a letter written by Marx to Engels in 1860: "Darwin's book is very important and serves me as a basis in natural science for the class struggle in history."

Opposition to Social Darwinism developed, as discussed later in this chapter. Most intellectuals had rejected Social Darwinism by the close of the nineteenth century. Although the open advocacy of this doctrine by the business community had declined by the turn of the century, the basic belief in that doctrine persisted unabated. In fact, the full flowering of this type of thinking was not reached until the first quarter of the twentieth century.

The term "rugged individualist" was coined, and was considered to be a compliment. Teachers were expected to prepare children for this struggle by emphasizing competition and survival of the fittest in the classroom. The Great Depression, the rise of Hitler, and World War II were some of the fruits of actions based on the theories of Smith, Darwin, Huxley, and Nietzsche.

The "Class Struggle" Theory

Marx and Engels, who were contemporaries of Darwin and Huxley, advanced some political theories that were as ruthless as Social Darwinism. Marx and Engels published the *Communist Manifesto* in 1847, and Marx published the first volume of *Das Kapital* in 1867. These writers took a materialistic view of history and developed a theory of human relationships on that basis. According to Marx and Engels, the arrangement of social classes and political institutions is for the purpose of production. As the conditions of production change, the arrangement of social classes and political institutions must change. But this cannot be done by voluntary cooperation, because political and social institutions lag behind and can be changed only by revolution.

The only real value of goods is the labor it takes to produce them (an idea advanced by Adam Smith nearly a hundred years earlier). The capitalistic class exploits the workers by the extraction of "surplus value" from them. This is done by adding profits, interests, and rents to the price of goods and services. The capitalist system produces unfavorable conditions for production. The only solution is for the working class to revolt, seize the state, and create a new state in its own image. The first step is to establish a "dictatorship of the proletariat" as a temporary state for the purpose of liquidating all opposition. When the dictatorship has abolished all classes and all exploitation of man by man, all classes are merged into one. Then the state gradually withers away. It is replaced by a kind of social administration of a classless society in which all conflicts have been eliminated. This is the Marxist utopia. It is a forced type of cooperation in which, initially at least, no confidence whatsoever is placed in voluntary cooperation.

It is interesting to note that the Communists make a perverted use of the group process in accomplishing their goals. This is done through

establishing large numbers of Communist cells throughout the society being penetrated, a step preliminary to revolution. These cells are face-to-face groups, but all goals are determined by authority external to the group. The group is not established for the purpose of providing opportunity for broad participation, but rather to give external authority an instrument for the control of the masses. Each group must think and feel as every other group. There is no place for any degree of group autonomy, for each must follow the party line. The penalty for deviation is liquidation. Thus the theories of Marx and Engels are as antagonistic to theories of democratic cooperative action as the "survival of the fittest" theory.

Mutual-Aid Theories

It should not be thought that the "survival of the fittest" theory went completely unchallenged. Many voices were raised against the sweeping conclusions being drawn from this theory. Many religious leaders opposed the doctrine, because of its association with the theory of evolution which they considered atheistic. The fact of evolution could not be refuted, so the opposition of the ministry was not very effective.

Some intellectuals soon began to reveal the fallacies of Social Darwinism. The early pragmatists were among this group. In 1867, William T. Harris started the *Journal of Speculative Philosophy,* in which he and others attacked many of Spencer's propositions. The pragmatists accepted evolution but rejected Social Darwinism. William James, the famous philosopher and psychologist of Harvard University, first accepted Spencer, but by the middle 1870s he was exposing the fallacies of Spencer's theories.[6]

The influence of John Dewey and his *Democracy in Education,* published in 1916, has already been mentioned. Dewey was greatly influenced by Harris and James.

Kropotkin, an anthropologist, wrote a series of essays between 1890 and 1896 in which he attacked some of the theories of Darwin and Huxley.[7] He rejected the Darwinian concept that the struggle for existence pitted every animal against every other animal of the same species. He contended that competition within the same species was of only limited value and that mutual aid was the best guarantee for existence and evolution. Kropotkin's conclusions were based on studies of conditions for survival of animals, savages, barbarians, a medieval city, and of the times in which he lived. He found that the unsociable species were doomed to decay. But the species that reduced to its lowest limits

[6]*Ibid.,* p. 128.

[7]Peter Kropotkin, *Mutual Aid, A Factor of Evolution* (London: William Heinemann, Limited, 1902).

the individual struggle for existence and developed mutual aid to the greatest extent were the most numerous, the most prosperous, and the most likely to develop further. His studies of human beings, regardless of the stage of civilization, led to the same conclusions.

Montagu, another anthropologist, has also boldly challenged the Darwin-Huxley thesis that the nature of man's life is a conflict for the survival of the fittest. He assembled an array of evidence from the investigations of many scientists and concluded that the true nature of man's life is cooperation. He stated his position as follows:

> Evolution itself is a process which favors cooperating groups rather than dis-operating groups and "fitness" is a function of the group as a whole rather than of separate individuals. The fitness of the individual is largely derived from his membership in a group. The more cooperative the group, the greater is the fitness for survival which extends to all its members.[8]

He studied the researches of Allee on lower order animals,[9] and concluded that animals confer distinct survival values on each other. For Montagu, the dominant principle of social life is cooperation and not the struggle for existence. The findings of Montagu are particularly significant because they are based on the researches of biologists, anthropologists, physiologists, psychologists, and many other scientists. He accepts the theory of evolution but insists that, for the human animal, the fitness to survive is based more on the ability to cooperate than on "tooth and claw." It is interesting to note that both Darwin and Huxley recognized in their later years the importance of cooperation in the evolutionary process, but many of their followers would have none of it. Nietzsche died holding firmly to his thesis.

LaBarre, an anthropologist, has presented a synthesis of the sciences of man, an integration of human biology, cultural anthropology, psychiatry, and their related fields.[10] According to LaBarre, man is a polytypical anthropoid and not a polymorphous arthropod. The polytypical anthropoid is a species in which all individuals have essentially the same characteristics. A polymorphous arthropod is an insect species that has been structured into many physical castes by evolution. Each of these castes is a proper slave to the codified instincts of the hive. Since man is a polytypical anthropoid, he cannot grow maximally under a rigid caste or class system. Biologically, all men are brothers; therefore, man can grow best in a society of peers or equals.

He also concluded that racial traits have nothing to do with the

[8]Ashley Montagu, *On Being Human*, 2nd ed. (New York: Hawthorn Books, 1966), p. 45.
[9]Ward C. Allee, *Animal Aggregations* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1931).
[10]Weston LaBarre, *The Human Animal* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954), p. 225.

survival of the individual or the races. Therefore, the ultimate survival of societies depends on "what the people in them believe," and not on physical differences. Social organisms are the means of survival of mankind. The findings of LaBarre support the thesis that the evolution and growth of mankind is primarily dependent on cooperative procedures which assume that all members of human society are essentially equal.

Hofstadter has demonstrated that racism and imperialism are essentially based on the theories of Social Darwinism.[11] Hitler's "master race," the assumptions back of the "white man's burden," and racial segregation are all based on the assumption that some segments of the human race are more fit to survive than others.

Teilhard de Chardin, a distinguished paleontologist and a Jesuit Father, accepted the theory of evolution but rejected Social Darwinism. After a lifetime of research in his chosen field, he concluded as follows: "No evolutionary future awaits man except in association with other men. The dreamers of yesterday glimpsed that. And in a sense we see the same thing."[12]

Kelley has advanced the interesting thesis that man has no common world. Each individual is born with his own hereditary equipment which is different from that of any other human being. He builds on this hereditary foundation through his own perceptions of experiences.

"Since perception is the usable reality, and since no two organisms can make the same use of clues or bring the same experimental background to bear, no two of us can see alike; we have no common world."[13]

Kelley and Rasey further developed this thesis later.[14] They seemed to consider it a handicap to cooperation but pointed out that people could communicate with each other by working together toward common goals and thereby achieve a large degree of "commonty." They also noted that there seemed to be a therapeutic value for the individuals involved in working together.

If a man's perceptions constitute his only reality, in isolation he is possessed of but a small world because of his limitations. But if one can share and compare his perceptions with others, he can extend the limits of his reality. By this process, each individual member of a cooperating group may grow. Furthermore, each individual has learned by bitter experience that his own perceptions cannot always be sure guides to wise action. This may give rise to personal insecurity. When one verifies his

---

[11]Hofstadter, *op. cit*, Chap. 9.

[12]Pierre Teilhard de Chardin, *The Phenomenon of Man*, trans. Bernard Wall (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1959), p. 246

[13]Earl C. Kelley, *Education for What Is Real* (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1947), p. 34.

[14]Earl C. Kelley and Marie Rasey, *Education and the Nature of Man* (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1952), pp. 38–41.

perceptions with others, he gains a feeling of security that probably accounts to some extent for the therapeutic value of cooperative group action. In fact, participation by the individual in a cooperating group may constitute the continuing action research by which he validates his perceptions. The distinction is made between a perception and a fact, because each individual may bring to the group a different perception of group. Growth of the human being is promoted by belonging, not isolation.

Giles has developed an extremely interesting field theory of the basic motives of human behavior.[15] This theory is intended to describe "not only the dynamics of interpersonal and group relations, but those forces which operate in individual development, all within one system of thought." It is a field theory, in contrast with an atomistic theory. According to his growth-belonging theory, "growth" is the inclusive purpose of human behavior and "belonging" the chief condition for growth. He defines growth in general as "continuous development toward increasing adequacy for: (1) survival; (2) progress toward human purposes beyond mere survival, such as the continuous exploration and enlargement of human capacities through their free exercise in increasing fields of opportunity."[16] Belonging is one of the basic needs of the human being. It is a basic need of the single cell, the individual, and any social group. Growth of the human being is promoted by belonging, not isolation.

Giles, in his studies of growth, noted a number of factors related to growth that have significant relationships to cooperative procedures. Freedom of choice is a fundamental prerequisite to human growth. The human being in isolation or in a rigid authoritarian society has little freedom of choice. Status is necessary for growth. The individual needs not only to belong but to have a role in which he has opportunity to grow. It is possible that when an individual struggles for power, he is merely trying to achieve a status in which he has the opportunity to grow. Giles noted that all living things exhibit irritability, that irritability leads to action, and that action leads to growth. Therefore, cooperative procedures in order to promote growth must be active, not passive, and designed to satisfy some of the personal motivations of participants.

Giles, like Dewey, believes that many human goals such as eating, drinking, and procreating are not ends in themselves, but means to growth. Selfishness and altruism may both be aspects of growth. "For selfishness may turn out to be only a narrower, more limited realization of growth possibilities, while altruism, 'social mindedness,' is the same basic desire for growth possibility on a larger scale, with realization of

[15]Harry H. Giles, *Education and Human Motivation* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1957).
[16]*Ibid.*, p. 76.

larger opportunities in a larger theater through cooperative effort."[17]

Giles also points out that "the physiologists, the psychologists, and the anthropologists seem to agree that only a small part of the potential of the organism and the society has ever been developed." Thus, both Giles and Montagu seem to agree that belonging to an accepting or cooperating group is essential to the growth or evolution of the human being.

Nurses in hospital wards have long noted that babies whose mothers had abandoned them would grow faster both mentally and physically if they were cuddled occasionally. Research has verified those observations. It is quite possible that the human infant is born with the basic need for affection and belonging.

The implications of the growth-belonging theory for cooperative procedures are evident. If growth is the major purpose of human behavior, and belonging is essential to growth, then cooperative procedures which provide the opportunity to belong are valid.

This concept is particularly applicable to the public schools. In America, the schools belong to the people. Therefore, public education cannot possibly be the exclusive preserve of professional educators. Cooperation between educators and laymen is essential to the development of a satisfactory program. Cooperation is impossible unless laymen have a feeling of belonging.

Summarizing, the evidence available from many fields of science indicates that the conditions for survival of mankind are minimized by living in isolation and maximized by cooperative living. Conditions for survival are probably somewhere between maximal and minimal in an authoritarian society, and may approach closest to the ideal in a democratic society.

The adoption of cooperative procedures for resolving human problems is not as general as the evidence would justify. This is particularly true concerning the relationship of one social system to another or of one society to another. As Heilbroner has pointed out, man has faced the problem of survival since he came down from the trees, "not as an individual but as a member of a social group."[18] But the task is not easy, because "he is torn between a need for gregariousness and a susceptibility to greediness."[19]

Some Hypotheses Related to Cooperative Procedures

In this chapter we have introduced the concept of intergroup cooperative procedures and shown that it has a sound theoretical basis.

[17]*Ibid.*, p. 26.

[18]Robert L. Heilbroner, *The Worldly Philosophers* (New York: Simon and Schuster, Inc., 1953), p. 9.

[19]*Idem.*

Miller has formulated some hypotheses, supported by research, which are applicable to this concept. Following is a summary of the applicable hypotheses.[20] Under systems theory, each social system has a boundary, and the actors within that boundary interact with each other more frequently than with the actors external to the boundary of the system. It is easier for actors within a social system to pass information to each other than it is to pass information across the boundary of the system to actors in the environment who also may be within another social system. Furthermore, it takes less energy to exchange information within a social system than to pass information from without a social system across the bc.idary to within a social system. Therefore if Actor A is in one social system and Actor B in another, the boundaries of two social systems must be crossed in order for A and B to exchange information. The problem is further complicated when numbers of social systems are involved. The strategy of formulating a new cooperating group, such as a joint professional and lay committee to study school problems, is based on the hypothesis that the actors from a number of different social systems when placed in the same face-to-face group, will interact with each other, form a new *ad hoc* social system and exchange information with each other without the necessity of crossing so many systems boundaries.

Behavioral scientists have formulated a number of hypotheses based on evidence produced by research which are related to cooperative procedures. Following are some hypotheses proposed by Berelson and Steiner, which they derived from their inventory of scientific findings in the behavioral sciences:

1. That a small group after discussion finds a more satisfactory solution to a problem than individuals working alone when the problem is technical rather than attitudinal, when a range of possible solutions is available, when the task requires each member to make a judgment, when rewards and punishments are given to the group as a whole, when the information and skills needed are additive, when the task can be subdivided, and when the task includes "traps" that might be missed by individuals.[21]

2. Active participation in the communicating itself is more effective for persuasion and retaining information than is the passive reception of information.[22]

3. The more people associate with one another under conditions of

[20]James G. Miller, "*Living Systems: Cross-Level Hypotheses,*" *Behavioral Science,* 10, No. 4 (1965), 382.

[21]Adapted from Bernard Berelson and Gary A. Steiner, *Human Behavior: An Inventory of Scientific Findings* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1964), p. 355.

[22]*Ibid.,* p. 548, adapted.

equality, the more they come to share values and norms and the more they come to like one another.[23]

4. The more interaction or overlap there is between related groups, the more similar they become in their norms and values; the less communication or interaction between them, the more tendency there is for conflict to arise between them. And vice versa: the more conflict, the less interaction.[24]

TYPES OF COOPERATIVE PROCEDURES
IN EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION

As has been previously pointed out, the practice of using cooperative procedures involving citizens has greatly increased since World War II. But the trend toward the wider use of cooperative procedures includes many other areas of cooperation. Chief state school officers, state boards of education, and state departments of education in many states are now involving state education associations, the state congress of parents and teachers, citizen groups, and representatives of local school systems before making important decisions on policies and programs. Cooperative school surveys of both state and local school systems are now commonplace. Local school superintendents and boards of education in progressive school systems are involving teachers, principals, citizens, and representatives of other governmental agencies before making vital policy decisions. Modern school principals are now involving teachers, other school employees, citizens, and even pupils before making many policy decisions. There is evidence available that indicates that teachers are making much wider use of pupil-teacher planning as a part of the learning process than was the practice in the 1930s.

Space does not permit a description of the procedures used in implementing all of these different types of cooperative procedures. Attention is directed, however, to the fact that most of these procedures involve group activities. These groups frequently take the form of committees. In Chapter 4, it was pointed out that modern administrators consciously plan for cooperative procedures by incorporating a structure for committees within the organizational plan. A committee in order to be effective must become a group, rather than an aggregation of individuals in a struggle for survival. Therefore, the administrator in order to use committees effectively must be aware of the characteristics of effective groups. Some of these characteristics were described in Chapter 5.

[23]*Ibid..* 327.
[24]*Ibid.,* p. 331.

State Cooperative Procedures

Johns and Thurston, after studying the activities of a large number of cooperative state projects, concluded that the most satisfactory state projects had the following characteristics:

1. Opportunities were given for broad participation of organizations, groups, agencies, and individuals in the development of educational policies and programs.

2. The state organization worked with local groups organized to provide opportunities for citizen cooperation. State groups have frequently stimulated the organization of local groups and have rendered valuable services in coordinating their activities.

3. Work procedures emphasized the making of studies. Decision making based upon discussion only has not proved as effective as decision making after considering the facts.

4. Educators were used in a consulting capacity by decision-making and study committees.

5. The project developed an action program for educational improvement. Nonaction state groups which have been organized primarily for orientation have had some value, but a group which does not have the opportunity to participate in decision making, at least in an advisory capacity, does not really have the opportunity to cooperate.

6. The members of the council or committees were selected in such a manner as to be representative, but they were free to cooperate with each other.

7. The group defined its policies of working together, developed its plan of work, and organized to carry out its activities.

8. Cooperative activities were genuine and sincere on the part of all persons involved.[25]

These characteristics of successful state cooperative projects seem equally applicable to local projects.

Working With Citizens' Committees

Morphet, after analyzing the factors affecting the success or failure of numerous citizens' committees, suggested some general guides for cooperative procedures. Although these guides were designed primarily for application to citizens' committees working on education problems, they are also broadly applicable to all types of committees and co-

[25]R. L. Johns and Lee M. Thurston, "State School Programs Are Being Improved Through Co-operation," Chapter 8, *Citizens Co-operation for Better Schools*, Fifty-third Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, Part I, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954), pp. 212–213.

operative procedures. His proposals are summarized in the following paragraphs.

Both educators and lay citizens have responsibilities to meet and contributions to make in the development of the educational programme. Both have a vital stake in the schools and have important responsibilities to meet if the schools are to function satisfactorily. However, there are certain things pertaining to the operation of schools which educators are better prepared to do than other citizens. On the other hand, decisions involving policies for education should be made by citizens generally, rather than by educators alone. Lay citizens need the counsel of educators in order to arrive at the best answers as to what should be done, and educators frequently need the counsel and support of lay citizens concerning how certain things should be worked out under existing circumstances.

The development of a sound educational programme requires the best cooperative efforts of both educators and lay citizens. Policies can be sound or unsound educationally, as well as desirable or undesirable from a community point of view. Well-trained and competent educational personnel are needed to help in planning a sound programme of education, yet it cannot be done satisfactorily by educators alone. The cooperation and support of parents and other citizens is essential.

Educators and other citizens should share the responsibility for stimulating, encouraging, and facilitating cooperation in connection with the educational programme. People need to learn to work together constructively for the common good. If they learn how to cooperate effectively in improving the programme of the schools which affects the home, the community, and the nation, they should be in better position to participate constructively in improving other aspects of community life.

All cooperative effort to improve the educational programme should utilize the basic principles of satisfactory human relations. Among the most important of these are the following:

(a) There should be respect for the individual, yet continuing recognition of the fact that the common good must always be considered.

(b) The talents and abilities of all persons who can make a contribution to the development of the programme should be utilized.

(c) The thinking and conclusions of two or more interested persons with a good understanding of the problems and issues are likely, in the long run, to be more reliable than the conclusions of one individual.

The major purpose of every individual and group should be to help improve education. The basic objective of any individual or group can be positive or negative, constructive or destructive. Individuals can work for their own self-interest or for the public interest. Persons who participate in any cooperative effort relating to the schools should be genuinely interested in seeking ways to help the schools.

The kinds of cooperative activities which should be developed are those considered to be most appropriate and meaningful in each situation. There is no one kind of cooperative activity which is most appropriate

for all conditions and communities. There are many kinds of cooperative activities, each of which is best suited to meet a particular need. Committees or study groups are likely to be desirable when policies are being formulated but may be a handicap when there is need for prompt and efficient administration.

Cooperation should always be genuine and bona fide. Mutual trust and confidence are essential for the success of any project. Confidence and understanding are basic to successful cooperation.

Insofar as practicable, all cooperative projects should be cooperative from the beginning. There is usually little basis for cooperation when any person or group is asked merely to approve conclusions previously reached by one person.

The procedures used in a cooperative programme should be designed to assure that conclusions will be reached on the basis of pertinent evidence and desirable objectives. Rumors, vague or unfounded reports, or the omission of pertinent evidence are almost certain to result in unsound conclusions and thus destroy the value of cooperative effort.

Insofar as practicable, decisions should be reached on the basis of consensus and agreement. In cooperative procedure it is important that agreement be reached on all points, if at all possible. The fact that a majority favours a certain point of view does not necessarily mean that is the only point of view to be considered. Reasonable people should be able to reach agreement if all evidence is considered and sound procedures are followed.

Leaders who understand and believe in cooperative procedures are essential. If the head of a school or the chairman of a committee is interested in getting things done quickly, regardless of the wishes or feelings of individual members, a satisfactory cooperative procedure is likely to be slow in developing or may not develop at all. Cooperation works out most satisfactorily when it has the support of leaders who understand and believe in cooperative processes.

Persons involved in cooperative projects should be broadly representative of all points of view in the school or community. If minority groups, students, or others who should be concerned with the educational programme are ignored, there are likely to be difficulties. If a group is organized merely to "put across" a certain point of view, regardless of the wishes of others, serious opposition to the entire procedure is likely to develop.

Cooperative activities should be so planned as to be beneficial to the individuals and groups involved as well as to the schools. The process of cooperation is important because, if desirable procedures are used, all participants should become more understanding and helpful as a result of their experience.

School officials should give the most careful consideration to all proposals and recommendations growing out of a cooperative programme, and should approve those which seem to be for the best interests of the schools. If the participants in any cooperative project relating to the schools are assured that their proposals will receive careful and fair consideration, their efforts will be much greater than if they have serious doubts about this matter.

All persons and groups interested in any form of cooperation should constantly seek to improve the procedures and outcomes. Every effort at cooperation can be improved on the basis of study and experience. Those engaged in any cooperative effort should therefore make a continuous appraisal of their own procedures in an effort to improve the process and outcomes.

The procedures used in cooperative activities should be consistent with these fundamental principles but should be designed to meet the needs of the particular situation. It should be apparent that there is not likely to be any pattern or blueprint that will fit all types of conditions and every aspect of group cooperation. It should be equally evident, however, that basic principles and criteria such as those proposed above should be carefully followed in planning and carrying out any cooperative procedure.[26]

Although Morphet developed his proposals primarily from experiences with and meticulous observations of citizens' committees at work, students of group dynamics will readily note that Morphet's conclusions are consistent with the findings of social psychologists. For instance, (1) opportunities are provided for group work; (2) group members work with peer status; (3) opportunities are provided for group interactions; (4) common goals are determined; (5) the total resources of each member of the group are utilized; (6) leadership is shared and opportunities are provided for leadership to emerge; (7) the group is an active group; (8) plans are developed for goal achievement; (9) individual needs as well as group needs are recognized; (10) opportunities for belonging and sharing are provided, and (11) opportunities for communication are maximized.

The Administration and Committees

The necessity for cooperative action has been emphasized in Chapters 4, 5, and 6. The latter part of this chapter has given particular emphasis to citizens' committees. The role of citizens' committees and even faculty committees is sometimes misunderstood. The use of committees is an excellent procedure for developing policies and programs and for securing agreement on goals and purposes. However, a committee is a poor instrument for the administration of programs and policies. The administrator cannot and should not expect a committee to make executive decisions for him. He should make the executive decisions in line with democratically determined policies. All members of the staff including administrators, teachers, custodians, clerks and others

[26]E. L. Morphet, *Cooperative Procedures in Education* (Monograph distributed by the Associated Students' Bookstore, University of California, Berkeley) (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1957), pp. 5–9. These guides were adapted from the proposals presented in E. L. Morphet, *Citizen Cooperation for Better Schools,* Fifty-third Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, Part I (Chicago, 1954).

must make executive decisions. Therefore, each member of the staff from time to time must be the administrator for some particular activity. Consequently, it is essential that careful distinction be made between those decisions that should be made by group action and those decisions that should be made by the administrators of programs and policies.

Attention is also directed to the fact that the board of education is the legally constituted policy-making body for a school district. Therefore, citizen committees and faculty must serve in an advisory capacity to the board of education. The board of education cannot abdicate its responsibility for policy making to committees. Neither should it make policies without providing opportunity for wide participation in decision making by all persons concerned.

SOME IMPORTANT PROBLEMS AND ISSUES

Cooperative procedures may seem to be a way for delaying decisions that should be made by school administrators and boards of education or for dodging responsibility. In fact, cooperative procedures could be used for those purposes, but these procedures are especially important when there are differences in value systems that need to be resolved before a decision can be satisfactorily implemented. Certain problems and issues related to cooperative processes are presented in the following paragraphs.

What Consideration Should Be Given to Persons Who Have a Low Need for Participation?

Bennis stated the following values were held by some theorists on planning for change in organizations:

> The values espoused indicate a way of behaving and feeling; for example, they emphasize openness rather than secrecy, collaboration rather than dependence or rebellion, cooperation rather than competition, consensus rather than individual rules, rewards based on self-control rather than externally induced rewards, team leadership rather than a one-to-one relationship with the boss, authentic relationships rather than those based on political maneuvering.[27]

Bennis then raised the question whether these values are natural, desirable, or functional, and what then happens to status or power drives. "What about those individuals who have a low need for participation and/or a high need for structure and dependence?"[28] He suggested that the needs of these people could best be met through

[27]Warren G. Bennis, "Theory and Method in Applying Behavioral Science to Planned Organizational Change," *Applied Behavioral Science*, 1, No. 4 (1965), 3U6.

[28]*Idem.*

bureaucratic systems and wondered whether these people should be changed or forced to yield and comply.

Assuming that Bennis has presented a real problem, how could a superintendent, a college president, or a school principal deal with it?

What Is the Function of Social Controls?

A great number of scientific studies have shown that growth or evolution is more the result of the cooperative process than the product of a ruthless struggle for survival. These studies have not overthrown the theory of evolution, but they have shown that evolution is affected by many factors other than the struggle for survival. The fitness of the human individual or human society to survive is determined more by the ability to cooperate than by the sharpness of tooth and claw. These are not pious platitudes. They are the findings of objective scientists. It is interesting that these findings are consistent with the assumptions of democracy.

Despite the evidence supporting cooperative behavior, much human behavior even in the United States is based on the assumptions of Darwin, Huxley, and Nietzsche. The pessimist would say that most of it is based on those assumptions. Many social controls have been developed for regulating human relationships. Those controls have taken the form of laws, administrative regulations, codes of ethics, and many other forms. Many people have felt that laws and regulations restrict the individual and deny him the freedom to develop. But if controls enhance the opportunity of the individual to cooperate with his fellow human beings in order that the individual and society may have maximum freedom to grow, then they are good. However, if the controls established by society perpetuate the privileges of the few or establish a society based on the assumptions of Darwin, Huxley, and Nietzsche, then they restrict the growth and development of humanity and are bad. Perhaps this is as good a test as any to apply to any social control. Is the Fourteenth Amendment a control or a freedo..., or both? What are some undesirable social controls affecting education?

Does the Need for Quick Action Invalidate
Cooperative Procedures?

The administrator sometimes meets situations in which it seems that quick action is needed. For instance, the newly employed administrator may find that faculty members are quarrelling with each other, pupil discipline is bad, school attendance is poor, the curriculum is inadequate, and the public has little confidence in the schools. The board is back of him and expects him to "clean up the mess." Does this situation call for cooperative procedures or for authoritarian action?

What changes could the administrator expect to make by issuing unilateral orders and taking direct action, and what changes could he expect to make by cooperative procedures?

When Can Conflict Be Constructive?

Cooperative procedures involving group operation will very frequently result in conflict both within a group and among different groups. This is especially true if the membership of a group was deliberately selected to represent different points of view. However, conflict itself, if properly understood and dealt with, may present an opportunity for growth. Therefore, conflict can be either constructive or destructive. This point of view was originally presented by Mary Parker Follett in 1925.[29] Miss Follett was one of the pioneer thinkers in the field of human relations. In her great paper on "Constructive Conflict," she advanced the point of view that the three main ways of dealing with conflict are domination, compromise, and integration.[30] Domination, the victory of one side over the other, is the easiest and quickest but the least successful method for dealing with conflict. Compromise, the most commonly used method, involves each side moderating its demands in order to have peace, neither side obtaining all its objectives. If the ideas of both sides are integrated into a solution that encompasses the desires of both sides, the highest level of dealing with conflict is reached. Miss Follett's illustration of her point is worthy of repetition here. It seems that a dairymen's cooperative league was on the point of breaking up over the question of precedence of unloading. The creamery was located on the side of a hill. The men who came uphill thought that they should have precedence, but the men who came downhill thought their claims to precedence were stronger. If the method of domination had been followed, one side or the other would have been given precedence. If the matter had been compromised, the uphillers and downhillers would each have been given precedence on alternate days. But a consultant suggested that the platform be so arranged that unloading could be done on both sides, so that the uphillers could unload on one side and the downhillers on the other. This solution was adopted. Each side got what it wanted, and the conflict was completely resolved. She pointed out that thinking is too often confined between the walls of two possibilities. The integrator is inventive and examines all possible alternatives, not just the ones being advocated by the parties in conflict.

Unfortunately, more differences are settled by compromise than by integration. Undoubtedly, conflicts have been resolved many times

[29]Henry C. Metcalf and L. Urwick, eds., *Dynamic Administration, The Collected Papers of Mary Parker Follett* (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1940).
[30]*Ibid.*, pp. 30–49.

by compromise when the possibilities of developing integrated solutions had not been fully explored. Incidentally, Nehru once suggested that compromise that represents a step toward attaining a desirable objective may be good; compromise that results in abandoning an objective or substituting an inferior principle may be bad. The most effective groups, however, will not resort to compromise to resolve conflicts without first attempting to find an integrated solution.

Conflict is destructive when it continues or increases social disorganization or is damaging to individual personalities. Conflict is constructive when it can serve as the impetus for growth in human relations and the finding of better solutions for meeting the needs of the group.

What should be the role of the administrator in resolving conflicts? What procedures can be used to help groups grow in their ability to resolve conflicts constructively? Under what conditions are destructive conflicts likely to be encountered in educational organizations?

How Can Pseudocooperation Be Avoided?

There are three main types of cooperation: authoritarian, controlled, and voluntary.[31] Authoritarian cooperation is essentially the master-slave concept of human relations. The leader or leaders do all the thinking and give all the instructions. The followers or workers cooperate by carrying out all instructions to the letter.

Controlled or pseudodemocratic cooperation is the same in principle as authoritarian cooperation. The leader decides on what he wants done, but he uses subtle and clever means to assure that the "right" decision is made by the group. This type of cooperation is insidious, because the group is frequently led to believe that it is operating on a democratic basis. The leader manipulates the group into agreeing with his previously determined conclusion. This gives him more power than the leader using authoritarian cooperation, because he obtains group support by his artifices. The leader using this type of cooperation may use any or all of the following devices: he appears to promote free discussion, but slants the information made available to the group; he plants persons in the group with his own point of view with instructions to steer the thinking of the group; or he commends certain suggestions and passes lightly over others. He must be very clever, because the group would be resentful if it realized it was being "guided." It is surprising, however, how often the techniques of securing controlled cooperation are used in the United States by authoritarians who insist that they are using democratic processes. It is interesting that these methods are almost identical

---

[31]Morphet, *op. cit.*, pp. 38–41.

with the methods used by communist cells in gaining converts.

Voluntary cooperation is secured when people are not only free to think for themselves but are encouraged to do so. It is the opposite of the master-slave relationship, because all citizens are peers. People are not manipulated, but each person is given a real opportunity to contribute to the thinking of the group.

How can the schools train citizens to detect the leadership that would govern them by controlled cooperation? What relationship does the concept "brainwashing" have to controlled cooperation?

Some Other Problems and Issues

1. Generally speaking, citizen committees have been made up largely of "leaders." Is this really in keeping with the broad representation idea, or does it hold to the idea that there is a certain elite in the community who knows what is best for the community and all the people in it? What should be the criteria for committee membership? Should it be representative in terms of geographic areas, employment groups, racial groups, religious groups, and the like; or should the membership be determined in terms of competence, willingness to work, interest, perspective, and similar factors?

2. Cooperative procedures take a great deal of time and energy. Good solutions can frequently be developed in a much shorter time by the use of expert professional personnel. In such circumstances, are cooperative procedures really worthwhile?

3. Administrators sometimes find communities where the community values and goals with respect to education are relatively low or limited. Should the administrator accept community values and goals as they are, or should he attempt to bring about change? What procedures can be used to change community values and goals?

4. Parent-Teacher Associations have long promoted cooperative relationships between the school and the home. But frequently school administrators have used Parent-Teacher Associations primarily for money-making activities or as a device by which the administrator can "sell" his program to the community. What can be done to give Parent-Teacher Associations more opportunities to participate in significant cooperative activities?

5. Citizens' committees sometimes consider technical problems, the proper answers to which can best be determined by professional educators. For instance, parents are very much interested in methods of teaching reading. Should a citizens' committee determine the methods of teaching reading used in their schools? Should all educational decisions be made by the

group process? What types of decisions are best determined by group processes and what types by the professional expert?

6. Many school principals are making wide use of cooperative procedures. Decisions on programs and policies are made by the entire faculty after appropriate study. Should the principal reserve the right to veto decisions of the faculty, if he believes the judgment of the faculty to be wrong?

7. Sometimes a school administrator has been reluctant to involve citizens in cooperative activities, for fear that citizens would believe him to be incompetent to find the answers to school problems. Does an administrator gain or lose prestige if he becomes a peer member of a group that is working on an educational problem?

What Are the Implications of the Concepts
Presented in Chapters 3–6
for Preparation Programs for School Administrators?

It is apparent from the concepts presented in Chapters 3, 4, 5, and 6 and elsewhere in this book that the study of educational organization and administration in depth requires a knowledge of many of the theoretical concepts of the social and behaviorial sciences. The evidence is clear that this applies both to practicing school administrators and professors of educational administration. Modern educational administration requires not only a knowledge of its theoretical bases but also a knowledge of management techniques, the findings of operations research, and many other facets of administrative "know-how." This raises the question of specialization in preparation programs for school administrators. Should we train generalists or specialists in administration? If it is assumed that it is necessary to have some specialization in order to have depth, what common core of learning experiences should be included in all advanced graduate programs for school administration? Should each institution of higher learning offering a doctoral program in educational administration provide a general program and limit the number of specializations in that program in accordance with its strength and resources?

It is beyond the scope of this book to present an analysis of trends in preparation programs for school administrators. The American Association of School Administrators already requires that all new voting members must have completed at least a two-year graduate program in educational administration at an institution approved by the National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education. Many boards of education already require the doctorate for the superintendency. Present trends indicate that two years of graduate work or the doctorate will

soon be required of principals, supervisors, and assistant superintendents in the leading school systems of the nation.

Professors of educational administration being recruited by the leading institutions of higher learning today must be able to do research and to publish as well as to teach The "publish or perish" issue is found in all colleges of the larger universities but it is particularly urgent in graduate schools and colleges.

The University Council for Educational Administration is taking the leadership in stimulating improvement in preparation programs for school administrators.[32] The Council is encouraging the development of new curriculum designs, the production of new types of instructional materials and basic research for the production of new knowledge. The cross-disciplinary approach to the preservice preparation of school administrators is being used by a number of universities. The acceleration of the rate of educational change is creating an increased demand for continuing in-service training programs for school administrators and professors of educational administration. The participation in exchange and postdoctoral programs is rapidly increasing. One of the principal problems of the departments of educational administration in modern universities is to attain a "dynamic equilibrium" or "steady state" in this period of rapid interchange of matter, information, and energy of the department with its environment. The practicing administrators of school social systems find themselves dealing with inputs and outputs of matter, information, and energy of those social systems with their environments in a complex and rapidly changing world. The scientific study of the politics and economics of education and the application of systems theory and other theories formulated by the behaviorial sciences to educational administration and organization are relatively recent innovations. These conditions require far more sophisticated programs for the preparation

[32]Following are a few of the publications relating to the preparation of school administrators that have been produced by or sponsored by the University Council for Educational Administration: Lawrence W. Downey and Frederick Enns, eds., *The Social Sciences and Educational Administration* (Edmonton, Canada: Division of Educational Administration, University of Alberta and the University Council for Educational Administration, 1963); Jack A. Culbertson and Stephen P. Hencley, eds., *Preparing Administrators: New Perspectives* (Columbus, Ohio: University Council for 'ducational Administration, 1963) Jack A. Culbertson and Stephen P. Hencley, *Educational Research: New Perspectives* (Danville, Ill.: Interstate Publishers and Printers, Inc., 1963); Keith Coldhammer, *The Social Sciences and the Preparation of Educational Administrato s* (Columbus, Ohio: The University Council for Educational Administration, 1963); Lonald J. Teu and Herbert C. Rudman, eds., *Preparation Programs for School Administration, Common and Specialized Learnings* (East Lansing: College of Education, Michigan State University, 1963); Donald J. Willower and Jack A. Culbertson, eds., *The Professorship in Educational Administration* (State College: University Council for Educational Administration and College of Education, Pennsylvania State University, 1964).

of educational administrators and professors of educational administration than have been generally available.

Selected References

Argyris, C., *Interpersonal Competence and Organizational Effectiveness.* Homewood, Ill.: Richard W. Irwin, Inc., 1962.

Berelson, Bernard, and Gary A. Steiner, *Human Behavior: An Inventory of Scientific Findings.* New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1964.

Cartwright, Darwin, and Alvin E. Zander, *Group Dynamics: Research and Theory.* New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1960.

Heilbroner, Robert L., *The Worldly Philosophers.* New York: Simon and Schuster, Inc., 1953.

Hofstadter, Richard, *Social Darwinism in American Thought.* New York: George Braziller, Inc., 1959.

Kropotkin, Peter, *Mutual Aid, A Factor of Evolution.* London: William Heinemann, Limited, 1902.

LaBarre, Weston, *The Human Animal.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954.

Metcalf, Henry C., and L. Urwick, eds., *Dynamic Administration, The Collected Papers of Mary Parker Follett.* New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1940.

Miles, M., ed., *Innovation in Education.* New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1964.

Montagu, Ashley, *On Being Human,* 2nd ed. New York: Hawthorn Books, 1966.

National Society for the Study of Education, *Citizen Cooperation for Better Schools,* The Fifty-third Yearbook, Part I. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954.

Schein, E. H., and W. G. Bennis, *Personal and Organizational Change via Group Methods.* New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1965.

7

The External Environment
and the Schools

Throughout history, the relation of the school to its community has been a matter of major significance. To what extent may a faculty teach what it is committed to teach without regard to the wishes of the people? How much support can a school or school system expect if it is pursuing values not accepted with enthusiasm by the community? The historic gown-versus-town conflicts regarding the university have some parallels in every active school community today. The problems have grown more difficult to understand as the nature of the community has grown more vague and the problems of education have become infinitely more difficult.

The rising expectations regarding education which have been noted in many countries of the world add to the problem. The expectations may be so high that they cannot be fulfilled, or at least not as rapidly as desired. Frustration, alienation, and antagonism may then result. Education has become the nation's and the world's most important business; therefore, everyone tends to be involved in it and desires in some manner to contribute to it. Many have rather simple solutions to propose to complex problems. The problem in our society is accentuated by the tendency to equate schooling with education to too great a degree.

Some educators who have sought the participation of the "people" in education (school affairs) and who might indeed be elated over

developments, have recently at times tended to draw back. The implications of many current developments are difficult to assess, and the road ahead is somewhat unclear. Confronted by an almost incomprehensible power to chart his own destiny—to build or destroy—man may tend to withdraw or to seek quick and "certain" solutions. In such an uneasy world, schools may expect to feel the impact of uncertainty and changes in the society. They must also re-examine their relation to and their impact upon the society. Of this vast arena of the school or school system and its environment, a few issues will be examined as one way of getting a better understanding of the problem which confronts the educator and the citizen interested in education today.

SOME BACKGROUND CONSIDERATIONS

Education in our society has been characterized by the following:

A VERY GREAT BELIEF IN THE EFFICACY OF SCHOOLING.   The people of the United States have long viewed the school as the most important agency of social and economic mobility for the individual. They have assumed that if schools were provided and made accessible, children and youth would avail themselves of the opportunity. To a rather remarkable extent, this has indeed occurred. The mobility which has characterized our society has been highly related to educational provisions. The children of immigrant groups have thus in the second or third generation achieved a status to which they could scarcely have aspired in the countries from which they came. This mobility in our society was, of course, the product of other factors also. However, the point to be noted here is that this concept came to be so widely accepted that there was too little recognition of the extent to which it was not operative, of the individuals and groups which were not involved, of the considerable numbers who did not "see" the opportunity and were not "motivated" to achieve. The society and even many teachers may thus have placed the burden of failure to achieve on the student.

A TENDENCY TO REGARD SCHOOLING AND EDUCATION AS ONE.   In the commitment of our society to equal educational opportunity, attention has been given largely to the provision of rather formally established opportunity in schools. This concept of equality of educational opportunity has been sharply challenged by the civil rights movement in recent years and by the attack on poverty. Teachers in many instances accepted the achievement of Negro children and other "lower class" children as being in accord with their potential to a much greater degree than was justified. They found it difficult to think of the kinds of experiences which children had in their homes and communities in the

preschool years and while in school, as an important aspect of education. They assumed that the formal school opportunity could overcome that which preceded and accompanied it. Actually, of course, in many cases it overcame much, and their faith in education (schooling) was an important element in the strength of the school. However, this faith was also a factor which may have prevented educators from seeing the problem of the education of the culturally different in more valid terms. In recent years the society has called for a redefinition of education—one which sees the growth of an individual in light of many factors and forces, only one of which is the school. Thus there is the growing concern about poverty, housing, the community, and the attitudes of parents as matters of large importance for the education of the child.

A TENDENCY TO SEE THE SCHOOL AS AN ISOLATED SOCIAL AGENCY RATHER THAN AN INTEGRATED ONE. The people of the United States have seen the school as an institution which is most unique in their society. Here, long before most other societies, they have attached great importance to the school and have wished to ensure conditions for it which would be strongly supportive. Thus, out of philosophical considerations and as a result of the widespread corruption that characterized city government in the last half of the nineteenth century, they moved toward *ad hoc* boards of education. These boards of education enjoyed a very considerable measure of independence from city government and from the political machines that controlled city government. This development was facilitated by the acceptance of the view that education was a function of the state and thus not the proper concern of the city government.

Very probably, the schools advanced much more rapidly in the United States because of the fact that they were thus isolated from other activities of city government. They enjoyed greater support and lived with higher expectations than other governmental agencies. This removal of schools from the usual political controls gave them a political position and support of importance. They were removed from politics thus only in the sense of being removed from manipulation by the political bosses. However, the view developed that they were nonpolitical. This and other factors caused them to develop somewhat in isolation from other local governmental agencies and services which were more responsive to political party controls. Teachers and administrators supported the view that they should be independent and that thus they would contribute most to the development of citizens of independence and the advancement of the society.

While, as has been suggested, there were large gains made as a result of this independence, it must also be noted that this was done at certain costs. Among the gains were: the more rapid advancement of

education than would probably have occurred otherwise, the development of merit plans for appointment of teachers and administrators prior to such developments in other governmental services, the strengthening of the responsibilities of the administrator, the establishment of a plan through which the people could center attention upon the schools and seek their improvement.

On the other hand the independence led to a lack of responsiveness on the part of boards of education to the changing needs of the society, a concern on the part of teachers and administrators with academic learning rather than with the total situation in which the child lived and which had a large impact on his education, an inability of educators and others engaged in public services such as housing, public health, libraries, and social welfare to work together with understanding, a belief that educational services were removed from politics (not recognizing the politics of the nonpolitical), a view which in the long run may have hindered rather than advanced the quality of educational services.

This "isolation" may have indeed been justified in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In rural areas and small towns it was readily understandable because of the limited nature of local government services. However, it must be noted that the growing complexity of the society, with its enormous concentrations of population and expanding programs of governmental services calls for a thorough reexamination of this question. So also does the theory of government which requires a less naïve, less simple, and quite possibly a less satisfying concept of how decision making is and probably will be carried on in our democra:y.

CHANGED LOCAL CONDITIONS

While the concepts briefly discussed here have persisted, the world in which schools and school systems have existed has been in process of extremely rapid change. Among the more important of the changes are the following:

From a Rural to an Urban to a Metropolitan Nation

Until relatively recently, the United States has been a predominantly rural nation. From the 24 urban places of 2500 population or more in 1790, there was a steady population growth in rural and urban areas for more than a century. While the urban growth at times exceeded the rural, it did not make spectacular gains until the early decades of the present century. By 1960 the urban population was approximately 70

per cent and it was continuing to grow far more rapidly than other areas.

Much more striking than the change from rural to urban has been the transformation of the nation from urban to metropolitan. Victor Jones has noted that "The people of the United States became metropolitan before realizing their change from rural to urban."[1] In 1900 approximately one third of the population lived in "metropolitan areas" (according to the Bureau of the Census, a city of at least 50,000, including its county and adjacent counties that are "metropolitan in character" and "economically and socially integrated" with the county containing the city). By 1960, approximately 63 per cent were metropolitan dwellers and the expansion was expected to continue. This percent is slightly smaller than the urban percentage because, by definition, the urban figure includes many small towns and cities which are not part of a metropolitan area.

Related to this metropolitan growth was the matter of rapid population growth of the nation. In 1960 the official count of our population was over 179 million. Four years later, the federal government estimated that another 11 million had been added. Further, approximately 90 per cent of this population increase was in metropolitan areas. This population growth and concentration was such that during the sixties the question of population control became a major issue not only in the newly developing countries but in the United States. The question was not one of how many people could be fed but rather what quality of life was likely to be maintained with the population explosion. Some people began inquiring as to what quality of life now existed in parts of the core cities of the great metropolitan areas.

"A Mosaic of Social Worlds"

The simplicity of the structure of the former town with its "other side of the tracks" is in marked contrast to the metropolitan area. It is described as "heterogeneous, constantly changing, fragmented"; "arranged spatially in an often confused and seemingly incompatible pattern"; "numerous neighborhoods and suburban groupings of varying social, ethnic and economic characteristics scattered throughout the metropolitan complex." "The luxury apartment casts its shadow on the tenement houses of workers. The Negro ghetto is ringed by a wall of white neighborhoods. The industrial suburb lies adjacent to the village enclave of the wealthy."[2]

[1] John C. Bollens and Henry J. Schmandt, *The Metropolis: Its People, Politics and Economic Life* (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1965), p. 12.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 83.

Thus, the metropolitan area is a balkanized one. Homogeneity characterizes many neighborhoods. Some neighborhoods are affluent, others are populated heavily by refugees of a rapidly changing society. Many live where they do partly because of financial resources, others because of a type of enforced segregation. These neighborhoods have vastly different educational needs and expectations of a school system, and differ in their participation. These different neighborhoods may be described in various ways such as: social rank, urbanization, and segregation.[3]

Ir terms of social rank, the range is from the neighborhood composed largely of broken homes, minorities, considerable unemployment, unskilled workers, to those made up largely of professionals, business executives, and college graduates. Urbanization refers to the family and home situations which prevail. They range from the suburban area marked by single family units, no or few working mothers, and young families with small children, to the rooming house and apartment areas with many single men and women, and married couples with few children and both working. The factor of segregation relates to the ethnic composition. This segregation may be an imposed one, as is frequently the case of the Negro, or it may result from other forces such as the tendency for a religious group to settle around a school. The tendency for segregation to increase in metropolitan areas is one of the major challenges to our society. Only recently has serious consideration been given to its fuller implications. Even today, the middle class continues to escape from the core city and to settle in a suburb, perhaps unconsciously hoping to avoid the problems of the metropolitan area. Thus, in spite of the expressed desire of the society to have less segregation, it may have more. This poses large problems for education and its governmental structure, and raises the question of whether men are citizens of a metropolitan area or only of a neighborhood.

Further analysis of the neighborhoods can well be done regarding such matters as mobility of the people, the age structure of the population, the percentage of youth in the population, fertility of the population, recreational needs and opportunities, occupational patterns, occupational mobility. Regarding all of these matters, attention must also be given to changes which are occurring, for the metropolitan areas are especially characterized by rapidity of change.

Large Resources and Larger Needs

The metropolitan areas contain enormous economic wealth, scientific and technical skills, human resources. They are home to a large per cent of the great corporations that produce the economic wealth of the

[3]Eshref Shevsky and We. dell Bell, *Social Area Analysis* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1954).

nation. The income of their people is above that of the nation. Here also are found the large financial institutions and the commercial establishments. The accumulation of resources is so great that the metropolitan area achieves ends that were not even sought in a simpler society. It is the golden age of the industrialization and specialization which marks the twentieth century. It acts not only for itself but sets the patterns and trends which substantially dominate the nation.

In its economic life, it too is marked by change. The core city or the downtown area threatens to die and needs major attention. Industries scatter widely over the area. Workers commute long distances and under increasing stress as the transportation system (too often the automobile) breaks down or takes over an increasing land area with far from satisfying results. The distribution of economic resources is often unrelated to the needs of the people or the resources may be more effectively tapped by the state and federal governments. The wealthy center of the metropolitan area can scarcely "afford" to purchase the land for schools and recreation that is absolutely essential to maintain a defensible quality of life.

Local Governments in Great Number and Variety

During the last fifty years, the legal boundaries of cities have not been extended as the city or metropolitan area has grown. In fact there has been very strong resistance to permitting the growth of the city through annexation. As a result, very strong municipal governments have frequently grown up around the city. They have been committed to preventing the expansion of the city. Further, many small municipal governments have either continued or have been established in the metropolitan areas. They have frequently been viewed as a means of avoiding the high taxes of the city and of keeping "undesirable" developments such as factories and low-cost housing out. The boundaries of these local government units are too frequently the result of "cherry-stemming" or similar procedures through which more powerful authorities secure wealthy or otherwise desirable areas. They are not logical, planned, or necessarily in accord with existing community-of-interest patterns.

In addition to the general local governments which are found in the metropolitan area there is an increasing number of *ad hoc* authorities. Some of these exist to meet areawide problems, such as water, sewage, transportation, smog Others serve to meet special needs or desires of the people in a given area, such as mosquito control or recreation. School districts also con   .o be found in large numbers.

The variety and complexi,   ι the local government structure is shown by the Bureau of Census report which indicates that in 1962 the

212 Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas of the country contained 18,442 local governments.[4] This number included 6004 school districts, 5411 special districts, 4142 municipal governments, and 2575 towns and townships. Interestingly in these metropolitan areas 44 per cent of the school districts have fewer than 300 children in school, and 900 do not maintain schools but transport children to other districts. Chicago, one of the larger metropolitan areas, contains over 1000 local governments.

These figures suggest that those interested in school district consolidation have possibly been giving more attention to rural areas than to metropolitan areas. In fact, little has been done to establish minimum standards to be achieved through consolidation in metropolitan areas. It is reasonable to assume, however, that the minimum numbers of pupils, for example, to be accepted as the base for a local district should be considerably larger than is the case in rural areas. The somewhat shocking picture of school districts in metropolitan areas should not be accepted as an indication that the situation in regard to school districts is worse than in the case of municipal governments and other special districts. In fact, because of the interest of the states in education, there has been substantial improvement in the school district situation and there is reason to believe that it will greatly improve in the next few years. This is probably less true of municipal governments and other special districts.

For the school administrator, the situation with reference to municipal governments and special districts other than for schools is of utmost importance. For it is with this multitude of districts that the school administrator must work if schools are to be integrated into and developed in light of the life of the metropolitan area of which they are a part. There can be little doubt that in these highly interdependent metropolitan areas there is large need for the coordination of governmental services and great difficulty in achieving it. Further, this proliferation almost certainly has a debilitating effect upon all the local governments involved and tends to reduce the accountability to the public, which has been traditionally regarded as one of the values of local government. Financial disparities and a wide range in standards of service also result. And only in a rather reluctant and stumbling manner do citizens tend to accept the fact that they are indeed citizens of a metropolitan area as well as, probably, of a municipal government and several special districts. If it is true that participation in local government itself is an important educational experience, it would appear that not much progress has been made in making this experience realizable and satisfying.

[4]U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Census of Governments: 1962*, Vol. I, Governmental Organization (Washington, D.C.: 1963), p. 11.

CHANGES IN FEDERAL AND STATE ACTIVITY

The growth in the metropolitan areas in economic power, in population, and in unresolved issues has stimulated the federal government to action in many matters that have hitherto been regarded as matters of state and local responsibility. Establishing the Department of Housing and Urban Affairs in 1965 in the United States Government was one evidence of the growth of this interest in an area with important implications for education. Other extremely significant developments which may be regarded as important aspects of the revolution in education in the sixties are discussed briefly in the next sections.

The Curriculum Development Programs

The last half of the decade of the fifties and the first half of the sixties was a period in which important changes in the curriculum were effected in fields such as mathematics, physics, and chemistry. Almost as important as the changes themselves were the procedures through which they were brought about. They were effected through federal government grants to private or semiprivate individuals and groups, which brought university personnel and public school personnel together. They involved the preparation of materials by authorities in the academic fields, the development of a plan for the dissemination of the concepts, the development of competence on the part of teachers to use materials, the provision of carefully worked out instructional materials to be employed by the teachers.

In a sense, these curriculum programs became a model illustrating how curriculum change can be effected in a decentralized educational system. These programs reached into a very large percentage of the school districts of the nation and altered matters without creating great concern on the part of local board of education members, teachers, or administrators. This was accomplished even though the effects of the programs had not been determined in any highly valid manner. These programs have large significance regarding the procedures to be employed in curriculum development activities of the local school districts. They had an important bearing on the Vocational Education Act of 1963, suggesting how advances might be attained in that field, and on the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965.

The Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965

This act may well prove to be one of the more important federal education acts of our country. It broke new ground in its effort to sidestep the parochial school aid controversy. Developments resulting from

this action may influence nearly all local school districts. Of more immediate significance here, however, are its provisions for the establishment of regional educational laboratories. These laboratories which are intended to bring the resources of the universities and colleges into close relation to the needs (curriculum development, research, and change) of local and state school systems and private schools may usher in a new period in American education.

In this period, it may well be expected that applied research will be pursued with a competence and a vigor that has not marked educational efforts in the nation heretofore. No local school system could wish to remain apart from this movement; however, no local system can expect to be a part of it without being affected in highly significant ways. These laboratories will hopefully not be controlled by the universities, by the state departments of education, or by local school systems. They will be responsible to all of these and more, but yet provide an essential independence for one engaged in research and development. They will also be related in an important manner to various smaller program and instructional development centers developed in various sections of the states.

Equally important were the act's provisions making substantial federal funds available to improve the educational provisions for children from low-income groups in public and private schools. The provision of funds for this one group was bound to have large implications for the total school program. It raised in sharp manner the question of what differences should be made in the expenditure of funds and in educational provisions for "poor" children. The making of additional provisions would almost certainly result in the demand for extended provisions by other groups. Thus there was promise that an important policy question was likely to be carefully considered with supplementary federal, state, and local action developed.

The Economic Opportunity Act

Not quite as directly or completely seen as an education act but with education (broadly viewed) as its major goal was the Economic Opportunity or Poverty Act of 1964. It was conceived of as a broad attack upon the problems of the relatively uneducated and poor. It proposed to enable them to help themselves. It provided massive programs, such as Headstart, to improve the cultural opportunities of poor children in preschool years and during the years in school. It encouraged the development of councils with substantial representation of the poor to determine the program to be undertaken. It thus challenged the established local government councils and boards, raising the question of the adequacy with which they spoke for the poor or of the extent

to which they were seen as being representative of the poor by the poor. Further, this act provided a direct attack on the problem of employment for youth through job corps centers and related activities. This, too, was a highly important issue which was an educational one in major respects. This act also was important in terms of local school administration in that it brought other local government departments such as those concerned with health, welfare, employment and libraries much more actively into matters closely related to education. The poor were not going to make their way ahead through the use of the formal school programs only.

Finally, in considering the changing federal and state programs, the Higher Education Act of 1965 with its provisions for teacher education programs and urban extension education must be noted. All of these federal acts had important implications for the states, pushing them into the consideration of many policy questions and developing a framework, as in the case of the educational laboratories, which did not recognize district and state boundaries in the organizational plan. In the meantime, both the states and the federal government were showing increased interest and activity in securing more adequate indications of the accomplishments of the schools.

OTHER ORGANIZATIONS AND AGENCIES

As should have been anticipated, the great expectations regarding education also had an important stimulating effect on agencies other than public schools. While many others could be identified such as Parent-Teacher Associations, political parties, research and testing services, taxpayers' associations, associations of school boards, labor unions, business and professional groups, attention will be given here to only three groups.

The Foundations

The number of foundations and the wealth in the hands of the foundations increased greatly in recent decades. Probably it is also true that the foundations increased their interest in education. The largest of the foundations, the Ford Foundation, centered and promises to continue to focus attention on educational developments. A considerable part of the federal action previously described was based at least in part upon programs sponsored in part by foundations. The foundations, being free from the need to support mass programs, were able to exert an influence far beyond that which the dollars they provided would suggest. For theirs was the "venture" money so frequently not forthcoming from the public authorities. While an actual assessment of the influence

exerted by the foundations is difficult, it is noteworthy that in recent years it has been sufficient to be the subject of considerable controversy. Some educators have felt that the foundations have not been interested in advancing money to make possible the appraisal of an idea, but rather only to advance an idea to which a commitment existed. The American Association of School Administrators conducted a study of the influence of the foundations because of the concern found among some of its members.[5]

Educational Organizations

In recent decades, educational agencies and individuals involved in the educational process have become increasingly organized. Through their organizations, they have gained greatly increased influence in regard to educational matters.

The colleges and universities, for example, have played an increasing role in public education in the last decade. They have had important influence in such areas as curriculum, achievement testing, and accreditation. Through their own admission policies and their concern for the gifted student, they have also influenced secondary schools. The development of research programs in the field of education and the growing interest of psychologists, sociologists, and political scientists in education and the school as an institution suggest that the influence of higher educational institutions and their staff on public education will be felt more significantly in the future.

The growth of organizations of the professional staff of the schools has also been marked in recent years. Related to this growth has been a notable increase in their activity and influence. In this area, reference may well be made to organizations of administrators, curriculum and supervisory staff, guidance personnel, and teachers. The large number of different organizations has reduced the influence which these groups might have had; however, they increasingly accept the view that it is only through organization that they can be effective and correspondingly reject the idea that they should not be a militant group working toward goals which they formulate. Especially noticeable is the growth of militancy among teachers' associations and teachers' unions. They have gained a substantial increase of influence in recent years not only in salary matters but in a wide range of curricular and instructional matters. While teachers and teachers groups have had large influence in many schools and school systems, they are now gaining a new image in this regard and in the public expectations that they have a more explicit and direct role in decision making.

[5]American Association of School Administrators, *Private Philanthropy and Public Purposes* (Washington, D.C.: The Association), 1963.

Private and Parochial Schools

Recent decades have been marked by continued action on the part of certain private school groups, notably the Roman Catholic, to which attention is given here, for greater public recognition and for support in one form or another. They have been ably represented by their spokesmen in state legislatures, in the federal Congress, and in the core cities of the metropolitan areas where enrollments in their schools have become quite substantial. During recent years, they have won certain gains in terms of federal legislation for their students. They have also tended to accept the limitations on aid such as have been stipulated or implied by the Supreme Court decisions and to seek new solutions. One of these solutions is the release of their children to attend the public schools for such subjects as mathematics and science and their retention of them for social sciences, language, and other subjects held to be more directly relevant to their central purposes. The legality of these arrangements has not yet been fully established. Their impact and desirability also remains unclear both in terms of the parochial school and the public school.

More than formerly, the religious schools and their supporters also are troubled. Both financially and philosophically, they are far less sure that it would be desirable to have all children of their faith in a separate school system. The results are not conclusive in terms of values achieved. They have not met the problems of the culturally different or of the gifted more effectively than the public schools. Furtl , every step such as the release of children for instruction in mathematics and science to the public schools, raises important questions regarding instruction. Many had claimed that all aspects (subjects and textbooks) of instruction should be permeated by the special values of the faith. And each step toward public support must be made at some cost to the values of being private and separate. Fair-employment practice acts do not suggest that religious tests may be employed in selection of teachers, principals, or other staff if there is any public support. The minority status and feeling of being discriminated against which was long a force for the religious school is losing its meaning as change in status occurs. The church also is seeking a new relation to the world outside, and some of its members are unsure that the separate school contributes in this direction. Then, too, its problems are so great with the expansion of educational services, the technological advances in education, the decline in the availability of members of orders to meet teaching needs that it is re-examining its position regarding many educational problems and the relation of education to other religious issues.

It would thus appear that we may be in a new period of "openness"

regarding the relations of public schools and various private bodies engaged in education. Quite possibly some of the barriers to communication and development will be reduced when it is more generally recognized that many problems are common to public and private bodies interested in education. Possibly also we are beginning to re-examine the question of pluralism in our society, the form of it we wish to attain, and its relation to the education question.

POWER IN THE LOCAL SCHOOL DISTRICT AREA

The school administrator is thus in a position of leadership in a district which is but a segment of an area, metropolitan or otherwise. It is not truly a separate unit except legally, and frequently its nature is to be explained by tradition rather than logic. He has responsibilities for a single service, which however is expanding and is increasingly linked to a great number of other services that are administered by other bodies. What is done in his unit and service is highly related to what is done in other units providing a similar service and to what is done by local authorities providing related services.

The Power Structures

As pointed out in Chapter 3, the power structure of this unit is not clearly established. Depending upon the nature of the population, the traditions and wealth of the unit, and its relation to the metropolitan or other area, it may appear to be of the Hunter power-elite type. More likely however, it is somewhat of the process-pluralist type, where power and influence on most occasions are dispersed and where decision making involves a measure of bargaining, compromise, conflict, and agreement. If an elite once ruled educational decision making, it is perhaps less likely to do so now because of the growing interest in education on the part of various groups.

The manner in which the power structure in one school district may relate to that in other school districts of the area is unclear. The question of the nature of the metropolitan area power structure and its relation to educational developments in various school districts remains relatively unexplored. This is a matter of importance both because of the fact that a metropolitan or other area is a reality and because many educational services and developments must be conceived in larger terms. The usual school district is greatly handicapped or with extremely limited resources for the development of educational TV, programed learning, research and development, technical education, adult education, and junior college education needed for the area. It may also be extremely limited in its capacity to engage in professional negotiation or

bargaining, since it is dealing with agents of groups representing the resources of the whole area.

Impact of Federal and State Activities

In this situation, it is also important to note that the state and federal agencies will be playing an increasingly important role. They have already played a more important one than is generally recognized. For example, the very system of state grants-in-aid to many suburban school districts has made it possible for them to remain independent of the core city or industrial areas of which they are a part. Without such grants, probably the integration of outside areas into a single government unit would have proceeded much more rapidly. But the federal programs in education and related matters, previously referred to, will be of far greater significance in determining the decisions made.

This development of federal-state programs will also further the influence of the professionals, as will the necessary increasing cooperation among the districts of an area. This is not to deny the fact that members of boards of education and other legislative bodies will have a large role in decision making; however, they will be dependent upon the comprehensive information and data development which must occur in the increasingly complex metropolitan and other areas. And it is the bureaucracies of the local, state, and federal governments that will be responsible for the development of these data, for their interpretation and communication regarding them.

Power thus tends to be diffuse, not only in terms of elite or pluralist views regarding the local unit but also in terms of networks of power extending through an area larger than the unit and in terms of federal and state action. And finally, it tends to be diffuse in terms of the inevitable and necessary bureaucracies.

BUILDING AN INTEGRATED SCHOOL COMMUNITY

The educational administrator and the local board of education are thus confronted with the problem of building an integrated school system and community. The people of a school district or of a school system cannot achieve the desired educational program without some cohesion and a measure of *community*. The people must be held together at least in the educational world by some mutual ties that provide a feeling of identity and belonging. Since we may well begin with school communities that are quite heterogeneous and lacking in *community* or integration, this may be among the most important tasks facing the schools.

As a first step in this process, study of factors related to integration may well be essential. Jacob and Teune have suggested that some elements to consider as a possible base for developing an integrated political community are: proximity, homogeneity, transactions, mutual knowledge, functional interest, communal character, political structure, sovereignty, governmental effectiveness, and integrative experience.[6]

Studies of this type may provide the understanding in light of which steps can be taken to develop ties among the people regarding educational issues and goals. Only with some development of this type is the local system likely to be effective, in relation to the larger immediate area of which it is a part, in dealing with the growing organizations of the area, and in working with the stronger state and federal agencies. Unless some *community* is achieved, the district is likely to be pushed along by external forces. Without clean-cut though not rigid goals, it cannot be a strong unit which melds various pressures and considerations into a constructive organization.

The educator should be aware of facts such as the following regarding the community.

SOCIETY IS CHARACTERIZED BY LARGE POWER ORGANIZATIONS. In a community, for example, at least the following power groups of special interest to education will usually be found: the school power structure; governmental structures other than schools (some of which are directly related to political organizations); organizations of businessmen, professional groups, and labor; mass media of communication; and power leaders who may function informally or through recognized organizations.

The term "power" is not used here in the sense that it is something undesirable. Rather, "power" is a word that will be used to describe the "acts of men going about the business of moving other men to act in relation to themselves or in relation to organic or inorganic things."[7] The power of the individual is extremely limited unless structured through an organization or association. Such structuring may be provided for by statute. It may be highly formal or quite informal.

The school system itself may be viewed as a power structure. It coordinates the efforts of the board of education, administration, teaching, and other staff members in the provision and advancement of education. It generally is supported by such groups as the Parent-Teacher Association, which may be regarded as a part of the power structure that exists to further education.

[6]Philip E. Jacob and Henry Teune, "The Integrative Process—Guidelines for Analysis of the Basis of Political Community," *The Integration of Political Communities*, ed. Philip E. Jacob and James V. Toscano (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1964).

[7]Floyd Hunter, *Community Power Structure. A Study of Decision Makers* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1953), p. 2.

STUDIES OF THE COMMUNITY

Methods of Study

Many methods may be employed to study the complexities of the community and its institutions including the schools. Important methods to be employed are the following:

THE HISTORICAL METHOD.   This method, which is too little employed, may reveal how the community has grown, what the nature of population change has been, how the community has been organized, what educational values and issues have been prominent in it, the reasons for the existing school organization, and the relation of community education to other governmental services.

ANALYSIS OF LAWS AND RECORDS.   Statutes, minutes of boards of education and of other organizations, press treatment of education, census reports, population data, economic reports, success of high school graduates in college and in employment, and records of dropouts are samples of the large quantities of data pertaining to the community that await analysis. The amount of data available suggests the need for careful definition of purpose and study over a period of time, if a comprehensive picture of the community is to be secured.

SURVEYS OF STATUS AND PRACTICE.   What are the existing conditions? Does social stratification mark the community and the school? What have been the objectives, the programs, and the practices of the schools? What is the nature of home life? What is the place of youth, and how are their problems being met? What are the power organizations in the community, who are their members, and how do they operate? Who are the power leaders? Who controls the mass media of communication, and what is the audience and impact of each? How does the school system function as a power organization? What are the community practices and norms? These are a few of the many aspects of status and practice that might be studied as the base for the advancement of the educational system. An approach to these problems will involve the use of many techniques such as observation, interviews, analysis of records, questionnaires, and maintenance of logs and diaries.

STUDIES OF VALUES.   These could be regarded as one phase of surveys of status in the sense that one aspect of status would be the values held. They are listed separately, however, because of their significance and because they are not generally thought of as an aspect of current status. The values held are largely ascertained through interviews, but records

STUDIES OF THE COMMUNITY

Methods of Study

Many methods may be employed to study the complexities of the community and its institutions including the schools. Important methods to be employed are the following:

THE HISTORICAL METHOD.   This method, which is too little employed, may reveal how the community has grown, what the nature of population change has been, how the community has been organized, what educational values and issues have been prominent in it, the reasons for the existing school organization, and the relation of community education to other governmental services.

ANALYSIS OF LAWS AND RECORDS.   Statutes, minutes of boards of education and of other organizations, press treatment of education, census reports, population data, economic reports, success of high school graduates in college and in employment, and records of dropouts are samples of the large quantities of data pertaining to the community that await analysis. The amount of data available suggests the need for careful definition of purpose and study over a period of time, if a comprehensive picture of the community is to be secured.

SURVEYS OF STATUS AND PRACTICE.   What are the existing conditions? Does social stratification mark the community and the school? What have been the objectives, the programs, and the practices of the schools? What is the nature of home life? What is the place of youth, and how are their problems being met? What are the power organizations in the community, who are their members, and how do they operate? Who are the power leaders? Who controls the mass media of communication, and what is the audience and impact of each? How does the school system function as a power organization? What are the community practices and norms? These are a few of the many aspects of status and practice that might be studied as the base for the advancement of the educational system. An approach to these problems will involve the use of many techniques such as observation, interviews, analysis of records, questionnaires, and maintenance of logs and diaries.

STUDIES OF VALUES.   These could be regarded as one phase of surveys of status in the sense that one aspect of status would be the values held. They are listed separately, however, because of their significance and because they are not generally thought of as an aspect of current status. The values held are largely ascertained through interviews, but records

of elections and previous community actions may also be highly informative.

CASE STUDIES.   Case studies are suggested as a method of studying a community because they make it possible to visualize the interaction of various forces and to view the community or any of its organizations or groups as societies in action. They reveal organizations as dynamic structures. This concept of community life must be accepted if one is to be prepared to work with the forces that shape education.

STUDIES OF THE AREA.   The school district must be informed regarding the larger geographical area of which it is a part. Therefore, in cooperation with other districts, it must provide for studies of the larger community and of other school districts. Only in this manner can essential cooperative effort be achieved and programs developed which are beyond the resources of any one district.

STUDIES OF STATE AND FEDERAL PROGRAMS AND THEIR INFLUENCE.   Too often districts make little or no attempt to determine the influence of federal programs. In fact many districts are small and understaffed to such a degree that they are not prepared to plan effective utilization of the opportunities opened through federal programs. The districts of an area might well plan to attack this problem through a cooperative effort with a staff jointly employed.

Procedure in Community Study

Equally as important as the methodological approaches used in the study of the community are the procedures by which the study is conducted. Although certain of the suggested methods would need to be carried on individually by highly trained specialists, this would not be true in the great majority of instances. Competent specialists or consultants would, of course, need to participate in planning, formulating hypotheses, constructing the instruments used, preparing research workers, analyzing data, and formulating findings. But many people residing within the community could participate in the work. Local personnel need to do much of the work, not only for reasons of greater economy and a consequent expansion of the program, but because the knowledge gained would more likely result in action.

It would, therefore, be desirable to plan considerable action research. This would involve using available resources under competent leadership. It means systematically collecting and using many data that presently go unused. It would involve many teachers, parents, older students, and other citizens of the community interested in any organization that impinges on education.

In organizing such a program no one form is to be preferred in all

situations. Provision should generally be made to involve the following:

1. Both laymen and teachers;
2. Lay leaders of status and laymen representative of a wide variety of groups;
3. Consultants;
4. Resource people and assistants to carry out the routine operations, implement as work proceeds, and relate data to community values;
5. Research and development staff to design and appraise the work undertaken.

Consultants and research and development staff may be supplied by a metropolitan or other intermediate or areawide unit.

Implications of Community Study

Frequently, questions are raised regarding the use of data pertaining to the community. For example, does the administrator become subservient to the power structure when elements of it are known to him? Or is he then in the position to become a manipulator? Or in a better position to provide constructive leadership?

The administrator, board of education, and others are in a position to act with intelligence and with reference to accepted values only when the power structure is known to them. Certainly the administrator and the board of education need to avoid becoming the tools of any single power group that may or may not have knowledge of and belief in the potential of education. At times, permitting such a group to make decisions may appear to be the easy road, but it would scarcely be consistent with the purposes of public education in a democracy.

If being a manipulator is interpreted to mean concealing facts, seeking personal power, controlling or making decisions for others, this concept or role must be rejected. However, if by being a manipulator reference is made to providing leadership and helping the community determine what its status is, how status differs from values held, and how the community can achieve what it seeks for its children and youth, the role should be welcomed. The role of manipulator might well be sought if it means helping a community reconsider and clarify its purposes. In reality, this is leadership, not manipulation.

In serving in a leadership role the school administrator needs also to recognize his power in relation to the decision-making process and the effect of the values he holds upon the processes and action to be taken. Too frequently, he may see his views (values) as objective and the only defensible ones. He may indeed re-examine his values and modify or hold fast to them, but it is important that he understand them in explicit terms. This understanding will provide him a much more adequate base for analyzing the situations which present themselves, for

seeing himself in interpersonal relationships, for suggesting processes, for relating to role expectancies. Then he may see and understand the possible importance of deviant values—their potential for new integration or for disintegration. He must provide for them, though unfortunately, contrary to the American dream, there is no assurance that they inevitably will produce a desired integrated school community.

ACTION BASED ON COMMUNITY STUDY

A knowledge of the community is an essential background of action in the school-community relations area. Without this knowledge, any program developed must be based upon various assumptions regarding the community—assumptions that may or may not be sound.

A knowledge of the community includes a knowledge of the school, for the school is one of the institutions of the community. It can be understood only by considering various other conditions existing in the community. Without a thorough knowledge of the school and its relations to the community, the development of a program cannot be carried on in an effective manner.

The study of the community, including the school, should supply answers to such questions as: What have been the media of communication between school and community? What are the areas of ignorance between the school and community? What "publics" exist in the community? What resources are available for use in the program? How competent are school personnel to participate in the program? What mass media of communication service the community, and what contribution can they be expected to make? What power structures and what organizations exist in the community? What are the major limitations of the public education power structure in the community? What are the values of the community? What are the major strengths and weaknesses of the schools?

When data of the types suggested are available, it becomes possible to give careful, considered thought to the development of a program for achieving an integrated school community. In developing the program, it should be recognized that a most difficult task is being undertaken. Fundamentally, the problem is one of communication and of education. It is a matter of assisting the community in gaining knowledge of the schools, of the schools' potential, and of the procedures through which the potential may be realized. Given the diversity of backgrounds, interests, and activities of citizens however, and the variety of media that may be employed, the problem of communication is an exceedingly complex one. A good medium of communication with a few people may have no value with many others. It must be remembered that in communication what is heard may be very different from what is spoken.

And, of course, behavioristic communication may be much more effective than verbalistic.

The inevitability of communications in the school-community relations area must be recognized. A visit to a school, a meet' g with children going to school, a child's report regarding events in school, the role of teachers in community organizations, a school building—an infinite number of situations exist through which some type of communication occurs. The problem is whether a sufficient number of media of high validity can be utilized to improve the understanding of school and community and enable them to progress together. If this can be achieved, a substantial benefit will result for the school and community and for education itself, since much of it goes on in the home and in the community outside the school. Thus, although the best school program is central in any school-community relations program, it also must be remembered that education is most likely to achieve significant goals through a high level of school-community understanding. The parent or community organization for youth with little understanding of the school is not prepared to contribute in a highly effective manner to the education of youth. But the parent and the youth group are inevitably "educating" youth.

Suggestions Regarding School-Community Action

In developing a program to promote school-community cooperation the following guidelines should be kept in mind.

Multi-directional communication is essential and must be both the basis of the program and one of its purposes. Two-way communication is mentioned frequently. It is necessary but not likely to be effective unless accompanied by communication within the school staff and within various other agencies.

A policy statement regarding school-community interaction should be adopted by the board of education, making clear the purposes of the program and the role of school personnel. Failure to establish adequate policies in this area sharply reduces the opportunity for effective leadership by school administrators.

The program must be planned. The difficulty of the task as well as the variety of possible ends and media demand careful planning. Without such planning, achievement will probably be extremely limited. A committee of laymen familiar with the organizational life of the community and with the media of communication within it can be of great assistance in this planning. Studies to determine the extent of information about and attitudes toward various aspects of the educational program are an essential base for planning.

AN EFFECTIVE PROGRAM CAN ONLY BE DESIGNED WITH SOME CLEARLY DEFINED GOALS IN MIND. Are there particular problems to be met, groups to be communicated with, or areas of ignorance on the part of the school or community? A planned program can be integrated with the more routine work in the field of school-community relations that is established with reference to legal requirements, events in the school calendar, and seasonal opportunities regarding aspects of the total educational program. While the vision must be large, steps toward it should permit observable progress.

REPORTING IS AN ESSENTIAL ELEMENT OF THE TOTAL PROGRAM AND NEEDS TO BE DEVELOPED IN AN EFFECTIVE MANNER WITH REFERENCE TO THE VARIETY OF GROUPS TO BE REACHED. It may involve report cards or conferences with parents; press relations; the preparation of brief, attractive, and well-illustrated annual or special reports; and reports on achievements and needs of the schools. Above all it must offer satisfaction through achievement by participants.

INVOLVEMENT OF MANY CITIZENS IS DESIRABLE. It facilitates a higher level of understanding and more action than is likely to result from reporting. It avoids the tendency of school people to have the "answer" to the problem and then to attempt to win acceptance for it. Rather, it places the problem in the hands of many more people for consideration and the formulation of tentative solutions. It reveals large, unused personnel resources. It should lead to more sound solutions and to earlier implementation. It is likely to be developed effectively only if the board has adopted policies encouraging it.

A WIDE VARIETY OF MEDIA SHOULD BE EMPLOYED. The error of utilizing only one medium, such as the press or the Parent-Teacher Association, should be avoided. This is not to underestimate the significance of such media, but rather to suggest that consideration should be given to the many that are available. Different media may involve or reach different groups, or may have a different impact.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE INDIVIDUAL SCHOOL IN SCHOOL-COMMUNITY RELATIONS SHOULD BE RECOGNIZED. The most impressive contact that parents will have with the school system will be at the school that their children are attending. They will inevitably think of the system in terms of their personal experiences with teachers and principal at the school they know. If many are going to be involved in working through problems and policies, it is likely to be done at the individual school level. The communities or neighborhoods served by schools vary widely in many systems, and consequently the programs at the school level need to be characterized by variation.

THE CENTRAL OFFICE SHOULD TAKE RESPONSIBILITY FOR A FEW SYSTEMWIDE SCHOOL-COMMUNITY RELATIONS ACTIVITIES AND SHOULD CONCENTRATE ITS ENERGIES ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF A STAFF FOR MORE EFFECTIVE PARTICIPATION IN THE WORK   Principals need help in developing programs for their schools. Teachers need assistance in developing competency for utilizing parent-teacher conferences effectively. Many staff members need to develop more competency in working as a member of a lay-professional committee or in serving on a panel. Staff members are frequently lacking in group process skills, which are most important if problems are to be worked through cooperatively. Many groups in the community remain relatively uninvolved.

RESPONSIBILITY FOR COORDINATION AND LEADERSHIP IN SCHOOL-COMMUNITY RELATIONS SHOULD BE FIXLD UPON SOME ONE PERSON.   Formerly, this person probably would have been drawn from the press. With the broader concept of the work, however, he needs to have much more than press experience—though this would still be desirable in terms of mass media of communication. Today, however, he needs to be skillful in techniques of community analysis and in communication, able to help others develop competency in working with laymen in a wide variety of ways, and competent in the field of education. He must be an expert in public participation and action.

EVALUATION OF THE PROGRAM AND OF ITS VARIOUS ASPECTS IS OF VITAL IMPORTANCE.   Many activities are carried on without any systematic attempt at collecting available data and at evaluating the work done. Many Parent-Teacher Associations carry on programs for years without critically constructive evaluations being made. A citizens committee is formed, operates for several months or a year, submits a report, and dissolves without anyone's studying its procedures and its strengths and limitations. When another committee is formed, there is too little knowledge available as a result of past experience. What are the results of the program of reporting through the press, or through special reports? What coverage of vital issues is offered? Various people have judgments regarding the effectiveness of various techniques and procedures, but all too rarely are they based upon a planned evaluation. Just how is desirable educational change effected?

THE COMMUNITY AND ITS SCHOOLS

In concluding this section, attention is called to the fact that the community (the state, the local school system, or the area served by the individual school) substantially determines the quantity and quality of educational provisions. Its understandings, values, ability to organize

its efforts and to act are central elements in the decisions that it inevitably makes.

In making these decisions the community must have concern for children and youth and also for various staff members connected with the schools. It must be aware of the organizational structure of the community and of the schools. It must be familiar with legal structure pertaining to schools and function in accord with it, effecting changes when needed. It must constantly seek facts so that it may make sound decisions. It must periodically re-examine its philosophical commitments and use them as standards for evaluating its practices.

In all of these activities the community should be able to regard the school administrative staff as its agent, providing leadership in its relentless search for a more adequate educational program. The community must have an understanding of the conditions under which leadership can function effectively, and it must scrupulously protect those conditions. The leader must no less scrupulously respect the competency of the community to make decisions.

Under these circumstances, the community and its educational leaders cooperate in planning, in formulating policy, in implementing programs, and in evaluating. School-community relations are not then essentially matters of reporting or interpreting. Rather, they are carrying forward a public enterprise with laymen and educators playing the respective roles that are most rewarding in terms of the education of men. Action now builds mutual understanding in depth.

SOME IMPORTANT ISSUES

In the following pages, consideration is given to a few of the major issues pertaining to the community and its schools.

May Public Opinion Be
Too Large a Determiner of Educational Practice?

There is danger that uninformed public opinion or perhaps a small but highly vocal group will have too large an influence on educational practice. Occasionally, a meeting is reported where a vote is taken on a rather technical subject about which the voters are uninformed. The individual or group with the greatest pressure potential does not necessarily have the sound answer.

The school administrator should not abdicate his leadership responsibility, a responsibility that includes presenting the facts and the results of studies that have been carried on regarding the problem, presenting proposals for a more thorough study, and presenting suggestions for essential research. The administrator must assist groups in

recognizing that there are important ways to get information regarding a matter other than asking opinions about it. Public interest in an issue needs to be seen as an opportunity for its fuller study—an opportunity for many to learn more about the issue.

This is not to suggest that public opinion should be ignored on many issues. It is an important factor in many situations and must be considered. However, this interest may be of more value in suggesting communication, clarifying goals and practices, or re-examining values than in pointing the way in regard to practice. If public opinion differs widely from the views or understandings of school personnel, an excellent opportunity would appear to exist for some planned research and a cooperative study of the problem.

The development of sound educational practices demands that there be recognition of the limitations of the expert. Often he may be so deeply immersed in the subject that he misses some of the broader implications. It also requires that the contribution of the expert be recognized and capitalized upon. Closer attention to many educational problems will increase the awareness of laymen regarding the complexity of the issues. It will reduce the demand for simple solutions—especially those involving a return to some practice that may have worked reasonably well in a far simpler and quite different society. It may also result in the development of a more soundly based public opinion, that could be a most important element in controlling the influence of groups not seeking constructive ends.

What are the strengths and limitations of the expert? How can a community best use the expert? What types of issues require research rather than a survey of public opinion in order to arrive at sound solutions?

Does the Closeness of the School to the Community Subject the School to the Narrowness of the Community?

Will not the school merely reflect the prejudices of the community if it works closely with it? Will not community lack of concern for human values limit the school in the attention it can give to them? Will the administrator become a part of the business group with which he associates, largely a reflector of its concepts?

In response to these queries, a number of observations may be made. The community may of course contain a wide variety of groups and individuals, some of whom may have better vision regarding educational objectives than the administrator and the teaching staff. Then, too, it is assumed that the administrator has the competence to work with groups without being enveloped by them. His own commitments with reference to society and education are an important source of strength.

Although leadership is recognized as having a relationship to various situational forces, the assumption must not be made that the administrator is without influence, adrift in a nondescript public opinion sea. Rather, knowledge of the complexity of the leadership role enables the administrator to be more effec ve.

The community also has values that if brought to public attention may be important levers through which it can raise its vision and activities. The administrator has responsibilities in this sphere.

Finally, in the case of the community that does not seek or attain even desirable minimum levels of educational provision, whether in terms of what is taught or how it is taught, there is recourse to the state and to constitutional rights. In general, the state should be seen as a stimulating agency, an agency of cross-fertilization challenging communities with the pollen gathered over the nation. Regrettably, however, there will also be times when the state must make attempts at enforcing minimum standards. This role of t state should remain a minor one, one that is exercised less and less frequently as communities seriously contemplate educational problems. Therefore, there would seem to be much reason for seeking the close integration of the community and the school, recognizing, however, that neither local community nor the local school system will always take a sound position. The interaction of the two, with contributions to thought and practice from school and community leaders and at ti es from the outside, offers much promise.

Can the schools rise above the community? How can the administrator avoid becoming the instrument of the more reactionary forces in the community?

Is a School Public Relations Program Consistent with the Educational Purposes of our Society?

Some educators have doubted the desirability of devoting large energies to various aspects of the school-community relations program. They have been suspicious of publicity. This concern is quite understandable in a society in which much publicity has not sought the enhancement of the citizen but rather has sought to make him an unthinking captive of some group. This publicity has sought to influence through offering the half-truth or through hiding essential facts and thus distorting. The fear that man may become merely the dupe of those with the resources to control the mass media should not be discarded without thought.

On the other hand, it must be recognized that unless the facts and the case for public education are put forth vigorously through the most effective instruments employed in our society, the gap between the people's desires and practice in education will widen. And even their

values and desires ma, shift farther away from interest in children and young people and concern for the dignity and worth of the individual. In the fierce struggle 'or the minds and commitments of men the administrator cannot default and remain an educator.

The educator may consider this progi m as one of adult education regarding the schools. In an age when the school may be playing a less significant educational role than at times in the past—because of the great impact of the mass media of communication—it is especially fitting that fuller consideration be given to educational goals in our society and the relationship of various agencies to them.

Furthermore, if the ability to govern is related to experience in governing, then the public schools may constitute one of the most important opportunities to develop the skills of self-government. In a period of growing central control, decision-making opportunities close to the people take on added significance. Carrying on a public relations program should facilitate rather than militate against the cooperative solution of educational problems.

For these various reasons it appears clear that public relations per se are not inconsistent with the purposes of education in a democracy but are an important factor in achieving those purposes.

Is there a danger that the school system will reveal only the facts that reflect favorably upon it? How can this be avoided?

The fear that government officials may engage in propagandizing and not present the facts in the light of which the people can make decisions, should not be dismissed lightly. However, the growing complexity of the educational enterprise and of the society of which it is a part demands increased expenditure of time and money for the promotion of understanding. Without such understanding the possibility of intelligent citizen action or of sound action on the part of educators is greatly reduced. A sound approach to th · problem will recognize these facts and give attention to the manner in which the work can be most desirably carried forward. There are standards regarding the programs of public relations that need to be establisned. The development of closer working relationships between citizens and educators will in i' ,elf constitute an important barrier to the development of undesirable practices.

Are present statutory provisions regarding the expenditure of funds for public relations purposes sound?

How Much Concentration upon School-Community Relations in the Local School or School System is Desirable?

Our society is marked by large organizations. The federal government plays a larger and larger role in our lives. The nation is economically one unit. Is it not rather self-deceptive to be so greatly concerned about the local situation?

Conceivably such concern could be self-defeating. Intense interest and concern about the local school might result in a lack of interest in the utilization of the federal tax power for educational purposes, even though the economic organization of the society would indicate the desirability of this.

Similarly, the local system might be quite incapable of fending off the attacks of a national organization with large resources that is devoted to the weakening of public education. Such a national organization might choose to strike at a few local organizations at any one time and shift its energies to best achieve its ends.

Although there is no completely satisfactory safeguard against these dangers, it must be observed that the local school is probably the most readily available base for interesting and activating the citizen. The citizen is interested in education both within the school and outside. His children are involved and his devotion to their development is as great as that of the educator. From this base his concern for more adequate education in other areas can be developed. The bringing together of strong local forces of different communities could result in the striking advancement of education in the state or nation.

It is not suggested that strength at the local level is sufficient. Increasing attention must be focused upon organization of those interested in education at the state and national levels. Local forces need the assistance of national organizations. Concentration upon the local situation should be desirable if accompanied by the development of an understanding of the nature of our society and of the ability to function effectively in it.

How can the tendency of many laymen and educators to be concerned with education only in their own area be overcome?

Can the PTA Be a Part of the Educational Power Structure and Yet Enjoy Independence of Thought and Action?

In many communities the parent-teacher organization is one of the more important parts of the power structure devoted to the advancement of education. Some people hold that in too many instances the parents' group may become merely a mouthpiece of professional educators. Some "educators" may desire to have parents' groups play this role.

It is surely proper and desirable that the parents associated with the school should be part of the organization of the total forces devoted to education. It must be recognized, however, that the total structure related to education will be better and stronger if various parts of it enjoy a very real measure of independence and initiative. The parent group that does not think for itself is not one of great strength. Neither is it, in the long run, one that contributes significantly to education.

Educators and other citizens need to develop stronger belief in the desirability of honest differences in judgment, in the expression of different points of view. The submissive power structure is not one that will grapple effectively with large issues. Groups motivated by common purposes can gain much through the utilization of all the capacity found in them—and by developing their potential capacity through attacking important issues.

Does the PTA enjoy adequate independence of action in most communities? How can a strong, nonsubservient PTA be developed? Would the same proposals apply to other citizen groups?

What Are the Limits of Involvement as a Practice Designed to Improve School-Community Relations?

There are limits to involvement in terms of available time, in terms of the contribution of those involved, and in terms of the abilities of the various parties to work together in a satisfactory manner.

Development of plans for and working with large numbers of laymen is time consuming for the educator. He cannot work with too many groups at once without neglecting other responsibilities. This may be remedied in part as more members of the professional staff develop competency in working with lay groups. Laymen also have many demands upon their time and unless adequate resources are available to facilitate the collection of essential data, committees either fail to do the job or do it without adequate knowledge. The limits of time for involvement therefore need to be considered carefully.

Limitations may also exist in terms of the competency of various people to contribute to the specific issue under consideration. Laymen may be profitably involved in a consideration of the uses to which the school buildings will be put in evenings and for which provision should be made in the plans, but there would be little point in having them consider details of structural safety. Various factors have to be considered when determining whether or not there will be involvement and what the nature of the involvement will be.

Limitations to involvement are also found in the competency of people to work together. If they have had little experience in group processes and are emotionally attached to certain proposed solutions, little good is likely to result from their consideration of the problem.

Finally, it should be noted that participation must be carried on in such a manner as not to hamper the operation of the organization. Many decisions need to be made in the operation of a school or school system. Involvement is essential in broad policy and procedural determination but scarcely in the details of administration resulting from the application of the policy.

Unless there is a realization of the limits of involvement, it is conceivable that it will result in increasing the insecurity of the teacher and administrator and in reducing the effectiveness of the educational program. On the other hand, its possible contribution to the teacher, to the administrator, and to the education of children and young people is large. With careful consideration the dangers should be largely avoided while the benefits are secured. Fruitful utilization of involvement requires time and analyzed experience.

Why must much of the involvement secured occur at the school level? How can staff and citizens be prepared for participation in the school-community relations activity? Are teachers prepared to work on studies in cooperation with citizens? What are the practical limits of involvement?

Selected References

American Association of School Administrators, *Public Relations for America's Schools*, Twenty-eighth Yearbook. Washington, D.C.: The Association, 1950.

Bailey, Stephen K., Richard F. Frost, Paul R. Marsh, and Robert C. Wood, *Schoolmen and Politics*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1962.

Bollens, John C., and Henry J. Schmandt, *The Metropolis: Its People, Politics and Economic Life*. New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1965.

Campbell, Roald F., Lavern L. Cunningham, and Roderick F. McPhee, *The Organization and Control of American Schools*. Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill Books, Inc., 1965.

Campbell, Roald F., and John A. Ramseyer, *School-Community Relationships*. Boston: Allyn & Bacon, Inc., 1955.

Dahl, Robert, *Who Governs?* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961.

Hunter, Floyd, *Community Power Structure. A Study of Decision Makers*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1953.

Kaufman, Herbert, *Politics and Policies in State and Local Governments*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1963.

Kimbrough, Ralph B., *Political Power and Educational Decision Making*. Skokie, Ill.: Rand McNally & Co., 1964.

Kindred, Leslie W., *School Public Relations*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1957.

Kindred, Leslie W., and George N. Fehr, Jr., *Communications Research and School-Community Relations*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1965.