MS-831: Jack, Joseph and Morton Mandel Foundation Records, 1980–2008.
Series B: Commission on Jewish Education in North America (CJENA). 1980–1993.
Subseries 2: Commissioner and Consultant Biographical Files, 1987–1993.

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Stein, Herman D., 1988.

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CASE WESTERN RESERVE UNIVERSITY · CLEVELAND, OHIO 44106

JUL 28 1988

July 22, 1988

Mr. Morton L. Mandel
Premier Manufacturing Company
4500 Euclid Ave.
Cleveland, Ohio 44103

Dear Mort,

Thank you for calling me about the August 1 meeting. I have
thought hard about it, and am disappointed and distressed that I
cannot participate.

After six months advance notice given me, and the publicity
and preparations that have been made, I cannot renege on my
commitment to the International Council on Social Welfare, and
therefore am leaving for the two-week meetings in Frankfurt and
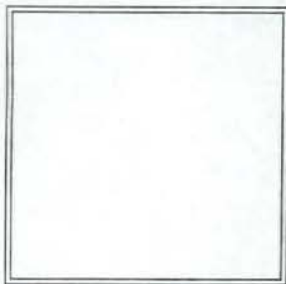Berlin and returning to Cleveland Aug. 7.

I am aware of the planning that has gone into this first
Commission meeting and the sterling group assembled, and
therefore am sure that it is going to be an exciting, forward-
moving success. Since it will be taped, I look forward to
listening to a good part of the proceedings.

With warm good wishes,

Sincerely,

Herman D. Stein

September 6, 1988

To: Mort Mandel
           Art Naparstek

From: Herman D. Stein

Re: Concept for next steps for the Commission

I am sure work has been going on to follow up on the excellent first Commission meeting. After listening to the tapes, I had a notion for you to consider for forward movement, since it would clearly be inadvisable to relax the tempo. You also will want to keep Commissioners involved, at least to some extent, in between meetings. If you already have other steps in mind and in motion, the idea in the attached could be scrapped. It is simply a discussion piece.

University Professor
436 Pardee Hall
Phone: 216-368-4380

September 2, 1988

Tentative Concept for Discussion for 12 October Meeting

The first Commission meeting opened up a broad array of concerns and options. It ended with a strong feeling that there was now a need for framework and priorities. Therefore, I suggest that, after we pre-test the idea, to see if it is practical and acceptable, with three or four Commission members, we do the following:

1) Send to all Commission members a request to select one or two of their priority combinations of Target, Methodology, and Institution, using the attached list as a guide, not as a complete schedule. Additional combinations of priorities may be selected by a Commissioner, but then should be identified as first, second, third priority, etc.

In preparing the message to Commissioners, use one or more illustrations - e.g. National Media Center (Institution) to prepare and market video cassettes (Methodology) of specially designed TV programs for young families (Population target).

2) This "Chinese menu" selection approach is to assemble the thinking of Commission members about the range of their real priorities, both for strengthening and spreading existing approaches and developing new ones. Individual Commissioners may have follow-up phone interviews to elaborate on the more unusual suggestions.

3) The results would be grouped for presentation at the next Commission meeting, perhaps with cost estimates and other analysis, and then discussed by three working groups, meeting for most of the morning to refine these priorities further, or add new ones. The working group reports would then be presented for plenary discussion.

4) Alternatively, we could pre-select (without prioritization) and analyze a number of combinations ourselves, based on the preliminary interviews and the Commission discussion. These could then be presented as a place to start, for three Commission working groups to amplify, contract or revise.

POPULATION TARGET	METHODOLOGY	INSTITUTION
Demography		
Pre-school	Class teaching-day school	Community centers
Elementary	Class teaching-suppl. school	Teacher training institutes
High School	Videocassettes for teachers	Hillel

College	Cassettes for families
	Classes for parents
		Rabbinical training
		  Orthodox
		  Conservative
		  Reform

Young marrieds	TV programming	
Young singles	Summer camp	Day School
Families (with children)	Israel trips	Suppl. School

	Recreation/sports
	  children
	  youth
	  adult
		National Media Center

		Federations

Educators	Research
	  long range
	  short range
		JESNA

Teachers
  Day School
  Suppl. School
		JWB

		Other National Organizations

Rabbis
  Orthodox
  Conservative
  Reform		

School Administrators		
Geography		
Urban		
Suburban		
Small Towns		
Regional		
Others		

TO: Arthur J. Naparstek   FROM: Henry L. Zucker   DATE: 9/16/88

NAME   NAME

DEPARTMENT/PLANT LOCATION   DEPARTMENT/PLANT LOCATION

REPLYING TO
YOUR MEMO OF: _____

SUBJECT:

You might want to show Herman Stein a copy of David Hirschhorn's letter suggesting an evaluation of Jewish education programs. Is this a subject which should be taken up with the Commission? Is there something practical to be done in this area?

SEP 30 1988

OCT 7 1988

September 29, 1988

To: Herman D. Stein

From: Richard L. Edwards

Re: ICSW Meetings
        Travel Expenses

I apologize for not responding sooner to your memorandum of August 16, but it has taken me awhile to get on top of things here. After considering Frank Borchert's suggestion, that MSASS pay half of your travel expenses for the ICSW trip, it is my conclusion that this is not something of which I can approve. Travel occurred before I was Dean, and these expenses were not included in our budget for the current year.

In the future, I will be pleased to discuss MSASS participation in such travel costs in advance. If you have any questions, please give me a call.

cc: Frank Borchert

Herman D. Stein

The Study of Organizational Effectiveness

In a paper prepared by the writer for the 1959 institute of the NASW Social Work Research Section, stress was placed on the necessity of considering consequences for administrative practice deriving from bureaucratic theory.[1] Difficulties in the study of organizational effectiveness were cited, and writings of Pfiffner, Cuber, Gouldner, and others were referred to in this connection. The present paper carries further the discussion of organizational effectiveness and presents, in non-research terms, a statement of administrative implications of bureaucratic theory as one area for study within the framework of a systems model of analysis.

There are varied approaches to the analysis of organizations.[2] With respect to organizational effectiveness per se, two general directions have been taken: the goal model and the systems model.[3]

The goal model deals with the extent to which an organization meets its objectives or goals, stated or implicit, public or private. Etzioni's critique of the goal model rests partly on the grounds that the results of such analysis tend to be stereotyped, *i.e.*, they usually show that the organization does not realize goals effectively or that the organization has different goals than those it claims. He prefers the systems model where the starting point is not the goal of the organization, but the working model of a social unit capable of achieving a goal. The basic question becomes then not "how devoted is the organization to its goal," but rather, "under the given conditions how does the organizational allocation of resources approach an optimum distribution."

Goal Model of Analysis

While it is maintained in this paper that research addressed to analyzing the presence and consequences of bureaucratic strains and their countermeasures should draw on a systems model type of analysis, it would be hazardous to accept the premise that the more traditional goal model has outlived its usefulness. Such a premise is questionable, if only because of the prevailing lack of clarity with respect to social agency goals and the absence of studies in the social work field which attempt to define explicit or implicit goals in a manner that makes it possible to determine whether these goals are being met. Generalized public relations objectives of "serving individuals and families in distress" or "enabling youth to develop wholesome interests and democratic attitudes" hardly permit operational evaluations of goal attainment. Despite shortcomings in evaluations based on the goal model, it is at this stage necessary to encourage the analysis of both stated and implicit goals in social agencies

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[1] Herman D. Stein, "Organization Theory—Implications for Administrative Research," in Leonard S. Kogan, ed., Social Science Theory and Social Work Research (New York: National Association of Social Workers, 1960), pp. 80–88.

[2] See Alvin W. Gouldner, "Organizational Analysis," in Ibid., pp. 46–62.

[3] Amitai Etzioni, "Two Approaches to Organizational Analysis: A Critique and a Suggestion," Administrative Science Quarterly, Vol. 5, No. 2 (September 1960), pp. 257–278.

Herman D. Stein, Professor and Director of Research Center, New York School of Social Work, Columbia University, New York, N.Y.

in order to permit and encourage a more realistic and hard-headed examination of agency objectives, and to provide the basis for comparative studies of social welfare organizations in terms of goals.

It is important to define agency goals, whether of voluntary or governmental agencies, in such a way that one can determine whether goals are or are not being achieved, without reducing such definitions to the level of technical procedures. Operational definitions may vary from agency to agency even within the same field, and they may be changed in the course of time with further experience and actual changes in objectives. Nevertheless, the establishment of "hard" objectives, in contrast to the overgeneralized "soft" objectives, would put the agency on notice to itself as well as to others about what it is in business for and how it intends to determine whether it is indeed achieving its purposes. The agency could thus be more truly accountable, the process of community planning for agency co-ordination could be more rational, and the possibilities of innovation of new organizational arrangements to meet newly recognizable goals could be enhanced.

One may suggest for a voluntary family agency, for example, the following types of questions which would have to be answered to make it possible to judge whether the agency is fulfilling its objectives, no matter how its global or ultimate purposes are stated:

1. What segments of the population are to be served, in demographic terms—ethnic, religious, age levels, socioeconomic groupings, geographic boundaries?

To answer this question the agency would require demographic information about the larger community within which the potential client population is located, as well as decisions about how this client population should be defined.

2. What is the range of needs to be met by the agency?

A statement of intake policy is required to provide an answer to this question. The terms should be sufficiently clear so that one may, if only speculatively, tell who among those meeting these needs criteria are *not* being served.

3. What proportions of those with stated need is the agency designed to serve? (Now? In five years?)

In other words, what proportions of the estimated potential client population, as defined, is the agency actually intending to help?

4. What types of service are to be rendered?

"Types of service" would include, in a family agency, such help as financial assistance, individual casework, family or group counseling, diagnostic service, "family life education" meetings, and so on. A decision on the proportionate agency investment (in professional manpower, for example) in each type of service within the agency range should normally tend to follow the definition of such services in relation to needs to be met.

5. What are the desirable standards of quality of service?

Quality refers to definitions of what constitutes help, and what constitutes "success" and "failure"—in other words, what kinds of help should the agency be giving? Shall the agency be geared for "success" only? What tolerances should it accept for "non-help" or "failure"? That quality levels are difficult to define, let alone measure, goes without saying. It is equally important to recognize that in the absence of some definition of quality objectives, whether or not these are immediately subject to measurement, the assessment of organizational effectiveness in terms of goals can hardly be adequate.

6. What are desirable standards of productivity, *e.g.*, ratios of clientele to professional staff?

Quality can be maximized at the expense of cost. Some relationship between quality expectancies and productivity requires explicit statement, whether the agency is experimental with deliberately low produc-

tivity, or provides a mass service restricting quality to certain limits in order to meet needs of the most urgent priority.

None of these questions are simple to answer, yet the effort to provide answers to as many of these questions as possible can put us on the road toward analysis of effectiveness in terms of organizational objectives. The effort may also provide a basis for comparative evaluations between agencies, in addition to evaluations of the same agency over a period of time. These kinds of questions, which may vary with different kinds of agencies, are not ephemeral or unrealistic, no matter how far we may be from a position to state required definitions in clear terms. The well-run corporation asks similar questions in terms of objectives for given time periods—for example, what products shall be manufactured? What share of the market for these products should the corporation aim for? What profit ratio should be achieved? What level of quality maintenance should be achieved? It is in these terms that its progress and purposes are evaluated.

A statement of operational criteria of goal achievement would have to precede any research into organizational effectiveness (and the development of indicators for these criteria) by the goal model. There is utility in such efforts not only for research purposes which can themselves yield new kinds of utility, but because such efforts are important for more planful administration and for greater accountability of agencies to the communities they serve.

We are, perhaps, not *ready* to utilize the goal model in social agency research, and the need is to prepare for such analysis. Whatever shortcomings there are, in Etzioni's terms, should first be experienced before this general direction of examining organizational effectiveness is written off in the social agency field.

Systems Model of Analysis

The systems model, which does not concern itself with organizational goals as such, and therefore cannot answer questions regarding goal achievement, provides quite a different pathway to the assessment of organizational effectiveness. This model is designed to help answer questions regarding the best utilization of energy and resources. The assessment would, therefore, be in terms of instrumental or middle-range criteria rather than in terms of devotion to, or achievement of, ultimate objectives.

Georgopoulos and Tannenbaum, in their presentation of research into organizational effectiveness, develop three basic criteria subsumed under this concept, all of which may be regarded as intermediate rather than long-range objectives: (1) organizational productivity, (2) organizational flexibility—successful adaptation to internal and external changes, and (3) absence of intra-organizational strain or tension.[4]

In social work we have no generally conceded operational definition of productivity, and the development of standards of productivity related to different types of agencies remains an important requirement for research.

A case in point of the possible use of the "organizational productivity" criterion is a study, now being completed, that is concerned with the relative effectiveness of utilizing different levels of staff competence (senior caseworker, caseworker, case aide, secretary) for different kinds of case situations, or for different purposes in the same case, in a hospital social service department.[5] The objective of the study was not to determine whether the department was achieving its "goals" but rather to see whether a different distribution of staff

[4] B. S. Georgopoulos and A. S. Tannenbaum, "Organizational Effectiveness," American Sociological Review, Vol. 22, No. 5 (October 1957), pp. 534–540.

[5] The exploratory project has been conducted at the Albert Einstein Medical Center in Philadelphia under the direction of Margaret Heyman, Director of Social Service. The writer has been senior research consultant for the project, Effective Utilization of Social Workers in a Hospital Setting to be published in 1962 by the American Hospital Association.

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resources could yield greater economy of service, in terms of productivity in a quantitative sense (*e.g.,* cases per worker, staff time per case, cases closed per month, and so on) without loss of quality (*i.e.,* without decreasing the effectiveness of its service per case), or could attain higher quality without loss of productivity. In this purpose, the study conformed to the systems model approach. Moreover, with respect to gauging both quantitative productivity and quality of service, the instruments developed were designed to gauge changes in the same agency over a period of time, rather than to establish any appraisal in accordance with a set of external, uniform standards.

The second and third criteria noted by Georgopoulos and Tannenbaum, flexibility and absence of intra-organizational strain, may be utilized in the understanding of social work organization, and have particular relevance for the analysis of bureaucratic strains.

Two approaches toward such study may be noted as desirable and feasible:

1. The longitudinal study of agency behavior over a period of time, through observation, records, guided interviews, and questionnaires, can provide data showing the presence of such strains, their consequences, how they were resolved, how significant they were, whether this approach to the understanding of the organizational system is fruitful. Subjective elements can easily creep into such an analysis, and the data will be largely descriptive in nature and will depend upon the accuracy and objectivity of the observer. These possible shortcomings, however, should prove no serious barrier to such undertakings and should not mar their usefulness. While organizational research is tending to move away from longitudinal studies, the absence of such studies in the social work field leaves the student of social work organization dependent upon organizational studies in other settings. Valuable as these are, there is something to be said for the stimulation of new hypotheses and insights

that derive from a critical appraisal of organizational behavior within one's given field of interest. Social agencies have rarely sat for full-length portraits. Case studies focusing on the kinds of problems bureaucratization induces and their modes of resolution are sorely needed. What would seem to be required, in other words, is a systematic account of a period of agency history, focusing on the organizational problems it encountered and the ways in which they were or were not met, and interpreting such developments in the light of organization theory, which includes taking exception to existing theory.

2. Research methods are gradually being worked out, as the guiding concepts emerge, for non-longitudinal empirical research in organizational effectiveness. The work of Georgopoulos and Tannenbaum, cited above, is an example. Scales were developed for the rating of each of the three criteria by experts, and an empirical basis was provided for testing the utility of these criteria as an over-all index of effectiveness. If one is to appraise the prevalence of bureaucratic strains and judge the effectiveness of countermeasures, instruments would have to be developed for detecting or judging the presence of such strains, once they are defined in operational terms.

The presentation which follows reviews, in non-research terms, certain bureaucratic strains—ritualism, overconformity, inadaptability to change, self-protectiveness, incompatibility between formal and informal systems—and action consequences or administrative implications.

The multiple questions would be raised, in a line of analysis deriving from the systems model: In view of total conditions of pressure on the system from outside and the necessity of mediating different interests from within the system, how far can the organization go in minimizing such strains, what consequences are there for organizational behavior in such alternatives, and in attempting directly to alleviate one or more of such strains?

Bureaucratic Structure

In the social scientific sense, the term bureaucratic structure has no necessarily invidious connotation. It refers, rather, to a form of rational organization conceived thus far to be indispensable to the mass production of goods and services. The extension of bureaucracy has been a concomitant of technological development in all countries where such development has taken place.[6] Government bureaus, industrial organizations, the armed services, trade unions, schools, and hospitals have all reflected this trend in the United States; and, as has been amply demonstrated, social agencies, whether public or voluntary, have not been strangers to this development.[7]

The key features of bureaucratic structure are relatively large size, departmentalization with specialized offices and functions, a hierarchical form of organization, and written or well understood policies, regulations, and procedures.

Inherent Strengths

Bureaucracy, as a rational form of organization, depends for its most effective functioning upon planned co-ordination of its parts, clarity in its policies, specificity in the roles of all who are part of the organizational system, and impersonality in its discharge of functions. When referring to *inherent strengths* of bureaucratic structure, one is not suggesting that every organization so characterized includes these virtues; rather that the central tendencies of bureaucratic structure, when the most rational principles are applied, are consistent with these attributes. Such "strengths" may be characterized as follows:

Economy and efficiency. These are contributed to by rational division of labor and pooling of *expertise.*

[6] Peter M. Blau, Bureaucracy in Modern Society (New York: Random House, 1956).

[7] Harold L. Wilensky and Charles N. Lebeaux, Industrialization and Social Welfare (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1958).

Stability and permanence. A bureaucracy is not easily shaken by the loss of one person, since it is the office to be filled which tends to be more important than the particular individual who occupies it. Such structures maintain a high investment in stability and permanence.

Role security. Occupational roles tend to be highly specific. What is expected on the job is relatively clear. Job descriptions and formal communication processes tend to be defined.

Relative job security. Bureaucratic structures have an investment in retaining personnel in the interests of stability, and thus tend to promote not only fringe benefits but in-service training programs, retirement programs, and so on.

Impersonality of policies. Bureaucracies tend to minimize subjective elements in determination of policies and to maximize the establishment of objective and impersonal criteria, with the following results:

1. For the consumer of the organization's goods or services, this can have the effect of democratization through uniform applicability of criteria, as long as the consumer meets established criteria. Whether it is having the amount of money to purchase the goods or services, or the requisite financial need to obtain public assistance, the tendency is to minimize discretion based on subjective considerations.

2. For the personnel of the organization impersonality of policies tends to make for relatively objective criteria for evaluation, promotions, sick leave, vacations, and so on. Aside from inducing expectations that can be realized and providing clarity for job conditions, the application of the principle of maximum impersonality tends also to reduce interpersonal competition for advancement within an organization. The competition may be related to the achievement of certain experience or skills deemed necessary for promotion and not, for example, to competition between two or more people for the favor of a superior.

Inherent Strains

While bureaucracy tends to bolster such strengths, its structure also contains *inherent strains*. By strains, in this sense, we refer to tendencies which are likely to arise unless specifically planned for and prevented and which tend to weaken the capacity of the organization to maintain itself and fulfill its objectives. These strains may be viewed in four areas: personnel, the consumer, management, and the community.

Personnel. 1. Ritualism.[8] This is the condition where means become ends. The very fact that roles are defined, that the job tends to be precisely described, provides a congenial situation for the employee who feels constrained only to do his particular job right without reference to its meaning for the total organization, and not to deviate from established routine or to exercise judgment.

2. Mediocrity and overconformity. These are the tendencies which have recently been emphasized on the public rostrum, in the press, and in books, such as *The Organization Man*.[9] "Not getting into trouble" and "playing it safe" tend to be requisites for maintenance of job tenure and among the criteria for eventual promotion when length of service is a prime factor in this regard. The system may both attract conformists and remove the potential for constructive nonconformity by adhering rigidly to prescribed policies and procedures. In the long run the diffusion of mediocrity serves to militate against the most important *raison d'être* of bureaucracy itself, namely, economy and efficiency. Another aspect of this condition is lack of stimulus for imagination or creativity.

The consumer of the organization's goods or services. The very impersonality

of criteria when applied to the consumer can make it difficult for the individual to be properly served and leave the organization incapable of meeting crisis situations or emergencies. When the consumer confronts an organization in this context he has the sense of dealing with a system, not with a person. It is at this point that the epithet "red tape" is most frequently applied.

Management. Lack of adaptibility to change can be a consequence of the investment in the organization's stability and permanence. Ritualistic, unimaginative, and overly formalized behavior may become norms of management, as well as of other personnel.

Community. Bureaucracies tend to be self-protective and it is difficult for the outside community, except in cases of violation of law or other crises, to gain access to the organization or affect its structure (more so, of course, in voluntary than in public agencies). While the cohesiveness of the organization can be an asset, it also promotes unwillingness to expose its internal system to public scrutiny because of the danger of upsetting the authority balance within the organization, or to reveal practices deemed necessary for internal stability but not easily reconciled with public or official goals of the organization. This condition of protective shielding from the public can become particularly important in social agencies, which in the final analysis are supported by tax funds.

Administrative Implications [10]

One general principle should govern an approach to preventing, mitigating, or compensating for strains arising from bureau-

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[8] *Robert Merton, "Bureaucratic Structure and Personality," in Merton, ed., Reader in Bureaucracy (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1952).*

[9] *William Whyte, The Organization Man (New York: Doubleday & Company, 1957).*

[10] *The discussion in this section pertains only to implications for bureaucratically organized agencies. Bureaucratic theory also provides a basis for deriving implications for nonbureaucratic agencies, i.e., those which are small, in which roles are more diffuse, and so on. Such organizations have their corollary strengths and potential strains.*

cratic organization, namely, preventive countermeasures should themselves be consistent with bureaucracy. That is, such means should themselves be rational and official, maintain specificity of roles and clear procedures, maximize impartiality, and the like. In other words, a bureaucratic organization would not be consistent if, in attempting to lessen overconformity, it would say to personnel, "Just use your own judgment," but it may more consistently say to a specific department or level of personnel, "In these and these situations discretion may be exercised up to this point, utilizing the following criteria as guides."

Further, it is obvious that no organization, however ingeniously run, is without its problems while it lives, grows, and changes. It is with the capacity of the organization to strengthen itself, to detect and deal with its problems—not to remove all problems for all time—that any consideration of administrative practice must be concerned.

The prevention of ritualism. Ritualism develops in organizations when personnel are either permitted or encouraged to wear "organizational blinkers" so that they see neither to left nor right but keep their eye on the immediate job for which they have been hired. It can pervade not only personnel who do routine mechanical operations, but professional and managerial personnel as well. Ritual behavior is unconcerned with the larger organizational purposes and can lead to the aggrandizement of one's own job or one's own department at the expense of others, or at the risk of disturbing the organization's rational balance and co-ordination of functions.

The prevention of ritualism is, therefore, in the direction of policies and procedures which make it possible for personnel to be oriented to the central objectives of the organization, to see how their functions relate to those of others, and to be concerned about such interrelationships. Some

of the simple techniques in this area are well known, for example, the orientation of new staff by physically taking them around an office or plant, general meetings of the entire staff, annual reports, interdepartmental meetings, and so forth. An appropriate program for a given organization will depend partly on its complexity and partly on the precise character of its organizational cast, as well as its function and objective. As will be noted below in another connection, the supervisory chain of command is crucial to the mitigation of this as well as other strains, if nonritualistic behavior is regarded as a positive criterion of performance and evaluated accordingly through the entire organization.

Programs may vary for different echelons of the organization, and when carried out "nonritualistically" may have the effect of reducing the tendency to encapsulate one's own task as if it were the only important one in the organization, without reference to its meaning for others, and may encourage flexibility and judgment when the need arises.

Provision of opportunities for new ideas. The accent on stability and permanence can have the effect of making "not rocking the boat" a central concern. Where such is the prevailing norm, not only will potential ideas in the service of the organizational purposes not be tapped, but their sources will be dried up. One is familiar with primitive devices such as the suggestion box, or more recent notions such as "brainstorming" in executive idea sessions, as devices for encouraging or stimulating imaginative contributions. Some industrial organizations have attempted to cope with this problem partly by creating "islands of creativity" where scientists and professionals who have achieved superior standing within the organization are permitted a place to work and resources without restriction on what they do, and without having to abide by the normal routines of the organization.

To utilize individual initiative and

imagination would seem to require, however, a pervasive, built-in policy through the entire administrative structure which pervades the organization and is effectuated through its entire supervisory apparatus. Thus, every supervisor at whatever level would have as part of his obligation the need to inquire as to suggestions or ideas, to evaluate them, and to utilize what is possible, and would *himself* be evaluated partly on his capacity to fulfill this supervisory requirement. The organization itself can thus better harness its potential from personnel, and for those who are able to contribute ideas, rewards—whether in economic or noneconomic terms—should be forthcoming.

Prevention of rigidity toward the consumer. Bureaucracy requires policies and regulations, but also ways of individualizing and dealing with the exceptional situation or the emergency. It is possible for a bureaucracy to develop ways of dealing with the exceptional case in a manner which is consistent with the needs of such a structure. Essential in any method of dealing with the emergency or exceptional case is for the organization to recognize that such cases may arise, situations which are not anticipated by existing policy. Responsibility for emergencies or special cases should, therefore, be centralized and clarified to avoid that exasperating phenomenon of a representative of an organization who says, in effect, "I'm sorry I can't deal with that and I don't know who does."

Emergencies that are anticipated can be met by policies which set the levels of discretion appropriate to different staff. For example, a family agency might be able to permit its workers to grant emergency financial assistance at their discretion up to a certain amount without further check, increase the amount at the discretion of supervisory personnel, and beyond this limit it may require authorization from the executive. Such policies with regard to limits of discretion are possible when emergencies can be anticipated.

When emergencies or special cases begin to assume recognizable patterns, policies can be developed for such situations and responsibilities allocated for carrying them out, so that these situations no longer assume the character of emergencies or special cases.

Adaptability to change. The processes of change in large organizations are still not too well understood, but change does occur and often stems from imagination and creative planning rather than being simply accidental. To develop the actuality of change toward well-understood goals requires, of course, that the function of planning be clearly located within the organization. Unless planning is a conscious activity it will not tend simply to happen. There will be changes, but they will be uncontrolled and at the mercy of external factors rather than self-directed, or planned to meet the influences of external pressures in the environment of the organization.

The centralization of a planning function does not mean, however, that participation in planning and in policy formulation must be restricted to a specific individual or group of individuals. On the contrary, participation in planning can and should be widespread through an organization. In making this point one is not referring to so-called "democratic administration" where everyone in an organization has an equal voice in planning or where the right, if not the fact, of such "democratic" participation is conceded. In large formal structures "democratic administration" in this sense is a contradiction in terms and virtually impossible. What is possible, however, is tapping the understanding, ideas, and motivations of people in an organization according to their special competence and their special interests, that is, through *relevant participation.* One way of making the bureaucratic structure more adaptable to change is to build into the administrative process modes of participation that would elicit the contribution of all those in the organization who

have something to contribute out of their legitimate roles, experience, and organizational interests. This can be true whether one is dealing with planning for budget, for locating unseen problems, or for devising new approaches to meet existing conditions.

The concept of relevant participation does not mean having everyone responsible for everything, and certainly is not the same as trying to have participation for its own sake as a morale-builder. Such specious involvement can only lead to cynicism and is self-defeating. More to the point is the concept of maintaining at all times appropriate channels for the raising of questions related to the work problems of staff at any level in the organization. In effect, the approach would be to seek systematically such evaluation of work tasks, procedures, and relationships by personnel, and to recognize this process administratively as desired behavior, without having the executive branch of the organization abdicate its authority for decision-making.

Client or consumer participation. In considering participation in policy formulation and in raising questions at various levels, one must not overlook client, consumer, or patient participation. A long-standing practice in membership organizations, such as in group work agencies, has been to involve clientele in program-planning, although the extent and the modes of participation may often merit re-examination. Now there is increasing attention to the importance of participation among resident populations, such as those in general, rehabilitation, and mental hospitals. Whether and how such participation is possible for nonresident groups, as in casework agencies, remains to be seen.

Participation of clientele does not have to be complicated. One might remind oneself that retail customers "participate" when they are asked to register suggestions on cards in restaurants or in airplanes, and such participation can be quite valu-

able to an organization if the cards are actually read and followed up. Clients in agencies participate when they are involved in the follow-up study of practice. The utilization of client or consumer participation as a gimmick to demonstrate organizational interest and response to "the voice of the people" can in the long run only be self-defeating, since even the public relations utility of these devices will probably eventually suffer, and the chances of actually utilizing the opinions of consumers will be minimized. What is much more to the point is, first, the right of the consumer to participate at his level of legitimate interest and experience, and second, the contribution he can make by such participation, even if it is elicited by simply asking in a systematic way, what did he think of the service, and does he have any suggestions. Robert Vinter has stated that the client is "lowest on the authority continuum" in social agencies.[11] This is, by and large, true. It hardly means, however, that the client has nothing to contribute in the formulation of policy. It means, rather, that the opportunity to participate has to be structured for the client and that this opportunity should be meaningful.

Accountability. The tendency that can develop in agencies toward self-protection and insularity from outside community pressures can lead to inadequate discharge of the agency's responsibility to be accountable for its activity. This source of strain can to some extent be solved by executive decision. A clear understanding is necessary of the public or publics to whom reporting should be made, as well as the development of appropriate means for such reporting. In the absence of such measures for accountability, accumulated pressures for reporting may press on the agency at a point when it is least prepared to meet

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[11] Robert *Vinter,* "*The Social Structure of Service,*" *in Alfred J. Kahn, ed.,* Issues in American Social Work *(New York: Columbia University Press, 1959).*

the demand. While public relations is an element in accountability, it should not be construed as synonymous with it; rather, the genuine right of groups to know what is appropriate and legitimate for them to know and to react about should be emphasized. Not only external groups such as legislatures or chests and councils are involved in agency accountability, but departments and total staff of the agency as well.

Formal and Informal Organization

Phillip Selznick stated three hypotheses in his article on "An Approach to a Theory of Bureaucracy." [12]

1. Every organization creates an informal structure.

2. In every organization the goals of the organization are modified by the processes within it.

3. The processes in modification are effected through the informal structure.

Informal organization has been given considerable research attention, yet again relatively little has been said about action implications in the relationship of formal to informal structure. It may be noted that in referring to formal structure one is essentially speaking of what can be blueprinted in the organization—staff positions, lines of authority, job functions, procedures and regulations, committees, and so on. The informal structure includes virtually all else—sentiments, loyalties, informal interaction, friendships, animosities, and cliques.

When the goals of the informal organization are the same as the formal, one has the essential precondition of high morale. It is generally conceded that such a situation contributes to efficiency, productivity, and flexibility of an organization. People will do more, work more, think harder, for the organization when its purposes are

[12] American Sociological Review, *Vol. 6, No. 1* (February 1943), pp. 47–54.

incorporated not only in the formal tasks but in the sentiments and personal orientations of those in the organization. When the methods and goals of the formal organization are not shared by the informal, more rigid controls become necessary, and the investment in management activity tends to be toward organizational control and overcoming impediments to carrying out the objectives of the organization. This is the situation, for example, in most correctional institutions or in any organization which for longer or shorter periods of time contains disaffected, alienated employees, or resident populations of patients or inmates with sentiments or aspirations in conflict with those of formal authority.

For the executive and management group there is the recurrent dilemma in most noncustodial organizations of having to be sensitive to the informal structure without interfering with it or attempting to manipulate it. Such manipulation is not only ethically questionable, but in the long run destructive to organizational interests. It is important to recognize, at the same time, the danger inherent in permitting formal processes and formal decisions to be usurped by the informal structure. One can accept the hypothesis that processes of modification in the formal organization are constantly being effected through the informal structure. Ideas, sentiments, biases within the informal structure have an effect, sooner or later, on changing conditions within the formal structure. However, for an organization to remain viable and in control of its destiny without being seriously beset by nonrational influences requires that the formal structure be recognized as superordinate. It thus becomes the responsibility of all personnel to see that decisions that belong within formal channels are not made within informal groupings, and to make sure that policy questions that should be raised become located in proper administrative channels. If there are no such channels available, staff can seek that they be created. Should informal groupings be

able to manipulate the formal structure, the results—with the best intentions in the world—can become corrosive to the organizational fabric.

In summary, therefore, one may note at least two directions for executive and other personnel in an organization to follow, from an understanding of the inherent relationship between formal and informal structure:

1. The executive should not seek to manipulate the informal structure. He can be sensitive to its climate through the normal processes of administration without seeking to intrude or to develop special channels of communication.

2. For all staff it is important to locate recommendations and policy questions within appropriate levels and channels of the organization, whether or not they originate within the informal structure, in order to safeguard the long-range interests of organizational purposes, processes, and stability.

Summary

This paper has discussed organizational effectiveness in social agencies and has considered both the goal model and the systems model of analysis. The former was suggested as having considerable merit in the present stage of social work development, despite the disadvantages noted particularly by Etzioni. The systems model, however, was suggested as an appropriate framework within which to analyze the presence of, and consequences inherent in, bureaucratic strains and countermeasures. A summary of certain predominant strains arising from bureaucratic organization has been provided from existing theory. In relation to each, inferences were drawn as to the direction of administrative practice in preventing, mitigating, or compensating for such strains. It is understood that no organization can be stress-free and that the direction of resolution of bureaucratic strains should be consistent with bureaucratic organization. The importance of supervisory evaluation through the entire line organization in mitigating stress, and the concept of relevant participation in policy formation, were emphasized.

HERMAN D. STEIN

Organization Theory—Implications for Administration Research

IN THIS DISCUSSION we are concerned primarily with research stemming from organization theory that may contribute to our professional needs in administration, rather than to the development of organizational theory per se, recognizing that these objectives are not mutually exclusive. Absent from our present consideration are the researches, many valuable, that serve to answer specific problems in administrative practice and planning, but are not essentially oriented to theory.

The problems involved in addressing this subject are several: (a) the difficulty in classifying organizational theory; (b) the lack of definition of the issues in social work administration to which research is appropriate; (c) the paucity of research in social work administration that is not purely operational and specific to a given agency.

The student of organizational theory is confronted with a vast array of materials from diverse organizational sources, including governmental, industrial, political, labor, military, educational, general hospital, mental hospital, correctional. The theoretical concepts have been derived, in turn, from a variety of professional and academic disciplines: engineering, political science, public administration, economics, sociology (in several branches), social psychology, anthropology, history. It is not the function of this paper to review and assess theoretical positions or to arrange them systematically. The task of classifying this array of organization theory and interpreting it in some systematic manner does need doing.[1] It is a difficult enterprise and should be undertaken, perhaps, from a variety of analytical vantage points. In the absence of a definitive classification some framework, however limited, may be of some value in seeing the relationship of present and potential research in social work administration to the major themes of organizational thought. For our present purposes—without attempting a genuine typology—such orientations in organizational theory and analysis may be grouped in the following way:

1. Efficiency principles—the "scientific management" school, with its focus on maximum efficiency of production operations;

2. Administrative management principles—emphasis on rational structure and formal administrative systems, including executive functions and systems of delegation, departmentalization, authority, and control in large organizations;

3. Supervisor-work group and small group theory and analysis, including productivity and morale, leadership, interpersonal communication, supervisory roles;

4. Bureaucratic theory, including functions and dysfunctions of bureaucratic structure, relationships between formal and informal structures, power and authority systems, organizational change, role dilemmas, organizational conflict.

It should be emphasized that these four general headings and their subdivisions hardly exhaust the major emphases of organization theory. Moreover, there is considerable overlap among them, as well as continuity, and a specific piece of writing or research is not necessarily to be placed exclusively in one of these categories. These

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[1] A recent effort in this direction was made by March & Simon, largely as an introduction to their own formulations. March, James G. & Simon, Herbert A., *Organizations*, John Wiley & Son, 1958.

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groupings may provide us, however, with a preliminary framework for the consideration of administrative problems in social work to which research has been or may become relevant.[2]

For present purposes, only brief consideration need be given to theory stemming from the earlier "scientific management" group, with its strong engineering emphases. The Taylor [3] approach of finding "the one best way" to do things (in terms of cost and time) has, of course, left its mark (or made its contribution, if one prefers), particularly on industrial organization and to some extent on public administration. In its basic form, this approach would seem at present to have limited applicability to social work organizations, because of its central concern with the routinization of manual labor, and its governing view of personnel as adjuncts to machines (a view, in its premises of behavior, not inconsistent with the psychology of the pre-World War I period). The "efficiency" emphasis in mechanical and physiological terms (*e.g.*, in time-motion studies) conforms currently neither to the modes of social work activity nor to its ideology.[4]

Efficiency in nonmechanical terms, however, remains a legitimate object of investigation in social work settings for the purpose of developing rational planning procedures and bases for evaluation. The Hill-Ormsby study, for example, by providing a method for ascertaining cost and time equivalents for various agency activities, provides a means for certain kinds of agencies by which to develop criteria for efficiency. In a sense, therefore, this kind of study may be placed in the "engineering-accounting" framework of organizational analysis, without, however, necessarily imputing to it any of the psychological preconceptions of the earliest "efficiency" school.[5]

The "administrative management theorists" have had a potent influence not only on public administration, where this influence seems most strongly manifested; they have seen their formulations diffused throughout all fields of administration. Here we are in the tradition of Luther Gulick, Mary Follett, L. Urwick, and others who have been concerned with such concepts of organization and management as Division of Work, Coordination, Span of Control, Technical Efficiency, Executive Functions (POSDCORB), Decentralization, Line and Staff.[6] The concept of professional management received strong impetus from the work of these spokesmen for "underlying scientific principles" in administration.

The contribution of this body of work has been primarily in its concentration on the rational blueprinting of formal organizational systems. While it has been criticized for its "tendency to view the employee as

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[2] *E.g.*, Chester Barnard's *The Function of the Executive* and other of his works may be seen both in relation to administrative management theory and bureaucratic theory.

[3] Taylor, F. W. *The Principles of Scientific Management,* New York, 1911.

[4] Because of the theories of behavior implicit in this approach, March & Simon, (*op. cit.* pp. 12–22), have termed it "physiological organization theory." In their conclusions, they observe that organization theory in the first quarter of the century was concerned with management principles in which personnel was essentially viewed as impersonal instruments of production; in the second quarter of the century, the "human relations" approach endowed human beings in organizations with feelings and motives; and that the next stage should be most concerned with their reasoning and adaptive properties.

[5] Hill, John G. & Ormsby, Ralph. "Cost Analysis Method for Casework Agencies," Philadelphia Family Service, 1953. "Administrative research" that is purely operational and related only to a particular agency's problems is, of course, not uncommon. The present discussion pertains to more "basic" social work research in Ernest Greenwood's use of the term. ("Social Work Research; A Decade of Reappraisal," *Social Service Review,* September 1957, pp. 315–316).

[6] See, for example, "Notes on the Theory of Organization," by Luther Gulick, in *Papers on the Science of Administration,* ed. by L. Gulick & L. Urwick, Institute of Public Administration, Columbia University, 1937.

Courses in administration stemming from this general emphasis have given much attention to POSDCORB (Planning, Organizing, Staffing, Coordinating, Reporting, Budgeting), the development of organization charts, etc. (See Waldo, Dwight, *The Study of Public Administration,* Doubleday, 1955, pp. 45–47).

For an adaptation to social work of some of the concepts in this body of work, see Aronson, Albert H., "The Application of Business Techniques to the Administration of Social Agencies," from *Administration, Supervision and Consultation,* Family Service Association of America, 1955.

an inert instrument performing the tasks assigned to him" and to ignore the motivations of individual behavior,[7] one cannot put this system of thought in the same class as the earlier Taylor school (in terms of the latter's underlying mechanistic psychology). Moreover, while "the tendency" to ignore motivation exists, the literature in this area makes frequent reference to attitudes and responses,[8] to the psychology of leadership, to interpersonal relationships, and the like. If anything, there is an overly simplified view of motivation rather than an absence of concern with individual behavior, and a naïve premise (by today's thinking) that if all is rationally conceived, then all will be well with organization and people.

There has been a considerable production of conceptual writing by these influential theorists, but it is difficult to locate empirical research associated specifically with this school. There would appear to be a connection, however, between the emphasis on the science of administration, particularly in the public service field, and the development of a research program in public administration. This program, with its slogan of "capture and record" (directed to administrative crises and processes), has resulted in a series of valuable monographs and volumes of case presentations, and also in the definition of professional issues in public administration worthy of research interest.[9] It may be noted, parenthetically, that a case reporting program may not be amiss for those concerned with the progress of social work administration, particularly in view of the relative lack of more systematic types of research.

[7] March & Simon, *op. cit.*, pp. 29–30.

[8] *E.g.*, Follett, Mary Parker, *Freedom and Coordination*, Management Publications Trust, 1945, or *Dynamic Administration*, ed. by Metcalf & Urwick, Harper & Bros., 1942.

[9] Anderson, William & Gaus, John M. *Research in Public Administration*, Public Administration Service, Chicago, 1945. Much of the writing in public administration, and the evaluation of case studies, is related to value considerations—*e.g.*, making the organization more responsive to democratic processes. By contrast, Herbert A. Simons, in works like his *Administrative Behavior*, separates values from the scientific study of administration, and places values themselves as objects of study.

With respect to the theory and research involved in the supervisor-work group relationships, one may note that there has been significant research as well as theory, and hazard the impression that administrative thought in social work has been relatively unaffected by either. The relationship between productivity and morale, so often a theme in this area of organizational research, does not appear to have influenced appreciably either concepts or research in social work administration. One element is undoubtedly a problem of defining productivity, outside of those social work organizations (or divisions) where there is considerable routinization of work. Yet social work has a set of "morale" problems peculiar to professionally staffed agencies; for example, the conflict of loyalties among professionals, as between the organization (which seeks to gain their loyalty) and their larger professional reference group.[10]

In contrast to theory directed to the total structure of an organization, morale studies in industry have largely centered on the work group and the supervisory relationship, along the lines developed by Elton Mayo and stimulated by the Western Electric studies, and drawing also on small group theory, as in the work of George Homans. It is of interest to see the potential bearing of morale factors in the social work agency context. Thus, in one study,[11] morale was defined as

[10] Gouldner, Alvin W. "Organization Analysis," in *Sociology Today; Problems and Prospects*, ed. by Robert K. Merton *et al.*, Basic Books, 1959; particularly in his discussion of the "cosmopolitanism" of experts. Note might be made here of the problem of staff turnover, which is affected by this problem as well as the more usual contributing conditions.

[11] Kahn, Robert L. and Morse, Nancy S. "Relationship of Productivity to Morale," *Journal of Social Issues*, No. 3, 1951.

Another perspective on what may be construed as the morale dimension is the relationship of the *socializing process* of the organization (where the individual is an agent for the realization of organizational objectives) to the *personalizing process* (where the individual tries to make the organization the agent for the realization of personal objectives). The simultaneous operation of the two, in Bakke's terms, is the *fusion process*. Argyris, Chris, "Fusion of an Individual with the Organization," *American Sociological Review*, 1954, Vol. 19, pp. 267–272.

being composed of five "satisfaction dimensions," or classes of dependent variables: (a) intrinsic job satisfactions, (b) involvement in immediate work group, (c) identification with the larger organization, (d) satisfaction with immediate supervisor and employees, (e) satisfaction with reward system of the company (including non-monetary rewards).

This line of analysis can be quite suggestive in terms of social work agency studies. The problem arises in the definition of the independent variable, for productivity in the industrial situation can be defined (as in the above case) as "the number of units of work in a given time interval," whereas such a concept has at present only limited applicability to social work organizations.

Difficulty with the concept of productivity is also one, but only one, of the problems that helps explain the absence of research on organizational effectiveness in social work. There is apparently a paucity of concepts that can be operationalized and insufficient methodological development in the study of organizational effectiveness in all fields, although interest in this line of attack has been growing.[12] The difficulties in the way of devising measures of effectiveness, even when confined to supervisor-employee work groups alone, are considerable, as Pfiffner has pointed out.[13] They are even more complex in the context of social work settings, not only because of the lack of agreement on productivity standards, but also because of the evanescent criterion of quality of service. To approach the area of organizational effectiveness requires a concept of organizational goals in terms which

can be so specified as to permit analysis of the extent to which organizational ends are being achieved. To reduce organizational goals in social welfare agencies to operational terms is far from simple. In terms of method, if the stratagem of expert raters of effectiveness should be employed, the difficulty should be noted not only of what they should be rating, but even of gaining consensus as to who should rate. Pfiffner, in his preliminary methodological study which compares organizational effectiveness in a variety of public service organizations, used expert ratings, recognizing the shortcomings of this approach. While Pfiffner's work was focused on the supervisory group, he expressed the need for study of total structure and procedures. He suggests that the hypothesis to be tested is: "Other factors being controlled, the more effective organizations are those which are better structured, have an optimum of formalization, and are well 'tooled up' procedurally." This hypothesis leads us naturally to the general area of bureaucratic theory.

It is bureaucratic theory that is now being looked to as the major source of understanding of organizational problems stemming from the experience of social work administration, and it is this area of theory that is now providing a growing source of research ideas. Undoubtedly, the increasing interest of social work educators, researchers, and leading practitioners in social science theory and research, particularly over the past decade, has laid the groundwork for the specific interest in bureaucratic theory as it applies to administrative practice and process. While social science has not given organizational theory and research high priority, the work of Max Weber, Robert Michels, and other theorists in this field has been essential to the general understanding of social

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[12] Of 75 pieces of sociological research in social organization reported in 1950–51, four were considering the question of effectiveness, apparently the beginning of a break-through. Cuber, John F. "Current Research Activity in Social Organization," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 17, 1952, pp. 477–479.

[13] Pfiffner, John F. "Research in Organizational Effectiveness." *Public Personnel Review*, Vol. 14, April 1953. It may be of interest to note that his preliminary findings supported the notion that there was more "effectiveness" where there was the democratic concept of the consultative, communicative and helpful supervisor, but that being a good supervisor required something more than

simply being humane, considerate and communicative. Further, that good human relations was apparently not antithetical to maintaining the formal policies and credos of the organization.

Pfiffner's *Supervision of Personnel* (Prentice-Hall, 1951), while concerned with supervision primarily, stresses the location of supervision within the framework of the formal organization, utilizing concepts developed in the "administrative management" school.

theory. The researches of Selznick, Gould-
ner, Blau, *et al.* have developed the theory
further, albeit from different points of view,
provided methodology for empirical inves-
tigation, and yielded fresh insights into the
consequences of administrative decisions for
organizational behavior.

Beyond the growing intellectual concern
with the relationship of social science theory
to social work practice have been the spe-
cific problems of the field in its organizational
development.   These have in turn led to
the increasing importance within social work
of the "rational model" of organizational
analysis, in Gouldner's terms,[14] *i.e.*, viewing
the organization as an instrument in which
planned control is directed toward organiza-
tional ends. The emphasis on purposive for-
mal structure and its consequences is not
surprising in the light of the fact that social
work is an agency-centered profession. This
is so, whether the agency is professionally
staffed exclusively by social workers, whether
it is staffed by social workers and members of
other professions, or whether social work, as
in a hospital, constitutes an ancillary service.
In addition to the large public welfare agen-
cies, the voluntary agencies and institutions
in which the social work function is based
tend increasingly to be large, departmental-
ized, with a hierarchical form of organization,
formal policies and regulations, and so on,
conforming to the classic Weberian [15] con-
ception of bureaucratic structure.

The contribution of Gouldner [16] in distin-
guishing between the "representative bu-
reaucracy" and the "punishment-centered"
type of bureaucracy is of special significance
to social work, because of the assumption
within the field—to the extent the question
is raised—that social work administration
should and would militate toward the former,

rather than the latter type. Whether this is
indeed so, to what extent, and the conse-
quences when it is not so would be of con-
siderable importance. Here, case studies of
individual organizations, as well as compara-
tive analysis, could reveal implications of
"bureaucratic type" for board, executive,
staff, and clientele. This kind of study may
very well be of the kind that social work
encourages the sociologist to make, rather
than the social work researcher.

Emphasis on the general process of bu-
reaucratization in social work is reflected
in Wilensky and Lebeaux's [17] stimulating
discussion of the relationship of this process
to the professional subculture, and some of
its consequences in terms of agency objec-
tives.

The fact is that while social work agencies
are increasingly conforming to Weber's "ideal
type" of bureaucratic structure, and specula-
tion is, therefore, possible about functional
and dysfunctional consequences, little is em-
pirically known about the factors (a) maxi-
mizing bureaucratic "strengths" in social
work agencies (economy and efficiency, sta-
bility, role security, democratic impersonality
of policies), or (b) giving rise to bureau-
cratic "strains"—the possible tendencies
toward ritualism, overconformity, inadapt-
ability to change, resistance to public ac-
countability, depersonalization of clientele.[18]
Research into the policies and procedures
that serve to minimize or to prevent dys-

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[14] Gouldner, Alvin W. "Organization Analysis,"
op. cit.

[15] Weber, Max, *The Theory of Social and Eco-
nomic Organization.* Translated by A. M. Hender-
son and Talcott Parsons, Oxford University Press,
New York, 1947, esp. pp. 333–341.

[16] Gouldner, Alvin. *Patterns of Industrial Bu-
reaucracy.* Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1954. Also,
Gouldner's "Organization Analysis," *op. cit.* The
term "Representative Bureaucracy" was borrowed
from J. Donald Kingsley's study (by that title) of
the British Civil Service (Antioch Press, 1944).

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[17] Wilensky, Harold I., and Lebeaux, Charles N.
Industrialization and Social Welfare, Russell Sage
Foundation, 1958, esp. chapter on "Agency Struc-
ture and Social Policy," pp. 233–282.

A further extension of this discussion and review
of the literature is presented in Robert D. Vinter's
article on "Social Structure of Service," in Kahn,
Alfred J., ed., *Issues in American Social Work*,
Columbia University Press, 1959.

Selected theory, related specifically to commu-
nity organization, is referred to also in *Executive
Responsibility*, by Ray Johns, Association Press,
1954.

[18] *Cf.* Merton, Robert K. "Bureaucratic Theory
and Personality," in *Reader in Bureaucracy*, ed.
by Merton *et al.* Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1952.
This essay has probably been the single most im-
portant statement regarding dysfunctional strains
in bureaucratic structure.

functional strains is also not apparent.[19]

A study in this general area that comes very close to social work interest is Blau's research [20] into two government personnel departments, and the consequences of different procedure for staff and clients. While the administrative *action* implications were not within Blau's purview as a sociologist, such implications can be drawn. Were a similar study applied to social work settings, directed to the consequences of typical social work procedures, we would have theory-based research related to professional concerns.

Sills's study of the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis, *The Volunteers,*[21] takes its point of departure from Selznick's emphasis [22] on the unplanned, necessary modifications of the formal structure through the process of co-optation, with the emphasis on the effects of this process on formal organizational objectives. This study directly concerns significant social work interests. Its major themes bear generally on issues confronting national agencies which depend on volunteers, and on the effects of various modes of volunteer participation on organizational policies and effectiveness. This study could stimulate research into structural relationships in other national organizations that have different relationships between the professional hierarchy and the volunteers, or differ in some other significant way, in order to clarify further some of the administrative implications in various arrangements for involvement of volunteers.

It may be noted that Sills's research utilizes to some extent the "natural system" model of analysis (in Gouldner's term), examining closely the unplanned, adaptive responses within the organization. This line of conceptualization and research, however, is much more evident in the area of the effects of agency structure on clientele, without this relationship always being seen in terms of *administrative* implications. For the most part, the "clientele" in such studies to date have been resident populations, and with few exceptions the studies have not engaged social workers nor have they been stimulated by the needs of social work, although affecting social work activities.[23]

Thus, *The Mental Hospital* [24] and *The Psychiatric Hospital As a Small Society* [25] have called attention to the subtle but penetrating influences of such seeming abstractions as staff relationships and administrative organization on the well-being of mental patients, indeed, on their very symptomatology and chances of recovery. Similarly, the English experiments on the "open hospitals" have raised questions about the implications

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[19] Some students of organization concentrate on the negative implications of bureaucracy, and view both the structure, and the process of bureaucratization, as inherently inimical to the interests of the organization and its clientele. *E.g.*, Dimock, Marshall E. "Bureaucracy Self-Examined," in *Reader in Bureaucracy*, ed. by Merton, *et al., op. cit.* In the context of my discussion, of course, the term is used without invidious connotations.

An illuminating and provocative analysis of strains for the individual in large organizations is provided by Chris Argyris in developing his thesis of the basic incongruency between the needs of a mature personality and the requirements of a formal organization, Argyris, Chris, "Some Propositions About Human Behavior in Organizations," in *Symposium on Preventive and Social Psychiatry,* 1957, Walter Reed Army Institute of Research, Washington, D.C. See also, "Professional Persons in Bureaucratic Organizations," by David M. Solomon (in the same *Symposium*) where the thesis of basic incompatibility between professional and bureaucratic ideologies is discussed.

[20] Blau, Peter M. *The Dynamics of Bureaucracy,* University of Chicago Press, 1955.

[21] Sills, David L. *The Volunteers,* Free Press, 1957. This study probably supported the decision of the National Foundation to expand its function, but was not designed as a problem-solving study for the organization.

[22] Selznick, Philip. "An Approach to a Theory of Bureaucracy," *American Sociological Review,* February 1943, Vol. 8, pp. 47–53. The concept of co-optation is fully developed in Selznick's by now classic study *TVA: The Grass Roots,* University of California Press, 1949.

[23] Institutions having such resident populations have been characterized by Goffman as "total institutions." In analyzing such institutions, Goffman concentrates on ways in which "staff" and "inmates" define their reciprocal roles and develop institutional devices for "role release." Goffman, Erving, "The Characteristics of Total Institutions," in *Symposium on Preventive and Social Psychiatry,* Walter Reed Army Institute of Research, 1957.

[24] Stanton, Alfred H. & Morris S. Schwartz, *The Mental Hospital,* Basic Books, New York, 1954.

[25] Caudill, William A. *The Psychiatric Hospital as a Small Society,* Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1958.

of current hospital structure for the treatment of the mentally ill. Settings featuring the "therapeutic community" [26] have been observed assiduously by American students and, to some extent, specific features have been applied and evaluated in this country.

During recent years considerable interest has similarly been evinced in "patient self-government" in mental hospitals, with research directed to this end. The general theme of such research has been the "use of the social environment of the hospital for therapeutic purposes," focusing attention on the structural context within which patients live, and utilizing concepts from organization theory and role theory, as well as psychiatry.[27]

More recently, research in which social workers, as well as social scientists have been engaged, has been directed to the social systems of inmate groups in correctional institutions for both adult prisoners and juvenile delinquents. The researches of Cloward and Ohlin,[28] for example, are concerned with the relationship of the informal inmate structure to the formal custodial and treatment structures. Although this research is still in progress, the tentative findings disclose a telling impact of administrative policies and arrangements on the ways in which inmates define their own goals and relationships within the institution. While developing theory, this research is clearly related to long-range professional needs of social work for developing more effective use of institutional settings for delinquents.

Very little research has actually been done, as far as one can gather, on the relationship of administrative policies and arrangements to nonresident client populations, as in casework or group work agencies, although it would appear, particularly in the latter, that the extent to which the formal agency objectives are accepted is appreciably influenced by the nature of the sentiments, attitudes, and loyalties engendered in the groups served. Problems have arisen in the effects of professionalization on the administration of group work services, problems which may be explored from the standpoint of the functional and dysfunctional consequences of bureaucratization and the impact of the informal structure on the formal. Cloward points out, for example, the absence of an organized body of knowledge concerning the relationship between different modes of agency organization and types of responses among members.[29] He characterizes the variations in member response to agencies in terms of recruitment, turnover, demographic characteristics, program participation, and social distance (between members and agency); the major structural variables are agency size and degree of formalization of agency structure. No systematic comparison of different types of agencies is available, Cloward notes, for making the relationship between these two sets of variables better known.

There is evidence that theory-based research in social work administration, however scanty, is on the increase. Thus, the roster of dissertation abstracts as of June

[26] Jones, Maxwell. *The Therapeutic Community*, Basic Books, New York, 1953.

[27] Greenblatt, Milton; York, Richard H.; Brown, Esther L.; Hyde, Robert W. *From Custodial to Therapeutic Patient Care in Mental Hospitals*, Russell Sage, 1955, especially Chapter 6, pp. 132–146. The term "milieu therapy" is avoided in this work because of its specific psychoanalytic connotation. It may be noted that part of the beginning process of the development analyzed in this book (in the Boston Psychopathic Hospital) consisted of a piece of research by a Simmons School of Social Work student for her thesis (at the request of the hospital) on patient attitudes towards the hospital. Hatch, Mary E. "An Inquiry into the Attitudes of Patients Towards Their Hospital Environment," 1958.

[28] A number of inter-related publications of Cloward and Ohlin bear on the general problem of the relationship of formal structure to inmate norms in correctional institutions, viz., Ohlin, Lloyd E. *Sociology and the Field of Corrections*, Russell Sage, New York, 1956; Cloward, Richard A. & Lloyd E. Ohlin. "Normlessness and Children's Cultures in Correctional Institutions," (New York School of Social Work, mimeographed); Cloward, Richard A., *Social Control and Anomie*, (Ph.D. Dissertation, Columbia University, 1959); Cloward, Richard A. & Lloyd E. Ohlin, "Individualization Re-examined," New York School of Social Work, (mimeographed) 1959; Cloward, Richard A. "Social Control in the Prison," in *The Organization of Containment* (New York: Social Science Research Council, to be published).

[29] Cloward, Richard A. "Agency Structure as a Variable in Service to Groups," in *Group Work and Community Organization*, Columbia University Press, 1956.

1958 and the listing of dissertations in progress as of that date would suggest (on the basis of titles) that eight of the total of ninety-five titles in both groups concern some form of administrative research.[30] Three concern supervisory and consultant roles and processes; two, leadership and morale; one, the area of formal procedures (personnel principles); one, administrative aspects of multi-agency co-ordination; and one, the relationship between formal and informal structure within an institution. Placing them in the context of major organizational approaches would be difficult without knowing their theoretical orientations.

These efforts, and others that are appearing, suggest, however, a gradually growing interest in social work administration research that is not entirely operational and specific to one agency. At the present time, it should be re-emphasized, the actual amount of such research that is available is quite sparse. One can debate the question of whether new research of this kind should be a priority for social work administration, or whether the investment might better be made in trying to absorb and utilize what is already known. Both objectives are necessary, of course, and few would hold that everything about social work administration is so specific to social work that one could not draw on the pragmatic experience, as well as theory and research in other fields, for application to social work.

There would seem to be certain characteristics of social work organization, however, that do present research needs, if not unique to social work administration, at least peculiarly relevant to it. There are, first, the principal research areas cited above, namely, (1) factors maximizing functional attributes and dysfunctional strains in social work agencies; (2) the effects of various types of agency setting on clientele; (3) measures of organizational effectiveness. To these may be added a number of others, without attempting an exhaustive list: the general issue of delegation of authority, par-

ticularly with respect to supervisory functions;[31] problems of organizational change[32] peculiar to our field as agencies move, for example, from small structures with emergency-based objectives to large settings with more permanent objectives, or as mergers occur; problems of developing normative standards without overroutinization in non-bureaucratic settings; the dilemmas (and their resolution) for executives in their relationship to the informal structure of their organizations; the effect of the size of the unit providing service on the kind of client service given;[33] the relationship of social work staffs to the formal and informal systems within essentially nonsocial work institutions;[34] modes of participation in administrative policy at various staff levels in different types of bureaucracies; professionalism and staff turnover, and so on.

The difficulties in the way of doing organizational research in such areas, even on a very small scale and on limited problems, should not be minimized, despite the success of several studies in single organizations. Aside from such endemic concerns as conceptual clarity and the need for appropriate methodology, not the least of these difficulties are gaining access to the organization, and specifying the terms under which the research relationship is to be established with the organization, whether or not the organi-

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[30] *Social Service Review*, September 1958, "Doctoral Dissertations," pp. 303–310. Three of the 18 completed dissertations, and 5 of the 77 in progress would seem to be in this general area.

[31] Note, for example, problems in admixture of supervisory and consultative roles implicit in Lucille N. Austin's paper, "An Evaluation of Supervision," *Social Casework*, October 1956, and Frances Scherz's paper presented at the National Conference on Social Welfare, Chicago, May 1958, "A Concept of Supervision Based on Definitions of Job Responsibility."

[32] Bavelas, Alex. "Some Problems of Organizational Change," *Journal of Social Issues*, Summer 1948, Vol. II. Bavelas considers two groups of changes: 1) where the social system can be expected to adapt the change to fit itself or where the change can be adapted to fit the system, and 2) where the change is too fundamental to be assimilated into the established system.

[33] See Vinter, Robert D., *op. cit.* pp. 252–257.

[34] Hospitals are the chief illustrations. *E.g.,* Wessen, Albert F., "Hospital Ideology and Communication Between Ward Personnel" and Harvey L. Smith, "Two Lines of Authority: The Hospital's Dilemma," in *Patients, Physicians & Illness*, E. Gartly Jaco, ed., The Free Press, 1958, pp. 448–468; 468–477.

zation is involved in the support of the research.[35]

It should be recognized, too, that research into organizational phenomena is still in a relatively early stage. In general, in and out of social work, there seems to be relatively little field research in proportion to the literature on theory. March and Simon state: "Not a great deal has been said about organizations, but it has been said over and over in a variety of languages." [36] They point out, while emphasizing the complexities of such research, that there has been more speculation than evidence.

Nevertheless, it is up to those social work practitioners, executives, teachers, and researchers who are particularly concerned with issues of administrative policy to become aware of what has been said in theory, in at least some "language," and of at least some of the evidence for what has been said; and to stimulate, if not themselves carry out,

the kinds of research that are professionally appropriate. We should bear in mind the many distinct fields of activity and different types of experience from which organizational theory has been developed. We should also bear in mind that to each of them have been applied, in whole or in part, conceptions from the various social sciences which, in turn, have developed individual emphases and technical terms of their own. Finding the one language, or the combination of languages or concepts, that best meets social work's needs for a particular purpose is not a simple matter. We should, however, be wary of drawing all our theoretical assumptions or research strategies from any one source. Moreover, while some of the administrative issues in social work are peculiar to the social work profession, many are not, and there is every reason to draw on knowledge and ideas wherever they can prove useful.

Discussion

The group found it difficult to differentiate administration research from the broader topic of research related to the concerns of the administrator. Discussion of this point led into consideration of the problem of identifying goals and determining success in implementing goals. It was agreed that there is strong need for experimental research to determine the patterns of organization and deployment of staff conducive to efficiency in goal attainment.

If administration is viewed as goal implementation, as the process of translating objectives into services, then the administrator is interested in evaluation of effectiveness and determination of ways of increasing it. He is therefore concerned with research that will indicate: (1) ways of eliminating dysfunctional strains within the organization; (2) organizational forms conducive to goal achievement; and (3) predictive factors of use to him in such administrative decisions as allocation of personnel. (For example, if it were known that patients with certain characteristics were likely to require rehospitalization regardless of the amount of social service offered to them in the community, the administrator might assign less of his limited staff time to these cases.)

Evaluation presupposes identification of criteria of effectiveness, which may be phrased in terms of effect on client, standards of performance, or community expectations. Thus, a prior research consideration is identification of goals. Although organizations have stated goals, it is difficult to operationalize them. The conflict of professional versus bureaucratic interests cited in the discussion of community organization was suggested as the nexus of administrative problems as well, and as a possible point of attack on the problem of goals. To what extent does the profession dominate in goal-setting? How compatible are the goals of the board and those of staff derived from their professional reference group? One point of view expressed was that goals cannot be examined directly but must be deduced from study of structure, since goals are mediated through organizational structure.

Attention was called to the distinction between the problems of multiplicity and of ambiguity of goals. It is possible to deal with several goals, if they can be operationalized, but the problem of ambiguity of goals is more vexing. One function of the researcher is to help his research client (the organization) to clarify its goals, just as the caseworker assists the individual client in clarifying goals. The customary role of the council researcher exemplifies this function.

Assuming that goals have been identified, it may be useful to delineate a series of steps that represent partial goal attainment or preconditions to goal achievement. For instance, in a group work setting, there might be ten steps in getting the client involved therapeutically—getting him in the door, getting him to play basketball, involving him in discussion of certain problems, and so forth. Knowing how many clients arrive at each step might add something to the picture given by data on the number of clients

in whom behavioral change is effected. Further, measurement of change becomes relevant only when the client reaches the point where he can be provided with the service whose effect one wishes to measure. It is important therefore to specify as many as possible of the necessary conditions to effective service.

Administration is concerned not only with quality but with quantity. How can effectiveness be maximized through appropriate distribution of personnel or modification of structure or procedures? The importance of experimentation was stressed. The recent experiments in the nursing field with different patterns of assignment of nursing personnel were cited. Several illustrations were also cited from the social work field, including an experiment in a public assistance agency in which one group of cases was assigned on a categorical basis and a second group on the basis of the family problem presented. Optimism was expressed about the possibility of expanding such experimental research in casework. Agency resistance was seen as a less serious obstacle to such research than uncertainty about the variations in program that should be introduced, since program modifications are very costly in terms of staff time and cannot therefore be recommended by the researcher without strong conviction about their reasonableness.