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ASSESSMENT OF ORGANIZATIONAL POWER IN AN ADMINISTRATIVE PERFORMANCE SYSTEM.

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J. CLASSIFICATION OF EXAMPLES OF DECISIONS OR ACTIONS OF THE CENTER CITY SCHOOLS' ADMINISTRATIVE PERFORMANCE SYSTEM: TYPE OF DECISION OR ACTION, SITUATION, AND WAY REALIZED ........................................ 257

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it preserves the structural unity of that which is being studied. The case study is not a specific technique but is, rather, a way of organizing social data so as to preserve the unitary character of the object under study. Case study offers a variety of both formal and informal data-gathering procedures and techniques. Formal observation and interview, informal observation and interview, anecdotal references, and the analysis of written documents and records are procedures and techniques used in case research. Both the case method and its various procedures have been used in the study of complex social phenomena, including social power, and appear appropriate for studying social power in an administrative performance system. The case study has particular value in the early study of a social phenomenon in a specific context; it provides insights, understandings, and represents an essential preliminary step in establishing more elaborate designs and analyses for further empirical activity. Even the most quantitatively oriented researchers make use of cases as sources for hypotheses.

Although statistical studies are essential and defensible, in a social science field, at least in the early study of a phenomenon,

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3 McKinney, op. cit., p. 234.
they must be viewed as of lesser rather than major importance.

Further, it has been observed that

Case study and statistical techniques are not necessarily antagonistic or mutually exclusive. In one's zeal to collect and use quantitative evidence, it is especially important in educational, psychological, historical and other social research not to overlook qualitative interpretation.

Thus, the fact that case study does not lend itself to elaborate statistical treatment need not prove too bothersome. Case study will continue to serve as a valuable and even indispensable supplement to the techniques of statistics for purposes of prediction. In dealing with such a pervasive concept as social power in so complex a social setting as an administrative performance system, it is important to maintain the unitary character of the real world. It has been noted by Clausen that when it is clear that contexts are important, one needs to analyze and classify contexts. Hence, the case study with the foregoing strengths appears to the writer as an appropriate approach to studying social power in an organizational system.

Research should, in seeking to advance knowledge, build on prior empirical study and should, therefore, add to the cumulation of general knowledge. Not all empirical activity can be at the "cutting edge" or on the frontier. Understanding is a slow process.


5 Ibid., p. 772.

or accumulation, replication, refinement, and collation. This study seeks to build on previous research efforts as reported in Chapter II and is intended to be additive rather than innovative. Hall has observed that

Too much of the research in education and particularly in administration fails to capitalize on prior research, thus adding little to what is known and providing no new leads.7

Data Collection

The case study represents an intensive, integrated examination of a socially defined unit. It requires both a close and prolonged contact between researcher and the data source. The chief data collection procedures appropriate to case study are direct—such as the techniques of direct observation, the interview, or the examination of records and documents—and subjective—based essentially on the perceptive and interpretive powers of the researcher.

This study sought to test a method for assessing social power in an organizational setting through a multiple-based assessment procedure. The three specific data-gathering techniques utilized in the study were: (1) an analysis and interpretation of available records, documents, and policy statements, (2) the structured interview, and (3) scheduled observation. Selection of these

procedures is a direct result of their applicability as evidenced in previous empirical study.8

The analysis of available rules and regulations, existing organization charts, and miscellaneous records and documents were utilized as a means of assessing intended power or how power was intended to be structured by the conscious organizational processes of division of labor and delegation of authority. In addition to looking at available printed materials, the chief executive of the administrative performance system and his immediate cabinet were called together to discuss with the researcher the respective allocation of authority and duties of members of the system and to clarify ambiguities that appeared to exist in the available written materials. This technique also served to determine the normative order in which the administrative performance system existed and in which members of the system interacted. Zander and others note that the value of such material, as it provides objective information about the type and size of an organization and the formal authority structure of an organization, makes it clear who works with whom, for whom, and where.9 Further, this kind of material also provides a reality base-line which

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8 It should be noted, however, that this researcher has not found any single study in which all of the procedures were used, and, further, little study has yet taken place in regard to the "highly-structured" social setting. Thus, there is an intent to build upon previous efforts, to refine previously used techniques, and to apply the results in a different context.

may be kept in mind while considering the perceptions that the members of these roles have concerning one another.\textsuperscript{10}

The second data-gathering procedure, the scheduled interview, sought to obtain data in regard to the reputed power of members of the administrative performance system. Each member of the system was interviewed by the researcher. Responses to the structured interview schedule indicated the power accorded to members of the system by each of their co-members. This resulted in an assessment of reputed power.

Data from scheduled observation were used to yield an assessment of actual or manifest power. The interaction of members of the administrative performance system as they went about organizational work was observed and recorded on a structured observation schedule. The researcher attended various meetings of available sub-groups of the system over the course of a three month period as they went about the normal organizational work of staff decision-making. Included were meetings of groups such as supervisors, elementary principals, and secondary principals as well as such ad hoc meetings as occurred during this period. Informal encounters such as phone calls, chats in the hall, or other similar incidents that were observed and involved pertinent interaction of members of the system were also recorded. Observation is viewed as a central procedure in the gathering of data for this research. Most of the knowledge people have about social relations is, in fact, derived from observation.\textsuperscript{11} But as Halpin

\textsuperscript{10}Ibid., pp. 24 and 25.

\textsuperscript{11}Goode and Hatt, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 11.
advocates, such observation can never be random and always is more fertile when it has been guided by an explicitly stated theoretical formulation. Hence, structured observation was relied upon as a primary procedure for collecting data on organizational power in this study of an administrative performance system.

Although the study focus was on the development and refinement of assessment procedures (or research methodology), data were sought in the light of the study hypotheses on organizational power generated and stated in Chapter I. Specifically data were collected on the sources, structure, and manifestation of social power in the administrative performance system of one school district. All of the formal data-gathering procedures were further designed to provide data that could serve to support or reject the over-all hypothetical framework.

The use of three formal procedures or means for assessing organizational power structure was formulated to: (1) broaden the study's data base, (2) provide as much data as are possible within the physical limitations imposed on a single researcher, and (3) serve as internal checks on the validity of the data collected. Not only does the multiple-base method of assessment provide internal checks lacking in a single base assessment, but also such a method is anticipated to reveal significant differences between the kinds and accuracy of data received from any two specific procedures. The informal data-gathering techniques such as informal observation,

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informal interviews, the review of agenda and other written materials, and anecdotal references were used to further add to the data base and provide additional checks on data. The personal data sheet provided necessary data pertinent to the analysis of sources of power.

**Development of the Scheduled Data Collection Devices**

The interview schedule

The interview has long been used as a technique for gathering data relevant to social phenomena. Essentially a subjective technique, empirical respectability can be achieved by using a structured interview schedule, building cross-checks into the interview schedule, using non-emotion laden or non-technical terms, utilizing observation to verify the data collected through the use of the interview schedule, and through the researcher's acquaintanceship with, and skill in using, the interview technique.

The development of highly structured interview schedules is viewed by Goode and Hatt as one possible solution to the problems of standardization and objectification. A good schedule or questionnaire will contain some check questions on crucial issues, variously placed in the document, designed to parallel or confirm each other. Hence, the structured interview schedule for this study was designed with certain built in cross-checks.

On the schedule, responses for questions 5 through 9 serve as

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15 See Appendix D.
checks for the responses to question 1. For example, a composite of
data provided on who effects the various sectors of organizational
activity (questions 5 - 9) serves as a check on the data resulting from
the question on who has greatest effect on actions and decisions in
general (question 4). Also, the data from questions 4 through 9 on
who effects actions and decisions serves as a check on the data
provided by question 3 on how decisions are made or actions are taken
by this administrative performance system. Responses to question 10
further provide a check for responses on questions 3 through 9. Thus,
the data from responses to question 10 on whether members of the system,
and who in the system, work together to effect what kinds of decisions
is a check on the data obtained from all of the earlier questions on
how decisions are made and who effects decisions and actions of the
system. In a further attempt to objectify the interview technique
all interviews were preceded by the same instructions to interviewees.16

Since the word power is so often viewed in a negative context
and evokes emotionally toned responses from those unfamiliar or
unacquainted with the word as a generic social phenomenon, the word
does not appear in the interview schedule. Power is often accepted
as "bad" or "wrong" by the layman and, hence, perceptions of
interviewees could be distorted, or distracted, by the persistent use
of the word. Power is also held for purposes of this study to be a
capacity or latent phenomenon that is manifest in terms of something
else. Therefore, it is viewed as being better to ask who effects
actions or decisions rather than who has most power in regard to

16See Appendix E.
actions or decisions. Objectivity was then sought through the use of a neutral term and through the use of a term that gets at the manifestation of the basic phenomenon of power, which is, in fact, the only way to study such a latent phenomenon.

Empirical respectability was also sought through the use of a pilot study conducted in a smaller administrative performance system. Another way to realize empirical respectability is through the researcher's acquaintance with a given data-gathering procedure. This was fulfilled, at least in part, since the writer has had previous experience with the interview technique as a specific research procedure. Finally, the multiple-based assessment of power further enables the researcher to meet the following standard suggested by McCormick and Francis:

Interviewers should make a consistent and constant effort to check factual answers given by subjects against the observable actualities of the situation. 17

The observation schedule

As has already been noted science begins with observation and must ultimately return to observation for final validation. 18 Young and Freeman observe that

Observation techniques have been receiving increased attention in recent years. The movement has been away from recording the totality of interaction and toward


18 Goode and Hatt, op. cit., p. 119.
noting only specifically predetermined aspects of behavior. Category sets and rating scales have been developed to specify phenomena to be observed.¹⁹

However, much of our knowledge about social phenomena has resulted from less-structured observation. It has been noted that

Most of the knowledge which people have about social relations is derived from uncontrolled observation, whether participant or non-participant. The controls in this case refer to the standardization of observational techniques or, in some cases, controls over the variables in an experimental situation.²⁰

While completely structured observation is not, then, always the most productive or desired kind of observation, some structuring and systematization is a necessary means for objectifying the observation technique. Goode and Hatt point out that because there are relatively few controls on the observer in the use of this technique, the observer must self-consciously apply a range of tools to systematize and record the data which are a part of his experience.²¹

Systematic observation limits observer bias through schedules and inventories, and the development of elaborate categories for locating and coding observed behavior quickly.²² It has already been stated that observation can not be random and must always be guided by explicitly stated formulations.²³ In the early study of any phenomenon the limited available empirical knowledge about the phenomenon

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¹⁹Kimball Young, and Linton Freeman, "Social Psychology and Sociology," in Beeker and Boskoff, op. cit., p. 571.

²⁰Goode and Hatt, op. cit., p. 120.

²¹Ibid., p. 124.

²²Ibid., p. 128.

²³Halpin, op. cit., p. 312.
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restricts, however, the amount of structuring and systematization that can be incorporated into an observation schedule.

The observation schedule\textsuperscript{2}\textsuperscript{h} for this research is only partially structured. For example, only the most general means for realizing power are included on the observation schedule—legitimized authority, institutionalized authority, and force. This is true in regard to power styles as well. Only the most generic styles—directive, non-directive, and contagion—are included. Specific means (such as habit, domination, or manipulation), styles (such as supportive, facilitative, or agitative), or instrumentalities (such as control of resources or information, or social values or rules) were not delineated. Also, the type of decision or action (policy and operation) did not include more detailed aspects of decision or action content or sector of organizational activity with which the decision was concerned. The writer holds that the study of social power, especially in regard to highly structured social groupings, is of quite recent origin. Hence, the schedule was open-ended; space was provided for the observer to make necessary notes, anecdotal references, or any description deemed necessary or helpful for later data collation and analysis.

Another attempt at the objectification of the observation technique was the use of the pilot study. As a result of this pilot test of the schedule, the basic schedule format was advantageously modified and more schedule structuring was accomplished than was previously anticipated as possible.

\textsuperscript{2}\textsuperscript{h}See Appendix F.
Recognizing that the results of the observation technique are to an extent a function of observer perceptions, attempts were made to correct such perceptions. First, the researcher continually tried to predict outcomes of the decision process on the basis of data collected. Actual decision outcomes were then placed into juxtaposition with the researcher's predictions. Congruence here represents a test of objectivity. Second, observations were checked against interview responses of those members of the administrative performance system that exhibited a "high power visibility." Third, all of the terms used on the observation schedule were defined operationally for obvious reasons. Thus, objective standards were sought as a means of correcting observer perceptions and checks on researcher bias, selective perception, and vagueness of senses were consciously attempted throughout the research.

The following terms used in the observation schedule are here defined operationally for purposes of this research:

**Incident** - An occurrence in which the administrative performance system or a part of the system makes a decision or takes action.

**Participants** - The members of the administrative performance system taking part in an interpersonal interaction that results in staff action or a decision being made.

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25 One result of the pilot study was the noting of the fact of the variability in "power visibility" revealed on the part of study participants. Also, there was a high degree of correlation between the responses of those with "high power visibility" and the collated data summations in the analysis of pilot study data.

**Decision** - A conclusion or judgement on a matter by the administrative performance system or any subgroup of the system.

**Action** - Something done or to be done through the administrative performance system or any subgroup of the system.

**Type of Decision or Action** - The specific nature or kind of action or decision (policy or operation) taken or made by the administrative performance system or any subgroup of the system.

**How Achieved** - The means and style by which social power is manifested in effecting or determining an action or decision by the administrative performance system.

**Meeting** - A scheduled, purposely called assembly or gathering of two or more members of the administrative performance system for purposes of organization business.

**Other Contacts** - Any informal, unscheduled encounter of two or more members of the administrative performance system that deals with organization business.

**Cabinet** - The executive officer of the performance system and his immediate subordinates; a group existing largely for the over-all planning and directing of the activities of the administrative performance system at large.

**Policy** - The consciously derived framework of rules, regulations, or other directives that provides the structure which focuses, directs, controls, and limits interpersonal interaction and decision-making in an organizational system.

**Policy Formulation** - The initial development, framing, and recommendation of organizational policy.

**Policy Interpretation** - The clarification of meaning of
existing organizational policy to members of the organization (usually is directed down the organizational hierarchy).

**Policy Execution** - The use of policy in the ongoing activity of organizational operation, work, and decision-making.

**Policy Revision** - The modification, adaptation, replacement, or addition to existing organizational policy.

**Operation** - The performance of work by members of an organization.

**Operation Critical** - The doing of work in an organizational setting, the results of which could have a serious impact on the structural and interactional patterns of the organization.

**Operation Routine** - The normal, every day conduct of work in an organizational setting.

**Force** - The invocation of non-sanctioned power; the effecting of the behavior or actions of others by instruments that disadvantage.

**Legitimized Authority** - The invocation of legitimized power; authority that is sanctioned through conscious action on the part of a formal organization.

**Institutionalized Authority** - The invocation of institutionalized power; authority that is sanctioned as a result of habitual and/or repetitive practice through the informal interaction of members of an organization.

**Directive Authority or Force** - A command or order directed toward a member of the system.

**Non-Directive Authority or Force** - A suggestion or request directed toward a member of the system.

**Contagion** - An event in which a person's behavior is changed
to resemble that of another person. This change occurs in a social interaction situation in which the person acting as the initiator has not communicated intent to evoke such a change in the other(s). 27

The Pilot Study

The pilot study functions in research for purposes of testing and refining data-gathering procedures and devices, and, in the case of the interview and observation techniques, also to enable the researcher to refine his use of the specific fact-finding procedures and devices. The value of a pilot study is compounded when the research problem at hand is concerned with developing research methodology.

The chief concern of the pilot study in this research was methodological. Following is a discussion of each of the three major data-collecting procedures used in the pilot study, methodological weakness revealed in the pilot study, and methodological modifications resulting from the pilot study.

Major data-gathering procedures

Analysis of intended power represented one aspect of this multiple-based attempt to study social power. It was deemed advisable to use more than printed materials—such as the organization chart, job descriptions, policy handbooks, or other such materials—to assess the intended delegation of authority and division of labor within the administrative performance system under study. Therefore, the head of the performance system and his immediate subordinates who

formed the top echelon of the system were called together to discuss the authority levels and the basic division of labor as were intended by this superordinate group. Although the organization chart, available job descriptions, and policy statements provided a basis for assessing intended power, it was apparent that these printed documents did not, in fact, tell the whole story. The discussion of these documents, relevant to the assignment of authority and division of labor, with the members of the top echelon of the system provided data that could not be revealed through written documents. Also, other written materials—staff handbooks, parent handbooks, minutes of meetings, meeting agendas, and others—were used to further provide data on the intended distribution of power within the system. Most crucial, however, to this data-gathering procedure was the use of the discussion of delegation of authority and division of labor with the system's "administrative cabinet."

The interview schedule (see Appendix A) that was used in the pilot study fulfilled its purpose. Some refinement was necessary but the basic format was used throughout the pilot study. The interview schedule is based on the problem-issues technique and was constructed to get data on: how well given members of the system perceived problems confronting the system; who was perceived to effect actions and decisions in the system; how those who effected decisions and actions did so; and how decisions were made and actions were taken by the system. It was evident early in the interviewing that not all interviewees were reacting in the same way to the interview
Although the word "power" was not used in the schedule, some respondents conveyed an uneasy and an unsure feeling during the interview. Two interviewees were, in fact, most disturbed by the kinds of questions asked. On the other hand, however, most of the interviewees responded freely and, even in a few cases when it took a few questions for the respondent to "warm-up" to the experience, most openly. The interview procedure provided the data sought through the procedure and also some valuable leads and insights into other relevant matters.

As was anticipated the observation schedule worked the least well of the three major data-gathering procedures at first. The problems encountered were by and large a result of schedule format. The collection of data on the determination of actions and decisions in many cases involved a mere recording of incident, place, participants, decision or action, and checking the specific type of action or decision and how it was achieved. In other instances it was found necessary to elaborate on some aspect of the above or to record a general description of the interaction of the participants in the particular situation. It also became apparent that the schedule could be further structured thus enabling more objectification as well as facilitating the researcher's task. With minor modifications made in the schedule as data-collection progressed this device became better able to achieve its desired results. In the pilot study,

28The term power was not used because of (a) the negative connotations attributed to the word, and (b) since it is a latent phenomenon and involves manifestation in terms of something else. Questions were framed as the "ability to effect actions or decisions" rather than the "power to do" something.
observation was minimal but the data obtained fulfilled the basic purposes sought through this procedure.

Weaknesses of the methodology revealed in the pilot study

Not only did the pilot study help to refine the basic study methodology but also it helped to overcome two important methodological weaknesses. As first conceived, the methodology failed to account for two related problems. First, the methodology did not provide adequate means for getting behind the scenes so as to reveal how power was manifested prior to meetings or in the day by day contacts of the members of the system. Second, the methodology did not utilize any of the potentially valuable informal means of data collection that could serve to support and reinforce the formal or structured procedures to a desirable extent.

One limitation in studying social power in the formal organizational context is that a researcher can never hope to observe enough in viewing formal social interaction to assess all possible sources of effect. It becomes necessary then to look beyond interaction in formal meetings to find who is effecting actions or decisions. It is evident that because an actor effects a decision or action in a formal meeting it does not follow that he is the power figure in this instance. He could be acting in this way because of an earlier exercise of power upon him by an even more powerful figure. Nevertheless if his effect is realized in the group situation he does, in fact, have power. Whether he has the most power or ultimate power cannot, however, be determined by observing only formal interaction. Thus, an attempt must be made to observe the interactions of members
of a system in informal situations and in as many day by day contacts as possible.

In order to broaden the data base in this way, procedures and devices other than formal and structured ones should be utilized. Informal observation and interviews (or "chats") are two such possible means. Anecdotal references and the review of agenda and other written materials can also be used. The recording of judgements, reactions, conclusions, and interpretations further can add to the over-all data base. Therefore, a conscious attempt to use a variety of informal means for collecting data can provide an important extension of the data base when used in the light of formal data-gathering procedures.

Methodological modifications and changes resulting from the pilot study

As has been implied the pilot study resulted in a number of changes in the research methodology. At first it was felt that an analysis of the organization chart and the most relevant written documents such as job descriptions and policy statements along with a discussion of intended power would serve as an adequate means for assessing intended power. The value of examining all possible kinds of written materials (e.g., handbooks, agendas, reports, minutes of meetings, and so forth) became apparent and their value to the data base was established.

The interview schedule was reorganized by reordering the questions on the schedule to more effectively build in cross-checks. Inappropriate questions were also eliminated from the interview
schedule. Changes in this schedule allowed the interview to be conducted in less time and resulted in less need for clarification by the interviewer. Finally, it was established that it was better in this particular situation for the interviewee not to have a copy of the interview schedule.

The pilot study led to a change in the general format of the observation schedule. Also, the observation schedule was further structured as a result of the experience in its use in the pilot study. In addition, the detailed recording of descriptions of some of the more involved interactions proved helpful later in the analysis of data.

Informal observation of members of the system as they came in contact in informal situations and day by day encounters on the job was tried on a limited basis and proved to provide helpful data. Anecdotal records were begun midway through the pilot study and yielded significant data. The recording of ideas, reactions, and interpretations on the part of the researcher also supplied relevant data and facilitated the analysis of data.

A most valuable addition to the data-collection process was the incorporation of researcher prediction based upon data obtained to date. Prediction was tried in the pilot study in regard to decisions that were expected to be made or actions that were to be taken in the course of data-collection or at some later date. For example, the researcher was aware that a new junior high school principal was to be appointed. On the basis of data collected the incumbent choice was predicted before the actual selection process was begun. In another instance it was successfully predicted that a
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particular decision to come before the group would be deferred until a later time. In other instances decisions or actions were predicted with a generally high degree of accuracy. Thus, certain validity and reliability checks could be built into the research procedures by means of researcher prediction; a high degree of accuracy here indicates both data validity and, to an extent, reliability.

Therefore, informal observation, anecdotal references, the recording of certain notions or observations of the researcher, and prediction were added to the over-all process of data-collection. It was also deemed appropriate, as a result of the pilot study, to add informal interviews and "chats" with members of the system to the extent possible as supplemental means of gathering, as well as clarifying, data.

It should be noted that although the interview schedule did not include the word power, this term was used in introducing the project to the members of the pilot study administrative performance system. The term was raised quite often in both formal and informal situations and at times was injected into the ongoing flow of organization interaction. It was suspected that this more than normal use of the word in a sense distorted some of the interactions of members of the system. Thus, it was deemed advisable not to use the term power at any time in the final study so as not to distort either perceptions or interactions.

In summary, the pilot study resulted in a refinement of the three formal data-gathering procedures and the addition of several informal means for obtaining data to the basic multiple procedure assessment research methodology.
**Methodological Validity**

Validation of data-gathering procedures and devices was sought in this study through the objectification of data-collecting devices and procedures, the use of the multiple-based methodology for assessing organizational power structure, the use of informal and supplemental procedures for obtaining data, and the use of various data checks built into the over-all methodology as well as into specific devices and techniques.

Structured data-collecting devices and the operational definition of terms were directed toward methodological validity. Both the interview and observation schedules were structured as much as possible. The structure (standard questions for the interview and standard operational definitions of terms on the observation schedule) provided a uniform base for collecting and interpreting data obtained by each of the procedures. All of the basic terms used in the observation guide were defined operationally for purposes of this research. These definitions also served for the same terms when used in interview situations or in the analysis of intended power. Alternative ways of stating questions and examples of answers to indicate the researcher's intent in the interview questions were developed and used when clarification was needed. Thus, a standardized interpretation was used with all interviewees when such was required.

Objectivity was sought in the analysis of intended power in three ways. First, as many written materials as possible were used in the assessment of intended power. Second, a discussion with those in authority positions was held to further assess intended power. Third, this discussion of intended power was a group discussion so
that a free interchange and interclarification was possible between those involved in the verbal interpretation of the system's division of labor and delegation of authority. This later technique provided an objectivity check that would have been impossible any other way.

Finally, the pilot study serves as an attempt to achieve objectivity. Both the assessment of the pilot study methodology and the analysis of the pilot study data were helpful in making refinements in over-all methodology and specific data-gathering techniques for the actual study. The pilot study, when applicable in case research, is a most significant means for realizing objectivity in a basically subjective approach.

The multiple-based assessment procedure was devised for purposes of data validation. A single procedural approach to assessing social power fails to account for all dimensions of the power syndrome. In an organization things are intended to happen, things are perceived to happen, and things do happen. By examining intended power—the division of labor and delegation of authority—an attempt is made to get at how organizational interaction is supposed to happen. By examining reputed power—perceptions of who affects the system and how—an attempt is made to assess how things are perceived to happen. By examining the manifestation of power—observation of the social behavior and interaction of the members of the system—an attempt is made to discern how things do happen.

All of these dimensions are important to the power complex. Certainly that which is intended directs and conditions social behavior and interaction within a system. That which is perceived or reputed to happen also affects social interaction. Gross succinctly points
out that human behavior is affected to some degree by the expectations which individuals hold for themselves or which others hold for them. 29 Although the foregoing is true, objective observation was seen as a necessary third dimension for assessing social power. Neither what is intended or reputed, however, necessarily is. Therefore, in studying social power an attempt must be made to see what is happening in actual social situations. Further, in any single research procedure some data loss and distortion are inherent. Thus, a chief source of study validity is sought through the use of the multiple-based assessment methodology.

The checks built into specific devices and procedures, in addition to the over-all check inherent in multiple-based methodology, also served to provide data validity. In the case of the assessment of intended power the use of verbal discussion along with the analysis of available printed materials was one check on the validity of the data on the intended division of labor and delegation of authority. The use of a group discussion in this regard provided another validity check. In the same way the use of all available written materials rather than just those most relevant, such as job descriptions or policy statements, further served to increase data validity.

In the interview procedure cross-checks on data were built into the interview schedule (see pages 92-94). Another source of validity in this procedure was the fact that all members of the system were

interviewed. The data revealed through perceptions of problems confronting the system also functioned as a validity check on the perceptions revealed through questions supplying data pertinent to the effecting of actions and decisions. Data from informal interview or discussion provided additional validation within this basic procedure.

In the observation procedure, validity was increased by various means. The most validity check on observation data was through the use of prediction. This technique involved a series of researcher predictions based on existing data that were checked against observed realities (see Appendix H). Informal observation and anecdotal references provided further checks of validity as did on-the-spot checks with "observations" of members of the system. Finally, data were checked against those data provided by members of the system with "high power visibility." It was discovered in the pilot study that those with a greater visibility of the problems confronting the system were also better able to visualize the power syndrome of the system. Hence, over-all composites of data were checked against composites of data provided by those with "high power visibility."

**Analysis of Data and Assessment Procedures**

The analysis section of this dissertation consists of two parts. First, the data obtained through the use of the study techniques and devices are analyzed in the light of the hypotheses generated to guide data collection. This analysis results in an indication of the sources, manifestation, and structure of social power in an administrative performance system. Second, the assessment methodology,
including the data-gathering techniques and devices and their use in this research, are analyzed.

**Analysis and treatment of data on social power in the organizational setting**

Although the writer did not view the collection of data to be used to support a research hypothesis or set of hypotheses as the chief purpose of the study, it was felt advisable to pursue the writer's primary purpose of developing a means for assessing organizational power in the light of a sound conceptual scheme. However, since the assessment techniques themselves proved to be quite adequate and, further, since the data collected appeared to the writer to be significant, it was deemed appropriate to focus both on the matter of social power as revealed by the data and on the assessment of social power. The analysis and treatment of data on social power is viewed as a by-product of the basic methodological focus originally intended in the research. Thus, the first part of the analysis chapter of the research report contains a case study description of the sources, manifestation, and structure of social power.

The manifestation of power as evinced in the study data is described first. This part of the analysis relies heavily on observation data and is not subjected to any statistical analysis. The ways in which power was manifested—through force, institutionalized authority, or legitimized authority—are examined in regard to both policy and operational concerns. Power figures, as identified by reputation and observation, are ranked according to the way they effect actions and decisions. Particular styles—directive,
non-directive, or contagion—are also examined along with specific means or procedures utilized by power figures in effecting actions and decisions of the system.

Organizational power structure as determined by rankings of power figures, assessing amounts of power, and identifying sectors of power is then discussed. The ranking of power figures as revealed by the data from the base provided by the combined data-gathering procedures provides a general structure of power within the administrative performance system. Sub-alignments as revealed by the data in regard to policy, curriculum, staff personnel, student personnel, and business management sectors of organizational work are also described. Further, both the general structure and sub-alignments of power as revealed by each data-gathering procedure are delineated by a ranking method. Amounts of power are determined by hierarchical position in the organization, frequency of mention of the ability to effect actions and decisions, and observed manifestation of the ability to effect actions and decisions. Sectors of power are determined by the conscious process of organizational division of labor along with reputed and observed power in functional areas of special activity in effecting the actions and decisions of the system.

Sources of social power as revealed by the data-gathering techniques and the personal data form are delineated. A chi square analysis through two-by-two tables dichotomizing high and low power figures on one dimension and other variables such as age, position, tenure, experience, training, training aspirations, and job aspirations on the other dimension was used. The chi square technique provided an assessment of the significance of various factors as
sources of power in this organizational setting. Other sources of power as revealed by the data are also enumerated. Such sources are not subjected to any statistical analysis since their identification is a result of data not formally sought in the study but nonetheless appraised as relevant to the discussion of sources of social power in the organizational setting.

The evidence amassed through the collection of data is then marshalled to delineate how decisions are made by this administrative performance system. This portion of the analysis draws primarily on observation and reputation data. The focus is on the generic decision process utilized by this system in doing organizational work.

Analysis of assessment procedures

The second part of the analysis chapter of this dissertation is concerned with the devised methodology for the assessment of organizational power structure in the administrative performance system. First an overview of the data-collection process is presented. Included in this section are a description of the pre-study procedure used to enlist the cooperation of the study administrative performance system and the method of orienting the system to the study.

Each of the formal data-gathering procedures—directed toward the assessment of intended, reputed, and observed power—are then discussed. The strengths of the multiple procedure methodology are noted and the high level of inter-procedure data agreement is delineated along with noting discrepancies between data resulting from different procedures. Finally, the effectiveness of the overall formal methodology is assessed. The contribution of the informal
Validation of the multiple-based assessment methodology is discussed in terms of (1) the use of the multiple procedure assessment technique and (2) the incorporation of other validity checks such as checking over-all data with those data provided by high power visibility members of the system, the use of researcher prediction, and specific checks between reputation and observation data. An attempt is made to assess or judge the internal consistency of the three data-gathering procedures. The rankings of power figures used in describing the structure of social power in the first part of the analysis were checked for intercorrelation by use of the Spearman Rank Correlation Coefficient. Thus, the internal consistency of the data-gathering procedures are noted, data inconsistencies identified, and over-all validity assessed.

Methodological strengths and weaknesses are then presented. Following a succinct summary of strengths, methodological weaknesses are examined in detail. These weaknesses are concerned with the nature of the basic phenomenon under study, the limitations of this particular study, and methodological matters per se.

Finally, a brief comparison of methodological effectiveness is made between this study and other related research studies.
CHAPTER IV

THE STUDY SETTING: CENTER CITY

The Community

Center City is a midwestern county seat with a population of over 80,000. It is the urban center of a modest rural county. Located some 25 miles from the nearest large metropolitan area this typical and traditional midwestern city, one of the 15 largest cities in the state, is, however, large enough to satisfy the inner needs of some of its citizenry for quietness and pleasant surroundings.

Over 215 industrial firms are located in the city. Some of the larger industrial establishments have nationwide impact and a few of these have made significant technological contributions to the industrial world. Center City's diversified industrial production includes chemicals, caskets, dresses, awnings, machine tools, production machinery, road building machinery, motors, electronic devices, and thermometers among its principal products.

1For obvious reasons every attempt is made to keep the setting for the study and individuals involved anonymous. Numbers and position titles are used to designate persons and fictitious names are used for places; further, background information is stated in general terms when necessary for purposes of anonymity. Specific sources of data for this chapter are not cited for this reason. The data were obtained from records and reports of the school system, census data (1960), public records and reports, state department of education statistics, statistical reports of the state education association, and interviews with school officials.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>21. PROFESSIONAL GOALS OF HIGHER, LESSER, AND LOWER POWER FIGURES</td>
<td>190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. EXPERIENCE IN PRESENT POSITION FOR HIGHER, LESSER, AND LOWER POWER FIGURES</td>
<td>190</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Three radio stations, two daily newspapers, one Sunday newspaper and television from two nearby metropolitan centers provide communication media for the citizens of Center City. An adequate and expanding downtown shopping area as well as three outlying shopping centers are located in the city. Four railroads and four airlines (through a municipal airport some 20 miles away) serve the community. In addition, Center City's protective services—the fire and police departments—are recognized as among the best in the state. Two hospitals, one a large municipal hospital and the other a private hospital, also are found in the community.

Abundant recreational facilities—parks, playgrounds, theatres, and clubs—are available to the citizens of Center City. Cultural pride is held for the city's 80-piece symphony orchestra, its amateur theatrical group, its art association, and other active civic and cultural organizations. A main library and three branch libraries provide additional recreational and cultural outlets. Also located in Center City is a small university, with a rich and broad heritage of over a hundred years, which makes considerable cultural and educational contributions to the community.

Although community growth is evident, the city is not an exploding metropolis; tradition and an element of conservatism pervade all spheres of community activity. Slums in Center City are not the worst one might find nor is the community "elite" quite as far above the average as might be true elsewhere. Center City citizens are by-and-large working people employed in the industries and retail establishments of the community. In terms of social status, the
The predominant classification is lower middle class according to the criteria established for the Warner Scale.

The 80,000-plus population for Center City listed in the 1960 census represents a 5.4 per cent increase over the 1950 census total. Population has grown rather steadily from the 5,108 inhabitants of 1850 when the area was chartered as a city to 1948 when the population reached 70,000. The ten per cent increase for the 1940-50 decade followed by the 5.4 per cent increase for the decade 1950-60 indicate a recent tendency toward a leveling of population growth. Of the current population only 1.4 per cent are foreign born and only 4.8 per cent are of foreign or mixed parentage. Those in the community claiming foreign stock are of widely diverse origins. Fifty per cent of these, however, are of three nationalities—German (30 per cent), United Kingdom (10 per cent), and Irish (10 per cent). The native population is 83 per cent white and 17 per cent non-white. Of this native population group three-fourths were born in the state. Thus, the Center City population is rather typically midwestern; it has no major ethnic groups, it is not too mobile in a demographic sense, and it has its origin in the rural to urban progression characterizing those midwest areas with distinctly rural antecedents. According to one of Center City's citizens, "Most of us were born here, most of us grow up here, and here we stay. I guess we just like it here."

Fifty-three per cent of the current population are female; forty-seven per cent are male. The 25,000-plus households listed in the 1960 census is an increase of 7.7 per cent over the 1950 census figure (as contrasted with the general population increase of 5.4 per cent). The population per household is 3.15, which represents only a
slight increase over earlier figures. The percentage distribution for population segments are as follows: under 18 years of age - 34.2 per cent; 18 to 64 years of age - 54.6 per cent; over 65 years of age - 11.2 per cent. Revealed in Table 1 is a detailed age distribution of the current population of Center City. Illustrated in the figures is the over-all rather steady population growth of the City. No population explosions have taken place although the gradually increasing number of households and population per household are already having an effect upon the lower age categories.

**TABLE 1**

**POPULATION DISTRIBUTION OF CENTER CITY FOR SPECIFIC AGE GROUPS ACCORDING TO THE 1960 CENSUS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Category</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0 - 4</td>
<td>9055</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 - 9</td>
<td>8550</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 - 14</td>
<td>7364</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 - 19</td>
<td>5792</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 - 24</td>
<td>5302</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 - 29</td>
<td>4661</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 - 34</td>
<td>5217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35 - 39</td>
<td>5584</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40 - 44</td>
<td>5060</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45 - 49</td>
<td>4905</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50 - 54</td>
<td>4512</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55 - 59</td>
<td>4077</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60 - 64</td>
<td>3371</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65 - 69</td>
<td>3194</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70 - 74</td>
<td>2637</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75 - 79</td>
<td>1781</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80 - 84</td>
<td>1011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>over 85</td>
<td>647</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

According to latest census figures the adult male in Center City has completed 10.2 years (median) of schooling and his female counterpart 10.9 years (median) of schooling. For the male this is
slightly less than that for males in other comparable cities in the state. The median level of schooling for adult females compares favorably with that of other cities in the state.

Of the 27,131 males and 31,732 females over 14 years of age, 21,245 and 11,578 respectively comprise the city's labor force. According to the latest available census figures 14,889 males and 712 females from this labor force were unemployed. The city's diversified industries employ the largest segment of the population. Approximately one-third of the total labor force is in the major occupational group of manufacturing workers. Another 15 per cent of the labor force are employed in the retail trade occupational category followed by 12 per cent in personal services, 10 per cent in public administration, and three per cent in construction work. Table 2 shows a more detailed distribution of Center City's labor force (males and females) according to the 1960 census classifications. The unemployed members of the labor force are predominantly laborers, operatives, and craftsmen.

The median income for all workers in Center City, in addition to the general occupational distribution, further serves to support the predominant lower middle class status of the Center City populace. The medium income for all workers in Center City is $4,833. Examples of median incomes for several occupational groups follow: professional, managerial, and kindred workers - $6,439; craftsmen, foremen, and kindred workers - $5,310; operatives and kindred workers - $4,662; laborers - $3,203; clerical workers - $2,915. In all instances these average incomes are below the median for cities of comparable size in the state.
### Table 2

**Distribution of the Center City Labor Force (Male and Female) by Major Occupational Categories**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupational Category</th>
<th>Male Workers</th>
<th>Female Workers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Professional, Technical and Kindred</td>
<td>1749</td>
<td>1507</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmers and Farm Managers</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>. .</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Managers, Officials and Proprietors</td>
<td>1879</td>
<td>359</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical</td>
<td>1709</td>
<td>3492</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sales</td>
<td>1271</td>
<td>760</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Craftsmen, Foremen, and Kindred</td>
<td>4352</td>
<td>185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Operatives</td>
<td>4950</td>
<td>1089</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private Household Workers</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>781</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service Workers</td>
<td>1337</td>
<td>1799</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farm Labors</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laborers Except Farming and Mining</td>
<td>1161</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupation not reported</td>
<td>1132</td>
<td>833</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total Employed Labor Force</strong></td>
<td><strong>19704</strong></td>
<td><strong>10852</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Center City and Its Schools

Center City is, and has been, both proud of and involved with its public schools. At present, 23 elementary schools, six junior high schools and two senior high schools provide facilities for educating the city's 18,000 public school students. Over 700 teachers and school administrators assist in educating these students. Attesting to Center City's slow but steady growth has been the construction of 11 new elementary buildings, two new junior highs, one new senior high, and 23 additions to existing buildings in the past ten years. Also, even though Center City has a low rate of teacher turnover, some 68 new teachers on the average have been employed in each of the last 8 years.

Indicative of the close and cooperative relationship between the community and its public is an annual Business, Industry, and
Education Bay program. On this day the teachers of the Center City schools visit various business and industrial establishments throughout the community. Since the program's inception in the early 1950's, it has proved to be an effective means for teachers to become acquainted with the problems and concerns of the business and industrial leaders of Center City. Of course the program also provides community leaders with an opportunity to become more closely acquainted with the teachers of the city's public schools.

Financing public education is not as easy in Center City, however, as it is in many communities. Although the city schools rank tenth of 152 city school systems in the state in terms of average daily membership in its public schools, the city's $13,674 valuation per pupil ranks but ninety-second. This per pupil valuation is based upon a total tax evaluation of $223,000,000. Two general factors serve to keep the Center City total evaluation of property for taxation purposes down. First, only about 15 percent (or $33,450,000) of the total evaluation represents industrial property assessments. Thus, the largest source of taxable wealth in Center City is personal property. Second, this personal property, as a result of occupational distribution of workers and realized incomes, is further limited by rows of houses extending for blocks in the center of the city that are in the $5,000 to $7,000 valuation category. Property valuations are not low in Center City when compared with those in surrounding areas but the resources available for taxation purposes are, in fact, low. This is especially true in relation to other comparable sized communities in the state.

Fortunate for the public schools, however, is the fact that
Center City citizens exhibit considerable willingness to support public education at an adequate level. For example, for the first time in over ten years the voters last spring failed to support the school's proposed operating levy with an affirmative vote at the polls. But when this defeated operating levy renewal and increase was resubmitted the following November it was passed. Emphasis should be placed, however, on the fact that during this ten year period the voters passed several bond issues in addition to operating levy renewals in order to finance the district's largest building program to provide adequate housing for the public school children.

The total voted millage for supporting education also attests to the community's effort to support public education. The 21.10 mill tax rate for current expense is above the median and average for city school districts in the state and is, in fact, in the upper third of voted millage for the city school districts of the state. The total tax rate for school purposes, current expense and debt service, at 26.00 mills is also above the state average and median for all city school districts and falls just outside of the top one-third category. Total tax rates for all purposes in Center City (33.80 mills) is less than the average or median for the city school districts of the state. Therefore, Center City has designated a larger portion of taxation to its public schools than do many communities. It can be concluded that the citizens of Center City make a greater than average effort to support public education.

It should not be assumed from the foregoing that support of the schools at the polls is an automatic matter. Much preliminary work by the school administrators and the board of education, and by
these groups with community leaders, precedes the submission of any levy or bond issue for placement on the ballot. Once a particular financial need is established and an agreeable amount of required revenue is determined, the schools, in cooperation with citizens' committees, swing into action to interpret the need to the citizenry at large and to muster over-all community support. In any event, however, there is evidence to support a Center City school administrator's notion that "our taxable wealth is low but our willingness to tax for school purposes high."

In general, revenue for supporting the Center Schools comes from local sources. Local real estate, personal, and utility taxes provide 66 per cent of the public school revenue. To this are added revenue from the State Public School Foundation Fund (28 per cent) and revenue from rentals, federal aid, vocational and special education, and tuition (6 per cent). Expenditures reflect a high level of concern for the school program. For example, in one year 79 per cent of all expenditures were for instruction including teachers' salaries. Other expenditure categories and percentages for this year were as follows: operation of school plant - 14 per cent; administration - 1.6 per cent; maintenance - 2.0 per cent; miscellaneous - 3.4 per cent. Thus, the concern for educational program takes a high priority in the eyes of those in leadership positions in the Center City Public Schools--central office administrators and the board of education.
The School Program and Pupils

The educational program available in the public schools of Center City is recognized in surrounding educational circles as sound. The local university and several other universities in the general area have both student teaching and research connections with the Center City schools. Of the over 700 professional school employees, an administrative performance system of 45 administrative and supervisory personnel exercise educational leadership for the schools.

Continual staff curriculum activity has resulted in school program changes and innovations. Workshops for staff, committee activity, and curriculum publications such as teaching guides and resource publications along with many ongoing programs of experimental activity have further been utilized for purposes of strengthening the school curriculum. In addition to a comprehensive vocational program, remedial classes, and advanced placement offerings, special education—classes for the slow learner, orthopedically handicapped, emotionally disturbed, partially seeing, and deaf—offerings are provided for Center City's youth.

Of the school-aged population in Center City 85 per cent are enrolled in the Center City Public Schools while the remaining 15 per cent are enrolled in other private and parochial schools. Eight per cent of the total public school enrollment is in kindergarten, 73 per cent in grades one through eight, and 19 per cent in high school or grades nine through twelve. At present the public school enrollment (approximately 18,000) is growing by about 450 pupils per year or at
an increase of 2.5 per cent per year (as contrasted with the current 5.4 per cent growth of the over-all population).

That the school program is effective can be attested in part by the city's lack of delinquency problems and the schools' low drop-out record. Center City is, in fact, quite fortunate in that juvenile delinquency is not recognized as a community problem. The drop-out situation of the current school year is typical of the schools' record in this regard over the years. In the current year, drop-outs have amounted to less than 6 per cent of the secondary school enrollment (including grades six through twelve). Approximately 27 per cent of these drop-outs gave the reason for withdrawal as obtaining a working certificate. Other reasons for drop-outs and percentages giving such reasons are as follows: overage - 22 per cent; marriage - 20 per cent; illness - eight per cent; pregnancy, court, armed forces, and miscellaneous reasons - each six per cent. Two of the problems confronting many communities—delinquency and school drop-outs—are not reputed or recognized as being significant problems in Center City.

Most of the students from Center City's two public high schools enter employment directly following their high school graduation. Many of these enter the community's labor force in appropriate occupations and take up permanent residency in Center City. Only 33 to 35 per cent of Center City's high school graduates go on to college. Of this group, many attend the local university and will eventually settle into professional occupations in the city.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chart</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. CONSTRUCTED ORGANIZATION CHART FOR THE CENTER CITY SCHOOLS' ADMINISTRATIVE PERFORMANCE SYSTEM</td>
<td>168</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Teaching Staff of the Center City Schools

The teaching staff of the Center City Schools is typical in terms of training, background, and experience for the community setting. The staff is what one would expect to find in a community like Center City and, in this sense, is not atypical. Although the current teaching staff represents attendance at over 60 universities, a significant proportion of the teaching staff were born, raised, and trained in Center City. Thus, their background was lower middle social class as is characteristic of teachers in general.

Most of the elementary teachers have bachelor's degrees and a growing proportion of the high school teachers have master's degrees. In comparison with other city school districts in the state, Center City's elementary teachers are less well trained (3.7 average years of training) than the average (4.0). The high school teachers, on the other hand, are slightly better trained (4.8 average years of training) than is average (4.7) in city schools throughout the state. In terms of years experience in teaching, both the elementary teachers and the secondary teachers have more average years of experience than the average for all teachers in the state's city school districts.

The elementary teaching staff is composed almost entirely of women teachers, three-fourths of whom are married. In fact, only 13 men serve as teachers in the elementary school classrooms. Over half of the elementary teachers were granted their bachelors' degrees by the local university. Slightly more than one-fourth of the elementary teachers received their degrees elsewhere within the state. Few elementary teachers have advanced degrees but most of them have
taken course work beyond the minimum bachelor's requirements. Much of such work was done at the local university. Some teachers do, however, take course work at one of two state universities located within an 85 mile radius of the city.

Secondary teachers as a group are characteristically different from their elementary counterparts. Junior high school teachers are almost evenly divided by sex—fifty per cent men and fifty per cent women. The senior high teaching staff is composed of 64 per cent men and 36 per cent women. About 40 per cent of the secondary teachers received their bachelor's degrees from the local university. Another 10 per cent received their bachelor's training at the largest state university while one-fourth of the group were granted their bachelor's degrees from other universities within the state. In contrast with the elementary group, who were predominantly trained within the state, 20 per cent of the secondary teachers were awarded bachelor's degrees from colleges and universities outside of the state. Also in contrast to the elementary teachers, about 40 per cent of the high school teachers have master's degrees. Of this group about one-third received their master's degrees from the local university, one-fourth from the largest state university, one-fourth from out of state, and the remainder from various universities within the state.

Teachers to be considered for employment with the Center City Schools need, at the present time, at least a bachelor's degree, a state teacher's certificate, and evidence of sound health. There is a continuous program in the schools for upgrading the teaching staff through a program of personal growth and inservice education. Personal growth requirements are part of the district's scheduled salary plan.
In order for teachers to advance to succeeding salary steps a given number of professional growth credits must be obtained during each four-year period. Teachers without degrees must earn six credits, bachelor degree teachers four credits, and master degree teachers two credits. Professional growth credits are earned by taking college courses, serving on professional committees, publishing educational articles, reading professional books, participating in professional conventions, participation in civic activities, travel, and work experience in relevant areas. A standing professional growth committee of the teaching staff evaluates the professional growth activities of the individual teachers.

The inservice education program for teachers begins with a yearly pre-school orientation program. Throughout the year, teachers become involved in building staff meetings, professional organizations, and a series of inservice training workshops. Some workshops are repeated yearly and others are focused on pertinent topics of immediate interest to the staff.

Teacher's salaries compare favorably with the salaries of teachers in the surrounding area. They are average in comparison to all of the city school districts in the state and below average in comparison with districts of the same or larger size. Nonetheless, every attempt is made to make working conditions for teachers as favorable as is possible. The enviable 1:29 pupil-teacher ratio in the elementary schools and the 1:23 ratio for the secondary schools,

The available organizations are: the local teachers association, the state education association, the national education association and the local federation of teachers and its state and national affiliates.
which compares quite favorably with larger districts in the state, and the rather high percentage of expenditures for instruction (including teachers salaries) evidence this desire on the part of the school leaders.

As is true with Center City's populace at large in regard to mobility, Center City's teachers seem also to "come to stay." A decisively smaller teacher turnover rate, 6.8 per cent to the state average of about 9 per cent, reveals that Center City's teachers do remain in the community. Of those who resign, less than half go elsewhere to teach even in an explicit sense. For example, of the current year's 42 resignations only seven are leaving the system specifically to take teaching employment elsewhere. Twelve of the resigned teachers (women teachers) did so due to their husbands' change of employment. This group presumably will teach elsewhere but the reason for leading their positions in Center City was not related to dissatisfaction with the system.

The Center City School Administrative Performance System

Leadership for the Center City Schools and assistance for the classroom teachers of the schools are provided through the schools' administrative performance system. This administrative performance system is composed of 31 building principals, 11 supervisors and directors, two assistant superintendents, and the superintendent of schools. It is, therefore, composed of members with either line (administrative) functions and/or service (supervisory) functions. Evidenced in the ongoing operation of the schools are the active leadership roles assumed by the members of this system. Many of
these administrators and supervisors are active in broader educational circles and are well respected by their colleagues in surrounding areas and the state at large. Although some of the administrators entered the administrative performance system from positions in other school districts, administrators are for the most part promoted from within the school district. Only in the case of the superintendent of schools is it "common practice" to look elsewhere when it is necessary to fill the position.

The typical member of the Center City schools administrative performance system is a male (there are 10 women in this system) and between the ages of 46 to 50; he has a master's degree and has a total experience in the teaching profession of over 25 years. He has been in the Center City school system for over 16 years, in his present kind of position (e.g., principal or supervisor) for about 10 years, and in his present post for from 6 to 10 years. Immediately prior to his assignment to the administrative performance system he served as a teacher in the Center City school district. His professional goal is to continue in his current kind of position in the Center City school district. Further, he is willing to serve in the particular position deemed most appropriate by his superiors. He has little ambition for future formal training, being content to either update himself or rest on his current level of training and competence. Although it is difficult to "average" personal data, the foregoing picture of the typical school administrator in the Center City Schools is supported by the data presented in Tables 3 through 10.
### TABLE 3

**AGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE MEMBERS OF THE CENTER CITY SCHOOLS' ADMINISTRATIVE PERFORMANCE SYSTEM**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Category</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>25 - 30</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31 - 35</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36 - 40</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41 - 45</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46 - 50</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51 - 55</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>over 55</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### TABLE 4

**LEVEL OF TRAINING ACHIEVED BY MEMBERS OF THE CENTER CITY SCHOOLS' ADMINISTRATIVE PERFORMANCE SYSTEM**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level of Training</th>
<th>Number</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bachelor's Degree</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fifth Year</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Master's Degree</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sixth Year</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doctorate</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### TABLE 5

**TOTAL EDUCATIONAL EXPERIENCE OF MEMBERS OF THE CENTER CITY SCHOOLS' ADMINISTRATIVE PERFORMANCE SYSTEM**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Years</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0 - 5</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 - 10</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 - 15</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 - 20</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 - 25</td>
<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>26 - 30</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>over 30</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 6
**Total Experience in the Center City Schools for Members of the Center City Schools' Administrative Performance System**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Years</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<tr>
<td>6 - 10</td>
<td>8</td>
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<tr>
<td>11 - 15</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 - 20</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 - 25</td>
<td>9</td>
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<tr>
<td>26 - 30</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>over 30</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 7
**Total Experience in Present Kind of Position for Members of the Center City Schools' Administrative Performance System**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Years</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<tr>
<td>11 - 15</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 - 20</td>
<td>3</td>
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<td>21 - 25</td>
<td>6</td>
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<tr>
<td>26 - 30</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>over 30</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 8
**Experience in Present Position for Members of the Center City Schools' Administrative Performance System**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Years</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<tr>
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<td>5</td>
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<td>16 - 20</td>
<td>3</td>
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<td>21 - 25</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>26 - 30</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>over 30</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE 9

PROFESSIONAL GOAL OF THE MEMBERS OF THE CENTER CITY SCHOOLS' ADMINISTRATIVE PERFORMANCE SYSTEM

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Professional Goal</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Career Principalship</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Career Supervisor</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Career Assistant Superintendent</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Career Superintendent</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE 10

FUTURE TRAINING ASPIRATIONS OF MEMBERS OF THE CENTER CITY SCHOOLS' ADMINISTRATIVE PERFORMANCE SYSTEM

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Training Aspiration</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Doctorate</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sixth Year</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masters Degree</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Update Self as Needed</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Future Training Aspirations</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Over 60 per cent of the administrators in Center City received their bachelor's degrees from the local university. Another thirty-five per cent were trained at the bachelor's level in various universities within the state and only five per cent received their bachelor's degrees out of state. For those with master's degrees, slightly over one-half were granted their degrees from the local university and the largest state university, with each of these universities about equally represented. Twenty per cent received master's degrees out of state with Teachers College, Columbia University, granting five such degrees. The remainder received their master's degrees from various state universities.
Although the members of this system exhibit little mobility in terms of particular job or locality (except possibly within the Center City school district) they are characterized by a desire for upward social mobility. This is in part evinced by their desire to function in administrative positions, a decided "social elevation" over teaching status. Looking upon the building to which a principal is assigned as "his" building, the desire for greater clerical assistance by those with part-time secretarial service, and the desire for assistant administrative help by those who felt their job load was excessive further indicate some feelings of upward social mobility. Also, members of the group by and large seek to achieve at least master's degree status. The number of out-of-state master's degrees granted to members of the system from Teachers College, Columbia University, and a higher percentage of master's degrees from the prestigious state university than anywhere else further attest to this mobility drive. However, the drive is not unlimited since most aspirations are to stay in Center City and few even hope (at least overtly) to move farther "up the line" within the system.

Administrative salaries in Center City are about average and compare favorably with those in school districts in the immediate area. The administrative salaries are based on the teachers' salary schedule plus a special salary allowance.\(^3\) Little, if any, salary dissatisfaction is voiced by members of the system since an evident attempt is made by the Board of Education to keep administrative salaries at an appropriate level. At the time of this study

\(^3\)The superintendent's salary is, however, determined solely by the Board of Education.
satisfaction in this regard was probably higher than at most times since the Board had granted salary increases at about the same time that data collection was beginning.

In general, members of the administrative performance system feel that their work load is just about right. Some of the central office staff and several of the principals in larger buildings feel that additional administrators are needed. Although there is some indication that additional administrative positions could be added, over-all ratios of administrators to their reference groups are favorable. The 1:60 supervisor-teacher ratio compares quite favorably with most school districts (a 1:1636 supervisor-pupil ratio). The 1:20 administrator-teacher ratio is not at all out of line due to the general holding power of the system over members of the teaching staff (the tendency of teachers to remain in the district) and the modest current growth of the educational enterprise. Only the 1:390 administrator-pupil ratio gives indication of the possible need for more "line" incumbents to bring this ratio to a more desirable level (e.g., the sometimes quoted 1:250 or 1:300 standard).

Evident in the administrative performance system of the Center City Public Schools, as is the case in any organizational system, is a conscious division of labor. Each member of the system has specific duties and authority; in every instance such duties and authority are more or less clearly defined. This particular system is characterized by a less precise definition of specific duties and authority than is probably true in most similar systems, at least in an explicit sense. Although board of education policies list areas of responsibility they lack a clear or precise definition of a specific
CHAPTER I

PRESENTATION OF THE PROBLEM

Introduction

School districts continue to increase in size as a result of school district reorganization and natural population growth. School district administrative performance systems\(^1\) are also increasing in size and complexity. The "one-man" administrative operation in local school districts is being rapidly replaced by a team of administrators, each with varying degrees of specialization and operating in precisely defined organizational roles.

Many early studies of the school administrator and his job focused on the person, the person in a situation, or the person's behavior. Studies were largely concerned with the man or the job and the relationship of the man or job to other members of, and/or positions in, the school system organization. The emphasis was on a relationship to other people or positions. Even with evident concerns for the informal aspects of organizational interaction and group

\(^1\) The terminology "administrative performance system" is held to be more descriptive than "administrative staff" or other such common designations. The term "system" connotes human beings in interaction while the word "staff" commonly conveys only the concept of a group of people employed by, or serving in a functional capacity in an organization. The phrase is taken from Stephen Hencley, "Functional Interrelationships of Various Administrative Positions," a paper presented at the Seventh UCEA Career Seminar held at Michigan State University in November, 1962.
position's sector of activity. Further, no organization chart has been constructed (or is even desired) and "job descriptions" are of a decidedly *ex post facto* nature.

The superintendent of schools is clearly the executive administrator of the system. He, and he alone, is responsible for the administration of the public education in Center City. He has considerable freedom in selecting his subordinate administrators and in defining their specific duties. However, this is not complete freedom. Here the conservative and traditional atmosphere of the community pervade and limit the superintendent. Such factors as selecting administrators from the school district's teaching staff, promoting people upward through the system, using administrative positions as rewards for service rendered as a teacher, and honoring those with longer service by never promoting a younger person to a higher position all tend to limit the superintendent's freedom.

Within such restrictions, almost all based in tradition, the superintendent has considerable voice in regard to administrative duties and authority. The duties and authority of any position, or position incumbent, are almost exclusively determined by the superintendent. Working on a "need" or functional basis, division of labor is largely established and modified by the superintendent. Formal job descriptions, as has been implied, result after the fact and those that exist in the district, some of which are six to eight years old, are constructed as a cooperative venture between the superintendent and the individual involved after the individual is on the job and not as a cooperative venture on the part of the system as a whole.
It is interesting to note that during the course of this research one of the problems on which the administrative performance system was working was the clarification of the supervisory roles in the system. The apparent need for job definition and authority clarification was felt by members of the system. The members of the administrative system involved teachers in the solution of this problem and, through a series of staff meetings, a large, group-process procedure was initiated to clarify supervisory roles. Feelings were freely solicited and freely given but it was clear to the researcher that in the end the superintendent's responsibility would be felt more than many aspects of the group process. It was the superintendent who set the limits within which activity could take place and within which possible decisions could be reached. Also it was he who directed the over-all process; determined who, how, and when work was done; and interpreted progress and finally set up the eventual means through which goal related work would be implemented.
CHAPTER V

ANALYSIS OF DATA AND THE ASSESSMENT OF
ORGANIZATIONAL POWER STRUCTURE

The analysis chapter of this research consists of two parts. In the first part the data obtained through the study are analyzed in terms of the manifestation, the structure, and the sources of social power in the Center City Public School's administrative performance system. Following this discussion, the process of organizational decision-making in this social system is delineated. Part II of the analysis chapter is concerned with the assessment of organizational power structure in the study district's administrative performance system. Over-all methodology is assessed and strengths and weaknesses of specific data-gathering procedures are identified. Both formal and informal research techniques are discussed. The results of validity checks on specific data-gathering techniques and the multiple-based assessment procedure are also presented.

PART I--SOCIAL POWER IN THE CENTER CITY PUBLIC SCHOOL'S ADMINISTRATIVE PERFORMANCE SYSTEM

The administrative performance system as defined for this research consists of only those in the Center City Schools with full-time duties of an administrative nature. These are the members
of the school district staff that are actively involved in both policy and operational work. Part-time administrators or those in quasi-administrative positions were not included in the study. The 45 members of the administrative performance system, all of whom were interviewed and observed, comprise the membership of the total district staff that participates in the three formal administrative meetings. These meetings are for (1) central office supervisory personnel, (2) secondary school principals, and (3) elementary principals. In addition to such formal meetings, ad hoc "cabinet meetings" attended by the superintendent, some or all of his immediate subordinates, and other administrative personnel (as invited in on special projects) are called from time to time. All of these meetings are chaired by the superintendent.

The system, therefore, incorporates those in the Center City School District that have immediate contact with the policy process and the direction of the over-all educational enterprise.

The Manifestation of Social Power

This section of this part of the chapter deals with the data that bear upon the manifestation of social power. Social power is a capacity or an ability and is not manifest per se in the real world. Its manifestation involves a translation into force or authority. Power is then realized through the exercise of force and/or authority and is essentially a synthesis of force and authority.¹ Force in this sense represents the invocation of non-sanctioned means or

instruments to affect others and authority is the invocation of sanctioned means or instruments—either those sanctioned by the legitimized (legal) order or by the institutionalized order—to affect others. Power figures, in effecting the actions and decisions of an organizational system, can employ force, institutionalized authority, and/or legitimized authority. But the effecting of decisions in a given system is not always the result of forces from within the system or from forces that can be precisely categorized as sanctioned or non-sanctioned by the given system.

It is recognized that any administrative system is a sub-system of a larger organization which in turn is a sub-system of a still larger system such as a community. Certainly forces from such supra-systems or even other related sub-systems within the larger system affect actions and decisions of a given organization's administrative system. This was most apparent in Center City. For example, reputation data revealed the affect that a secretary to an administrative system member could have on supposedly legitimate decisions of the administrative system. Such a secretary is not a member of the administrative system but is a member of the larger school organization. In one instance it was reported to this researcher that a secretary could effect a decision of whether or not a principal received certain requested supplies, if not by direct decision at least by controlling the amount of information.

This illusion to sub- and supra-systems is kept simple here since it functions only for clarification purposes. The writer is aware that there may be other community sub-systems between the community system itself and specific organizations such as the school organization. Also the writer is cognizant of the fact that the community itself has supra-systems.
transmitted to the administrator who did decide. Another example of how a supra-system, in this case the community, contains forces which affect the administrative system further illustrates this point. In seeking to pass tax levies for additional funds to operate the Center City Schools, the administrative performance system was not able to make final decisions regarding the amount of such a tax levy alone if they desired community support and if passage was to be realized. It was necessary for them to work with the board of education and community leaders to arrive at the appropriate amount for each particular levy. Such arrangements were not only for communication purposes but also to enlist support of community leaders. Members of the supra-system, the community, in fact, affect decisions of this administrative performance system. Thus, although other forces from other related systems affect actions and decisions of a given system, and the writer recognizes this fact, this analysis of the manifestation of social power accounts only for those forces from within the system that affect actions and decisions. This restriction was necessary in order to keep the study within the scope of a single researcher.

Also, the effecting of behavior in a given system does not always result from forces that are clearly sanctioned or not sanctioned by the system. For example, the intrusion of ideologies or of means or instruments that are sanctioned by a larger social system or are a part of a system's environmental order can be used to effect actions or decisions of a given system. Failure to recognize by a system is not, however, tantamount to non-sanctioning. To illustrate this point, a given system in a democratic society could fail to
recognize the group process as a means for achieving system goals through either its legitimized or institutionalized orders. This does not mean that the group process is non-sanctioned; it is only not recognized. In such a case a member of the system could capitalize essentially on the authority of the "larger order" to affect the system since it is difficult for a system to generally oppose the basic values of its larger environment. Thus, in a sense a residual category must be established for classification purposes in discussing the manifestation of social power in a particular social system. This is necessary to account for the affect of those in the system who are able to draw upon "supra-authority" for purposes of realizing their will over the wishes of others.

Therefore, power figures in a particular system wield power as a result of (1) means that are sanctioned by the system (legitimized and institutionalized authority), (2) means that are sanctioned by the larger social environment but which are not recognized by the system (essentially "supra-authority"), and (3) means that are non-sanctioned by the system (force). These means of power are used in a variety of ways by power figures; power figures also evidence characteristic styles in realizing their power.

The way power was manifested in the Center City administrative performance system

Observation during the course of data-collection revealed 232 decisions or actions of the administrative performance system, or some sub-group of the system, about which data were recorded. Table 11 shows a frequency tally of these actions and decisions distributed on
a grid that indicates the type of the decision or action on one dimension and the means by which social power was realized on the other dimension. As this discussion of the manifestation of social power progresses examples of decisions and actions will be presented to illustrate the kinds of things observed to give an indication of what lead to the writer's conclusions. Since it is beyond the scope of this dissertation to describe all of the actions and decisions tallied in Table 11 in detail, a representative sample of the decisions or actions is presented in Appendix J. This appendix section gives an example of a decision or action from each of the cells in the grid in Table 11 having at least one tally. Other examples follow in the discussion in the text.

As is indicated in Table 11 most of the decisions or actions of the system or formal sub-groups of the system (e.g., supervisors, secondary principals, or elementary principals) were concerned with operational as opposed to policy matters. Operation, as defined for purposes of this research, refers to the doing of work in an organization and policy refers to the consciously derived framework of rules, regulations, or other directives that provides the structure within which interpersonal interaction and decision-making in an organization take place. Of the 232 actions and decisions observed by the writer in group situations, 199 were classified as operational and 33 were classified as policy actions and decisions. For example, the decision of each of the various formal administrator's groups--supervisors, secondary principals, and elementary principals--to endorse the tentative calendar for the next school year illustrates an operational decision. The decision reached by the supervisors'
TABLE 11

FREQUENCY TALLY OF OBSERVED REALIZATION OF SOCIAL POWER IN THE CENTER CITY SCHOOLS' ADMINISTRATIVE PERFORMANCE SYSTEM:
TYPE OF DECISION OR ACTION AND WAY MANIFEST

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Decision or Action</th>
<th>Legitimized Authority</th>
<th>Institutionalized Authority</th>
<th>Force</th>
<th>Other*</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<tr>
<td>Policy Formulation</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Policy Interpretation</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Policy Execution</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Policy Revision</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Operation Critical</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Operation Routine</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*This category is essentially a residual category in which decisions which were effected by means not recognized, sanctioned, or non-sanctioned by the group in either its formal or informal structures are tallied. Included in this category are decisions which were effected as a result of capitalizing on "supra-authority" or ideologies from the larger social environment.
group to recognize contributions to the staff news bulletin as professional growth credits for those teachers providing significant articles is illustrative of a policy decision.

Forty-seven of the 199 operational actions and decisions were categorized as critical in nature; 152 were clearly matters of routine operation. A routine, operational decision is concerned with the normal, every day doing of work in the organization; a critical, operational decision, on the other hand, is the doing of work, the results of which could have a serious impact on the structural and interactional patterns of the organization. The decision of the supervisory staff to include "literature," literary type articles, and other such "scholarly" contributions in the staff news bulletin represents a routine, operational decision. An example of a critical operational decision was the decision of the secondary principals' group to initiate a self evaluation program in the secondary schools (junior and senior high schools) in Center City.

As has been pointed out 33 policy decisions were observed. Over one-half (17) of the policy decisions and actions were concerned with policy formulation. Policy formulation is the initial development, framing, and/or recommendation of policy. Such a decision is illustrated by the elementary principals' group reaching a decision on the purpose of the elementary summer school program. Following general group discussion the group agreed that the purpose was not to provide a vehicle for promoting students being retrained in a given grade. Although in cases involving marginal or exceptional circumstances promotion may result from summer school, the basic function of the summer school was viewed as improvement—remedial,
dynamics, there was little concern for relationships among position incumbents in the organizational setting.

The restricted perspectives that served in the past, however, have limited applicability for the advancement of knowledge about a dynamic and changing job in a changing context. Empirical study of administration, management, and leadership has provided much helpful and needed data; the increased size and complexity of school district administrative performance systems, however, demand a more comprehensive conceptual focus if the knowledge of how the members of such systems work together to achieve organizational purposes is to be further advanced. Making decisions and taking actions in an organizational setting are indeed complex social processes. The complexity of these processes increases as organizations grow in size and thereby become more highly structured and the hierarchical ordering of positions is accompanied by greater specialization of function. The study of group dynamics and leadership (including administration and management) has resulted in a greater understanding of the decision-making process as it is manifested in both casual groups and highly structured organizational systems. But the deeper and more penetrating questions of how decisions are reached or actions are taken, or of who effected a particular decision or action are not readily answerable by research emphases to date.

As a result of the various group dynamics and leadership constructs and empirical evidence thus far amassed, we know that leadership or the guiding of group behavior is both a function of designated (formal or status) leading and of evolving (informal or
reinforcing, or enrichment—rather than make-up. Another 9 of the policy actions dealt with policy revision and the other 7 were policy interpretation. Illustrative of a policy revision decision was that decision of a cabinet group to revise the policy concerning the orientation of new secondary teachers. It was decided to include follow-up workshops to the pre-school workshop later in the fall as an integral part of new teacher orientation at the secondary level. An example of a policy interpretation decision was the decision of the higher echelon administrators to spend some time in an elementary principals' meeting to discuss and clarify policy related to continuing contract status prior to the time principals were to make such judgments concerning teachers within their buildings.

Of the 33 policy actions and decisions, 24 or 74 per cent (those of policy formulation and revision) were of a critical or change nature in that they in some way—either by modifying the existing structure of organization (policy revision) or by adding to the structure of the organization (policy formulation)—resulted in a structural change in the organization. A total of 73 of the total 232 actions and decisions of the system—those of policy formulation, policy revision, and critical operation—were change-oriented and affected the basic structure and/or operation of the system.

The classification of observed actions and decisions reveals that power was realized through authority in all but 7 of the 232 actions or decisions according to the operational definitions used in this study. Authority here refers to sanctioned (institutionalized or legitimized), manifest power. An example of a decision resulting from an exercise of authority was the assistant superintendent's
decision to have all principals submit a report of anticipated teacher needs for the next school year. Since the assistant superintendent is charged by school district rules and regulations with the responsibility for selecting and screening new teachers, his decision was sanctioned by the legitimized order. This authority also is stated in the board of education policy handbook and in his job description. Although in 165 instances power was realized through the exercise of legitimate authority as was the case in the above example, in 60 instances institutionalized authority was used. Institutionalized authority refers to those means that are informally sanctioned by the group but are not a part of the formal written body of policy or rules and regulations of the system. The authority of one of the secondary principals in group meetings illustrated institutionalized authority. By virtue of this principal's age and long tenure in the district and his recognition as "dean" of the secondary principals his ability to effect in group situations was a result of group acceptance rather than legitimized sanction. In none of the written policy or rules statements was this member of the principals' group granted such authority. However, he relied a great deal on his institutionalized right to effect decisions. In one instance, for example, when the group was in a dilemma over a recommendation in regard to pupil's cumulative record folders this principal entered the discussion, stated his position, and the group's decision promptly followed his explicitly stated desires. Most of the group prior to this statement favored, at least verbally, an entirely different solution to the problem.

As is indicated in Table 11 the writer did not observe any
decision or action that was effected by force. Force, for purposes of this dissertation, has been defined as non-sanctioned, manifest power and refers to instances where an actor achieves his will by using means that are not sanctioned by the system and by using instruments that disadvantage another or others. In such instances the actor's will is accepted as a result of fear of reprisal. Although no examples of force were observed, two hypothetical examples will be given to illustrate possible exercises of force in a school district administrative performance system. The first example is concerned with a superior's use of force to affect a subordinate. In such a case a superintendent could request that a principal attend a particular civic meeting and give a speech that the superintendent himself was asked to present. The superintendent could explicitly or implicitly communicate that next year's contract or salary raise might, in fact, hinge upon the principal's compliance with this request. In such an instance, the legal order itself is being used to disadvantage the subordinate. Another example is offered to illustrate how a subordinate could use force to affect a superior. Suppose that a principal, whose brother was on the school board and was, in fact, the most powerful member of the school board, desired permission to change textbooks within his school. This principal could use his brother's power with the board to effect a decision (against the wishes of the superintendent) by holding the threat of his brother's ability to influence the board (for example, not to offer another contract to the superintendent) if the superintendent failed to comply with the principal's wishes.

Seven decisions about which data were collected were not
effected by authority of the administrative system and were not exercises of force. In three of these instances a member of the system relied essentially upon skill in manipulating the system in order to realize power. For example, in a situation where a superior wanted to discuss a particular problem, a subordinate (one of the supervisory staff) suggested to another subordinate, who had both a reputed and observed affect upon the superior, that this discussion might more advantageously take place at a special afternoon meeting over coffee. The other subordinate suggested this openly to the superior and after a brief general discussion the problem was postponed until a special afternoon coffee meeting could be set up. In this and the other similar examples the power-wielder gave indication of knowing the system better than the superior and used such knowledge to manipulate or control the system in accordance with personal desires.

Four of the seven decisions in the "other" category relied upon the sanction of "supra-authority." In each of these decisions "supra-authority" was the ideology of democracy. Three of these decisions will be briefly presented. In one instance during a supervisors' meeting an often rebuffed member of the group suggested a "seventh-inning stretch" since it was a rather warm day. Although the meeting chairman obviously did not agree with this idea he could not go against the suggestion for fear of antagonizing the group. Had he not accepted the decision he could have been accused of failing to be concerned with the feelings of the group. Another similar situation occurred when the chairman of the elementary principals' meeting was pushing for a decision in regard to summer school. A
supervisor suggested that since this decision involved teachers it might be best for each principal to first assess his teachers' feelings and then, following such an assessment of teachers' feelings, the principals could better arrive at a "group" decision at some later meeting. The leader acquiesced, obviously since an attack on this proposal would be an attack on democratic decision-making. A final example of the use of "supra-authority" had to do with reporting procedures for the school district's elementary summer school. Most decisions for this program were made by a central committee, and the summer school had, in fact, changed little over the years. Some principals were dissatisfied with the letter grade reporting procedures of the summer school and desired narrative reports instead. The principals knew that if they approached the central committee little could be accomplished. However, if this were brought up in a principals' meeting, which it was, group study would result and those interested would probably be appointed to the study committee. In a principals' meeting one principal made this suggestion and the committee for study was set up. To do otherwise would have violated the democratic principle of the right to speak out in group meetings and seek improvements. Thus, in some instances decisions were effected by means (1) not recognized by the system but (2) sanctioned in the larger normative order.

To summarize briefly, all but seven of the observed decisions by this system in the course of collecting data were effected through the exercise of authority. Of the 225 uses of authority to effect decisions, 165 were legitimimized authority (71 per cent of all decisions). Only three per cent of the 232 decisions were effected
by means other than those sanctioned formally or informally by the
system. In these cases either skill in manipulating the system or
"supra-authority" were used in realizing social power.

Directive means, by far the most prevalent, were used in
effecting decisions in 165 situations and non-directive means in
56 instances. The use of directive means to effect decisions involves
a command, order, or any other such explicit statement by the power
wielder whereby his intentions are clearly conveyed to others in the
interaction situation. The earlier presented example of the secondary
principal's effecting a decision on pupil cumulative folders resulted
from several direct statements by the principal which clearly set
forth his desires. This is, then, an illustration of the use of
directive means to effect decisions. Non-directive means are those
through which the actor might suggest, or even request, but does not
explicitly state his wishes. Illustrative of the use of non-directive
means to effect a decision was an instance in which a principal
requested a decision from the superintendent in regard to his school
basketball team's participation in a YMCA tournament. The
superintendent replied in essence that he thought it might be best
if the team were in no way connected or identified with the school
but he did not make the decision or explicitly state what he desired.
In this instance the superintendent's "suggestion" effected the
ultimate decision of the principal not to enter the team in the
tournament as a "school" team.

In 11 instances decisions or actions were the result of
contagion. Contagion, or behavioral imitation or pickup, can be
illustrated by the decision of the elementary principals in regard
to the purpose of the elementary summer school. A lengthy discussion of this agenda item evidenced no explicit or directive statements or "suggestions" but rather involved a discussion that saw differing views of various members of the group coalesce until general agreement was expressed. When this general feeling became manifest to an obvious extent and no opposition was evident the meeting chairman summarized the discussion in the form of a group decision. No vote or overt expression of consensus was taken, no opposition was voiced to the decision, and no one had attempted to direct the discussion process; the decision resulted from contagion.

Although the over-all tone of decision-making by the system was directive, large-group decisions were almost exclusively the result of contagion.\(^2\) In the meetings of supervisors, secondary principals, and elementary principals the vote or any other overt means of polling consensus was seldom used. A feeling of consensus or agreement (resulting from a process of interaction—contagion) was the basis for large group actions and/or decisions. It is implied that many, in fact, most decisions of this system were not large-group decisions. Rather, they were effected largely by individuals and not the group as a whole. In this system the group process is, in a sense, largely the individual affecting the group and not the true group effect per se.

\(^2\)Many decisions made in formal group situations were not the result of a total group process. They were in fact made by a small sub-group of the large group or by a few of the power figures in interaction on a given problem. This accounts for the large total number of decisions with only a small number of the total being group decisions in a true sense. Thus, only large-group decisions were typically achieved through contagion. This was not at all typical of small group decisions.
Specifically in regard to critical or change-oriented decisions or actions (those of policy formulation, policy revision, and critical operation), power was realized as a result of authority in 72 of 73 actions or decisions. Of these 72 uses of authority in effecting actions and decisions, the legitimized structure was utilized in 52 instances with institutionalized authority accounting for 20 decisions and actions and "supra-authority" for the other decision. Therefore, approximately the same proportions (72 per cent for legitimized authority, 27 per cent for institutionalized authority, and one per cent for "supra-authority") of change-oriented decisions were realized for each of the three categories as was true for all decisions or actions. Directive means were used in 48 change-oriented decisions or actions and non-directive means in 19 instances. Contagion resulted in six decisions or actions of a change-oriented nature.

Social power in this administrative performance system, therefore, was realized mostly through authority and in regard to routine matters of operation. Directive means were used most often in effecting actions and decisions. Large group decisions, however, were characteristically the result of behavioral contagion. In general, change-oriented actions and decisions were realized in the same way as were routine and operational decisions and actions.

This general overview of the manifestation of power does not present the whole picture. Various meetings of sub-groups of the system were characteristically different. The secondary principals more than the other groups were concerned with actions and decisions of a critical or change nature. In fact almost one-half (28 of 60)
of the actions and decisions of this group were concerned with policy and/or critical operation. Meetings of the superintendent's cabinet (an ad hoc upper echelon group augmented by two principals) and the supervisors' group revealed that about one-third of the actions and decisions of these groups were of a critical or change nature. The supervisors' group was, however, less concerned with policy than was the cabinet group. Only a little over one-fourth of the actions and decisions resulting from the elementary principals' meeting were of a critical or change nature thus making this group the least significantly effective on the basic structure of the system of all the formal sub-groups.

It is also important to relate the above data to specific individuals within the system. Only fourteen members of the system, those herein referred to as "higher power" figures, were observed to exert their power in an active way by effecting at least one or more decisions. Further, only the "power elite," the top seven of the "higher power" figures, had a persistent and compelling effect upon the system. Six members of the system—the superintendent (1000), the assistant superintendent of personnel (0100), the director of curriculum (0102), the elementary supervisor (0103), the director of child study (0010), and a secondary principal (0020)—effected the

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3 It should be noted though that principals generally perceived the supervisors' group to be a "policy" oriented group. But, in fact, it was the least concerned both in terms of total decisions and actions and proportionally (policy vs. other kinds of actions and decisions) than any other group. This is true even in relation to the elementary principals' body which was the least concerned with critical or change-oriented decisions.

4 Numbers are used instead of names to indicate persons throughout this chapter.
greatest portion of the decisions and actions observed. Of the 73 actions and decisions of a critical or change nature only four members of the "power elite" had significant effect. In fact, all but 5 of these critical or change-oriented actions or decisions were effected by the superintendent (1000), the director of curriculum (0102), the assistant superintendent of personnel (0100), and the director of child study (0010). Their effect was realized in the order listed.

Power figures in the Center City Schools' administrative performance system tended to exhibit both characteristic styles of affecting others and to utilize specific means to affect others. Both these styles and means are discernable as a result of observation and interview data. A great deal of agreement in regard to particular power styles and means was found between interview data and observation data. Since most of the social power realized on crucial matters was from the power elite, only the power styles and means of these members of the system are delineated. First power styles are described and then means or procedures for affecting others will be identified.

Power styles of the power elite

Evidenced in both interview and observation data were distinctive styles for effecting actions and decisions of the system and for affecting the behavior of others. The superintendent (1000) had a characteristically directive style in effecting the actions and decisions of the system. For example, he frequently set limits on the group decision process and often ruled out alternatives before a discussion started. He often stated his wishes prior to group discussion of a matter. At times the superintendent even stated
situationally determined) leading. Such constructs as leadership, administration, or management do not, however, lend themselves to answering the deeper questions of who is determining or directing group activity in a given way or how the group activity is being determined or directed. These constructs are basically concerned with the relation of one person or a small group of persons to the membership of an organization as a whole. To better understand the who (or who is, in fact, directing or determining) and the how (the way behavior is being determined or directed) a more comprehensive conceptual focus is needed. The individual and job foci of the past can well be supplanted by a focus on the total interaction system—organization—and the determinant of kinds and quality of social interactions within a social organization—social power.

An organization is, according to Barnard, a system of consciously coordinated activities of forces of two or more persons. It is a vehicle or means that man uses to do things that he could not do alone or to do things which can be done better by such a means than he could do alone. The "person" represents a very important variable in organization. Organization is essentially the arranging of individuals for corporate activity. Each individual in an organization is placed in a position; position, in this sense, refers to the specific placement of an organization member in the over-all organizational division of labor and authority structure. Not all

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3Ibid, 69.
outcomes before the group process was initiated. In regard to the supervisory role problem, for example, the superintendent stated that there would not be less supervision as a result of this work and that the work would culminate in a statement for the staff handbook. For the most part, he relied heavily upon status and position to effect actions and decisions and left little doubt to members of the system or this observer that his was the ultimate word. He did not hesitate to act but seemed to prefer to involve others in the decision process. "Others," however, more often referred to other members of the "power elite" than to the system as a whole. This was especially true in relation to critical problems or situations. Also, working with others implied a series of individual or small group contacts with the members of the "power elite." In group situations the superintendent preferred to take the lead or to be in the middle. In such instances he gave all a chance to speak but freely interpreted, offered opinions, and summarized group interaction. Although directive, he operated in a most deliberate manner. It was said by one of the member's of the system that "he takes time to let people develop their ideas to his."

The assistant superintendent of personnel (0100) was reputed and observed to be the most directive of all of the members of the power elite. He, too, like the superintendent, did not hesitate to act. Quite authoritative in approach, he was reputed and observed to utilize commands and directives as standard operating procedure. Although he was reputed to be helpful and well-liked by other members of the system he was most emphatic in his personal beliefs and in day to day contacts with others in the operation of the system. He
worked within his sector of activity, seldom venturing into other areas of organizational work, and took great pride in both personal efficiency and effectiveness. Attesting to this is the fact that in the structured interview he exhibited a good deal of satisfaction over his ability to project accurately personnel budget expenditures. He typically worked through individuals and generally appeared to have much less effect in group situations.

The assistant superintendent of business (0 1 0 1) was also reputed and observed to be characteristically directive in effecting actions and decisions of the system. His effect was restricted totally to the realm of business affairs and further at the operational level. He typically stayed within the "chain of command" and worked closely with the superintendent. He listened to others and was thorough in checking facts but tended to take over and act; he was both independent and firm (stands firm on decisions). Since the assistant superintendent of business did not attend the formal meetings of sub-groups of the system he had little effect on the ongoing operation of the system except for his particular sector of work. Thus, he had but minimal effect upon the critical decisions made by the system. His effect was limited to participation in ad hoc groups, special counselling, and his individual impact on other members of the system.

The director of curriculum tended to be non-directive in effecting actions and decisions. Reputed to be capable, knowledgeable, and personable, he freely involved others and used individual and small group conferences a great deal. Although he was able to "carry the ball" he seemed to prefer to initiate and suggest and to let others do actual work. His greatest effect upon actions and decisions
The elementary supervisor (0103), who appeared to many members of the system to be non-directive, was actually observed to be quite directive in effecting actions and decisions of the system. She was non-directive in group situations but had little over-all effect in formal meetings. Her primary impact on the system was made outside the formal group; she operated with specific people, relying on conferences and phone conversations to assess feelings and muster support. Although she was reputed to be capable and personable, she was perhaps the most aggressive of the power elite. She was characterized as a hard worker, a "go-getter," a "pusher," and an "eager beaver." The foregoing are not necessarily to imply that her efforts were resented since many of the members of the system regarded her as a dedicated and conscientious person. She did, nonetheless, have strong viewpoints and worked to achieve personally held ends.

The director of child study (0010) was a quiet, personable member of the system. Recognized for his competence, his advice was sought freely by other members of the power elite. He had probably greatest affect upon the curriculum director (0102) and considerable affect upon the superintendent (1000) and the elementary supervisor (0103). He tended to operate outside of meetings by
affecting others in committee situations and individual conferences. He worked long and hard and was characteristically organized and well prepared. Generally non-directive in approach, he did not shy away from making decisions or taking actions especially in his area of special competence.

The secondary principal (0020) who was the other member of the power elite was reputed and observed to be decidedly directive and authoritarian. This man, close to retirement, was viewed by most of the power elite as moving out of the top leadership ranks of the system. General reputation data and observation data did not, however, confirm the perceptions (or maybe desires) of the other members of the power elite. Although his effect was fundamentally on secondary education, his impact was felt by the entire system. As the "traditional head" of secondary education and the "dean" of all system building principals it is doubtful that his effect will be minimized until full retirement.

The means of the power elite

In addition to evident power styles, specific means or procedures for affecting system actions and decisions can be identified. For example, the superintendent (1000) exerted his power through the control of formal meetings. He controlled the agenda and chaired all meetings of the formal or ad hoc sub-groups of the system. At such times he freely injected personal ideas, thoughts, and feelings. Also, he was prone to interpret and emphasize pertinent points throughout group discussion. He was most available for consultation and listened to subordinates but operated only
through channels and in the light of organizational policy. His
authority was apparent and he seldom delegated complete responsibility.
Tasks were not left to be done or not; rather, a task was laid out and
limits were set on the possible ways by which it was to be achieved.

The assistant superintendent of personnel (0100) occasionally
professed ideas but more often than not emphatically expressed his feelings. He acted, and acted within channels and policy. Most often he worked with and through individuals and he seldom assumed an active role in meetings. His work contacts were most frequently with the superintendent but he also worked much of the time directly with principals. He tended to keep discussion at a minimum and typically set limits on problems when seeking a "cooperative" solution. Much of his general effect was through the superintendent as a result of a close working relationship between the two men as well as his apparent freedom to make recommendations to the superintendent.

The assistant superintendent of business (0101) tended to operate through either negotiation or control. He delegated freely to subordinates and his secretary was given a great deal of delegated authority. He, by-and-large, set operational rules and procedures in regard to business management and controlled the requisitioning process through the availability of funds. Though he issues orders, it was generally felt by members of the system that his decisions were based on an over-all picture of need and were conditioned by existing organizational channels.

The curriculum director (0102) relied heavily upon involving people in the decision process. He tapped opinion, identified
problems, set up committees (and appointed committee members as well as committee chairmen), fed in materials, and facilitated the group process in any way possible. Although he took time to work with people he was most careful to avoid imposing or taking undue amounts of time from those he involved in group activity. He worked closely with the superintendent and kept the superintendent informed on a wide variety of matters, particularly curriculum. His responsibility for the inservice education of the school district staff provided another medium for effecting actions and decisions of the system.

The elementary supervisor (0103) often worked through the director of curriculum. She solicited "assistance" and diligently helped other members of the system with problems. She was conscious of the needs of co-workers and frequently identified needs of the system as a whole. She involved people and was also a former of committees and appointer of committee chairmen. Further, she was generally reputed to be most capable and was observed to be quite forward in making "suggestions" to other members of the "power elite."

The director of child study (0010) utilized informal discussion and informal groups as a means for effecting actions and decisions. Much of such work was through subordinates in his sector of organizational division of labor (child study) or through higher authority members of the system upon their request for his assistance. His common mode of operation was to state his reputedly authoritative and learned opinion in a most non-directive way. He was both reputed and observed to have a most settling effect upon social interaction within the system and, to some, represented the force that kept the "power elite" in balance.
The secondary principal typically operated by stating his opinions and feelings. His age, status, prestige, and tenure seemed adequate to support his directive statements.

In conclusion, social power was realized in this system through the exercise of legitimized authority, institutionalized authority, supra-authority, and skill in manipulating the system. More often legitimized authority was used. Most of the members of the system tended to be directive in effecting actions and decisions. Group actions or decisions of a cooperative nature were, however, characteristically realized through behavioral contagion. Particular power styles and means or procedures for effecting actions and decisions were delineated for members of the "power elite." Although many of the "power elite's" styles of exercising authority were basically directive, each member of the elite evidenced a particular or characteristic style. Further, each member of the power elite utilized specific means, procedures, or instrumentalities in a characteristic manner.

The Structure of Social Power

The Center City Schools' administrative performance system did not have a formal organization chart. This does not mean, however, that there was not a formal organizational structure. The school district policy handbook, the staff handbook and a series of job descriptions for supervisory positions clearly pointed to a series of authority levels that were inherent in the system's division of labor and delegation of authority. Although no single source provided complete data on the system's formal organizational structure, data
from the above sources enabled the researcher to delineate the basic structure. In the structure certain position incumbents were changed with line or authority functions; others were charged with service or supervisory functions. Some position incumbents had authority over an operating unit (e.g., building principals in terms of their particular school building, an operating unit) and others had authority over certain specific sectors of work (e.g., the art supervisor who had authority over the district-wide art curriculum). Following is a discussion of the over-all organizational division of labor and delegation of authority. Such represents a delineation of the authority structure of the system.

In the Center City Schools' administrative performance system the basic line of authority in the formal organizational structure was superintendent-principal-teacher. Incumbents of other administrative or supervisory positions had authority relationships to the superintendent but only cooperative relationships, in general, with each other or with the principals. Several levels of authority were inherent within the structure. These levels were, in fact, more than mere academic considerations. On the authority level immediately below the superintendent were the assistant superintendents of personnel and business. The assistant superintendents had, as indicated, cooperative relationships with other members of the system but also had authority over those on lower levels in regard to their particular sector of activity--personnel matters for one, business management for the other.

At the next lower authority level was the director of curriculum. In addition to serving as the authority head for curriculum activities,
the director of curriculum functioned by-and-large as an administrative assistant to the superintendent. He had duties in the areas of personnel, inservice staff training, budget, and along with the superintendent was responsible for much of the system's public relations work. As was the case with the assistant superintendents, the director of curriculum had authority over those in subordinate system positions—special curriculum area directors and supervisors as well as building principals—in regard to his specific sector of activity—the school program.

Just below the director of curriculum in the formal authority structure was the elementary supervisor. The elementary supervisor was primarily concerned with the elementary program and had authority over supervisors in special areas such as art, music, and physical education and over building principals only in regard to the district-wide elementary school program. Therefore, the elementary supervisor's authority was limited by existing policy. Authority was in terms of only those aspects of the elementary program subject to district-wide control; unlimited authority over elementary education was not intended to this position incumbent. Supervisors of special curriculum areas and building principals, in fact, had considerable authority over elementary education within their own defined sectors of work. At times the elementary supervisor worked with the junior high program but at such times did not have authority over the junior high principals and did, actually, work under the curriculum director serving basically in a resource capacity.

Other supervisory personnel (other supervisors and directors) were recognized as being on a coordinate level of authority with
principals. Principals had ultimate authority within their respective buildings; supervisors or directors had authority in their special sector of organizational work—such as child study, music, art, physical education, and so forth—as it pertains to district-wide matters. Thus, principals had complete authority within their respective buildings. Of course, in such matters as covered by existing policy this authority was within the limits dictated by the policy. In regard to matters not covered by policy (including rules and regulations) the principal's authority within his building was subject only to the ultimate authority (sanction) of the superintendent.

Supervisors and directors, then, were limited by existing policy as they operate in specific buildings. Their primary function in an operating unit (school building) was that of service. They had authority only when granted by policy or rules; in all other instances they could only suggest.

However, by virtue of their district-wide scope of operation and due to the fact that they were limited by policy and thus had a fundamental relationship to district-wide policy, these central office directors and supervisors had greater system-wide authority as individuals than did building principals. Within the other supervisory personnel category there were two apparent authority levels—(1) directors and (2) supervisors and others. This dual authority level existed also in relation to principals. The senior high school principals were clearly on an authority level above the junior high and elementary principals. This was due to several factors. In the first place senior high school policy was almost exclusively the concern of the superintendent and the senior high school principals.
positions within an organization have a coordinate status since not all of the tasks involved in organizational work are of equal magnitude and, further, since not all members of an organization have equal skills and abilities. Certain of the individuals report to others (hierarchical structuring) and each has specific duties, responsibilities, power, and authority (specialization of function).

Each position in an organization has, therefore, definable characteristics which correspond to the structured design of the organization. This represents formal organization. But any given organization cannot hope to meet all of the varying individual needs of its members. Resulting from this fact is an informal structure in organizations that can serve to supplement and complement the formal structure. Informal organization can also help to fulfill some of the indispensable organizational purposes such as communication, cohesiveness, and maintenance of the feeling of personal integrity. Although informal organization can be functional, such is not necessarily the case. It can also be nonfunctional or dysfunctional and can even result in the total destruction of a formal organization.

Characteristic of both the formal and informal dimensions of

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5Ibid., p. 18

6Ibid., p. 8.

7Ibid., p. 9.

8Barnard, op. cit., p. 122.
These principals also played a most prominent role in selecting building staff, the inservice education of building staff, formulating building curriculum, and general school community relations. These functions for junior high and elementary principals were based in the central office specialists—such as the assistant superintendent of personnel, the curriculum director, the elementary supervisor, and others. At best, junior high and elementary principals had only a cooperative relationship in such matters. Finally, the obviously more demanding work load—more staff and more pupils—provided a status differential that was also recognized in salaries as paid to the senior high principals.

Since the Center City Schools' administrative performance system did not have a formal organizational chart one was constructed for the system to graphically illustrate its formal organizational structure. In addition to the district policy handbook, the staff handbook, and existing job descriptions, all available written materials relevant to delineating the formal authority structure were used to construct this chart along with a group interview. Data on the authority structure were obtained in a group interview involving the superintendent and his administrative cabinet. This interview served to clarify and extend the data on the formal authority structure as contained in various written documents. Through this procedure an organizational division of labor—assignment of duties and delegation

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3The administrative cabinet was composed of the superintendent, assistant superintendent—personnel, assistant superintendent—business, director of curriculum, and elementary supervisor.
of authority—was delineated. The organizational division of labor is represented in Chart I.

Not all members of the administrative performance system were intended to have coordinate authority. Also the intended authority within the system was ordered in a hierarchical pattern. Revealed in the following table, Table 12, is the hierarchical ordering of authority in the formal organizational structure of this system as derived from the analysis of intended power.

**TABLE 12**

RANKING OF MEMBERS OF THE CENTER CITY ADMINISTRATIVE PERFORMANCE SYSTEM
BY INTENDED AUTHORITY LEVELS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Authority Level</th>
<th>Position</th>
<th>Incumbent(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Superintendent</td>
<td>1000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Ass't. Supt. Personnel</td>
<td>0100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ass't. Supt. Business</td>
<td>0101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Director, Curriculum</td>
<td>0102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Elementary Supervisor</td>
<td>0103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Director Child Study</td>
<td>0010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Director, Phys. Educ.</td>
<td>0011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Director, Music</td>
<td>0012</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>School Psychologist</td>
<td>0013</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Supervisor, Art</td>
<td>0014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Supervisor, Voc. Ed.</td>
<td>0015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Supervisor, Elem. Music</td>
<td>0016</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Supervisor, Elem. P.E.</td>
<td>0017</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Teaching Materials Sup.</td>
<td>0018</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>High School Principals</td>
<td>0020 and 0021</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Jr. High and Elem. Principals</td>
<td>0022 and 0050</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHART 1

CONSTRUCTED ORGANIZATION CHART FOR THE CENTER CITY SCHOOLS' ADMINISTRATIVE PERFORMANCE SYSTEM

Superintendent
1000

Assistant Supt.-Personnel
0100

Director of Curriculum
0102

Elementary Supervisor
0103

Art Supervisor,
Dir.-Child Study,
School Psychologist,
Dir.-Physical Ed.,
Supervisor Elem. P.E.,
Director of Music,
Supervisor Elem. Music,
Teaching Materials Supervisor,
Supervisor-Voc. Ed.
0010-0018

Principals
0020-0050

Teachers

Cafeteria Manager
Maintenance
Custodians
Other Service Staff

--- authority relationship
---- cooperative relationship
----- administrative performance system
------ administrative cabinet
Rankings of intended, reputed, and observed power

The three basic data-gathering techniques utilized in this multiple procedure assessment of organizational power were devised to identify intended, reputed, and observed power. This section will focus on the structure of social power in the Center City Schools' administrative performance system as revealed by the three basic data-gathering procedures. First, intended power will be delineated. Then reputed and observed power in that order will be discussed.

The formal organizational authority structure of this administrative performance system is held, for purposes of this research, to be synonymous with intended social power. In other words, the organization's conscious process of division of labor and delegation of authority represents an index of intended social power. Intended social power is then the translation of the formal organizational authority levels into power rankings. Presented in Table 13 are the rankings of the members of the Center City Schools' administrative performance system that were reputed and observed to effect actions and decisions in regard to intended social power. It is assumed that those at higher authority levels have more intended power than those

\[\text{Only those members of the system either reputed or observed to effect actions or decisions of the system are included in the rankings of power figures in this section. Members of the system not ranked were not reputed or observed to have effect upon actions or decisions and thus are assumed to have little or negligible power. It will be obvious to the reader that some of those listed had less than a significant effect on the system. Later in the discussion four distinct levels relative to social power will be identified: (1) the "power elite," (2) higher power figures, (3) lesser power figures, and (4) those with little or negligible power (low power figures).}\]
TABLE 13
RANKING OF INTENDED SOCIAL POWER FOR THE MEMBERS OF THE CENTER CITY SCHOOLS' ADMINISTRATIVE PERFORMANCE SYSTEM REPUTED AND OBSERVED TO HAVE EFFECT UPON ACTIONS OR DECISIONS OF THE SYSTEM

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Incumbent</th>
<th>Position</th>
<th>Authority Level Intended by the System</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1000</td>
<td>Superintendent</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>0100</td>
<td>Ass't. Supt. Personnel</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0101</td>
<td>Ass't. Supt. Business</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>0102</td>
<td>Director, Curriculum</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>0103</td>
<td>Elementary Supervisor</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>0010</td>
<td>Director Child Study</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0011</td>
<td>Director, Phys. Educ.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0012</td>
<td>Director, Music</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>0013</td>
<td>School Psychologist</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0014</td>
<td>Supervisor, Art</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0015</td>
<td>Supervisor, Voc. Ed.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0016</td>
<td>Supervisor, Elem. Music</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0017</td>
<td>Supervisor, Elem. P.E.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0018</td>
<td>Teaching Materials Sup.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>0019</td>
<td>High School Principal</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0020</td>
<td>High School Principal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>0021</td>
<td>Jr. High School Principal</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0022</td>
<td>Jr. High School Principal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0023</td>
<td>Elementary Principal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0028</td>
<td>Elementary Principal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0029</td>
<td>Elementary Principal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0030</td>
<td>Elementary Principal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0031</td>
<td>Elementary Principal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0032</td>
<td>Elementary Principal</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0033</td>
<td>Elementary Principal</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0034</td>
<td>Elementary Principal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0035</td>
<td>Elementary Principal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0036</td>
<td>Elementary Principal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0037</td>
<td>Elementary Principal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
at lower levels in the authority hierarchy. Thus, authority level one has more intended social power than authority level two, level two has more intended social power than level three, and so on. In cases where several position incumbents are found at a given authority level, tied rankings of social power are indicated.

This study sought also to assess reputed power in the Center City Schools' administrative performance system. Reputed power was determined by the frequency with which members of the system were mentioned in the structured interviews conducted with each member of the system. It represents perceptions of the members of the system in regard to the effects of various members of the system on actions and decisions of the system. Further it is the perceived ability to effect actions and decisions in general. As such, the general ability to effect actions and decisions, it does not, however, refer to the ability to effect specific kinds of actions or decisions. Put differently, it does not represent the ability to effect policy, curriculum, or personnel decisions or actions per se, but only actions and decisions in general.

Indicated in Table 14 are the rankings of members of the system reputed and observed to effect actions and decisions for reputed social power. The rankings are based upon the frequency with which a given member of the system was mentioned as having an effect on decisions or actions of the system. They are, therefore, quantitative and are based upon a frequency tally. The rankings are in no way intended to account for such qualitative aspects of the power syndrome as the sector of organizational work or activity affected or the magnitude
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Incumbent</th>
<th>Position</th>
<th>Number of Members Attributing Power to this Incumbent (N=45)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>0102</td>
<td>Director, Curriculum</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>1000</td>
<td>Superintendent</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>0100</td>
<td>Asst. Supt., Personnel</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>0103</td>
<td>Elementary Supervisor</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>0010</td>
<td>Director Child Study</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>0101</td>
<td>Asst. Supt., Business</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>0014</td>
<td>Supervisor, Art</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>0012</td>
<td>Director, Music</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0028</td>
<td>Elementary Principal</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0029</td>
<td>Elementary Principal</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>0016</td>
<td>Supervisor, Elem. Music</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0018</td>
<td>Teaching Materials Sup.</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0020</td>
<td>High School Principal</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0021</td>
<td>High School Principal</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0023</td>
<td>Jr. High School Principal</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0030</td>
<td>Elementary Principal</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0031</td>
<td>Elementary Principal</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0035</td>
<td>Elementary Principal</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0036</td>
<td>Elementary Principal</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0037</td>
<td>Elementary Principal</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>0015</td>
<td>Supervisor, Voc. Ed.</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0017</td>
<td>Supervisor, Elem. P.E.</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0013</td>
<td>School Psychologist</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0011</td>
<td>Director, Phys. Educ.</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0022</td>
<td>Jr. High School Principal</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0032</td>
<td>Elementary Principal</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0033</td>
<td>Elementary Principal</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0034</td>
<td>Elementary Principal</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(critical, change-oriented, or routine) of the decisions or action which is affected. Tied rankings are indicated on the table.

Finally, this study sought to assess actual or observed power. Observed power is the observed ability to effect the actions and decisions of the system. As such it involves observer interpretations (based upon the operational definitions of the research) of actual social interactions that resulted in decisions or actions. Observed power rankings were determined by the frequency with which members of the administrative performance system assumed active roles in the making of decisions or the taking of actions by the system. They are based first on observed direct affect upon interaction resulting in a decisions or action and secondly upon the number of times a member of the system was active in group interaction leading toward a decision or action. In the latter case this refers to decisions over and above those a member of the system directly effected. Also, it refers only to instances where an actor was observed to have contributed to the actual direction of the final action or decision; it does not account for instances where an actor openly opposed a particular decision.

In determining observed rankings, direct effect on an action or decision was the first criterion for position in the over-all hierarchy. Only in cases where a member of the system was not observed to effect an action or a decision was participation in the decision process used for ranking purposes. Presented in Table 15 are the rankings of members of the Center City Schools' administrative performance system reputed or observed to effect actions and decisions for observed social power. As with reputed rankings, the observed rankings are only quantitative; they are based upon a frequency tally.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Incumbent</th>
<th>Position</th>
<th>Number of Times Observed to Have Effect on Decisions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(a) Direct (b) Active Interaction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1000</td>
<td>Superintendent</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>0102</td>
<td>Director, Curriculum</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>0103</td>
<td>Elementary Supervisor</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>0100</td>
<td>Ass't. Supt. Personnel</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>0010</td>
<td>Director Child Study</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>0020</td>
<td>High School Principal</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>0014</td>
<td>Supervisor, Art</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>0021</td>
<td>High School Principal</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>0011</td>
<td>Director, Phys. Educ.</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>0012</td>
<td>Director, Music</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>0022</td>
<td>Jr. High School Principal</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>0017</td>
<td>Supervisor, Elem. P.E.</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>0028</td>
<td>Elementary Principal</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>0030</td>
<td>Elementary Principal</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>0031</td>
<td>Elementary Principal</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>0029</td>
<td>Elementary Principal</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>0032</td>
<td>Elementary Principal</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>0033</td>
<td>Elementary Principal</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>0034</td>
<td>Elementary Principal</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>0018</td>
<td>Teaching Materials Sup.</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>0101</td>
<td>Ass't. Supt. Business</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>0015</td>
<td>Supervisor, Voc. Ed.</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>0016</td>
<td>Supervisor, Elem. Music</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>0013</td>
<td>School Psychologist</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>0023</td>
<td>Jr. High School Principal</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>0037</td>
<td>Elementary Principal</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0035</td>
<td>Elementary Principal</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0036</td>
<td>Elementary Principal</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
There is no intent to account in any way for qualitative aspects such as the sector of organizational activity affected or the magnitude of the decision or action which was effected. Tied rankings are indicated on the table.

Comparison of the rankings of intended, reputed and observed power

The Spearman Rank Correlation Coefficient ($r_s$) was used to test the measure of association between the three rankings of the social power for members of the system. The standard correction factor was incorporated into the computation of $r_s$ since the proportion of ties in the rankings was large. Correlations between the three different means of ranking those members of the system that had evident power over others are as follows: a significance level of .01 (based on an $r_s$ of .532) between intended and reputed rankings of power figures; a significance level of .01 (based on an $r_s$ of .516) between reputed and observed rankings of power figures; and a significance level of .01 (based on an $r_s$ of .487) between intended and observed rankings of power figures.

Of the 28 members of the system reputed or observed to have some ability to effect the actions and decisions of the system, the first 14 on the observed listing, each of whom affected at least one action or decision, can be assumed to have appreciably greater effect upon the system than the others who merely participated in decisions or were reputed to affect decisions. Spearman coefficients ($r_s$) were

---

any organized system is the determining or directing of behavior, actions, and/or decisions. The ability to determine or direct is, then, a dynamic involved in both the formal and informal interactions of members of an organization. The manifestation of the ability to determine or direct is a function of both the legally structured (conscious) and situational (unconscious) facets of organizational, interpersonal interaction. The ability to effect, or to be the determinant of, social behavior—social power—constitutes a central concept in regard to how organizational systems go about their work.

Man has long been intrigued by the phenomenon of power—both as it exists in the physical and social worlds. Bass notes that even in an Aesop fable, circa 600 B.C., "the ancients were most cognizant of power as a source of leadership." He cites the following excerpt from one of Aesop's fables:

When the hare addressed a public meeting and claimed that all should have fair shares, the lions answered: A good speech, but it lacks claws and teeth such as we have.

Due to the relative "newness" of the social sciences and also to the intangible nature of social phenomena in general, social power is less well understood than physical power. Power in both the physical and social worlds can be broadly conceived as the potential to produce an action or reaction. Social power is, however, significantly different from physical power. Social power is expressed in the interactions of thinking, feeling human

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10Ibid., p. 221.
also computed for the rankings of these fourteen "higher power" figures. The resulting inter-correlations were again high.

Correlations between intended and reputed rankings resulted in a significance level of .01 (an $r_s$ of .721); between reputed and observed rankings in a significance level of .01 (an $r_s$ of .817); and between intended and observed rankings in a significance level of .01 (an $r_s$ of .817).

Thus, rankings for all those reputed or observed to effect actions and decisions correlate significantly at the .01 level as do the rankings for the "higher power" members of the system. 6

The administrative performance system can be viewed as consisting of 11 "higher power" figures, 11 "lesser power" figures, and 17 members with little or negligible effect upon the system. This does not, however, tell the whole story. Of the 11 high power figures, seven had much greater effect on the system than did the others. These members of the system (1000, 0100, 0101, 0102, 0103, 0010 and 0020) not only had greater effect upon the system in general but also had a more consistent and persistent effect upon activity.

Correlations between rankings of these seven members of the system by the three procedures were not at the level of significance that was found in the other computations. For these members, who might be referred to as the "power elite," correlations are as follows: a significance level of .05 (an $r_s$ of .560) between intended and

---

6 It should be pointed out that the data-gathering procedure for assessing intended power went beyond a mere translation of an organization chart or a set of job descriptions. Since it included an intensive analysis of all available printed material and a discussion with the superintendent and his administrative cabinet, greater intra-procedure reliability could be anticipated.
reputed rankings; a significance level of .05 (an $r_s$ of .415) between intended and observed rankings; and a significance level of .01 (an $r_s$ of .893) between observed and reputed rankings. Thus, although for the larger power syndrome and the "higher power" figures a high level of correlation was realized between the three rankings resulting from the three basic data-gathering procedures, this did hold for the "power elite."

There is some indication that the "power elite" do not affect actions and decisions entirely as is intended by the administrative cabinet and the chief executive of the system, the superintendent. An examination of the various rankings in Tables 13, 11, and 15 points to different positions in the rankings for certain individuals. It is interesting that in the "power elite" those concerned most directly with the instructional program tend to be ranked higher in terms of both reputed and observed power than is intended by the formal organizational authority structure. For example, the director of curriculum (0102) is intended to be on the third authority level down in the formal structure (an intended power ranking of four). He was, however, reputed to have greatest effect upon actions and decisions (ranking of one) by members of the system and was observed to have the next greatest effect (to that of the superintendent) upon actions and decisions of the system (an observed power ranking of two). The elementary supervisor (0103) and the director of child study (0010) were similarly ranked higher on reputed and observed power than on intended power. On the other hand, the assistant superintendent of business who was on the second authority level in the formal authority structure, in fact, seemed to have much less effect upon the system
than was intended. Although occupying a high status position in the system he was not included in the regular administrative meetings except when called in for special reasons by the superintendent. By virtue of this fact alone—his exclusion from group meetings—his effect on the system is limited largely to contacts with individuals who seek his assistance in the area of business management. Thus, most of his contacts with other members of the system are individual or small group contacts and are, future, functionally related to business management per se.

Qualitative and situational aspects of power structure

The structuring of social power has more than quantitative dimensions; both qualitative and situational factors enter into the power structure of a social system. Some kinds of actions and decisions have greater impact upon a system, or import for a system, and in some instances certain members of the system exercise more authority than they do in other situations.

For example, certain kinds of decisions, particularly those that affect the basic structure of an organization, have greater effect upon the ongoing operation of the system. Routine operational decisions and policy interpretation decisions are concerned only with operation of an organization within its existing structure. Decisions concerned with policy formulation, policy revision, or critical operation are change-oriented; they affect the structure of the organization. Thus, in a qualitative sense, change-oriented decisions or actions are more important and have greater impact on a system than do routine matters. Those who affect such decisions (change-
oriented) have, in fact, greater effect on the system than do those
effecting day-by-day routine operation.

By the mere fact of division of labor, a situational dimension
also enters into power structure. In a school district's administra-
tive performance system a given member of the system can be assigned
a role that is so delimited that he has little, if any, effect upon
the system. For example, by defining the assistant superintendent
of business' role as completely as possible and including him in
administrative meetings only when his special competence is needed,
his over-all effect upon the system is restricted. Thus, division
of labor and the assignment of specific duties confines members of a
system to a special sector of organizational work. Although a member
might have great effect within a given sector of activity, such a
position incumbent may have little effect on the entire system as a
unit.

In focusing first on the qualitative dimension of social power
it is evident that policy actions and decisions were almost entirely
the province of five members of the "power elite" (see Table 16).\textsuperscript{7}
The superintendent (1000), the assistant superintendent of personnel
(0100), the curriculum director (0102), the director of child study
(0010), and a high school principal (0020) in that order affected
decisions and actions most in regard to policy. Of this group the
superintendent (1000) and the director of curriculum (0102) affected
the majority of policy actions and decisions. The assistant
superintendent of personnel (0100) had least effect of the five but

\textsuperscript{7}For examples of these decisions and actions see Appendix J.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Power Figure</th>
<th>Policy</th>
<th>Operation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Formulation</td>
<td>Interpretation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1000</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0100</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0102</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0103</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0010</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0020</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0021</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>0022</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0011</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0012</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>0017</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>0030</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0028</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>17</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
is, nevertheless, an important figure in the policy picture since it
is his task to write organizational policies that are adopted, modify
those revised, and maintain an up-to-date school district policy
handbook.

Critical operation actions and decisions as defined in this
study are viewed as more significant in a qualitative sense than
are routine operational actions and decisions. Again, as was the case
in regard to policy, members of "power elite" were almost exclusively
involved in effecting critical operation decisions. The five members
of the system listed above for policy were joined in this respect by
the elementary supervisor (0103). Also, as was true for policy
matters, the superintendent (1000) and the curriculum director (0102)
were in that order most effective. Interesting, however, is the
fact that in regard to critical operation over half of such actions
and decisions were directly attributable to the effect of the
superintendent.

In regard to the situational aspects of organizational power
structure different alignments of social power were discovered for
the following organizational task areas: curriculum, staff personnel,
pupil personnel, and business management. Such power alignments,
corresponding to sectors of organizational activity, represent the
situational aspect of the power structure of the system. In general,
interview and observation data conformed with that which was intended
by the system. A high level of agreement was found between interview
and observation data (see Tables 17 through 20).

A large portion of the actions and decisions observed were
concerned with curriculum or the school program (see Table 17).
Obvious from both interview and observation data was the fact that the superintendent (1000) had greater effect upon curriculum in actual situations than was intended. This was also true of the director of child study (0010). The curriculum director (0102), however, had greatest power in this sector of organizational activity. Although he had a great deal of operational effect, his impact was most significant in relation to policy and critical operational matters. He was primarily responsible for curriculum change and the initiation of new ideas. The elementary supervisor had great effect upon the elementary curriculum but much of this seemed to be of an operational nature. The director of child study, on the other hand, had greater effect upon curriculum policy than operation.

**TABLE 17**

**RANKINGS FOR MEMBERS OF THE CENTER CITY SCHOOLS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reputed Power to Effect Curriculum Decisions</th>
<th>Observed Power to Effect Curriculum Decisions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rank Incumbent</td>
<td>Number of Members Attributing Power to this Incumbent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>0102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>0103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>1000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>0010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>0100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0012</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0016</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0028</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0030</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### TABLE 18

RANKINGS FOR MEMBERS OF THE CENTER CITY SCHOOLS' ADMINISTRATIVE PERFORMANCE SYSTEM REPUTED AND OBSERVED TO HAVE GREATEST EFFECT ON STAFF PERSONNEL ACTIONS AND DECISIONS

| Rank | Incumbent | Number of Members Attributing Power to this Incumbent | Reputed Power to Affect Staff Personnel Decisions | | Number of Members Attributing Power to this Incumbent | Observed Power to Affect Staff Personnel Decisions | | Decision | Observed to Effect |
|------|-----------|-----------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------|---|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|---|-----------------|
| 1    | 0100      | 44                                                  | 1                              | | 1000                                    | 34                              | | 1000 | 34              |
| 2    | 1000      | 22                                                  | 2                              | | 0102                                    | 15                              | | 0102 | 15              |
| 3    | Principals as a Group | 21                                              | 3                              | | 0100                                    | 11                              | | 0100 | 11              |
| 4    | 0102      | 11                                                  | 4                              | | 0103                                    | 9                               | | 0103 | 9               |
| 5    | 0101      | 3                                                    | 5                              | | 0020                                    | 2                               | | 0020 | 2               |
|      | 0103      | 3                                                    |                   | | 0103                                    | 2                               | | 0103 | 2               |

### TABLE 19

RANKINGS FOR MEMBERS OF THE CENTER CITY SCHOOLS' ADMINISTRATIVE PERFORMANCE SYSTEM REPUTED AND OBSERVED TO HAVE GREATEST EFFECT ON PUPIL PERSONNEL ACTIONS AND DECISIONS

| Rank | Incumbent | Number of Members Attributing Power to this Incumbent | Reputed Power to Affect Pupil Personnel Decisions | | Number of Members Attributing Power to this Incumbent | Observed Power to Affect Pupil Personnel Decisions | | Decision | Observed to Effect |
|------|-----------|-----------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------|---|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|---|-----------------|
| 1    | 0100      | 36                                                  | 1                              | | 0010                                    | 11                              | | 0010 | 11              |
| 2    | Principals as a Group | 24                                              | 2                              | | 0100                                    | 9                               | | 0100 | 9               |
| 3    | 0010      | 17                                                  | 3                              | | 1000                                    | 8                               | | 1000 | 8               |
| 4    | 0020      | 12                                                  | 4                              | | 0102                                    | 3                               | | 0102 | 3               |
| 5    | 0103      | 5                                                    | 5                              | | 0029                                    | 2                               | | 0029 | 2               |
| 6    | 0102      | 2                                                    |                   | | 0014                                    | 2                               | | 0014 | 2               |
Other members of the system—the supervisors and principals—had only an indirect effect upon curriculum matters—the supervisors in their special areas and the principals through curriculum committee work. The effect of these other members of the system was further minimized by the fact that committees were appointed by the director of curriculum and/or the elementary supervisor. Thus, even though supervisors or principals could chair committees, they were operating under the control of a higher authority figure.

Staff personnel decisions also illustrated that the superintendent (1000) had more power in a specialized sense than was intended (see Table 18). Although personnel decisions were viewed and intended to reside with the assistant superintendent of personnel (0100), three other members of the "power elite" were important in effecting
decisions in this area. Most of the selection and placement of staff was in the hands of the assistant superintendent (0100). The superintendent (1000), however, made many policy and operational decisions that affect staff. Also he represented the final word on personnel matters since he presented recommendations on staff to the board of education. But the greatest amount of his effect was felt as the system went about its work. The two other members of the "power elite" that had considerable effect in this area were the director of curriculum (0102) and the elementary supervisor (0103). The curriculum director was involved in some of the selection process but his major impact was in orienting new staff and providing inservice workshops and other developmental opportunities for the entire district staff. The elementary supervisor was most directly concerned with helping members of the elementary staff through supervisory services.

It should further be pointed out that principals had a limited involvement in staff personnel except for the two senior high school principals (0020 and 0021). These men had a major role in regard to the selection, placement, and inservice development of their building staffs. Other principals were, at best, only consulted in regard to the selection and placement of staff. Non-certified staff represented a special case and were selected, placed, and supervised by the assistant superintendent of business (0101).

Pupil personnel decisions and actions were the most easily delineated of all of the sectors of organizational division of labor (see Table 19). Principals in their individual buildings had a great deal of effect on such matters as was indicated by their job
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1964
beings. On the other hand, physical power is manifested in the interaction of things or materials, and is, therefore, often predictable to a greater extent than is social power.

The exercise of power is a fundamental characteristic of organized social life. Parsons states that:

Subject to the over-all control of an institutionalized value system in the society and its subsystems, the central phenomenon of organization is the mobilization of power for the attainment of the goals of the organization.

As men interact in social situations, social power is manifested in their activity regardless of whether such activity is cooperative or competitive. Jennings advances the notion that all social relations are by definition power relations of groups and individuals. Bierstedt views social power as a universal phenomenon occurring in human societies and in all social relationships. Bierstedt hastens to add, however, that as a social entity, social power is different from some of the more commonly used synonyms such as prestige, influence, opinions, competence, and domination.

According to Russell, the fundamental concept in social science

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15 Bierstedt, op. cit., deals at length with distinctions between power and other related concepts.
descriptions and interview data. From the district vantage point, the assistant superintendent of personnel (0100) had greatest effect. He was largely responsible for pupil personnel policy and the various district-wide pupil personnel services. The director of child study (0010) affected many decisions and actions in this area but, like other specialized supervisory personnel, he dealt primarily with specific kinds of problems. Through his office staff and his work with the counselling staff in the secondary schools, he nonetheless had a good deal of impact on both policy and operation.

Business management as a sector of administrative performance system activity was largely removed from the system as a whole (see Table 20). It has been pointed out that the assistant superintendent of business (0101) did not attend any of the administrative meetings unless specifically requested to do so. Although the operational side of the business affairs of the system were almost exclusively in his hands, the superintendent (1000) had the greatest effect upon the business management of the Center City Schools. It was the superintendent who determined much of the operational policy and procedures and to whom the assistant superintendent (0101) went in general on matters of importance. The superintendent also took the lead in budget development and over-all fiscal planning. Only two other members of the system—the assistant superintendent of personnel (0100) and the curriculum director (0102)—were involved to any extent in the district's business affairs. Both of these men were active in the budget process and the curriculum director, further, approved all requisitions for curricular materials and teaching supplies. Much of the activity in this area was accomplished through ad hoc meetings.
involving various combinations of the above-mentioned members of the system. The clerk of the board of education was brought in on some business affairs but this was usually in a very specialized sense.

In summary, social power is distributed in this social system in a hierarchical manner. It can be delineated and described structurally. The structure of social power is multi-dimensional; it has quantitative, qualitative, and situational aspects. Thus, not only do amounts of power enter into the hierarchical structuring of power figures but also the content and context of decision situations are important. Social power tended further to be distributed in a pyramidal fashion. Below the "power elite" were other "higher power" figures, "lesser power" figures, and finally the members of the system that appeared to have little direct effect upon actions and decisions of the system. Although a high level of correlation was found between intended, reputed, and observed rankings of power figures, it was significant that authority level and the relation of assigned duties to the basic function of the system, instructional services or curriculum, were responsible for ultimate position in the power structure.

**Sources of Social Power**

Generic bases of social power are position and the individual. A number of specific sources of social power are encompassed by each of these bases. A wide variety of possible sources of power were identified in the survey of literature in Chapter II. The interview procedure and the personal data sheet were used to gather data in this regard in the Center City Schools' administrative performance system.
The personal data form was designed to provide data on age, level of training, total educational experience, experience in this district, experience in present position, total experience in this kind of position, professional aspirations, and future training aspirations. Data on each of these factors were then plotted on two by three tables for high power figures, lesser power figures, and those with little or no power. The chi square test of significance was then used to determine whether a given factor approached an adequate level of significance.

Of the above factors, age, level of training, and total educational experience were not found to be significantly related to position in the system's power structure. Data, in fact, failed to show even a tendency for any of these factors to be related to position in the power hierarchy.

Although an adequate level of significance was not approached by three other factors—experience in this district, experience in this kind of position, and future training aspirations—all three had a tendency to distinguish between the three levels of the hierarchy and in a particular way. On all three factors the higher power figures and those with little or no power (low power figures) tended to be distributed in the same way. The lesser power figures tended to be distributed differently. In regard to experience in this district, higher power figures and those with little or no power tended to have less experience than the lesser power figures. In regard to experience in this kind of a position, higher power figures and those with little or no power tended to have less experience than did lesser power figures. Those with high power and little or no power also tended to
have more ambitious aspirations for further training than did the lesser power figures. Thus, for these three factors those with most and least power tended to be alike, and different from the members of the system that were in the middle segment of the power syndrome.

On two of the factors—professional goal and experience in present position—an adequate level of significance was approached. Higher power figures had more ambitious professional goals than did lower power figures. For example, the higher power figures aspired more to central office and upper echelon administrative positions while lower power figures aspired more to career principalships (see Table 21). Higher power figures also had significantly more experience in their present position than did lower power figures. Most all of the higher power group were in their positions for more than five years; on the other hand two-thirds of those with little or no power were in their present positions for five or less years (see Table 22). Therefore, experience in present position and professional goal appear to be related in this system to position in the system's power structure.

Interview data revealed a number of other specific sources of power. Position in the administrative performance system and competence were mentioned most often. Position was used to refer to placement in the over-all hierarchical authority structure as well as to the duties attached to a given job through organizational division of labor. Competence in this sense involves knowledge and skills and refers to the capabilities of an individual that bear upon organizational activity. Status and prestige within the system were also mentioned quite often as sources of the ability to affect others.
Policy was further viewed as a general source of power within the system.

**TABLE 21**

**PROFESSIONAL GOALS OF HIGHER, LESSER, AND LOWER POWER FIGURES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Position in Power Hierarchy</th>
<th>Aspire to Principalship</th>
<th>Aspire to Central Office Position</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Higher Power Figures</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lesser Power Figures</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower Power Figures</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ x^2 = 7.03; \quad .05 > 7.03 > .02; \quad .^* \text{ significant at the .05 level.} \]

**TABLE 22**

**EXPERIENCE IN PRESENT POSITION FOR HIGHER, LESSER, AND LOWER POWER FIGURES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Position in Power Hierarchy</th>
<th>1-5 years</th>
<th>6 or more years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Higher Power Figures</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lesser Power Figures</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower Power Figures</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ x^2 = 9.26; \quad .01 > 9.26 > .001; \quad .^* \text{ significant at the .01 level.} \]
Many of the members of the system referred to three factors that were checked as a result of data supplied by the personal data sheet. The factors discussed were age, professional experience, and tenure in the district. Age was revealed by the chi square test to have no relation to a system member's position in the power hierarchy and the factor, tenure or experience in this district, tended only to separate lesser power figures from the higher and lower power figures. It did not at all discriminate between higher and lower power figures. The factor "experience" in such a generic sense was not included in the personal data sheet factor analysis. Total educational experience according to chi square analysis, was not related to the ability to affect others and only experience in current position discriminated between the three levels of power figures. But even though the chi square analysis runs to the contrary, those perceiving such factors to be sources of power will most certainly behave as if they were. It can be assumed that because of this, these factors in combination with other factors may result in social power.

Such personal attributes as being "likeable," "human," and "strong" were seen as sources of social power. The ability to present opinions, to persuade, and to influence were also personal attributes viewed as sources of social power. Knowing what one wants, being willing to work with people, and having new ideas contribute to one's ability to affect others. Further mentioned personal traits conducive to having an ability to affect others were "personal energy" and "professionalism."

Some other sources of social power in the system were related
to the group process. In general, committees were seen to have some effect upon the system. In fact, most of the principals who were at the lowest authority level in the administrative performance system saw committee participation as their primary source of effect upon the system. But reputed as even more important than participation in committee work were such aspects of the group process as selecting or appointing committee members, leading or chairing group sessions, supervising or coordinating committee meetings, recording at committee meetings, summarizing meeting activity and progress, and writing up committee transactions in a form appropriate for future adoption as policy. It is important to note that during the data-gathering period most all of the above more significant aspects of the group process were observed to be almost exclusively in the hands of the "power elite."

Control was also viewed by members of the system as a source of social power. Most often mentioned was the control over information, control over budget or funds, and control over requisitions for resources or supplies. Control over communication or explanation and control over the decision process were quite frequently alluded to as sources of the ability to effect actions and decisions. Other factors of a control nature mentioned were: control over what a committee works on and when the committee meets; control over the scope of activities or duties delegated; control over staff (selection and utilization); and control over procedures.

Some other sources of the ability to effect actions and decisions of the system were of a negative or blocking nature. Illustrative of such negative sources of power in the system are the following: a principal's (or some other member of the system's)
decision of whether or not to follow through on the implementation of a staff action or decision; a secretary's ability to block messages before they reach an intended destination; and a secretary's ability to be selective in the portion of a message that is transferred to its intended receiver.

In addition to the foregoing, the following miscellaneous factors were perceived to be sources of social power: proximity to power figures and their offices; the ability to provoke or "stir up;" associational ties (friends); and tradition. The last mentioned seemed quite pertinent in the light of the over-all community setting.

Social power, in summation, in the Center City Schools' administrative performance system has many and diverse sources. Such sources are based both in position and in the individual members of the system. For example, experience in a member of the system's present position and personal professional goals were found to have a significant relationship to a member's position in the power hierarchy. Many other factors related to position, the person, the group process, the generic category of control, and the ability to block others were also revealed through the study data as sources of social power. In this system, not the least of such effective factors was tradition. This particular factor further illustrates the effect of the larger community setting upon the administrative performance system of the community's public schools.

How Decisions Are Made by this System

Decisions were made by this administrative performance system by the group process, according to members of the system. A few of
the members of the system felt that there were too many edicts from "above" and others felt there were no, or not enough, edicts from "above." Most members of the system, however, felt decisions were reached in a democratic manner and those concerned were involved in the decisions process. Sufficient time was reputedly allotted for group work and problems were seldom "railroaded" through by the "authorities." It was generally recognized that some decisions were made from "above" and in an autocratic and/or arbitrary manner but this was recognized more as a fact of organizational life than as a pathology of the system.

The decision process recognized by members of the system and supported by observation data can be succinctly summarized. Ideas or problems are brought to appropriate groups or individuals for placement on meeting agendas or by merely bringing the matter up in the course of a meeting. Group discussion follows and, although not all of the members of the system have a voice in the meetings, ideas and feelings are exchanged. Power figures and meeting chairmen typically behave in an impartial manner and solicit other group members' opinions. If solution is impossible, the matter at hand is delegated to a sub-group or committee for further study. Such sub-groups are usually appointed, as are the chairmen for the sub-groups, but at times volunteers for committee activity are sought. Following committee work, a report is made to the group at large. Again general discussion occurs. Consensus is very infrequently solidified by vote or any other overt means and vote seems to be used only on more mundane, operational decisions. More than not the group is "polled" for consensus through the expression of feelings. Consensus
in regard to large-group decisions, thus, results from some degree of behavioral contagion.

The above description delineates the general group decisions process. It does not, however, reveal the entire picture. Many times only those immediately concerned with a problem are involved in the decision process through ad hoc groups. At other times decisions are put off by the chairman of the formal groups (the superintendent) until a more appropriate time or until an adequate feeling of consensus is reached. Sometimes the superintendent draws his own conclusions from group interactions and makes a decision. Also, the superintendent at times makes a decision on a matter sometime after the group discussion. The central staff or "power elite" is reputed to review group decisions following group meetings and at such times an authoritative veto can occur. A few decisions and actions are often put off until the end of the school year for solution. Some problems are "rehashed" and put off for too long a time for some of the members of the system. Group activity is characteristically deliberate and is definitely not "roughshod." Although power and authority from the top are felt, in any event, members of the system are free to go "up" through channels—the top is available.

The effect of the ultimate authority of the superintendent is quite evident in the decision process. As has been pointed out he does make decisions on the basis of his own conclusions from group interaction. He also has a certain control over agenda and thus can prevent a problem or idea from coming before the group. Often he chooses to work directly with a member of the system on a problem and, therefore, the system as a whole is not involved in the decision
is, in fact, power, in the same sense in which energy is the fundamental concept in physics.16 Mannheim further observes that

Power is present whenever and wherever social pressures operate on the individual to induce desired conduct . . . pressures may be overt or they may be inherent in the socio-economic system or any established pattern of social roles.17

This implies that power may be evidenced in both the formal and informal interactions in social systems.

Social power can be defined as the ability to determine or control the behavior of others in accord with one's own desires or dispositions irrespective of the wishes of others. It is (a) the potentiality (b) for inducing forces (c) in other persons (d) toward acting or changing in a given direction.18 It refers to what a person can effect, either because of his individual physical or intellectual capacities, or because of his position in relation to other people—in general because of the nonmotivational factors ascribed to him as a person.19 Tannenbaum and others state that the subordinate who accepts an exercise of power does not critically evaluate the behavioral alternatives underlying the decision of his


process. Further, as chairman of formal meetings he not only can
present alternatives and clarification but also can determine when
and how the group process is brought to bear upon problems. His
effect is also felt in whether or not, and to what extent, a member
of the system is heard on a particular matter. He freely sets
limitations on group interaction as well as possible interaction
outcomes. He can and does veto the group decisions and eliminates
alternatives identified by the group. To some his control is
absolute; to others he appears never to control; to most members of
the system his control is seen as a necessity which is justifiable
in the sense that he is responsible for having the total perspective
of organizational work in view. However, it should be pointed out
that the superintendent seldom dictates; he seeks discussion, opinions,
and the voice of members of the system.

Some decisions or actions that confront the system are delegated
to building principals for solution in terms of their particular
building. These decisions are usually related to program implemen-
tation, staff personnel, or pupil personnel. In such instances,
decisions are left to the building principals; who are limited only
by existing policy and who consult freely with the specialists (e.g.,
curriculum, child study, physical education, or others) in the
administrative performance system in reaching decisions and taking
actions.
This part of the analysis chapter deals with the assessment of social power and its structuring in the administrative performance system of the study district. An overview of the data-collection process is presented. Specific data-gathering procedures are described and assessed. Study objectification and validity are then examined. Following a delineation of methodological strengths and weaknesses, the research methodology and its effectiveness are compared with other similar studies.

The Assessment of Organizational Power Structure

Once several potential study districts had been selected and ordered in preference of choice, the writer approached the administrative head of the first district to probe the feasibility of using this district for a setting for the research. In this preliminary contact the superintendent was given an outline of the study, the outcomes of the study hoped for, and a brief description of what participation in the study would involve in terms of both the school district and the members of its administrative performance system. The researcher pointed out that due to the nature of the study it would be best to obtain the support of all of the members of the system that were to be involved in the study. It was agreed that the superintendent would be the most appropriate contact for securing approval of the administrators in the Center City School District. The researcher provided a short outline of the study including its purpose, anticipated contribution to the profession, and the extent
of involvement required by the participating system. It was also agreed at this time that the word "power" would not be used by the researcher in the course of gathering data and that the study would be depicted as concerned with the "effecting of decisions and actions."

The superintendent presented a short talk before each of the formal meetings of members of the administrative staff—the supervisors, secondary principals, and elementary principals. Following the approval of these bodies—representing all of the members of the administrative performance system as defined for purposes of this research—preliminary details for conducting the study were worked out with the superintendent. It was agreed that the superintendent and his immediate subordinates would meet with the researcher to discuss the intended division of labor and structure of authority within the system at the earliest possible time. The researcher would then attend meetings of the various groups of administrators and conduct formal interviews with each member of the administrative performance system during a three-month period. It was established that, should data ambiguities exist or further data clarification be needed, the researcher could attend additional meetings of the sub-groups of the system until such time as the research purposes could be realized. Also all available printed materials such as policy statements, staff handbooks, curriculum guides, minutes of meetings, agendas, reports, and other similar documents were made available for the researcher's use.

The first step in the collection of data was a meeting with the superintendent and his immediate subordinates—the administrative
This meeting, essentially a group interview, was to assist in determining the intended organizational power structure (or division of labor and delegation of authority). This first contact with the system also provided the researcher with an introduction to the system and was helpful in breaking into the more extensive process of data collection. In addition to the verbal data obtained at this time the researcher was provided with numerous written documents which contained relevant information on intended organizational power and general background data on the Center City Schools and the administrative performance system of this school district.

Intensive data collection began with observation of the formal meetings of the sub-groups of the system. At the first such meeting of each group the researcher was introduced and a brief overview of the study was presented to the group by the researcher. Following this "introduction" to the study an interview sign-up sheet was circulated and members of the system indicated when they preferred to be interviewed. This sign-up sheet listed the days the researcher would be in the district and a series of available times for

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8It should be noted that the superintendent did not have a formally designated cabinet. However, the following position incumbents were generally recognized as the "cabinet": the assistant superintendent of personnel, the assistant superintendent of business, the director of curriculum, and the elementary supervisor. From time to time, depending upon the particular subject at hand, some of these people were omitted from the "cabinet" and other members of the system were included.
interviews. Interviews and observation then proceeded over a three-month period. Most of the interviews were conducted in the offices of members of the system. Only in the case of those who did not have private offices, as was so for some of the central office supervisors, were interviews held on "neutral ground" such as the board of education meeting room.

The Formal Data-gathering Procedures

The analysis of intended power represented one of the formal data-gathering procedures incorporated in this multiple-based methodology for assessing organizational power structure. This was the first data-gathering procedure used in the collection of data. The basic procedure had essentially a three-fold purpose: (1) to provide data on intended organizational power, (2) to provide data on the normative order of the research study's social setting, and (3) to provide the researcher with an introduction to the social setting in which he was to be working.

To assess intended organizational power it was deemed advisable to go beyond such obvious written documents as job descriptions, organization charts, or policy handbooks. Therefore, in addition to the foregoing, the administrative head (the superintendent) of the

\[9\] This procedure for setting up interviews was most effective. In the pilot study the researcher contacted each member of the system individually and encountered a great deal of scheduling problems. In the study district all members indicated preferred times and scheduling was completed and carried out with a minimum of confusion. All members of the system were interviewed and in only one instance did an interviewee "forget" his appointment. When the sign-up sheet was circulated a pad of blank paper was attached so that signees could make notes in order to help prevent their forgetting to record the interview date on their calendars.
system and his cabinet were interviewed as a group to determine the conscious division of labor and delegation of authority. This discussion of intended organizational power then served as a basis for the further assessment of the division of labor and delegation of authority as revealed in available printed materials.

The analysis of written materials necessarily went beyond policy statements, job descriptions, and the organization chart. Also used were staff handbooks, curriculum guides, brochures (such as are used for public relations purposes or as are distributed to prospective teachers), minutes of meetings (present and past), meeting agendas, reports, information handouts, bulletins, the board of education policy book, and other such materials which were available. Data ambiguities and clarification were then resolved by further discussion with members of the administrative cabinet.

The second formal data-gathering procedure used in this study was the interview. Data on reputed organizational power were sought through scheduled interviews. The study interview schedule (see Appendix D) was refined as a result of the pilot study. The revised schedule was not only more effective but also required less interview time and provided a smoother interview format. It was evident that the revised schedule proved to have less threat than was the case in the pilot study schedule. Although it was obvious that different members of the system came to the interview situation with varying mind-sets and perceptions, only a very few appeared "bothered" by the

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10 It should be noted that since the emotion-laden term "power" was not used in describing the study or during the conduct of data-collection by the researcher that this too could have also been a factor in lessening the threat of the interview situation.
specific questions and in no case was any interviewee seriously
affected by the schedule. For the most part, interviewees responded
freely and openly in a cooperative and professional manner.

Based on the problems-issues technique the interview procedure
was constructed to provide data on: how well members of the system
perceive problems confronting the system; who is perceived to effect
actions and decisions in the system; how those who effect decisions
and actions do so; and how decisions are made and actions are taken
by the system. Each interview was preceded by a standard set of
instructions (see Appendix E). Alternative question statements were
developed and used when needed. Also, example answers were developed
to further clarify question intent. Such examples were, however,
from a distinctly different context so as not to affect or provide
answers for interviewees.

There is a difference of opinion as to whether or not an
interviewee should or should not have a copy of the interview
schedule. It was deemed inadvisable in this case to give the
interview schedule to the interviewees. Due to the nature of the
questions and the need to establish rapport in an interview situation
such as this, it was felt by the researcher that, should the
interviewee have access to questions before they were asked, such a
situation might adversely affect his responses.

The third formal data-gathering procedure involved scheduled
observation. This procedure was used to assess actual or observed
power: how power was realized in the on-going operation of the
organizational system. The revised observation schedule resulting
from the pilot study experience proved to be quite effective. The
revised schedule (see Appendix F) was structured further from the pilot schedule and this facilitated the recording of data. It was still, however, useful to have space on the schedule to record descriptions of interactions or to note observations, ideas, or interpretations. Anecdotal references could also be recorded in such space.

Two factors had a significant effect upon the observation procedure. First, the careful definition of the terms used on the schedule facilitated the interpretation of both social behavior and interaction into the language used on the schedule. Second, the data-gathering procedure used to assess intended power facilitated observation by providing insights as to where to look and how to interpret social interaction in relation to the normative order of the social setting.

Very little discrepancy was revealed between the data provided by each of the three procedures. In fact a high level of agreement was evident between the various procedures. Although some discrepancy can be anticipated between data obtained on intended power when contrasted to that of reputed and observed power, such a discrepancy would be minimized by a comprehensive analysis of intended power. Since this research went beyond the printed word, intended power was not as "ought-oriented" as it might have been if only job descriptions and policy statements were used. Thus intra-procedure reliability was to an extent expected.

The discrepancies between reputation and observation data were so minor that they can be attributed to two factors. First, the variance of perceptions that are certain to occur in a large system
tend to distort reputation data. The second factor is the inevitable fact that observation time was limited and restricted. Hence, the researcher was not able to have as extensive of a base for forming opinions as did those in the system. In fact, the opportunity was not present for the researcher to observe all of the possible social interactions of the members of the system.

The three major data-gathering procedures proved to be most effective in providing data relevant to the study purpose. With the exception of the obvious limitations of a single observer trying to observe such a complex system of social interaction, all procedures proved to perform beyond the researcher's expectations. This is not to imply, however, that the observation procedure was not useful or that it is not feasible for use by a single researcher in studying complex social systems. In fact, the converse is true. As it receives further research application and as the knowledge about the basic phenomenon under study is advanced, the observation technique should prove a valuable addition to the procedures available for studying social power. In summary, then, it is the researcher's judgment, on the basis of this study, that the multiple-based methodology for studying social power as used in the study is effective and merits further empirical use.

Informal Data-gathering Procedures

The foregoing formal data-gathering procedures represented the major techniques used to collect data in this research. It was indicated in other studies and obvious from the pilot study that a variety of informal procedures were needed to expand the data base
and provide supplemental information. The assessment of the pilot study revealed two important and inter-related weaknesses of the over-all methodology. In the first place the formal data-gathering procedures were most adequate "out in the open" but failed to get behind the scenes to reveal the manifestation of social power in individual and small-group contacts that occurred prior to formal meetings and in the day-by-day contacts of members of the system. Directly related to this is the second important weakness revealed in the pilot study: Informal data-gathering procedures were not used to provide sufficient data to reinforce or support those provided by the formal procedures. This was because the active use of informal techniques or procedures were added in the course of, and/or as a result of, the pilot study. But since the formal procedures were not conducive to gathering data from the ongoing contacts of members of the system or in the researcher's informal contacts with others, less structured techniques were needed for such situations.

Informal observation, informal interviews or discussion, anecdotal references, and the recording of ideas, judgments, reactions, conclusions, and interpretations were added to the study methodology as informal procedures to increase the data base. Also included in this informal process was the examination of all available written materials such as the school district's staff news medium called "Faculty Notes," bulletins, flyers, and any such reports that were available and not circulated at formal meetings. Thus, in effect, data collection was not limited to formal meeting or interview situations or to times when the formal procedures were being used.
superior while influence, in contrast, involves the freedom to make decisions regarding alternatives which affect behavior. 20

Social power is a concept that helps to account for the control which an organization holds over those who are within it. 21 Bierstedt writes that

Power supports the fundamental order of society and the social organization within it, wherever there is order. Power stands behind every association and sustains its structure. Without power there is no order. 22

Power functions in an organization to control the decision-making processes of the organization. 23 But power is seldom completely institutionalized and even when it is, institutionalization is no more than momentary. 24

The distinction between force (manifest power) and authority (institutionalized power) as set forth by Bierstedt is relevant at this point. 25 Power is seen by Bierstedt as a synthesis, in a sense, of force and authority. 26 Authority, according to Bierstedt, is the realization of power that is sanctioned through the institutionalized or legitimized orders of an organization. It is the manifestation of


23 Griffiths, *op. cit.*, p. 86.


Data-collection became a continuous process that was always in action when the researcher was in contact with the study setting.

The contribution of these procedures to the total data amassed was not great in amount but was nonetheless significant. The informal techniques provided more data on the behind the scenes social interaction than could be obtained in the formal interview or observation situations. Revealed were insights into where to look for key relationships and interactions in informal situations. Many informal sociometric structures were delineated that aided greatly in assessing organizational power structure. Work groups and the informal contacts of individual members of the system were identified. Also, these procedures enabled the researcher to clarify and check data obtained by the formal procedures. The data obtained by these informal means did supplement and reinforce; further, they added a significant kind of data from an important dimension of social interaction not covered by the formal data-gathering procedures.

The Checks of Validity

The general agreement between data provided by the three formal procedures, the high degree of agreement between interview and observation data, general agreement of the over-all reputation data with data provided by those with high power visibility, and a high level of predictive success by the researcher (see Appendix H) provide the fundamental checks of validity on study data.

The attempts to objectify and structure the data-gathering devices and procedures along with the use of multiple (both formal and informal) procedures evidence a certain degree of face validity.
This is true also for the internal checks built into each of the specific procedures. In the case of the assessment of intended power this involved the use of all available written materials and a group interview to clarify the system's division of labor and delegation of authority. In the case of the assessment of reputed power this involved the various checks built into the interview schedule. In regard to assessing observed power this involved the use of informal observation and the checking of researcher observations with the observations of those in the system whenever possible. Finally, the use of the pilot study and a systematic approach to collecting data provide additional face validity.

The general agreement between data provided by the three formal data-gathering procedures is evidenced in the intra-procedure correlations obtained by comparing the rankings of intended, reputed, and observed power. A degree of agreement was expected but the high level of intra-procedure correlation obtained was not anticipated. It was, however, anticipated that observation and interview data would have the closest correlation and that the biggest difference would be found between reputed and intended rankings of power figures. But in ranking all those reputed and observed to affect actions and decisions and in ranking the top fourteen power figures as revealed by observation data, the .01 levels of significance obtained through the Spearman (rs) technique between all rankings (intended, reputed, and observed) were unexpected. This high level of intra-procedure correlation does serve to provide one check on data validity.

The high degree of agreement between interview and observation data gives further indication of data validity. The .01 level of
significance as obtained by the Spearman $r_s$ on the rankings of all members of the system reputed and observed to have affect upon actions and decisions and the top fourteen power figures as revealed by observation data was also obtained for the top seven power figures between reputed and observed rankings. This .01 level of significance was not true between intended and reputed rankings or intended and observed rankings for the top seven power figures, however. Further, a general high level of agreement was revealed by rankings of members of the system in regard to sectors of organizational work (policy, curriculum, staff personnel, pupil personnel, and business management) between interview and observation data as well. Finally, data provided by the interviews and observations on how decisions were made by the system were in agreement. Although some members of the system had little notion of how decisions were made by the system, the over-all data here, and especially those provided by the members of the system with high power visibility, were in agreement with the observed actualities of the situation.

General agreement of those with high power visibility and the total collated data is another significant check on data validity. Those with high power visibility were the members of the system who most accurately identified the problems confronting the system and most accurately described the decision process of the system. Such members of the system were held by this researcher to be more perceptive and thus able to provide more accurate data than was the case for other members of the system. The agreement of data obtained
from these more perceptive members with the collation of all data is held to be a validity check.

Finally, the accuracy of researcher prediction indicates data validity. This most important validity check involved a series of researcher predictions of decisions or actions (based on existing data) that could be compared later against observed realities of the results of the system's decision process (see Appendix H). A high level of predictive success is held to indicate data reliability and validity. For example, decisions were predicted, decision postponements were predicted, participants in certain decision situations were predicted, and outcomes of decisions were predicted. Although all predictions were not completely accurate, a sufficient portion (better than 90%) were correct; hence, procedural validity is assumed on this basis.

Methodological Strengths and Weaknesses

As is true in any research design, both methodological strengths and weaknesses are inherent in the study design. The second part of this analysis section has thus far implied or alluded to the methodological strengths of the study. These strengths can be briefly and succinctly summarized. The first and primary strength of the study methodology is the multiple-procedural assessment utilized. A second methodological strength is the fact that, in addition to the multiple, formal data-collection procedures used, a variety of informal means of gathering data were also used to extend the data base.

The conscious attempt to structure all data-gathering devices and techniques and to base such structuring on a careful, operational
definition of terms is also held as a methodological strength. Further, methodological strength is provided by the conscious attempt to include as many intra-device, intra-procedure, and inter-procedure checks on data validity as possible. Finally, the fact that the over-all methodology made a minimum imposition on those being studied is deemed to be a strength in this regard.

The chief weakness of the study is the failure to get "behind the scenes" to a desirable extent. One limitation in studying social power is that a researcher can never hope to get at the real cause or the real effect upon all of the many actions or decisions of an organizational system. It is, of course, necessary to get beyond interaction at formal meetings or interaction situations to do this. Because an actor affects a decision or action in a given situation, it does not necessarily follow that this actor is the power figure in this instance. The actor could be acting in this way because of an earlier exercise of power upon the actor by an even more powerful figure.¹¹ An attempt, therefore, must be made to observe as many informal interaction situations and day-by-day contacts of members of the system as is possible.

Although this weakness was revealed in the pilot study and a number of informal data-gathering procedures were incorporated into the study methodology, the potential contribution of informal techniques for collecting data was not fully realized in this study. Several factors are responsible for this. First, a single researcher

¹¹Nevertheless if an actor's power is realized in a group situation he does, in fact, have power. Whether the actor has the most power or ultimate power, however, cannot be determined by observing interaction only in this situation.
could not achieve adequate results in observing informal interaction in a system as large as that used for the research study. Second, more time and many more contacts with day to day interactions of the members of the system are needed by the researcher than were available. The limited number of such "informal" contacts was in part a result of the primary focus on formal or structured data-gathering procedures; it was also in part related to the next factor. Finally, in this particular study, the researcher did not have free access to all ad hoc or informal interaction situations. The "closed door" policy of many of the higher power figures that was apparent to many of the members of the system was also carried over to the researcher. And even though "summaries" of such sessions were at times available, this obviously does not suffice as a substitute for observing the actual situation.

To overcome this limitation, it might be desirable in research involving a system as large as this to utilize a research team. This would not only facilitate data-collection and multiply the data base but also would provide an important validity check on data. Further, the use of several researchers would allow a research focus that would not concentrate on formal procedures over informal ones or the converse. Observation of other kinds of meetings involving a member or members of the system might be helpful. Such situations as board of education meetings, curriculum committee meetings, building staff meetings, meetings with parents and citizens, or study group meetings are examples of possibly fruitful situations for observation. This would provide an opportunity to assess the effect of external forces upon the administrative performance system. Finally prior to the
conduct of data-collection the researcher(s) should be granted complete freedom into all possible interactions of members of the system.\textsuperscript{12}

Another limitation of the study methodology is that it attempted to be too comprehensive, in view of the single researcher and the limited amount of time used in collecting data. Both of these points have been alluded to above. However, it should be emphasized that in dealing with a highly structured and complex social system both human resources and sufficient time are necessary to obtain maximum results. Although the sixteen-member pilot system did not tax this researcher it was most obvious that a system of forty-five members is taxing on a single researcher, especially if the research problem is broad in scope. The decided limitation felt was the inability to comprehend, or even see, all that was going on within the social setting.

Lastly, this assessment of the methodology applies only to its applicability in the normal operation of a given system. At no time was the study system confronted with a crisis situation in the course of the data collection. Thus, methodological effectiveness would not necessarily hold for assessing organizational power structure in crisis situations. Although this may be a study in and of itself and this methodology may or may not be effective, such cannot be determined from this experience with the methodology.

\textsuperscript{12}Since this study is of an exploratory nature, no attempt was made to get this degree of freedom in this particular situation.
A Comparison with Other Studies

The effectiveness of the research methodology used in this study compares favorably with methodological conclusions resulting from other research. As was concluded by McLeary, this study attests to the need for a tight conceptual scheme as a guide to research and for the utilization of multiple procedures to gather data related to complex social phenomena.

The research of Blau as well as that of Lippitt, Polansky, and Rosen point to the need to utilize observation techniques in studying social power. This need is underscored by this research. Finally, the soundness of utilizing a wide variety of both formal and informal procedures to gather data was evinced in this study as was the case in earlier studies by Ward, Iannaccone, and O'Donahue. Thus, it is concluded by the researcher that the

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methodological strengths of this study correspond with conclusions of other researchers.
CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Study Background

This study was undertaken in the interest of examining social power—the ability to direct and determine human activity—in the organizational context. Social power has increasingly demonstrated its utility as a central concept in the study of human interaction. As a conceptual base, social power seems to offer a research construct that goes beyond some of the more limited concepts that were utilized in the past such as administration, management, or leadership. It provides a rationale that accounts for the affecting of the behavior and decisions of others within the total interaction system of a social organization.

Research in the past has been focused on the making of decisions and has, in recent years, emphasized a behavioral perspective for analyzing the process of decision-making. Deeper and more penetrating questions such as how decisions are reached or actions are taken or who affected a particular action or decision within the group context are not readily answerable by research emphases to date. Social power, on the basis of empirical study, is a most promising construct for getting at these pervasive questions. But the use of power as the central concept for research is limited at present by two facts.

First, the study of social power has been conducted for the
power in the interaction of organizational members as controlled by the formal or informal structures of the organization. Force, on the other hand, is the realization of power that is not sanctioned by either the formal or informal structures of the organization. It refers to situations in which a superordinate and subordinate(s) are aware of differences but in which one submits to the will of the other because of fear of reprisal. For example, in a school system organization the superintendent's power to require a principal to submit attendance reports is illustrative of an authority relationship and a superintendent's power to have principals wear white dress shirts and ties at all times (in the absence of stated policy or rules and regulations) is illustrative of force.

The concern for social power, as evidenced by empirical study and theoretical conceptualization, has to date been focused largely on policy making in the political sphere of human activity at the community, state, or national levels of social interactions. Active pursuit of the concept of social power has more recently shifted from the context of such more extensive social groupings as "community," "state," and "nation" to more restrictive and definable groupings such as the "streetcorner gang," "summer campers," and "school building

most part in more extensive social contexts such as those of the community, the state, or the nation. Although it can be assumed that social power is generically the same in all social settings, some variation in the structure, the sources, and the manifestation of social power has already been detected as the study of social power has invaded new arenas such as smaller and/or more highly-structured social systems. The trend toward the study of social power in highly-structured and less extensive social systems is evident by research emphases of late.

Second, the methodology for studying social power has been limited by a heavy reliance upon the reputation method of gathering data. Reputation data, based on perceptions or reputed status, are, however, inadequate to fully explain the power syndrome in complex social settings. Research more recently has begun to utilize and try out a number of other procedures for collecting data. Such methodological additions have resulted in data that provide valuable insights into other dimensions of the power syndrome.

**The Problem**

The fundamental concern of this study was a desire to learn more about how decisions are made in organizations and who, in what ways, affects decision-making in the organizational setting. To do this the researcher sought to: (1) develop a conceptual framework for use in the study of social power in the highly-structured organizational context; (2) examine the methodology used in the study of social power in the highly-structured organizational context; (3) devise a methodological approach applicable to the study of social power in the highly-structured organizational context; (4) test this methodological approach
for studying power through this research; and (5) analyze the data collected both in terms of the structure, the sources, and the manifestation of social power in an organizational system and in terms of an assessment of the devised research methodology.

Serving as a basic frame of reference for the study are postulates on organizational power structure and three basic hypotheses: (1) the manifestation of social power in an organizational setting is more often the result of the exercise of authority than of the exercise of force; (2) social power in an organizational system is structured hierarchically; and (3) power in an organizational system has its source in the formal structure of the organization more often than in the personal characteristics of members of the organization. The chief purpose of the research based on this frame of reference was to provide data on the effecting of actions and decisions in an administrative performance system and to assess the data-gathering procedures used in collecting the data.

Data were sought to support or reject the study hypotheses, to test a methodological approach for studying social power, and to provide insights into the power syndrome of an organizational system.

The Methodology

The research methodology employed was the case study. Selected as the study sample was the administrative performance system of a single school district. This system provided a social context that was both complex and highly-structured. Complexity in such a system is a result of the many, and interwoven "line" and "staff" (or service) relationships inherent in the system; conscious structuring is a
function of the division of labor and delegation of authority found in such a system. The administrative performance system studied was composed of forty-five members and data were collected over a three-month period during which the researcher had access to the system, its sub-groups, and the individual members of the system.

Multiple procedures were utilized in collecting data. Both formal and informal procedures and techniques were used; the data collection emphasis was, however, on three formal data-gathering procedures: analysis of written documents, structured interviews, and scheduled observation. All available written documents that had relevance to the organizational division of labor and delegation of authority were analyzed to assess intended power. A group interview with the top level position incumbents, those largely responsible for organizational division of labor and delegation of authority, was also part of this analysis. Data on reputed power were obtained through structured interviews with each member of the system. Data were obtained through the observation of members of the system in formal and informal interactions as recorded on a semi-structured observation schedule to give an assessment of actual or observed power.

A series of informal data-gathering techniques were used to supplement the formal procedures. Informal observation and interviews, anecdotal references, and the recording of ideas, judgments, reactions, conclusions, and interpretations provided supplemental and reinforcing data as well as over-all data clarification.

A pilot study in a smaller school district's administrative performance system was conducted to test and refine the devised assessment methodology. The data resulting from this pilot study were also
analyzed to provide the researcher not only with an opportunity to use the data-gathering procedures but also to give the researcher an opportunity to handle this kind of data in writing a research report.

**Findings**

The findings of this study will be summarized as they relate to the study hypotheses and to the devised methodology for assessing social power in an organizational setting. A great deal of caution should be exercised in viewing these findings. They are the result of an exploratory study into an, as yet, not-too-well-researched area—organizations—using a conceptual base that has not had extensive use in social research—social power. The chief concern of the study was, further, methodological—to devise and test a method for studying organizational power. Finally, the findings are based upon a single researcher's contacts with a single social system. All of these factors limit the findings drawn for the study.

**Findings related to the study hypotheses**

**Hypothesis one**—The first study hypothesis, that the manifestation of social power in an organizational setting is more often the result of the exercise of authority than of force, and its corollaries were supported by the study data. Of a total of 232 actions and decisions observed in the course of the study, all but seven actions and decisions resulted from the exercise of authority as sanctioned formally or informally by the system. Force was not used in any of the observed interactions to realize social power. In seven instances "supra-authority" (authority from the larger normative order not recognized by
the formal or informal structures of the system) or skill in manipulating the system was used to effect a decision. Thus, decisions of the system or some subgroup of the system were effected or determined as a result of the exercise of authority in 97 per cent of the decision situations observed in the course of data collection. In regard to critical or change-oriented decisions or actions (those decisions involving policy formulation, policy revision, or critical operation), 72 of 73 decisions, or more than 98 per cent of such decisions, resulted from the exercise of authority. The remaining change-oriented decision was effected by "supra-authority" or authority derived from the larger normative order. Therefore, for critical decisions and actions as well as routine decisions and actions in this administrative performance system, social power was realized primarily as a result of the exercise of authority. Authority of the formal or informal structures of the system was used in all but 7 decisions or actions.

Social power, further, was manifested more through legitimized authority (formal authority) than through institutionalized authority (informal authority). In 165 of the 225 instances when authority was used to effect a decision or action, legitimized authority was utilized. In regard to critical or change-oriented actions and decisions, 53 of the 72 actions or decisions resulted from the exercise of legitimized authority. Not only was authority utilized almost exclusively to realize social power in effecting actions and decisions, but also legitimized or formal authority was most often used to effect actions or decisions of the system.

It was found in this study of an organizational setting that directive means were more often relied upon in effecting the actions
and decisions of others than were non-directive means. In 165 of the 232 decisions and actions, directive means were utilized to affect the outcome of the decisions process. Thus, over 70 per cent of the actions or decisions of the system were a result of an actor who used directive or explicit means for realizing his power. In some 56 instances, non-directive means (e.g., suggestion) were used. Although the foregoing presents a notion of the prevalent mode of effecting actions or decisions, it was found that large-group decisions, those where a large group was actively involved in the decision process, were the result of behavioral contagion. In such instances group discussion was terminated when a "feeling" of consensus was reached by the group. Consensus was not verified by any overt expression such as a vote. In fact, the vote was seldom used in reaching large-group decisions in this system.

Study data revealed that power figures in the Center City Schools' administrative performance system exhibited characteristic styles and utilized characteristic means or procedures in realizing their social power. Although most of the power figures operated in a basically directive manner, some were non-directive in affecting the actions and decisions of others or the system. It was found that some preferred to work primarily in group situations to effect decisions and others tended to operate behind the scenes with other power figures. Still others seemed to try to build support from the masses or lower echelon members of the system. Characteristic means such as control over meetings, working through organizational channels, the ability to affect higher level authority position incumbents, or relying on status and prestige could be identified
with particular power figures. Therefore, the power figures in this administrative performance system exhibited characteristic power styles in effecting actions and decisions and they also relied upon particular means or procedures for effecting actions and decisions of the system.

Hypothesis two.—The second study hypothesis, that social power in an organizational system is structured hierarchically, and its corollaries were supported in part by the study data. An evident power differential was seen to exist in the administrative performance system of the Center City Schools. Some members of the system had a significant effect on the actions and decisions of the system, other members of the system had some effect upon actions and decisions, and still other members had little or no appreciable effect upon the ongoing decision process of the system. Of those who had significant effect on the system some were found to have a great deal of impact on the system. These members were referred to as the "power elite" since they had significantly greater effect on decisions or actions than did other members of the system.

Further, it was found that not only did some members of the system effect more actions and decisions than did others in a quantitative sense but also some members of the system had a greater effect on critical or change-oriented decisions. Since the potential impact of some decisions is greater in a qualitative sense, the ordering of social power has qualitative as well as quantitative dimensions. Data revealed that the decisions of greater potential impact, those of a critical or change nature that affect the basic structure of an organization, were effected almost entirely by the
system's "power elite." Thus, the "power elite" effect more decisions and also have almost exclusive effect on those decisions of the system that affect the structure of the system.

In any event, it was revealed by the study data that social power in this particular system is structured hierarchically. Therefore, social power in the Center City Schools' administrative performance system can be ordered or ranked into a scalar structure by using both quantitative and qualitative dimensions.

It was found that in this particular organizational system, power was also structured situationally. Although an over-all power hierarchy could be delimited, the effect of a given member of the system depended at least in part on the subject or context of the decision or action situation. The "power elite" pervaded all spheres of activity or sectors of organizational work such as curriculum, personnel, or business management but the effect of any member was situationally determined. The over-all division of labor, assignment of duties, and delegation of authority obviously affected a member's power in regard to a given decision. For example, building principals had little voice in business management and the business manager had little effect on the school curriculum. Certain individuals, the superintendent and director of curriculum in particular, had a great deal of power in almost all of the sectors of organizational work. But even these position incumbents were more or less effective in the various sectors of activity. Interview data revealed that varying power alignments, in fact, did exist and that such alignments conformed to sectors of work within the organization. It follows from the data that in the Center City Schools' administrative
performance system, power was structured situationally into multiple power alignments and these alignments coincided with sectors of organizational work.

Data in general revealed that the distribution of power in this organizational system corresponded to the formal authority structure of the system. Ultimate power in the system resided in the titular head of the system, the superintendent. Evidence of this was the fact that those immediately below the superintendent checked decisions with the superintendent before acting even when they had enough delegated authority that such checking was not necessary. In interview situations such replies as "well the assistant superintendent has that duty but I am sure he checks with the superintendent before making decisions" further attests to the ultimate power of the head of the system.

Conclusive evidence was not found in regard to the corollary that fewer individuals would be found in a formal organization exercising force or authority than occupy status or authority positions. Although not all authority position incumbents were power figures and some unused power was evidenced, a significant number (28 of the 45) of the members of the system were reputed and/or observed to effect actions and decisions of the system. Thus, quite a few of the system's members were perceived to affect, or to have affected, the work of the system. In a few isolated instances, power was abdicated (therefore resulting in unused power) or a member of the system failed to use his power for one reason or another, but the data obtained are not sufficient to support this corollary. However, the
data do not, on the other hand, bring the writer to reject the corollary.

Hypothesis three.—The third study hypothesis, that there are multiple sources of social power in an organization, and its corollaries were supported by the study data. By a chi square analysis, age, level of training, and total professional experience were found not to be related to position in this administrative performance system's power hierarchy. Experience in the system, experience in a position incumbent's particular kind of position, and future training aspirations tended to discriminate between the various levels in the power hierarchy. Significantly related to position in the system's power structure were professional goal and experience in the incumbent's present position.

Data in general revealed that position, competence, experience, and assigned duties or division of labor were sources of power within the Center City Schools' administrative performance system. Both interview and observation data pointed to the significance of position in the formal authority structure and assigned duties or division of labor as sources of social power. Although observation data were not conclusive on the factor of experience as a source of power there was a tendency for such data to support that certain kinds of experience were sources of social power. Interview data, however, generally supported experience in a generic sense as a source of power. The source of power most often mentioned in interview situations was competence. Implied in competence are special skills and abilities. Competence, as such, is in this case, of course, perceived competence. Observation data serve to support those revealed in the interviews.
But in such specific or less-extensive contexts social power has been studied more in relation to less formally structured groups. For example, such groups as the "summer campers" and the "streetcorner gang" have received more attention than have "school building staffs" or other similar formal organizational systems. As more and more data are amassed about social power in a general sense, the conceptual and empirical groundwork for the study of social power and its ordering in specific social groupings is assisted.

Social power is generically the same in all social situations but the structure, sources, and manifestation of social power can be hypothesized to vary due to the ordering of human interactions which result from, or are inherent in, a given kind of social grouping or setting. Thus, although the exercise of social power in the community and in an organization (such as a school district's administrative performance system) is the ability to determine or direct the behavior of others, the ordering and realization of power would be characteristically unique in each of these social systems.

In the highly structured organizational setting (contrasted to less-structured social groupings) with the inherent hierarchical positioning of organization members and specialization of function, realization of power would more often be a result of authority.

---

It was observed that a member of the system's special knowledge and skill was frequently requested when the possessor of such competence did not contribute this competence in interaction situations.

Other factors that were identified as sources of power in this system were personal professional goals, proximity to power figures, personal characteristics and attributes, and tradition. Such negative sources of power as control over the group process, control over resources, and the ability to block communications were viewed as significant factors in the ability to affect the actions and decisions of the system.

Summary of findings.—The following is a general summary of the study findings:

1. The manifestation of social power in the Center City Schools' administrative performance system resulted primarily from the exercise of authority; social power was not manifested through the exercise of force in the course of data collection.
   a. The members of this administrative performance system relied more on directive means than on non-directive means in realizing their social power.
   b. The power figures in this administrative performance system utilized a variety of means in realizing their social power.
   c. The power figures in this administrative performance system exhibited a variety of styles in affecting the behavior and actions of others and the system.

2. Social power in the Center City Schools' administrative performance system was structured hierarchically.
a. Social power in this administrative performance system was structured situationally in multiple alignments.

b. An evident power differential existed between members of this administrative performance system.

c. Ultimate power in this administrative performance system resided in the authority head of the system, the superintendent of schools.

d. Sufficient data were not collected either to support or reject the notion that in a formal organization fewer individuals would be found exercising force or authority than occupy status or authority positions.

3. There were multiple sources of social power in the Center City Schools' administrative performance system.

a. Position was a source of social power in this administrative performance system.

b. Competence was a source of social power in this administrative performance system.

c. Experience in a member of the system's job and experience in the Center City Schools were sources of social power in this administrative performance system.

d. Assigned duties (resulting from organizational division of labor) were a source of social power in this administrative performance system.

Findings related to the study methodology

The findings of this study relating to the devised research methodology are based upon the analysis of the assessment of
organizational power as delineated in Part II of Chapter V of this study. These findings are the result of the single use of this particular multiple procedure method for assessing social power in the administrative performance system of the Center City School District.

Specifically the devised methodology sought to assess three dimensions of an organizational power syndrome—intended power, reputed power, and observed power—by use of three formal data-gathering procedures. Each of these procedures—the analysis of records, structured interview, and scheduled observation provided data on the sources, structure, and manifestation of social power in the Center City Schools' administrative performance system. The analysis of records and a group interview served to delineate intended power. Structured interviews with each member of the system provided data on reputed power. Scheduled observation provided data on the third dimension of the organizational power syndrome—actual or observed power.

A high level of inter-procedure data agreement was realized. Only in regard to the "power elite" was there a significant discrepancy between the data provided by the three formal procedures. In this regard reputation and observation data were in closest agreement. Those in the "power elite" that had intended power in the area of organizational work most central to the basic function of the system—curriculum—tended to have more reputed and observed power in general and in regard to other sectors of organizational work than was intended by the organizational division of labor and delegation of authority. This was not, however, true for power figures in general.
Data provided by the informal procedures and techniques served to support the data resulting from the formal procedures. The informal procedures and techniques functioned most adequately in providing data on "behind the scenes" social interaction, informal social structure, and day to day contacts of members of the system with their co-workers. Such data, by virtue of the focus on three dimensions of the power syndrome, did not provide an additional dimension but rather amplified and clarified the basic data on intended, reputed, and observed power.

The basic findings of this study related to the research methodology are as follows:

1. A comprehensive analysis of written documents and records along with a group interview of the top authority position incumbents of an organizational system can be used to delineate intended power.

2. Structured interviews with the members of an organizational system can be used to assess reputed power.

3. Actual or manifest power (observed power) in an organizational system can be assessed by scheduled observation.

4. Three dimensions of an organizational power syndrome—intended power, reputed power, and observed power—can be delineated by the formal and informal data gathering procedures used in this study.

5. The assessment of the three dimensions of an organizational power syndrome—intended power, reputed power, and observed power—provided data on the structure, source, and manifestation of social power in this organizational system.
Following are other findings relevant to the study methodology:

1. The use of multiple data-gathering procedures provided comprehensive data about the power syndrome of the Center City Schools' administrative performance system.

2. Informal data-gathering techniques were needed to supplement and clarify data resulting from the formal procedures for assessing organizational power structure in the study administrative performance system.

3. A tight conceptual design facilitated the study of social power in the organizational context of the Center City Schools' administrative performance system.

4. Precise definition of terms used in the research construct and in data collection and analysis facilitated the study of the complex social phenomenon of power in the relatively new context of an organizational system.

5. The pilot study was an essential part of this case research; it served not only for methodological purposes but also analytic purposes as well.

6. This multiple procedure approach to the study of social power was successful in getting at qualitative and situational aspects, in addition to the quantitative aspect, of the power syndrome of the administrative performance system of the Center City School District.

Conclusions

The conclusions reached as a result of this study are based upon the foregoing findings related to the study's hypothetical
framework (as focused on the structure, sources, and manifestation of social power) and the study methodology. These conclusions must be viewed with full knowledge that they are the result of a single study of a single organizational system with a still-to-be-perfected methodology. However, the findings from this study suggest that:

1. In an organizational system, social power is realized more through authority than through force, more through directive means than non-directive means, and more through legitimized channels than institutionalized ones.

2. Social power in a complex organizational system is structured hierarchically into multiple alignments.

3. The hierarchical ordering of social power in an organizational system has quantitative, qualitative, and situational determinants.

4. Several levels of power figures can be determined in an organizational system.

5. There are multiple sources of social power in an organizational system.

6. Social power in an organizational system is determined in part, and limited, by the formal structure of the organization.

7. The "power elite" of an organizational system is less determined and limited by the formal organizational structure than are other levels of the over-all power syndrome.

8. Intended power, reputed power, and observed power are three important dimensions of an organizational power syndrome.

9. Organizational power structure can be assessed by a
multiple procedure approach utilizing both formal and informal research techniques and devices.

10. A multiple-based assessment procedure is needed for the study of a complex social phenomenon like social power.

**Implications**

On the basis of the data collected and analyzed in this study the following implications are drawn by the writer as possible guides for further research on social power in the organizational context.

1. The over-all power structure in an organizational system corresponds to the formal authority structure and division of labor of the system.

2. Social power is structured hierarchically into multiple alignments in an organizational system. Power is structured quantitatively, qualitatively, and situationally and fewer individuals are found with high power status than with low power status.
   
   a. Organizational power alignments correspond to sectors of organizational work.
   
   b. Organizational power alignments correspond to the socially evaluated competencies of members of the organization.
   
   c. Organizational power alignments correspond to the physical and communicable proximity of members of the organization.

3. The structuring of power among the "power elite" in an organizational system does not necessarily correspond to the formal authority structure of the system.
4. Those members of an organization with functions that are most central to the basic organizational purpose tend to have more power within the organization.

5. Final and ultimate power in an organization resides in the top authority position in the organizational system.

6. Control, such as control over information or resources, is an important aspect of the organizational power syndrome.

7. Negative sources of power, or "blocking power," are most important facets in the organizational power syndrome.

8. Individual sources or bases of power are not as important in an organizational system as determinants of social power as are specific combinations of factors or sources.

Recommendations

The recommendations based on the findings and conclusions of this research are presented in two parts: (1) general recommendations for the further study of social power and (2) recommendations with special relevance for research methodology for use in the study of social power. It is again necessary to view such deductions in the light of the general limitations of this research. All of the limitations enumerated in Chapter I are relevant; they condition these recommendations.

General recommendations
for the further study
of social power

1. It is recommended that social power in the organizational (highly-structured) context be subjected to further empirical study. This research has resulted in findings that are parallel with those
resulting from the study of social power in other contexts and in findings that differentiate the manifestation of social power in a highly-structured setting from the manifestation of social power in less-structured settings.

2. It is recommended that further study of social power in the organizational context utilize more restrictive and delimited hypotheses to guide the research. As more data are amassed about a social phenomenon, the conceptual base of empirical study can be more precisely formulated and the research purpose more precisely defined.

3. It is recommended that additional study of social power as manifest in the work of administrative performance systems be initiated. Continual increases in the size and complexity of organizational systems demands that the leadership structure (the administrative system) of the over-all system be better understood. Social power offers a promising conceptual base for the study of administrative performance systems.

4. It is recommended that future study of organizational power structure focus more on the sources of social power in the organizational setting. Conflicting data were found in this study on the sources of social power. Data did reveal, however, that combinations of factors or sources of social power might be more important than are individual factors or sources per se.
Recommendations with special relevance for methodology for the study of social power

1. It is recommended that the methodology tested in this study be refined and replicated in future research in a variety of highly-structured social systems.

2. It is recommended that future studies of social power in the organizational context seek to find a better balance of formal and informal data-gathering procedures and devices. Although this methodology proved adequate, it is evident that the incorporation of more informal techniques into the formal multiple-based procedure would have strengthened the study.

3. It is recommended that further attempts be made to structure adequate observation schedules and refine observation techniques for studying organizational power structure. Observation provides not only a valuable procedure for adding to the over-all data base in case research but also it represents a primary source of objectification for an essentially subjective study approach.

4. It is recommended that more than one researcher be used in studying complex systems such as the administrative performance system of a school district. The advantages that could be obtained would be additional checks on data validity, a more comprehensive coverage of data sources, and a better chance for identifying some of the pervasive and elusive subtleties of human interaction.

5. Finally, it is recommended that an attempt be made to develop some type of self-recording device or data schedule whereby the members of a system could record or check a structured form
(including control over sanctions) than in, for example, the less formally organized street gang where power realization would more often result from an exercise of sheer force.

The study of social power in the highly structured, less extensive setting (formal organizational context—in this case an administrative performance system) would seemingly be a realistic extension of the empirical examination of the basic concept of social power. The effecting or determining of actions and decisions as the members of an organization go about purposively directed activity in seeking to achieve organizational goals thus becomes the research emphasis.

The formal organizational context is held to refer to the total interaction context for a given organization and therefore includes both the "formal" and "informal" aspects of the organizational setting. Although some students of organization choose to separate these aspects of organizational member interaction and some even venture value judgements as to the most important aspect, an organization is, nevertheless, a social system that limits in part (to a greater or lesser extent) the behavior of its members—the formal aspect of organization—but cannot account for all the needs of its members, hence members seek need satisfaction through unconsciously structured means—the informal aspect of organization. Agreeing that Barnard’s notion that informal organization represents an important aspect of organization and is the predecessor of formal organization as advanced in _Functions of the Executive_ (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1938) is sound, it is felt by this writer that any given informal organizational structure is, in fact, only one aspect of an organization (which implies a formal structure) and is only functional, dysfunctional, or non-functional in regard to the particular organization at a particular point in time and in relation to its formal structure. To further substantiate this position Kingsley Davis in _Human Society_ (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1958) notes that the distribution of power is intimately bound up with the distribution of statuses and offices and hence with the configuration of stations and strata (or formal structure).
indicating interactions with other members of the system. This would
provide data that are not readily accessible to even a team of
researchers. The data provided would have a built-in validity check
since each member of the system would record each interaction he had
and thus one member's response would be checked by another member's
record of the same interaction.
APPENDIX A

PILOT STUDY INTERVIEW SCHEDULE
INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

1. What important problems or issues have confronted your administrative staff in the past 3 years which resulted in staff action and/or a decision being made?

2. What important problems or issues exist at the present time that you feel will result in staff action and/or a decisions being made?

3. Whom do you view as the people on the administrative staff that seem to affect most staff actions and decision-making in general?

4. How would you rank order those mentioned in terms of ability to effect actions and decisions?

5. Who are the people that seem to effect actions and decisions most in regard to general district policy matters? How would you rank order these people?

6. Who are the people that seem to effect actions and decisions most in regard to curriculum matters? How would you rank order these people?

7. Who are the people that seem to effect actions and decisions most in regard to staff personnel matters? How would you rank order these people?

8. Who are the people that seem to effect actions and decisions most in regard to pupil personnel matters? How would you rank order these people?

9. Who are the people that seem to effect actions and decisions most in regard to business management? How would you rank order these people?

10. Do any of these people tend to work together in groups to affect the actions of others or the making of decisions? If so, who are the leaders of such groups? Do these groups exhibit special interests?

11. How do the people mentioned go about effecting actions and decisions regarding the issues and problems that confront the staff?

Name  Way They Affect Staff Actions or Decisions

12. How do you feel the basic decisions are made by this staff?
APPENDIX B

PILOT STUDY OBSERVATION SCHEDULE
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Incident</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Participants</th>
<th>Decision or Action</th>
<th>Type of Decision or Action</th>
<th>How Achieved</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Policy:</td>
<td>Authority:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Formulation</td>
<td>Direct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Interpretation</td>
<td>directive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Execution</td>
<td>non-directive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Revision</td>
<td>Contagion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Operation:</td>
<td>Force:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Critical</td>
<td>Direct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Routine</td>
<td>directive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>non-directive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Contagion</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX C

PILOT STUDY PERSONAL DATA SHEET
**Personal Data Sheet**

Name ____________________________________________

Position __________________________________________

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Level of training</th>
<th>Total educational experience</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>25 - 35</td>
<td>Bachelors</td>
<td>0 - 5 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36 - 45</td>
<td>5th Year</td>
<td>6 - 10 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46 - 55</td>
<td>Master's</td>
<td>11 - 15 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>over 55</td>
<td>6th Year</td>
<td>16 - 20 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Doctorate</td>
<td>21 - 25 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>26 - 30 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>over 30 years</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Total experience in this district:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>0 - 5 years</th>
<th>6 - 10 years</th>
<th>11 - 15 years</th>
<th>16 - 20 years</th>
<th>21 - 25 years</th>
<th>26 - 30 years</th>
<th>over 30 years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

**Experience in present position:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>0 - 5 years</th>
<th>6 - 10 years</th>
<th>11 - 15 years</th>
<th>16 - 20 years</th>
<th>21 - 25 years</th>
<th>26 - 30 years</th>
<th>over 30 years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

**Total experience in this kind of position:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Professional goal</th>
<th>Career Principal</th>
<th>Career Supervisor</th>
<th>Career Asst. Supt.</th>
<th>Career Superintendent</th>
<th>Other (specify)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0 - 5 years</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 - 10 years</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 - 15 years</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 - 20 years</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 - 25 years</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26 - 30 years</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>over 30 years</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Future training aspirations:**

- Master's Degree ______
- 6th Year ______
- Doctorate ______
- Other (specify) ______
INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

1. What important problems or issues have confronted your administrative staff in the past 3 years which resulted in staff action and/or a decision being made?

2. What important problems or issues exist at the present time that you feel will result in staff action and/or a decision being made?

3. How do you feel actions are taken and basic decisions are made by this administrative staff?

4. Whom do you view as the people on the administrative staff that seem to have greatest effect on staff actions and decision-making in general? How would you rank order those mentioned in terms of ability to effect actions and decisions? How do these people go about effecting actions and decisions regarding the issues and problems that confront the administrative staff?

5. Who are the people that seem to effect actions and decisions most in regard to general school district policy matters? How would you rank order these people? How do these people go about effecting actions and decisions?

6. Who are the people that seem to effect actions and decisions most in regard to curriculum matters? How would you rank order these people? How do these people go about effecting actions and decisions?

7. Who are the people that seem to effect actions and decisions most in regard to staff personnel matters? How would you rank order these people? How do these people go about effecting actions and decisions?

8. Who are the people that seem to effect actions and decisions most in regard to pupil personnel matters? How would you rank order these people? How do these people go about effecting actions and decisions?

9. Who are the people that seem to effect actions and decisions most in regard to the business management of the school district? How would you rank order these people? How do these people go about effecting actions and decisions?

10. Do any of the above mentioned people tend to work together in groups to affect the actions of others or the making of decisions? If so, who are the leaders of such groups? Also, do these groups exhibit special interests?
APPENDIX E

STUDY INTERVIEW INSTRUCTIONS
Origin of the Study

The writer has pursued the concepts of administration, leadership, and management and has found both helpful ideas and information in regard to the determination and direction of human efforts in the organizational setting. However, looking at status position incumbents does not always satisfactorily answer such questions as: How was a given decision really made? Who is responsible for making a given decision? How did the group arrive at taking such an action? or, Who is, in fact, leading the leader(s)? The answers to such questions appear to reside not in the relationships of an individual or small sub-group of individuals to the group as a whole but rather in the more pervasive realm of the interactions among all of the members of the group.

A most promising concept for providing a basis for understanding the determination of behavior in an organizational setting is that of social power. As has been noted, man has long been intrigued by this phenomenon. Empirical study of the phenomenon has, however, had a quite recent origin.30 Also, empirical study to date has been concerned for the most part with extensive and/or less-structured social groups. Needed is the empirical study of social power in less extensive and more highly structured social settings. Knowledge has been amassed that will assist in the study of power in such settings. But, as is the case in the early study of any particular social phenomenon or setting, means or procedures must first be

30The impetus for much of the current empirical study of social power was provided by Floyd Hunter through his study of "Regional City." See Hunter, op. cit.
INTERVIEW INSTRUCTIONS

1. Unfortunately in the course of the interview we must use names. However, all responses will be regarded as completely confidential.

2. All data will be coded with either numbers or fictitious names to disguise the study setting. Every attempt will be made to protect the anonymity of the study district and all of the members of its administrative staff.

3. Please answer all questions as best you can. Be candid, concise, and frank.

4. Please respond in terms of the present time (not the past or future). Respond in the light of your own feelings, observations, and perceptions.

5. "Administrative staff" in the interview questions refers to all of those on the Center City School District staff who are in positions such as principal, supervisor, director, coordinator, assistant superintendent, or superintendent. It does not, however, refer to special teachers, attendance officers, guidance specialists, nurses, or any others who might have quasi-administrative duties.

6. When referring to administrative staff the questions imply the entire staff as a body or any sub-group thereof acting as a body.

7. Please do not discuss the interview or interview questions with those on the administrative staff who have not yet been interviewed. Thank you for your cooperation.
APPENDIX F

STUDY OBSERVATION SCHEDULE
### Observation Schedule

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Incident</th>
<th>Situation</th>
<th>Participants</th>
<th>Decision or Action</th>
<th>Type of Decision or Action</th>
<th>How Achieved</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Meetings:</td>
<td>Cabinet</td>
<td>Cabinet:</td>
<td>Policy:</td>
<td>Legitimized Authority:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Supervisors</td>
<td>Supt.</td>
<td>Formulation</td>
<td>Direct</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sec. Prin.</td>
<td>Dir. of Personnel</td>
<td>Interpretation</td>
<td>directive</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Others (specify):</td>
<td>Curric. Dir.</td>
<td>Revision</td>
<td>Contagion</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Other Contacts:</td>
<td>Elem. Supervisor</td>
<td>Operation:</td>
<td>Inst. Authority:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Phone call</td>
<td></td>
<td>Critical</td>
<td>Direct</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Informal chat</td>
<td></td>
<td>Routine</td>
<td>directive</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(other)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>non-directive</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Legitimized Authority:**
- Direct
- non-directive
- Contagion

**Inst. Authority:**
- Direct
- non-directive
- Contagion

**Force:**
- Direct
- non-directive
- Contagion

**Notes or Description:**
**PERSONAL DATA SHEET**

Name ____________________________________________

Position __________________________________________

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Level of training</th>
<th>Total educational experience</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>25 - 30</td>
<td>Bachelors</td>
<td>0 - 5 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31 - 35</td>
<td>5th Year</td>
<td>6 - 10 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36 - 40</td>
<td>Master's</td>
<td>11 - 15 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41 - 45</td>
<td>6th Year</td>
<td>16 - 20 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46 - 50</td>
<td>Doctorate</td>
<td>21 - 25 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51 - 55</td>
<td></td>
<td>26 - 30 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>over 55</td>
<td></td>
<td>over 30 years</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Total experience in this district:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Experience in present position</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0 - 5 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 - 10 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 - 15 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 - 20 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 - 25 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26 - 30 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>over 30 years</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Professional goal:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kind of position</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Career Principal</td>
<td>Career Supervisor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Career Ass't. Supt.</td>
<td>Career Superintendent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other (specify)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Future training aspirations:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Master's Degree</th>
<th>6th Year</th>
<th>Doctorate</th>
<th>Other (specify)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

________________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________________
APPENDIX H

SOME RESEARCHER PREDICTIONS AND OBSERVED OUTCOMES
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Prediction</th>
<th>Outcome</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1/21</td>
<td>Superintendent would not hesitate to make decisions.</td>
<td>Supported by both observation and interview data throughout the study.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1/21</td>
<td>Assistant superintendent of business would play a minor role in ongoing operation of the performance system.</td>
<td>This was supported by observation data and interview data; at no time in the course of the study did he participate in meetings; further, his activities were observed and reputed to be confined to business affairs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2/5</td>
<td>That 0100 (assistant superintendent of personnel) would sit to superintendent's left during meetings, 0103 (elementary supervisor) to the right, and 0102 (curriculum director) across the table from the superintendent for all meetings in small meeting room.</td>
<td>The people sat as predicted except for 0102, who on two occasions sat off to the side of the conference table.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2/5</td>
<td>0020 (a secondary principal) would get his way in meetings of secondary principals when he expressed his feelings.</td>
<td>0020 wanted to go on to another item after one discussion of dropouts; the group moved on.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2/5</td>
<td>That 0102 (director of curriculum) would take an active role in the self-appraisal discussion.</td>
<td>0102 took over the leadership of this discussion from the superintendent.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2/5</td>
<td>0020 (a secondary principal) would direct next year's school calendar discussion.</td>
<td>Virtually a discussion between 0020 and superintendent with 0020 suggesting and giving the answers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2/5</td>
<td>The high school principals misinterpreted their task in regard to supervisory role assignments; predicted they would not be asked to re-do their work.</td>
<td>The work was not redone nor did the superintendent seek to have it redone.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Prediction</td>
<td>Outcome</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2/6</td>
<td>There would be cliques revealed within the elementary principals' group.</td>
<td>Many such cliques were obvious from observation and interview data; for example, the women principals formed one such group and another such clique was headed by four &quot;progressive&quot; man principals.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2/6</td>
<td>Elementary principals' meetings would be more authoritarian and involve less group participation.</td>
<td>Superintendent operated more formally and little interchange was evinced; 1000, 0100, and 0102 do more telling here than in other meetings. For example, in one instance the superintendent explained a report and directed group to use this in helping teachers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3/3</td>
<td>Discussion of supervisory role would get nowhere due to little preplanning and superintendent's evident unsureness toward feelings of top echelon staff members.</td>
<td>Group discussion consisted of superintendent &quot;telling&quot; and then asking a series of questions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3/3</td>
<td>When superintendent wanted advice on word choice and definition would ask 0103 (elementary supervisor) for same.</td>
<td>Superintendent asked 0103 to define words and for clarification needed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3/3</td>
<td>Predicted meeting would be adjourned when desired by superintendent due to service club commitment.</td>
<td>Superintendent obviously terminated meeting due to own schedule demands.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3/3</td>
<td>Predicted announcements for this day would begin with 0103 (the elementary supervisor) due to an important announcement about the elementary school.</td>
<td>Superintendent asked 0103 to make first announcements.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3/5</td>
<td>0102 (director of curriculum) would take an active role in radio program discussion (PR).</td>
<td>0102 suggested possible program titles and content desired.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Prediction</td>
<td>Outcome</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3/6</td>
<td>That superintendent would explain psychologist's report to group and tell elementary principals how to use same.</td>
<td>Superintendent explained report and directed group to use this in helping teachers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3/6</td>
<td>0102 (director of curriculum) would affect a lot of decisions on the district's summer school.</td>
<td>0102 appeared to take the lead here and make many decisions on his own; he, in fact, had the program planned with little outside help other than consultation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3/21</td>
<td>0102 (director of curriculum) would play a major role in meeting of a select cabinet group on supervisory roles.</td>
<td>Superintendent called on the curriculum director (0102) many times to provide information on critical issues or questions during this meeting; 0102 was delegated the job of taking notes for future reference and work on this system task.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3/21</td>
<td>That the ad hoc cabinet committee for working on supervisory roles would include 1000, 0100, 0102, 0103, 0029, 0021 or 0049, and 0010.</td>
<td>Group included 1000, 0100, 0102, 0103, 0021, and 0022.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3/21</td>
<td>Superintendent would lead the supervisory role project activity toward his own goals.</td>
<td>The superintendent stated the goals for the group and pointed out that although staff work on this project was most helpful, some suggestions (e.g., less supervision) could not be considered.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3/21</td>
<td>Elementary supervisor (0103) would be most vocal in supervisory role discussion in cabinet meeting.</td>
<td>Elementary supervisor (0103) spoke little until near the end of this meeting; at this point (when more vocal) reacted mostly to support ideas, did little initiating.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Prediction</td>
<td>Outcome</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3/21</td>
<td>This special cabinet group would not take any action or move toward any decisions in regard to supervisory role definition.</td>
<td>Superintendent announced after discussion that &quot;we'll take it from here&quot;; said work would be finished in supervisors' group or the central office.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3/21</td>
<td>That this supervisory role work would not be completed during data collection period.</td>
<td>At end of period of collecting data nothing concrete had been achieved; the goal was changed from finishing up during this school year to finishing by next fall.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4/2</td>
<td>Cumulative folders would not be changed.</td>
<td>Some modification suggested but the group felt a need to keep the folders &quot;as is.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4/2</td>
<td>Group would go along with girls' track meet; no vote on this.</td>
<td>Group went along with idea; expression of feelings but no vote.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4/2</td>
<td>Group would not want more symphony concerts.</td>
<td>In fact, they wanted less.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4/3</td>
<td>Group would not get far with supervisory role discussion even though this was stated as a major concern of the meeting.</td>
<td>Long discourse by superintendent with much interpretation and emphasis on own goals; discussion tabled after group was sidetracked to other matters.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4/3</td>
<td>In regard to question of accelerating students in the elementary school the superintendent would turn first to 0010 (director of child study).</td>
<td>After question was focused, the superintendent asked 0010 to answer.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4/3</td>
<td>That 0017's (elementary P.E. supervisor) suggestion for a meeting recess would be disregarded.</td>
<td>Superintendent went along with the request and a short break was taken.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4/3</td>
<td>The PR radio series would be implemented at this time.</td>
<td>Put off until next year.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
developed and refined for obtaining data about the phenomenon or setting under consideration before empirical understanding can be advanced. This research is intended to develop and test a methodology for assessing social power and the structuring of power in a specific organizational setting. The methodology will be tested through a case study with the aid of a hypothetical framework derived from existing knowledge pertinent to the phenomenon of social power.

Statement of the Problem

Study purpose

A fundamental concern of leaders and students of organization is that of how organizations function and why. There is a great desire to learn more about how decisions are made in organizations and what affects decision-making in the organizational setting. This need is evidenced by those in the field of educational administration as well as by those in related administrative fields.

Much has been written about organization but a general lack of theory construction and empirical research in this regard is evidenced both within and without the field of education. Some of the most persistent and perplexing problems arising in organizations are rooted in the interactions of organization members. As organization members work together their behavior is more or less directed by others. To better understand this direction of behavior in the organizational setting, the force behind it (social power) must be better understood.

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31 Daniel Griffiths, et. al., op. cit., p. 3.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Prediction</th>
<th>Outcome</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 4/3  | U/3
's (an elementary principal) motion to move from grades on report cards to narrative reports would receive little or no support. | No one else supported this following the motion; the superintendent tabled the idea with an observation that more time was needed for this than was available at this meeting. |
| 4/3  | Group would not desire more symphony concerts.                            | Group did not desire more concerts.                                                                 |
| 4/3  | Discussion of elementary physical education would be tabled.              | Superintendent did not open item for discussion said not sufficient time at this meeting.          |
APPENDIX J

CLASSIFICATION OF EXAMPLES OF DECISIONS OR ACTIONS
OF THE CENTER CITY SCHOOLS' ADMINISTRATIVE
PERFORMANCE SYSTEM: TYPE OF DECISION OR
ACTION, SITUATION, AND WAY REALIZED

257
### Classification of Examples of Decisions or Actions

**OF THE CENTER CITY SCHOOLS' ADMINISTRATIVE PERFORMANCE SYSTEM: TYPE OF DECISION OR ACTION, SITUATION, AND WAY REALIZED**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Decision or Action</th>
<th>Way Realized</th>
<th>Situation</th>
<th>Decision or Action</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Policy Formulation</td>
<td>Legitimized Authority, Directive</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Cabinet Meeting</td>
<td>To finalize supervisory role definition in time to include same in fall staff handbook.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Policy Formulation</td>
<td>Legitimized Authority, Non-directive</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Supervisors' Meeting</td>
<td>Professional growth credit will be granted for contributions to &quot;Faculty Footnotes,&quot; the staff news bulletin.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Policy Formulation</td>
<td>Legitimized Authority, Contagion</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Cabinet Meeting</td>
<td>Need different criteria for central staff supervisory personal and building principals supervisory duties.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Policy Formulation</td>
<td>Institutionalized Authority, Contagion</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Elementary Principals' Meeting</td>
<td>The purpose of the district's elementary summer school will be to develop children's skills and abilities; it will not have a remedial focus or be an avenue to promotion.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Policy Interpretation</td>
<td>Legitimized Authority, Directive</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Cabinet Meeting</td>
<td>Evaluation of teaching is a part of the building principal's job.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Type of Decision or Action | Way Realized | Situation | Decision or Action
---|---|---|---
Policy Interpretation | Legitimized Authority, Non-directive | Secondary Principals' Meeting | The coming summer school program is intended to serve two purposes, as has been true for the secondary summer school: (1) offer new or additional courses; (2) offer remedial work. The program is not one or the other, but rather both.
Policy Revision | Legitimized Authority, Directive | Secondary Principals' Meeting | To go to board of education to see if it is necessary to revise policy for sale of materials to students in the secondary schools.
Policy Revision | Legitimized Authority, Non-directive | Supervisors' Meeting | Not to use testing for early entrance to school or advanced placement; rather permit limited acceleration and specify the number of times a student can be advanced this way (e.g., once in elementary grades and once in secondary grades).
Policy Revision | Institutionalized Authority, Contagion | Secondary Principals' Meeting | No symphony concerts for senior high schools; limit of two symphony concerts for junior highs.
Operation Critical | Legitimized Authority, Directive | Supervisors' Meeting | Decisions on who will attend meetings at school district expense will be made by the superintendent.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Decision or Action</th>
<th>Way Realized</th>
<th>Situation</th>
<th>Decision or Action</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Operation Critical</td>
<td>Legitimized Authority, Non-directive</td>
<td>Cabinet Meeting</td>
<td>Need to examine whether central supervisory staff is guilty of involving the teaching staff in busy work as inservice education; if so something needs to be done.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Operation Critical</td>
<td>Legitimized Authority, Contagion</td>
<td>Secondary Principals' Meeting</td>
<td>To study further the exact mechanism for carrying out the secondary self evaluation; need is to come up with a procedure conducive to large staffs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Operation Critical</td>
<td>Institution-alized Authority, Directive</td>
<td>Cabinet Meeting</td>
<td>To extend the length of the pre-school orientation of new teachers to at least three days.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Operation Critical</td>
<td>Institution-alized Authority, Non-directive</td>
<td>Secondary Principals' Meeting</td>
<td>To administer a complete battery of tests to ninth graders for aiding placement in grade ten, first year in senior highs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Operation Critical</td>
<td>Other, Directive</td>
<td>Elementary Principals' Meeting</td>
<td>To form a committee to discuss the possibility of changing summer school student progress reports to narrative reports from the current traditional letter-grade format.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type of Decision or Action</td>
<td>Way Realized</td>
<td>Situation</td>
<td>Decision or Action</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>--------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Operation Routine</td>
<td>Legitimized Authority, Directive</td>
<td>Supervisors' Meeting</td>
<td>Utilize staff (teaching) help in writing &quot;Faculty Footnotes,&quot; the staff news bulletin; nominate names for this.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Legitimized Authority, Non-directive</td>
<td>Superintendent-Principal Contact</td>
<td>School team (basketball) can play in YMCA tournament as long as the team is not identified with a particular church.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Legitimized Authority, Contagion</td>
<td>Elementary Principals' Meeting</td>
<td>Accept school calendar for next school year as it was presented to the group.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Institutionalized Authority, Directive</td>
<td>Elementary Principals' Meeting</td>
<td>To set annual elementary principals' dinner for month of June; director of curriculum to serve as ex-officio chairman of dinner committee.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Institutionalized Authority, Non-directive</td>
<td>Cabinet Meeting</td>
<td>Must consider more than the job in defining supervisory roles; personality also enters in as an important aspect of supervision.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Institutionalized Authority, Contagion</td>
<td>Cabinet Meeting</td>
<td>There is no best way to 'supervise'; in defining supervisory role must recognize the situational aspects of this role.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type of Decision or Action</td>
<td>Way Realized</td>
<td>Situation</td>
<td>Decision or Action</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>--------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Operation Routine</td>
<td>Other, Directive</td>
<td>Supervisors' Meeting</td>
<td>To submit group decision of last meeting on allowing professional growth credits for items submitted to staff news bulletin to professional growth committee for implementation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Operation Routine</td>
<td>Other, Non-directive</td>
<td>Supervisors' Meeting</td>
<td>To discuss creativity and the fostering and stimulation of creativity in teaching in the district's schools at a special afternoon meeting during a coffee hour chat.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
BIBLIOGRAPHY

Books and Monographs


Articles and Periodicals


Other Sources


It has already been observed that social power has been studied most in regard to more extensive and/or less formally structured social groupings. A recent research shift toward the study of less extensive and more highly structured groups, such as that of an elementary school staff or a high school staff has also been noted. This research study seeks to build on previous efforts and to focus on another less extensive and even more highly structured group—the administrative performance system of a school district.

The basic research approach was along the lines of that used in Floyd Hunter's study of community power structure. Postulates, or self-evident propositions, derived from the survey of pertinent literature and research were stated and served to provide one aspect of the basic frame of reference for the study. Research hypotheses were then formulated from the study postulates. Study postulates together with the hypotheses provided a "mental backdrop" or frame of reference against which data were collected and analyzed. The study was intended to draw upon the results of previous empirical inquiry. It represents essentially an expansion of the Hunter technique in a different context. Data were gathered through several procedures rather than limited only to the interview technique.

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32 Hunter, op. cit.

33 Hunter, op. cit., p. 6.
I, Glenn L. Immegart, was born in Dayton, Kentucky, February 21, 1933. I received my secondary-school education in the Ft. Thomas, Kentucky, public schools. My undergraduate training was taken at the Cincinnati Conservatory of Music and the University of Cincinnati which granted me the Bachelor of Science Degree in Music Education in 1956. In 1958 I was awarded the Master of Education degree from the University of Cincinnati. The first three years of my teaching career were in instrumental music education in schools in Cincinnati and Newtown, Ohio. I then became a teacher on the elementary level with the responsibility for a sixth grade class for two years in the Princeton Local School District, Hamilton County, Ohio. Following two years as an elementary principal at Vandalia, Ohio, I received an assistantship with the University Council for Educational Administration on The Ohio State University campus. I held this position for two years while completing the requirements for the Doctor of Philosophy degree.

I have accepted a position as Assistant Director of the University Council for Educational Administration located at The Ohio State University.
as was the case in the Hunter study. Utilized was the Schulz and Blumberg and Polansky and others idea of multiple-base assessment of power. The study methodology attempted to get at intended or positional power through the analysis of the intended organizational structure and at actual or manifest power through the technique of scheduled observation. The data obtained merely serve as evidence marshalled to support or reject the study hypothetical framework.

Data are presented in the form of a case report and the analytic focus is on the sources, structure, and manifestation of social power in an organizational setting and the assessment of organizational power. The chief concern of the study is methodological—the assessment of methods for studying social power in a highly structured social setting. Through an intensive look at one administrative performance system, the members of the system, and the manifestation of social power in the interpersonal interactions of the members of the system, methodology for assessing organizational power structure was devised and tested.

Robert O. Schulz and Leonard Blumberg, "The Determination of Local Power Elites," American Journal of Sociology, IXII (November, 1957), advocate the multiple-base assessment of power. For example, they looked at community power structure in terms of the economic, business, and governmental sectors of activity through techniques that sought to get at positional or status power in addition to reputed power. Polansky and others in Cartwright and Zander, op. cit., pp. 753-58, sought to get at both reputed and manifest power.

Schulz and Blumberg, op. cit.

Polansky and others in Cartwright and Zander, op. cit.

A technique used by Schulz and Blumberg, op. cit., in empirical study.

A technique utilized previously by Polansky and others, op. cit., in empirical study.
ASSESSMENT OF ORGANIZATIONAL
POWER IN AN ADMINISTRATIVE
PERFORMANCE SYSTEM

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate
School of The Ohio State University

By
Glenn L. Immegart, B. S., M. Ed.

The Ohio State University
1963

Approved by

[Signature]
Adviser
Department of Education
But this study of the assessment of the sources, structure, and manifestation of power in an organizational setting was intended also to contribute to empirical knowledge in regard to the dynamics of human interaction within a particular kind of social system as well as to the ways of obtaining data. A step toward the further understanding of the generic concept of social power was sought in focusing on a heretofore neglected arena in the study of power—the less extensive and highly structured social context, in this case an administrative performance system. An attempt was made to obtain data that would serve to establish a basis for differentiating between the manifestation of power in highly and less formally structured, extensive and less extensive, groups and for providing a better understanding of power within the organizational context.

Finally, the study was designed to contribute to the group of doctoral studies completed, or in process, at The Ohio State University, Center for Educational Administration, that is focused toward advancing the understanding of the school administrator's job. Implications of the study center on the assessment of power in the organizational context and on the stimulation of further research. The study was not intended to provide "tested" knowledge and/or generalizations for the practicing school administrator. Its chief contribution is held to be methodological.

Organizational power structure postulates

Underlying any research study are the a priori assumptions that are accepted by the researcher as "truths." Such assumptions, or self-evident propositions, that are held by the writer were
derived from the survey of pertinent literature and research. They will be stated as power structure postulates and are set forth as a frame of reference or a set of guidelines to provide the basis for the generation of hypotheses and eventually for the study of the assessment of organizational power structure in an administrative performance system. The postulates for this study are as follows:

1. Power relationships exist in any situation where people interact.

2. Power involves relationships between individuals and groups (both controlled and controlling).

   Corollary I. Power can be described structurally.

3. Power is structured at all levels of social organization (e.g., national, state, community; associational, formal organization).

   Corollary I. There are multiple sources of power in social systems.

   Corollary II. Within a given social grouping there is a differential distribution of power.

   Corollary III. Power figures and/or power elites are contained in social groupings and can be delineated.

   Corollary IV. Power is realized through force and authority and through both formal authority and functional authority.

4. Power is a constant factor in social relationships with the normative order and policy as variables.

   Corollary I. Status-position, prestige, esteem, competency, and knowledge are factors in the power constant.
Corollary II. Customs, mores, folkways, law, rules, and regulations are factors in social relationship variability.

5. Power structure within a social system varies in the course of the life-time-space of the system.

Corollary I. Power structure is affected by variations in the strength of component power units or a shift in the normative and policy orders of the system (or one of their units).

6. Power of the individual must be structured into associational, clique, or institutional patterns to be effective.

Corollary I. The formal organization provides a microcosm of organized power relations in which individuals affect the actions and decisions of other organization members and the organization as a whole.

Corollary II. Bureaucratic organization offers the greatest possibility of assuring organizational effectiveness and efficiency in policy and operational functioning.

Study hypotheses

The study hypotheses resulting from the survey of related literature and research were formulated against the basic framework provided by the postulates on organizational power structure. The hypotheses are as follows:

1. The manifestation of social power in an organizational
setting is more often the result of the exercise of authority than of the exercise of force.

Corollary I. The manifestation of social power in an organizational setting is more often a result of directive means than of non-directive means.

Corollary II. Power figures in an organizational system utilize a variety of specific means to realize their power.

Corollary III. Power figures in an organizational system exhibit a variety of styles in determining the behavior and actions of other members of the system.

Corollary IV. Power figures in an organizational system have characteristic power styles and utilize characteristic means in affecting the behavior and actions of other members of the system.

2. Social power in an organizational system is structured hierarchically.

Corollary I. Social power in an organization is structured situationally.

a. Organizational system have multiple power alignments.

b. Power alignments in an organization conform to sectors of work within the organization.
Corollary II. An evident power differential exists in organizational systems.
   a. Some members of an organizational system have a great deal of power.
   b. Some members of an organizational system have little or negligible power.

Corollary III. Ultimate power in an organizational system corresponds to the organization's authority structure (division of labor and delegation of authority).

Corollary IV. In a formal organization fewer individuals will be found exercising force or authority than occupy status or authority positions.
   a. Not all incumbents of status or authority positions are power figures.
   b. There is unused power in evidence in an organizational system.

3. Power in an organizational system has its source in the formal structure of the organization more often than in the personal characteristics of members of the organization.

   Corollary I. Position in an organizational authority hierarchy is a source of social power.

   Corollary II. Position in organizational division of labor is a source of social power.

   Corollary III. Experience is a source of power in an organizational system.
Corollary IV. Competence is a source of power in an organizational system.

Definition of terms

The following terms are defined for purposes of this research study:

1. **Power** (Social Power) - The ability to determine the actions and behavior of others in accord with one's own desires and dispositions irrespective of the wishes of others.

2. **Intended Power** - The power that is accorded to one in a status position as a result of the hierarchical ordering of status positions within an organization.

3. **Reputed Power** - The power that is attributed to one by other people.

4. **Observed Power** - The power that is manifested in terms of force or authority and which can be identified with a particular person in a particular situation.

5. **Force** - Non-sanctioned, manifest power.

6. **Authority** - Institutionalized or legitimized, manifest power.

7. **System** - A complex of elements in mutual interaction.

8. **Social System** - A complex of human beings linked in a particular way who operate together according to certain patterns so as to produce a characteristic effect.

9. **Administrative Performance System** - A social system that is composed of status positions which exist primarily to direct and order policy decisions within an organization. It may be composed
of line (authority) positions or staff (service) positions, or both. (In a school district this would typically include superintendents, assistant superintendents, directors, supervisors, principals, and assistant principals. Consultants, special service positions--e.g., attendance officer, school nurse, etc.--and clerks would not be included in the administrative performance system per se.)

10. Organization - A consciously coordinated social system that exists to fulfill a specific purpose or set of purposes.

**General Study Plan**

The research methodology selected for the problem under consideration was that of the case study design. The case study method is particularly suited to the initial stages of empirical study of complex social phenomena. It permits the researcher to look intensively at a unified whole. Further, the case study reveals the complexity of factors and indicates their sequences and interrelationships. The phenomenon under study is thereby not delimited or restricted to a meaningless framework or substructure void of many of its essential characteristics and interdependent parts. Essential characteristics, interdependent parts, or other variables cannot be ignored until they are, in fact, to some extent understood (a prerequisite to the control of variables). Another merit of this design in this research is that the proposed study was

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so conceived as to build on earlier empirical studies utilizing the case study method.\textsuperscript{40}

Data were obtained from an intensive study of the administrative performance system in a single school district. Selection of the study district was based on three criteria. First, it was to be an administrative staff with more than 30, and less than 50 members. This sample size restriction permitted sufficient diversity of function and role to provide more than simple interaction patterns but the sample was not beyond the resources of a single researcher. Second, it was to be an administrative staff that had both line and staff positions and evident authority levels. Therefore, the system viewed was a consciously structured organization. Third, the administrative staff to be studied needed to be physically accessible to the researcher since any case study research demands a close and prolonged contact between researcher and data source.

Three techniques were used in the collection of data on the structure, the sources, and manifestation of power in the study system. First, the formal organization chart and its interpretation were examined. This resulted in an appraisal of intended power. Second, each member of the administrative performance system was interviewed by the researcher. These interviews were conducted using a structured interview schedule. This technique yielded an assessment of reputed power. Third, a series of meetings involving members of the study district's administrative performance system were observed. Data were recorded on a structured observation schedule. This

\textsuperscript{40}\textsuperscript{Hunter, op. cit.; Schulz and Blumberg, op. cit.; Polansky and others, op. cit.; Iannaccone, op. cit.; Fleming, op. cit.}
technique resulted in an assessment of actual or observed power. Thus data-gathering techniques sought to identify intended, reputed, and actual or observed power.

To refine the data-gathering procedures and devices a pilot study was conducted in an available district with a necessarily smaller administrative performance system (16 members). This test run of the data-gathering techniques permitted the researcher to refine the selected study procedures and devices as well as his own use of these procedures and devices.

Data and data-gathering reliability and validity were sought through the use of multiple procedures for collecting data. In addition to the formal procedures directed toward assessing intended, reputed, and observed power such informal procedures as informal interviews, informal observation, and anecdotal records were also utilized to collect data. The use of the pilot study and scheduled data-gathering devices further provided data and data-collection validity. The fundamentally non-statistical case method approach was thus objectified as much as possible.

The presentation and analysis of data are in the form of a case study report. Study hypotheses serve as a frame of reference for the analysis and presentation of data. The structuring, sources, and manifestation of power in the organizational setting are delineated. In the analysis of data, power is viewed both in terms of its quantitative and qualitative dimensions. Robert Strausz-Hupe

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11 Actually a "judgment" based on (1) the results of interaction at specific times and (2) observer perceptions.
observes that power can be measured and quantified and it can, therefore, be put into statistical notations.\textsuperscript{42}

This is true of power in a generic sense or in regard to a particular individual's power in a given situation (governed by certain definable circumstances), but power in some instances defies quantitative representation. As Simon points out, some quantities are characterized by multiple qualities and cannot be reduced to complete ordering.\textsuperscript{43} Simon holds that social power is such a phenomenon. A complete understanding of power in the organizational setting is, then, dependent on more than quantitative measurement, hence the need to identify and analyze the qualitative dimensions of social power.

The specific assessment techniques or research data-gathering procedures represent a central concern of the analysis section of this study. Discrepancies between intended, reputed, and observed power are examined and the internal consistency of the three data-gathering techniques assessed. Methodological strengths and weakness or limitations are enumerated and discussed. A description of the general process of data collection through the techniques and devices used in the study is also presented.

\textbf{Limitations of the Study}

The study of any social phenomenon is accompanied by limitations related to both the phenomenon itself and the methodology used in the


\textsuperscript{43}Herbert A. Simon, \textit{Models of Man} (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1957), pp. 74-76.
TO MY WIFE
study. Early investigation of a social phenomenon and research with a methodological focus are beset with additional limitations. The following discussion is intended to focus on the major limitations of this study as they relate to the concept of social power and the basic research methodology employed in the assessment of organizational power structure.

Social power, as conceived for purposes of this research, is held to be the ability or potential to produce an action or reaction. As Bierstedt notes, it is the predisposition or capacity to do something. Hence, power is manifested only in terms of something else—either force or authority. The researcher studying power and the structuring of power must then work with the results of the latent phenomenon and assume that the results observed or manifested are, in fact, attributable to the phenomenon under study. Bills has observed that

Since science deals with empirical data, much of which are directly observable, we have come to believe that science deals with the real world and that anything not directly observable is not a fit subject for scientific inquiry. That many of the data of the physical sciences are not directly observable and are known only through their effects does not seem to disturb our stereotypes. Nevertheless those phenomena which are not directly observable or are not manifest per se present unique problems for the researcher in both the physical and social sciences.

Since power is latent and is, further, a capacity, problems

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^Bierstedt, op. cit., p. 178.

are encountered by the social scientist that do not necessarily confront his physical science counterpart. In the physical world capacities can be to an extent more precisely determined and more readily assessed. In the social world accurate determination of capacity is difficult. It is impossible to get precise assessments from the perceptions of human beings since these perceptions have both conscious and unconscious dimensions and are also more or less factual. It is also difficult to isolate for study purposes the aspects of, or variables related to, social phenomena. Multiple or interrelated aspects and variables must be analyzed as they interact in the context of a social unit. Controls are difficult to impose in social research situations and little opportunity is available to isolate the aspects or variables under study per se.

Another limitation relating to social power and the structuring of social power is that power exists and is structured situationally. Not only is context important but also time is a relevant variable in the power syndrome. Any study that requires a considerable period of time for completion is faced with the obvious problem of the dynamic nature of human interactions. Inconsistencies in data might be a function of inaccurate assessment procedures or interpretation, or they might be a function of the changing nature of real data themselves.

Finally, the latent phenomenon is often capable of eluding a true assessment. We can never be sure that we are getting at what affects something. For example, interactions can be observed but it is impossible to ever observe all of the interactions of all of the members of even a small family system. Further, it is impossible to be able to understand all of the non-verbal communications and the
multiplicity of interactions that are involved in the relationship of even two people in frequent contact with each other. Causation is an elusive process that has been subjected to little empirical study in regard to its manifestation in the social world.

Methodologically the case study approach presents some limitations. It of necessity involves a restricted sample and is, therefore, not conducive to generalization. Also it involves a most subjective and non-empirical approach thereby minimizing possible statistical treatment. Further, as Good points out, the case method has, in fact, all of the difficulties of science in general.\(^6\) This research must be viewed in the light of such limitations.

Research with a methodological focus has numerous limitations. First, the researcher assumes that the phenomenon under consideration is researchable. In the second place, even by drawing upon previous empirical study, the researcher can only assume that the research design selected is appropriate for the phenomenon at hand. Third, the researcher, in selecting specific research techniques and data-gathering devices, further assumes that the techniques and devices chosen are those best suited for the purposes of the study. The researcher is also limited by his ability to develop a sound and heuristic conception of that which he is studying. In addition, the researcher is limited by his ability to draw upon, and utilize, the findings of pertinent and related studies and methodology. Finally, in the development and testing of case study methodology the researcher

is restricted, as a result of the kinds of data that are obtained, to less rigorous types of scientific analysis and validation.

Some problems are also inherent in the specific data-gathering procedures involved in the assessment techniques related to reputed and observed power. Reputation data obtained by the interview are subject to errors in perception on the part of the respondent in the interview situation. Data can also be distorted by lack of information on the part of the respondent as well as by occurrences of the immediate past or traumatic experiences in general. The interviewer also is subject to interpretive errors.

In regard to data obtained through observation the following represent pertinent limitations: (1) the ability of the observation schedule to account for all aspects of the phenomena or interactions that occur; (2) the researcher's ability to use the observation technique; (3) the perceptions brought to the situation by the observer; and (4) the extent of the results of occurrences at the specific times of observation. Not only are observation data limited to interactions at the specific times of observation and what takes place at such times, but also by both what the observer fails to see and what it is impossible for him to see.

Most significant is a limitation related to the data obtained through the observation procedure. Even in systematic, structured observation such a mass of data is collected that it is impossible to present all of the data obtained. In reporting and analyzing such data it is necessary to be selective, using only a portion of that which is available and selecting examples from the large array of possibilities. In this selective process a researcher could omit
pertinent data, or fail to choose the most appropriate data. Also, individual bias could enter into the selection process. In any event, researcher choice represents a distinct limitation upon data collected through observation.

Lastly, this research is of limited potential contribution to the researcher's profession. Results are not obtainable which will directly affect the practice of school administration. Administrative practice can only be assisted through this study should the research stimulate further investigation and provide a refined method of assessing organizational power structure that can be used in other empirical studies.

Organization of the Dissertation

Chapter I of this dissertation provides a background of the study area, the basic problem for study, the general research design, and a delineation of study limitations. In Chapter II relevant literature and research are surveyed in order to illuminate the basic concept under consideration and methodology used in studying social power. Literature from several disciplines was read to develop the writer's own conception of social power, to help define social power, and to provide a background of information in regard to the sources, structure, and manifestation of social power. Study methodology and the development and refinement of data-gathering procedures are discussed in Chapter III. "Center City," the study setting, is described in Chapter IV. Chapter V is the analysis of social power and its structuring in the study district along with an analysis of the assessment procedures used in the study. Chapter VI contains the
study summary. Conclusions, as well as suggestions and recommendations for further research, are enumerated.
CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE AND RESEARCH

Survey of Related Literature

Although the systematic study of social power is of very recent origin,¹ the literature of sociology,² social psychology,³ and political science⁴ abounds in its treatment of the concept of power—its sources, structure, and manifestation in man's cooperative


activity in human society. Not only has social power been a concern of sociologists, social psychologists, and political scientists in general, but also it represents a central interest to the students of leadership and administration. \(^5\)

The survey of relevant literature from sociology, social psychology, and political science as well as from the fields of leadership and administration served to assist in the development of the conceptual framework underlying this study. This section does not represent a comprehensive review of literature, but rather deals with sources in which writers point up the particular conception of social power which is used in this study. The section is organized around the focal points of the analysis of data as presented in Chapter V. The survey of literature, thus, sought to develop the writer's concept of the basic phenomenon of social power in order to (1) define social power and differentiate it from other related social phenomena, (2) determine how social power is realized in social interactions, (3) identify bases or sources of social power, (4) view the ways power is structured in social systems, and (5) examine social power in relation to the organizational setting.

This section of this chapter represents a discussion of

Defining Social Power and Differentiating It from Other Related Social Phenomena

Defining social power is not an easy task; social power means many things to many people. Even a cursory perusal of the literature relevant to social power reveals a variety of conceptions of this social phenomenon. In fact, it is advanced as one of the infinite desires of man, a common outlet for human aspirations, energy usable for social purposes, a relationship, and a capacity or ability.

There is, however, general agreement in the literature that social power is a basic concept in the social sciences. Social power is as fundamental in the social sciences as are the concepts of energy and gravity in physics. Power has many forms and is realized through a variety of means using a variety of instrumentalities. Whenever and wherever social pressures operate on the individual to

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6 Russell, op. cit., p. 11.
8 Ibid., p. 661
induce desired conduct social power is present.\textsuperscript{12} Despite the general agreement on the centrality of the concept of social power to the social sciences, different notions of the phenomenon take varying directions.

Many students of power conceive of the phenomenon as a relationship.\textsuperscript{13} As such, power is not the attribute of a single person but is, rather, a relationship between people. It is, in fact, an ordered relationship that is not necessarily symmetric or asymmetric; transitive or intransitive.\textsuperscript{14} In this sense power is a function of the interpersonal interactions of men as they go about group or corporate activity. Lasswell and Kaplan go a step further than some in conceiving of power as a relationship. They view social power as a specific kind of human relationship—participation in decision-making.\textsuperscript{15} The conception of power in terms of decision-making adds an important dimension to the production of intended effects on others—namely that of the availability of sanctions when the intended effects are not forthcoming.

To other social scientists power is envisioned as a capacity


\textsuperscript{13}Dahl, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 203; Cartwright and Zander, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 658; Cartwright, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 211; Merriam, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 16; and Heider, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 238.

\textsuperscript{14}Cartwright, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 214.

\textsuperscript{15}Lasswell and Kaplan, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 75 and 76.
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

A doctoral dissertation project is generally recognized as the culmination of one individual's effort. This writer, however, is aware that any study of this scope involves the cooperation of many people. Such a research project would, in fact, be impossible without the encouragement, guidance, and assistance provided by a number of people. It is, then, with a deep sense of appreciation, gratitude, and respect that the author recognizes the contributions of the following to the fruition of this project:

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The necessarily un-named members of the administrative staffs
or an ability. As such it is a latent phenomenon that is realized in the real world through a translation into action. Thus, it is a state of being and depends upon the possession of certain resources that can be brought to bear in the course of social interaction. In such a conception, access to, and possession of, particular resources are important aspects of the power situation. Such resources may be of a human, other animal, botanical, or mechanical nature. In any event they are any of the possible resources that are usable for social purposes.

Social power is advanced by some as more than a mere capacity or ability to do something; it is a particular kind of potential. It is the capacity or ability to cause or effect the behavior or actions of others. Power is, then, the ability to perform acts that activate forces in the life space of others. Such ability or capacity can result from individual physical or intellectual capacities or because of position in a social system in relation to other members of the system.

This ability to effect is recognized as a most compelling force. Power is seen as the capacity for imposing one's will in social interaction even if others taking part in the interaction even if others taking part in the interaction...
resist it. It is the determination of behavior in accordance with one's own ends and results from the effect of non-motivational factors. Thus, the recipient of the manifestation of power has no choice; he is compelled or coerced by a social force. This does not, however, mean that the results of the manifestation of social power always run counter to the desires of those upon whom the force is exerted. In many instances subjects may actually desire the end achieved as a result of the realization social power; but, in any event, the subject does not have a choice in the matter.

Power is also recognized as a most complex phenomenon; its realization involves more than interpersonal relationships, energy, or the capacity to effect the actions and decisions of others even against their will. The complexity of social power is revealed through its tendency to be structured in a hierarchical manner. Power is never the subordination of the many to one; it is always a hierarchy.20 It can to an extent be measured and quantified,21 but it is characterized by multiple qualities and thus cannot be reduced to complete ordering or specific quantities. Amount of power involves both quantitative and qualitative dimensions as well as situational considerations. "Power over whom," is not a complete specification; there must be added, "in such and such particulars."22 Three elements then enter into "amount" of power—weight, scope, and domain. Weight of power refers to the degree or impact of participation in the making

20Lasswell and Kaplan, op. cit., p. 205.
21Straus7-Hupe, op. cit., p. 5.
22Lasswell and Kaplan, op. cit., p. 76.
of decisions; scope of power represents the values whose shaping and enjoyment are controlled; and domain of power consists of the persons over whom power is exercised. 23

Social power in social interaction is very real but sometimes exasperatingly elusive. 24 It is nearly always obscured by irrelevancies, deceits, and the natural limitations of human knowledge. Any conception of such a phenomenon is, therefore, necessarily restricted and limited. But these limitations in no way detract, in the case of social power, from the centrality of the basic phenomenon to the understanding of human behavior in social systems.

**A definition of social power**

As has been indicated a precise definition of social power is not easy to formulate; no consensus definition, in fact, exists. However, it is felt that a researcher would be amiss in investigating a phenomenon if he were unsure or hazy in regard to what was being investigated. Agger's approach of using power and influence synonymously merely because people tend to use the concepts as identical or equivalent 25 appears to be quite unscientific. It would seem, at least to this writer, to be better to define the phenomenon as precisely as possible and to differentiate it clearly from other related phenomena even should this result in a "less--

24 *Strausz-Hupe, op. cit.*, p. 3.
accepted construct for research purposes than would otherwise be the case.

Although no universal definition exists for social power and many writers and researchers use the term interchangeably with such terms as influence, manipulation, domination, authority, force, coercion, and control as well as others, there is some agreement evidenced in literature about directions a definition of social power might take. To illustrate this point several specific definitions of power are presented.

According to Weber power can be defined thusly,

In general we understand by 'power' the chance of a man or of a number of men to realize their own will in a communal action even against the resistance of others who are participating in the action.\(^\text{26}\)

Similarly,

By power . . . is meant nothing more than the observed and predictable capacity for imposing one's own will in a social action, even against the resistance of others taking part in that action.\(^\text{27}\)

Davis views power, as applied to social affairs, as usually meaning the determination of the behavior of others in accordance with one's own ends.\(^\text{28}\) To Griffiths power is simply the ability to employ force or produce action.\(^\text{29}\) The power of "O" over "P," as conceived by Cartwright, is concerned with "O's" ability to perform acts which


\(^{27}\)Merton, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 272.

\(^{28}\)Davis, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 94-95.

\(^{29}\)Daniel Griffiths, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 18.
activate forces in "P's" life space. Cook and Cook envision power as a way of compelling decision. It is, in this sense, a state of being; its action element involves translation into force. To Mills the powerful are those who are able to realize their will even if others resist it.

Attributed to Bierstedt is a very simple and concise set of definitions in regard to the power syndrome. Bierstedt conceives of power as a latent, never expressed, universal phenomenon that is manifested in human societies and in all social relationships. Force and authority are the action elements of power; hence, power is a synthesis of force or authority. Or force and authority are the action aspects of power. Thus, Bierstedt arrives at the following set of definitions: Power is latent force or the ability to employ force; force is manifest power; and authority is institutionalized power.

From the foregoing, as well as other sources, four general elements are introduced that might be accounted for in a definition of social power. These elements are: (1) power is a capacity or an ability and is, therefore, latent; (2) power involves the determination or directing of the behaviors, decisions, or actions of others;

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34 For example, Tannenbaum and others, op. cit., p. 276; and Roger Bellows, Creative Leadership (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1959), p. 17.
(3) power refers to the desires of an individual and not necessarily to those of a group; and (b) those upon whom power is exerted have no choice in reference to the outcome of the manifestation of power. For purposes of this research power is defined as the ability to determine the actions and behavior of others in accord with one's own desires and dispositions irrespective of the wishes of others. Defined as such it does not exist per se in the real world and is realized in social interaction through the exercise of force or authority. Power is then a capacity; force and authority are its action aspects.\(^{35}\)

Force is the manifestation of non-sanctioned power. It refers to instances in which an actor has at his disposal instruments to disadvantage others if they do not accept the actor's will. In such an instance both the actor and the others are aware of differences but the others accept the will of the actor because of fear of reprisal. In an organizational system such reprisal could be failure to offer salary increments, a failure to award a promotion, or even physical coercion. In any event, the instruments at the disposal of the actor are used in ways not provided or recognized by the group and may, in fact, be used for personal advantage. The exercise of force has the implication that a superordinate could manipulate even the legal order to the disadvantage of a subordinate(s).

Authority, however, refers to the manifestation of sanctioned power. It includes both institutionalized means, those that have become regularized or habitual (or "right") through the interpersonal

\(^{35}\)It should be noted that this definition is very close to those used by the physical scientist in his study of the physical world.
interactions of organized social life, and legitimized means, those consciously legitimized or sanctioned by a particular social system. Authority has its sources outside of the person who employs it; it derives from an acknowledged status or inheres in the office rather than in the particular person who performs a role or an "official" role. Thus, authority adheres to position or role; force, on the other hand, may attach to the person. Further, authority involves the acknowledgement of legitimacy or right on the part of those within an organization or social system albeit through formal or informal means.

Since social power has been defined operationally for this research and delimited to a specific order of phenomena, that representing latent phenomena, it is essential to differentiate power from some of its more common synonyms. In effect the definition has already differentiated power from force and authority, two terms often used synonymously. It remains to differentiate power from such other social phenomena as influence, domination, persuasion, control, manipulation, and prestige, including the matters of competence and special knowledge.

36 Essentially Bierstedt's definition of authority. See Bierstedt, op. cit., p. 177.

Influence

Influence as a social phenomenon refers to the process involved in affecting policies of others than the self. 38 It denotes a process that is manifest per se in the real world. Influence attaches to ideas, doctrines, or creeds and has a locus in the ideological sphere; power on the other hand attaches to a person, a group, or an association and has a locus in the sociological sphere. 39 Influence involves the matter of choice; the subject of an influence attempt has the freedom to make decisions regarding alternatives which affect behavior. 40 Therefore, the subject submits voluntarily to influence.

It is the threat of sanctions that differentiates power from influence in general:

Power is a special case of the exercise of influence: it is the process of affecting policies of others with the help of (actual or threatened) severe deprivations for non-conformity with the policies intended. 41

As Bellows observes, "one can have great influence but little power." 42 This does not mean, however, that power and influence are distinct and separate phenomena. Certainly power is inextricably involved in the process of influence.

38 Lasswell and Kaplan, op. cit., p. 71.
39 Bierstedt, op. cit., p. 175.
40 Tannenbaum and others, op. cit., p. 276.
41 Lasswell and Kaplan, op. cit., p. 76.
42 Bellows, op. cit., p. 20.
Domination

Domination refers to relations in which a power-holder expresses his wishes by giving commands.\textsuperscript{43} It is psychological and resides with the individual.\textsuperscript{44} Therefore, domination appears in the roles individuals play in formal and/or informal organization. It is a specific kind of relationship between people and is a function of personality or temperament.\textsuperscript{45}

Persuasion

Persuasion can be defined as "the act or process of causing a person to feel, or believe, or to do something; to stay as he is or to change."\textsuperscript{46} It is a process or a means to an end. Persuasion may or may not involve choice and may or may not be conscious. Although power and persuasion are different orders of social phenomena, power represents an important aspect in relation to the success of a persuasive act. Both power and persuasion affect; both influence and persuasion are processes; and each of the three is, however, a different order of social phenomenon.

Manipulation

Manipulation is a process through which a power-holder exercises power without stating the expected behavior or outcome.\textsuperscript{47}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{43}Mannheim, op. cit., p. 46.
\item \textsuperscript{44}Bierstedt, op. cit., p. 176.
\item \textsuperscript{45}Ibid., p. 176.
\item \textsuperscript{47}Mannheim, op. cit., p. 46.
\end{itemize}
It refers to a special case in the broader process of affecting others. Manipulation involves power and according to Mills is the "secret" exercise of power unknown to those who are affected.\(^8\) Manipulation, therefore, is a form of behavioral affect in which the behavior of the subject is determined by an actor who does not make his wants explicit.\(^9\)

**Control**

Control refers to a relationship that is, by and large, achieved.\(^5\) It is, further, a relationship between people. The entire problem of control logically presupposes the existence of executive power.\(^5\) Hence, it is specifically a hierarchical relationship between a superordinate and subordinate(s). This is not necessarily so in the case of power.

**Prestige**

Prestige, along with the components of, sources of, or synonyms of prestige—such as knowledge, skill, competence, ability, and eminence—and power are independent variables.\(^5\) Power and prestige may occur separately or together; if they occur together prestige results from power. Prestige represents the invidious value that is

\(^8\) Mills, *op. cit.*, p. 316.


\(^5\) Ibid., p. 328.

\(^5\) Bierstedt, *op. cit.*, p. 175.
who provided the setting and data for both the pilot and the final study.

The many professors and graduate students with whom the candidate came into contact over the course of graduate study who challenged ideas, revealed insights, and provided a sounding board for many of the writer's notions that led to this study.

The writer's wife Mary Lou, and daughter Mary Sue, for their patience and understanding, their devotion and provision of a productive home environment, and their willingness to make the sacrifices necessary to the pursuance of graduate study. A special word of appreciation is extended to the former, who not only undertook the arduous task of typing this study through all of several drafts but also provided encouragement, many valuable suggestions, assistance in every phase of the research process, and the companionship that helped the research project take on added meaning and become of continuing interest.
attached to status or office or a combination of them and is, therefore, a value reference.

The Manifestation of Social Power

When dealing with a phenomenon that is not manifested per se in the real world it is important to be cognizant of the way in which the phenomenon affects the real world. In a prior section of this chapter, in defining power as a latent capacity, the notion was advanced that social power is realized through the exercise of force or authority. The manifestation of social power is, then, as Bierstedt suggests a synthesis of force and authority.\(^5^4\)

The power situation involves a series of intergroup relations calling for a balance and ordering of some type, which is preferable to the distress caused by lack of common arrangements and understandings.\(^5^5\) The same requirement could be advanced for intragroup relations as well. The balancing and ordering that occur from common arrangements and understandings result from the exercise of force or authority. But the means or procedures by which force or authority are exercised are many and varied. Many such means for realizing social power have been delineated. For example, Lasswell and Kaplan identify the following: violence, faith, loyalties, interests, habit, and apathy.\(^5^6\) Russell notes that an individual may

\(^{5^3}\)Davis, op. cit., p. 93.

\(^{5^4}\)Bierstedt, op. cit., p. 178.

\(^{5^5}\)Merriam, op. cit., pp. 22 and 23.

\(^{5^6}\)Lasswell and Kaplan, op. cit., p. 76.
be affected by power through the following ways: (1) by direct physical force, (2) by rewards and punishments as inducement, and (3) by influence or opinion.\textsuperscript{57} These means can be characterized as (1) police power, (2) propaganda power, and (3) educative power. Three other means for realizing social power are (1) free sway of uncontrolled violence (power), (2) organized destruction (power), and (3) canalized power (that power vested in institutions which produces orderly patterns of human interaction subject to norms, codes, and rules).\textsuperscript{58} Still another set of means for realizing power as identified by Goldhammer and Shils is as follows: (1) force, effecting of behavior by physical manipulation; (2) domination, effecting behavior through making wants explicit; and (3) manipulation, effecting behavior without making wants explicit.\textsuperscript{59}

In addition to the various means for realizing power there are numerous and varied instrumentalities of power. An instrumentality of power is simply any condition or mechanism that exists which serves to facilitate the realization of power. The possible number and kinds of instrumentalities are such that they defy enumeration and classification.\textsuperscript{60} There are essentially two kinds of such instrumentalities—material and non-material ones. Examples of material instrumentalities are control of mass media, control of wealth, control of services, control of information, and control of

\textsuperscript{57}Russell, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 36.
\textsuperscript{58}Mannhein, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 48.
\textsuperscript{59}Goldhammer and Shils, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 182.
resources. Examples of non-material resources are custom, values, norms, rules and social stratification.

Further, the above means and instrumentalities are used in different ways. Those who exercise force and authority to realize their social power can achieve their ends by (1) directive behavior, the actor initiates behavior which has the manifest objective of determining the behavior of another member of the group, and (2) behavioral contagion, a spontaneous pickup or imitation by other members of a group of a behavior initiated by an actor where the actor does not display any intention of getting others to do what he did. Directive behavior can further be direct or non-direct; in the former, the initiator commands and, in the latter, the initiator suggests. Of course a power figure's style may consist of a combination of kinds of behavior, but in any event his style tends to be characteristic. Vidich, for example, in his study of a small town writes

Jones is a pleasant person and, while wielding tremendous power, never appears to assert himself. Lee and Flint, who have much less authority, are much more assertive and outspoken in the exhibition of their political convictions.

But although social power can be realized by a variety of means or specific procedures utilizing a variety of instrumentalities in different ways, all of the means, instrumentalities, and styles represent specific applications of force and/or authority. The


actual manifestation of power is through the exercise of force and/or authority. Force for purposes of this research refers to the directing and/or effecting of behavior and actions by non-sanctioned means; authority represents the directing or effecting of behavior and actions by sanctioned means, both those sanctioned through the processes of institutionalization and legitimation.

The Structuring of Social Power

It has already been noted that power is not uniformly distributed among the members of a social system. Power tends to be structured in social situations. But power is more than mere subordination of the members of a group to one superordinate; it is structured into a hierarchy with varying "amounts" of power residing with the various members of the group. Group members are not either powerful or without power; rather, they have differing amounts of power or potential for determining the behavior and actions of other members of a system. Amount of power in this sense is both quantitative and qualitative and is also affected by situational factors. "Power over" is a matter of degree and must be qualified in regard to "such and such particulars." Thus, the hierarchical ordering (structuring) of social power is not a simple matter. This fact is attested to in the literature on social power.

Every group, in fact, has several structures: prestige,

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63 Bierstedt, op. cit., p. 173; and Goldhammer and Shils, op. cit., p. 182.
friendship or choice, and power. Further, each of a group's various structures can be identified as one of two general kinds: (1) a functional structure, status from function, or (2) a scalar structure, status from authority (chain of command) or jurisdication.

Functional structure in formal organization is characterized by Merton as follows:

A formal, rationally organized social structure involves clearly defined patterns of activity in which, ideally, every series of actions is functionally related to the purposes of the organization.

Scalar or authority structure is advanced by Seigman and Karsh as inherent in formal organization.

The total system (bureaucratic) also includes an authority structure which defines the relative responsibility and establishes the limits of appropriate decision-making of the different positions. This structure consists of a network of superordinate and subordinate relationships between persons in different occupational roles. The authority structure functions to maintain the division of labor and to communicate to the role players those directions necessary to achieve organizational goals.

Implied in such an authority structure is an underlying power structure. Power is essentially a structural concept and refers to certain central aspects of the functional arrangements of any social system.

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66 Merton, op. cit., p. 195.
67 Siegman and Karsh, op. cit., p. 110.
Hencley advocates that all social systems are based upon some system of power; inequalities always exist and are inherent in such systems. According to Cooperman and Walter

When we refer to systems of power, we mean not merely who gets what, when, and how, nor simply the relation between individuals in which one controls the behavior of the other. Instead we think of the organizational network of control and subordination in which some men—by tradition, by force, or by mandate—direct the energies of all, according to certain values and techniques.

The work of Hunter has resulted in a pyramidal conception of the power hierarchy. At the apex of the power pyramid is a small group of the "power elite." It is at this place in the power structure that policy decisions are made. The power elite, however, is usually only concerned with policy decisions and not operation or action. Decisions which form the basis for action or operation are passed down the pyramid or hierarchy to lower level power figures who in turn translate decisions into action.

The foregoing is not meant to imply that power is structured in a monolithic manner in social systems. In fact, a monolithic conception of power in any complex system can be questioned. In Hunter's study a distinct power alignment was also revealed for the Negro subcommunity. Another study reported in Campbell and Gregg

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72 Floyd Hunter, Community Power Structure (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1953.)
evidenced some five distinct power alignments. Power structure can consist of several superimposed, or several distinct, power "pyramids" of equal or unequal potential force. The matter of specialization of function within organizational systems tends to further emphasize the fact that power in such systems is hierarchical but is characterized by multiple alignments and complex webs of sociometric networks.

The pervasive nature of power structure is succinctly summarized as follows:

A person's location in the group's power structure will greatly influence what he must do, his space of free movement, how autonomous he can be, and whether he is vulnerable to arbitrary control by others. It is clear that the ability of a person to satisfy his needs can be basically affected by his location in a power structure.

**Bases or Sources of Social Power**

Since power is recognized as being distributed in a hierarchical manner with some having a greater capacity to effect or determine actions and decisions than others, it becomes apparent that certain factors or resources must in part be responsible for the power differential that exists within a social system. Thus, the matter of basis of power is important. To answer such questions as why one individual has more power than another or why an individual has more power than others in a certain situation, some notion of the basis of the "capacity to effect" must be established. Or, from where does

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this ability to effect or determine come? The survey of literature has served to delineate generic bases of social power as well as a variety of specific sources of social power.

By the base of power is meant simply the relationship between an actor and another which is the source of that power. A base of power consists of all of the resources that an actor can exploit in order to effect or determine the behavior of others. There is general agreement in the literature that the generic bases of social power are person and position. Davis, in noting that power attaches in actuality not merely to status or office but also to the individual independently of his position, views power as coming from both role and position. To Davies and Livingston power stems from a personal quality such as ideas or personality, or is conferred upon as in the case of authority. The latter could be either group conferred through recognition of contributions or it could result from formal job description. Zander and others view status differentials implied or explicitly defined by society, the nature and value of the functions included within role, and the responsibility to others that have as the most general of a number of sources of power. Therefore, power has its bases in both the individual and the organization, in both

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77 Dahl, op. cit., p. 203.

78 Davis, op. cit., p. 95.


role and position, and in both informal and formal interpersonal interaction.

In addition to the generic bases of power, a number of more specific sources of power can be identified. For example, in an organization or a system of legitimate power the individual derives whatever power he may wield by delegation from the principle of legitimate rule. 81 This may result from conscious delegation, failure to account for something by the organized system, the individual's competence as selected for organizational work, or other personal characteristics of the individual. Authority represents the system of normatively sanctioned power. It overlays and sometimes conflicts with other bases of power, such as strength, ability, or personality, which may consequently give rise to unsanctioned power. 82 Therefore, even force (non-sanctioned, manifest power) may have its locus (indirectly) in the formal structure of an organization.

Read observes that power is won and wielded in various ways and for numerous purposes. 83 One may secure power by seizure, inheritance, appointment, election, or even competitive examination. 84 Weber's classic conception of power identified three sources of power or authority. The first, rationality, results from a belief in the legality of rules governing an organization. The second, tradition, arises from obedience to a position or office independent of the

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81 Strausz-Hupe, op. cit., p. 22.
82 Davis, op. cit., p. 48.
84 Ibid., p. 118.
occupant of the office or position. The third source of power, according to Weber, charisma, emanates from the individual or a person as a result of superior attributes or competence.

Three kinds of power as delineated by Russell indicate his notion of the sources of power. These kinds of power are traditional, revolutionary, and naked power.\(^85\) Traditional power commands respect due to custom; revolutionary power depends upon a large group united by a new creed, program, or sentiment; naked power results from the power-loving impulses of individuals or groups. Some other general sources of power are status, office, wealth, ability, reputation, popularity, or, in general, favorable position with regard to any value.\(^86\)

Although the foregoing sources of power are relevant they do represent generic categories and would apply more or less and in general to all social systems. Those interested in leadership and organizations have identified some other, more or less specific, sources or bases of power that are characteristic of more-highly structured social systems. Five such sources of power are the following: attraction (liking); expertise (knowledge and information); reward (ability to mediate rewards); coercion (ability to mediate punishments); and legitimacy (based on the right to prescribe behavior or opinions).\(^87\) Simon notes that the acceptance of authority may stem from any combination whatsoever of the bases of power. He

\(^{85}\)Russell, op. cit., p. 40.

\(^{86}\)Lasswell and Kaplan, op. cit., p. 84; and Flechtheim, op. cit., p. 30.

\(^{87}\)Cartwright and Zander, op. cit., p. 731.
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advances the following bases of power: monetary, inducement, force, and legitimacy. Position in a formal organization, as found in assigned rank or the location of position in the echelons of the organization, is viewed by Bass as a most easily obtained index of power in an organization. In focusing on the dilemma of bureaucratic authority, Blau sees such authority as resting upon sanctions and observes further that authority is weakened by frequent resort to this source of power in operation.

The mounting power and authority that is vested in specialists in organizations has been noted by Seigman and Karsh. Mooney, in dealing with the problem of the increasing loss of power by a university faculty, also points to specialization as one source of power in the university setting. He emphasizes, however, the "great negative power" that is available through specialization for "stopping what others start." In a large organization, such as the university, one may lack power to create but he can still hold power to prevent or destroy.

Hinkle and Boskoff quote Warner in observing that those occupying coordinating positions acquire power and prestige since their actions partly control the behavior of the individuals who look

88 Simon, op. cit., p. 75.
89 Bass, op. cit., p. 263.
90 Blau, op. cit., p. 76.
to them for direction. In this simple control there is power. Uncertainty absorption, or the use of inferences drawn from a body of evidence rather than the evidence itself in communications, is another source of power. In such an instance the recipient of communication is severely limited in his ability to judge its correctness. Similar to this source of power is one advanced by Stogdill:

Differences in interpersonal power are made possible by the differentiation of authority for initiating control and by the greater access of members in high status positions to information for the control of operations.

The ability to control the decision-making process in an organization represents a most important source of power. Long tenure in position, high social standing, and the backing of power groups are also necessary to a "power-holder." Follett's notion that power over people derives basically from sharing power with them has been voiced by others as well. Dahl's observation that high potentiality for control is not equivalent to control, and that also a potential for unity is needed, further supports Follett's

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93 Roscoe Hinkle and Alvin Boskoff, "Social Stratification in Perspective" in Becker and Boskoff, op. cit., p. 387.
94 March and Simon, op. cit., p. 166.
95 Stogdill, op. cit., p. 138.
96 Griffiths, op. cit., p. 86.
98 See Tead, op. cit., p. 130.
99 See, for example, Barnard, op. cit., p. 184; and James M. Hughes, Human Relations in Educational Organization (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1957), p. 369.
idea that an individual's power can be based in the other members of a social system. 100

In summary, the generic bases of social power in organized social life are the individual and the position. In the organizational system acceptance by other members of the system is one source of social power. There are many other sources of power, however, such as position, rank, role, tenure, competence, reputation, rules and regulations (the normative order), legality, and technical expertise (a function of specialization). In addition to such positive sources there are "negative" sources of power such as the following: sanctions, control over decision processes, withholding of information, ability to prevent or to block others, control over resources, and the use of rewards and inducements. It is interesting to note that in the organizational setting the negative sources of power loom more important in many instances than do the positive ones. This appears to be especially true as the size and complexity of an organization increase.

Social Power and the Organizational Setting

Social power is a factor that is present in all social behavior and interaction. The relevance of this factor in political activity at the community or state level has long been recognized. Its relevance to organizational systems is beginning to be established. Related literature points, in fact, to the notion that understanding the power syndrome in a highly structured setting is at least as

important as is the case in less formally structured settings. In fact, it is in such a context that social power is revealed in its full complexity.

Cantril in focusing on social power in the organizational context states that

It appears that any small group quickly discovers that specialization and cooperation enable it to satisfy its individual basic needs more efficiently. And since human beings are not endowed with elaborate instincts which guide so many forms of life to fixed patterns of marvelously organized social behavior, men must create their own organizations, make their own rules and regulations, and either find their own leaders or live under the sufferance of someone or some group who gains power. These are required if interdependencies to guarantee that different jobs will get done, that the rewards of joint effort will be distributed, that production and distribution can be counted on, that individual responsibilities are learned and met and that the gains made are protected.¹⁰¹

Put in another way

... each member of an organization is responsible for the performance of certain activities and is responsible to certain other individuals. Positions in an organization can be described in terms of these two aspects of responsibility. What people in the organization do, with whom they interact, whom they like, from whom they receive recognition, and so forth—all these factors depend to a high degree upon the nature of the responsibility structure.¹⁰²

In any social situation, and especially in hierarchical ones, certain people have power to help or hinder the goal-directed behavior of others.¹⁰³ Power is essential to organization for it is power, as

¹⁰³ Ibid., p. 11.
realized through authority, which may have to be used as the final resort for the maintenance of necessary order.\textsuperscript{104} It supports the fundamental order of society and the social organization within it, wherever there is order.\textsuperscript{105} Further, power stands behind every association and supports its structure; without power there is no organization and without power there is no order.

The central phenomenon of organization can be conceived to be the mobilization of power for the attainment of the goals of the organization.\textsuperscript{106} Administrative organization is characterized by specialization; hence, a division of labor and "a pyramid or hierarchy of authority may be established."\textsuperscript{107} The concept of power helps to account for the control which an organization holds over those who are within it.\textsuperscript{108}

Thus, social power—its sources, manifestation, and structure—is central to organization. Any understanding of organization in general, or of specific kinds of organizations, would depend upon an understanding of the mobilization of social power within the organizational setting. It is through the realization of social power that an organization is created and goes about its work directed

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{104}Campbell and Gregg, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 302.
  \item \textsuperscript{105}Bierstedt, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 180.
  \item \textsuperscript{107}Herbert A. Simon, \textit{Administrative Behavior} (New York: The MacMillan Co., 1957), p. 9.
  \item \textsuperscript{108}Griffiths, \textit{Administrative Theory, op. cit.}, p. 86.
\end{itemize}
toward the attainment of organizational purposes. Power, then, represents a dynamic in organized social systems.

**Survey of Related Research**

The recent origin of the systematic study of social power has already been noted. Such study began in the early 50's and following the impetus provided by the Hunter study\(^{109}\) witnessed an expanded interest. Most of the early studies were directed toward social power at the community or national levels in the political sphere of activity. More recently the empirical study of social power has shifted to smaller, well-defined social systems. Empirical research to date has both conceptual and methodological significance for this research study. The survey of related research will first examine those studies with conceptual relevance and then those studies that are pertinent in a methodological sense.

It should be pointed out that not all of the studies reviewed here utilized a precise and clear-cut definition of social power or one similar to that used in this study. In some instances power and influence were equated, in others the research focus was on the influence process and in still others the concept of power was not a major concern of the researcher. It has already been observed that the process of influence and the social relationship of control involve social power; hence, any determining or directing of human behavior, decisions, or actions presupposes the ability to do so. Therefore, although power is not the central concept in many of these studies and, further, is not well defined or delineated in others,

\(^{109}\) Hunter, *op. cit.*,
in all instances the "ability to determine behavior and actions of others" (social power) can be assumed regardless of the specific terminology used by a given researcher.

Research studies relevant to the development of the concept of social power

This section of the survey of related research summarizes those studies deemed most appropriate to the conceptual development underlying the study. A comprehensive survey is not implied nor intended. Rather, only those studies with special significance are presented and examined in terms of their relevance to this study. As has been pointed out the Hunter study, although subject to much criticism from many quarters, represents a most significant milestone in the study of social power. It is, in fact, this study that has evoked, or provoked, much empirical activity even though it was not the first study of social power.

The Pelz study.—The Pelz study was largely concerned with the matter of leadership within large organizations. Pelz felt that leadership in isolated groups was one thing but that leadership within large organizations may be something else. A basic postulate of a theory of leadership for both small and large groups as stated by Pelz was: Successful leadership depends in part on helping group members achieve their goals.

This postulate, restated as a hypothesis for the study, was: The supervisor will be accepted by the work group if his behavior.

helps them to achieve their goals. Pelz also hypothesized that if
the supervisor has considerable influence (power to effect) over
events within his department then his attempts to help employees
reach their goals are likely to succeed, or the converse. The
ability to "help group members achieve goals" is implied by Pelz.
Although he seems to equate power and influence, his use of the
basic concept is in harmony with the definition of power as is used
in this dissertation. Pelz predicted that (1) given influential
(those with power to effect others) supervisors, the more they behave
to aid goal achievement the more satisfied employees will be with
them, and (2) correlation between supervisors' helpful behavior and
employees' attitudes would be less positive for non-influential (or
non-powerful) supervisors.

The results of the study in general conform with the predictions.
The results demonstrate that a supervisor's influence (implied is the
ability to effect the actions and decisions of others) within a
department does condition the way his supervisory behavior relates
to employee attitudes. It should be emphasized that "power" in this
sense refers to power within the department leadership hierarchy and
not to power over a given supervisor's subordinates. Pelz points out
that this is important because in large organizations the leader's
ability to help his group of subordinates depends to a much greater
extent upon factors outside this group than is the case in smaller
social systems.

This study demonstrates that a leader's power within the
leadership hierarchy of an organization is an important factor as
the leader works with his organizational subgroup toward achievement
of organizational purposes. Thus, in a large organization the leader's power in relation to the leadership hierarchy is more important than is his power in relation to his organizational subgroup.

The Hunter study.—\textsuperscript{111} The Hunter study was concerned with social power and its structuring in a large southern city. This study was conducted in the light of a frame of reference derived from pertinent literature consisting of a series of power postulates (self evident propositions) and a set of research hypotheses. Data mustered to support or reject the study hypotheses were collected through a series of interviews with the power figures in the community. Data collection was, therefore, limited largely to the reputational technique of assessing social power. The study report is in the form of a case narrative, harmonious with the case study design used in the study.

Hunter found that there were power figures in the community and that power was centered in a small group of leaders. Power was found to be structured in a pyramidal fashion and evidenced several distinct levels of "influentials."\textsuperscript{112} There was the top leader group, several subleader echelons, and the Negro subcommunity leader group. Although Hunter views the various groups as linked in a total pattern he does not view this as a single power pyramid and recognizes that there are different alignments of power. Hunter discovered that participation in the business sector of community

\textsuperscript{111} Hunter, \textit{op. cit.}, 289 pp.

\textsuperscript{112} Hunter uses the term "influentials" to refer to those with power or those that are most able to affect actions and decisions within the community.
life was more important to becoming a power figure than social position, wealth, or political eminence. Also, power figures tended to work their way up through the power pyramid.

A difference in activity was evidenced in the various levels within the power structure. Those at the top were concerned only with policy matters. They left action or operational phases of the exercise of power to those in the second or third levels of the power pyramid. Further, the top power figures were not visible, by and large, to the community as a whole. They preferred to work "behind the scenes" and through lower level power figures.

This study demonstrates the utility of the case study research design in the study of social power. It provides a workable conception of social power and a basic research design that merits refinement and replication. The study also points up that both social power and its structuring can be determined and related to the ongoing activity of a social system. Finally, the study illustrates the empirical significance that can be realized as a result of a comprehensive and systematic research endeavor directed toward the study of a complex social phenomenon.

The Miller study. This study of two cities of similar size and economic structure in America and England utilized the basic methodology developed by Hunter for his study of "regional City." Miller conceived of the community power structure as being composed.

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of top influentials, key influentials (the leaders of the top influentials), a community power complex, and the institutionalized community power structure.

In general, this study served to confirm the findings of the Hunter study. Important, however, is that Miller found some differences between power and its structuring in the American and English cities. It was discovered that businessmen did not exert a predominant influence in the community power structure in the English city as was the case with Miller's American city and Hunter's Regional city. Miller cites two major factors in regard to this difference. The first relates to the social value system or prestige system regarding occupations. The second factor is related to the structure of civil government in the two communities. In a society that places a premium on economic activity a high value is placed upon the business sector of community life, and in a society where the major arena of community decision rests in the local city authorities, great emphasis is placed on this sphere of activity.

This study serves in part to confirm the findings of the earlier Hunter study. It also indicates that the sources, manifestation, and structure of social power varies from social setting to social setting. While power and its structuring, generically conceived, is similar, specific values (normative order) and social structure determine to some extent the means by which, and ways through which social power is realized.

As was the case in the Hunter study "influentials" refers to those with the ability to effect or determine actions and decisions.
The Fanelli study. — This study focuses on the leadership subsystem in a small Mississippi community. The researcher viewed leadership as a functional relationship among persons in a social situation or series of situations. The study was guided by the following questions: (1) To what extent do community leaders tend to play a generalized leadership role in community affairs; and (2) Can leadership be meaningfully differentiated along the combined dimensions of influence and the extensiveness of interactions within the leadership subsystem.

Fanelli used the interview in a mass survey to determine the leadership structure of the community. The leadership structure was then studied through questionnaire data provided by a survey of the twenty-five identified community leaders.

While the implication of community leadership might be assumed to be a generalized role, the study data indicate that such leadership roles tend to be specialized and that a possible factor in such specialization is the variation of occupational types among community leaders. In this study only the editor of the local paper functioned in generalized leadership role.

Fanelli discovered that not all community leaders have equally extensive interaction patterns in the leadership subsystem. Four types of leaders were identified by Fanelli. They were active influentials, prestige influentials, active sub-influentials, and


116 Fanelli also uses the term influence to designate the ability to effect or determine the actions and decisions of others.
lesser leaders. Active influentials rated high on influence exerted, communication, organization membership, and committee work. Prestige influentials rated high on influence exerted and organization membership but lowest on committee work. Active subinfluentials rated high on communication and committee work. The lesser leaders rated low on all categories. Thus, there is evident power differential and a determinable power structure within the community leadership system itself.

This study of a leadership subsystem indicates that there is a power differential among members of a leadership system and that the structuring and realization of power within such a system can be delineated. It further points to the matter of specialization of function as an important factor even in regard to those concerned with the larger policy decisions of a complex social system. It reiterates the fact that the various levels of a leadership hierarchy are accompanied by unique characteristics and modes of operation.

The Zander, Cohen, and Stotland study. Zander, Cohen, and Stotland examined the interrole perceptions of three professions in the field of mental health. The professions of social work, psychology, and psychiatry were seen as existing within a framework set by a hierarchical social structure. Psychiatry was viewed as the profession at the top of the hierarchy, psychology was next, and social work last or at the bottom of the structure. It was assumed that each of these professions would have aspirations to increase their professional standing and that members of these professions

would be secure or insecure depending upon their professional aspirations in relation with one another. Power (representing the major independent variable) was determined by the reputed ability of one group to determine the work of another group in a series of functional areas. It was also reasoned that the more powerful groups would be more secure in their reactions to others.

Data confirmed the main line of reasoning. Psychiatry was viewed as the top group in the professional pyramid. Zander and others found that

1. The more powerful members of a subordinate group are less concerned with the good will of the power group or the power group members' opinions about them.

2. The low power subordinate wants to be liked and admired and desires frequent supportive contacts with the power group. Further, he values the power group more than his own.

3. The average member of the power group is less concerned with winning good will of subordinate groups than they are with winning his own.

4. The high power member of the power group feels he is admired and respected and wishes to have frequent contacts with subordinates; the low power member thinks less well of the subordinate groups and views them with some suspicion in regard to their professional motivations.

This study indicates that a system with various professional specializations has a discernible power hierarchy. It also suggests that such a power structure is pyramidal in nature. Further revealed
is the fact that group power and individual perceptions of power affect the ways members of the professional system regard, and react to, other members of the system.

The Stotland study.—\(^{118}\)Stotland utilized a laboratory study to test a set of hypotheses that stated that supportive peer groups serve to heighten persistence toward own goals and aggressiveness in the face of a threatening power. The results of the experiment were consistent with the research hypotheses. Indicated also was that peer group membership leads to more expression of direct, overt hostility toward a threatening power figure.

In the study the primary function of peer group meetings was to provide support rather than to offer a chance for release of tension or displacement of hostility. Thus, the peer group tends to function to bolster courage. Without the support of a peer group, the individual accepts the power figure much more as a person. In the setting of this experiment the "alones" were more positive in their private evaluation of the supervisor's behavior than were the peer group members.

Stotland states

\(...\) the general line of reasoning followed in developing the hypotheses seems to have been confirmed. There are pressures to form supportive groups of peers on the same level in a power hierarchy and these groups do influence the persons' reactions in the groups in which he is subordinated.\(^{119}\)

Thus the peer contacts within a hierarchical system represent

\(^{118}\)Ezra Stotland, "Peer Groups and Reactions to Power Figures," in Cartwright, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 53-68.

\(^{119}\)Ibid., p. 67.
important factors in regard to the informal social structure within the hierarchy. This in turn has implications for the manifestation and structuring of power in the structured social setting, such as is realized particularly in superordinate to subordinate relations. The power figure, or the one in authority, therefore, places his own power against the power of the subordinate peer group which represents essentially "strength in numbers."

The Iannaccone study—This doctoral research project examines the informal social activities of an elementary school staff in terms of certain of the concepts developed by Homans. Two hypotheses generated for purposes of the study are:

1. The faculty of a school is a social system with sub-groups having members who interact in a free setting and hold common sentiments or attitudes, among which are sentiments or attitudes concerning administrative decisions.

2. Where the formal organization of the school does not respond to up-the-line communications in a way satisfactory to those who initiate such communications, the informal system will be used in an attempt to obtain a satisfactory response.

Data were collected by direct observation, interviews, and examination of written materials such as teachers’ daily schedules and publications of school policy. Interviews were conducted with all of the teachers on the school staff. Direct observation of

groups of teachers in free settings and of formal meetings, such as those of the school board, committees, and the administrative cabinet were utilized and recorded data, such as teachers handbooks, minutes of staff meetings, committee reports, and other miscellaneous school publications, were also used.

The activities of the formal and semi-formal groups active in school affairs provided evidence to substantiate the study hypotheses. Thus, when the formal structure of a social system does not fulfill the needs of the members of the system, social power is realized through the exertion of force or institutionalized authority in the informal interactions of the members of the system to achieve desired results.

This study attests to the concern on the part of school people in regard to the intra-organizational exercise of social power. It also provides a detailed description of the social structure of a particular kind of social system.

The Law study. Law sought to identify and determine the extent of informal group activity and the leadership patterns in informal groups in selected schools from the state of Ohio. He noted that there appears to be an increasing concern about the role individuals are allowed to play, or should play, in any given organization. That informal groups exist is obvious to Law; he recognized that it is difficult to ascertain the reason for their existence, the composition of such groups, and the purpose they serve.

Four hypotheses were generated for the study: (1) informal groups exist; (2) they can be identified; (3) the leadership pattern in the informal group is identifiable, and (4) the groups have a functional relationship to the formal organizational structure. Data for the study were collected by a personal data sheet, use of a sociometric device, a group dimension description questionnaire, and the Leadership Behavior Description Questionnaire.

Law concluded that informal group activity does exist within the formal organization of the selected schools and that such informal groups can be identified. Further, the leaders of these informal groups can be identified. Sufficient evidence did not exist to determine leadership patterns in informal groups but it was concluded that a functional relationship exists between the informal groups and the formal organizations of the selected public schools. It was also concluded that the formal organization can control the activities of informal groups.

This study with its focus on informal group activity in the organizational setting indicates that such groups do exist and can be identified. It is interesting to note that one of the researcher's conclusions is that the formal organization can, to an extent, control the activities of informal groups. Thus, the implications for the study of social power in the organizational setting are: (1) the sources of social power inherent in formal organizations are by-and-large determinants of the manifestation of social power in the organizational setting, and (2) negative power or control is an important aspect of the over-all manifestation and structuring of social power in the organizational setting.
Research studies relevant to the study methodology

The chief concern of this study is the development of a means of assessing organizational power structure and the testing of the developed methodology through a case study of a school system's administrative performance system. Not all pertinent research studies are to be summarized since this is beyond the scope of this section of this chapter. Only those studies especially relevant to the development of the study methodology will be treated. Since this research claims no new or creative approach, but rather seeks to replicate and refine previously effective techniques, it is important to delineate the methodological aspects of earlier studies as clearly as is possible. Following is an examination of pertinent research methodology.

The Hunter study. The chief contribution of the Hunter study to this research is in regard to the over-all research design. The prime impact of the Hunter study has been the stimulation of both conceptual and empirical activity. It is felt by this writer that the reason for this contribution, and a most enviable one from the research perspective, is the fact that the Hunter study represents a comprehensive and systematic empirical study. While specific instrumentation and procedural aspects may be subjected to criticism the generic research design is most respectable.

Hunter began by developing a set of postulates derived from a survey of relevant research and literature. From these postulates were generated a set of hypotheses. Together the postulates and

122 Hunter, op. cit.
hypotheses served as a frame of reference for the collection and analysis of data. Once the data collection procedure was determined, it was tested through a pilot study. A refined methodology was then used in the intensive case study of a selected social system. Data were presented in the light of the hypothetical framework in the form of a case narrative. Hunter included a report of the pilot study in his final research report thus enabling such data to serve in a supplemental capacity to the study data.

This study will seek to parallel the above generic research design as utilized by Hunter.

The Schulz and Blumberg study—123 For purposes of this research the importance of the Schulz and Blumberg study lies in the idea of the multiple-based assessment techniques employed in their investigation of power elites. Schulz and Blumberg were concerned in their study with the extent to which positional and reputational methods of assessing social power yielded similar results. As defined for their research the positional method resulted in power figures selected on the basis of official status; the reputational method resulted in power figures selected by other people as members of the community system.

It was found that the composition of the community's power elite as defined by reputation differed significantly from that defined on the basis of superordinate positions. The study data suggest, however, the advisability of studying power structure from

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VI. SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

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at least two methodological perspectives. Schulz and Blumberg note that with two bases valuable leads are discovered as to the structure and dynamics of power.

The Schulz and Blumberg study contributes the desirability of utilizing a multiple-based assessment of social power to this study. The study further suggests the use of the positional method of power assessment in addition to the reputation method used by Hunter. The positional method provides an opportunity to get at intended power and the normative order that prevails in a social system; the reputational method, on the other hand, yields an assessment of power as perceived by the members of the social system.

The Lippitt, Polansky, and Rosen study. The Lippitt and others study sought to get at both attributed power and actual or manifest power. Utilized in the study was the reputational method for assessing attributed power and direct observation as a means of assessing manifest power. Since this study is a replication, actually a refined replication of an earlier study, and as such confirmed the general findings of the earlier study, the methods of assessing power used appear to have sufficient significance to merit their use in further empirical inquiry.

Polansky and others in commenting on the reputational method state that the stability of the index over time, the amount of inter-member agreements in judging, and the consistent predicted

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relationships to other variables suggest that this index represents a good approach to one aspect of the power syndrome.\textsuperscript{125}

The contribution of the Lippitt and others study to this research is, then, further substantiation of the reputation method as a way to assess at least one dimension of social power. Also, the study further implies the desirability of a multiple based assessment of social power and adds the observation technique for getting at actual or observed power to the earlier identified (for purposes of this study) techniques of position and reputation. Finally, the study provides an example of the application of structured observation procedures rather than merely relying on free observation.

\textbf{The Ward study.}--\textsuperscript{126}Ward's study of the decision process in an Oregon high school gathered data through a variety of procedures. Ward used semi-structured interviews, informal interviews, formal observations, informal observations, analysis of records and reports, questionnaires, analysis of newspapers, and a review of school board minutes. This study demonstrates the utility of using a variety of data-gathering procedures in assessing causation or the effecting of others in the organizational setting.

In addition to the data-gathering procedures used in other studies--direct observation for manifest power, interviews for attributed power, and analysis of organization structure for intended power--, this study indicates the benefits that may be obtained from

\textsuperscript{125}Norman Polansky and others in Cartwright and Zander, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 746.

informal observation and interviews that will yield anecdotal data or informal data sources and from the examination of printed records, reports, minutes of meetings, and policy statements that will aid in determining the normative order in which a social system exists.

The McLeary study—127 This study was concerned with the structures and processes of interpersonal influence which operate within a school's professional staff.

Data gathered through observation and interviews related the findings of the contact communication structure and the influence structure to operational activities of the staff. A sociometric instrument was used to identify regular contacts and patterns of contacts of groups of individuals and among groups of individuals. Established procedures of matrix analysis and directed graph theory were used to reveal the informal structure of social organization. Influentials were identified within the structure on the basis of measures of domain, weight, and sphere of influence.

The study represents an attempt to carry the study of the affecting of others into a highly structured social setting. It testifies to the need of a tight conceptual scheme as a guide to research and the importance of utilizing multiple procedures to gather data related to a complex social phenomenon.

The Blau study.\textsuperscript{128} Blau in his study of bureaucracy used the methods of interviewing, indexing social cohesion, and direct observation. He points to the necessity of a multiple based assessment of social phenomena in the following passage:

The extent of association between officials during their free time at noon was determined by asking in the interview which colleagues an official had never join for lunch; by observation of which ones went to lunch together; and from a record of his luncheon partners each member of the department kept for two weeks. Interview responses proved to be unreliable indices of social interaction in this and in similar comparisons.\textsuperscript{129}

Therefore, the multiple based assessment of social power not only provides valuable leads to the structure and dynamics of power, but also provides a reliability check on data collection that would not be possible in the use of a single procedure method of assessment.

Summary

The concept of social power has had extensive treatment in various disciplines—such as sociology, social psychology, and political science—as well as in the special areas of administration and leadership. Empirical study of social power is, however, a recent occurrence in the social sciences. Research activity within the past decade has increased and the generally recognized central or fundamental concept in the social sciences is receiving more attention in systematic study than at any time in the past.

Social power refers to a specific kind of relationship between people; it refers to what a person can effect or direct, either.

\textsuperscript{128}Blau, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 4 and 5.

\textsuperscript{129}Ibid., p. 5.
because of his individual characteristics or because of his position in relation to others. Further, it is regarded as a general factor found in all human interactions. The concept of social power helps to relate the social and personality aspects of human activity.

Four elements were identified as essential ingredients for a definition of social power. They are (1) power is a capacity or an ability, (2) power involves the determination or directing of the behavior or actions of others, (3) power refers to the desires of an individual and not necessarily to the desires held or fostered by a group, and (4) those upon whom power is exerted have no choice in reference to the outcome of the power act. Social power is, then, defined as the ability to determine the actions and behaviors of others in accord with one's own desires and dispositions irrespective of the wishes of others. As such it can be differentiated from other social phenomena such as influence, domination, persuasion, control, manipulation, and prestige.

Being a latent phenomenon, social power is not manifest per se in the real world. Force is the manifestation of unsanctioned power and is the effecting or directing of behavior by the means or instruments of disadvantage. Authority represents the manifestation of social power through means that are sanctioned by either the institutionalized or legitimized orders. Force may adhere to the person but authority has its source outside of the person and in status or position. Further, social power is realized through the utilization of a variety of discernable means, instrumentalities, and ways.

Social power is based both in the individual and in status or
Position. A variety of positive and negative sources of power can be identified. Position, rank, role, tenure, competence, reputation, rules, legality, and technical expertise are examples of positive sources of power. Representative of negative sources are sanctions, control over decision processes, withholding of information, ability to block or prevent, control over resources, and rewards and inducements. Negative sources of power appear to have special importance as organizational size and complexity increases.

In any social system, a differential in social power exists. Power is, in fact, structured and is structured hierarchically. The structuring of power is usually conceived to be pyramidal and has several levels of power figures within those considered as "powerful." However, this does not mean power is structured in a monolithic pattern; rather, power tends to be structured in several distinct or overlapping alignments of equal or unequal potential force.

Supporting order in society and the social organization within it is power. Power stands behind every association and supports its structure.130 Hence, power is essential to organization; without power there is no order or organization. Power represents a dynamic in organizational systems.

The empirical study of power has resulted in a variety of kinds of data that serve to illuminate the power syndrome. The following findings are held to be especially relevant to this study. Hunter in his study of community power discovered important data regarding the

sources and structure of social power. He found that power resided in a small group of leaders and was structured into a complex hierarchical structure. Miller in a replicated study based on the Hunter technique helped support the Hunter data but also indicated that social values and occupational prestige are factors that affect the sources and structure of social power in the community setting. Fanelli studied the leadership substructure of a community and found that the power figures in this system functioned in specialized rather than generalized leadership roles. He concluded that specialization of function is an important factor in the power distribution in a leadership hierarchy. Zander and others focused on the structuring of power within another kind of leadership system. This system, a professional hierarchy, evidenced a discernible power structure with those from the professional specialization requiring the most professional training tending to hold the most power. Thus, within a leadership system there is a power hierarchy and various factors affect the sources, structure, and manifestation of power within the system.

Iannaccone's study on the social system of a school staff and Law's study on informal staff groups and the leadership in such groups, represent empirical activity in regard to social power as manifested

\[\text{131 Hunter, op. cit.}\]
\[\text{132 Miller, op. cit.}\]
\[\text{133 Fanelli, op. cit.}\]
\[\text{134 Zander, Cohen, and Stotland, op. cit., in Cartwright, op. cit.}\]
in educational social systems. Iannaccone found that when the formal structure of a particular social system does not fulfill the needs of the members of the system, power is realized through the informal interaction structure. This finding leads to the distinction between institutionalized and legitimized authority as used in this dissertation. The Law study indicates that the sources of social power inherent in formal organization are determinants of the manifestation of social power in the organizational setting. Also implied by this study is the importance of control or "negative" power in the organizational context. In addition to such empirical data these studies further suggest that educational systems provide a productive setting for the study of social phenomena.

Research activity to date has also provided some important methodological considerations. The Hunter study has contributed an over-all research design applicable to the study of social power. The postulate-hypothesis framework against which data were collected and analyzed, and the focus on the sources, manifestation, and structure of the power complex represents a heuristic approach to scientific study. Schulz and Blumberg along with Lippitt and others illustrated in studies the advantages of using a multiple-based method of assessing social power. The former utilized positional and reputational techniques while the latter used reputational and observational techniques.

135 Iannaccone, op. cit.; Law, op. cit.
136 Hunter, op. cit.
137 Schulz and Blumberg, op. cit.; Polansky and others, op. cit.
The McLeary study demonstrates the need for a tight conceptual scheme to guide research as well as the importance of using multiple procedures to gather data in studying complex phenomena. Blau's study in the industrial setting points to the reliability check that is inherent in a subjective method (such as the case study) when multiple techniques are used in gathering data. Multiple techniques reinforce each other and differentiations in data provide valuable leads into the dynamics of social phenomena as a result of the use of multiple procedures to collect data. Ward's study indicates the value of using a variety of data-gathering procedures and especially the combining of such informal techniques such as analyzing printed records, informal interviews, and informal observation along with more formal procedures such as the structured interview and scheduled observation.

138 McLeary, op. cit.
139 Blau, op. cit.
140 Ward, op. cit.
CHAPTER III

STUDY METHODOLOGY

The Research Method

Following are the criteria used in the selection of research methodology for this investigation of social power in an administrative performance system: First, the basic research approach or methodology must be appropriate for use with the study problem. Secondly, the methodology must offer sufficient and adequate fact-finding or data-gathering techniques and procedures to obtain necessary data. Thirdly, the methodology and its procedural approaches must either have proved to be a sound approach to empirical study or must give indication of becoming so with further use and refinement.

Since the study of social power is in its infancy and since this study is focused on devising a methodological approach for the assessment of social power in a specific context, the case study design, which meets the above criteria, was selected as the study methodology.

The case study is a method of exploring and analyzing the life of a social unit; it has one important theoretical advantage in that