INTEGRATION AND CONFLICT IN EDUCATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS: AN EXAMINATION OF SECONDARY SCHOOL SYSTEMS

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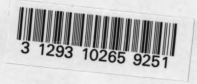

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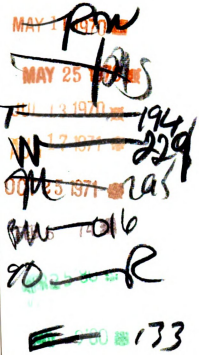

INTEGRATION AND CONFLICT IN EDUCATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS: AN EXAMINATION OF SECONDARY SCHOOL SYSTEMS

By

Charles William Given

This dissertation examines the impact of specialization and the structure of decision-making upon integration and conflict in educational organizations. Research in secondary education has not made full use of organizational perspectives and paradigmns. In this research schools will be treated as a type of organization employing highly trained personnel to carry out the basic function of teaching. The relationships between teachers, principals, and the central administration will comprise the major focus of this study.

After a review of the organizational and educational literature concerning the concepts in question, two general propositions were developed to guide the inquiry, and to provide a basis for the development of the specific hypotheses.

1. As the degree of specialization increases, the greater the social interdependence among all positions associated with the completion of a series of tasks.

2. As the actual decision-making roles assumed by superordinate positions exceeds the legitimacy extended to these positions by subordinates, conflict will arise between the subordinate position and each of the superordinate positions.

Following the development of the specific hypotheses, the concepts under study are operationalized, the methods for gathering the data are described, and the background characteristics of the five school districts are explored in some detail.

The hypotheses dealing with specialization, and its relationship to integration and conflict are tentatively accepted. Not all findings meet the accepted levels of significance, but there is a clear indication that specialization serves to increase horizontal as well as vertical integration among those positions associated with the performance of a series of tasks.

The hypotheses concerned with legitimacy and discrepancies in decision-making were generally rejected. However, it was found that legitimacy was an effective device by which subordinates could influence the way superiors utilized their authority. Discrepancies between positions over decision-making tended to lower the integration between those positions. Most important was the finding that discrepancies between teachers and superintendents lead to a reduction in integration between teachers and all other positions. Thus, the higher the

position at which discrepancies occur, the more disruptive it will be for all participants in the organization.

The conclusions from this study are that specialization and legitimacy must be examined within the context of the tasks being performed by the organization. Where tasks are complex and non-routine, specialization seems to foster greater integration between different levels, and to increase the legitimacy extended superordinate positions for completing organizational tasks. It is argued that future research must pay closer attention to the type of tasks that participants undertake in behalf of the organization.

The dissertation closes with an extended discussion of the relationship between integration and conflict, and their use in empirical research. It is strongly urged, in light of the findings presented here, that integration and conflict not be treated as unideminsional concepts, with one measuring a positive aspect of a relationship while the other measures the negative aspects. Instead what is needed is more conceptual work dealing with the conditions under which aspects of integration and conflict may exist simultaneously, or, in varying degrees, depending upon the type of relationships existing among organizational participants.

INTEGRATION AND CONFLICT IN EDUCATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS: AN EXAMINATION OF SECONDARY SCHOOL SYSTEMS

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There are several people I should like to acknowledge, though they have contributed in different ways, they have been important in my life and therefore I wish to express in some way my gratitude.

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I would also like to thank the members of my committee for serving and reading the draft of this dissertation and offering their comments.

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CHAPTER I

THE ORGANIZATION OF SECONDARY EDUCATION

The Introduction to the Problem

Public secondary education in the United States has always been responsive to the economy which utilizes the training and talents it produces. The technological revolution, coupled with the advent of cybernation, has fostered a new demand for technically trained personnel. Likewise, the rapidly expanding service economy has opened new demands for the professionally educated. As a result variety has become the cornerstone of secondary education. Secondary schools must prepare a balanced curriculum, ranging from an emphasis on technical education for the terminal degree student, to the college preparatory for those who wish to continue their education.

Martin Trow has traced the development of the secondary school system through two successive transformations.[1] According to Trow, the first important

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[1]Martin Trow, "The Second Transformation of American Secondary Education," International and Comparative Journal of Sociology, Vol. 2 (September, 1961), 144-165.

transformation occurred during the mid 1870's when secondary schools began to receive an influx of students who desired additional training in order to qualify for positions in the emerging industrial economy. Prior to this time secondary schools were to some extent privately endowed and dedicated to training an elite group of students who planned to continue their education in such areas as theology, philosophy, and to a lesser extent in the natural sciences. After 1875 a high school education was no longer an experience for the priviledged, but was turned into a practical program for students seeking a higher terminal degree. During this time college preparatory courses were de-emphasized, the demand for technically trained personnel also grew, as a result secondary schools found that they must provide a dual curricula to satisfy both the college bound as well as the technically oriented student. This transformation occurred at a time of rapid increase in the numbers of students entering high schools creating an additional burden upon the school system.

The nexus of these events has served to produce a considerable amount of strain in the organization of secondary education. This specialization of teaching personnel to meet a wider variety of societal demands, has created a need for additional administrative personnel to coordinate and integrate a variety of

educational programs. To accommodate these changes school organizations have specialized their personnel and standardized many of their procedures. This raises an important issue: to what extent can secondary school systems be legitimately conceptualized as complex organizations and thus subject to the concepts and paradigmns found in the literature.[2] Treating school systems as a complex organization is relatively new, and research in both areas has not been interwoven to any extent as Bidwell admits.

> Few students of organizations have turned their attention to schools and few students of schools have been sensitive to their organizational attributes . . . As a result this empirical literature is fragmentary and discontinuous.[3]

Considering schools as complex organizations has occurred only recently, though many educational researchers have utilized concepts from the area of organizations.[4]

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[2]David Goslin, The School in Contemporary Society (Illinois: The Scott Foresman Co., 1965), 46-48.

[3]Charles Bidwell, "The School as a Formal Organization," Handbook of Organizations, Edited by James G. March (New York: Rand McNally and Co., 1965), 972.

[4]Educational researchers have been aware of sociological writings on organizations for some time. Early theoretical pieces in educational journals attest to this fact. Education has preferred to incorporate organizational concepts rather than the entire paradigmn; they have examined the relationship between principal and teacher and the satisfaction and effectiveness of the teaching staff. See Charles Bidwell, "Some Effects on Teacher and Administrator Behavior: A Study in Role Theory," Administrative Science Quarterly, Vol. 2 (September, 1957), 163-181. Another example of this piecemean use is Robert E. Sweitzer, Role Expectations and Perceptions of School Principals, A Report to the United

The recent interest in examining schools as organizations has come from a realization that the problems which secondary schools face are, to a large extent, organizational in character. The size of school systems is rapidly increasing to accommodate a wider variety of courses.

States Office of Education, January, 1963 (Research Foundation, Oklahoma State University, Still Water, Oklahoma.)

In general, there has been a rather distinct chronological ordering to the emergence of organizational thinking into the educational literature. The earliest work in this area was Willard W. Waller, The Sociology of Teaching (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1932). Following this work by some years was a theoretical article by Getzels and Guba which became the basis for organizational research in education. J. W. Getzels and E. G. Guba, "Social Behavior and the Administrative Process," School Review, Vol. 65 (Winter, 1957), 423-441. Also see R. O. Carlson "Research on the School System as an Organization," School Review. Vol. 66 (Winter, 1958), 473.

Other studies which attempted to identify dimensions of school organizations by examining the climates which develop within them include Andrew Halpin, Theory and Research in Administration (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1966), 22-80. Another analysis of schools employing a human relations perspective was done by Daniel Griffiths, Human Relations in School Administration (New York: Appleton Century Crofts, 1962). Probably the most complete empirical work done by a sociologist on the school system as an organization is that of Corwin. See Ronald Corwin, Development of an Instrument for Examining Staff Conflict (Cooperative Research Project No. 1934; Washington, D. C.: Office of Education, U. S. Department of Health Education and Welfare, 1963). Also see his textbook, Ronald O. Corwin, A Sociology of Education: Emerging Patterns of Class Status and Power in the Public Schools (New York: Appleton Century Crofts, 1965).
A most thorough exploration of the relationship between sociology and education is presented in a book of essays edited by Robert Hanson and Joel Gerstl where the authors explore a variety of topics concerning the area of education. Joel Gerstl and Robert Hanson, eds, On Education-Sociological Perspectives (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1967).

TABLE 1.--General characteristics of school organizations.*

Size
Nearly 30% of the nation is engaged in education in one capacity or another.
There are 104,165 public school administrators.
The number of instructional staff in public schools exceeds 1,643,000. This represents an increase of 50% over the past decade. One our of five persons working in professional capacities is in public education, and the teaching profession is expanding four times faster than the general population.
There are 41,200,000 public school pupils, and this number will double within the next decade.
Centralization
One-fourth of the nation's school systems educate nearly 80% of the U.S. population.
The number of school districts has been reduced nearly 50% since 1957.
Prospects are that intermediary units will provide more special services to handicapped children in small areas.
The authority of the state departments of education to allocate funds, purchase textbooks, establish an approved curriculum, control teacher certification and standards is growing.
The influence of the federal government agencies on education is growing through legislation and distribution of funds for special purposes.
Three-fourths of the urban places provide the principal with control office assistance and 89% have specialists available for music and 8% have specialists in science.
Specialization
Forty per cent of the junior high schools are completely departmentalized and departmentalization occurs in 25% of at least one of the grades in city school systems.
Only 17% of the public high schools did not make or schedule increased offerings in specialized language, math, and science courses between 1957 and 1960. Team teaching is in effect in 15% of the elementary schools and in one third of the large secondary schools.

*Ronald Corwin, A Sociology of Education, op. cit., 39-42.

This in turn is leading to increased specialization and to greater administrative overhead. Corwin has summarized a wide range of data depicting the changes which have taken place in American school systems (see Table 1).

The development of specialized teaching functions along with centralized decision-making by the school administration is for Corwin prima facie evidence that schools represent a type of organization. According to him, social units may be legitimately treated as organizations when they exhibit these two characteristics. Drawing on the work of Weber, and other students of the formalized relationships in organizations, he states:

> But technically speaking, bureaucracy essentially consists of two principles, coordination and specialization. Specialization, the process of breaking work down into standard components, is accomplished through a hierarchy of offices which establish spheres of delegated responsibility. Officials are to be appointed rather than elected to office, and they should qualify on the basis of skill rather than social status. Thus, the basis of an official's superiority in bureaucracy rests both on the fact that he occupies an office and on the fact that he has special competence.[5]

There is some evidence to suggest, however, that this functional relationship between increasing specialization and more centralized decision-making may not survive the strains of actual school system operation. Specialization allows teachers to focus their energies

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[5]Corwin, A Sociology of Education, 38.

upon one limited area of the total curriculum, at the same time however, it engenders a set of attitudes and promotes associations which may subvert the work of school officials who must coordinate these specialities into a unified educational program. Specialization also permits the teacher to become an expert in a limited subject matter, thus making him more able to meet a variety of contingencies which arise on the job. But, traditionally, specialization required increased administrative control over the teaching situation; thus if the school is to operate properly the teacher must be restricted from making independent decisions which he has been trained to exercise.

Not only does specialization create problems of coordination but it also has an impact upon the incumbents of specialized positions. As training becomes more limited and more intense, teachers turn to others in their speciality for advice and support on problems that arise within the classroom. Administrative positions in many cases do not possess the expertise to provide the information teachers need to solve pertinent problems. Thus, as teachers develop closer ties with others in the specialty, they reduce their communication with administrators.

There is counter-argument running through the literature which suggests that specialization, and the expertise upon which it is based, does not conflict with administrative control. In fact one author found that teachers experienced a greater sense of power under a more bureaucratic administration than they did in less bureaucratic environments.[6] These conflicting points of view indicate that there is no clear association between specialization, centralization of decision-making and their effect upon teachers and administrators in the school organization.

Much of the confusion surrounding the relationships between specialization and expertise is a function of the literature from which the arguments were taken. These arguments assume an industrial setting with a particular type of control structure, and a certain type of task to be performed. With few exceptions, the writings in the area of organizations are based upon studies completed in industrial contexts. Applying these findings to other organization settings without first scrutinizing their differences is extending inferences beyond their empirical support. Where the tasks are different, methods of control are likely to change, and accepted standards for

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[6]Gerald Moeller and W. W. Charters, "Relation of Bureaucratization to a Sense of Power Among Teachers," Administrative Science Quarterly, Vol. 10 (March, 1966), 444-465.

their performance must be revised, both of which might lead to alterations in the system of authority. This study is premised on the condition that educational organizations cannot be equated with industrial organizations without first taking some of these variables into account. By understanding the type of tasks involved, the structure of control, and how both produce certain types of relationships among participants in the organization, it will be possible to extend the generalizations concerning complex organizations.

In summary, the research to be undertaken in this dissertation is designed to investigate the impact of specialization and the organization of decision-making upon social relationships in secondary school systems. There is adequate evidence to suggest that the functional relationship among these two variables is somehow modified in the course of actual organization operation. The question is how, and under what conditions do different modifications appear. Further, there is the question of how different modifications between specialization and the structure of decision-making effect social relationships among specialized subsections of the organization and their association with other participants at the same level. These associations, it will be argued, can be determined in part from how participants at one level relate to those in succeedingly higher positions in the

organization. Integration at one level of the school system then might actually facilitate conflict at other levels. Or, integration between levels of the school organization might reduce integration among members within a single level, or even facilitate conflict. These relationships, because of their central character in all themes of organization theory, represent a fruitful point of departure for exploring these relationships.

In the succeeding chapters a review of the relevant organizational literature will be presented and discussed in light of the educational system. Building upon this review, a theoretical framework will be presented and hypotheses for test will be set down. Data on fifteen high and junior high schools, representing five distinct school districts, will be used to test the hypotheses and conclusions will be drawn to orient future research into the area of school organizations.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE AND DEVELOPMENT OF HYPOTHESES

The Special Purpose Organization

Special purpose organizations are as old as societies themselves.[1] Special purpose organizations are contrived groupings of individuals designed to efficiently coordinate tasks in the achievement of the corporate goal. By dividing tasks into specialized subparts, and by coordinating the efforts of the participants greater efficiency can be achieved through increased production. Adam Smith was one of the first writers to record the relationship among these components of a special purpose organization. In his words: "The division of labour, however, so far as it can be introduced, occasions, in every art, a proportionable increase of the productive powers of labour."[2] Organizations are thus designed to encourage

[1]S. N. Eisenstadt, "Social Change, Differentiation, and Evolution," American Sociological Review, Vol. 29 (June, 1965), 375-386. For evidence dealing with the second point see Seymour Martin Lipset, Political Man (New York: The Modern Library, 1937), 5.

[2]Adam Smith, The Wealth of Nations (New York: The Modern Library, 1937), 45-76.

cooperative actions among participants in order to complete some task more efficiently than would be possible if each participant were to work alone.

The concept of efficiency suggests, at least within western thought, a rational relationship between participants and their assigned tasks. This feature of organizations signifies their contrived nature; participants do not associate with one another based upon mutual liking, but rather through each participants relationship to the productive process. Rationality then relates individuals to organization tasks. Weber's contribution to the study of organizations was his recognition of the importance of rationality in establishing organizational relationships.[3]

Contemporary students of organizations have tended to ignore specialization as a relationship between man and tasks, they have instead concentrated on the sociological relationships among participants. By ignoring this functional relationship between man and task, researchers were forced to examine only disjunctions in social relationships. An example of this is the formal-informal dichotomy posed by early researchers.[4] More

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[3]Talcott Parsons, Max Weber: The Theory of Social and Economic Organizations (New York: The Free Press, 1947), 329-341.

[4]F. J. Roethlisberger and William J. Dickson, Management and the Worker (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1939).

recently, researchers have again given particular attention to the type of tasks in which participants are engaged. This approach recognizes the importance of specialization and coordination as relationships between participants and their tasks.[5]

These comments point to the necessity of separating specialization and coordination as functional relationships from the normative attributes which define social relationships among participants in special purpose organizations. This dissertation will focus upon specialization and coordination; it will investigate how the relationship a participant has with his task affects its coordination with other tasks, and what impact coordination has upon the social relationships he develops with his peers and with other positions in the organization. In reviewing the literature on specialization and coordination it is hoped that a more precise understanding of the terms and their relationship with other principles of organization will be achieved.

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[5]Eugene Litwak, "Models of Organization Which Permit Conflict," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 67 (July, 1961), 177-184; and Richard Hall, "Intraorganizational Structural Variation: Application of the Bureaucratic Model," Administrative Science Quarterly, Vol. 7 (December, 1962), 295-308.

Specialization

Differentiation of Tasks

In the previous section the special purpose organization was described as a method of relating individuals to collective tasks. In this section the literature on specialization will be reviewed, its impact upon social relationships assessed, and its relationship with other principles of organization examined.

The confusion which surrounds the concept of specialization is due primarily to its usage in disparate contexts. Specialization in one sense refers to the division of tasks into their simplest components. This is essentially the usage described by Smith in his discussion of the production of pins. Here specialization involves the division of work into simple routine tasks which permit easy accountability, and can be coordinated to achieve the corporate goal. Both the scientific and administrative schools of management assumed that tasks were simple and routine, and thus open to a wide range of workers regardless of their prior experiences with the procedures. Together, these schools emphasized efficient performance and administrative coordination; the individual was taken as a constant and his ability assumed.[6]

[6]For an excellent discussion of these two schools of thought see James G. March and Herbert Simon, Organizations (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1957), 12-33.

Contrasted with this usage of the term, is Weber's discussion of specialization which emphasizes different types of tasks and assumes different human attributes. For Weber, bureaucratic organizations were also premised upon specialized tasks, and responsible to the hierarchy of control. However, the ability of the individual is not taken as a constant, it is his training and expertise which qualify him for the position. In Weber's words: "Office management is distinctly modern--usually presupposes thorough and expert training."[7] In this sense specialization refers not only to the division of tasks but also to the qualifications which a participant must possess.

What is at issue in this discussion is the specialization of tasks versus the specialization of people. Victor Thompson has asserted that these two features are fundamentally distinct, and their separation alleviates some of the confusion surrounding the concept of specialization. Specialization of tasks is a process referring to the dividing up of the organizational functions. Specialization of people refers to a social process going on in the society at large, in order that complex tasks can be completed by adequately trained personnel.[8] In

[7]Hans Gerth and C. Wright Mills (eds.), From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology (New York: Galaxy Books, 1958), 198.

[8]Victor Thompson, Modern Organizations (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1961), 25-39.

this study then, the problem becomes how specialized personnel are fitted to organizational tasks in order to achieve a corporate goal.

This is fundamentally the problem which faces secondary education. How can a teaching staff, trained outside the school system in a particular specialized area of competence, be integrated into the school system and coordinated with a large number of other specialists, in order to achieve a unified educational program? The fact that teachers are trained outside of the school system means that potentially they may not be geared to the level of task specialization of any given system. The highly trained teachers may be required to teach courses outside of their major area of specialization. These kinds of discrepancies may engender certain conflicts within the school organization. The fundamental problem facing organizations, including school systems, is how can an organization assess and control the activities of specialists trained outside the organization.[9]

Differences Between Specialists and Professionals

The sociological literature presents some varying perspectives concerning the organizational control of

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[9]Corwin, A Sociology of Education, 234-237.

specialists employed in its behalf. If one assumes, as Parsons does, that technical knowledge implies a professional orientation, then, because of differing bases of authority it is possible to conclude that administrative control will lead to conflict. If however, a specialist can be viewed as something other than a professional, then control can be subsumed within the logic of rational administrative authority.

Parsons, in commenting on Weber's discussion of bureaucracy, notes that organizations founded on the legitimacy of rational authority differ from professional institutions founded upon technical competence. He argues that Weber's use of technical competence suggests a professional orientation as opposed to a bureaucratic one. But a professional orientation cannot be assumed merely from technical competence.[10]

An expert can exist independently from a professional, and thus not be subject to the entire range of characteristics associated with that institution. Blau and Scott in describing the similarities between professionals and bureaucrats recognize that both types may have undergone

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[10]Parsons, Max Weber: . . . , 59. For a point by point elaboration of the conflicts between professional and bureaucratic forms of organization, see W. Richard Scott, "Professionals in Bureaucracies--Areas of Conflict," in Professionalization, ed. by Howard Vollmer and Donald Mills (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1966), 265-275.

specialized training and thus possess a certain expertise, but this does not mean that the two types are strictly comparable. There is a good deal of evidence to suggest that teachers, while possessing certain skills cannot be considered professionals.[11]

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[11]Peter Blau and W. Richard Scott, Formal Organizations (San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Co., 1962), 60-61. Whether a person views himself as a professional, or subject to the control of the organization depends to a large extent upon which offers the most clearcut incentives for career development. Goldner and Ritti found that the professional label is in some instances a method of freezing individuals at a particular level in the organization. Fred Goldner and J. Ritti, "Professionalization as Career Immobility," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 72 (March, 1967), 489-503.

Furthermore, as Gouldner has argued, professional norms come about through extended periods of training and are responsive to a wider range of influences than the bureaucrat. Alvin Gouldner, "Cosmopolitans and Locals," Administrative Science Quarterly, Vol. 2 (1957-1958), 281-306, 444-480; Gail Inlow, "Is Teaching a Profession?" School Review, Vol. 64 (Summer, 1956), 256; Morris Cogan, "A Definition of Profession," Harvard Educational Review, Vol. 23 (Winter, 1953), 33-50; Louis Edinberger, "The Challenge of Professionalization," High School Journal, Vol. 51 (November, 1968), 151.

Also Colombotos found that teachers tended to exhibit certain service characteristics of a professional but did not hold strong peer group standards for performance, or as points of reference. The professional characteristics which he did find tended to be an artifact of the sex roles of the teachers. John Colombotos, Sources of Professionalism (Cooperative Research Project No. 330. Department of Sociology, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1962).

In this study specialization will refer to teaching functions in secondary schools requiring a certain expertise which is obtained outside the school system. The teacher will be viewed as a specialist possessing technical knowledge, but nevertheless responsive to the control structure of the educational organization. Not treating teachers as professionals does not mean that conflicts cannot emerge within the system. Viewing teachers as specialists, but not professionals, is a fundamental

This suggests that teachers may be legitimately treated as specialists, but do not possess the entire set of characteristics commonly associated with professionals. Their attachment to the organization as a source of rewards and mobility, and their lack of control over the teaching situation represent at least two points where teachers differ from the commonly assumed professional orientations.[12]

Specialization does not necessarily imply professionals; experts may be employed who are responsive to the demands of the organization. Teachers represent one example of the expert who becomes responsive to the organization through the rewards it extends, and the opportunity for mobility it offers him.

Specialization is a functional requisite for attaining organizational objectives. As indicated above, however, functional relationships relate workers to tasks, but social relationships interrelate workers. Given the functional requirements of specialization, the inquiry now turns to its impact upon relationships among workers.

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assumption upon which much of the theory of this study is based. The empirical research available, however, suggests that such an assumption is correct. Teachers are specialists but not necessarily professionals. This distinction is extremely important and has not been given adequate consideration in the literature to date.

[12]Blanche Geer, "Occupational Commitment and the Teaching Profession," School Review, Vol. 74 (Summer, 1966), 31-47.

Specialization has been recognized as one of the major forces leading to social integration. Durkheim's famous argument, while derived from the study of societies, may have application to organizational relationships. Participants in an organization working within specialized sub-parts may come to develop integrative ties as a result of the increased communication which specialization necessitates. Further, as communication is required to solve similar problems it promotes the establishment of a common identity.[13]

In contrast to this argument there is some evidence to suggest that specialization, when applied to different types of tasks leads to a variety of social relationships. It was found that the most routine tasks were associated with task oriented relationships, but more complex tasks were associated with close integrative bonds while the most uncertain tasks, such as basic research, were again associated with task specific relationships.[14]

Other factors have been found to affect the degree of integration. Location and ability to communicate with other members of the specialized unit were

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[13]Emile Durkheim, The Division of Labor in Society (New York: The Free Press, 1964), 260-266 and 2-7.

[14]Paul Lawrence and Jay Lorsch, Organization and Environment (Boston: Graduate School of Business Administration of Harvard University, 1967), 30-34.

associated with the degree of integration. Likewise, age, sex, marital status, and ethnic background, as well as the prestige of the specialized task, all affect the degree of integration.[15] Thus, there are a series of contingencies which have an impact upon the integration of specialities in a complex organization. The general proposition, as established by Durkheim, must be scrutinized in light of these contingencies if the social relationships which flow from specialization are to be understood.

In summary, specialization was defined as a functional relationship between the individual and his task. It can be applied to a variety of tasks ranging from the simple and routine to the most complex and uncertain. When applied to the latter the question of expertise must be considered. Expertise to deal with complex tasks does not necessarily mean a professional vested with all the structural and attitudinal characteristics associated with that institution. Expertise may be viewed as a characteristic of participants working within complex organizations and subject to their norms of rational authority. Experts become allied with the organization

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[15]Leonard Sayles, The Behavior of Industrial Work Groups (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1958), 113; and Edward Gross, "Social Integration and the Control of Competition," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 67 (November, 1961), 270-277.

through the incentive it offers them for rewards and mobility. It was decided that teachers seemed to correspond with this definition of an expert; they are trained in a specialized area yet are responsive to the organization and its demands for control. Finally, specialization fosters integration among the members of a specialized sub-part of the organization. The degree to which members of specialized sub-parts become socially integrated depends upon a number of contingencies, which limit their ability to interact, and affect the desirability of interaction. From this discussion of specialization it is now possible to turn attention to coordination as another functional relationship found in special purpose organizations.

Coordination

Development of Coordinative Decisions

Coordination is distinct from control; coordination emphasizes the functional relationships among activities while control is concerned with the restriction or limitation of activities.[16] Coordination is particularly suited to complex and non-routine tasks since it emphasizes their interdependence while at the same time

[16]Poul Meyer, Administrative Organization (London: Stevens and Sons Ltd., 1957), 55-57.

avoiding scrutiny of their actual performance. Arranging complex tasks so that one facilitates the completion of another does not require an understanding of the task itself, but only of the functional relationship it holds with other tasks leading toward the attainment of the organization's goal. Simon has commented upon, and clearly distinguished the coordination of tasks from the expertise required to perform them:

> Coordination should be clearly distinguished from expertise. Expertise involves the adoption of a good decision. Coordination is aimed at the adoption by all members of the group of the same decision, or more precisely of mutually consistent decisions in combination attaining the established goal.[17]

This statement implies that at least two types of organizational decisions can be distinguished. One type is concerned with interrelating activities and could be termed, following Simon, coordinative. A second type deals with decisions an expert makes in the course of working through a complex set of tasks. In this study attention will be focused upon the first of these two types. Coordinative decisions may be made by all levels of personnel, including the specialist, they are linking in character so as to involve other participants or tasks in a specified commitment to a certain course of action. While specialists may engage in coordinative decisions their ability in this area is limited by their

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[17]Herbert Simon, Administrative Behavior (New York: The Free Press, 1957), 139.

expertise which distorts their perception of larger organizational goals.

Metron, building on the writings of Veblen, describes this distortion as a trained incapacity.

> Trained incapacity refers to that state of affairs in which ones abilities function as inadequacies or blind spots. Actions based upon training and skills which have been successfully applied in the past may result in an inappropriate response under changed conditions.[18]

Thus specialists tend to develop a myopic view of the larger organization to which they are responsible. They impart to their task an importance beyond its real value for the organization. Downs has also commented upon this phenomenon.

> Each official's view of the public interest cannot be completely divorced from the way his self interest is influenced by incentive of the specialized bureaucracy. To some extent the job makes the man because the incentives facing the man in job lead him to exaggerate its true importance.[19]

Thus the experts' myopia gives rise to the need for the coordination of specialized sub-parts. Coordinative decisions are designed to interrelate tasks with a view toward attaining organizational goals. To make coordinative decisions, positions are invested with

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[18]Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure (New York: The Free Press, 1957), 198.

[19]Anthony Downs, Inside Bureaucracy (Boston: Little Brown and Co., 1967), 105. For an example of this in school systems see Edward Gross and Samuel Popper, "Service and Maintenance Orientation in a Junior High School," Educational Administration Quarterly, Vol. 1 (Spring, 1965), 29-42.

authority. It is the responsibility of the hierarchy of authority, however, to determine where each coordinative decision should be made. In some cases coordinative decisions are made at the upper most level of the organization, in others, authority may be delegated to lower positions making them responsible for the integration of specialized tasks.[20]

In this study, by investigating the positions associated with making coordinative decisions, the focus is upon the structure of decision-making, and not upon the psychological processes which take place in actually formulating a decision. The structure of decision-making refers to positions in the organizations where different decisions are made. In this way a variety of coordinative decisions are related to the positions responsible for their execution. By associating different decisions with a hierarchy of positions a profile of the decision-making structure can be formulated.

Differences Between Participation in Decision-Making and the Making of Coordinative Decisions

Before continuing, the differentiating of coordinative decisions as special type will be considered. There is a seeming contradiction in the literature between those authors who argue that administrative and expert decisions

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[20]Meyer, Administrative Organization, 57-59.

are basically incompatible, and those who assert that they are complementary and facilitate the attainment of organizational goals.

On the one hand it is argued that decisions are different, and so long as administrative decisions are made by administrators and specialized decisions by experts, no incompatibility will emerge. Others argue, however, that this represents a fundamental incompatibility making conflict inherent in those organizations employing experts. Under such conditions there arises what Blau and Scott view as a basic dilemma between the necessity for administrative control and specialists' demands for freedom.[21] This contradiction, is in part, a result of the confusion in the literature between the degree to which decisions are centralized and participation in the making of decisions. These terms are not strictly synonymous; by equating them, authors arrive at erroneous conclusions concerning the relationship between the expert and the administrator.

Participation in decision-making is generally taken to mean inclusion in the process by which decisions are made. This suggests that decisions concerning specific areas of an organization are collectively determined

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[21]Blau and Scott, Formal Organizations, 247-249. Another article which describes this dilemma, as well as offering a review of the literature on this topic is Michael Aiken and Jerald Hage, "Organizational Alienation: A Comparative Analysis," American Sociological Review, Vol. 31 (August, 1966), 497-507.

through group consultation. But, as the argument runs, where specialization increases, decisions become more centralized in order to control a wider range of specialized activities which excludes the experts from participation. Thus, it is assumed that specialization creates greater centralization. Where specialization leads to centralization decisions will be made at high level positions which ignore the interests of the specialists they are supposed to coordinate.[22] As a result, the ensuing decisions cannot be accepted by the specialist since they do not reflect the problems which he encounters in the performance of his tasks. This in turn leads to conflict between the specialist and the administrator. But this argument should not be reserved exclusively for specialists, since the making of any decision which does not reflect the problems of the subordinates who must carry it out will create vertical conflict within the organization.

In the case of coordinative decisions, however, the emphasis is on functional integration and not on reducing the ability of the specialist to perform his assigned tasks. Exclusion from making coordinative decisions is not the same as exclusion from participation in making

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[22]There is some evidence to indicate that as organizations become more specialized their decision-making structure becomes more decentralized, not less. See Peter Blau, "The Hierarchy of Authority in Organizations," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 73 (January, 1968), 453-467.

decisions. First, in the case of participation, it is automatically assumed that the decisions being made are affecting the specialist and his role in the organization. Secondly, it implies that new decisions are emerging through the exercise of authority. Coordinative decisions, however, refer to the integration of organizational tasks. The decision in question may have nothing to do directly with specialists, in fact it may be strictly an administrative decision which specialists would not want to make in the first place. Also the decisions in question here are not new ones in the process of being formulated but may be routine conclusions reached by that position many times before.

Finally, it is not sufficient to simply postulate that the lower the decision is made in any organization hierarchy the more compatible it will be with specialists' demands. In fact the alternative could well be argued. Corwin has emphasized that the more coordinative decisions made by teachers the greater is the potential for conflicts among them.[23] There is evidence to indicate that this is not entirely an administrative bias in the literature; experts also prefer to be relieved of coordinative decisions which interrupt their attention

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[23]Ronald G. Corwin, Development of an Instrument for Measuring Staff Conflict, 111.

to matters they consider more relevant. Moreover, they realize that authority to make decisions is essential to any organizations' operation.[24]

Thus, it is not correct to equate participation in the making of decisions with the making of coordinative decisions. They refer to two entirely different sets of conditions. In the case of participation in decision-making, conflict is endemic to the relationship. Under the conditions described above the centralization of coordinative decisions does not exclude specialists, it is instead a method of inquiring into the level at which a range of decisions are made. Depending, however, upon the decisions and where they are made, the potential for conflict exists, but is not endemic to the relationship.

Coordination of Organizational Relationships

Now that the nature of coordination has been established, and its relationship to decision-making considered, it is now necessary to review the literature that relates coordination to the social relationships among participants in the organization. Three factors will be reviewed: the degree of specialization, the communication among positions, and the legitimacy invested in each position for making coordinative decisions.

[24]Mary Goss, "Influence and Authority Among Physicians in An Outpatient Clinic," American Sociological Review, Vol. 26 (February, 1961), 39-50.

Coordination and Specialization

Victor Thompson has noted that the proliferation of functional specialities tend to outstrip the administrative roles which must coordinate them. Old lines of status and authority become outmoded in the light of new specialities which challenge their legitimacy and subvert more traditionalized relationships. Thus, at the functional level, new specialities may fit into the existing lines of control, but socially these new specialities may engender conflicting relationship with the administrative hierarchy.[25]

In some respects Thompson's argument is a summary statement on much of the literature concerning the relationships between specialists and administrative personnel. The degree of conflict which is experienced between two or more levels of an organization may approximate the number of factors around which they can disagree. Where decisions tend to be made at higher levels of the organization lower positions may exhibit integration. However, as decisions come to be made at lower levels, conflict arises among these positions. Thus it might be expected that conflict between two positions will be a function of the number of decisions made at those levels. If school systems execute

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[25]Victor Thompson, "Hierarchy, Specialization, and Organizational Conflict," Administrative Science Quarterly, Vol. 5 (March, 1961), 485.

decisions at the superintendent level then integration between teachers and principals will be closer than where more decisions are executed at the principal level.[26]

Coordination and Communication

Communication among positions also tends to affect the social relationships between various levels of the organization. Where specialization involves complex non-routing tasks communication between the specialist and the administrator are essential for effective coordination.[27] The problem is, however, as specialization increases, decisions may be made at higher levels in the organization which in turn excludes upward communication from subordinates. This creates conflict between vertical positions in the organization.[28]

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[26]Herbert Simon, Donald Smithburg, and Victor Thompson, Public Administration (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1950), 164-166.

[27]Morris Janowitz, "Changing Patterns of Organizational Authority," Administrative Science Quarterly, Vol. 3 (March, 1959), 473; and Thompson, "Hierarchy, Specialization, and Organizational Conflict."

[28]Claggett Smith, "Comparative Analysis of Some Conditions and Consequences of Intra-Organizational Conflict," Administrative Science Quarterly, Vol. 10 (March, 1966), 504-529; William Evan, "Superior-Subordinate Conflict in a Research Organization," Administrative Science Quarterly, Vol. 10 (June, 1965), 52-64; and Louis Pondy, "Organizational Conflict: Concepts and Models," Administrative Science Quarterly, Vol. 12 (September, 1967), 296-320.

Status differences also affect organization communication. One author found that as the hierarchical differences between positions increased, communication between them created conflict. By contrast communication between similar positions, tended to increase the liking, between incumbents of different positions.[29] If this is correct, then it might be inferred that the greater the communication between teachers and central administration the greater the conflict between them. But the greater the interaction between teachers and principals the closer the integration between these two positions. If, however, decisions are executed at one level, in the face of considerable communication between that position and ones subordinate to it, then the relationships may become sufficiently close to embody both elements of conflict and integration. So long as the flow of communication is maintained integration will be relatively high between adjacent positions. Where no decisions are executed by a superordinate position however, integration will be relatively high between that position and the ones subordinate to it despite any lack of communication. But if superordinate positions execute a relatively large number of decisions, without communicating with subordinate positions then conflict will develop between those

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[29]Pelz, "Interaction and Attitudes: Scientists and Staff," Administrative Science Quarterly, Vol. 4 (December, 1959), 321-336.

two positions. Thus communication becomes an intervening variable determining the quality of relationships between different levels of the organization.

This leads to the question of assessing just how the decision-making structure affects conflict and integration between the teachers and other vertical positions in the organization.

Coordination and Legitimacy

As stated above the authority to make coordinative decisions is vested in the hierarchy of the organization. But authority is a two sided proposition. It eminates from the top of the organization down, but it is based upon the legitimacy which subordinates invest in their superiors through accepting their commands or directives. If subordinates refuse to accept directives then they in fact withdraw their legitimacy, and thus the authority relationship breaks down. Weber viewed legitimacy as the basis for normative rules of behavior. Norms, as defined by Williams, are "rules of conduct; they specify what should and should not be done by various kinds of social actors in various kinds of situations."[30]

Where different positions in the organization share common norms concerning the legitimacy of each position

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[30]Parsons, Max Weber: . . . , 324-339; and Robin Williams, American Society (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1963), 24.

to make certain decisions, there will be less conflict among those positions than where norms are not shared, that is, where the "should" is not equated with the "actual." Thus by relating a range of coordinative decisions to different positions in the organization it is possible to determine where those decisions are actually made, and then to assess where subordinates perceive those decisions should be made. Dealing with social relationships between administrators and specialists in this manner does not assume that either conflict or integration exists. Instead, it lays the question before the data and makes it subject to empirical proof. Not only can the ideal be compared with the actual decision-making process, but the strength of the norms for determining where each decision should be made can also be investigated.

In summary then, coordination was defined as essentially integrative rather than restrictive in character. Coordinative decisions were designed to relate one set of tasks to another in order to achieve the organization's goal. By introducing coordinative decisions the confusion surrounding participation in decision-making, could be eliminated. In the case of coordinative decisions vertical conflicts may arise through the withdrawal of subordinate legitimacy but it is not endemic to the relationship. In fact coordinative

decisions tended to free specialists from bothersome tasks and permitted them to focus their attention upon the solutions of their own problems. Finally, it was found that specialization and communication can effect the social relationships between positions. Further, each had an impact on determining the manner in which legitimacy was extended to or withdrawn from superiors for making certain coordinative decisions.

Integration and Conflict

Background of the Concepts

Integration and conflict have become two of the conceptual cornerstones of modern sociological theory. Each represents a particular method for examining social life, and for focusing upon the relationships among social units. Their importance has been raised to the point that each concept has become a tool for categorizing sociological theories.[31] Nisbet, in exploring the roots of nineteenth century social thought, indicates how integration and conflict came to occupy pivotal points in explaining societal organization and human behavior.[32]

Integration theories are concerned with explaining how man comes to accept the dominant roles, norms, and

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[31]Donald Martindale, The Nature and Types of Sociological Theory (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1960).

[32]Robert Nisbet, The Sociological Tradition (New York: Basic Books, 1966), 3-20.

values which the larger society extends to him. Theories of this type are concerned with such questions as consensus, equilibrium, and cohesion which emerges among individuals.[33]

Conflict theories have focused upon an opposing set of questions. They have been concerned with how differing social experiences lead to conflicting interests, and a rejection of the dominant norms and values. These theories are concerned with dissensus, disequilibrium, and thus conflict between societal sub-parts. Further, conflict theorists have criticized theories of integration for not including dissensus and varying interests into their explanation.[34] While there has been a tendency for one type of explanation to be counterposed against the other, this need not be the case as several authors have argued. They assert that one explanation complements the other.[35]

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[33]For a first statement of the relationship between roles, norms, and values, see Talcott Parsons, "The Place of Ultimate Values in Sociological Theory," International Journal of Ethics, Vol. 45 (April, 1935), 282-316. For a discussion of consensus, equilibrium, and the problem of integration see Alvin Gouldner, "Reciprocity and Autonomy in Functional Theory," in Symposium of Sociological Theory, ed. by Llewelyn Gross (New York: Harper and Row, 1959), 248-255.

[34]Ralf Dahrendorf, Class and Class Conflict in Industrial Society (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1959), 157-165; and David Lockwood, "Some Remarks on the Social System," British Journal of Sociology, Vol. 7 (1956), 134-146.

[35]Pierre Van Den Berghe, "Dialectic and Functionalism," American Sociological Review, Vol. 28 (June, 1965), 372.

These two concepts have carried over into the area of formal organization. Because of the contrived nature of organizations, however, there has been considerable attention given to promoting integration and to reducing conflict. In order to achieve a corporate goal it is essential that all positions responsible for achieving the goal be integrated to some degree.

This has led most theories of industrial management to focus upon methods of integration. Krupp has commented on the role of integration in organizational theories:

> through integration, the parts of a system merge into unity. More than a process, integration is a goal of human activity. It is a mechanism for control, a method of decision-making and a behavior characteristic.[36]

For organization theorists, then, integration represents a social unity emerging from the functional relationships between participants and their tasks. These authors assume that social integration will have a direct positive bearing upon the functional relationships specified by the organization.

Just as social integration is given a positive evaluation by organizational theorists, conflict is

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372; Gehard Lenski, Power and Privilege (New York: McGraw Hill Co., 1966), 17-22; and Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure, 39-41.

[36]Sherman Krupp, Pattern In Organization Analysis (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston Inc., 1961), 88.

viewed as pathological and thus detrimental to the achievement of organizational goals.[37] These arguments fail to consider the alternative relationships that exist between integration and conflict and the achievement of organizational goals. Conflict may promote certain goals just as integration may be detrimental to their realization. By treating neither variable in a neutral manner organization theorists may have limited their ability to explain the complex set of relationships that comprise the organizational tasks.[38]

Social Integration

Towards a Definition of Integration

Social integration is an important sociological concept which has been subjected to a variety of interpretations. Some authors have used it to describe the relationships between an individual and the system, others,

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[37] March and Simon discuss conflict in reference to ways that it can be eliminated from the organization. Dalton also views conflict as pathological and thus describes methods for its reduction. March and Simon, Organizations, 113-135; and Melville Dalton, "Conflict Between Staff and Line Manager Officers," American Sociological Review, Vol. 15 (June, 1950), 342-351.

[38] Parsons, Max Weber: . . . , 132-135; Lewis Coser, The Functions of Social Conflict (New York: The Free Press, 1966); and Robert C. North, et al., "The Integrative Functions of Conflict," Journal of Conflict Resolution, Vol. 4 (September, 1960), 355-374.

employ it to describe the quality of the system. Theoretically integration is a summarizing concept describing system characteristics which would otherwise require the use of several more limited concepts. Its use as a summarizing concept depicts its value for sociological theory, while at the same time pointing to its limitations for empirical research.

In this study integration will be used to define the quality or "degree of systemness" among constituent parts of formal organizations. According to Morse, this definition of integration is consistent with Parsons' use of the term, and he summarizes Parsons' description of the concept in the following way:

> The integrative problem is that of holding cooperating units in line of creating and maintaining solidarity despite the emotional strains involved in the processes of goal attainment and the manner of sharing the fruits of cooperation.[39]

If integration describes the quality of a system, that is, the extent to which smaller units can be viewed as components of a larger social unit, then the question must be raised as to what are the operational components of integration.[40]

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[39]Chandler Morse, "The Functional Imperatives," in The Social Theories of Talcott Parsons, ed. by Max Black (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1961), 114.

[40]At this point an important strategy judgment must be made. There are a variety of theoretical approaches to the study of integration, each using slightly different concepts and arriving at different theoretical structures. In this study it was decided to draw upon the works of

After reviewing Parsons writings, as well as many of the authors who have attempted to explicate his

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Talcott Parsons and the many authors who have attempted to clarify and elaborate his works. This decision was made for the following reasons. First, Parsons views integration as a quality of a social system. It is important to have this system perspective in order that a point of reference is constantly within view. Further, it permits researchers to look for indicators of system boundaries, and for the attributes which maintain those boundaries. This point may be summarized by saying that Parsons' work has been raised to a higher state of development than other theories employing integration. Secondly, and this point flows from the first, by drawing upon a single theory as the basis for building the concept of integration it will hopefully be possible to focus some indirect empirical attention upon Parsons' schema. It is one of the key points of inquiry to pursue a single line of theory at any one time. While the desire to "pull together" a number of incomplete theories is often enticing, the fruits from such an effort leads in no single theoretical direction. At this point then, it seems unwise to develop new amalgams without first having exhausted the ones which already exist. The third reason for adopting Parsons' approach is that the alternatives seem to be even less precise in their language and points of reference.

Holzner has provided an excellent review of the literature on the concept of integration. He notes that there are three distinct levels at which integration may operate--the sociopersonal, the social, the societal, and the sociocultural. Burkart Holzner, "Integration in Sociological Theory," Sociological Quarterly (Winter, 1967), 51-62. At the first level, integrating personalities with social systems, there is a considerable amount of literature on the subject of cohesion. Integration as used by these authors is not a quality of a social system, but a mechanism for assessing the "fit" between the individual and the social system. The quality of that system is then measured through the cohesion which it exhibits. See Peter Blau, "A Theory of Social Integration," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 65 (May, 1960), 545-556. Marshall Clinard, "The Group Approach to Social Re-Integration," American Sociological Review, Vol. 14 (April, 1949), 257-262. James Davis "Structural Balance, "Mechanical Solidarity and Interpersonal Relations," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 68 (January, 1963), 444-462. Neal Gross and Walter Martin, "On Group Cohesiveness,

theories, three dimensions of integration were selected for this investigation. Parsons discusses integration through the concept of system. Thus some attention must be given to this concept in order to show how the components of integration flow from a system. Martel has completed one of the most precise analyses of Parsons work on the social system. Based upon an intense review of Parsons and Shill's Toward a General Theory of Action, Martel asserts that a social system is based upon interactive events exhibiting three characteristics.

> 1. The participants in the system are committed to a collective goal orientation or common values. 2. They are further committed to complementary interaction involving a conception of legitimacy in terms of accepted values, and 3. The participants engage in concerted action at least to the extent of supporting one another in negatively sanctioning role violations by others.

Given these characteristics Martel concludes that:

Comment by Schachter, and Rejoinder by Gross and Martin," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 57 (September, 1952), 546-564. All of these approaches deal primarily with integration into informal groups on an interpersonal level. Further, as Holzner has observed, much of the work at the social and societal levels dealing with integration has operationalized the concept through common orientations. But, the problem of integration is not how similar parts fit together, the question is how do different parts become integrated into the system. This is essentially what this study considers; how specialists with different orientations, different tasks to perform, and different perspectives on the organization, become integrated into a system of social relationships. This question does not become a viable alternative in other discussions of integration. For these reasons this study will develop the concept of integration based upon the work of Parsons and those who have discussed his writings.

> A social system, thus formulated, exists to the extent that actors possess a cooperative orientation based on shared commitments to goals and role expectations having normative significance.[41]

These quotations suggest two dimensions of integration--support and communication. Since communication seems most basic it will be examined first.

Communication is central to the development of expectations and obligations associated with a given role, without some form of communication through which units of the system can make their expectations known to others there is little opportunity for the development of integrated relationships. Thus Parsons principle of "double contingency" implies communication for the development of role behavior.[42] Communication does not automatically assume integration, though in some cases increased communication will promote increased integration. The argument here is that without communication there is not likely to be any social integration among constituent units, and as a result no system will emerge. Communication does not have to be direct or personal, although in this study it will be treated as such. A second component of integration which the above quotations suggest is support. Underlying an integrated social system is

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[41]Martin Martel, "Some Controversial Assumptions in Parsons' Approach to Social System Theory," Sociological Inquiry, Vol. 34 (Spring, 1964), 55.

[42]Edward Devereaux, Jr., "Parsons Sociological Theory," in Social Theories of Talcott Parsons, ed. by Max Black, op. cit., 25.

some element of cooperation in the playing out of system roles. Further, cooperation implies that there is support for a role performance in that others play out counter-roles and thus assist in making the performance a rewarding experience. Not only will units in a system support positive performances of role behavior but they also cooperate to sanction and thus withdraw support for violations in role performance. Thus there is some evidence to indicate that support is an essential part of system integration, and that it emerges through communication among constituents of the system.

There is a third component of integration which can be inferred from his description of a social system. Communication and support in the playing of system roles is based upon a shared commitment to the role expectations set out by the system; this implies that constituent units come to identify with the system into which they are integrated. Thus, a relationship between each unit and the system as a whole becomes a third component of system integration.

Bronfenbrenner in discussing Parsons' theory of identification draws on the following quote:

> The end product of this phase of the socialization cycle seems to be the appropriate place to use the term identification. This essentially means that internalization of the new object system has been successfully completed . . . that from now on ego's major 'predispositions' or 'orientations'

> are to act in terms of the internalized object system and the motives which are organized in it.[43]

This quotation indicates that through the process of identification, roles become internalized and thus constituent units of the system become committed to the social arrangements of that system.

Identification with the role expectations and patterns of normative behavior which compose a social system implies that constituent units come to regard that system as a point of reference for their behavior. Identification with a system suggests that the system becomes a reference group for guiding the behavior of its constituent units. Thus the third underlying dimension of an integrated system is that it acts as a reference group in guiding the behavior of the constituent units.[44]

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[43]Urie Bronfenbrenner, "Parsons' Theory of Identification," in The Social Theories of Talcott Parsons, ed. by Max Black, op. cit., 199.

[44]The concept of a reference group has proven to be a valuable explanatory variable in social research. Its importance derives from its use as a linking concept between a given individual or unit and the larger social order of which the individual or unit are a part. The value of this concept for research is best depicted in the following works. Robert Merton and Alice Kitt, "Contributions to the Theory of Reference Group Behavior," in Continuities in Social Research, ed. by Robert Merton and Paul Lazarsfeld (Glencoe: Free Press, 1950), 40-106; S. N. Eisenstadt, "Reference Group Behavior and Social Integration," American Sociological Review, Vol. 19 (April, 1954), 175-185; and E. J. Baur, "Public Opinion and the Primary Group," American Sociological Review, Vol. 25 (April, 1960), 208-219. Other theoretical treatments of the concept can be found in the following works. Harold Kelley, "Attitude and Judgements as Influence by Reference Groups," in Readings in Social

Thus, communication, support, and identification underlie the more general concept of integration by specifying the relationship among sub-parts of a potential system. To reiterate, however, no claim is made that this listing exhausts the components of integration. Investigating these dimensions of integration does, however, facilitate an understanding of its use in the theoretical literature. To determine if these concepts are important indicators of integration, their use in the formal organization literature will now be reviewed.

Social Integration and Organizational Relationships

Communication

Communication is a basic mechanism for the operation of complex organizations. Barnard has argued that accomplishing a cooperative purpose, which is the basic goal of all organizations, can be achieved only through the communication of that purpose.[45] Recent inquiries into

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Psychology, ed. by G. Swanson T. Newcombe and E. Hartley (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1952). For an article outlining the concept as it will be used here see T. Shibutani, "Reference Groups as Perspectives," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 60 (May, 1955), 562-569. Other discussions of the subject include: M. Sherif, "Reference Groups in Human Relationships," in Sociological Theory: A Book of Readings, ed. by L. Coser and Bernard Rosenberg (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1964), 270-275; and M. Sherif and C. Sherif, Reference Groups (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1961).

[45]Chester Barnard, The Functions of the Executive (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1938), 89.

the role of communication in organizations indicate that communication flows through the channels of authority, and within the areas of expertise. These two networks may not overlap, thus creating coordination problems for the organization.[46] Geutzkow notes that, what he calls "information exchanges" tend to flow in the opposite direction of the authority networks, yet this observation is largely discredited by empirical work.[47] Cyert and March believe that information flows in the same direction as authority, since information is assessed at higher levels and then diffused downward to the relevant sub-parts of the organization.[48]

The hierarchy of authority seems to best describe the directions and channels by which communication flows through an organization. There is at least one other area of research which corroborates this conclusion. A review of the small group literature indicates that as status differences emerge, changes occur in the way collective tasks are solved. Status differences were

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[46] Simon, Smithsburg, and Thompson, Public Administration, 235; and Thompson, Modern Organizations, 111.

[47] Harold Geutzkow, "Communications in Organizations," in Handbook of Organizations, ed. by James G. March (Chicago: Rand McNally and Co., 1965), 543.

[48] Richard Cyert and James March, Behavioral Theory of the Firm (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1963), 104.

found to reduce communication and support between super and subordinates in the group. Further, status differences encouraged subordinates to choose friends who were of a higher status, but superordinates did not reciprocate in their selections, and instead chose people of equal or higher status. This factor may have been instrumental in leading to the decline in support and communication between these positions.[49]

There is little evidence to indicate what form communication takes among experts. One author does point out that conflict arises when administrators attempt to impose directives that experts consider irrelevant or disrupting to the performance of their tasks.[50] This implies that status based on formal authority and status based upon expertise may be antagonistic and lead to conflict where the two channels of communication become joined. It is an open question, however, as to whether differing orientations, or simply differences in social

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[49]Harold H. Kelley and John W. Thibaut, "Experimental Studies of Group Problem Solving and Process," in Handbook of Social Psychology, ed. by Gardner Lindzey (Reading: Addison Wesley Co., 1954), 736-764, and especially 772-776; Harold Kelly, "Communication in Experimentally Created Hierarchies," Human Relations, Vol. 4 (February, 1951), 39-56; and Jacob Horowitz, et al., "Some Effects of Power on the Relations Among Group Members" in Group Dynamics, ed. by Dorwin Cartwright and Alvin Zander (Evanston: Row Peterson Co., 1953), 483-492.

[50]James D. Thompson, "Organizational Management of Conflict," Administrative Science Quarterly, Vol. 5, (March, 1961), 485-521.

status lead to conflict between administrators and specialists.[51] But if open lines of communication exist, in conjunction with alternative systems of status rewards, integration may increase among the specialists. This in turn could lead to a discounting of the administrative hierarchy.

Social Support

The organizational literature on social support indicates that it is closely associated with communication. The importance of support for improving social relationships among organizational participants is well documented in the organization literature. Blau and Scott found that increased support among participants at the same level of the organization tended to reduce anxiety toward their tasks and to increase integration among members. Likewise subordinates react favorably to supportive behavior from their superiors.[52] In general, supportive relationships tend to integrate organizational members, regardless of differences in positions, and to improve their performance and attitudes toward the organization.[53]

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[51]Pelz, "Interaction and Attitudes Between Subordinates and Staff."

[52]Blau and Scott, Formal Organizations, 98.

[53]Chris Argyris, "Understanding Human Behavior in Organizations," in Modern Organization Theory, ed. by Mason Haire (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1959), 115-154; and Renis Likert, New Patterns of Management (New York: McGraw Hill Book Co., 1962).

There are some data taken from the study of school organizations which also recognize the importance of supportive behavior for eliciting positive responsiveness from teachers toward administrators in their building. Halpin, in a study of school superintendents, found that there were differences between the degree of consideration which the superintendent thought he should exhibit and what teachers perceived him as displaying. Consideration was equated with supportive behavior on the part of the superior. Teachers in general tended to desire more individual consideration than superintendents were willing to demonstrate. However, Sweitzer found that teachers desired less individualized attention and support than the principal offered. This indicates that there are some discrepancies in the type of relationships teachers desire to maintain with administration. It also evidences a desire on the part of some subordinates to relate with superiors in more formalized and impersonal ways. Neither study considered the relationships among the teachers themselves to determine the existence of other systems of status and rewards which might offset the need for attention from superiors.[54]

This literature suggests that support among participants in an organization positively affects their

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[54]Halpin, Theory and Research in Administration; and Sweitzer, Role Expectations and Perceptions of School Principals.

social relationships. As with communication, however, there is some indication that where other status systems or sources of rewards exist, they may reduce subordinates desire for support from superiors. In this case meaningful support becomes limited to the peer group and thus integration follows horizontal rather than vertical directions.

Reference Groups

Like the other components of integration, reference groups have an important impact upon the direction which integration takes in formal organizations. Gouldner found that cosmopolitans tended to identify with their professional colleague group, and thus to exhibit a low identification with the organization in which they worked.[55]

Other studies indicate that this holds true only so long as the rewards from professional colleague group exceed those which the organization can offer.[56] Thus identification with reference groups serves to integrate the individual or group with a common point of reference. In a study of teacher organizations, Corwin found that identification with the administrative hierarchy led to

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[55]Gouldner, "Cosmopolitans and Locals."

[56]Warren G. Bennis, et al., "Reference Groups and Loyalties in the Out-Patient Department," Administrative Science Quarterly, Vol. 2 (March, 1958), 481-500.

conflict if teachers perceived the administration as not acting in their best interests. Professionals on the other hand, exhibited less conflict with the administration since their point of reference was oriented toward the colleague group.[57]

In another study, Eisenstadt found that subordinates identified with authority positions only so long as those positions legitimated the aspirations of the subordinates. This finding summarizes much of the literature described above, subordinates identify with administrative positions only so long as those positions offer significant rewards for them. When no such rewards are forthcoming, or where they are exceeded by rewards from other groups, or organizations, subordinates tend to shift their loyalty to those units.

Blau and Scott, in their study of governmental agencies, found that as workers improved their informal status, and became more integrated into their work group, they also came to identify more closely with their peers. This finding related identification with peers to the development of informal reference groups within the organization. These findings, like the ones for communication, and to a lesser extent for support, indicate the

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[57]Ronald Corwin, "Militant Professionalism: Initiative and Compliance in Public Education, Sociology of Education, Vol. 38 (Summer, 1965), 310-331.

relationships among participants at the same level of an organization tend to emerge through both the social and technical relationships they have with superiors.

In summary, this section has dealt with examining the components of social integration as they are suggested by Parsons' approach to the problem. Three components of integration were gleaned from discussions of the subject. They were communication, support, and identification with a reference group. No claim was made that this listing exhausted the range of components of integration, but their relational character implicates them as important components of the concept.

In reviewing the organizational literature on these components, it was found that communication networks were restricted by the hierarchy of authority, and the degree of expertise in an organization. The authority and expertise networks seemed to operate independently; when they did cross, however, it engendered conflict between the administrative positions and the specialists. Support was viewed as an important component of integration. Supportive behavior, when initiated by superiors, increased subordinates willingness to comply with organizational demands. Finally, reference group identification was closely related to the reward structures of the organization. Where subordinates gained rewards from the organization they tended to identify with it. Where such

rewards were withdrawn, subordinates either came to reject superiors, or to engage them in conflict. Where no such identification existed, the subordinates were not concerned with the activities of the organization. Identification with a peer reference group was found to be dependent upon the status an individual could claim in the peer group. Those of high status were more closely integrated into the group and thus identified with it. This finding, like the others, indicates that rewards determine how individuals come to identify with and to take on certain reference groups in the organization. In the next section the nature of conflict within the organization will be examined.

Conflict

Towards a Definition of Conflict

Just as the vitality of a system can be measured by the degree of subunit integration, the breakdown of the same system can be viewed in terms of the conflict between incumbents of various positions. From Parsons' perspective then, where conflict prevails there may be meaningful interaction but no social system can exist. There are a variety of reasons why conflict arises between social units. Theories eminating from the Marxian tradition focus upon basic differences in interests and

social experiences as the root of conflict.[58] Other discussions of conflict focus upon the distinctions between organizational expectations and individual needs. Argyris believes that organizational expectations require more of an infantile passivity rather than the initiative and independence associated with adulthood.[59]

Conflict also emerges when various reference groups hold inconsistent expectations for the occupant of one position. This type of conflict recognizes the importance of the audiences before which individuals carry out their activities. At another level it implies that conflict may arise from the inconsistencies between the role requirements and what the individual personally believes to be correct.[60] Finally, Seeman describes several intrapersonal dimensions of conflict experienced by school superintendents. First, is the status dimension which involves conflict between the success ideology and the equality ideology. Second, is the contradiction

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[58]Karl Marx and Fredrick Engels, The German Ideology (New York: International Publishers Co., 1947), 41-43; and Dahrendorf, Class and Class Conflict in Industrial Societies, 173-179.

[59]Cris Argyris, Personality and Organization (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1957), 50-51.

[60]Ralph M. Stodgill, "Personal Factors Associated with Leadership: A Survey of the Literature," Journal of Psychology, Vol. 25 (January, 1948), 35-37. Also see Samuel Stouffer and Jackson Toby, "Role Conflict and Personality," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 56 (March, 1951), 395; and Jackson Toby, "Some Variables in Role Conflict Analysis," Social Forces, Vol. 30 (March, 1952), 323.

between dependence and independence; individuals demand more voice in the direction of a system but reject the responsiblity which must accompany the giving of directions. A third dimension of conflict is the choice between universalistic criteria versus personalized criteria of judgment.[61]

At a more abstract level, some theorists have argued that conflict is essentially a competition for scarce resources and positions. This argument equates conflict and competition and draws no distinction between the two concepts. Competition cannot be equated with conflict, since societal organization establishes parameters governing the exercise of competition. Thus sporting events are competitive, but they have specific rules governing their enactment. Two organizations vying for a large contract are competing for a resource but there are also norms governing how this is to be conducted. In contrast, however, conflict has no rules for its enactment. Opponents devise strategies designed to inflict injury upon each other; the element of destruction thus looms large in the realm of conflict. No such desire to destroy seems associated with

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[61]Melvin Seeman, Social Status and Leadership: The Case of the School Superintendent (Columbus Bureau of Educational Research, The Ohio State University, 1960), 1-35. For a general discussion of role conflict in the educational system see J. W. Getzels and E. G. Guba, "The Structure of Role and Role Conflict in the Teaching Situation," Journal of Educational Sociology, Vol. 29 (September, 1955), 30-40.

competition, and, in fact, prescription for the execution of competition is designed specifically to prevent such occurrences.[62]

From this review there appears to be a number of ways in which conflict can arise, it may be intra-personal, interpersonal or intergroup, in each case however, it has similar consequences for the social system in question.

Regardless of the level at which conflict appears, it disrupts the vitality of the social system in which the actors are participating. Conflict calls into question the roles, normative patterns and the goals of the system; refusal to comply with these social prescriptions is indicative of the incompatibility between the components. Thus, whatever the source of the disagreement, the consequences which it has for the functions of a system remains the same. Deutsch has summarized the relationship among parties to a conflict by focusing upon the degree of incompatibility between the expectations, and goals associated with each party to the conflict.

> Incompatibility between two acting systems can be measured in terms of the sum of the probable changes--that is, the probable changes in inner structure--that would occur in System A, and of

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[62]For a discussion of conflict as competition see Raymond W. Mack and Richard C. Snyder, "The Analysis of Social Conflict," Journal of Conflict Resolution, Vol. 1 (June, 1957), 215-248; and Kenneth Boulding, Conflict and Defense (New York: Harper Torch Books, 1962), 8.

> the changes in System B, if the inner programs of each of these two systems were carried out.[63]

In pointing to incompatibilities between parties to a conflict the emphasis is upon the amount of disagreement and not upon its source. Thus by conceptualizing conflict in this manner, it becomes a summary term for the perceived incompatibilities between participants in the organization. Based on this review of the literature, organizational conflict can now be considered.

Organizations are generally conceptualized in terms of the authority structure and the cooperation achieved through functional interdependence. This perspective, however, avoids many of the internal problems which organizations must resolve. One author has observed that organizations might be more meaningfully conceived of as an amalgam of interest groups each bent upon pursuing its own goals to the exclusion of others.[64] The relationship between functional and social interdependence is always problematic. Improper functional relationships lead to social conflict between components of the organization. But as March and Simon point out, for intergroup conflict to arise, there must first be an absence of individual conflict. Thus, by implication

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[63]Karl Deutsch, The Nerves of Government (New York: The Free Press, 1966), 112.

[64]Krupp, Pattern in Organizational Analysis, 169-171.

they recognize that social conflict can promote interpersonal integration. In general, they assert that conflict grows out of the need for joint decision-making and differing perceptions of reality. Thus, as interdependence increases, there is a greater potential for conflict over the goals to be pursued, the perceptions of reality, and over scarce resources.[65]

Just as interdependence creates conflict among similar levels of the organization the authority structure creates conflict between levels. Vertical conflict between supervisors and subordinates arises from the lack of legitimacy which subordinates invest in superiors direction. Much of the literature on this question has already been cited but one study of particular importance deserves more consideration at this point. Scott has observed that certain organizations employ participants who exhibit varying degrees of expertise. Variation in expertise leads to problems of structuring. Organizations

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[65]On this general point of interdependence and conflict see the following: March and Simon, Organizations, 112-122; James D. Thompson, Organizations in Action (New York: McGraw Hill Book Co., 1967), 138; Henry Landsberger, "The Horizontal Dimension in Bureaucracy," Administrative Science Quarterly, Vol. 6 (December, 1961), 299-332; and Paul Lawrence and Jay Lorsch, "Differentiation and Integration in Complex Organizations," Administrative Science Quarterly, Vol. 12 (June, 1967), 149. Jules Henry, "The Formal Structure of a Psychiatric Hospital," Psychiatry, Vol. 18 (May, 1954), 139-152; and Michel Crozier, "Human Relations at the Management Level in a Bureaucratic System of Organizations," Human Organization, Vol. 19 (Summer, 1961), 51-64.

must cover all contingencies established by the least expert of the participants. In so doing, however, they incur hostility from the more expert participants who demand greater autonomy over their work. This sets in motion conflicting relationships between the most valued employees and the administration. To resolve this dilemma supervisors are expected to treat subordinates in an individualized manner thus taking into account their differential expertise. Such conflict reducing mechanisms may, however, serve to subvert organizational objectivity and lead to even greater conflicts as participants learn they are being treated differentially.[66]

In summary, by viewing conflict as incompatibility between the social prescriptions to which individuals or social units subscribe, allows researchers to focus upon the consequences of conflict rather than its sources. More important however, is that such a conception allows for an analysis of the breakdown of a system just as integration permits an examination into the quality or vitality of a social system. Thus, by considering conflict and integration as moving along a single dimension it is possible to investigate the degree of "systemness" between and among participants at various levels of the organization hierarchy. Thus, the impact

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[66] W. Richard Scott, "Reaction to Supervision in Heteronomous Professional Organizations," Administrative Science Quarterly, Vol. 10 (June, 1965), 65.

of functional relationships such as specialization and centralization of decision-making can be assessed in terms of the way they promote integration or incur conflict among the participants.

Statement of the Theory and the Development of the Hypotheses

In this chapter the four concepts to be used in this dissertation were developed. The discussion was often polemical pitting one school of thought against another. The effort was designed to uncover contradictions and weaknesses in the arguments posed by the different schools. Often the arguments were long and complex, and the counter-arguments equally abstruse; as a result the reader may have lost and regained, only to lose again the slender thread of reasoning running through these discussions. Being the case, it is thus necessary to summarize the logic of the dissertation. In attempting to put down a single line of reasoning from which hypotheses emerge one argument is implicitly given more currency than another. The logic, however, like all argument in the social science, is a series of strategy judgments concerning which school of thought speaks most pertinently about the problems under investigation. Thus, when the hypotheses are accepted, the strategy judgments are temporarily confirmed. But when the hypotheses are rejected, all is not at a loss, alternative arguments

must then be pursued and elaborated. Rejected hypotheses, though never satisfying, should not lead to an admission of failure, instead they hopefully point the way for new reasoning and exploration.

Specialization is a fundamental attribute of organizations, it divides functions into component elements and hopefully provides for their interrelationship at some succeeding point. Organizational tasks vary according to their complexity and the skills they require for completion. To perform complex tasks individuals must have prior training in that specialized area. Such independent training outside the organization, coupled with the standards established by the larger society, immediately suggest a professional orientation. In this chapter, however, it was argued that specialized training did not alone qualify a person as a professional. One important difference was that the specialist was limited to working in certain organizations which demanded his services, and in turn provided him with rewards. School teachers were regarded as specialists trained to perform a limited set of functions. They did not, however, meet the entire range of institutionalized requirements associated with a professional orientation.

Inherent to specialization is a functional interdependence of tasks. Functional interdependence relates specialists to tasks, but it also relates specialists

socially. This has led traditional themes in the organizational literature to associate specialization with horizontal integration among the experts assigned to interdependent tasks. But specialization, if it is to be effective, depends upon more than the integration of experts, it involves all personnel associated with the completion of the interdependent sets of tasks. This suggests that integration may extend vertically as well as horizontally through the organization. It will extend horizontally only so far as the personnel are directly associated with the specialized tasks. Because of the complex and non-routine nature of the specialists' responsibilities, administrative positions which facilitate the completion of such tasks also become integrated into the social unit. By contrast, administrative positions which are oriented toward controlling the activities of the specialists will create a hostility between the specialists and themselves. This arises because higher administrators fail to recognize the unique and non-routine qualities associated with specialists' tasks. In attempting to routinize the non-routine, it is the specialists who cannot comply, and therefore become hostile toward directives which restrict rather than facilitate their activities. By the same token, they become integrated with lower administrators who facilitate the completion of specialists tasks.

Specialization creates greater functional interdependence among related sub-parts of the organization. This calls for increased coordination of the various specialities in order to efficiently reach some larger goal. The traditional argument in the sociological literature has been that specialization, when accomplished through the use of experts, leads to conflict between the expert and the administrator. This line of reasoning was premised upon two assumptions which this chapter has tried to refute. First, experts are not necessarily professionals; experts possess specialized skills but they may still remain loyal to the organization which demands their talents. Second, specialization does not automatically lead to a centralization of the decision-making process. The alternative to this argument was that experts were members of the organization, and responsive to the rewards which it extends to them. As a result they participate in executing a range of coordinative decisions which organizations must make in order to meet and solve the problems which arise in the course of achieving its espoused goals. These coordinative decisions may be executed at all levels of the organization, and hierarchical positions may be invested with subordinate legitimacy to make certain decisions which would free experts for more pertinent activities. This argument has received considerably less empirical

attention and as such has not been refined. The theory presented here attempts to extend and refine this argument.

If specialization creates greater interdependence, then it should make experts more aware of the decisions which they themselves must make, as well as what decisions must be made at higher levels, if the larger goals of the organization are to be achieved. Thus, as specialization increases, experts should extend more legitimacy to their own coordinative decision-making roles. Further, they should extend greater legitimacy to those decision-making roles of the first line personnel who directly assist them in the completion of their tasks. Finally, as specialization increases, they should extend less legitimacy to higher administrators since in the face of specialization higher administration will attempt to standardize the requirements for tasks and outputs. Such procedures oppose the specialists who must work through complex non-routine tasks which are not subject to standardization.

If specialization clarifies the decision-making roles, as exhibited through the increased legitimacy which subordinates extend to their own and selected other positions, then increased legitimacy should also promote integration among those positions closely associated with the execution of specialized tasks. Extending legitimacy to one's associates is indicative

of the support communication and identification manifested among specialists. By contrast, where less legitimacy is extended to higher administrative positions there is a lack of confidence, on the part of experts, in the coordinative decisions which these higher positions are likely to make.

In the above argument specialization referred to the manner in which tasks were divided into constituent elements. As such different positions in the hierarchy of the organization will come to have different functional relationships with the tasks. The differing functional relationships each position has with the performance of a series of tasks will also effect the social relationships which develop among these positions. This argument can be summarized in the following general proposition:

> As the degree of specialization increases, the greater the social interdependence among all positions associated with the completion of a series of tasks.

From this general proposition three specifying propositions can be deduced.

1. As specialization increases, the legitimacy extended to positions charged with carrying out tasks increases.

2. As specialization increases, the integration among positions charged with carrying out tasks increases.

3. As the legitimacy extended to positions charged with carrying out tasks increases, the integration among those positions increases.

From the argument above, and by implication from the general proposition, three additional propositions are suggested.

4. As specialization increases, the legitimacy extended to central administrative positions will decline.

5. As specialization increases, the integration between positions charged with carrying out tasks and the central administrative positions will decline.

6. As the legitimacy extended to central administrative positions, by subordinate positions charged with carrying out tasks declines, the integration between these positions will also decline.

From these six specifying propositions nine hypotheses for testing can be derived.

1. As the degree of specialization increases, the legitimacy which teachers extend to their own coordinative decision-making roles will increase.

2. As the degree of specialization increases, the legitimacy which teachers extend to principals will also increase.

3. As the degree of specialization increases, the level of social integration among teachers within one specialized area of organization will also increase.

4. As the degree of specialization increases, the level of integration between teachers and principals will also increase.

5. As the legitimacy which teachers extend to their own decision-making roles increases, the level of integration among teachers will increase.

6. As the legitimacy which teachers extend to principals increases, the level of integration between teachers and principals will increase.

7. As the degree of specialization increases the legitimacy which teachers extend to higher administration--superintendents--will decline.

8. As the degree of specialization increases, the level of integration with administrative personnel--superintendents--will decline.

9. As the legitimacy which teachers extend to superintendents decision-making roles increases the integration between teachers and superintendents will decline.

Investing positions with legitimacy to make certain coordinative decisions does not in fact mean they will actually be made by that position. The discrepancy between where certain decisions legitimately ought to be made, and where they actually are made, will engender conflict between subordinates and superiors, if the superiors fail to recognize the normative mandates of the subordinates. Thus, as principals attempt to usurp the legitimacy extended to them by the teachers, the greater the conflict between the teachers and the principal. Likewise, as superintendents attempt to exceed their legitimized decision-making roles they too will incur conflict with the teachers. Finally, as superintendents exceed the decision-making roles which teachers invest in the principal they will create conflict between the principals and the teachers. These relationships may be summarized in the following proposition.

> As the actual decision-making roles assumed by superordinate positions exceeds the legitimacy extended to these positions by subordinates, conflict will arise between the subordinate position and each of the superordinate positions.

From this general proposition, three hypotheses for test can be deduced.

10. As the discrepancy between the legitimacy which teachers extend to principals, and the actual decision-making roles which principals assume, increases, conflict between these two positions will increase.

11. As the discrepancy between the legitimacy which teachers extend to superintendents, and the actual decision-making roles which superintendents assume, increases, conflict between these two positions will increase.

12. As the discrepancy between the legitimacy which teachers extend to principals, and the actual decision-making roles which superintendents assume, increases, conflict between teachers and principals, and teachers and superintendents will increase.

Thus, as the lines of legitimacy are violated by superordinate positions, conflict is generated among the subordinates who must adhere to these enforced decision-making channels.

The theory proposed here emerges from the review of the literature in this chapter. It attempts to specify how specialization and the structure of coordinative decision-making effects the nature of integration and conflict within the school organizations. Not only does this theory attempt to extend the present thinking on these subjects but it also implicitly brings into question certain arguments which have had wide currency in the sociological literature. In the next chapter the methods for operationalizing these concepts will be

discussed and the background factors which might be effecting the variance along these concepts will be reviewed.

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH DESIGN AND OPERATIONALIZATION OF CONCEPTS

Introduction

In this chapter the design of the research will be outlined, the impact of each district upon the variation among schools will be assessed, and the concepts developed in the last chapter will be operationalized.

This research will assess the impact of two structural variables, specialization and the location of decision-making, upon the social relationships in school organizations. To meet a variety of demands, school administrators change the functional arrangements of their organizations, which in turn effects the social relationships among the participants. Logical changes in functional relationships may have the unwanted consequence of altering the social relationships among teachers, principals, and the central administration. This research will focus on two functional relationships and how they effect the social relationships in the school system.

The hypotheses formulated in the previous chapter require a sample of school organizations which vary in

the degree of specialization and in the location of their decision-making. To meet these two broad constraints, 15 public secondary schools from five districts in Michigan were selected for a comparative analysis of how specialization and the structure of decision-making affected the levels of integration and conflict among their participants.

The Research Design

The sites for this research were selected in order to control for environmental variables that might contaminate or confuse the analysis. The comparability of the research sites is particularly important since American education has been characterized by "grass roots" control. Where educational policy is formulated at the local level, the wealth of the community, its industrial base, as well as its occupational and ethnic composition, and the level of education of its residents all become important factors in shaping the educational policies of the district. Depending upon how the residents of a district value education, one would expect to find varying physical plants, tax base, and salary ranges, as well as other incentives for teachers and administrative staff. These factors will in turn have a significant affect upon the quality of the educational experience to which students are subjected.

To eliminate extreme variation, larger districts serving urbanized areas were selected because they would most likely have a diversified industrial base, a broad occupational composition, similar tax bases and state equalized valuation per resident student, and a comparable set of values towards education. Since most large urban school districts correspond roughly to city boundaries, the Michigan census was used to select cities where the study could be undertaken. Michigan, in 1960, had six urban places where about 100,000 or more people live, with five of these containing districts of about the same size. Five of these places were utilized for the study since the sixth urban area was disproportionately larger than the others (see Table 2 for statistics).

While the five districts are not entirely comparable on all dimensions there is sufficient similarity to carry out the study. Moreover, the differences are not consistent along all dimensions. As an example, population differences do not seem to be indicative of other differences among the districts, though differences in size are reflected in the number of certified teachers employed in the district. Most important, there is close comparability on the pupil-teacher ratio and the minimum starting salary for teachers. These figures reflect the quality of teachers that these districts can attract, and more indirectly, they reflect each community's commitment to education.

TABLE 2.--Social and economic characteristics of cities comprising five school districts used in the study.

	I Dearborn	II Flint	III Grand Rapids	IV Lansing	V* Saginaw
Urban Size	112,000	197,000	177,000	108,000	98,000
Median school years completed	12	10.9	10.8	11.9	10.3
Per cent employed in white collar occupations	53.4	36.4	45.6	48.6	41.0
Median Income	8,195	6,340	6,068	6,477	5,921
Total number of certified teachers	1,264	2,050	1,600	1,750	1,024
Pupil-Teacher Ratio	22.8	25.9	24.1	20.9	24.7
State equalized valuation per membership pupil	34,902	17,807	18,974	16,239	16,957
Minimum salary schedules for 1967-1968	6,500	6,050	6,000	6,000	6,200
Allocated Operating Mills	8.90	9.35	10.10	9.20	10.05
Total number administrative units in district	31	54	62	56	47

Sources: 1960 Michigan Census; Michigan District Data Study 1967-68, by S. Hecker and T. Northy, Michigan Education Association, 1968; Michigan Public School District Data, 1967-1968; Michigan Education Association, East Lansing, Michigan, 1968. *Henceforth districts will be referred to by Roman numerals.

The most significant difference among the districts is the state equalized valuation for the Dearborn District. This high valuation reflects the high property values of that district. Contributing most to this difference is the large automobile manufacturing concern located within that district. Since industrial concerns contribute to schools based upon their assessed value this feature distinguished Dearborn from the other districts.

These data then suggest that differences among districts should be considered prior to viewing all schools as representing independent samples from a larger population. The differences, while they exist, do not seem sufficiently great to exclude the schools from any one district.

The Sample

Once the cities and districts were selected, the individual schools were categorized in each district into sampling levels. These levels were: kindergarten through the sixth grade, seventh through ninth grades, and tenth through twelfth grades. To insure comparability in drawing the sample several schools were eliminated which did not conform to this gradation. In this research only 7-9 and 10-12 grades were used. Only junior and senior high schools were used because it was decided that

they would reflect a greater degree of specialization and a broader range of coordinative decisions. Moreover, their increased size would permit a wider range of integration and conflict than would be possible in the smaller elementary schools. A total of 18 high schools and 28 junior high schools qualified to be included in the sampling frame. The distribution of 7-9 grades and 10-12 grades by district and the range of faculty size by district are presented in the following table.

Table 3.--Total number of usable administrative units in grades 7-9 and 10-12 and their range of faculty size by district.

	District				
	I	II	III	IV	V
Total number of usable administrative units					
7-9	3	9	6	5	5
10-12	3	4	5	3	3
Range of faculty size	40-103	68-78	17-86	71-101	51-89

Again the districts seem comparable with two exceptions. First, district I has only three 7-9 administrative units from which to sample. This is due to the fact that five sampling units had to be dropped since they did not correspond to the stratifying rules.

Each of these units was of the k-9 type and therefore could not be included in the sampling population.

Secondly, the range of faculty is consistent with one exception. In district three one of the junior high schools had only seventeen faculty members. Because of its small size, with respect to the other schools in the district, conclusions based upon this school will have to be evaluated in light of its small size.

From this sampling population it was decided to select randomly two schools from each of the 7-9 level, and one school from the 10-12 level. All of the selected schools agreed to participate in the study, and the following table (Table 4) describes the size of the faculty in each school, the number of questionnaires returned, and the per cent of returns for each school.

The average per cent responding in the sampled schools was 82.8% which was quite high. Other factors which may influence later analysis include the proportion of males in the schools, the length of experience, and level of education which the faculties have attained. Table 5 presents these differences by schools and by district.

The percentage of males in the schools varies between 37 and 62 per cent. The range of the average per cent males across the five districts varies from 46 to 59 per cent. With such a small range across different

TABLE 4.--Size of faculty, number of returns, and per cent of returns by district and by school within each district.

	District I			District II			District III			District IV			District V		
	School #			School #			School #			School #			School #		
	11	12	13	31	32	33	51	52	53	71	72	73	91	92	93
Size of faculty	103	42	40	78	58	68	86	39	17	101	67	71	89	46	51
Number of returns	84	28	37	48	44	66	67	29	15	95	64	60	88	30	43
Per cent of returns	82	67	92	62	76	97	78	74	88	94	96	85	99	65	84

TABLE 5.--Per cent male, per cent teachers with three or more years experience, and per cent teachers with master's degree.

	Per cent Males	Per cent Teachers with three or more years experience	Per cent Teachers with Master's Degree
District I			
11	62	89	69
12	57	81	57
13	54	94	78
District II			
31	62	96	52
32	47	75	24
33	53	81	39
District III			
51	60	77	46
52	52	76	31
53	40	73	27
District IV			
71	57	81	61
72	44	78	51
73	40	83	57
District V			
91	49	85	46
92	37	90	33
93	51	81	32

districts it would seem that the per cent males would not significantly alter findings through a contamination at the district level. Likewise, there is little difference between either schools or districts according to the per cent of teachers with three or more years experience in teaching.

In regard to the per cent of teachers holding masters degrees there is some distinction across districts as well as within districts. District I has the highest per cent of teachers with masters degrees, it also leads other districts in some other characteristics discussed in Table 2. It has the highest median number of years of school completed by its residents, the highest proportion of white collar occupations, highest median income, highest equalized valuation, and highest minimum starting salary for teachers. However, it is not different from other districts on overall size, size of faculty, or allocated operating mills. Taken together these differences do not seem sufficiently great to discard District I from the sample.

A second factor which distinguishes schools according to the per cent of teachers holding masters degrees is the level of the school. Junior high schools would be expected to have a lower proportion of teachers with masters degrees than would the high schools. This distinction is thus a function of the level of school rather than the district in which they are located.

In summary then, the differences in schools across the districts does not seem so imposing that the schools cannot be viewed as independent units forming a single sample. What differences exist, reflect logical variation according to such factors as wealth and income and even these differences are not sufficiently great to warrant removing any of the districts from the sample. In the next section, the independent and dependent variables will be operationalized and the impact of each district upon these variables will be examined.

The Measurement of the Variables and the Effect of the District Differences Upon Those Variables

The Independent Variables

Specialization.--In this section the operations used to measure the independent variables will be described and the effect which district differences have upon these variables will be discussed.

To operationalize specialization it was decided to use the proportion of subjects to teachers in each school. Thus, as the number of teachers approaches the number of courses taught in the school the teachers should become more specialized within one area of expertise. To gather measures of specialization, directories for each school district were obtained from the superintendents' offices. Contained in these directories is a listing of

the courses offered at each school in the sample accompanied by the teacher who teaches that subject. Some teachers are responsible for several subjects making them less specialized than the teacher responsible for only one subject. By computing the number of subjects assigned to each teacher, and by obtaining the number of teachers in the school, it was possible to divide the number of teachers into the total number of subjects and arrive at a quotient relating teachers to subjects. These quotients can then be ranked beginning with the smallest and ending with the largest. The school ranked first is the most specialized. The following table describes the quotients and their rank according to school. The schools are divided into their respective districts in order to depict any district effects which might influence the specialization ratios.

From this table it is possible to see that the specialization proportions are quite small reflecting a high teacher subject ratio. Most important, however, is that in only one instance are contiguous rankings found under one district. In all other cases there is at least a distance of one rank separating specialization scores by district. This indicates that the districts themselves have little impact upon the ranking of the schools according to specialization, and that factors other than those represented by the district are influencing the distribution of specialization scores.

TABLE 6.--Specialization ratios and the ranks of those ratios by school and by district.

	Specialization Ratios	Specialization Ranks
District I		
11	1.120	2
12	1.166	6
13	1.133	4
District II		
31	1.380	11
32	1.110	1
33	1.130	3
District III		
51	1.330	10
52	1.750	15
53	1.500	14
District IV		
71	1.260	8
72	1.160	5
73	1.440	13
District V		
91	1.410	12
92	1.190	7
93	1.290	9

Most specialized has lowest rank.

There is some evidence to indicate that the specialization scores determined by this process are consistent with other characteristics traditionally associated with specialization. If the average per

cent of teachers in each school district with masters degrees, found in Table 5, is ranked and compared with district ranks on specialization a high degree of consistency is found. District I ranks first on both the percentage of teachers with masters degrees and on the highest degree of specialization. While District II is ranked second on degree of specialization, it ranks third on per cent of teachers with masters degrees. District IV ranks third on degree of specialization, but second on per cent of teachers with masters degrees. Districts III and V are ranked the same on both dimensions. This consistency indicates that there is some relationship between the percentage of teachers in each district having masters degrees and the level of specialization in that district. This relationship seems reasonable, for as teachers gain more education they become more specialized and thus focus their expertise on a more limited range of tasks.

The location of coordinative decision-making.--Several facets of the school organizations' authority structure will be investigated through an analysis of positions associated with the making of coordinative decisions. First, the legitimacy which subordinates invest in superordinate positions to make decisions will be examined. Secondly, the discrepancy between the positions that subordinates invest with legitimacy

to make a decision, and where it is actually made, will also be analyzed.

To examine these aspects of authority, 38 questions from the studies of both Corwin's and Charters' work on control structure were administered to five judges who separated the professionally relevant questions from the professionally non-relevant questions.[1] These five persons were familiar with both classroom work and with the broader aspects of public education. The judges were either elementary or secondary school teachers, with three of these five teaching in the sampled districts. From the total list of 38 questions 14 were finally selected for use. By proceeding in this manner, earlier questions on educational decision-making were updated and oriented to the particular setting of this study (see Appendix for items).

Teachers from each school in the sample were asked their perceptions of who actually made each of the decisions, and who should make those decisions. All teachers were required to associate each decision with one of 12 different positions in the school organization.

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[1]Ronald G. Corwin, The Development of an Instrument for Measuring Staff Conflicts in Public Schools; and Moeller and Charters, "Relation of Bureaucratization to Sense of Power Among Teachers," 444-465.

The first step in analyzing the results from these questions was to collapse several of the positions into a single position. Since certain positions were checked very sparingly, and corresponded closely to other positions it was decided to combine these positions. For example, principals, and principals assistants were combined into one position entitled principals. Similarly, superintendent, and superintendents' assistants were combined into a single position entitled superintendents' office. By combining positions it was possible to fill the cells and to enlarge the responses to a sufficient degree to permit analysis. To analyze the structure of coordinative decision-making with school organizations two procedures were devised. First, the legitimacy which teachers extend to their colleagues and to superordinate positions for making certain coordinative decisions will be examined. By examining the question of legitimacy it is possible to understand more about the authority relationships between superordinates and subordinates. Furthermore, legitimacy, as it is extended by subordinates, details the manner in which subordinates perceive a division of labor in the decision-making process.

The second procedure is designed to compare the legitimacy which subordinates extend to superordinates with the actual decision-making roles performed by the

superordinates. To do this two manipulations will be completed. First, the legitimacy which subordinates confirm upon superordinate positions will be correlated with the actual decision-making roles which superordinates perform. Second, the legitimacy which teachers impart to different positions for making certain decisions will be combined with the actual decision-making performance of superordinates on the same set of decisions to produce a set of discrepancy scores.

Based upon the review and critique of the literature on the structure of decision-making in organizations, it was decided to examine how the various decisions were divided according to which position should make them. To investigate this question, the percentage of teachers in all schools responding that they "should" make each of the 14 decisions was arrayed from the high percentage to the low for each of the 14 decisions. Next the percentage of teachers in all schools responding that principals should make each of the 14 decisions was arrayed from high to low. Then the per cent of teachers responding that superintendents should make each of the 14 decisions was also arrayed from high to low. This manipulation produced three sets of arrays corresponding to the per cent of teachers who said they themselves should make each of the 14 decisions, the per cent of teachers stating that principals should make each of the 14

decisions, and the per cent of teachers stating that superintendents should make each of the 14 decisions.

By selecting the highest median scores according to the legitimacy that teachers invest in themselves to make certain decisions, and by the same token, the low legitimacy they invested in other positions for making these same decisions, a set of teacher decision-making items was established. Second, the median scores on other items were assessed according to the high legitimacy teachers invested in principals for making certain decisions, and at the same time the low legitimacy they invested in both themselves and other positions for making those same decisions. This produced a set of principal decision-making items based upon the legitimacy which teachers invested in principals for making those decisions. Finally, the same procedure was repeated for selecting superintendents' items. This produced a set of superintendents' decision-making items based upon the legitimacy which teachers extended to superintendents for making certain decisions. Finally, the same procedure was repeated for selecting superintendents' items. This produced a set of superintendents' decision-making items based upon the legitimacy which teachers extended to superintendents for making certain decisions. These manipulations produced three independent sets of items. Teachers', principals' and superintendents' set of items were all based upon the high median legitimacy scores which teachers invested in these positions. Not all of the 14 decision-making items

were used in establishing the teacher, principal, and superintendent legitimacy items. Only those items where the median scores were high for the position in question and low for all other positions were used (see Appendix for decision-making items associated with each position).

Once the 14 decision items were grouped according to the positions teachers invested with legitimacy for making those decisions, the sets of items could then be applied to each school. This was done to determine the extent to which teachers in each school in the sample invested legitimacy in their own and other positions to make each set of decisions. The per cent of teachers in each school who invested legitimacy in themselves for making the teacher set of decisions was recorded. Next the per cent of teachers in each school investing legitimacy in the principals decisions were also summed, and finally the legitimacy extended to superintendents was treated in the same manner. Each of the schools was then ranked according to the legitimacy they gave to reachers decision-making items. Each of the schools was also ranked according to the legitimacy teachers extended to principals and superintendents decision-making items. These ranks represent the legitimacy which teachers in each school extended to their own decision-making items, as well as the legitimacy they extended to the principal

and superintendent items. These operations completed the first procedure described above.

To complete the first part of the second procedure described above the legitimacy which teachers extended to their own positions was compared with which positions actually made those decision that teachers believe "should" be reserved for them. Thus while teachers believe they "should" have the right to make certain decisions, other superordinate positions could actually have control over the making of these decisions. To examine this the following steps were taken.

1. The per cent of teachers in each school responding that principals actually make those decisions over which teachers believe they should legitimately have control was recorded.

2. The per cent of teachers in each school responding that the superintendent actually make the decisions which teachers feel they are legitimately entitled to make, was recorded.

3. The per cent of teachers in each school responding that superintendents actually make those decisions which the teachers believe "should" be made by the principals was recorded.

4. Each of the schools was then ranked on one, two, and three above.

5. The ranks of the schools according to the per cent of teachers in each school responding that teachers should have legitimacy over their decision-making items was then correlated with one and two above.

6. Finally the ranks of the schools according to the per cent of teachers in each school reporting that principals should have legitimacy over principal decision-making items was correlated with three above.

Through these manipulations it was possible to compare the legitimacy which teachers extended to their own and to principals decision-making items, with the actual decision-making control which principals and superintendents have over these decisions. Where the resulting correlations are high and negative there is some indication that there is little discrepancy between the positions. Since a high negative correlation indicates that as the legitimacy which teachers extend to themselves increases, the actual control by other positions on those same items declines. Where the correlations are high and positive this indicates that conflict between the positions is prevalent. A correlation which approaches zero indicates there is no relationship between the legitimacy teachers invest in themselves and the actual decision-making authority of various superordinate positions.

The second part of the second procedure involves the development of discrepancy scores which are composed of the differences between the legitimacy and actual decision-making items. To arrive at these scores the following steps were taken.

1. The legitimacy which teachers in each school invest in themselves for making their decision-making items was summed.

2. The actual authority which principals have over teacher decision-making items was summed for each school.

3. Two was subtracted from one in order to obtain the difference between the legitimacy which teachers invest in their own decisions as opposed to the actual authority of the principal over those same decisions.

4. The actual authority which superintendents have over teacher decision-making items was summed for each school.

5. Four was subtracted from one in order to obtain the difference between the legitimacy which teachers invest in their own decisions as opposed to how much authority superintendents have over those teacher decisions.

6. The legitimacy which teachers extend to principals decision-making items in each school was also summed.

7. The actual authority which superintendents have over principals decision-making items was also summed for each school.

8. Seven was subtracted from six in order to obtain the difference between the legitimacy that teachers extend to principals as opposed to the actual decision-making power of the superintendents over principals decision-making items.

The results from steps three, five, and eight formed the discrepancy scores which could then be correlated with other organizational variables.

In general, the larger the differences between any two positions on "should" and actual scores, the less the discrepancy between them. Since a high score on "should" and a low score on actual reflects a lack of competition

between the two positions for authority over that particular set of decisions. By contrast, where the differences between "should" and actual are quite small there is reason to believe that competition exists between two positions for control over that set of decisions. In this manner the differences between the legitimacy extended to superordinate positions, and the actual control which they have over the making of these decisions, can be assessed.

District effect on legitimacy and discrepancy in school organizations.--To determine if there is some factor operating at the district level which may confound the relationship among schools on these items the ranking of schools according to their legitimacy and discrepancy scores must be assessed. Where schools in one district cluster together in their ranking on these dimensions some outside influence might be operative. To examine this, though no direct test is used, the ranking of the schools on their legitimacy and discrepancy scores are provided in the following table (Table 7).

In examining the ranks fo the legitimacy items across various districts there are only two sets of completely contiguous rankings. These occur in the ranks of the superintendent legitimacy items. There are only five sets of two contiguous ranks across the remaining districts. In all others there is a spread of at least

TABLE 7.--Rank of teacher, principal and superintendent legitimacy scores, the rank of principal actual, and superintendent actual on teacher legitimacy scores, and of rank of teacher-principal discrepancy score, teacher-superintendent discrepancy score, and principal-superintendent discrepancy score.

	District I			District II			District III			District IV			District V		
	11	12	13	31	32	33	51	52	53	71	72	73	91	92	93
Ranks of teacher legitimacy items	5	9	4	7	3	11	13	10	1	12	2	8	15	14	6
Rank of principal legitimacy items	6	7	2	5	10	1	14	12	15	13	3	8	11	9	4
Rank of super-intendent legitimacy items	9	4	8	12	6	10	1	3	2	14	15	13	11	5	7
Rank of discrepancy scores teacher-principal	10	8	7	9	12	3	1	6	15	5	14	11	2	4	13
Rank of discrepancy teacher-superintendent	11	6	10	8	2.5	1	7	5	15	9	14	12	4	2.5	13
Rank of discrepancy scores principal-superintendent	8	5	11	13	10	15	1	3	2	4	14	9	7	6	12

I always refer to highest rank.

one rank separating one school from another. This brief analysis indicates that there does not seem to be any pronounced district effect upon the rankings of the schools according to the legitimacy which teachers invest in themselves for making certain decisions, as well as the legitimacy which they invest in other positions for making different decisions.

In examining the discrepancy scores across districts by positions there are only five contiguous rankings in all three rows indicating that discrepancy scores for each of the positions is not strongly affected by the districts from which the sample was drawn. In analyzing these discrepancy scores by columns across discrepancy rankings the potential impact of the district becomes more pronounced. School 72 has the fourteenth rank on each discrepancy score. In considering those features of this school that might distinguish it from the others in the sample, none were found. It did not rank smallest in size nor in per cent of males. Further, the other schools in this district did not have consistent rankings which indicates that it is not a function of the district, but remains unexplained, and thus may actually be a random variation. None of the other schools have similar ranks on all three discrepancy scores. Some of the districts have two similar ranks but they occur for different schools.

Finally there is no apparent relationship between the discrepancy scores and the schools which are high on the number of teachers with masters' degrees. Some of the literature on school organizations has argued that as the level of education rises among the teaching staff there will occur a comensurate increase in the demands for greater freedom and autonomy by the teaching staff. This is not born out by the evidence here.

The absence of any strong relationships among the districts as to their level of discrepancy indicates that the fifteen schools may be considered representatives from a larger population. Since variation does not seem to be an artifact of the districts there is no need to withdraw any of the schools from the sample.

Dependent Variables

Integration

As will be recalled from the previous chapter, integration was viewed as a multi-dimensional concept. In this dissertation three dimensions will be operationalized to determine their relationship with other properties of the organizations under study. To inspect these dimensions an index of integration will be developed. An index is characterized by its ability to absorb related dimensions into an overall measure, or empirical referent, for a particular concept. It is particularly suited for concepts

such as integration which embody a number of more fundamental concepts. It differs from a scale in that a scale requires unidimensionality, whereas the index focuses on bringing related dimensions together into an overall measure.

There are a series of steps to developing an index. In general they deal with assessing some measure of agreement among the items to be included. Three questions were used to measure the degree of support, communication and identification with different reference groups. For each question a similar set of positions was used. For each position the respondent was permitted a set of forced choice categories varying from "very great," to "not important at all". The positions ranged from teachers within a specialty to district superintendent (see Appendix for questions and an entire list of the positions). Certain positions were omitted from this analysis since they did not deal with positions or categories with which this study was concerned.

The first step in constructing the index was to obtain a mean for each school on all the relevant positions. These means were computed separately for positions on each of the three questions. Once the means were computed each school was ranked according to its distribution on each of the positions. Then these ranks were intercorrelated to determine the extent to which schools ranking

high on one position ranked high on another. After completing this for each of the three questions separately the following matrices were produced (Table 8). From these matrices several observations can be made. First, there seems to exist a qualitative difference between teachers in speciality and other positions in the school organization. Second, there seems to be a rather strong association between teachers not in specialty and principals on the support, communication and identification dimensions. Along all three dimensions, however, once the relationship moves beyond positions within the school building, and to the higher administration of the schools, the degree of association between teachers, principals, and these high positions declines. In fact as communication between teachers in specialty increases communication with higher positions declines. Likewise, as identification among teachers in a specialty increases, the identification with higher positions in the organizations declines. These correlations do not become strongly positive again until one moves beyond the school organizations altogether, and into the community. There is a strong relationship among teachers, and between teachers and principal, and between teachers and members of the P.T.A. and parents. This relationship is weakest on the identification dimension. This might be expected, however, since teachers may find parents supportive, and they may communicate with them,

TABLE 8.--Inter-position correlation of support, communication, and reference group identification.

Support	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. Teachers in Specialty									
2. Teachers not in Specialty	.57*								
3. Principals	.68*	.58*							
4. Superintendent	.00	.54*	.05						
5. Superintendent Assistants	.36	.63*	.14	.18					
6. School Board	.08	.31	.01	.09	.15*				
7. Teacher Organization Officials	.18	.70*	.11	.79*	.28	.30			
8. PTA	.58*	.75*	.49*	.34	.55*	.40	.36		
9. Parents	.56*	.62*	.43	.21	.69*	.24	.26	.80*	
Communication									
1. Teachers in Specialty									
2. Teachers not in Specialty	.12								
3. Principals	.13	.48*							
4. Superintendent	.17	-.01	.33						
5. Superintendent Assistants	-.03	-.19	.03	-.09					
6. School Board	-.16	-.05	.00	.28	-.20				
7. Teacher Organization Officials	.19	.55*	.09	.30	-.35	-.07			
8. PTA	.14	.44*	.83*	.31	-.17	.24	.11		
9. Parents	.19	.79*	.46*	-.13	-.18	.11	.48*	.48*	
Reference Group Identification									
1. Teachers in Specialty									
2. Teachers not in Specialty	.58*								
3. Principals	-.01	.36							
4. Superintendent	-.20	.32	-.26						
5. Superintendent Assistants									
6. School Board	.12	.37	.33	.41					
7. Teacher Organization Officials	.09	.52*	.36	.45*	.80*				
8. TPA									
9. Parents	.23	.39	.02	.23	.45*	.66*			

*Significant at .05 level.

but because teachers are specialists they would not be expected to identify with them.

These similar findings are sufficiently encouraging to warrant pursuing the next step of the index. To complete this step, the rankings of the schools on each position are compared across the three dimensions. Thus the ranking of the schools on the teacher in specialty position for each of the three dimensions was intercorrelated. This produced a correlation coefficient showing the relationship between teachers in specialty on support, and teachers in specialty on communication, and identification. These intercorrelations of positions across the three dimensions produced the following matrices (Table 9).

In observing these matrices it becomes evident that the identification dimension is not correlating significantly with either support or communication. The correlations between teachers in specialty, teachers not in specialty, and principals, on support and communication are all quite high. These same positions do not correlate highly on the identification dimension. Since this is one of the focal points of the analysis it was decided to drop the identification dimension and to proceed with only the two dimensions for the integration index.

As was observed in the inter-position correlation, there is a split between those positions within the

TABLE 9.--Inter-item correlations for index of integration between support, communication and identification.

Communications	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
				Support			
1. Teachers in Specialty							
2. Teachers not in Specialty	.43						
3. Principal	.63	.77					
4. Superintendent	.00	.27	.19				
5. Superintendent's Assistants	-.09	-.08	-.03	-.30			
6. School Board	-.08	.07	-.26	.27	.46		
7. PTA	.50	.67	.38	.32	.44	.21	
8. Parents	.53	.73	.36	.35	.50	.60	.61
Reference Group Identification				**Support**			
1. Teachers in Specialty							
2. Teachers not in Specialty	.28						
3. Principal	.32	.52					
4. Superintendent	.00	.47	-.17				
5. Superintendent's Assistants							
6. School Board	-.06	.45	-.06	.37	.47		
7. PTA							
8. Friends not in Education	-.03	.20	-.34	.07	.42	.45	.15
Reference Group Identification				**Communication**			
1. Teachers in Specialty							
2. Teachers not in Specialty	.23						
3. Principal	.08	.67					
4. Superintendent	-.39	.25	.28				
5. Superintendent's Assistants							
6. School Board	-.43	.40	.19	-.13	-.04		
7. PTA							
8. Friends not in Education	-.14	.29	-.23	-.16	-.08	.10	.01

school building and those at the central administration. Here again this difference is reflected in the inter-item correlations. Because both dimensions operated similarly in this respect, however, it was decided to combine them. Using these two dimensions as an index of integration it will be possible to examine the impact of the independent variables upon the integration of the various positions. After combining these dimensions into an index of integration it is now necessary to examine the impact of the five districts upon this index.

District effect on integration index.--To assess the impact of the districts upon the integration index the ranks of the schools on each position are presented in the following table (Table 10).

In examining the table several factors can be assessed. First, there are only sixteen contiguous rankings across all positions by districts. There are no more than three contiguous rankings along any one position. Secondly, the rankings of the position, when observed by district columns, are widely diverse, suggesting that the districts are not having a significant impact upon the rankings across the various positions. Third, each school within the five districts is ranked differently on each of the dimensions again suggesting that the district is not having an impact upon their order. Finally, the distribution of first and last place rankings

TABLE 10.--Ranks of teachers in specialty, teachers not in specialty, principals, superintendents, superintendents assistants, school board, parents, and PTA on the integration index, by district and by school within districts.

	District I			District II			District III			District IV			District V		
	11	12	13	31	32	33	51	52	53	71	72	73	91	92	93
Teachers in Specialty	3.5	3.5	1	11	6	8	15	5	11	11	2	9	13	14	7
Teachers not in Specialty	15	3	9	14	4	7.5	12	5	2	13	6	7.5	11	10	1
Principal	9.5	1	3	13	7	11	9.5	12	4.5	15	2	8	14	4.5	6
Superintendent	14	1	10	15	8.5	6.5	6.5	8.5	12	5	13	11	4	2	3
Superintendent's Assistants	10.5	9	1	8	7	13	13	4	2	3	13	10.5	15	5	6
School Board	9.5	13	11.5	9.5	11.5	6.5	15	3	14	1	3	3	8	5	6.5
Parents	10	6	7	13	4.5	11	15	1	2.5	12	4.5	8.5	4	2.5	8.5
PTA	11	1.5	7	15	9	10	14	1.5	3	12.5	5	4	12.5	6	8

seems to vary across districts with no one district having a large proportion of either first or last place ranks, again suggesting no district influence. Given all these indicators it seems reasonable to conclude that the districts are not having an impact upon the ranking of schools along the integration index.

Conflict.--To develop a measure of conflict a question concerning the amount of disagreement and tensions between different positions in the school organization was used. (See Appendix for the question and the positions.) By employing a measure which emphasized disagreements and tensions rather than overt conflict it was felt that respondents would more readily express their differences. Once the conflict between various positions was assessed it was decided to collapse certain positions since they seemed to reflect similar dimensions of conflict between similar positions in the organization (see Appendix for inter-position correlation). There was both face validity and significant levels of association on the rank order correlation between positions, both of which provided evidence for combining these categories.

District effect on conflict variables.--To assess the impact of district influences upon the measure of conflict the ranks of each school, according to the degree of conflict between each of the positions in the school organization, is presented in the following table (Table 11).

TABLE 11.--Ranks of conflict between teachers in same subject, between teachers and principals, between teachers and superintendent, between teachers and school board, between young and old teachers, between male and female teachers by district and by school within districts.

	District I			District II			District III			District IV			District V		
	11	12	13	31	32	33	51	52	53	71	72	73	91	92	93
Conflict between teachers in same subjects	10	9	2	1	11	6	13	14	15	5	7	4	3	12	8
Conflict between teachers and principals	13	15	8	4	12	5	2	1	10	3	14	6	7	9	11
Conflict between teachers and superintendent	1	3	2	9	11	15	4	10	8	12	14	13	7	5	6
Conflict between teachers and school board	2	1	3	8	9	11	6	12	7	13	14	15	4	10	5
Conflict between young and old teachers	12	14	15	5	10.5	1	6	13	10.5	4	8	2	3	9	7
Conflict between m male and female teachers	12	10	11	7	14	6	1	13	15	8	5	9	3	4	2

I always refers to highest rank

In examining this table there is some indication that District I represents the extremes in the variation by rank. These differences, while emphasized on the conflict variable, are not apparent on other variables in this study. As a result this district will not be excluded from the analysis. Instead, particular attention will be paid to it when this conflict variable is compared with others during the course of the analysis. By being cognizant of the differences which are possible, due to the district influence on this variable, the relation between conflict and other variables will be discussed in terms of the district which is influencing them. The only other suggestion of a district influence exists in District V on the conflict between teachers and superintendents and between teachers and school boards. Again, however, contiguous rankings on these two variables does not seem sufficient to exclude this district from the sample. It does, however, call for particular attention to be given to it when conflict between these positions is discussed.

In summary then, there has been no clear cut suggestion that district influences are operating similarly across the variables of this study. Though certain districts seem to have closer rankings on one variable they do not exhibit this same influence over all variables in the study. Certain differences are to be

expected since there are differences in size and other characteristics among the districts in the study. Though there was an attempt to match the districts, perfect comparability is always lacking and the districts selected do reflect only moderate variation.

The most significant aspect of the district differences was the fact that no district varied the same way across different variables. This lends considerable support for the fact that such differences as do exist are themselves randomized thus nullifying their effect upon the school variables. Because of these findings, none of the schools will be removed from the analysis.

The Analysis Procedure

The analysis procedures for this dissertation were in part dictated by the quality of the data and the unit of the analysis. The data reflect ordinal quality since there is no guarantee that the forced choice responses are of interval level, or that the variables are randomly distributed through the sample. In fact the evidence above indicates that certain variables may be clustered in specific districts. Taking these factors into account it was decided to rely on measures of association in order to determine the degree of relationship between the variables. One measure of association was finally decided upon. The Spearman rank order correlation was used because it was consistent with the

ordinal quality of the data. To reach the .05 level of significance, with fifteen organizations, a Spearman rank order correlation coefficient of r = .440 is required.

Summary

In this chapter the background characteristics of each of the five districts involved in the sample were examined in order to determine the comparability of those districts. Some differences were found, but none of the variations across districts seemed either sufficiently great, or so widespread as to effect other characteristics. Next the measures for each of the variables was explained and the effect of district differences upon them explored. There was some district influence found to be operative in the measure of conflict. As a result it was decided to pay particular attention to the impact of the district upon the relationships between conflict and other variables. In the next chapter the hypotheses developed in Chapter II will be tested and the findings examined.

CHAPTER IV

SPECIALIZATION, INTEGRATION AND CONFLICT

Introduction

In the last chapter the district differences were examined, the variables central to this study were operationalized, and the effect of these district differences upon the variables were assessed. In this chapter the hypotheses will be tested and the findings discussed.

Background Variables

Before entering directly into a testing of the hypotheses the effect of certain variables must be assessed. Since the unit of analysis is the school, two variables loom as particularly improtant. The size of the schools and the per cent of males in each school may have a significant impact upon the relationships between other variables in this study. Most studies of complex organizations find that size has some impact upon the variables in question. There is no clear evidence exactly why such a relationship exists, or what more fundamental variables are reflected by size. Most discussions of size center around the manner in which it

tends to retard certain relationships, most often those associated with difference in authority or prestige, while at the same time promoting coalitions among personnel or equal status.

Certain studies find that size has a generally retarding effect upon the development of social relationships. Others argue that size retards commitment to an organization, as well as decreasing an individual's willingness to contribute when he perceives his contribution to be miniscule in comparison to the total product or value of the organization. Though there is no clear cut rationale for examining size, its impact must nevertheless be assessed.

The impact of the per cent of males is particularly germane to the study of school organizations. With the increase in the per cent of males teaching in junior and senior high schools there has been a commensurate increase in the militancy, demands for autonomy, and increased salaries. Moreover, there is some evidence to suggest that males are more reticent to establish close interpersonal bonds with their superiors in the school organization. They instead develop a collective consciousness among themselves which in turn may have a negative impact upon organizational operations. For these reasons these two variables will be considered here.

Test of the Hypotheses

Before moving to a direct test of the first set of hypotheses, the relationship between specialization, integration and the size of schools and the percentage of males must first be examined. The correlation coefficients between these variables are presented in the following table (Table 12).

The relationship between size and the percentage of males does not reach the level of significance (r = .351 between size and per cent males) therefore any interaction effect between the two variables is at best minimal. Each of these variables seem to be effecting the index of integration and specialization a different manner.

TABLE 12.--Spearman Correlation Coefficients between size of school, percentage of males and the index of integration and specialization.

	Size of School	Percentage of Males
Teachers in Specialty	-.237	.139
Teachers not in Specialty	-.685*	-.528*
Teachers and Principal	-.627*	-.365
Teachers and Assistant Superintendent	-.571*	-.098
Teachers and Superintendent	-.093	-.137
Teachers and School Board	.288	-.275
Teachers and Parents	-.524*	-.625*
Teachers and PTA	-.748*	-.537*
Specialization	.243	.017

$p < .05$ N = 15

The size of school has a definite negative impact upon the degree of integration among various positions in the school hierarchy. The impact is least among teachers within a specialty. The relationship is most pronounced between teachers not in specialty ($r = -.685$). From this point on the negative relationship between size and integration declines as the distance between teachers and other positions in the hierarchy increases ($r = -.627$, $-.571$ and $-.093$ respectively for the integration between teachers and principal, teachers and assistant superintendent, and between teachers and the superintendent). This finding suggests that the impact of size upon integration is mediated by the proximity of the positions. Where positions are of equal status there are no formalized relationships between them. In such conditions size tends to retard the development of informal relationships, but not effect the formalized relationships between positions of differing status. Size then affects integration by removing the possibility for informal relationships to develop.

Size also affects school community relationships by making it more difficult for teachers to establish close interpersonal relationships with parents and representatives of the PTA ($= -.524$ and $-.748$ respectively). Size in this case may reflect a larger community where teachers and other members of the community tend to lead

separate lives, and where relationships outside the school are not as closely intertwined.

Finally, size does not seem to have an impact upon specialization, even though the relationship is in a positive direction ($r = .243$). Specialization is not an attribute of school size, but reflects instead the relationships of teachers to courses taught.

With one exception, the percentage of males has a negative impact upon the level of integration in the school organization. This one case, integration of teachers within a specialty, hardly represents a strong diversion from the trend ($r = .139$). It implies that there is little relationship between the per cent of males and the integration of teachers within a specialty. The existence of a series of negative correlations between percentage of males and the integration of teachers into the hierarchy suggests that males are reticent to become closely associated with the administrative components of the organization. Further males are particularly opposed to establishing integrative relations with representatives of the community ($r = -.625$ and $-.537$ with parents and PTA respectively). This finding is in general accord with much of the other evidence concerning the impact of males upon the organizational structure of schools. First, their reticence to establish close relationships with

administration reflects an increasing consciousness on the part of males toward their position in the school organization. Second, their negative relationship with the community depicts the antagonisms between better teachers salary and low cost education for the residents of the community.

Now that the relationship between the size of school, the per cent of males, and integration and specialization has been examined, the discussion turns to a test of the first set of hypotheses, which read as follows:

1. As the degree of specialization increases, the level of social integration among teachers within one specialized area of the educational organization will increase.

2. As the degree of specialization increases, the level of integration between teachers and principals will also increase.

3. As the degree of specialization increases, the level of integration with administrative personnel--superintendents and their assistants --will decline.

To test these hypotheses the rank order of each school on the specialization measure was correlated with the rank order of all positions on the index of integration, using the Spearman Rank order correlation formula. The results of these correlations are presented in the following table (Table 13).

There is a significant relationship between the degree of specialization and level of integration, thus

TABLE 13.--Spearman Rank Order Correlation Coefficients between specialization and the Index of Integration.

Index of Integration	Specialization
Teachers in Speciality	.447*
Teachers not in Specialty	-.088
Teachers and Principals	.307
Assistant Superintendents	-.208
Teachers and Superintendents	-.089
Teachers and School Board	.046
Teachers and Parents	-.138
Teachers and PTA	-.039

*$p < .05$ $N = 15$

confirming the first hypothesis ($r = .447$). As school organizations become more specialized, teachers within one teaching unit become more closely integrated with one another. This confirms the traditional relationship between specialization and integration. The second and third hypotheses, while more provocative, are not confirmed at the accepted level of significance. As specialization increases, the level of integration between teachers and principals also rises ($r = .307$). This finding implies that the demands of specialization create a need for developing relationships with certain administrative personnel who are directly associated

with the carrying out of specialized tasks. This finding, while not directly supportive of Blau's findings, does complement his results.[1]

While the second hypothesis is not confirmed by accepted levels of significance, there is some indication that the relationship holds and that integration does not move in strictly horizontal directions but involves administrative personnel who are charged with the completion of certain tasks. This relationship may furthermore, be a function of the complexity of the tasks and of the interdependence and mutual consultation required among the experts. This task variable is not examined here, but its investigation in future research might prove worthwhile.

The third hypothesis is not confirmed by the data, though the correlation is in the predicted direction. The integration between teachers, assistant superintendents, and superintendents does begin to decline as the degree of specialization increases. Furthermore, the

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[1]See Peter Blau, "The Hierarchy of Authority in Organizations," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 73 (January, 1968), 453-467. In his study Blau found that the proportion of supervisors to personnel in organizations increased as the number of expert personnel increased. From this he deduced that decision-making under such conditions was more decentralized than where there were fewer expert personnel in the organization. The finding here indicates that the integration of these experts--teachers--with supervisors--principals--increases as tasks become more specialized.

negative correlations decline as the relationship moves to successively higher positions in the administration ($r = 0.208$ for assistant superintendents, $-.089$ for superintendents, and $.046$ for school boards). While these relationships are extremely weak, if not altogether non-existent, there is, at least, a thread of evidence to warrant their investigation in other pieces of research.

In summary then, only the first of the three hypotheses was confirmed at a level of statistical significance. There was some evidence for both the second and third hypotheses, but it did not reach the required significance level. Nevertheless, these hypotheses were discussed and their exploration in future research encouraged. Based upon these findings, which are admittedly tenuous, it still remains worthwhile to explore them as far as is possible. Therefore the discussion now turns to an exploration of the meaning of integration for the organization's participants.

Before exploring the relationships between specialization and other dimensions of the school organizations, the impact of integration upon certain operational aspects of the organizations will be pursued a bit further. In reviewing the literature in Chapter II it became immediately evident that most researchers in the area of complex organizations associated integration with organizational health and vitality. Few, if any of

these studies, explored what integration meant in terms of organizational operation. One such dimension will be pursued here. Influence within an organization is always present, and though it may run contrary to defined channels of authority, its existence cannot be denied. By correlating the index of integration with the influence teachers have over the principal, it might be possible to understand more clearly what meaning integration has for the organizations' participants.

TABLE 14.--Spearman Rank Order Correlation Coefficients between Integration Index and the influence which teachers have over principals, and other teachers in their building.

Index of Integration	Influence over Principal	Influence over Teachers in their Building
Teachers in Specialty	.601*	.582*
Teachers not in Specialty	.358	.029
Teachers and Principals	.748*	.063
Teachers and Superintendents' Assistants	.276	.225
Teachers and Superintendents	.143	-.329
Teachers and School Boards	.206	.526*
Teachers and PTA	.453*	.299
Teachers and TPA	.688*	.329
Size of School	-.511*	-.221

*$p < .05$ N = 15

The high and negative correlation between size and influence indicates that informal channels of persuasion are not as effective in large organizations. As the number of teachers increases, the ability of any one group to exert influence begins to decline.

The high correlations between integration of teachers in specialty and influence over the principals ($r = .601$), and the integration between teachers and principals, and influence over the principal ($r = .748$) are both important findings. Integration among teachers within a specialty represents a solidarity which seems collectively manifested through persuasion. Under such conditions, principals are likely to be more amenable to teachers suggestions when they are in agreement about certain problems. Integration may be a precondition for the effective use of influence over superiors. At the same time, solidarity between teachers and principals can also assist teachers in influencing the principal. Solidarity between teachers and the principal is essential if the principal is to perform his functions of direction and coordination. If the principal chooses to ignore the influence exerted by the teachers he may risk disrupting the integrative bonds between himself and the teachers. Such action can only hinder the principal since he will be forced to work with subordinates who are not in agreement with him.

The high correlations between the integration of teachers and parents and influence over the principal ($r = .453$) and the integration between teachers and PTA and the influence over the principal ($r = .688$) draws some attention to the idea that integration may have an individualizing effect on district operations. As teachers become more integrated with one another, and with representatives from the community, they tend to increase their influence over the principal and thus over operations of that particular school. Given the complexity of the relationships in each school organization, however, this association may be an artifact of the variables selected for examination. Where disagreements between principals, and teachers and the community might arise, there is some evidence to indicate that highly integrated schools could exert influence over the principal. Certain structural arrangements might offer another possible explanation for this relationship between integration and influence over the principal.

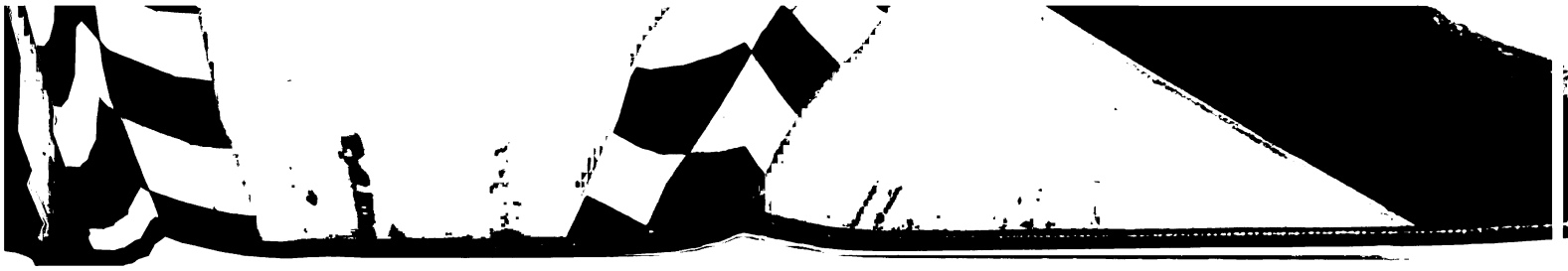
Principals are representatives of the higher administration in each school, they are surrounded by teachers whose cooperation and support they must gain if they are to succeed in their position. This being the case, it might be argued that principals become more integrated with teachers in order to insure their own

success. This explanation is discredited by the relationship between teacher-principal integration and specialization. There it was found that integration between teachers and principals increased with the degree of specialization. If this is so, it would seem that other factors, beyond the principal's desire for solidarity, are at work to bring teachers and principals into a closer working relationship.

A final explanation for the relationship between teacher integration and influence over the principal will be mentioned at this point. Some readers might argue that this relationship is simply a function of the geographic layout of school districts. Teachers and principals occupy one building within an entire school district, thus it would be natural for harmonious relationships to emerge among these positions. The central administration is housed in the district headquarters for that school system, as a result there is little if any direct social contact between teachers and superintendents and their assistants. Since these positions represent higher authority it may be reasonable to assume that teachers associate their problems with these higher positions. Since some of the evidence presented in this dissertation represents a split between positions located in one building and the central administration, the reader should bear in mind that it is possible that

such differences reflect in part geographic differences rather than organizational differences. This is not an explanation held by this writer, there are too many differences between teachers in a specialty, and teachers and principals in general, to lend much credence to this simplistic explanation. Later evidence will also discuss this explanation.

In comparing the correlations between integration and influence over the principal, with correlations between integration and influence over other teachers in the building, it becomes immediately obvious the integration serves to increase influence over the principal far more than it serves to influence other teachers. In only one case is significance reached. Integration of teachers within one specialty does serve to increase influence over other teachers in the building ($r = .582$). Beyond this point the correlations drop below significance, suggesting that integration is more closely associated with influencing the principal than attempting to influence other teachers. Two alternative accounts of this finding are possible. First, teachers within a building may be of one mind, thus leaving the principal to be convinced. Secondly, and this explanation is consistent with the discussion of the second hypothesis; integration is closely related to specialization, which increases the need for establishing vertical relationships with the



principal, rather than expanding horizontal relationships among the entire faculty. Thus, integration among teachers may lead to increased influence over the principal in order to obtain his cooperation and support for certain problems within a particular area.

The meaning of integration is well demonstrated through the channels of influence which are associated with it. Integration becomes a device for establishing vertical relationships in the form of influence over principals, rather than a method for expanding horizontal influence among the faculty members.

To this point the discussion has attempted to illuminate the relationship between specialization and integration. Secondly, it has pursued the subject of integration, attempting to determine what meaning it might have for organizational participants. Integration was associated with influence over the principal as opposed to influence over other faculty members.

The analysis now returns to an elaboration of specialization and its impact upon the organization. While the theory under test in this dissertation focuses upon the relationship between specialization and integration, it might prove fruitful to also explore the effect of specialization on conflict within the organization. The rank order correlations between specialization and conflict appear in the following table.

TABLE 15.--Spearman Rank Order Correlation Coefficients between specialization and conflict, and between conflict and size of school and per cent of males.

Conflict	Specialization	Size of Schools	Percentage of Males
Between Teachers and Principals	-.457*	.264	.229
Between Teachers and School Board and Teachers and Superintendent	-.034	-.129	.391
Between Young and Old and Male and Female Teachers	.065	.699*	.166
Between Teachers in the Same Subject	.254	.425	.246

*$p < .05$ N = 15.

The size of the schools seems to have a direct positive relationship with conflict among teachers. Size of school is significantly related to conflict among young and old and male and female teachers, as well as among teachers within the same subject ($r = .699$ and $.425$ respectively). No definitive explanation of this finding is possible within the confines of the analysis, yet two suggestions are offered. First, as the size of school increases there is a potential for a greater variety of teachers to become employed in the school organization. As the age and competency of teachers becomes more disparate it is likely that conflict

will increase. Second, as the size of the school increases meaningful exchanges with other positions may decline, leaving teachers within each specialty to solve their own problems, and thus increasing the possibility for conflict to arise. This speculation is corroborated by the high negative correlation between size and influence over the principal. As size increases, teachers may be unable to meaningfully relate to positions outside their specialty, and are thus forced to solve their own problems. These explanations are, however, only speculative and must not be taken as conclusions.

There is no significant relationship between the percentage of males and conflict, therefore the subject will not be discussed further.

The correlation between specialization and teacher-principal conflict is significant and corroborative of the second hypothesis ($r = -.457$). As specialization increases, the demands for interdependence and cooperation between teachers and principals overshadows any conflict between these positions. Where specialization increases, the demands for interdependence are such that teachers involve principals in the solution of their problems. Thus specialization promotes integration between positions charged with carrying out a series of interdependent tasks. The demands of the tasks take precedence over any differences which might exist between the positions.

Just as specialization promotes integration and reduces conflict between teachers and principals, it seems to facilitate the emergence of both integration and conflict among teachers.

Evidence from this study indicates the distinct possibility of conflict and integration occurring in a single relationship. There is a positive, but not significant relationship between specialization and conflict among teachers within the same subject ($r = .254$). Earlier a positive and significant relationship was found between specialization and integration among teachers within the same subject ($r = .447$). In both cases these findings occur among teachers within a certain specialty. Thus, where social relationships are closely tied to completion of certain highly interdependent and complex tasks there arises the possibility that aspects of both integration and conflict can exist within a single social grouping. The evidence here is more suggestive than conclusive, the point was raised only because so much of the writing in the area of organizations has failed to even speculate concerning this possibility.

In summary then, specialization seems to foster an interdependence between teachers and principals leading toward the integration of the two positions. Further, this interdependence reduces conflict between the two positions in preference for completing the tasks and

solving the problems at hand. Specialization does, however, embody elements of both conflict and integration among teachers within a specialty. Here the nature of the interdependence is such that many problems must be resolved. This implies two separate types of interdependence; one between teachers and principals which might be called integrational, and another, among teachers, which might be termed intensive. These relationships can be further elaborated during the discussion of the second set of hypotheses dealing with specialization and legitimacy.

In the above discussion, specialization was associated with the integration of certain positions in the organization. Much of the subsequent discussion centered around the relationship between this interdependence and certain social phenomenon. Now the discussion turns to the impact which specialization has upon the structure of coordinative decision-making in the school organizations. The three hypotheses developed in Chapter II are restated below.

4. As specialization increases, the legitimacy which teachers extend to their own coordinative decision-making roles will increase.

5. As specialization increases, the legitimacy which teachers extend to the principals' coordinative decision-making roles will increase.

6. As specialization increases, the legitimacy which teachers extend to the coordinative decision-making roles of the superintendents will decline.

Before entering into an examination of the hypotheses it is first necessary to consider the impact of the size of school and the percentage of males upon the legitimacy scores for teachers, principals, and superintendents. The table below shows the correlation between teacher, principal, and superintendent legitimacy scores, and the degree of specialization, size of school, and percentage of males.

TABLE 16.--Spearman Rank Order Correlation Coefficients between legitimacy scores for teachers, principals, and superintendents, and the size of school, the percentage of males, and the degree of specialization.

	Specialization	Size of School	Percentage of Males
Legitimacy on Teacher Decision-Making Items	.275	-.364	-.122
Legitimacy on Principal Decision-Making Items	.586*	.025	.149
Legitimacy on Superintendent Decision-Making Items	-.182	-.604*	-.019

*p <.05 N = 15.

The size of the schools is negatively related to the legitimacy which teachers invest in their own decision making roles, and to the legitimacy they invest in superintendents' decision-making roles. No relationship

exists between school size and legitimacy invested in principals decision-making roles (r = -.364 for teacher roles and -.604 for superintendent roles). These findings imply that size has an ambivalent effect upon the legitimacy which teachers impart to both their own, and the decision-making roles of superintendents. As size increases teachers extend less legitimacy to the superintendents (r = -.604 significant at the .05 level). The negative correlation (r = -.364) indicates that teachers do not extend more legitimacy to themselves as the size of the organization increases, in fact they seem to withdraw legitimacy from their own decision-making roles. Thus size may have a confusing effect upon the decision-making roles in the organization. This argument is substantiated when one recalls that size had a generally negative impact upon the degree of integration in the organization, and level of influence over the principal. In general then size seems to make relationships in the organization less definitive and more difficult for participants to discern, particularly teachers, who in this case represent the lower most position in the school organization.

The relationships between legitimacy extended to teachers, principals, and superintendents, and the per cent of males in the teacher force were so low that no mention will be made of them at this point.

The relationship between legitimacy and specialization is particularly encouraging in view of the arguments already made in support of the first set of hypotheses. First, as specialization increases teachers tend to extend less legitimacy to the superintendents' decision making roles. Though the relationship is not significant ($r = -.182$), it corresponds with earlier arguments concerning the position of the superintendent in the school organization. In testing the previous set of hypotheses it was found that specialization was related to a decline in the integration between teachers and the central administration. Together these findings represent two separate instances where greater specialization leads to a decline in the social relationships between teachers and superintendents. This might be explained by two different perspectives toward the completion of organizational tasks. From the view of the central administration increasing specialization and interdependence can best be managed through standardization and setting out performance requirements. Such actions create hostility among the teachers who must work through complex and non-routine problems which are not subject to procedural regulation. Thus, as specialization increases, the legitimacy which teachers extend to superintendents declines in the face of attempts to standardize the complex and non-routine.

Just as teachers withdraw legitimacy from superintendents, they at the same time do not necessarily extend more legitimacy to their own decision-making roles. The correlation between specialization and the legitimacy which teachers extend to their own decision-making roles is only r = .275 which does not reach significance. Specialization may confuse teacher decision-making roles, since the demands for interdependence make it unclear as to who among the teachers should make decisions. Moreover, interdependence may make increased legitimacy to their own roles unwarranted, as the burdens of making certain decisions are already sufficiently heavy. It is clear that teachers do extend considerably more legitimacy to the decision-making roles of the principal as specialization increases (r = .586 significant at the .05 level). As specialization increases, and the demands for interdependence increase, the principals' decision-making roles become more legitimate. This finding supports the relationship between increasing specialization and teacher-principal integration. Taken together these findings signify the importance of the principals' decision-making roles as specialization increases. This evidence indicates that as interdependence increases teachers come to recognize the importance of the principals' position rather than to disregard it. As teachers find their already complex tasks becoming more

tightly interwoven they come to accept the principals' role rather than to reject him as traditional arguments in the organizational literature purport.

In summary then, teachers withdraw legitimacy from superintendents as their tasks become more specialized. Superintendents make decisions based on premises which do not reflect the demands for interdependence and the complex non-routine nature of the teachers tasks. To complete these tasks, in the face of increasing specialization, teachers extend greater legitimacy to the principals who can assume part of the decision-making responsibility for the achievement of their tasks. Teachers do not extend more legitimacy to their own decision-making roles as specialization increases, since the demands for interdependence may actually confuse the domains of decision-making authority.

Conclusion

In this chapter the relationship between specialization and integration in school organizations was explored. The evidence presented was at times meager, making the arguments more tentative than conclusive. Specialization was associated with increased integration among teachers within the various specialities. This conclusion is hardly new and deserves little more discussion. Of considerably more interest, however, was the finding relating specialization with integration between teachers

and principals. Granted the weakness of the correlation, the argument gained support through additional evidence revealing how integration among teachers within a specialty was related to influence over the principal. Integration was associated with influence over other members of that specialty and with influence over principals.

A second point which buttressed this argument was the decline in conflict between teachers and principals as the level of specialization rose. Both these points substantiate the argument that specialization involves both horizontal and vertical integration within the organization. This occurs where lower administrative personnel are charged with the completion of uncertain and highly interdependent tasks. The sequencing of courses within a particular subject, and working out the problems of integrating these highly interdependent efforts, create demands for integration between teachers and principals as well as among teachers within the specialty.

A third piece of evidence marshalled on behalf of this argument was the increased legitimacy which teachers extended to principals in the face of increasing specialization. Here again it would seem that teachers come to recognize the function of the principal as specialization creates greater demands upon their time and effort. They are willing to extend legitimacy to

the principals' decision-making functions in order to relieve themselves of certain burdens, and to allow for effective cooperation between the two positions as the demands created by interdependence become more pronounced.

A second argument addressed in this chapter had considerably less support than the first. The integration between teachers and the central administration did tend to drop off, at least minimally, as specialization increased. Further, teachers tended to withdraw legitimacy from the central administration as specialization increased. This suggests that the solution to problems from the superintendents' perspective became less workable as the demands of interdependence increased. The literature indicates that higher administration prefers to standardize solutions as specialization increases, but that teachers cannot meet these criteria when confronted with the working out of the problems.

In summary, specialization polarizes social relationships. At the lower levels it fosters greater interdependence among teachers and between teachers and principals; while at higher levels it creates certain hostilities between teachers and other lower personnel and the central administration. To understand how specialization will effect social relationships within an organization it is necessary to focus upon how

various positions become involved in the completion of non-routine and complex tasks. Those positions that must see through the completion of the tasks tend to become more integrated as specialization rises, regardless of differences in status. For positions not directly involved in such tasks, specialization seems to foster, if not hostility, at least a decline in the degree of integration between them and the positions charged with carrying out the tasks.

CHAPTER V

THE LOCATION OF COORDINATIVE DECISION-MAKING AND ITS IMPACT UPON CONFLICT AND INTEGRATION

Introduction

In the previous chapter the relationships between specialization and integration and legitimacy of decision-making were explored. These arguments were extended and elaborated by bringing additional evidence into the discussion. A similar procedure will be followed in this chapter. The remaining hypotheses will be tested and their relationship to the arguments in the preceeding chapter will be explored.

In this chapter the impact of coordinative decision-making upon the social relationship within the organization will be examined. Two specific aspects of the decision-making structure will be considered. First, the effect of legitimacy upon integration will be scrutinized. Second, the discrepancy between the legitimacy which subordinates invest in a superordinate position and the actual performance of decision-making roles by that superordinate position will be examined.

Test of the Hypotheses on Legitimacy for Decision-Making

To begin, the hypotheses from Chapter II will be restated.

7. As the legitimacy which teachers extend to their own decision-making roles increases, the level of integration among teachers will increase.

8. As the legitimacy which teachers extend to principals' decision-making roles increases, the level of integration between teachers and principals will increase.

9. As the legitimacy which teachers extend to superintendents' decision-making roles increases, the integration between teachers and superintendents will decline.

The data necessary to test these hypotheses is presented in the following table (Table 17).

From the table it is evident that increasing legitimacy to teacher decision-making roles is closely correlated with three aspects of organizational integration. As teachers extended greater legitimacy to their own decision-making roles; integration among teachers within each specialty increased, integration between teachers in different specialties increased, and integration between teachers and principals increased ($r = .622$, $.421$ and $.525$ respectively).

As teachers come to agree upon the legitimized decision-making roles they become more closely integrated. This finding is not surprising in so far as a more clear understanding of their own decision-making roles would

TABLE 17.--Spearman Rank Order Correlation Coefficient between legitimacy scores for teachers, principals, and superintendents, and the index of integration.

Index of Integration	Legitimacy on Teacher Decision-Making Items	Legitimacy on Principal Decision-Making Items	Legitimacy on Superintendent Decision-Making Items
Teachers in Specialty	.622*	.588*	-.151
Teachers not in Specialty	.421	.024	.374
Principal	.525*	.302	.282
Assistant Superintendent	.310	-.185	.294
Superintendent	-.632*	-.154	.305
School Board	-.233	.153	-.616*
Parents	.224	-.124	.281
PTA	.323	-.007	.305

*$p < .05$ N = 15.

lead to teachers into a closer association with one another. More significant is the relationship between increasing teacher legitimacy and integration between teachers and principals. One might expect that teachers would not be so closely integrated with principals, since the superior could overrule decisions made by the teachers thus making him a threat to their domain of control. In this case, however, teachers do not seem to

perceive the principal as a threat to their legitimized spheres of authority. This finding evidences a passive compliance on the part of the principal. The fact that principals are not viewed as a threat to teachers' decisions implies that they generally support the decision-making roles which teachers define for themselves. This is generally supportive of the argument presented in the previous chapter. Principals prefer not to risk disrupting the integrative bonds between themselves and teachers. If they do so, it is at the expense of their own job performance which is closely tied to gaining compliance from teachers in their building.

While teachers do not see principals as a threat to their legitimized decision-making roles, there is some evidence that the central administration may be perceived in this way. As the legitimacy which teachers extend to their own decision-making roles increases; integration with assistant superintendents increases ($r = .310$), but integration with superintendents and school board declines ($r = -.632$ and $-.233$ respectively). The high and negative association between increasing teacher legitimacy and declining integration between teachers and superintendents implies that superintendents may threaten the teachers' domain of control. These correlations again point to the split in relationships between teachers, principals, and the central administration. The findings also indicate that principals may be

relatively passive in their relationships with teachers, but that superintendents represent the major locus of control within the school system.

The second hypothesis is not confirmed at the accepted level of significance. As the legitimacy extended to principals increases, the integration between teachers and principals also increases, but the association is not as strong as between increasing legitimacy to teachers, and integration between teachers and principals (compare $r = .302$ with $r = .525$). Thus as teachers extend legitimacy to principals the integration between those positions becomes more restrained. Where principals hold legitimacy there is always the possibility that this will be used to enforce unpopular decisions. As a result teachers become less closely associated with principals.

Interestingly enough, the only significant relationship between increasing principal legitimacy, and integration, was among teachers within a specialty ($r = .588$). This significant relationship between increasing principal legitimacy and integration among teachers in a specialty corroborates and extends earlier findings. While specialization was associated with greater integration among teachers in a specialty, and with increased principal legitimacy; it is now clear that increased principal legitimacy is also associated with increased integration among teachers within a specialty. Thus it is possible that specialization may be effecting both increased legitimacy

to principals, and integration among teachers within a specialty. As specialization creates demands for greater interdependence, the legitimacy extended to principals increases, thus facilitating the coordination and direction of activities. Where tasks become more interdependent teachers invest legitimacy in the principals' decision-making roles to assist them in working through the complex series of tasks which in turn promotes increased integration among the teachers. It is important to remember that extending legitimacy to the principals may not enhance relationships between teachers and principals. Increasing legitimacy to principals, while helpful to teachers in working out complex interdependent tasks, and thus promoting integration among them, may not in fact lead to greater integration between teachers and principals. The evidence here suggests that this does not occur.

Finally, the third hypothesis in this series must be rejected. There is no evidence to indicate that as legitimacy which teachers extend to superintendents increases, the integration between teachers and superintendents declines. In fact the opposite condition seems to more closely approximate the evidence. While the integration between teachers and superintendents is not significantly correlated with the legitimacy which teachers extend to superintendents, the correlations are in the proper direction (r - .294 and .305 for assistant superintendents and superintendents respectively). The only negative correlation is between the legitimacy

which teachers extend to superintendents and the integration between teachers and the school board.

If all these findings between legitimacy and integration are considered together an interesting series of relationships begins to emerge. As legitimacy is extended to superordinate positions, integration between teachers and that position will also increase. At the same time, however, integration between teachers and succeedingly higher positions declines. Where teachers extend legitimacy to principals, integration between teachers and superintendents declines, and, as teachers come to extend legitimacy to superintendents, integration between teachers and school boards decline. All this serves to indicate how subordinates perceive the threats to their legitimacy from superordinate positions. Moreover, the fact that integration between teachers and principals did not decline in the face of increasing legitimacy to teachers decision-making roles, indicates that principals remain relatively passive in the organizational structure of the school.

Before continuing, it might prove useful to examine the correlations between legitimacy and the measures of conflict. By doing so the relationships which emerged from the above discussion can be elaborated and extended (Table 18). The correlation between the legitimacy which teachers extend to their own positions and conflict between teachers and principals is both negative and significant ($r = 0.550$). This finding substantiates the

TABLE 18.--Spearman Rank Order Correlation Coefficients between legitimacy scores for teachers, principals, and superintendents, and the measure of conflict.

Conflict	Legitimacy on Teacher Decision-Making Items	Legitimacy on Principal Decision-Making Items	Legitimacy on Superintendent Decision-Making Items
Between Teachers and Principals	-.550*	-.339	.018
Between Teachers and School Board and Teachers and Superintendent	.077	.061	.407
Between Young and Old and Male and Female Teachers	-.626*	.026	-.379
Between Teachers in the Same Subject	-.086	.550*	-.782*

*$p < .05$ N = 15.

relationship described above. As teachers extend more legitimacy to their own positions they become more closely integrated with the principal. Here, the negative correlation between increasing teacher legitimacy and conflict between teachers and principals again buttresses the argument. Increasing legitimacy to the teachers positions serves both to integrate teachers and principals and to reduce conflict between them. Further, this finding documents the acquiescent position of the principal. If the principals' position were particularly strong, one might expect conflict between teachers and

principals to increase as the teachers began to extend greater legitimacy to their own decision-making roles. This is not the case however, indicating that principal-teacher integration seems to improve as teachers extend greater legitimacy to their decision-making roles.

It is also interesting to note that conflict between young and old and male and female teachers declines as the teachers take on greater legitimacy for their decision-making roles. Finally, increasing teacher legitimacy is only vaguely related to conflict between teachers, and superintendents and school board, and to conflict among teachers in the same subject ($r = .077$ and $-.086$ respectively).

In examining the correlations between increasing legitimacy extended to the principal and conflict within the school organizations some interesting findings emerge. First, increased legitimacy to the principal is negatively associated with conflict between teachers and principal, though the correlation is not significant ($r = -.339$). This finding provides a measure of validity for the above argument. Where teachers face greater interdependence they tend to extend greater legitimacy to the principals' decision-making roles in order to facilitate their own performances. In so doing, they tend to reduce conflict between themselves and the principal. On the other hand, the correlation

between increasing legitimacy to the principal and conflict among teachers in the same specialty is both positive and significant (r = .550). Two alternative explanations can be offered for this finding.

If the reader assumes integration and conflict to be unidimensional, with integration measuring positive aspects of the social relationship, and conflict the negative aspects of the same relationship, then the following explanation is offered.

As teachers extend greater legitimacy to the principals' decision-making roles, principals create greater conflict within each specialty through their inadequate coordination and direction. This argument has considerable currency in the sociological literature, and is based upon the above conception of the relationship between integration and conflict. This line of reasoning argues that superordinates are unable to grasp the problems which experts face, and thus are unable to properly coordinate and integrate the tasks of these specialists. Because of their inadequacy, they create conflict among the specialists who must perform according to these directives. At the same time improper coordination leads to conflict between the experts and their superiors who attempt to organize activities in their behalf. Only half of this argument is substantiated by the data presented here. Conflict among the teachers

within a specialty does increase as the legitimacy which teachers extend to principals increases, but conflict between teachers and principals does not also increase, in fact it declines. This part of the traditional argument is not confirmed then by this evidence.

A second explanation, and the one to which this author subscribes, encompasses both aspects of the data and attempts to re-orient thinking on the relationship between integration and conflict. First, this argument does not view integration and conflict as unidimensional. In fact, under certain conditions elements of both may exist in a set of social relationships. In this case, as teachers extend more legitimacy to principals, integration between the two positions tends to also increase ($r = .302$ between extending legitimacy to principals and integration between teachers and principals). Secondly, integration among teachers within a specialty also increases as teachers extend greater legitimacy to the principals' decision-making roles ($r = .588$ between extending legitimacy to principals, and integration among teachers within a specialty). At the same time, as the legitimacy which teachers extend to principals increases, conflict between teachers and principals declines ($r = 0.339$). But, conflict among teachers in a particular specialty also increases as teachers extend more legitimacy to the principal ($r = .550$). Taken together,

these findings indicate that the legitimacy extended to principals facilitates integration between teachers within a specialty and principals, at the same time however, it creates both greater integration and conflict among the teachers within that specialty. Greater integration and conflict among teachers within a given specialty is a product of the close and highly interdependent relationships which exist. Where tasks are interdependent, as well as being highly complex and difficult to evaluate, it might well be expected that the performers of these tasks would exhibit both aspects of integration and conflict among themselves.

This explanation must be considered as tentative and subject to additional tests. It does account for the findings presented here and hopefully will lead to a rethinking of the relationships between integration and conflict.

As teachers extend greater legitimacy to the superintendents' decision-making roles, conflict between teachers and superintendents and school boards increases ($r = .407$). This finding generally supports the argument put forth in the previous chapter. As superintendent legitimacy increases, conflict between teachers and superintendents emerges from the exposure of differing perspectives on the solution of organizational tasks. The central administration attempts to

solve complex and non-routine problems through standardization and regulation. The experts who must work through tasks to completion cannot comply with these directives. Thus, as the two perspectives come to be exposed to each other, conflict emerges between superintendents and teachers.

Whereas increasing legitimacy to principals decision-making roles tended to increase conflict among teachers within the specialty ($r = .550$) increasing legitimacy to superintendents' decision-making roles serves to decrease conflict among teachers within the specialty ($r = -.782$). This finding might be a function of the relationship which each of the superordinate positions holds with teachers. In general, the less the vertical distance between teachers and another position in the organizational hierarchy the more sensitized that superordinate position will be to the problems which teachers within a specialty face. This generalization is clearly supported by the evidence in this study. Principals seem far more able to elicit cooperative relations from teachers than are superintendents. Principals are even able to defer conflict from themselves and into the group of teachers within each specialty. By contrast, superintendent-teacher relationships are best characterized as conflictual. A brief

comparison of the following correlation coefficients verifies this argument.

As the legitimacy extended to principals increases, the conflict between themselves and teachers within a specialty declines ($r = -.339$). More importantly, by being responsive to the problems which teachers face, the conflict which exists emerges among the teachers themselves ($r = .550$ between increasing principal legitimacy and conflict among teachers in same subject). By contrast, as legitimacy to superintendent decision-making roles increases, conflict between teachers and superintendents and school board increases ($r = .407$), but the conflict among teachers within a specialty declines ($r = -.782$). This suggests that as superintendents attempt to exercise their legitimized decision-making roles, their solution to the problems which teachers within a specialty face, leads them to enact decisions which engender conflict between themselves and the teachers. More important, as this occurs conflict among the teachers within that specialty declines. This suggests that as conflict between positions increases, teachers tend to reduce conflict among themselves in favor of venting their disagreements upon the superintendents.

In summary then, by examining the relationships between legitimacy and conflict it was possible to

elaborate and refine the impact of differing patterns of legitimacy upon the social relationships within the school organizations. The relationship between integration and conflict was called into question and two alternative explanations were posited for explaining the seemingly contradictory findings between integration and conflict among teachers within a particular specialty. Secondly, the impact of extending legitimacy to different superordinate positions was scrutinized and it was found that the emergence of integration and conflict was related to the vertical distance between teachers and other superordinate positions in the organizations. In the next section the impact of legitimized decision-making roles and actual decision-making roles upon integration and conflict will be assessed.

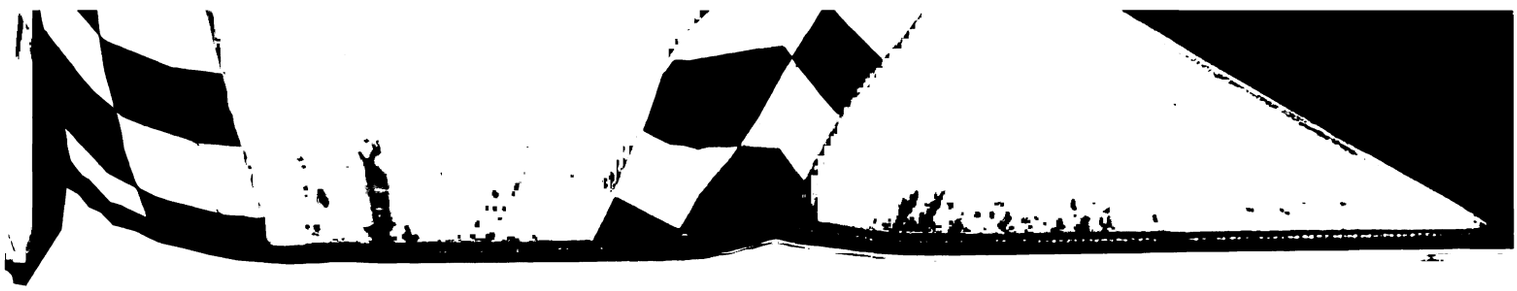
A Comparison of Legitimized Decision-Making Roles with Actual Decision-Making Roles

Prior to testing the final set of hypotheses, it might be worthwhile to compare the legitimized decision-making roles with the actual decision-making roles associated with each position. To do this, the legitimacy which teachers extend to their own decision-making roles, as well as the legitimacy they extend to principals' and superintendents' decision-making roles, was correlated with the actual decision-making roles of the principals and superintendents.

In correlating teacher legitimacy with the actual influence of principals over those decision-making roles the result was r = -.375. This negative correlation indicates that as teacher legitimacy increases, the actual influence of principals over those decisions declines. Here again is an additional piece of evidence supporting the passive role of the principal. Principals tend not to interfere in those decision-making arenas which teachers legitimately believe to be their own. The relationship between the actual influence which superintendents exert over teacher legitimized decisions is quite small (r = .186). This indicates that there is little interference from superintendents in those decisions which teachers legitimize for themselves. In fact the weakness of the correlation indicates that teachers and superintendents are not involved in the same decision-making spectrum. Within school organizations then, there is a considerable range of agreement between which positions have legitimacy to make certain decisions, and which positions actually make those same decisions. The negative correlation between teachers and principals indicates that principals do not attempt to usurp the authority of their position in order to make decisions which teachers believe they themselves have a legitimate right to make. Likewise, the low correlation between teachers and superintendents

indicates that they are not involved in the same decision-making spectrum. The final correlation in this series is the most interesting of the three. In correlating principals legitimized decision-making roles with the actual influence of the superintendents over those same roles the finding is quite obvious (r = .711). There is considerable conflict between principals and superintendents over who "should," and who actually does have control over the principals' decision-making roles. Thus, teachers perceive that superintendents actually control the decisions which principals should be responsible for. This finding further corroborates the split in relationships between representatives of each school building and the central administration.

In summary then, there seems to be considerable agreement between teachers and principals as to who "should" and who actually does make teacher legitimized decisions. At the same time, teachers and superintendents do not seem to focus upon the same decision-making spectrum since there is little correlation between the decisions which teachers invest with the legitimacy and the actual influence of superintendents over those decisions. Finally, the point of conflict lies between the principals legitimized decision-making roles and the actual making of those decisions by the superintendents. These conclusions generally support two dominant themes



in this analysis. The negative correlation between teachers and principals indicates the relative interdependence between the two positions.

Secondly, the findings here support the basic conflict between the central administration and subordinate positions charged with carrying out the organizational tasks. The point of conflict is between the principal who must coordinate the complex interdependent tasks of the teachers, and the central administration which is attempting to usurp the decision-making authority of the principals' position in order to force certain decisions upon subordinate elements in the organization. To do this central administration does not deal directly with the teachers, but attempts to effect their actions by actually making those decisions which teachers perceive as being legitimately made by the principal. This line of reasoning can be explored more fully through the testing of the final set of hypotheses concerning the discrepancy between those positions invested with legitimacy to make a decision and the positions which actually make the decisions.

Discrepancies in Decision-Making

In the last section the correlations between the legitimacy which teachers extend to certain positions was associated with the actual decision-making authority of those positions. The results implied that the greatest

point of decision-making conflict existed between the principals and the superintendents' decision-making roles. In this section of the analysis the impact of these discrepancies upon integration and conflict within the organization will be explored. Before moving directly to a testing of the hypotheses, the impact of the size of school and the per cent of males upon the discrepancy scores will be examined.

Background Variables

Size has been shown to effect many of the social relationships which exist within organizations. The impact of size is generally manifested through the manner in which it retards informal relationships and promotes more formalized associations among various positions. Further, size may retard coalition formation and thus act as a neutralizing effect upon the development of social groups within the organization. The per cent of males is particularly germane to the study of school organizations, since the literature in this area suggests that as the percentage of males increases within a school the general militancy of the teaching staff also increases. Moreover, males seem more reticent to establish close interpersonal bonds with superiors and instead tend to develop group consciousness which in turn may have negative effects for the working of the

TABLE 19.--Spearman Rank Order Correlation Coefficients between size of school and the per cent of males and the decision-making discrepancies for: teachers and principals, teachers and superintendents, and principals and superintendents.

	Discrepancy Between Teachers and Principals	Discrepancy Between Teachers and Superintendents	Discrepancy Between Principals and Superintendents
Size of School	.389	.078	-.164
Per cent of Males	.321	.070	.019

organization. For these reasons these two background variables will be considered here.

From an examination of the above table it can be seen that the size of school and the per cent of males has some effect upon the discrepancies between teachers and principals, but no effect upon the other discrepancy scores. As the size of schools and the per cent of males increases, the discrepancies between teachers and principals over the making of certain decisions increases ($r = .389$ and $.321$ respectively). This suggests as the number of teachers increases, they come to attach greater legitimacy to their own decision-making roles and tend to see the principals as interfering with the execution of these decisions. This is probably a logical outcome of

the size variable itself; since as the numbers of teachers increases, principals feel they must make a greater proportion of the decisions in order to insure that coordination and integration of the various specialties is attained. Likewise, as the per cent of males increases, they demand greater autonomy, and perceive the principals' decision-making roles as an infringement upon their authority. Neither correlation approaches significance, however, indicating that the relationship between the discrepancy scores and other variables in this study are not being "washed out" by these background variables.

Test of the Hypotheses

The hypotheses developed in Chapter II can now be restated:

10. As the discrepancy between the legitimacy which teachers extend to principals, and the actual decision-making roles which principals assume, increases, conflict between these two positions will increase.

11. As the discrepancy between the legitimacy which teachers extend to superintendents, and the actual decision-making roles which superintendents assume, increases, conflict between these two positions will increase.

12. As the discrepancy between the legitimacy which teachers extend to principals, and the actual decision-making roles which superintendents assume, increases, conflict between teachers and principals, and teachers and superintendents will increase.

To test these hypotheses the following correlations between discrepancy scores and the measure of conflict are presented (Table 20).

TABLE 20.--Spearman Rank Order Correlation Coefficient between decision-making discrepancies for: teachers and principals, teachers and superintendents, and principals and superintendents and the measures of conflict.

Conflict	Discrepancy Between Teachers and Principals	Discrepancy Between Teachers and Superintendents	Discrepancy Between Principals and Superintendents
Between Teachers and Principals	.604*	.278	.271
Between Teachers and Superintendents	.146	-.071	.354
Among Teachers in the same Subject	.114	-.040	-.614*

*p < .05 N = 15.

The correlations in the above table confirms the first hypothesis. As the discrepancy between the legitimized decision-making roles which teachers confirm upon the principal, and the actual decision-making roles which the principal assumes, increases, conflict between the two positions increases (r = .604 significant at the .05 level). Prior to this finding, much of the evidence suggested that the principal position was

basically a passive one, geared to the influences of the teachers, and acquiescent to their demands. This result tends to discount this implication. Teachers and principals may work closely together, and their relationships may be highly interdependent, but the principal can act independently of the subordinates under his charge. One might certainly question the wisdom of such action, considering that the principals' performance is closely attached to the performance of his subordinates. But nevertheless, the opportunity for him to act independently is substantiated by the potential for conflict to exist between principals and teachers.

The discrepancies between teachers and principals does not seem to have a pronounced impact upon conflict among teachers within a specialty. In fact, there is little relationship between the two at all ($r = .114$). Thus, even though the principal may usurp his legitimized decision-making roles this fact alone does not create conflict among teachers within a specialty. It is possible that such actions might encourage teachers within a specialty to unite in an effort to reduce the authority of the principal. There is no evidence here, however, to either accept or refute this speculation.

The second hypothesis must be rejected in the face of the above evidence. As the discrepancy between the legitimized decision-making roles which teachers

confirm upon the superintendent, and the actual decision-making roles which he assumes, increases, conflict between the two positions does not increase ($r = -.071$). In fact there seems to be no relationship between the two dimensions. This finding, while rejecting the hypothesis under test, lends some support, though only be implication, to the argument that teachers and superintendents do not operate within the same decision-making spectrum. Even though superintendents usurp their legitimized decision-making roles, they do not seem to impinge upon the decision-making roles of the teachers. Given that teachers and superintendents are at least one position removed from one another, and that their orientation to the problems which school organizations face is quite different, it is likely that direct conflict over decision-making roles would not occur. There is some evidence to indicate that superintendent-teacher conflict is mediated through the principals' roles. This is provided by the correlation between teacher-superintendent discrepancy scores and the conflict between teachers and principals ($r = .278$). It is possible that as superintendents extend themselves beyond their legitimized decision-making roles they affect principals decision-making roles which in turn have some impact upon the teachers. Again, this correlation does not approach significance and therefore the interpretation is at best speculative.

The final hypothesis dealing with the discrepancies between principals and superintendents, and the impact which this has upon conflict between teachers and principals, and teachers and superintendents must also be rejected. As superintendents extend their decision-making roles beyond those legitimized by subordinates, conflict between teachers and principals does increase ($r = .271$) and conflict between teachers and superintendents also increases ($r = .354$) but none of the correlations reaches the necessary level of significance to be accepted. Admitting that these arguments are tentative, it is still worthwhile to explore the relationships among these variables in more detail.

Decision-making discrepancy between teachers and superintendents did not produce conflict between these two positions. However, as the discrepancy between the legitimized roles which teachers defined for principals, and the actual decision-making roles of the superintendents increase, conflict between teachers and superintendents also increases. This finding supports the argument that superintendents affect the teachers through the manner in which they impinge upon principals decision-making roles. To a lesser extent, as superintendents impinge upon principals legitimized decision-making roles conflict between teachers and principals also increases ($r = .271$). Admittedly this correlation is not high,

yet it does, to some extent, explain how superordinate positions impinge upon subordinates decision-making roles and thus create conflict within the organization.

Superintendents do not impinge directly upon teacher decision-making roles, instead, they impinge upon those decision-making roles which teachers legitimize for the principal, which in turn affects both the teacher-principals and teacher-superintendent relationships. These findings indicate that there is a hierarchy of decision-making within school organizations, and that superordinate positions do not impinge upon all subordinates decision-making roles, but limit their infringement to those subordinate positions directly beneath them. This in turn, however, creates conflict among all subordinate positions beneath them. Thus, discrepancy in decision-making has a specific effect upon each subordinate position, but a diffuse impact upon the manner in which conflict is manifested in the organization.

Discrepancies over decision-making between superintendents and principals has a significant impact upon reducing the conflict among teachers within a specialized area ($r = -.614$). This finding serves to substantiate the discussion concerning the relationship between extending legitimacy to superintendents and its effect upon conflict among teachers within a given specialty.

The argument stated that, because of the perspective which superintendents had toward the problems of subordinates their decisions tended to incur conflict between themselves and these subordinates. As a result, conflict among teachers within a specialty declines in favor of increasing conflict between themselves and the superintendents. This argument seems to hold true for conflict over discrepancies in decision-making also. As discrepancies between positions arise, conflict among teachers within a specialty declines in favor of directing disagreements toward superordinate positions.

In summary, only the hypothesis relating discrepancies between teachers and principals to conflict between these positions could be accepted at the proper level of significance. Discrepancies between teacher and superintendents was not related to conflict between these positions. Conflict between them however was related, though not at the level of significance, to the discrepancies in decision-making between principals and superintendents. Furthermore, it was argued that discrepancies between superintendents and principals lead to a general increase in the level of conflict between all positions in the school organization. Finally, this generalized conflict served to reduce the level of conflict among teachers within a specialty in favor of venting their disagreements upon

superordinate positions in the school organization. Before closing this discussion of discrepancies the impact which they have upon integration within the school organizations will be examined. The correlations between the discrepancy scores and the index of integration are presented in the following table (Table 21).

TABLE 21.--Spearman Rank Order Correlation Coefficients between decision-making discrepancies for: teachers and principals, teachers and superintendents, and principals and superintendents and the index of integration.

Integration	Discrepancy Between Teachers and Principals	Discrepancy Between Teachers and Superintendents	Discrepancy Between Principals and Superintendents
Among Teachers in Specialty	-.460*	-.250	-.412
Among teachers not in Specialty	-.528*	-.161	-.028
Between Teachers and Principals	-.491*	-.314	-.107
Between Teachers and Superintendents	.484*	.484*	.279

*$p < .05$ N = 15

As the discrepancy between the legitimized decision-making roles which teachers confirm upon principals, and the actual decision-making roles which

the principals assume, increases in integration among teachers within a specialty declines, integration among teachers not in specialty, and integration between teachers and principals also declines ($r = -.460$, $-.528$ and $-.491$ respectively, all are significant at the .05 level). These findings suggest that discrepancies between teachers and principals does effect the degree of integration between teachers and principals, but it also effects the degree of integration among teachers themselves. This finding corroborates earlier statements concerning the highly interdependent nature of the teacher-principal relationships. Where principals usurp their legitimized decision-making authority they disrupt the balance of interdependence between themselves and the teachers. More importantly, in disturbing this balance between positions they also reduce the integration among teachers themselves. These interpretations substantiate the argument, that teachers are dependent to a large extent upon principals for facilitating and coordinating their activities, and that this function cannot be performed when principals extend their decision-making authority beyond the roles legitimized by the teachers.

When these findings are compared with the correlations between principal-teacher discrepancies, and conflict among teachers within the same subject, it becomes

ever more clear that integration and conflict are not unidimensional. Where the correlations between principal-teacher discrepancy, and conflict among teachers in the same subject was r - .114, the correlation with integration was r = -.460. This suggests that integration among teachers can decline without leading necessarily to conflict among them. However, as principal-teacher discrepancy increases, integration among teachers and principals declines (r = -.491) and at the same time conflict between teachers and principals increase (r = .604). Taken together these findings imply a further reworking of the argument concerning the relationship between conflict and integration. The evidence to this point suggests the following interpretation. Where certain structural relationships come to approximate the social relationships in question, integration and conflict become unidimensional. Where these structural relationships do not directly involve social relationships, elements of conflict and integration may exist simultaneously. Taking the case above, where discrepancies between principals and teachers exist a structural relationship, directly involving these same positions in a social relationship, in this case conflict, then integration and conflict may be unidimensional. But whereas discrepancies between teachers and principals is associated with a social relationship which

does not involve the structural relationship directly, in this case integration and conflict among teachers within a specialty, then it is possible that elements of both may be found in the social relationship. This is a highly speculative interpretation, but one of the asides of this analysis has been to explore all possible avenues of examining the relationship between integration and conflict.

There is no intention here that these speculations be taken as anything more than hypotheses for future research. What this research has indicated is that the conventional explanations of the relationship between integration and conflict are certainly questionable, and as such demand more inquiry, something this analysis has tried to provide.

Finally, as the discrepancy between teachers and principals increases the integration between teacher and superintendents also increases ($r = .484$). This implies that as integration between teachers and principals declines teachers become more closely aligned with higher superordinates positions, in this case the superintendent. Unfortunately, there is little other evidence to either corroborate or refute this argument. Thus it must stand as a tentative conclusion.

In correlating the discrepancies between the teachers and superintendents' decision-making roles, with the index of integration, the findings tend to

support earlier arguments. As superintendents exceed their legitimized decision-making roles they have a more pronounced impact upon the level of integration between teachers and principals ($r = -.314$), than upon the integration among teachers within a specialty ($r = -.250$). This again supports the argument that superintendents affect social relationships among subordinates indirectly. When they exceed their decision-making roles, the impact is first felt by the principals who in turn alter their activities which in turn affects the teachers within the various specialties. This seems to hold true for both conflict and integration between these positions.

The significant correlation between teacher-superintendent discrepancies and the integration between these two positions is quite unexpected. There seems to be no explanation as to why integration between the positions would increase as the discrepancy between them also increased.

The correlations between principal-superintendent discrepancies, and the integration index, again supports the argument that superintendents effect social relationships through the way they effect subordinates directly beneath them. As the discrepancy between principals and superintendents increases, the integration among teachers within a specialty declines ($r = -.412$). This suggests that superintendents limit the principals'

domain of decision-making which in turn hinders his performance with teachers in a specialty, and thus reduces the integration among the teachers. At this point an impressive number of correlations has pointed in this direction, unfortunately, none of them has been of sufficient magnitude to be significant, though some have come quite close.

This argument gains additional support from the low correlation between principal-superintendent discrepancy and conflict among teachers not in the specialty ($r = -.028$). Where superintendents encroach upon the principals' legitimized decision-making roles teachers within a given specialty are deprived of the coordination and directives which assist them in performing their tasks. Furthermore, this finding indicates that relationships among teachers within a school are not as important as the relationships which teachers within each specialty have with the principal. This substantiates the argument in the last chapter which stated that integration among teachers and principals was more important for task performance than the integration among all teachers in the school building.

In summary, the relationship between discrepancies and integration tended to corroborate earlier arguments presented in this, and the previous chapter. Teachers feel the effect of superordinate infringement on the

decision-making process through the manner in which it restricts subordinates actions making them less able to meet the demands of their role. Finally, the relationship between integration and conflict was explored a bit further, the specualtions which were made again question the wisdom of treating the two concepts as unidimensional.

Conclusions

The hypotheses presented in this chapter were generally not confirmed by the data at the level of significance. Nevertheless, the arguments were pursued, and as a result they obtained some measure of support as additional evidence was marshalled in their behalf. But again, the conclusions arrived at must be treated as tentative rather than with any degree of finality.

In examining the legitimacy which teachers extend to different positions, this chapter was inquiring into the basis of superordinate authority. The authority which teachers extend to principals is closely associated with the degree of integration among teachers within a specialty. Teachers legitimize principals' decision-making roles in exchange for certain types of assistance in the form of coordination, and assistance in the performance of their tasks. At the same time, when principals attempted to exceed their legitimized decision-making roles they created conflict between themselves and the teachers, but did not create conflict among teachers

within a specialty. Thus, even though the principal can act independently of the sanctions which teachers place upon him, it is not in his best interest to do so. Because much of the evidence in this analysis has shown that the teacher-principal relationship is a highly interdependent one, it would not be in the best interests of the principals to generate conflict which will ultimately be reflected in poorer relationships between themselves and teachers. Authority which subordinates extend to principals is basically manipulative; teachers provide him with authority in return for assistance with the performance of tasks.

At the same time, discrepancies between teachers and superintendents leads to conflict between teachers and principals. This occurs as superintendents infringe upon principals decision-making roles thereby making it more difficult for principals to carry out their functions with respect to the teachers. As a result the principal's position come to mediate disputes between the superintendents and the teachers. It is difficult for him to intervene in behalf of one position without incurring hostility from the other. These incompatibilities are to some extent a product of the different perspectives on the organizations which teachers and superintendents hold. Superintendents attempt to standardize performance but teachers find these unworkable, and come to manifest

their hostility through their relationships with the principal.

These findings in general, corroborate the close interdependent relationships which exist between teachers in a specialty and the principal. Further, the findings support the argument that a heirarchy of decision-making exists, and that different positions execute different decisions. This is manifested through the manner in which superordinate positions tend to infringe only upon the legitimacy of those positions directly beneath them. But, this in turn creates problems in the social relationships among these subordinate positions due to the fact that neither can properly perform their assigned roles.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Introduction

In the final chapter of any dissertation the conviction of the writer's conclusions become evident. It is here that the findings from this research must be fitted to the larger body of evidence from which it sprang. Hopefully this involves modifying as well as extending some of the prevailing arguments. For some readers it may seem presumptuous that one writer, whose arguments were often based upon data that did not reach accepted standards of significance, would attempt to contest the larger body of findings from which his own research sprang. Such temerity, however, characterizes the social sciences. To fly in the face of overwhelming evidence is to offer new directions and courses of inquiry. It is each writer's obligation to take his argument as far as it will logically go; it is the responsibility of his colleagues to check his argument and to offer evidence for its validity or its rejection. This writer, holding this belief as self evident, will attempt to explore all possible conclusions which both mind and evidence suggest. Like all who engage in

research, he believes he is on to something worthwhile, and that it is at least worth the consideration of others who also have an interest in this area.

Specialization

Research in the area of specialization has been hampered by the findings which came from early industrial contexts, and by the separate meanings which the concept has taken on. Empirical work concerning specialization was completed in industrial contexts, utilizing individuals performing routine and repetitive tasks.[1] In this context increasing specialization was a devise to divide tasks into their component parts, thus insuring more accurate supervision, and a lower tolerance for error. Under such conditions it is not surprising that researchers found workers becoming more integrated as specialization increased. Two forces were at work: one was the increasing interdependence of the tasks, but the other was the

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[1]The following references characterize much of the thinking on specialization. They are presented in chronological order beginning with the earliest writings first: Luther Gulick and Luther Urwick, eds., Papers on the Science of Administration (New York: Institute of Public Administration, 1937); Chester Barnard, The Functions of the Executive (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1938); Leonard Sayles, The Behavior of Industrial Work Groups (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1958); and Herbert Simon, Donald Smithburg and Victor Thompson, Public Administration (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1950). Finally, there is one work that has given particular attention to the newer problems associated with specialization: Paul Lawrence and Jay Lorsch, Organization and Environment (Boston: Graduate School of Business Administration, Harvard University, 1967).

need to band together as a protection against standards and supervisors who were threatening the work situation. There is probably no research on the subject which attempted to determine whether specialization created functional interdependence leading to integration, or whether it raised anxieties of workers to such an extent that they formed coalitions to protect their interests.

In any case, the once routine and repetitive tasks are today the automated processes of the modern factory. But neither research nor thinking on the subject has extended much beyond the early days of industrial sociology. The majority of writing concerned with the specialization of the complex and non-routine tasks is not informed by data, but represents instead an extension of the findings from earlier research. It is curious to note that even though the tasks have changed from routine to non-routine, and the workers from unskilled to highly skilled, the conclusions are basically the same. Granted, some of the logic arriving at the findings has been revamped but the conclusions are the same. Such is possible, but with both tasks, personnel, and context altered, the probability of obtaining similar findings seems remote.

Much of the problem with the specialization literature comes from the failure of writers to take into account the separate usages of the term. Where tasks

are routine the emphasis has been upon the specialization of tasks; where they are complex the emphasis needs to be upon the specialization of the personnel. The question put forth in this research is a traditional one; how does increasing task specialization effect the social relationships among different positions in the organization. The difference is not in the question, but in the context, here the setting involves specialists and complex tasks. The argument developed in this chapter is that these settings will have a profound impact upon the social relationships. The nature of the tasks determine the type of personnel involved, and together these factors will effect the relationship between increasing specialization and social relationships.

With these issues aside, how do the findings from this research fit into the literature on specialization, and more importantly how do they modify or extend the prevailing arguments?

Specialization of school organizations refers to the degree to which schools reach a one to one ratio between teachers and subjects. This means that perfect specialization would be where one teacher is responsible for only one course. But, where each subject is divided into a number of courses, teachers become more specialized, and their course must be made to fit with others in that subject matter area. Thus interdependence among

teachers witnin one subject area increases as each teacher becomes responsible for fewer courses.

The findings from this research suggest that as specialization increases teachers within a specialty become more socially integrated. This finding while corroborative of much of the literature is in fact important precisely because it supports that literature. Where specialization increases, whether the tasks are routine and simple or complex and non-routine, the integration among participants also increases. Thus, functional interdependence of tasks, regardless of their complexity, seems to generate social integration among those who perform the tasks.

Beyond this point, however, the social similarities between complex and routine tasks seems to end. Many early studies of informal work groups found that integration among interdependent sets of tasks had the latent function of unifying workers into an integrated group. Such groups were better equipped to withstand the pressures eminating from their supervisors. The more closely integrated groups could either reject or cooperate with directives from foremen, thus giving them some measure of control over the work setting. Because of this need among workers to protect themselves against the administration there was little integration between workers and supervisors.

By contrast, this study found that specialization encouraged social integration among teachers and principals. This contrasting evidence can be explained by the nature of the tasks and how this influences social relations within the organization. As specialization increased, the demands among teachers for interdependence also increased. To meet these demands teachers turned toward, not away from, principals in order to gain some assistance in resolving the problems of working out curriculum, setting out boundaries to each course, and deciding who is to teach each of the courses. Thus, where non-routine complex tasks are concerned, specialization leads to social interdependence not only among the specialists, but also between specialists and first line administrative personnel. Three pieces of evidence were brought forward in behalf of this conclusion. First, as specialization increased, integration between teachers and principals increased. Second, as specialization increased, the legitimacy which teachers extend to principals decision-making roles increased. And, third, as specialization increased, conflict between teachers and principals decreased. All of these correlations when taken together lend considerable support for the argument that specialization of complex tasks leads to closer social relations between specialists and administrative personnel who are also charged with the completion of these tasks. Thus as complex tasks become more

specialized organizational participants take on a more positive perception of the first line personnel. They are no longer seen as a threat to workers, instead, they become an integral part of the process leading to the completion of a series of complex tasks.

In this study specialization was not related to either increased integration or conflict with the central administration. This indicates that functional relationships, such as specialization, have an impact upon the social relationships which evolve directly from the performances of certain functions, but it does not have any particular impact upon social relationships which are not governed to some extent by the completion of the tasks.

In summary then, a clear delineation of the meaning of specialization is at first necessary before the concept can be exploited in social research. This means that not only must the tasks be divided into smaller segments, but the complexity of those tasks must also be examined. These interrelationships must be given attention in future studies involving this concept. Findings from this study indicate that as specialization increases among complex tasks, first line adminsitrative personnel, in the form of principals, are brought into greater social interdependence with the specialists themselves. This is in direct contrast to the situation where specialization occurs among routine tasks. That literature suggested that social integration was in part a response to closer

supervision and greater scrutiny of worker's jobs. In this study, however, specialization was associated with closer integration between teachers and principals. Possibly then, the complexity of the task is itself a form of protection for the specialists, since their opinions and decisions may be taken into consideration by the principals, which indicates to the teachers that their interests are not jeopardized by his presence. Thus, where there is no definitive solution to problems, no standardized set of performance requirements, and no methods for judging high and low quality performances, the specialists see no reason to exclude the principal from their circle, and may in fact welcome any suggestions and direction he can offer.

In terms of school organizations, the direction and impact of specialization makes the principal's position a particularly crucial one. Specialization seems to involve greater social interdependence between teachers within a specialty and the principal, thus making the principal's position a pivotal one between the central administration and the teachers in each specialty. Not only must he balance off a variety of conflicts which might arise among the different specialties, he must also mediate between the central administration and the teachers. From other evidence in this study it would seem that the principals are more closely related to the

teachers than to the central administration. This may result from the fact that the quality of his performance depends more upon the teachers than upon maintaining close allegiance with the administration. In any case, as specialization increases, the principals' roles become more interwoven with the teachers and thus their ability to play a mediating role becomes more threatened.

The implications for future research concerning specialization should by this time be fairly obvious. First, more studies are needed which involve the specialization of complex tasks, or a continuum of complexity, to determine how both task specialization and complexity effect the social relationships among the personnel charged with the performance of these tasks. Secondly, the manner in which specialization and complexity create social interdependencies among the specialists and administrative personnel need to be more thoroughly explored. Finally, the social interdependency which specialization creates between superordinate and subordinate must be assessed in terms of how it effects the social relationships among a series of superordinate positions.

An Aside on Professionals in Organizations

In the second chapter an extended discussion arose out of a disagreement in the literature between those who advocate that an inherent conflict exists between experts

and/or professionals and administrators, and those who argue that the positions are essentially compatible. This debate will not be resolved here, but possibly some light can be shed on the issue. The very fact that teachers were willing to extend legitimacy to various administrative positions for the making of certain decisions suggests that teachers did not view all administrative positions with the same skepticism that much of the sociological literature would indicate.

An important question must be pursued a bit further at this point. The assumption was made in Chapter II that teachers, while not professionals, were in fact experts to the extent that they receive training in a particularized area of competency. This raises the issue as to whether only professionals, and thus the professional orientation, accounts for the conflicts with administration, or whether conflicts arise out of the nature of the tasks to be performed. From evidence in this study the professional orientation does not seem as important as the tasks themselves. It is the tasks which are complex, non-routine, and thus open to different interpretations as to how they might be performed. The conventional administrative approach of dividing the tasks and seeking out standardized criteria for performance, are all points which the literature suggests form the basis for the conflict. If this is

the case, then possibly it is not the professional orientation which creates the differences so much complex tasks can best be performed. Granted the professional orientation cannot be completely divorced from the beliefs as to how the tasks are best performed, the point here is a matter of emphasis and one that needs further consideration in future research. If the methods for performing tasks represent the points of disagreement, then there is some indication that these conflicts may not be inherent, but a result of improper structuring of the organization. Where administrators are executing decisions which might be better left to the experts, then conflict between the two positions is likely to arise. Thus conflict is likely to arise wherever there is disagreement between positions as to how complex non-routine tasks should be performed, and that such disagreements are not directly related to the professional-administrator split as suggested by so much of the literature.

A second aspect of this disagreement concerned the relationship between specialization, centralization, and participation in decision-making. The evidence from this study indicates that the making of certain coordinative decisions is entirely different from the participation in decision-making. The sociological literature has argued that as tasks become more specialized decision-making becomes more centralized, which in turn

leads to conflicts between professionals and administrators, as the professionals are excluded from the decision-making process.[2] The evidence, there indicates that as specialization increases, the principals' positions become more, not less, closely interdependent with the teaching staff. Further as tasks become more specialized the principals decision-making roles are extended greater legitimacy by the teachers, again suggesting that if there is any centralization of decision-making it is forced upon the first line administrators by the teachers, as opposed to being taken from the teachers. Corroborative of this point was the fact that there was little association between specialization and relationships with the central administration.

The findings call into question the traditional arguments concerning the relationships between experts and bureaucrats. There does seem to be points of difference as to how complex tasks are best performed, but these problems can be alleviated through proper structuring

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[2]Three recent works most clearly depict the problems between professional and organizational forms of control. George Miller, "Professionals in Bureaucracy: Alienation among Industrial Scientists and Engineers," American Sociological Review, Vol. 32 (October, 1967), 755-767; Michael Aiken and Herald Hage, "Organizational Alienation: A Comparative Analysis," American Sociological Review, Vol. 31 (August, 1966), 497-507. A more general discussion of the problems involving professionals in organizations is provided in Howard Vollmer and Donald Mills, eds., Professionalization (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1967).

of the decision-making process. Where superordinates remain within the legitimized arenas of authority they can forestall conflicts between themselves and the experts. Moreover, participation in decision-making does not seem to be thwarted by increasing specialization, in fact, it would seem that specialization creates demands for interdependence rather than centralization.

Another factor which makes the traditional sociological explanation suspect is the historical pattern through which it developed. Industrial organizations historically met greater specialization--specialization of tasks, not of people--with increased centralization. But in this case the tasks were routine and simple, requiring little technical competence. This argument was in many respects superimposed upon the "professionals in organizations" literature, which caused theorists to deduce logical, if not empirical, conflicts between experts and administrators. Where tasks were complex and demanding of experts, there seems little evidence to indicate that the administration has attempted to centralize control. In fact this and other studies are finding just the opposite to be the case. The arguments growing out of industrial organizations, geared to one type of task, cannot be extended to different types of organizations which perform complex tasks and employ experts in their behalf.

Together these arguments strongly suggest that the traditional writings need considerable revision on at least three counts. First, increasing specialization, which involves experts, is not necessarily associated with greater centralization of the decision-making process. Second, and flowing from the first, if there is no added centralization then there is probably no reduction in participation in the decision-making process. Third, the demands which specialization produces may in fact draw subordinate positions into closer ties with administration as both attempt to work through the complex set of tasks.

Legitimacy

Legitimacy represents the social approval necessary for authority relationships. As Weber has suggested, an act of authority depends upon some "minimum voluntary submission" on the part of subordinates. Subordinate obedience to a set of commands imparts legitimacy to superiors' authority. In one way, commands eminate from superordinates, but legitimacy, and thus authority, is imparted to those directives through subordinate compliance. In this respect authority is differentiated from power; for in power relationships compliance depends

upon coercion, whereas authority is imparted to the relationship through voluntary compliance.[3]

Building upon the work of Weber, Blau has argued that authority relationships depend not upon the relationship that a superordinate has with each subordinate, but the relationship that he maintains with the group. In this sense compliance is voluntary for the group but it is compelling for the individual. It is not the superordinate which compels the individual to comply, but his relationships with other subordinates, and his desire to follow the group norms which specify compliance. Viewed in this way, it is the collective approval on the part of the subordinates which legitimizes the commands of the superordinate. This feature of authority relationships, Blau argues, raises the issue of consensus among group members. When commands are issued it becomes a question of whether these commands are consistent with the normative relationships between superordinate and subordinate. Where they clearly fall within the bounds of the relationship there will be little question as to subordinate compliance, and legitimization of the directives. Where the norms are less clear it becomes a problem as to whether subordinates will invest the commands with legitimacy through their compliance. As consensus

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[3]Parsons, Max Weber: . . . , p. 234.

declines, the authority aspect of the relationship is called into question by the group, and thus forebodes the possible exercise of coercion which transforms the relationship from one of authority to one of power.[4]

In this study both the questions of legitimacy and consensus were examined through focusing upon the decision-making process. The consensus which teachers impart to both their own and to other superordinate positions was determined through the percentage of teachers in each school investing legitimacy in a position for making certain decisions.

Concentrating on the legitimacy of decision-making is admittedly only one dimension through which these processes operate. As was argued in Chapter II, however, where tasks are complex and non-routine, such as teaching, the decision-making process becomes an important method for limiting subordinates actions. Under such task conditions direct supervision, and the making of rules cannot affectively control subordinates. Superordinates cannot directly control teachers activities in the classroom, but they can, through the manner in which they either assume or delegate certain decisions, limit the activities of the teachers. For these reasons it was decided to focus upon the manner in which legitimacy was

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[4]Blau, Exchange and Power in Social Life, 199-212.

extended to different positions for making coordinative decisions.

The impact of legitimacy upon social relationships in the organization cannot be divorced from the manner in which it is effected by specialization. As specialization increases within the organizations, teachers imparted greater legitimacy to the principals' decision-making roles. This suggests that the authority of the principal increases with specialization, which in turn makes teachers more aware of his functions as their tasks become more closely interdependent. This finding is at odds with much of the literature presented in Chapter II. Here the implication was that subordinates did not extend legitimacy to superiors in the face of specialization, but instead conferred it upon their colleagues or peers. This in turn resulted in conflicts as superiors attempted to give commands which were not legitimized by subordinates. In this study subordinates extended legitimacy to their immediate superiors as specialization increased.

The traditional arguments impute a type of ethnocentricity to subordinates, in that they see themselves as the ones most capable of accomplishing the tasks, and thus do not extend legitimacy to superordinates. Traditionally subordinate legitimacy has been conceptualized as a scarce and valued commodity in the eyes of subordinates, and something not to be given away,

particularly to superiors who can then use it to control teachers actions. But where tasks are non-routine, complex, and have no definite standards of right and wrong attached to their performance, subordinates may be anxious to extend legitimacy to superiors in exchange for assistance in the completion of their tasks.

A re-interpretation of legitimacy in light of evidence from this study seems now in order. Where teachers gain greater consensus among themselves as to the legitimacy of their own decision-making roles they become more closely integrated with the principal. In this case both legitimacy and the integration between teachers and principals protect the teachers from any arbitrary action on the part of the principal. Where there is high consensus among the teachers as to their decision-making roles, they can meet any infringements with a common set of sanctions. One of the most potent sanctions is to withdraw from any close social relationships with the principal. Since principals' tasks are dependent upon gaining cooperation from teachers, a decline in integration might well reflect less cooperation, therefore jeopardizing principals' performances. As a result, principals do not interfere with decisions which teachers legitimize for themselves. Thus high consensus among teachers acts as a protective device against principal interference with their

legitimized domain of control. Through these relations, principals become involved in a set of compliant exchanges; in return for control over certain areas of decision-making, teachers become more cooperative with principals, making their job both easier and their performance appear more positive to the central administration. These findings and interpretations point to the advantage of examining legitimacy within organizations. This aspect of authority has not been given the empirical attention which other dimensions of the concept have; using it, however, reorients the perspective of the inquiry from looking down to subordinates to looking up to superiors. Legitimacy focuses attention on the ways in which subordinates can subvert the formalized relationships which are the basic operating principles of the organization. The fact that authority is based upon legitimacy, and legitimacy upon consensus of the subordinates, suggests that where numbers of subordinates can achieve consensus concerning certain aspects of their activities, they can subvert much of the formal organization. Consensus can be used as a bargaining tool by subordinates in that their superiors are to a large extent dependent upon subordinates for positive evaluations. If this is correct, then subordinates can use their consensus to dictate to superiors how they wish

to be treated and what directives will be complied with and which ones will be ignored.

The chain of events described above becomes even more interesting as teachers extend a high degree of consensus to the legitimacy of principals' decision-making roles. The general direction of the relationships described above still hold true but to a lesser extent. First of all, as teachers extend a greater amount of legitimacy to the principals' position their integration with the principal increases, and the conflict between the two positions declines. In both cases, however, this occurs to a lesser extent than was observed when teachers extended legitimacy to their own positions. As teachers legitimize principals' decision-making roles the social interdependence between themselves and the principals become somewhat more restrained. In view of the above interpretation this finding is not surprising. Where teachers reinforce superiors authority one might expect social interdependence to decline, since that authority might be used to effect decisions and actions to which the teachers do not fully subscribe. Furthermore, under such conditions, close interdependence with the principal does not serve the teachers in the same way as when they held the authority. Where principals have both legitimized authority and close interdependence with the teachers, they might utilize this interdependence to

influence teachers, just as teachers used it to influence their actions. In any event, both of these factors taken together account for the reduction in interdependence between teachers and principals when authority is invested in the principal.

What is of more interest at this point is the significant increase in both conflict and integration among teachers in a specialty when greater legitimacy is extended to the principal. At this point nothing will be said of the relationship between integration and conflict since that will be taken up in a separate section at the end of this chapter. What is salient here, are the factors which might account for this increase. Recalling that legitimacy to the principal increased significantly as specialization increased, there is some support for the argument that specialization leads teachers to invest more legitimacy in the principals as demands upon the teachers increase. Thus, as principals attempt to assist teachers in the solution of their tasks, social interdependence between teachers and principals increases, but conflict and integration among teachers in each specialty also increase. The functional interdependence brought about by increased specialization creates demands for a more refined working out of each teacher's role within the specialty resulting in an intense social setting which could conceivably lead to elements of both

conflict and integration. Though these conclusions might appear tentative, there was an impressive number of correlations all of which pointed in this direction. Based upon them, it does seem reasonable to conclude that specialization in some way affects teachers within each specialty; it leads toward a greater legitimation of the principals' decision-making roles, and it increases the level of both integration and conflict among teachers in those specialties.

Moving now to a consideration of other aspects of legitimacy; there was a close association between the legitimacy which subordinates extended to a superordinate positions and the integration between teachers and that position. This increase in integration was accompanied by a comparable decline in integration between teachers and that position directly above the one to which legitimacy was extended. These findings depict the hierarchical mechanism at work; where teachers legitimize the decision-making roles of one superordinate position they cannot comply with demands from successively higher positions which represent different perspectives and alternative methods of operation. These findings indicate that integration between positions is somehow tied to the investing of legitimacy in that position. Where subordinates invest legitimacy in superiors they in turn become integrated with them. At the same time

that subordinates invest legitimacy in one superordinate position they in turn become less integrated with succeedingly higher positions. This suggests that as legitimacy and social interdependence emerge between teachers and one position the threat which higher positions pose is reflected in the manner in which teachers reject any social relationships with them.

This discussion of legitimacy has focused upon the manner in which subordinate positions impart authority to superiors through the manner in which they submit to certain directives and commands. Looked at in this manner, authority no longer can be viewed as simply the right to give commands. From the perspective of legitimacy, authority becomes a set of compliant exchanges. Subordinates invest legitimacy in superiors to make certain decisions, in turn for these rights superiors must not infringe upon those areas to which no legitimacy extends. On the part of the subordinates, investing legitimacy means submitting to a set of commands which superiors impose. At the same time, by submitting to those commands subordinates are hopefully guided toward the most efficient means for executing their tasks.

To speculate on the future role of legitimacy as a concept for organizational research one needs to consider the increasing importance of the expert as a subordinate. Historically legitimacy was of little concern

in organizations. Where tasks were routine, and the requirements for their performance standardized, the rewards-contribution relationship between the organization and any individual worker could be affected through a proper wage rate. Where performance was not adequate, or failed to meet the accepted standards, employees were released from the organization.

In comparison, today's organizations are employing a greater proportion of experts and specialists; they are hired because of their specialized training which allows them to perform certain complex and non-routine tasks for the organization. The nature of the tasks preclude clearcut standards of right and wrong in their performance, which in turn eliminates any arbitrary decisions on the part of superiors as to the quality of the performance. Moreover, and this is the crucial point, the demand for experts is high and likely to increase, at the same time superiors must take into account the way in which their actions and commands effect the experts, since most organizations can ill afford to lose experts whom they cannot easily replace. Also, the intrinsic joy of the work which experts attach to their tasks cannot be measured in monetary terms, therefore organizations must effect a rewards-contribution relationship through more than monetary standards. One standard likely to emerge, is the way in which

organizations define superordinate-expert relationships. Under such conditions the legitimacy which a group of experts imparts to an administrative superior is likely to be of central concern to both the organization and to the experts. Of concern to the organization since administrators will want their first line supervisors to be sensitive to the legitimacy which experts invest in their position; and of concern to the experts since this will represent part of the rewards-contribution relationship binding them to the organization.

These speculations made here involve the changing nature of the task structure and how it will effect the concerns of administrators and change their orientation toward subordinates. The concept of legitimacy, and the reciprocity which it implies within an authority relationship, has historically been ignored in favor of concerns which were more central to the completion and attainment of organizational goals. But, with the changing conception of the subordinate, from an unskilled laborer to a talented expert, will also come changes in the way administrators evaluate performances, set standards, and condition the interrelationships between experts and the organization. Where the changes are toward increasing numbers of experts the question of legitimacy will become more central to an understanding of authority. The consensus of experts and how they come

to legitimize certain normative standards of performance, will be of critical importance to administrators who must balance administrative demands with the concerns which experts have for the performance of their tasks. The importance of legitimacy is well documented by the findings from this study. As consensus over legitimacy increased there was a comensurate rise in the integration between the positions and a similar reduction in conflict. At the same time there arose both integration and conflict among the specialists. Deferring conflict from between positions in the organization, where there is always a potential for it to polarize into an administrator-expert conflict, to among experts where both elements of integration and conflict exist, is far safer for the organization. In this case it is easier to control conflict among specialists than between specialists and the administration. In the first case, the administration can act as a mediator, in the second its involvement in the conflict precludes its role as a mediator. Thus, an awareness of the legitimacy which subordinates confer upon superiors roles may enable the administration to invoke certain tactics which will forestall the types of organizational conflicts which they cannot resolve because of their involvement in them.

Discrepancy

The question of legitimacy leads directly to an interpretation of the findings concerning the discrepancy between the actual making of a decision and the legitimacy invested in a position for making that decision.

An examination of the discrepancies between the decisions which superiors make, and the legitimacy invested in them by subordinates, indicates that there is a hierarchy of decision-making which subordinates both recognize and legitimate. The findings also point to the interdependent nature of the decision-making process. In correlating the actual interference of superiors in the making of those decisions which teachers reserve for themselves some interesting observations were made. First, neither principals nor superintendents interfered with teachers in exercising their decisions. The principals tended to defer to teachers, while superintendents were not involved in the same decision-making spectrum. Second, superintendents did interfere in the making of those decisions which teachers reserved for the principal. This has profound effects upon the relationships among the positions. Superintendents, by infringing upon those decisions which teachers reserved for the principals, created conflict between teachers and principals, and between teachers and superintendents. This indicates that the structure of decision-making is

a highly interdependent one. It is of little use for principals to adhere to the decision-making roles legitimized for them by teachers if they at the same time cannot encourage superintendents to comply with the decision-making roles which teachers have legitimized for the principals. Compliant exchanges between superiors and subordinates at one level is of little value if higher superiors do not also adhere to a similar set of exchanges. Such findings again document the precariousness of the principal's position. He must restrict his actions to comply with the roles legitimized for him by the teachers if he is to elicit their support for his directives. At the same time he must somehow insure that superintendents do not infringe upon his decision-making roles. If he cannot control the superintendents, he jeopardizes his relationships with the teachers. Where conflict emerges between positions beneath the superintendent it is the principal who is held responsible and accountable for the problems between himself and the staff.

These observations again point to the importance of legitimacy as a dimension in the authority relationship. The process by which legitimacy is extended may indicate an almost profound knowledge on the part of the teachers concerning organizational operations. Teachers seem to extend legitimacy to various

superordinate positions in a way that will permit these positions to facilitate them in accomplishing their goals. Unfortunately, this research cannot answer the question as to whether conflict arises because of the way in which superiors disrupt the flow of work in the organization, or whether it arises simply because superiors have ignored the legitimacy which teachers have invested in them. If the first explanation is correct, then much of the literature dealing with the myopia of the expert seems illfounded. If on the other hand the second explanation is correct, then ways must be found to manipulate experts in order not to incur their hostility. Regardless of which case approximates reality, the importance of legitimacy as a vehicle for examining organizations remains. The findings and the manner in which they lend themselves to interpretations, indicate that legitimacy has a profound impact upon the social relationships within an organization. Because of the nature of the tasks, and the employment of experts, the questions of legitimacy will take on increasing importance in future research since it reflects the way in which subordinates submit to organizational directives and to the goals of the organization.

Integration and Conflict

Evidence from this study has been at odds with much of the writings on organizational integration and

conflict. The effect of specialization upon integration seems better understood in terms of how each position is related to the completion of a series of tasks. Specialization does encourage integration among teachers within each specialty, but it also seems to create integration between teachers within a specialty and the principals. This finding indicates that the demands for interdependence create an atmosphere for the integration of teachers and principals. Traditional arguments indicate that integration moves horizontally within the organization, and that specialization serves only to increase vertical conflict between specialists and administrators. This case seems overstated. One must first understand what roles the administrators perform in terms of the specialists. In the case of educational organizations, principals roles are closely associated with teachers in the performance of their functions. This being the case, principals become more integrated with teachers as the degree of specialization increases. More importantly, however, as this occurs, conflict between teachers and principals declines. This finding also tends to run against much of the existing literature in organizations.

Specialization tends to encourage both conflict and integration among teachers within a specialty. But conflict between teachers and other positions resulted from the manner in which principals and superintendents extended their actual decision-making authority beyond

those areas legitimized by the teachers. This was most pronounced in the case of the superintendents. Where superintendents exceeded their legitimized decision-making roles conflict among teachers within each specialty declined, and conflict between teachers and superintendents increased. Thus, superintendents, by exceeding their legitimized decision-making roles, tended to alter the basis of conflict within the organization. As was suggested above, conflict among specialists was not particularly harmful to the administration since it could act as a mediator among teachers. But, where conflict shifts from among teachers to between teachers and superintendents, the organization becomes party to the conflict and thus loses its position as mediator. Thus superintendents, by over-extending their decision-making roles encourage teachers to forego conflict among themselves in favor of engaging the superintendent. This arises because of the different perspective which these positions have upon the performance of tasks within the organization. In general, the closer an administrative position to the actual performance of a series of tasks the more likely that it will adhere to its legitimized decision-making roles and the greater the integration between that position and the experts.

This general conclusion becomes clearer if the reader will recall the interpretation provided above

involving social relationships as a set of compliant exchanges. The closer a superordinate position to the performance of a set of tasks, the greater the reward offered him for complying with the legitimized decision-making roles set out by subordinates. If he complies, he is insured of maintaining closer social relationships which will facilitate his performance, and thus superiors' opinions of him. At the same time the more rewarding it becomes for subordinates to comply with those directives he offers, because, he is in a position to integrate their activities and to provide directions for the efficient solution of their problems.

On the other hand, greater legitimacy to superintendents' positions leads to conflict between teachers and superintendents, precisely because by following the directives set out by the central administration teachers are not assisted in the performance of their tasks. In fact, instead of rewards for compliance, they are faced with the costs of following decisions which do not meet the exigencies demanded by the tasks. Moreover, there is no reward for superintendents in observing the legitimized decision-making roles set out for them by the teachers. Their tasks and performance are not dependent upon the teachers, on the contrary, they may be dependent upon not observing the legitimized roles set out by teachers. As a result, the further an

administrative position is from the completion of a series of tasks the less the reward for observing legitimized decision making roles, and thus the more likely they will be ignored. Likewise, the greater the conflict between teachers and superintendents. Where teachers follow the commands of the superintendent his directives lead to costs rather than rewards for the teachers. Both integration and conflict then seem largely dependent upon the manner in which superordinates recognize, and involve themselves in, sets of compliant exchanges with subordinates.

Before concluding this discussion of integration and conflict, a final word might be in order concerning the usefulness of the concepts in social research. The concept of integration has proven to be one of the most theoretically important concepts in sociology, yet its use in empirical research has been severely limited. This is not strange, the very feature which makes it so valuable to theory construction at the same time spells its doom for empirical research. The broad global nature of the concept, and the manner in which it is able to account for a number of attributes in any social relationship, makes operationalization of that concept almost totally impossible. In this study an index was employed to bring together several dimensions of integration. The value of even this procedure seems particularly

questionable. The findings reflect far more clearly support and communication than the level of integration among the various positions. This is evidenced by the fact that integration represents considerably more dimensions of a social relationship than simply communication and support. In fact it could be easily argued that these two dimensions are not part of integration at all, rather, they are preconditions which must exist before integration can emerge. This argument does not detract from the findings, or from the relationships which were found to exist, it does however, make suspect part of the theoretical structure upon which they are arranged.

Conventional solutions to this problem have been the development of better measuring devices, with this I would agree, but also there is considerably greater need to work through the theoretical literature and in turn specify more fully the dimensions of integration and the logical processes by which it may be reduced to a set of concepts amenable to test. Until such time as this is done, it might be wiser for future research to deal with concepts which are not as subject to a variety of explanations and interpretation.

As for conflict, much of the same criticism also applies. Clearer distinctions between competition and conflict are certainly necessary, as well as a clearer

definition of precisely what constitutes a conflict. Does disagreement mean conflict or does it stop short of it? There does not seem to be a clear agreement on this point. In this research the notion of disagreements and tensions was utilized to operationalize conflict, but again the theoretical propriety of such an undertaking is certainly open to question.

The reader should not however, view these comments as a tacit repudiation of the findings, and thus the arguments which were presented in this dissertation. What is said here is simply a caveat, warning future researchers to consider carefully the use of global concepts in the service of empirical research. More limited concepts may lead to more realistic findings in the sense that the correspondence between the theory and findings is more tenable.

The relationship between integration and conflict has been brought into question in this research. At this point no definite conclusions are warranted, instead speculation seems more in order. There are several reasons why this relationship between integration and conflict was brought up in the course of this research. First, traditional literature in the areas has viewed these concepts as unidimensional, with integration measuring the positive aspect of a relationship, and conflict the negative side. Second, the literature has

focused attention upon methods for eliminating conflict and increasing integration. Third, the findings in this study report that integration and conflict may exist simultaneously in only one setting, namely among teachers within a specialty.

Though the findings from this research are certainly tenuous the relationships between integration and conflict among teachers within each specialty is clear enough to warrant some added consideration. Traditional conceptions of integration and conflict in organizations are certainly due for new perspectives and interpretations. The desire on the part of writers to show how conflict can be eliminated has overshadowed any attempts to understand how it might be put to use within the organization structure. Eliminating conflict within a contrived social grouping is, in this author's opinion, a utopian dream which will never be fulfilled. Conflict may not be ubiquitious as Dahrendorf and Krupp suggest; a more worthwhile question may be: to what extent is social conflict legitimate and useful to the organization?[5] This question is similar to the one taken up by Lewis Coser in his book The Functions of Social Conflict. The arguments presented there offer an interesting point

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[5]Dahrendorf, Class and Class Conflict in Industrial Society; and Krupp, Pattern in Organizational Analysis.

of departure for the organizational analysis of conflict. Coser's interpretations deal with social groups occupying a similar social status and with comparable sets of resources. In the case of organizations, differing bases of authority, power, and other resources for exchange must be added to this interpretation.[6]

In reformulating Simmel's propositions concerning conflict, Coser argues that social conflict among members of a group may actually foretell the strength of the relationships. This is evidently the case with teachers in a particular specialty. Even though conflict may arise, social integration as well as the functional interdependence brought on by the tasks they are performing serve to hold the group together. Further, conflict may actually be a safety valve permitting teachers to relieve tensions before they erupt in a wholesale destruction of the group.

In any case the areas of integration and conflict are central to organizational functioning, they deserve more attention and detailed analysis if headway is to be made on understanding the organization as a complex social unit.

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[6]Coser, The Functions of Social Conflict.

Conclusions

In summarizing the concluding chapter, suffice it to say that integration and conflict must be assessed through the way that specialization relates positions to the completion of tasks, and the manner in which legitimacy is extended to superiors in the performance of their functions leading toward the achievement of corporate goals.

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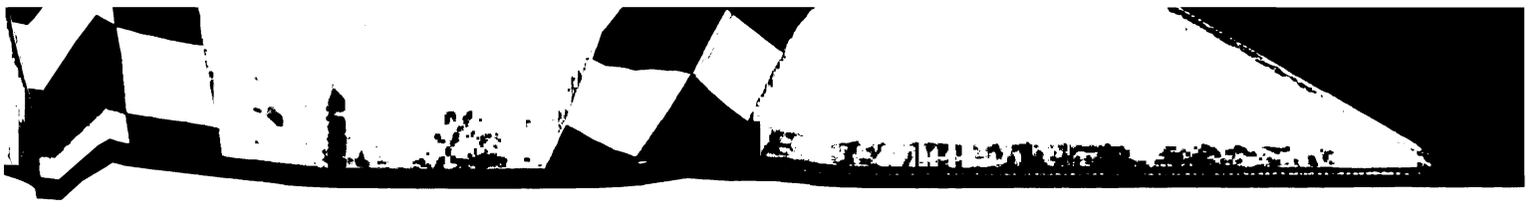

APPENDIX

Decisions and positions used in the decision-making question, and the per cent of teachers in the fifteen schools who responded that they should have control, and the per cent of teachers responding that the following positions actually have control over those decisions.

Type of Decision	Teacher (a)	Teacher Organization, e.g., MEA or MFT (b)	Entire Faculty of School (c)	Faculty of a Specific Department (d)	Committee of Teachers Appointed by the Principal (e)	Principal's Assistant(s) (f)	Principal (g)	Administrative Assistant(s) of Superintendent (h)	Superintendent (i)	State Department of Education (j)	School Board (k)	Parents (l)	No Response (m)
1. Selecting required textbooks	11.6*	.4	1.4	37.0	15.0	.8	1.0	19.5	1.0	.9	3.1	0	8.1
	24.3**	1.3	2.8	47.2	7.8	.1	.1	1.1	.3	.1	.3	.1	14.8
2. Selecting supplementary reading material	38.0	.4	3.1	26.9	6.4	1.8	1.3	19.9	.5	.3	1.1	.1	10.0
	.5	.1	15.8	25.5	2.6	.4	0	.5	.5	0	.5	.1	15.8
3. Determining the required courses	2.5	.4	3.5	7.1	5.4	2.8	6.3	25.4	6.1	17.6	10.5	.1	17.9
	4.5	1.8	13.0	13.3	10.8	1.3	3.0	9.5	3.8	14.3	4.9	.4	19.5
4. Hiring new teachers	.1	.1	.30	.3	0	.8	24.7	44.1	15.1	.4	5.5	0	8.6
	.8	1.5	.4	2.3	1.3	1.3	28.0	28.6	13.0	.9	4.3	.3	17.5
5. Giving permission to outside groups to speak to students	6.1	.1	1.1	1.3	1.4	5.4	56.9	7.0	6.4	.1	2.4	.1	11.8
	11.8	.5	4.3	4.1	4.1	3.9	41.1	3.0	4.5	.5	2.0	.1	19.4
6. Formulating instructional policy	4.8	.9	5.9	11.5	6.1	3.4	13.0	23.8	10.1	1.8	5.3	.1	13.3
	8.6	2.4	15.8	17.6	9.1	1.6	7.8	6.5	6.8	2.3	2.0	.4	19.1
7. Promoting a teacher to department head or other supervisory position	.8	.1	.6	5.0	1.5	1.9	58.2	9.4	8.9	0	2.5	0	11.1
	.8	.8	2.4	22.3	4.5	1.3	37.7	5.5	5.6	.3	1.1	1.1	17.8

8.	Determining the percentage of students to be normally passed, failed, etc. (grading curve)	59.1	.3	5.0	1.8	1.0	3.6	13.1	1.6	.8	.3	.1	.3	12.5
		64.5	.1	7.6	3.1	1.9	1.0	2.0	.3	.5	.3	.3	.1	18.0
9.	Determining if a controversial teacher should be re-hired	.8	2.3	.6	.5	1.4	1.1	30.9	17.1	15.9	.5	16.3	.3	12.4
		.1	8.8	19.1	5.0	8.0	1.8	22.7	6.5	7.9	.8	9.4	.3	19.1
10.	Determining whether a faculty member should have tenure	.6	2.0	.9	1.1	6.5	3.1	46.7	11.4	6.6	3.3	5.9	0	12.0
		.6	5.8	4.4	6.9	12.3	2.0	31.7	6.0	4.0	3.1	3.8	.1	19.5
11.	Ruling on teacher(s) grievances	.9	24.5	1.3	.5	2.9	1.1	7.3	16.5	10.1	.6	13.3	.1	17.6
		.1	32.3	3.4	1.5	8.4	.9	4.9	6.4	8.3	2.3	7.6	.3	23.9
12.	Determining what concepts and values are to be taught in a particular course	31.5	.5	1.3	31.4	4.0	1.1	1.3	10.3	1.3	1.0	2.5	.1	13.6
		29.3	.8	3.1	39.8	4.3	.1	.6	1.1	.5	.4	1.1	.6	18.3
13.	Determining methods a teacher should use	66.6	.1	.8	6.5	1.4	1.3	3.5	4.5	.6	.3	.4	.1	13.6
		65.7	.5	.8	10.1	1.9	.3	1.4	.4	.4	0	.3	0	18.3
14.	Determining what courses are to be taught	2.0	.5	13.5	10.3	4.9	2.4	14.5	20.2	7.5	20.7	11.4	.3	13.5
		3.8	.9	9.1	18.5	11.1	1.9	6.4	8.9	8.3	8.3	5.4	.9	19.8

* Percent Actual

** Percent Should

Per cent of teachers in the fifteen schools responding that teachers, principals, and superintendents should have control over the teachers' decision-making items.

	Selecting Required Texts	Selecting Supplementary Reading	Determining Per cent Passed or Failed	Determining Concepts and Values	Determining Methods a Teacher Should Use
Per cent Teachers	75%	81%	77%	74%	79%
Per cent Principals	6%	--	4%	6%	3%
Per cent Superintendents	--	--	--	--	--

Per cent of teachers in the fifteen schools responding that teachers, principals, and superintendents should have control over the principals' decision-making items.

	Promoting a Teachers to Department head or other super-visory Position	Determining if a Controversial Teacher should be Re-hired	Determining whether a Faculty Member should have Tenure
Per cent Teachers	25%	1%	12%
Per cent Principals	43%	33%	47%
Per cent Superintendents	13%	15%	11%

Per cent teachers in fifteen schools responding that teachers, principals, and superintendents should have control over the superintendents' decision-making items.

	Hiring New Teachers
Per cent Teachers	--
Per cent Principals	30%
Per cent Superintendents	44%

The following two questions were used in developing the index of integration.

26. To what extent can you expect cooperation and support for your ideas about doing your job from each of the following? CHECK ONE ON EACH LINE.

	To a very great extent	To a great extent	To some extent	To a slight extent	To no extent at all
a. Member(s) of the school board					
b. Other teachers in your specialty in your school					
c. Your department head					
d. Superintendent of schools					
e. Officers of the local chapter of your teacher organization (not the building representatives)					
f. Principal of your school					
g. Officer(s) of the PTA in your school					
h. Parents of the children in your classroom					
i. The superintendent's staff					
j. Other teachers not in your specialty in your school					
k. The principal's assistants					

30. To what extent do you exchange information, opinions, and ideas about doing your job with each of the following? CHECK ONE ON EACH LINE.

	To a very great extent	To a great extent	To some extent	To a slight extent	To no extent at all
a. Member(s) of the school board					
b. Other teachers in your specialty in your school					
c. Your department head					
d. Superintendent of schools					
e. Officers of the local chapter of your teacher organization (not the building representatives)					
f. Principal of your school					
g. Officer(s) of the PTA in your school					
h. Parents of the children in your classroom					
i. The superintendent's staff					
j. Other teachers not in your specialty in your school					
k. The principal's assistants					

The following question was used to measure the conflict variable.

40. Almost all schools have some disagreements or tensions between groups. Please indicate as accurately as possible the amount of disagreement or tensions between the following groups in your school. CHECK ONE ON EACH LINE

	Degree of Disagreement or Tension				
	Very great amount	Great amount	Some	Slight	None
a. Between teachers and the principal					
b. Between teachers and administrative assistants					
c. Between teachers and the school board					
d. Between teachers and the superintendent					
e. Between teachers and department heads					
f. Between young and old teachers					
g. Between men and women teachers					
h. Between members of MFT and members of MEA					
i. Between academic and non-academic teachers					
j. Between newcomers and old timers					
k. Between teachers and custodians					
l. Between teachers and clerical personnel (e.g., secretaries)					

m. Between teachers within the same subject matter area

n. Between teachers and pupils

o. Between academic and extra-duty teachers

The grouped inter-position Spearman Rank Order Correlation Coefficients on the conflict variable.

	1	2	3	4	5
1. Teachers and Principals					
2. Teacher and School Board and Teacher and Superintendents	-.443*				
3. Young and Old and Males and Female Teachers	.312	-.134			
4. Between Teacher Organization	-.171	-.005	.462*		
5. Teachers in same Subject	.111	-.120	.360	.296	

*p < .05 N = 15.

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