Organizational Structure

Focusing Questions

- 1. What is organizational structure?
- What are the key elements of organizational structure, and how do they function in schools?
- 3. How does bureaucracy influence approaches to organizational structure in schools?
- 4. How do participatory management models influence organizational structure in schools?
- 5. Can school administrators use alternative models of organizational structure to improve the operation of schools?
- 6. How can school administrators use social systems theory to better understand how schools function?

In this chapter, we attempt to answer these questions concerning organizational structure in schools. We begin our discussion by examining the key elements of organizational structure: job specialization, departmentalization, chain of command, authority and responsibility, centralization/decentralization, line and staff authority, and span of control. We then discuss the bureaucratic model of organizational structure, characteristics, and dysfunctions. Next, we examine the participatory management model, including McGregor's Theory X and Theory Y, Argyris's immaturity—maturity continuum, Likert's System 4 organization, Sergiovanni's moral leadership, school-based management, and Bolman and Deal's four-frame model. We then describe three alternative models of organizational structure: Etzioni's compliance theory, Hage's mechanistic-organic organizations, and Mintzberg's strategy-structure typology. We conclude the chapter with a discussion of the school as a social system using several of Getzel's models.

What Is Organizational Structure?

Organizational structure provides a framework for vertical control and horizontal coordination of the organization. There are seven key elements that school administrators need to address when they design their organization's structure: job specialization, departmentalization, chain of command, authority and responsibility, centralization/decentralization, line and staff authority, and span of control. We present each of these key elements as an answer to an important structural question (see Table 2—1).

Job Specialization

A basic concept of organizational structure is to divide the work to be accomplished into specialized tasks and to organize them into distinct units. Examples of **job specialization** are the division of the school into elementary, middle, and high school units; the distinction between administrative and teaching functions; and the variety of position certificates required by the fifty state departments of education, including superintendent, business manager, principal, supervisor, teaching specialties, and many other support staff, including secretaries, food service personnel, maintenance workers, bus drivers, and the like.

Specialization is a key organizing concept for several reasons. First, repetition improves skill. By performing the same task repeatedly, the employee gains expertise and thus increases productivity. Second, wage economics may also arise through the development of various employee levels. Complex jobs can be staffed with

TABLE 2—1 Key Design Questions and Answers for Designing an Organization's Structure

Ke	y Design Question	The Answer Is Provided by
1.	To what degree are activities subdivided into separate jobs?	Job specialization
2.	On what basis will jobs be grouped together?	Departmentalization
3.	To whom do individuals and groups report?	Chain of command
4. \	What is the framework for providing direction and control?	Authority and responsibility
5. \	Where does decision-making authority lie?	Centralization/decentralization
	What type of authority flows in a direct line in the chain of command, and what type flows to line personnel in the form of advice?	Line and staff authority
7. 1	How many people can an administrator efficiently and effectively direct?	Span of control

skilled personnel, and simple tasks with unskilled labor. Third, whenever a sufficient volume of routine work is isolated, mechanization becomes a possibility; using computers for office work is an example. Finally, job specialization allows a variety of tasks to be performed simultaneously. For example, in a school, budgeting, counseling, typing, preparing lunch, and teaching can be performed concurrently by different people.

Despite the advantages, however, schools can overdo job specialization. When carried to extremes, job specialization can lead to fatigue, monotony, boredom, and job dissatisfaction, which can result in absenteeism, turnover, and a decrease in the quality of work performed. To counter these problems, school administrators have begun to search for alternatives that will maintain the positive benefits of job specialization.

The three most common alternatives to job specialization are job rotation, job enlargement, and job enrichment (Herzberg, 2009). *Job rotation* involves systematically moving employees from one job to another. In large school districts, principals are often rotated between schools every five years. *Job enlargement* adds breadth to a job by increasing the number and variety of activities performed by an employee. *Job enrichment* adds depth to a job by adding "administrative" activities (decision making, staffing, budgeting, reporting) to an employee's responsibilities.

Departmentalization

Departmentalization, the organization-wide division of work, permits the organization to realize the benefits of job specialization and to coordinate the activities of the component parts. School districts may be broadly divided into divisions of instruction, business, personnel, and research and development. Further subdividing of a division such as instruction may produce departments responsible for specific subjects, such as English, social studies, mathematics, and science. Departments—frequently labeled divisions, building units, departments, or teams—often indicate hierarchical relationships. Thus, an assistant superintendent may lead a division; a principal, a building unit; a department head, an academic department within a building unit; and a teacher, a grade-level team in a school.

The most common grouping in schools is by function. Functional departmentalization offers a number of advantages. Because people who perform similar functions work together, each department can be staffed by experts in that functional area. Decision making and coordination are easier, because division administrators

or department heads need to be familiar with only a relatively narrow set of skills. Functional departments at the central office can use a school district's resources more efficiently because a department's activity does not have to be repeated across several school district divisions. On the other hand, functional departmentalization has certain disadvantages. Personnel can develop overly narrow and technical viewpoints that lose sight of the total system perspective, communication and coordination across departments can be difficult, and conflicts often emerge as each department or unit attempts to protect its own area of authority and responsibility.

Chain of Command

Chain of command, concerned with the flow of authority and responsibility within an organization, is associated with two underlying principles. *Unity of command* means that a subordinate is accountable to only one person—the person from whom they receive authority and responsibility. The *scalar principle* means that authority and responsibility should flow in a direct line vertically from top management to the lowest level. It establishes the division of work in the organization in hierarchical form.

Although organizations differ in the degree of their vertical divisions of work and the extent to which it is formalized, they all exhibit aspects of this characteristic. For example, in the military, the vertical specialization is established by specific definitions of roles for the various positions, and there are definite status differences among levels. Within the officer ranks in the army, there is a distinct difference of role and status in the hierarchy from second lieutenant to general. In the university, there is a hierarchy within the professional ranks: instructor, assistant professor, associate professor, and full professor. In the school district organization, there are vertical differentiations of positions ranging from teachers to department heads, principals, directors, and superintendents. These levels are typically well defined, with differences in role and status for the various positions.

Authority and Responsibility

Authority is the right to make decisions and direct the work of others. It is an important concept in organizational structure because administrators and other personnel must be authorized to carry out jobs to which they are assigned. Furthermore, authority and responsibility should be linked; that is, **responsibility** for the execution of work must be accompanied by the authority to accomplish the job.

In a school district, authority stems from the school board. This body then delegates to the superintendent of schools the authority necessary to administer the school district. As authority is delegated further, it becomes narrower in scope. Each succeedingly lower-level occupant has narrower limits on her areas of legitimate authority. This view of authority and responsibility provides the framework for legitimizing organizational hierarchy and provides the basis for direction and control.

Centralization/Decentralization

Delegation of authority between a superior and a subordinate is a way of sharing power. The cumulative effect of all these superordinate-subordinate empowerment practices can have a dramatic impact on the overall organization. If administrators in a school district tend to delegate considerable authority and responsibility, more decisions are made at lower levels in the organization. Subordinates in such districts possess considerable influence in the overall operation of the school district. In these cases, the organization follows an administrative philosophy of decentralization. On the other hand, when school administrators retain most of the authority, depending on subordinates to implement decisions only, the organization is practicing centralization. Centralization and decentralization represent opposite ends of a continuum. That is, authority is delegated to a relatively small or large degree in the organization.

Should organizations centralize or decentralize? In the United States and Canada, the trend has been toward greater decentralization of organizations (Daft, 2016). Decentralization is said to have the following advantages: It makes greater use of human resources, unburdens top-level administrators, ensures that decisions are made close to the firing line by personnel with technical knowledge, and permits more rapid response to external changes (Lunenburg, 2007). These advantages are so compelling that it is tempting to think of decentralization as "good" and centralization as "bad."

But total decentralization, with no coordination from the top, would be undesirable. The very purpose of organization—efficient integration of subunits for the good of the whole—would be diminished without some centralized control. Even in very decentralized school districts, top administrators such as superintendents retain a number of decisions: setting overall goals, strategic planning, school district policy formulation, bargaining with unions, and development of financial and accounting systems. The question for school leaders is

not whether a school or school district should be decentralized but to what extent it should be decentralized.

Line and Staff Authority

Another way to view organizational structure is as line and staff authority. Line authority is that relationship in which a superior exercises direct supervision over a subordinate—an authority relationship in a direct line in the chain of command. Line authority relates specifically to the unity of command principle and the scalar principle. For example, line administrators such as the superintendent, assistant superintendent, directors of elementary and secondary education, and principals have authority to issue orders to their subordinates. Thus, the superintendent can order the assistant superintendent of instruction to implement a curriculum change, and the assistant superintendent in turn can order the directors of elementary and secondary education to do the same, and so on down the chain of command.

Staff authority is advisory in nature. The function of personnel in a staff position is to create, develop, collect, and analyze information, which flows to line personnel in the form of advice. Staff personnel do not possess the legitimate authority to implement this advice. Familiar examples of staff positions are "assistant to the superintendent" or "legal counsel." The legal counsel is not expected to contribute to school district outcomes. Instead, they answer questions from and provide advice to the superintendent concerning legal matters that confront the school district. The assistant to the superintendent might be involved in such activities as computer programming, preparing enrollment projections, or conducting special studies that flow to the superintendent requiring information or advice. Staff positions are represented by dashed lines in organizational charts, implying that school district staff personnel communicate and advise line administrators.

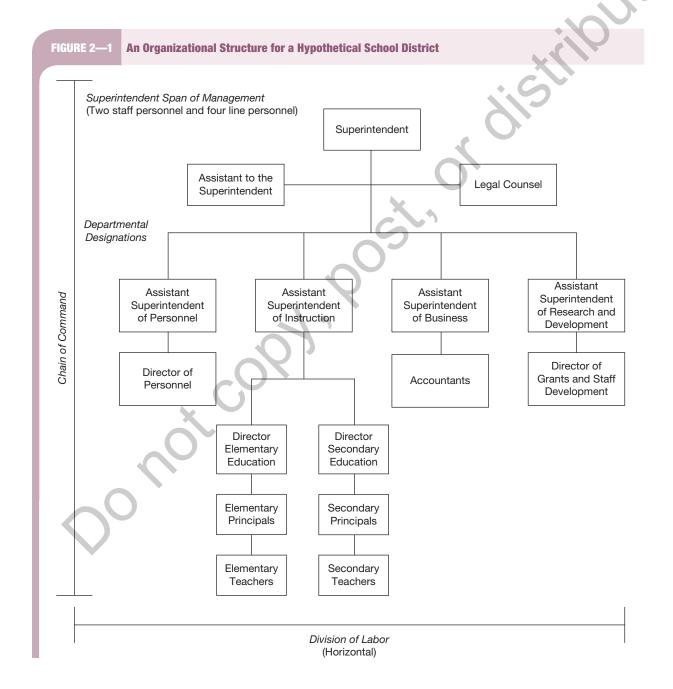
Span of Control

Span of control refers to the number of subordinates reporting directly to a supervisor. Is there an ideal span of control? There is no agreement regarding what is the best span of control. The most widely used criteria on this point suggest that spans can be larger at lower levels in an organization than at higher levels (Lunenburg, 2007). Because subordinates in lower-level positions typically perform much more routine activities, subordinates can be effectively supervised at lower levels.

In practice, larger spans are often found at lower levels in organizations. Elementary schools, for example, are characterized by very large spans, with as many as fifty or more teachers reporting to one principal. In such organizations, there is a tendency to assign team leaders within a school. These team leaders (teachers) report to the school principal, and may not be officially legitimized as a layer of administration within the school. The "informal" team leader approach permits a principal to expand the number of teachers they can effectively supervise. At

the same time, this unofficial position does not result in another cumbersome layer of administration.

Figure 2—1, highlighting each basic concept of organizational structure, illustrates how these key concepts function in a school setting and are the foundation for most structure decisions. In practice, one can observe these structural dimensions in most organizations. In theory, most scholars recommend a flattening pyramid, but unfortunately, this is not happening in practice in most school districts.



The Bureaucratic Model

Today the term **bureaucracy** has a negative connotation. We tend to associate bureaucracy with rigidity, meaningless rules, red tape, paperwork, and inefficiency. In fact, there is almost no evil that has not, at some point, been attributed to bureaucracy.

The pioneering work on bureaucracy is credited to the famous German sociologist Max Weber, who made a comparative study of many organizations existing at the turn of the twentieth century. From his study, Weber (1947) evolved the concept of bureaucracy as an ideal form of organizational structure.

Bureaucratic Characteristics

According to Weber (1947), the ideal bureaucracy possesses the following characteristics:

- Division of Labor. Divide all tasks into highly specialized jobs. Give each jobholder the authority necessary to perform these duties.
- Rules. Perform each task according to a consistent system of abstract rules. This practice helps ensure that task performance is uniform.
- Hierarchy of Authority. Arrange all positions according to the principle of hierarchy. Each lower office is under the control of a higher one, and there is a clear chain of command from the top of the organization to the bottom.
- Impersonality. Maintain an impersonal attitude toward subordinates. This social distance between managers and subordinates helps ensure that rational considerations are the basis for decision making, rather than favoritism or prejudices.
- Competence. Base employment on qualifications and give promotions based on job-related performance. As a corollary, protect employees from arbitrary dismissal, which should result in a high level of loyalty.

Weber's characteristics of bureaucracy apply to many large-sized organizations today. General Motors, Xerox, the U.S. military system, the Vatican, most universities, and school boards are bureaucracies. However, not all characteristics outlined by Weber appear in practice as they were originally intended (Crozier & Friedberg, 2010). Numerous misconceptions in the literature exist

regarding Weber's concept of the ideal bureaucracy. Although few "pure" bureaucracies exist today, almost all organizations have some elements of bureaucracy within their structure.

Bureaucratic Dysfunctions

In a period of increasing demands for accountability, demographic changes in school population, and economic crisis, most schools are being forced to examine their fundamental structural assumptions. Bureaucracy—the basic infrastructure of schools in the industrial world—may be ill-suited to the demands of our postindustrial, demographically diverse information-age society (Lunenburg, 2010b, 2017). Bureaucratic characteristics not only are being viewed as less than useful but also are considered to be harmful. Some of these built-in dysfunctions of bureaucracy include the following.

Division of Labor and Specialization

A high degree of division of labor can reduce staff initiative. As jobs become narrower in scope and well defined by procedures, individuals sacrifice autonomy and independence. Although specialization can lead to increased productivity and efficiency, it can also create conflict between specialized units, to the detriment of the overall goals of the school. For example, specialization may impede communication between units. Moreover, overspecialization may result in boredom and routine for some staff, which can lead to dissatisfaction, absenteeism, and turnover.

Reliance on Rules and Procedures

Weber claimed that the use of formal rules and procedures was adopted to help remove the uncertainty in attempting to coordinate a variety of activities in an organization. Reliance on rules can lead to the inability to cope with unique cases that do not conform to normal circumstances. In addition, the emphasis on rules and procedures can produce excessive red tape. The use of rules and procedures is only a limited strategy in trying to achieve coordinated actions. Other strategies may be required. But bureaucracy's approach is to create new rules to cover emerging situations and new contingencies. And, once established, ineffectual rules or procedures in a bureaucracy are difficult to remove.

Emphasis on Hierarchy of Authority

The functional attributes of a hierarchy are that it maintains an authority relationship, coordinates activities

and personnel, and serves as the formal system of communication. In theory, the hierarchy has both a downward and an upward communication flow. In practice, it usually has only a downward emphasis. Thus upward communication is impeded, and there is no formal recognition of horizontal communication. This stifles individual initiative and participation in decision making.

Lifelong Careers and Evaluation

Weber's bureaucratic model stresses lifelong careers and evaluations based on merit. Because competence can be difficult to measure in bureaucratic jobs, and because a high degree of specialization enables most employees to master their jobs quickly, there is a tendency to base promotions and salary increments more on seniority and loyalty than on actual skill and performance. Thus the idea of having the most competent people in positions within the organization is not fully realized. Loyalty is obtained, but this loyalty is toward the protection of one's position and not to the effectiveness of the organization.

Impersonality

The impersonal nature of bureaucracy is probably its most serious shortcoming. Recent critics of bureaucracy attack it as emphasizing rigid, control-oriented structures over people.

New viewpoints are leading to a decline in the use of bureaucratic structure in modern organizations (Etzioni-Halevy, 2010). School administrators in the twenty-first century will see a change in some of their duties. One change will be a shift away from simply supervising the work of others to that of contributing directly to the school district's objectives. Instead of shuffling papers and writing reports, the modern administrator may be practicing a craft (Glickman, 2006).

The renowned organization theorist Warren Bennis (1966) represents one of the extreme critics of bureaucratic structuring in organizations. Over four decades ago, he forecasted the demise of bureaucracy. In a more recent book, *Reinventing Leadership* (2005), Warren Bennis and Robert Townsend exposed the hidden obstacles in our organizations—and in society at large—that conspire against good leadership. According to Bennis, within any organization, an entrenched bureaucracy with a commitment to the status quo undermines the unwary leader. This creates an unconscious conspiracy in contemporary society, one that prevents leaders—no matter what their original vision—from taking charge and making changes.

In recent years, popular writers have expressed increasing dissatisfaction with bureaucratic structures. This is reflected in the phenomenal appeal of numerous

best-selling books such as In Search of Excellence, The Fifth Discipline, Principle-Centered Leadership, and Schools That Learn. The basic theme permeating these books is that there are viable alternatives to the bureaucratic model. There is a strong implication that warm, nurturing, caring, trusting, challenging organizations produce high productivity in people.

The Participatory Management Model

Participatory management represents an extension of the bureaucratic model. The excessive rigidity and inherent impersonality of the bureaucratic approach stimulated interest in participatory management. These new theories of organization place greater emphasis on employee morale and job satisfaction. Participatory management stresses the importance of motivating employees and building an organization for that purpose. The organization is structured to satisfy employees' needs, which will in turn result in high worker productivity.

Theory X and Theory Y

In 1960 Douglas McGregor presented a convincing argument that most managerial actions flow directly from the assumptions managers hold about their subordinates. The idea is that management's views of people control operating practices as well as organizational structure. McGregor referred to these contrasting sets of assumptions as **Theory X** and **Theory Y**.

Leaders with Theory X assumptions have the following views of people:

- The average person dislikes work and will avoid it if possible.
- Because people dislike work, they must be coerced, controlled, directed, and threatened.
- The average person prefers to be directed and controlled by someone in authority.

The opposite assumptions characterize the Theory Y manager:

- Work is as natural as play or rest.
- Commitment to objectives is a function of rewards for achievement.
- Under proper conditions, people accept and seek responsibility.

McGregor considers Theory X to be incompatible with democratic or participatory organizations because it conflicts with individual need fulfillment on the job. Therefore, McGregor espouses Theory Y, because people's behavior in modern organizations more nearly matches its set of assumptions.

Theory Y does not concentrate on organizational structure as much as it argues for a general management philosophy that would force reconsideration of structural dimensions. For example, job enrichment would replace highly specialized jobs and departments. Span of control would be wide, not narrow, in order to provide greater freedom and opportunities for growth and fulfillment of employees' needs. Emphasis on hierarchy would be replaced by emphasis on decentralization and delegation of decisions. Formal, rational authority would give way to "empowerment" of subordinates.

Immaturity-Maturity Continuum

The school administrator's job is to contribute to the achievement of organizational effectiveness. An important part of this effort is to enlist the support of subordinates to this same end. In a school setting, this includes teachers and all other professionals who work with students. Chris Argyris (1993) suggests that rigid, impersonal organizations such as those prescribed by the bureaucratic perspective hinder employees from using their full potential. He describes the growth or development of human personality and advocates the premise that organizational structure is often incongruent with the fulfillment of human needs. Argyris (1990)

asserts that an analysis of the basic properties of relatively mature human beings and the formal organization results in the conclusion that there is an inherent incongruency between the self-actualization of each one. This basic incongruency creates conflict and frustration for the participants.

Argyris proposes that the human personality progresses along an **immaturity-maturity continuum**—from immaturity as an infant to maturity as an adult. He views this progression in psychological rather than in purely physiological terms. That is, at any age, people can have their degree of growth or development plotted according to seven dimensions (see Table 2—2).

According to Argyris's continuum, as individuals mature, they have increasing needs for more activity, a state of relative independence, behaving in many different ways, deeper interests, a long time perspective, occupying a superordinate position in reference to their peers, and more awareness of and control over themselves.

Argyris believes that teachers and other professionals want to be treated as mature people, but modern bureaucratic organizations often treat people as if they fit the immature personality type. Teachers and other professionals react to this treatment by becoming either aggressive or apathetic, which starts a chain reaction. School administrators then impose further restrictions, which turn out to be counterproductive. This hinders optimum organizational effectiveness.

The restraining effects of bureaucratic organizational structure can be alleviated by less rigid rules and operating procedures, a decrease in the division of labor, greater delegation of authority, more participation in

TABLE 2—2	The	Immaturity-Maturity	Continuum
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Immaturity Characteristics	Maturity Characteristics
Passivity	Activity
Dependence	Independence
Few ways of behaving	Many ways of behaving
Shallow interests	Deeper interests
Short time perspective	Long time perspective
Subordinate position	Superordinate position
Lack of self-awareness	Self-awareness and control

Source: C. Argyris, Personality and Organization: The Conflict Between System and the Individual. New York, NY: Harper & Row, 1957.

decision making, and a more fluid structure throughout the organization. Argyris (1990) believes that a more participatory management structure can result in the growth and development of human personality and hence eliminate the incongruency between the individual and the organization.

System 4 Organization

Like McGregor and Argyris, Rensis Likert (1979, 1987) opposes the kinds of organizations that hew to the bureaucratic model. Likert's theory treats the structural prescriptions for organizational effectiveness more explicitly and completely. He builds his structural recommendations around three key elements that undergird four systems of organization.

Based on many years of research conducted in various organizational settings—industrial, government, health care, and educational—Likert proposed four basic systems of organization. System 1, which Likert originally labeled exploitive authoritative, follows the bureaucratic or classical structure of organization. Characteristics of the classical structure include limited supportive leadership, motivation based on fear and superordinate status, one-way downward communication, centralized

decision making, close over-the-shoulder supervision, no cooperative teamwork, and low performance goals of managers.

The System 4 organization, which Likert calls participative group, is more team-oriented. There is a high level of trust and confidence in the superior; communication flows freely in all directions; decision making occurs throughout the organization; cooperative teamwork is encouraged; and managers actively seek high performance goals. System 2 is less classical than System 1, and System 3 is less supportive than System 4 while coming closer to Likert's ideal model of organization. Table 2—3 shows the characteristics of System 1 and System 4, the extreme ends of Likert's systems continuum.

Key Elements of System 4

According to Likert (1979, 1987), System 4 has three key elements: the manager's use of the principle of supportive relationships, the use of group decision making in an overlapping group structure, and the manager's high performance goals for the organization. The underlying theory is that if an organization is to be effective, the leadership and other processes of the organization must ensure that in all interactions between

TABLE 2—3 Characteristics of System 1 and System 4

Organizational Characteristics	System 1 Organization	System 4 Organization
Leadership	Little confidence and trust between administrators and subordinates	Subordinate ideas are solicited and used by administrators
Motivation	Taps fear, status, and economic motives exclusively	Taps all major motives except fear
Communication	One-way, downward communication	Communication flows freely in all directions
Interaction- influence	Little upward influence; downward influence overestimated	Substantial influence upward, downward, and horizontally
Decision making	Centralized; decisions made at the top	Decentralized; decisions made throughout the organization
Goal setting	Established by top-level administrators and communicated downward	Established by group participation
Control	Close over-the-shoulder supervision	Emphasis on self-control
Performance goals	Low and passively sought by administrators; little commitment to developing human resources	High and actively sought by administrators; full commitment to developing human resources

Source: Adapted from Rensis Likert, The Human Organization (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1967), pp. 197-211.

superordinates and subordinates, subordinates will perceive the relationship as enhancing their own sense of personal worth and importance in the organization. Furthermore, Likert (1987) argues that "an organization will function best when its personnel function not as individuals but as members of highly effective work groups with high performance goals" (p. 224). In this way, decisions are group decisions, not simply orders from above. And the leader is seen as a "linking-pin"; that is, the leader is the head of one group but a member of another group at the next higher level. For example, the high school principal is the leader of school staff but also a subordinate to an administrator at the central office in another group at the next level in the organization. Thus, the principal serves as an important communication link between two levels of organization: school and school district.

System 4 Variables

Likert identifies System 4 as the ideal model of organization. The object of this approach is to move an organization as far as possible toward System 4. To analyze an organization's present system and move it toward System 4, Likert uses an organizational paradigm consisting of three broad classes of variables: causal variables, intervening variables, and end-result variables.

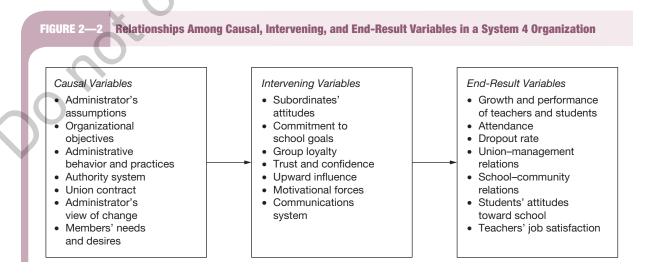
Causal variables are independent variables that affect both the intervening and end-result variables. They include the administrator's assumptions about subordinates, the organization's objectives and how they emerge, administrative behavior and practices, the nature of the authority system that prevails, the union contract, the administrator's view of change, and the needs and desires of members of the organization.

Causal variables are within the control of administration, and the value that administration places on these variables will determine the organization's management system. Causal variables, then, are the ones administrators should attempt to change in order to move the organization to System 4.

Intervening variables, representing the internal state and health of the organization, are those variables that are subsequently affected by causal variables. They include the attitudes that subordinates have toward their jobs, their superiors, peers, and subordinates; their commitment to organizational goals; their levels of performance goals; their levels of group loyalty and group commitment to the organization; their confidence and trust in themselves and their superiors; their feeling of upward influence in the organization; their motivational forces; and the extent to which communications flow freely and in all directions within the organization.

End-result variables are dependent variables that represent the achievements of the organization. In schools they include performance and growth levels of teachers and students, absence and turnover or dropout rates of employees and students, union-management relations, school-community relations, students' attitudes toward school, and levels of intrinsic job satisfaction of school employees. Figure 2—2 shows the relationship among the variables.

To move an organization to System 4, Likert recommends using the survey-feedback method and leadership training. Using his Profile of Organizational Characteristics instrument, the organization can determine the management system that is currently in place. The survey instrument measures the eight characteristics of organizational systems (see Table 2—3).



Respondents are given a range of choices for each item on the questionnaire, through which they indicate whether the organization tends to be exploitive authoritative (System 1), benevolent authoritative (System 2), consultative (System 3), or participative group (System 4). Respondents are also asked where they would like the organization to be on the continuum. Then an organization-systems profile chart is plotted, which visually conveys the organization's present management system and the desired system. Another instrument, the Profile of a School, also measures the organizational systems of schools. It has several versions that can be used with students, teachers, counselors, principals, superintendents, central office administrators, school board members, and parents. By comparing the perceptions of several subgroups within the organization, it is possible to measure the management system of a school or an entire school district.

The profile charts become a basis for discussing and analyzing an organization's management system so that plans for improving it can be made. Because effectiveness and System 4 go together in Likert's theory, the implications for organizational improvement are straightforward: Move the present management style of the organization to System 4 and keep it there. This is accomplished by training all administrators throughout the organization to acquire the skills needed for achieving a System 4 structure: manifesting supportive leadership, focusing on high performance goals, and building intact work groups into more effective teams.

Moral Leadership

In a groundbreaking examination of moral leadership, Amitai Etzioni (1990) provides a case for moral authority as a basis for management. Etzioni acknowledges the importance of basic, extrinsic motivation and higherorder, intrinsic motivation (see Maslow and Herzberg, Chapter 4). But Etzioni goes further. He contends that what means most to people is what they believe, how they feel, and the shared norms, values, and cultural symbols that emerge from the groups with which they identify. He maintains that morality and shared values and commitments are far more important motivators than the basic, extrinsic needs and motives and even some intrinsic concerns.

Thomas Sergiovanni (2010) further specifies the concept of moral leadership. He contends that when moral authority transcends bureaucratic leadership in a school, the outcomes in terms of commitment and

performance far exceed expectations. His four stages of value-added leadership are the following:

- Leadership by Bartering. The leader and led strike a bargain within which the leader gives to the led something they want in exchange for something the leader wants.
- 2. Leadership by Building. The leader provides the climate and the interpersonal support that enhances the followers' opportunities for fulfillment of needs for achievement, responsibility, competence, and esteem.
- 3. *Leadership by Bonding*. The leader and led develop a set of shared values and commitments that bond them together in a common cause.
- 4. Leadership by Banking. The leader institutionalizes the improvement initiatives as part of the everyday life of the school. This conserves human energy and effort for new projects and initiatives (Sergiovanni, 1997).

A new kind of hierarchy then emerges in the school—one that places purposes, values, and commitments at the apex and teachers, principals, parents, and students below, in service to these purposes. According to Sergiovanni, moral authority is a means to add value to an administrator's leadership practice, and this added value results in extraordinary commitment and performance in schools.

To implement this new kind of hierarchy, Roland Barth (2005) views restructuring as learning by heart. In his best-selling book, he examines the adults—parents, teachers, principals, and central office administrators—who help children learn. He describes how these stakeholders can assume responsibility for shaping their own school system. He stresses the importance of collaboration among these stakeholders in promoting learning and promoting schools. He sees transformation as focusing on the fact that the different roles of the major stakeholders serve a common purpose: to improve the education of all children in the school system. According to Barth, change in the classroom is the only change that really matters.

Participatory management proponents have high concern for people in the structuring of organizations. They view people as the most important resource of the organization. Supportiveness, participation, shared decision making, empowerment, flexibility, and employee growth and development are the keys to participatory management.

School-Based Management

School-based management (SBM) represents a change in how a school district is structured, that is, how authority and responsibility are shared between the school district and its schools. It changes roles and responsibilities of staff within schools and how the school district's central office staff is organized with respect to its size, roles, and responsibilities (Elmore, 2004). Professional responsibility replaces bureaucratic regulation. School districts accomplish this new structure in two ways: (1) increasing autonomy through some type of relief from constraining rules and regulations and (2) sharing the authority to make decisions with the school's major stakeholder groups, including teachers, parents, students, and other community members (Fullan, 2010).

In practice, authority to make changes at the building level is typically granted by some type of waiver process. Usually, a waiver process is the result of agreements between the school district and teachers' union that expand the scope of authority granted individual school sites. In a few cases, districts may also have agreements with their states that permit waivers from state regulations or laws that mandate school-based decision making.

To increase shared decision making, a school typically forms a school-site council with representatives from the school's major stakeholder groups. The composition of this council, how members are selected, and what their responsibilities are vary considerably between and within school districts. Some councils are composed of teachers elected from the entire faculty or by grade level or department. Others are composed of members from preexisting committees such as the curriculum, staffing, or budget committees. In some schools, the entire faculty constitutes the council.

Numerous states and districts have instituted a variety of SBM provisions (Patrinos, 2010). In Texas, Senate Bill 1 of 1990 and House Bill 2885 of 1991 introduced the term *school-based management* to schools throughout the state by establishing a legislative decree for SBM. In the Kentucky Education Reform Act of 1990, House Bill 940 mandated, with few minor exceptions, that all schools in the state employ an SBM model of governance by July 1, 1996. Signed into law in 1989, Act 266 of the Hawaii State Legislature was a major initiative designed to facilitate improved student performance in the public school system through school/community-based management. In Oregon, legislation was passed in 1991 to establish school-based decision-making

committees in all public schools in the state by 1995. Related events have unfolded in New York, South Carolina, Tennessee, Washington, and other states.

At the district level, especially in urban areas such as Dade County (Florida), Chicago, Los Angeles, and Rochester (New York), similar efforts to move decisionmaking authority to the school level have been initiated. For example, a provision for the establishment of SBM councils, composed of parents, teachers, citizens, and principals at each school site, was at the heart of legislation passed by the Illinois General Assembly to improve schooling in Chicago (Chicago Reform Act of 1988; reenacted 1991). Power was to shift from a large central office to each school site, and a bureaucratic, command-oriented system was to yield to a decentralized and democratic model. The traditional pyramidshaped organizational structure was to be inverted. The existing insiders, particularly the central administration and the Chicago Teachers Union, found their traditional sources of influence circumscribed (G. A. Hess, 1995). Similar reforms have occurred in Memphis, Detroit, Dallas, Cincinnati, Los Angeles, White Plains (New York), and other school districts.

Frames of Organization

Lee Bolman and Terrence Deal (2017) provide a four-frame model (Table 2—4) with its view of organizations as factories (*structural frame*), families (*human resource frame*), jungles (*political frame*), and temples (*symbolic frame*). Their distillation of ideas about how organizations work has drawn much from the social sciences, particularly from sociology, psychology, political science, and anthropology. They argue that their **four frames** or major perspectives can help leaders make sense of organizations. Bolman and Deal further assert that the ability to *reframe*—to reconceptualize the same situation using multiple perspectives—is a central capacity for leaders of the twenty-first century:

• Structural Frame. Drawing from sociology and management science, the structural frame emphasizes goals, specialized roles, and formal relationships. Structures, commonly depicted by organization charts, are designed to fit an organization's environment and technology. Organizations allocate responsibilities to participants ("division of labor") and create rules, policies, procedures, and hierarchies to coordinate diverse activities. Problems arise when the structure does not fit the situation.

TABLE 2—4 Overview of the Four-Frame Model

	Structural	Human Resource	Political	Symbolic
Metaphor for organization	Factory or machine	Family	Jungle	Carnival, temple, theater
Central concepts	Rules, roles, goals, policies, technology, environment	Needs, skills, relationships	Power, conflict, competition, organizational politics	Culture, meaning, metaphor, ritual, ceremony, stories, heroes
Image of leadership	Social architecture	Empowerment	Advocacy	Inspiration
Basic leadership challenge	Attune structure to task, technology, environment	Align organizational and human needs	Develop agenda and power base	Create faith, beauty, meaning

Source: Adapted from Lee G. Bolman and Terrence E. Deal, Reframing Organizations, 4th ed. (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 2008), p. 18.

At that point, some form of reframing is needed to remedy the mismatch.

- Human Resource Frame. The human resource frame, based particularly on ideas from psychology, sees an organization as if it were an extended family, inhabited by individuals who have needs, feelings, prejudices, skills, and limitations. They have a great capacity to learn and sometimes an even greater capacity to defend old attitudes and beliefs. From a human resource perspective, the key challenge is to tailor organizations to people—to find a way for individuals to get the job done while feeling good about what they are doing.
- Political Frame. The political frame is rooted particularly in the work of political scientists. It sees organizations as arenas, contests, or jungles. Different interests compete for power and scarce resources. Conflict is rampant because of enduring differences in needs, perspectives, and lifestyles among individuals and groups. Bargaining, negotiation, coercion, and compromise are part of everyday life. Coalitions form around specific interests and change as issues come and go. Problems arise when power is concentrated in the wrong places or is so broadly dispersed that nothing gets done. Solutions arise from political skill and acumen in reframing the organization.
- Symbolic Frame. The symbolic frame, drawing on social and cultural anthropology, treats

organizations as tribes, theaters, or carnivals. It abandons the assumptions of rationality more prominent in the other frames. It sees organizations as cultures, propelled more by rituals, ceremonies, stories, heroes, and myths than by rules, policies, and managerial authority. Organization is also theater: Actors play their roles in the organizational drama while audiences form impressions from what they see onstage. Problems arise when actors play their parts badly, when symbols lose their meaning, and when ceremonies and rituals lose their potency. Leaders reframe the expressive or spiritual side of organizations through the use of symbol, myth, and magic.

Alternative Models of Organizational Structure

The bureaucratic and participatory management models laid the groundwork for more complex approaches to organizational structure. Top-level school administrators must consider the relative suitability of alternative approaches to organizational structure, based on the problems they face and the environment in which they work. We describe some alternative approaches to organizational structure, including Etzioni's compliance theory, Hage's mechanistic-organic organizations, and Mintzberg's strategy-structure typology.

Compliance Theory

Etzioni (1975) developed an innovative approach to the structure of organizations that he calls **compliance theory**. He classifies organizations by the type of power they use to direct the behavior of their members and the type of involvement of the participants. Etzioni identifies three types of organizational power—coercive, utilitarian, and normative—and relates these to three types of involvement—alienative, calculative, and moral (see Figure 2—3). This figure, while grossly oversimplifying the relationships, helps to make clear the pattern among the components. It should be noted that life in organizations is much more complicated.

Types of Power

Etzioni identifies three types of organizational power—coercive, utilitarian, and normative—and relates them to three types of involvement: alienative, calculative, and moral. Each one will be discussed in turn.

Coercive power uses force and fear to control lower-level participants. Examples of organizations that rely on coercive power include prisons, custodial mental hospitals, and basic training in the military.

Utilitarian power uses remuneration or extrinsic rewards to control lower-level participants. Most business firms emphasize such extrinsic rewards. These rewards include salary, merit pay, fringe benefits, working conditions, and job security. Besides many business firms, utilitarian organizations include unions, farmers' co-ops, various government agencies, and universities.

Normative power controls through allocation of intrinsic rewards, such as interesting work, identification with goals, and making a contribution to society. Leaders' power in this case rests on their ability to manipulate symbolic rewards, allocate esteem and prestige symbols, administer ritual, and influence the

distribution of acceptance and positive response in the organization.

Many professional people work in normative organizations. Examples of such organizations are churches, political organizations, hospitals, universities, and professional associations (such as the American Association of School Administrators, National Association of Secondary School Principals, and National Education Association). Public schools probably fit this category for the most part, although there are vast differences in their use of power to gain member compliance, particularly the control of pupils (Lunenburg, 1984b).

Types of Involvement

All three types of power can be useful in obtaining subordinates' cooperation in organizations. However, the relative effectiveness of each approach depends on the organization participant's involvement. Involvement refers to the orientation of a person to an object, characterized in terms of intensity and direction. Accordingly, people can be placed on an involvement continuum that ranges from highly negative to highly positive. Etzioni suggests that participants' involvement can be broadly categorized as alienative, calculative, or moral.

Alienative involvement designates an intense, negative orientation. Inmates in prisons, patients in custodial mental hospitals, and enlisted personnel in basic training all tend to be alienated from their respective organizations. However, in the case of military personnel undergoing basic training, the ultimate goal is adherence to the organization's values (Champoux, 2011). Identification with underlying values helps military recruits reconcile personal discomfort caused by their membership in the organization during boot camp (Lalor, 2011). Personnel learn to accept the organization's values and place trust in the organization not to hurt them. This may lead ultimately to the graduate's shift to moral involvement (Goldish, 2011).

FIGURE 2—3 Etzioni's Compliance Types

		Types of Power		
ent		Coercive	Utilitarian	Normative
lvem	Alienative	Х		
of Involvement	Calculative		Х	
es of	Moral			Х
χ				

Calculative involvement designates either a negative or a positive orientation of low intensity. Calculative orientations are predominant in relationships of merchants who have permanent customers in various types of business associations. Similarly, inmates in prisons ("rats") who have established contact with prison authorities often have predominantly calculative attitudes toward those in power.

Moral involvement designates a positive orientation of high intensity. The involvement of the parishioner in their church or synagogue, the devoted member of their political party, and the loyal follower of their leader are all moral.

Relationship of Power to Involvement

According to Etzioni, when an organization employs coercive power, participants usually react to the organization with hostility, which is alienative involvement. Utilitarian power usually results in calculative involvement; that is, participants desire to maximize personal gain. Finally, normative power frequently creates moral involvement; for instance, participants are committed to the socially beneficial features of their organizations.

Some organizations employ all three powers, but most tend to emphasize only one, relying less on the other two. Power specialization occurs because when two types of power are emphasized simultaneously with the same participant group, they tend to neutralize each other.

Applying force, fear, or other coercive measures, for example, usually creates such high-degree alienation that it becomes impossible to apply normative power successfully (Lunenburg, 1983a). This may be one reason why using coercive control in gaining student compliance in schools often leads to a displacement of educational goals (Lunenburg, 1991b). Similarly, it may be why teachers in progressive schools tend to oppose corporal punishment (Bulach, Lunenburg, & Potter, 2016a).

In most organizations, types of power and involvement are related in the three combinations depicted in Figure 2—3. Of course, a few organizations combine two or even all three types. For instance, some teachers' unions use both utilitarian and normative power to gain compliance from their members. Nevertheless, school officials who attempt to use types of power that are not appropriate for the environment can reduce organizational effectiveness. Schools tend to be normative organizations. According to this logic, oppressive use of coercive and utilitarian power with teachers and students can be dysfunctional (Lunenburg, 1984a).

Mechanistic-Organic Organizations

Some writers have called attention to the incongruency between bureaucratic and professional norms (Crozier & Friedberg, 2010; Etzioni-Halevy, 2010). Specifically, they argue that occupants of hierarchical positions frequently do not have the technical competence to make decisions about issues that involve professional knowledge. That is, there is a basic conflict in educational organizations between authority based on bureaucracy and authority based on professional norms (Abbott & Caracheo, 1988). Others support the notion that bureaucratic orientations and professional attitudes need not conflict if teachers are provided with sufficient autonomy to carry out their jobs (Hoy & Sweetland, 2000).

We can conclude from this research that most schools have both bureaucratic and professional characteristics that are often incompatible but need not be. Jerald Hage (1965) suggests an axiomatic theory of organizations that provides a framework for defining two ideal types of organizations: mechanistic (bureaucratic) and organic (professional). His theory identifies eight key variables found in schools and other organizations. These key variables are arranged in a meansends relationship and are interrelated in seven basic propositions.

Eight Organizational Variables

Complexity, centralization, formalization, and stratification are the four variables that constitute the organizational *means* by which schools are structured to achieve objectives. Adaptiveness, production, efficiency, and job satisfaction are the four variables that represent categories for sorting organizational *ends*. We describe each in turn:

- 1. Complexity, or specialization, refers to the number of occupational specialties included in an organization and the length of training required of each. Person specialization and task specialization distinguish the degree of specialization. A teacher who is an expert in English literature is a person specialist, whereas one who teaches eleventh-grade English is a task specialist. The greater the number of person specialists and the longer the period of training required to achieve person specialization (or degree held), the more complex the organization.
- 2. *Centralization*, or hierarchy of authority, refers to the number of role incumbents

- who participate in decision making and the number of areas in which they participate. The lower the proportion of role incumbents who participate and the fewer the decision areas in which they participate, the more centralized the organization.
- 3. *Formalization*, or standardization, refers to the proportion of codified jobs and the range of variation that is tolerated within the parameters defining the jobs. The higher the proportion of codified jobs in schools and the lesser range of variation allowed, the more formalized the organization.
- 4. Stratification, or status system, refers to the difference in status between higher and lower levels in the school's hierarchy. Differentials in salary, prestige, privileges, and mobility usually measure this status difference. The greater the disparity in rewards between the top and bottom status levels and the lower the rates of mobility between them, the more stratified the organization.
- 5. Adaptiveness, or flexibility, refers to the use of professional knowledge and techniques in the instruction of students and the ability of a school to respond to environmental demands. The more advanced the knowledge base, instructional techniques, and environmental response, the more adaptive the organization.
- 6. Production refers to the quantity and quality of output. Some schools are more concerned with quantity and less concerned with quality, and vice versa. This variable is difficult to measure because of the dichotomy between quantity and quality. For example, some universities are "degree mills"; that is, they award a large number of degrees each year with little concern for quality. Other institutions are less concerned about increasing the quantity of degrees awarded and more concerned about the quality of the product (the degree recipient). The greater the emphasis on quantity, not quality, of output, the more productive the organization.
- 7. Efficiency, or cost, refers to financial as well as human resources and the amount of idle resources. For example, class size ratios of one teacher to thirty students are more efficient than a one-to-ten ratio. The lower the cost

- per unit of production, the more efficient the organization.
- 8. Job satisfaction, or morale, refers to the amount of importance a school places on its human resources. Measures of job satisfaction include feelings of well-being, absenteeism, turnover, and the like. The higher the morale and the lower the absenteeism and turnover, the higher the job satisfaction in the organization (Hage, 1965).

Seven Organizational Propositions

Central to Hage's axiomatic theory are seven propositions, which have been drawn from the classic works of Weber (1947), Barnard (1964), Perrow (1972), and V. Thompson (1961). The major theme permeating Hage's theory is the concept of functional strains, namely that maximizing one organizational-means variable minimizes another. The eight key variables are related in fairly predictable ways. For instance, high centralization results in high production and formalization, high formalization in turn results in high efficiency, high stratification results in low job satisfaction and adaptiveness and high production, and high complexity results in low centralization. These ideas are expressed in seven propositions:

- The higher the centralization, the higher the production.
- The higher the formalization, the higher the efficiency.
- The higher the centralization, the higher the formalization.
- The higher the stratification, the higher the production.
- The higher the stratification, the lower the job satisfaction.
- The higher the stratification, the lower the adaptiveness.
- The higher the complexity, the lower the centralization. (Hage, 1965)

Two Ideal Types

The interrelationship of the eight key variables in seven basic propositions was used to define two ideal types of organizations, as Table 2—5 shows. Mechanistic and organic concepts are organizational extremes that represent pure types not necessarily found in real life. No school is completely mechanistic (bureaucratic)

TABLE 2—5 Characteristics of Mechanistic and Organic Organizational Forms

Mechanistic Organization (Bureaucratic)	Organic Organization (Professional)
Low complexity	High complexity
High centralization	Low centralization
High formalization	Low formalization
High stratification	Low stratification
Low adaptiveness	High adaptiveness
High production	Low production
High efficiency	Low efficiency
Low job satisfaction	High job satisfaction

Source: Adapted from Jerald Hage, "An Axiomatic Theory of Organizations," Administrative Science Quarterly, 10 (1965): p. 305. Used by permission.

or completely organic (professional). Most schools fall somewhere between these two extremes (Lunenburg, 2011g).

Mechanistic (bureaucratic-type) schools tend to have a hierarchical structure of control, authority, and communication with little shared decision making (high centralization). Each functional role requires precise definitions of rights and obligations and technical methods (high formalization). These schools emphasize status differences between hierarchical levels in the organization (high stratification), and an emphasis on quantity, not quality, of output at least cost is prevalent (high production, high efficiency). There is little emphasis on professional expertise in both subjectmatter knowledge and instructional methodology (low complexity). As well, there is little responsiveness to changing needs of students, society, and subject matter (low adaptiveness), and human resources are of little importance (low job satisfaction).

Organic (professional-type) schools are characterized by high complexity, adaptiveness, and job satisfaction. That is, school administrators respect the professional knowledge of teachers, respond readily to the changing needs of the school and society, and consider the intrinsic satisfaction of teachers to be an important school outcome. Furthermore, centralization is low because administrators encourage teacher participation in decision making and delegate considerable authority and responsibility to teachers in the operation of the school. A network structure of control, authority, and communication prevails. School administrators adjust and continually redefine tasks and avoid

always "going by the book." The organization deemphasizes status differences among the occupants of the many positions in the hierarchy and adopts a collegial, egalitarian orientation. Low efficiency and productivity also characterize the ideal professional school. School administrators in the professional-type school are not as concerned with the quantity of output as they are with the quality of outcomes. Professional-type schools are probably more expensive to operate than bureaucratic-type schools because professional-school administrators tend to deemphasize quantity of output at least cost. Such schools tend to be less efficient but more effective.

Each ideal type of school has advantages and disadvantages. Moreover, there are limits on how much a school administrator can emphasize one variable over another. For example, if there is no codification of jobs (formalization), then a condition of normlessness prevails, which will likely result in low job satisfaction among faculty members. If schools do not respond to the knowledge explosion, technological innovations, and the changing needs of students and society, schools are apt to fail in the face of an ever-changing environment. Conversely, too high a change rate is likely to result in increased costs involved in implementing new programs and techniques. Limits exist on each of the eight variables, beyond which a school dare not move. Hage (1965) expresses it this way: "Production imposes limits on complexity, centralization, formalization, stratification, adaptiveness, efficiency, and job satisfaction" (p. 307). In other words, extremes in any variable result in the loss of production, even in a school that has the means to maximize this end.

All the relationships specified in the seven propositions are curvilinear. For instance, if centralization becomes too high, production drops; if stratification becomes too low, job satisfaction falls. Therefore, exceeding the limits on any variable results in a reversal of the hypothesized relationships specified in the seven propositions. According to Hage (1965), "These represent important qualifications to the axiomatic theory" (p. 307).

The tension between the mechanistic (bureaucratic) and organic (professional) models is constantly negotiated between teachers and administrators. Sometimes it is resolved in favor of professionals, and sometimes it is resolved in favor of administrators (Bacharach, 2000).

Because schools are fragile political coalitions, each decision must be considered strategically, examining its implications for all the major stakeholders (Slater & Boyd, 1999). Thus, school administrators must examine

several strategic questions before a professional school orientation can be effectively implemented. (See Administrative Advice 2–1.)

Strategy-Structure Typology

Another alternative approach to organizational structure concerns the relationship between organizational strategy and structure. This approach began with the landmark work of Alfred Chandler (1962, 2003), who traced the historical development of such large American corporations as DuPont, Sears, and General Motors. He concluded from his study that an organization's strategy tends to influence its structure. He suggests that strategy indirectly determines such variables as the organization's tasks, technology, and environments, and each of these influences the structure of the organization.

ADMINISTRATIVE ADVICE 2-1

STRATEGIC QUESTIONS

In structuring a professional-school orientation, school administrators must answer the following strategic questions:

- In which decisions will professional teachers become involved? There appears to
 be general agreement among the major
 stakeholders that teachers should be more
 involved in making decisions. However, we
 need to specify the areas in which teachers will play larger roles in decision making.
- Who will make what decisions in the school? How much influence should teachers have with respect to decisions affecting other parties in the school—students, teachers, support staff, principals, central office administrators, school board members? The roles of these stakeholders

- may need to be clarified or redefined in a professional-school structure.
- What are the basic tasks of administrators and teachers in the context of a professional-school structure? Put another way, what is the basis of teachers' expertise and professional identity? The amount of participation in decision making probably should be contingent on whether the issue is relevant to teachers and whether teachers have the expertise to make the decision.
- What is the role of teacher unions in a professional-school structure? The involvement of teacher unions is a key strategic issue in structuring a professional-school orientation.

Source: Adapted from Sharon C. Conley and Samuel B. Bacharach, "From School-Site Management to Participatory School-Site Management," *Phi Delta Kappan*, 71 (1990): pp. 539–544.

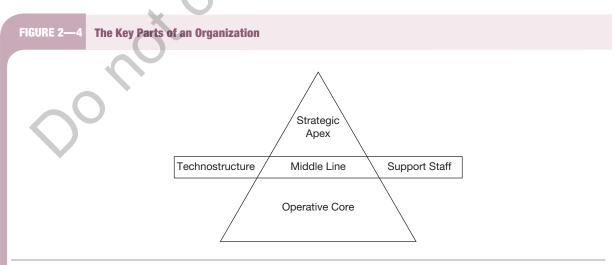
More recently, social scientists have augmented Chandler's thesis by contending that an organization's strategy determines its environment, technology, and tasks. These variables, coupled with growth rates and power distribution, affect organizational structure. Henry Mintzberg (2009) suggests that organizations can be differentiated along three basic dimensions: (1) the key part of the organization, that is, the part of the organization that plays the major role in determining its success or failure; (2) the prime coordinating mechanism, that is, the major method the organization uses to coordinate its activities; and (3) the type of decentralization used, that is, the extent to which the organization involves subordinates in the decisionmaking process. The key parts of an organization are shown in Figure 2—4 and include the following:

- The strategic apex is top management and its support staff. In school districts, this is the superintendent of schools and the administrative cabinet.
- *The operative core* are the workers who actually carry out the organization's tasks. Teachers constitute the operative core in school districts.
- The middle line is middle- and lower-level management. Principals are the middle-level managers in school districts.
- The technostructure are analysts such as engineers, accountants, planners, researchers, and personnel managers. In school districts, divisions such as instruction, business,

- personnel, research and development, and the like constitute the technostructure.
- The support staff are the people who provide indirect services. In school districts, similar services include maintenance, clerical, food service, legal counsel, and consulting to provide support. (Mintzberg, 2009)

The second basic dimension of an organization is its prime coordinating mechanism. This includes the following:

- Direct supervision means that one individual is responsible for the work of others. This concept refers to the unity of command and scalar principles discussed earlier.
- Standardization of work process exists when the content of work is specified or programmed. In school districts, this refers to job descriptions that govern the work performance of educators.
- Standardization of skills exists when the kind of training necessary to do the work is specified. In school systems, this refers to state certificates required for the various occupants of a school district's hierarchy.
- Standardization of output exists when the results of the work are specified. Because the "raw material" that is processed by the operative core (teachers) consists of people (students), not things, standardization of output is more difficult



Source: Adapted from Henry Mintzberg, Structure in Fives: Designing Effective Organizations, 2nd ed. (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1992), p. 11.

to measure in schools than in other nonservice organizations. Nevertheless, a movement toward the standardization of output in schools in recent years has occurred. Examples include competency testing of teachers, state-mandated testing of students, state-mandated curricula, prescriptive learning objectives, and other efforts toward legislated learning.

 Mutual adjustment exists when work is coordinated through informal communication. Mutual adjustment or coordination is the major thrust of Likert's "linking-pin" concept discussed earlier (Mintzberg, 2009).

The third basic dimension of an organization is the type of decentralization it employs. The three types of decentralization are the following:

- Vertical decentralization is the distribution of power down the chain of command, or shared authority between superordinates and subordinates in any organization.
- Horizontal decentralization is the extent to which nonadministrators (including staff) make decisions, or shared authority between line and staff.
- Selective decentralization is the extent to which decision-making power is delegated to different units within the organization. In school districts, these units might include instruction, business, personnel, and research and development divisions (Mintzberg, 2009).

Using the three basic dimensions—key part of the organization, prime coordinating mechanism, and type

of decentralization—Mintzberg suggests that the strategy an organization adopts and the extent to which it practices that strategy result in five structural configurations: simple structure, machine bureaucracy, professional bureaucracy, divisionalized form, and adhocracy. Table 2—6 summarizes the three basic dimensions associated with each of the five structural configurations. Each organizational form is discussed in turn (Mintzberg, 1992).

Simple Structure

The simple structure has as its key part the strategic apex, uses direct supervision, and employs vertical and horizontal centralization. Examples of simple structures are relatively small corporations, new government departments, medium-sized retail stores, and small elementary school districts. The organization consists of the top manager and a few workers in the operative core. There is no technostructure, and the support staff is small; workers perform overlapping tasks. For example, teachers and administrators in small elementary school districts must assume many of the duties that the technostructure and support staff perform in larger districts. Frequently, however, small elementary school districts are members of cooperatives that provide many services (i.e., counselors, social workers) to a number of small school districts in one region of the county or state.

In small school districts, the superintendent may function as both superintendent of the district and principal of a single school. Superintendents in such school districts must be entrepreneurs. Because the organization is small, coordination is informal and maintained through direct supervision. Moreover, this organization can adapt to environmental changes rapidly. Goals stress innovation and long-term survival, although innovation may be difficult for very small rural school districts because of the lack of resources.

TABLE 2-6 Mintzberg's Five Organizational Structures

Structural Configuration	Prime Coordinating Mechanism	Key Part of Organization	Type of Decentralization
Simple structure	Direct supervision	Strategic apex	Vertical and horizontal centralization
Machine bureaucracy	Standardization of work processes	Technostructure	Limited horizontal decentralization
Professional bureaucracy	Standardization of skills	Operating core	Vertical and horizontal decentralization
Divisionalized form	Standardization of outputs	Middle line	Limited vertical decentralization
Adhocracy	Mutual adjustment	Support staff	Selective decentralization

Source: Adapted from Henry Mintzberg, Structure in Fives: Designing Effective Organizations, 2nd ed. (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1992), p. 153.

Machine Bureaucracy

Machine bureaucracy has the technostructure as its key part, uses standardization of work processes as its prime coordinating mechanism, and employs limited horizontal decentralization. Machine bureaucracy has many of the characteristics of Weber's ideal bureaucracy and resembles Hage's mechanistic organization. It has a high degree of formalization and work specialization. Decisions are centralized. The span of management is narrow, and the organization is tall—that is, many levels exist in the chain of command from top management to the bottom of the organization. Little horizontal or lateral coordination is needed. Furthermore, machine bureaucracy has a large technostructure and support staff.

Examples of machine bureaucracy are automobile manufacturers, steel companies, and large government organizations. The environment for a machine bureaucracy is typically stable, and the goal is to achieve internal efficiency. Public schools possess many characteristics of machine bureaucracy, but most schools are not machine bureaucracies in the pure sense. However, large urban school districts (New York, Los Angeles, and Chicago) are closer to machine bureaucracies than other medium-sized or small school districts.

Professional Bureaucracy

The professional bureaucracy has the operating core as its key part, uses standardization of skills as its prime coordinating mechanism, and employs vertical and horizontal decentralization. The organization is relatively formalized but decentralized to provide autonomy to professionals. Highly trained professionals provide nonroutine services to clients. Top management is small, there are few middle managers, and the technostructure is generally small. However, the support staff is typically large to provide clerical and maintenance support for the professional operating core. The goals of professional bureaucracies are to innovate and provide high-quality services. Existing in complex but stable environments, professional bureaucracies are generally moderate to large in size. Coordination problems are common. Examples of this form of organization include universities, hospitals, and large law firms.

Some public school districts have many characteristics of the professional bureaucracy, particularly its aspects of professionalism, teacher autonomy, and structural looseness. These characteristics tend to broaden the limits of individual discretion and performance. Like attorneys, physicians, and university professors, teachers perform in classroom settings in relative

isolation from colleagues and superiors, while remaining in close contact with their students. Furthermore, teachers are highly trained professionals who provide information to their students in accordance with their own style, and they are usually flexible in the delivery of content even within the constraints of the state- and district-mandated curriculum. Moreover, like some staff administrators, teachers tend to identify more with their profession than with the organization.

Divisionalized Form

The divisionalized form has the middle line as its key part, uses standardization of output as its prime coordinating mechanism, and employs limited vertical decentralization. Decision making is decentralized at the divisional level. There is little coordination among the separate divisions. Corporate-level personnel provide some coordination. Thus, each division itself is relatively centralized and tends to resemble a machine bureaucracy. The technostructure is located at corporate head-quarters to provide services to all divisions; support staff is located within each division. Large corporations are likely to adopt the divisionalized form.

Most school districts typically do not fit the divisionalized form. The exceptions are those very large school districts that have diversified service divisions distinctly separated into individual units or schools. For example, a school district may resemble the divisionalized form when it has separate schools for students with physical disabilities, students with mental illnesses, and students with learning disabilities; a skills center for the potential dropout; a special school for art and music students; and so on. The identifying feature of these school districts is that they have separate schools within a single school district, which have separate administrative staffs, budgets, and so on. Elementary and secondary school districts that have consolidated but retained separate administrative structures with one school board are also examples of the divisionalized form. As might be expected, the primary reason for a school district to adopt this form of structure is service diversity while retaining separate administrative structures.

Adhocracy

The adhocracy has the support staff as its key part, uses mutual adjustment as a means of coordination, and maintains selective patterns of decentralization. The structure tends to be low in formalization and decentralization. The technostructure is small because technical specialists are involved in the organization's operative core. The support staff is large to support the complex structure. Adhocracies engage in nonroutine

tasks and use sophisticated technology. The primary goal is innovation and rapid adaptation to changing environments. Adhocracies typically are medium sized, must be adaptable, and use resources efficiently. Examples of adhocracies include aerospace and electronics industries, research and development firms, and very innovative school districts. No school districts are pure adhocracies, but medium-sized school districts in very wealthy communities may have some of the characteristics of an adhocracy. The adhocracy is somewhat similar to Hage's organic organization.

Strategy and Structure

The work begun by Chandler and extended by Mintzberg has laid the groundwork for an understanding of the relationship between an organization's strategy and its structure. The link between strategy and structure is still in its infancy stage. Further research in this area, particularly in service organizations like schools, will enhance school administrators' understanding of a school's organizational structure and design (Lunenburg, 2011i, 2017). In the meantime, school leaders must recognize that organization strategy and structure are related.

The School as a Social System

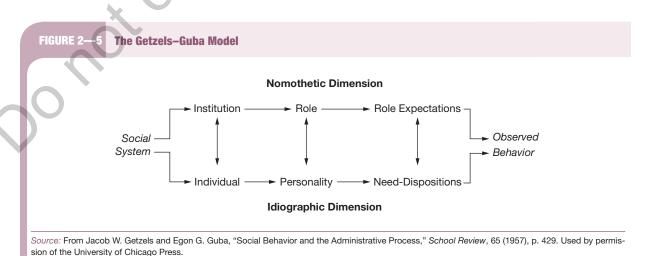
We can view the school as a social system. A social system refers to activities and interactions of group members brought together for a common purpose (Homans, 1950). Thus, a school district, a school, and a classroom can all be viewed as social systems. A useful framework for understanding the administrative process within social systems is the Getzels–Guba (1957) model (see Figure 2—5). See also (Lipham, 1988).

Dimensions of a Social System

Jacob Getzels and Egon Guba conceive of the social system as involving two dimensions that are independent and interactive. First are institutions with certain roles and expectations that will fulfill the goals of the system. Second are individuals with certain personalities and need-dispositions inhabiting the system, whose interactions comprise observed behavior. Thus, observed behavior can be understood as a function of these major elements: institution, role, and expectations, which together constitute the *nomothetic*, or normative, dimension of activity in a social system; and individual, personality, and need-dispositions, which together constitute the *idiographic*, or personal, dimension of activity in a social system.

Translated into the school setting, this means that an organization is designed to serve one of society's needs—to educate. In this organization, there are positions, or roles, such as the roles of the student, teacher, principal, superintendent, and the like. For each individual who occupies a given role, there are role expectations. Role expectations represent not only the duties and actions expected from each role player but also the expectations concerning the quality of performance. The various roles and role expectations constitute the nomothetic dimension of the social system.

The idiographic dimension includes individuals who occupy the roles and their personal needs. Schools as social systems must be "peopled," and all kinds of individuals who have their own idiosyncrasies "people" them. Thus, individuals chosen to occupy roles are different from one another in action and in reaction, and we can analyze these differences in terms of personality. Personality is determined in part by needs, which predispose a person to behave in a certain way in a given



situation. In other words, the individual who occupies a given role has needs they try to fulfill. These are personalized needs and may not be associated with the needs of the school system.

Behavior can be stated in the form of the equation $B = f(R \times P)$, where B is observed behavior, f is function, R is a given institutional role defined by the expectations attached to it, and P is the personality of the role player defined by his need-dispositions (Getzels, 1958). The proportion of role and personality factors determining behavior varies with the specific act, the specific role, and the specific personality involved.

It is presumed in the military that behavior is influenced more by role than personality, whereas with the freelance artist, behavior is influenced more by personality than by role. Many other examples can illustrate this variation in the influence exerted by role or personality on behavior. In educational organizations, we could hypothesize that the proportion of role and personality might be balanced somewhere between the two. But different educational systems are characterized by different proportions of role and personality (Getzels, 1958).

Expanded Model: Cultural Dimensions

The developers of this early model recognized its oversimplification. In focusing on the sociological dimension with "role" as the central concept and on the psychological dimension with "personality" as the central concept, other dimensions had been omitted, thus giving the model a closed systems orientation. To overcome this deficiency, Getzels and Herbert Thelen (1960) expanded the basic model to describe the classroom as a unique social system. According to these social system theorists, the sociological aspects of an institution are mediated by cultural factors—the ethos, mores, and values—in which the institution is embedded. The expectations of the roles must, it seems, be somehow related to the ethos or cultural values. Similarly, the individual's personality functions in a biological organism with certain potentialities and abilities, with the need-dispositions of the personality mediated in some way by these constitutional conditions.

Getzels, James Lipham, and Roald Campbell (1968) further extended the model for school administrators. They added a second cultural dimension to interact with the psychological aspects of the individual. The composite model of the school as a social system depicts educational administration as a social process (see Figure 2—6). The bottom line in their model indicates that the culture, ethos, and values held by individuals in

schools and school systems explain much social behavior. The model also clearly indicates that any social system (classroom, school, or school district) must operate within a larger environment. The addition of these dimensions gives Getzels's composite model a more open-systems orientation.

Some Derivations

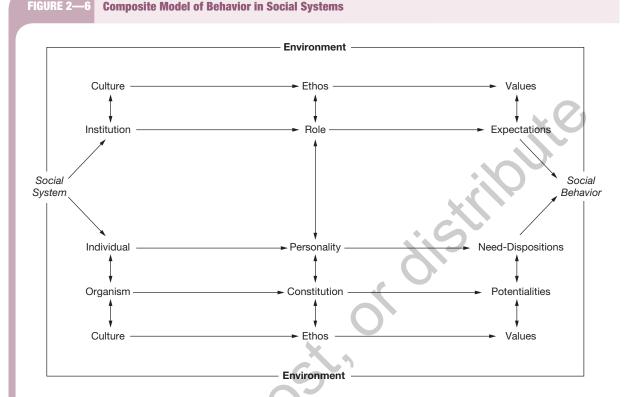
Getzels's (1958) models suggest three sources of potential conflicts: role conflicts, personality conflicts, and role—personality conflicts. *Role conflicts* refer to situations where a role player is required to conform simultaneously to expectations that are contradictory or inconsistent. Adjustment to one set of expectations makes adjustment to the other difficult. For example, a teacher may attempt to be a devoted parent and simultaneously a successful instructor. A university professor may be expected by the department head to emphasize teaching and service to students and the community, respectively, while the academic dean expects an emphasis on research and publication. Role conflicts represent incongruencies in the nomothetic dimension (see Figure 2—6).

Personality conflicts occur as a result of opposing need-dispositions within the personality of the individual role players. For example, a teacher may be expected, as a social norm, to maintain adequate social distance between self and students. However, the teacher may feel the need for more extensive interactions. Personality conflicts represent incongruencies in the idiographic dimension of the social systems model.

Role–personality conflicts occur as a result of discrepancies between the institution's role expectations and the individual's need-dispositions. For example, suppose an introverted school administrator were placed in the role of superintendent in a small- to medium-sized school district. The school board makes clear its expectation that the newly appointed administrator maintain high visibility and extensive contact with the community. The superintendent, however, has a high need for privacy and anonymity. The superintendent in this school district would experience a role–personality conflict. As shown in Figure 2—5, role–personality conflicts represent incongruencies between the nomothetic and idiographic dimensions of the social systems model.

According to Getzels (1958), incongruencies in the nomothetic and idiographic dimensions, or in their interaction, are symptomatic of administrative failure and lead to a loss in individual and institutional productivity.

Furthermore, Getzels's models suggest three leaderfollowership styles: normative (nomothetic), personal (idiographic), and transactional. The *normative style*



Source: Adapted from Jacob W. Getzels, James M. Lipham, and Roald F. Campbell, Educational Administration as a Social Process (New York: Harper & Row, 1968), p. 105.

emphasizes the fulfillment of institutional role requirements and obligations rather than the personal needs of individuals. Role definition, authority vested in roles, and organizational goal achievement are stressed. The personal style emphasizes the personal activities and propensities of individuals. Minimum role definition, a diffusion of authority, and efforts to maximize each individual's meaningful contribution to the organization are stressed. The transactional style represents a balance of emphasis on the performance of the role requirements of the organization and the expression of personal needs of individuals. The school administrator moves alternately toward the normative style or the personal style depending on the situation.

Getzels's Latest Model: Communities Dimension

In the late 1970s, Getzels (1978) expanded his social systems model still further by including a communities dimension. Here Getzels makes much more manifest

the cultural setting of the school as a social system and extends its usefulness as an open systems model. He identifies six communities of education and defines communities as groups of people conscious of a collective identity through common cognitive and affective norms, values, and patterns of social relationships. He defines each type of community as follows:

- Local community is established in a particular neighborhood or region. Examples include a local neighborhood or school community.
- Administrative community is established in a specific, politically determined identity. A country, a city, or a school district are examples.
- Social community is established in a particular set of interpersonal relationships not restrained by local or administrative boundaries. An example would be all people in one's community of friends.
- *Instrumental community* is established through direct or indirect activities and interactions with

others who are brought together for a common purpose. Examples include a professional group such as teachers or professors who make up an educational community, a teachers' union, or a philanthropic community.

- Ethnic community is established through affinity with a particular national, racial, or socioeconomic group. Italian, Black, or upperclass communities are examples.
- Ideological community is established in a particular historic, conceptual, or sociopolitical community that stretches across the local, administrative, social, instrumental, and ethnic

communities. Examples include Christian, scholarly, or communist communities. (Getzels, 1978)

Getzels's revised and latest models make much more explicit the cultural setting of the school as a social system. The concept of culture, the mainstay of anthropology since its beginnings, is not new. Recently, the concept of organizational culture has enjoyed tremendous appeal in both popular and professional management literature, particularly as it relates to school improvement (Bulach et al., 2016b) and student learning (Bulach et al., 2016a).

PRO/CON DEBATE

SCHOOL-BASED MANAGEMENT

In many school districts, the direction of school reform is away from the bureaucratic patterns of top-down control and toward more autonomy for those who are assigned to the site, that is, the school. Theoretically, the superintendent and central office staff relinquish elements of their authority to a school-based team consisting of the principal, teachers, parents, students, and community members. The expectation is that the school-based team will make better decisions because they better understand the needs of students and teachers at the school.

Question: Does school-based decision making enhance student learning?

Arguments PRO

- Issues related to the curriculum, resource allocation, and personnel assignments impact classroom instruction. When teachers serve on school-based teams, they are in a position to make decisions that enable student learning.
- Teachers must be held more accountable. We are increasing teacher certification requirements and teacher salaries in order to secure

- a more professional workforce. Professionals need a wide sphere of influence. They must have the authority to change whatever needs to be changed to meet standards.
- School-based teams ensure that everyone with a stake in a matter is consulted. Their decisions are likely to be more workable because all perspectives are considered.

Arguments CON

- Teachers' expertise is in teaching and learning, not managerial decision making. When teachers serve on school-based teams, their attention and energies are deflected away from ensuring increased student learning.
- Teachers expect administrators to make schoolbased decisions. If teachers wished to engage in a wider area of decision making, they would become administrators.
- Most school-based teams have difficulty because so many different perspectives are on the table.
 Many points of view are mutually exclusive, so weak compromises are reached.

SUMMARY

- Key elements of organizational structure provide a framework for vertical control and horizontal coordination of schools. These key elements include job specialization, departmentalization, chain of command, authority and responsibility, centralization/ decentralization, line and staff authority, and span of control.
- According to this view, division of labor, abstract rules, vertical hierarchy of authority, impersonality in interpersonal relations, and advancement based on competence characterize the ideal bureaucratic structure.
- 3. The participatory management model, Theory X and Theory Y, immaturity—maturity continuum, System 4 organization, moral leadership, school-based

- management, and frames of organization, is the antithesis of the ideal bureaucracy. Supportiveness, shared leadership, flexibility, and employee growth and development are the keys to participatory management.
- 4. Compliance theory, mechanistic and organic organizations, and strategy-structure typology are alternative approaches to organizational structure. These approaches integrate several ideas from the classical and participatory management models and the fundamentals of organizational structure.
- Getzels's models of the school as a social system have proven to have enduring appeal and widespread application in the administration of schools.

KEY TERMS

organizational structure 33 job specialization 33 departmentalization 34 chain of command 34 authority 34 responsibility 34 decentralization 35 centralization 35 line authority 35

staff authority 35
span of control 35
bureaucracy 37
Theory X and Theory Y 38
immaturity—maturity continuum 39
System 4 organization 40
moral leadership 42
school-based management 43
four frames 43

compliance theory 45
mechanistic organization 48
organic organization 48
simple structure 51
machine bureaucracy 52
professional bureaucracy 52
divisionalized form 52
adhocracy 52
social system 53

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

- 1. What are the key elements of organizational structure, and how do they function in schools?
- 2. How does bureaucracy influence approaches to organizational structure, and why are many of the characteristics of Weber's ideal bureaucracy still used in schools today? What are some dysfunctions of bureaucracy?
- 3. Compare and contrast the participatory management models: Theory X and Theory Y, immaturity—maturity
- continuum, Systems 4 organization, moral leadership, school-based management, and frames of organization.
- Compare and contrast the alternative models of organizational structure: compliance theory, mechanisticorganic organizations, and strategy-structure typology.
- 5. How can school administrators use social systems theory to better understand how schools function?

SUGGESTED READINGS

Berliner, D. C., & Glass, G. V. (2014). 50 myths that threaten America's public schools. New York, NY: Teachers College Press. Berliner and Glass take a stark look at some of the worst ideas being promoted by school reformers as ways to improve public education.

Bolman, L. G., & Deal, T. E. (2008). Reframing organizations: Artistry, choice, and leadership (4th ed.). San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass. In this updated version of their best-selling classic, the authors explain how the powerful tool of "reframing"—appraising situations from diverse perspectives—can be used to build high-performing, responsive organizations.

Fullan, M. (2015). The new meaning of educational change (5th ed.). New York, NY: Teachers College Press. Fullan makes clear his meanings for collaboration, partnership, deep learning, educational changes, and the changes necessary for whole system improvements.

Glickman, C., & Mette, I. M. (2020). The essential renewal of America's schools: A leadership guide for democratizing schools from the inside out. New York, NY: Teachers College Press. Glickman and Mette provide a practical framework for creating schools that are purposeful, moral, and successful.

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Leithwood, K., Aitken, R., & Jantzi, D. (2006). *Making schools smarter: Leading with evidence*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Corwin Press. Achieve a workable model for effectively reshaping today's school districts for positive outcomes by addressing three of the most central challenges in district and school leadership.

Morgan, G. (2006). *Images of organization* (Updated ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage. Since its first publication in 1986, *Images of Organization* has become a classic in the canon of management literature. The book is based on a simple premise—that all theories of organization and management are based on implicit images or metaphors that stretch our imagination in a way that can create powerful insights, but at the risk of distortion.

Sarason, S. B. (2006). Letters to a serious education president (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Corwin Press. In this new edition of his original collection of letters, education luminary Seymour B. Sarason details how school reformers still have difficulty examining the differences between contexts of productive and unproductive learning. Sarason's acute insight into why school reforms fail forces us to ask how we teach all students.