ABSTRACT

        Based on the author's own experience as a professor
of educational administration, this monograph is an argument for
establishing a link between the humanities and instruction in school
administration. Part I discusses the instrumental value of the
humanities in administrative preparation and recounts the limitations
of past attempts by the University Council for Educational
Administration (UCEA) to incorporate the humanities. Part II is a
discourse entitled "Chester Barnard's Conception of Authority
Considered in the Context of Sophocles' 'Antigone' as adapted by Jean
Anouilh." Part III is entitled "Dante's 'De Monarchia': An Early
Italian Renaissance Backdrop for Thinking about Thomas Jefferson's
'Wall of Separation' Metaphor." Part IV discusses art and artists in
their role as imagemakers of a zeitgeist and concludes by emphasizing
the importance of cultural sensitivity in institutional leadership.
The final part, entitled "Clio's Footprints in the Textbook
Literature of Educational Administration," discusses the significance
of historiography for understanding thematic trends in the
development of textbooks on educational administration. An extensive
bibliography is included. (TE)

PATHWAYS TO THE HUMANITIES
IN
EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION

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homo sum: humani nil a me alienum puto
Terence

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In Memory of Sidney Lawrence

"Ein voller Becher Weins zur rechten Zeit
Ist mehr wert, als alle Reiche dieser Erde!"

Gustav Mahler, Das Lied von der Erde

Author's Preface

Pathways to the Humanities has been germinating in my thoughts since the early 1960s when I served on a UCEA Task Force on Interdisciplinary Content. I was at the time also reading extensively in the philosophy of aesthetics. John Dewey's Art as Experience I had read before. Upon rereading it then in conjunction with F. S. C. Northrop's The Logic of the Sciences and the Humanities; actually my first encounter with Northrop's philosophical ideas, I became convinced, as Jack Culbertson was already, that the humanities also ought to be explored for usable "interdisciplinary content" in administrative preparation.

It was my intent at the time to write on the subject for publication, but somehow there was always something else on my agenda whicn required more immediate attention and time. Then, when Jack was about to leave UCEA service, he prepared a detailed memorandum for the file in which, under "unfinished business," he urged continued UCEA initiatives in the humanities. Charles Willis, his successor as Executive Director of UCEA, was responsive and within several months after he had taken office I had my first contact with him. We were of one mina that the time was right for a renewal of the UCEA effort in the humanities.

My biggest challenge in the writing of Pathways was in the selection of relevant material from the humanities. There was so much to choose from and what was selected had to be compatible with my purpose. I had intended at first, as an example, to use Arthur Miller's Death of a Salesman in a section on the motivational value of mythology in social organization, but decided to go with Sophocles' Antigone instead because of its larger capacity to demonstrate the instrumental value of the humanities in administrative preparation, which, after all, was central to my purpose.

Both plays depict with dramatic impact the sanctioning force of mythology in the universal human situation. For Willy Loman, the salesman, it is the Horatio Alger myth and for Antigone it is the mythology in Hesiod's Theogony. But Sophocles' Antigone is also a play about moral constraints in the use of normative power and, therefore, it seemed to me better suited for a section on Chester Barnard's conception of "authority." Moreover, Antigone afforded me also the opportunity to draw idiomatically for the aesthetic riches in Greek classical antiquity by means of Jean Anouilh's free-style adaptation of it. Perhaps some future enlarged edition of Pathways will include a section on the importance of heroic mythology in social organization.

My hope is that Pathways will motivate others in Educational Administration to find their own pathways to the humanities. Indeed, as the reader will note, the definite article "the" is not in the title. Not only are there other pathways to the humanities, but also pathways to the performing arts that ought tc be explored. Richard Wagner's tetralogy Der Ring des Nibelungen, for one illustration in the performing arts, is myth-based music drama on the grand scale. In it, the "chief executive officer" of a Godhead domain--Wotan--finds his executive capacity disastrously ensnared in moral transgressions of his own making. Wagnei's libretti of Der Ring des Nibelung. incidentally, are available in English translation.

Several of the methods in Pathways which I urge for bringing the humanities to

Education.l Administration have been used with telling success at the University of Minnesota. Some of these I feel ought to be noted here.

The Art Museum of the University of Minnesota, a first-rate teaching collection, has provided my seminar in applied humanism ready access to masterpieces of nineteenth and twentieth-century American art. Likewise, colleagues in the Department of Art History have been willing collaborators. It was my late friend Sidney Lawrence who was the first of several art historians to join with me in formal instruction.

I found willing collaborators also among colleagues in the Classics Department. Professors Robert P. Sonkowsky and Helen Moritz, both in Classics, and I wrote a proposal for the University of Minnesota Educational Development Program in 1972 and we received a substantial grant to develop a graduate-level applied humanities seminar which is now cross-listed between the Departments of Educational Administration and Classics.

A small grant from the Minnesota Humanities Commission, in 1978, enabled Professor Jeremiah Reedy, Classics Department of Macalester College, and myself to organize a six-session in-service seminar for the West Metropolitan School Superintendents Association of Minneapolis-St. Paul on the theme, "Applied Humanism in Executive Decision Making." Most of the participants held the doctorate and, therefore, did not need academic credit. They did receive renewal credits for continuing licensure. Attendance at each session was near capacity and the seminar itself received high praise from an external evaluator designated by the Minnesota Humanities Commission.

In all, nothing else that I have written has give me as much satisfaction as has the writing of Pathways. The reason? It is pay-back time for me. My own professorial development in Educational Administration has benefited greatly from learning opportunities which UCEA has provided me over the years. My first contact with UCEA was in a 1959 Career Development Seminar at Northwestern University. I have since then been a UCEA Plenary Session Representative, have served on several UCEA task-force groups, organized two Career Development Seminars at the University of Minnesota, and was twice appointed a UCEA Program Associate. For all of these enriching experiences, and others, Pathways is offered in professional appreciation of the UCEA mission.

Pathways, in manuscript form, was the beneficiary of valued criticism from two esteemed colleagues: Professors Donald J. Willower and Jack A. Culbertson. I am beholden to each of them for having taken time from a busy schedule to read the manuscript and to give me their reaction comments. However, the embarrassment of flaws in the published work is mine alone.

Professor Willard R. Lane has written a gracious "Foreword." His good judgment of my effort is especially welcome because it was his mentorship when he was at the University of Minnesota that encouraged my participation in evolving UCEA programs. I thank him for both. Special thanks are due Elizabeth Blurton, Arizona State University, who edited the manuscript and to Lynnette Harrell and Rita D. Gnap; their mastery of the computer/word processor has spared me the nightmares of modern-day publishing.

S. H. P.

FOREWORD

This book is a masterpiece in contemporary Educational Administration literature. Machiavelli, in his introduction to The Prince, expressed the fear that he might be thought presumptuous because he differed from other writers on the art of governing. Professor Popper has dared to be different from other writers, not on the matter of governing, but on the matter of how to present leadership in a way that grasps the totality and complexity of the human condition in our society.

Professor Popper suggests that the humanities can grasp the totality of modern man in all kinds of situations; both micro and macro in scope. He holds that the humanities are preeminently equipped aesthetically to sharpen empathic insight by means of their own way of knowing. To this writer, it is the key we are searching for in our teaching of Educational Administration. What is and what ought to be?

This book is one of the best arguments for establishing a link between the humanities and departments of Educational Administration in our colleges and universities. In fact, it is a good directional guide of where professors in these two areas can and should teach together in workshops, seminars, and classes. Professor Popper has had this experience. He and a colleague in the humanities collaborated in a seminar for school administrators in the field. It was received with great enthusiasm by the administrators and, in the evaluation, a substantial number of participants spoke of the seminar as one of the best educational experiences that they had encountered. A similar seminar under the direction of Professor George Chambers was given at the University of Iowa with a like reaction from participants.

The author of Pathways to the Humanities in Educational Administration emphasizes two important elements for his colleagues in administration and the liberal arts to consider: 1) This book is just a start; 2) there are other aesthetic pathways to understanding the social and political forces around us. The author has demonstrated that the humanities can be used as an instrument to provide insight into the administrative process and the contemporary theories used to explain it.

Professor Popper demonstrates that he is a scholar both in Educational Administration and the liberal arts. His book moves from contemporary administration theory to antiquity smoothly and in a meaningful way.

This book is an eloquent and practical approach to the humanities as a source of knowledge in administration. It provides a pathway to communicate with others about what we do as administrators.

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Willard R. Lane
Professor of Educational Administration
University of Iowa and
President, Board of Trustees,
UCEA. 1968-1970

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PUBLISHER'S NOTE

The founders of UCEA were concerned that those who lead and administer schools be intellectuals and lovers of knowledge. While it is true that, over the years, UCEA fostered the development of a social science content for administrator preparation, there was always a latent concern for the humanities content as well. This publication makes that concern explicit.

Educational administrators have tended to see their mission, bringing up children, as a sacred one. The mechanical and sociological models used to explain and understand life in school organizations were never perceived as wholly adequate. It is at this juncture that Professor Popper's efforts are vital. Readers will find themselves extricated from the narrow models and metaphors of social science and immersed in a world-view beyond the pragmatic. This book takes us beyond the questions surrounding how schools can be managed to the more enduring ones of goodness, truth, beauty, and justice.

It is my hope that this book will stimulate the inclusion of humanities content in administrator preparation programs. It might be used in concert with Ethics: A Course of Study for Educational Leaders, by Ralph B. Kimbrough, a monograph published by AASA in cooperation with UCEA. We are grateful to Professor Popper for this magnificent contribution to the profession.

Patrick B. Forsyth
Executive Director, UCEA
August, 1985

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Part I

INTRODUCTION

The Instrumental Value of the Humanities
in Administrative Preparation

The appointment in 1905 of George D. Strayer and Elwood P. Cubberly as professors in Educational Administration marked the beginning of professional preparation for school administration in the United States. Academic offerings before then typically were little more than an extension of the teacher-education program. Columbia University, in its Teachers College catalogue of 1899-1901, announced administrative preparation as, "A graduate course leading to the Higher Diploma for research and investigation in any field of education, and for the highest professional training of teachers in colleges and normal schools, and of superintendents, principals and supervisors of public schools."

Discrete programs for school administration did evolve eventually. They were clinically based for the most part and they stayed much the same until after World War II. Cognitive content stressed techniques of the "practical," it was atheoretical and, as Daniel Griffiths summarized administrative preparation during the first half of the twentieth century, "School administration had generally lacked a unifying theory around which to solidify. It had lacked a way of looking at itself."[1]

Things changed in the early 1950s. Educational Administration turned to the social

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[1]Daniel E. Griffiths, Human Relations in School Administration (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1956), p. 4; see also Andrew W. Halpin, ed., Administrative Theory in Education (Chicago: Midwest Administration Center, 1958), "Editor's Introduction." This volume contains the papers read at the first UCEA Career Development Seminar, cosponsored with the University of Chicago Midwest Administration Center, in 1957.

and behavioral sciences in search of usable knowledge for the conceptual enrichment of its preparation programs. It was the beginning of a so-called "theory movement" in the field which, in 1956, brought into existence the University Council for Educational Administration (UCEA).

Initiatives for the instrumental use of academic disciplines came from three organized efforts. Two of these already were on line by the time UCEA was founded as a membership organization of Ph.D.-granting universities: The National Conference of Professors of Educational Administration, organized in 1947, and the Cooperative Program in Educational Administration, which came on the scene in 1950 with generous support from the W. K. Kellogg Foundation.[2] By and large, however, these two efforts had but a modest impact on program sophistication by the time UCEA had received its charter. An assessment by Andrew Halpin of their developmental impact is informative:

> The National Conference of Professors of Educational Administration . . .
> was aware of some of the developments in the social sciences. Yet when the
> Cooperative Program in Educational Administration . . . began in 1950, its
> initial projects paid little heed t. the new approach to administration; they
> tended to ignore the role of theory in research.[3]

UCEA program initiatives, on the other hand, did accelerate the pace of theoretic sophistication. In its first year, UCEA joined with Teachers College and the Educational Testing Service in a theory-based research project which, among other

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[2]For a panoptic account of this developmental turn in Educational Administration, see Jack A. Culbertson, "Trends and Issues in the Development of a Science of Administration," in Perspectives on Educational Administration and the Behavioral Sciences (Eugene: The Center for the Advanced Study of Educational Administration, University of Oregon, 1965).

Culbertson served UCEA with distinction as its Executive Director for twenty-two years. Halpin, a Social Psychologist, came to Educational Administration in the mid-1950's and soon thereafter was established as a major figure in its "theory movement."

[3]Halpin, Administrative Theory in Education, p. xi. The Cooperative Program in Educational Administration--CPEA--is no more, but the National Conference of Professors of Educational Administration is still active. Its most enduring literary contribution to the field was published the year after UCEA was organized as a multi-authored work. See, Roald F. Campbell and Russell T. Gregg, eds., Administrative Behavior in Education (New York: Harper Brothers, 1957).

For more on the CPEA, see Hollis A. Moore, Jr., Studies in School Administration (Washington, D.C.: American Association of School Administrators, 1957).

outcomes, generated the empirical data for the Whitman School simulation. The second year saw the Career Development Seminar launched; a program which has as its purpose, still, to take professors of UCEA member universities to the frontiers of new ideas and trends.

Altogether, the UCEA agenda was to enrich the intellectual content of preparation programs, to help them break with their atheoretical antecedents, and otherwise to provide leadership in the advancement of Educational Administration as a field of scholarship and practice. Donald Willower, the then UCEA President, assessed the UCEA performance record in 1974 and concluded, "At its best, UCEA has been able to stimulate vision, raise sights, and foster excellence in Educational Administration."[4] In the years following Willower's assessment, and to this day, the UCEA presence in Educational Administration has been the point of forward movement in the field. Select UCEA task-force groups of professors have revitalized periodically simulation materials and have produced literature in such diverse areas as Special Education and Futurology.[5] In time, UCEA also published two refereed journals in Educational Administration, each with an independent editorial board.

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The UCEA Initiative in the Humanities

The foregoing narrative of UCEA efforts to enrich the cognitive content of preparation programs by use of the social and behavioral sciences provides a facilitating contrast for its only so-so success with a like effort in the humanities. The following statement from a UCEA "Annual Report" is a revealing assessment of the

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[4]Donald J. Willower, "Educational Administration and the Uses of Knowledge." 1974 Presidential Address, in William G. Monahan, Theoretical Dimensions of Educational Administration (New York: Macmillan Co., 1975), p. 457.

[5]One such early task force was the Interdisciplinary Content Task Force. It brought forth these two works: Lawrence Downey and Frederick Enns, eds., The Social Sciences in Educational Administration (Edmonton, Alberta: Division of Educational Administration, University of Alberta and the University Council for Educational Administration, 1963); and Keith Goldhammer, The Social Sciences and the Preparation of Educational Administrators (Edmonton, Alberta: Division of Educational Administration, University of Alberta and the University Council for Educational Administration, 1963).

UCEA humanities effort:

> Concentrating specifically upon the preparation of educational administrators, the University Council for Educational Administration in 1963 established a task force charged with exploring the feasibility of incorporating humanities content into preparatory programs. This resulted in a 1963 career development seminar at the University of Oklahoma at which the relationships between philosophy and educational administration were explored in a series of papers, and in a 1965 Humanities Task Force meeting at the University of Virginia during which participants reacted to a position paper, supporting the use of humanities content in administrator preparation programs . . . . Significant program changes, however, have not resulted from the work of this task force, and those innovations which have occurred comprise a variety of isolated attempts by individual professors with exceptionally strong commitment to the idea of the Humanities Task Force.[6]

Notwithstanding this bleak self-assessment, UCEA did not abandon its quest of usable content in the humanities. UCEA plenary-session discussions to set the agenda for the 1974-79 program period included a reconsideration of the humanities as a source of knowledge utilization in preparation programs.[7] Once again, alas, there was little to show at the end of that five-year UCEA program period. And, to this day, there is still a marked diffidence in preparation programs toward the humanities. What accounts for this attitude? Two explanations come to mind.

First, the pervasive attitude seems to be that the humanities as high culture are of consummatory value only for school administrators. Everyone, in whatever societal role, ought to be sensitized by aesthetic richness in the humanities and this, by

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[6]Annual Report, 1966-67, (Columbus: The University Council for Educational Administration), p. 3. See also, Robin H. Farquhar, The Humanities in Preparing Educational Administrators Educational Administrators (Eugene: ERIC Monograph University of Oregon, 1970).

Out of the University of Oklahoma--UCEA Career Development Seminar came Robert E. Ohm and William G. Monahan, eds., Educational Administration: Philosophy in Action (Norman: College of Education, The University of Oklahoma, 1965).

For representative "isolated attempts at the humanities by individual professors," see Willard R. Lane and Phillip T. West, "If You Can't Pretend, You Can't be King," Phi Delta Kappan, 53 (June 1972); R. Oliver Gibson and Marilyn Stetar, "Trends in Research Related to Educational Administration," UCEA Review, 16 (July 1975); and Samuel H. Popper, "An Advocate's Case for the Humanities in Preparation Programs for School Administration," The Journal of Educational Administration, 20 (Winter 1982).

[7]See, Samuel H. Popper, "The Continuing Quest of Applied Knowledge," UCEA Newsletter, 14 (January 1973).

specialization in academia, is the task of a humanities faculty.[8] But in an applied field, such as Educational Administration and its self-affirmed preoccupation with the practical, one also has to lay out in clear view the instrumental value of the humanities to practice in the field. How, specifically, will preparation programs in school administration, already laden with courses in personnel management, school law, plant development, statistics, and the like, gain in practicality from encounters with the humanities?[9]

Second, advocates of the humanities in Educational Administration have not presented ways-and-means models of how humanities content might be integrated with other components of preparation programs. It is one thing to say "yes" to the humanities, but quite another to find instrumental applications for their content in program contexts.

If, indeed, these explanations summarize the pervasive attitude in the field, then the first is flawed by a hidden assumption which seems to equate the "human-relations model" with "the human-resources model" in management process. But the qualitative difference that sets these models apart is important to specify.

The human-relations model is anchored in civilizing assumptions and objectives, whereas the human-resources model is anchored in assumptions and objectives of administrative transactions between idiographic and nomothetic tensions in formal organization. It is a qualitative difference of importance to the management process.

The former is the quintessential and universal "golden-rule" model, whereas the latter is a model, to use Norbert Wiener's language, for "the human use of human beings." More specifically, it is a guide for administrative transactions between role and personality in formal organization. Members of the organization, in both of these models, have to be respected as human beings and made to feel wanted. However, and this is the critical differentiating value, the sociological significance of the human-

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[8]For a well-crafted introduction to the aesthetic richness in the humanities, see Articulating the Ineffable: Approaches to the Teaching of Humanities (S. Paul: Minnesota State Department of Education, Division of Instruction, 1979); especially Chapter I, Jeremiah Reedy, "From Socrates to Solzhenitsyn: An Overview of the Humanities," pp. 9-29.

[9]The term "humanities," as defined programmatically by the National Endowment for the Humanities, "includes, but is not limited to, the study of the following: language, both modern and classic; linguistics; literature; history; jurisprudence; philosophy; archaeology; the history, criticism, theory, and practice of the arts; and those aspects of the social sciences which have humanistic content and employ humanistic methods." Quoted in Ibid., p. 12.

resources model is informed by its instrumental orientation. People as role-incumbents contribute with a heightened motivation to the attainment of organizational goals when administrative decisions are attuned to their idiographic need-disposition.[10]

The two-fold task ahead, then, is to demonstrate the instrumental value of the humanities to administrative practice and to suggest feasible instructional methods of integrating their content with practice-oriented objectives in administrative preparation programs.

3

Leadership and Followership

All preparation programs in school administration have in common the goal of training for leadership. But what is leadership? How is one to distinguish a leader from the nonleader in an administrative role? These are researchable questions and, indeed, there is extant a considerable literature which addresses the multitude of variables in administrative relations which inform these questions. For the task at hand, however, it is enough to state that administrative control that obtains compliance to management decisions by means of a coercive capacity; that is, the enforcement of bureaucratic rules and regulations, is by no stretch of the imagination an exercise of leadership. The sine qua non of leadership is followership; a condition that is not there when, in a formal interactive relationship, A controls the role-behavior of B not

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[10]For good textbook treatments of qualitative differences between "human relations" and "human resources" models, see Frederick Carver and Thomas Sergiovani, The New School Executive: A Theory of Administration (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1975), and Robert G. Owens, Organizational Behavior in Education (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1981), chapter 10, "Emerging Perspectives on Organizational Behavior."

At the core of a differentiation between these two models is Chester Barnard's concept of an "economy of incentives" in work motivation and in the reward system of formal organization. A penetrating analysis of the latter concept has been provided by Douglas E. Mitchell in a paper presented at the April, 1986 Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association, "Inducement, Incentive and Cooperation: Barnard's Concept of Work Motivation."

For "the human use of human beings," see Norbert Weiner, The Human Use of Human Beings: Cybernetics and Society (New York: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1954).

because B is persuaded by the leadership influence of A, but rather because A has an implicitly acknowledged right from B to use authority and, therefore, B grants compliance to administrative directives from A.[11]

Here exactly is the rub! The skill to shift from a reliance on a coercive capacity in administrative control to a reliance on leadership influence is in large part idiographic. It is a skill derived from multiple insights into the human situation in formal organization. And one such is what psychologists call empathic insight.

A constituent element in administrative leadership is an ability to know empathically the role strain human beings encounter in complex systems of organization. The humanities, it is urged now, are preeminently equipped aesthetically to sharpen empathic insight by means of its own way of knowing. John Ciardi, poet and literary critic, thinks of this type of knowing as "esthetic wisdom." Here is his vivid illustration of "esthetic wisdom:"

> Years ago, the psychiatrist Frederick Wertham spent many hours interviewing a young man charged with matricide. The young man was nearly illiterate; yet, as Wertham listened, he began to feel that he had heard it all before. He eventually turned to Hamlet and then to Aeschylus' Oresteia. In these plays, Wertham found much of what he had just heard from the young man he had been interviewing--not exactly the same words, but the same feelings stated in the same order.
>
> Wertham need not have felt surprise. He had located in the plays that ability to project oneself vicariously into an emotional situation, which is exactly what we expect of great artists and is what lesser artists try to achieve.
>
> Aeschylus and Shakespeare were not matricides. They were special men capable of understanding what is human. When the human thing turned out to be a matricide, they imagined themselves in that situation (sent out their nerve nets) and brought back exactly the reactions and the order of reactions the clinician will eventually parse out of the actual matricide.
>
> I don't like the word "wisdom." It tends to sit a bit sententiously in my vocabulary. Yet every word will find its exact place in time, and here no other will do. That body of knowledge and experience that senses the world as Aeschylus and Shakespeare sensed it is Esthetic Wisdom. Art is not its ornament but its way of knowing. It is what Robert Frost called "a thought-felt thing." It is the essential human act and the consequence of good art. It

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[11]Ideas central to this statement have been drawn from Talcott Parsons, "On the Concept of Influence", Public Opinion Quarterly, 27 (Spring 1963); Talcott Parsons, "On the Concept of Political Power", Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, 107 (June 1963); and Chester I. Barnard, The Functions of the Executive (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1971).

is what Vergil represents in the Divine Comedy--not Human Reason, and not
antireason, but reasoning that leads to a way of seeing, recognizing, reacting,
and giving order to.[12]

Ciardi's definition of "esthetic wisdom" as a special type of enlightenment is well
taken, as is his illustration of its usefulness to a clinical process. Wertham's déjà vu
was triggered by what F. S. C. Northrop thinks of as "the aesthetic component of
reality."[13] It enabled him to relate with a heightened empathy to the significant other
in a professional encounter. Aesthetic enlightenment likewise can be useful to the
clinical process of administration.

It comes to this: If a program objective in administrative preparation is to lay a
foundation for leadership behavior which will be sensitive to the idiographic in formal
organization, then Ciardi's "esthetic wisdom" is a useful source for the cultivation of
empathic skill. It is a type of skill which enables one to know by means of intuitive
and appreciative perception the emotional state of another. Theodor Lipps, a German
phenomonologist of the nineteenth century, had called this type of knowing Einfühlung.
Psychology, as was noted earlier, calls it empathy.

Empathic skill can be of considerable clinical--say instrumental--value to
administrative processes in the all important leadership task of fusing informal
organization with formal organization. When the tactical objective is to keep in low
profile the power dimension of administrative office and to maximize idiographic
opportunities in the organization to raise system efficiency, then empathy-based
perceptions of formal organization are an asset indeed to administrative leadership.

Psychological science can, and does, provide a cognitive foundation for empathic
insight into the human situation. Wertham, the psychiatrist, had no doubt learned how
to use empathic skill in medical training. It is an everyday tool in psychiatric
diagnosis and treatment. However, as John Ciardi has demonstrated, "esthetic wisdom"
in the humanities sharpens this skill with an enlightenment of its own. Moreover, and
especially as it relates to institution-building skill, this type of enlightenment has still
other uses in administrative preparation. A glance back in time is helpful again now.

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[12]John Ciardi, "Manner of Speaking," Saturday Review, 55 (8 April 1972), p. 22.

[13]F. S. C. Northrop, The Logic of the Sciences and the Humanities (New York:
The World Publishing Co., 1963), p. 175.

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Institutional Leadership

The School of Scientific Management, of which Frederick Winslow Taylor was a founding figure, had provided the generic model of administrative preparation to the end of World War II. Then, the sustained impact of two connected interventions broke its hold on administrative preparation in the United States. One of these was the publication of Chester Barnard's The Functions of the Executive, the other was a critical need in post-bellum American society of institutional leadership in the management of organizations. A dynamic self-revitalization movement was under way and organizations had to be equipped by means of strategic planning with renewed adaptive capabilities.

Barnard's The Functions of the Executive, published in 1938, was a landmark work. It brought fresh theoretical insight to the management of organized human enterprise. It laid a conceptual base, drawn largely from the earlier Hawthorne Studies, for a human-resources model in administration and, more directly to what was needed in the post-bellum period, it provided a handbook for institutional leadership. Its impact upon administrative preparation in the United States, at first put off by the war, was immediate after the war.

Preparation programs in Educational Administration, nurtured now by the "theory movement," also were responsive. Institutional leadership in school administration was made the guiding ideal of preparation. Then, when UCEA came on line, Barnard's The Functions of the Executive became, and is still, a standard reference in the field.

The definition of "organization purpose," one of the three "functions of the executive," was for Barnard an unending administrative task in raising levels of transcendence in bureaucratic organization. Skill in purpose definition is by Barnard's light the hallmark which sets institutional leadership apart from mere management. At the foundation of this skill is what Barnard has called "moral creativeness." He acknowledged the importance of "technological proficiency" in administrative leadership, but as he put it, "The strategic factor in the dynamic expression of leadership is moral creativeness, which precedes, but is in turn dependent upon, technological proficiency

and the development of techniques in relation to it."[14]

Both the idea and the ideal of transcendence were not entirely new to the literature of Educational Administration. Jesse Newlon, as one example, was of one mind with Barnard in urging institutional leadership in administration. In a book published in 1934, he wrote:

> The need for efficiency in education cannot be questioned. But what is efficiency? Efficiency involves more than thorough applications of techniques in the mechanical aspects of administration--finance, buildings, equipment, child accounting, supervision, and the li .. It involves the employment of broad social methods for the accomplishment of social purposes.[15]

Newlon, of course, was striking at the "cult of efficiency" which then had school administration in its grip.[16] But its source, the School of Scientific Management, was at the time still the dominant influence in administrative preparation. After the war, with a society in dynamic transition, institutional leadership was an idea whose time had come.

Barnard the business executive and Newlon the school executive-turned-

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[14]Barnard, The Functions of the Executive, p. 288. One illustration of "moral creativeness," or of "transcendence," has been provided by George Bernard Shaw in the following exchange between Captain Robert de Baudricourt and Joan in the play Saint Joan (I, i).

Robert tells Joan the more devil a soldier is the better he will fight, "That is why the goddams [the English] will take Orleans. And you cannot stop them, nor ten thousand like you."

And Joan, inspired by voices of saints she claims to hear, responds, "One thousand like me can stop them. Ten like me can stop them with God on our side. You do not understand, squire. Our soldiers are always beaten because they are fighting only to save their skins; and the shortest way to save your skin is to run away. Our knights are thinking only of money they will make in ransoms· it is not kill or be killed with them, but pay or be paid. But I will teach them all to fight that the will of God may be done in France; and then they will drive the poor goddams before them like sheep. You and Polly [Monsieur de Poulengey] will live to see the day when there will be but one king there: not the feudal English king, but God's French one "

Further elaboration of Barnard's statement is in Part II.

[15]Jesse H. Newlon, Educational Administration As Social Policy (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1934), p. 237.

[16]For more on the "cult of efficiency" in school administration, see Raymond E. Callahan, Education and the Cult of Efficiency: A Study of Social Forces That Have Shaped the Administration of the Public Schools (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962).

academician, each out of a different field in administration, saw eye-to-eye the central task of institutional leadership: to harmonize mundane goals of formal organization with transcendent definitions of "organization purpose." All of which means that institutional leadership has to generate moral creativeness with which to transmogrify bureaucratic rules and regulations into the language of social values.

Their shared view of institutional leadership was before long reinforced by a flowering literature in the sociology of formal organization. Philip Selznick, whose Leadership in Administration was one of the first in this new literature, eloquently stated the Newlon-Barnard idea of institutional leadership in one capsulated sentence: *"The executive becomes a statesman as he makes the transition from administrative management to institutional leadership."*[17]

Eventually, the centrality of institutional leadership in administration also became a major theme in UCEA publications. "Administrators who head viable organizations," wrote Jack Culbertson soon after he had become Executive Director of UCEA, "must be concerned with much more than administrative process; the policy and purposes toward which these processes are directed are of equal, if not greater significance."[18] Clearly, Culbertson had in mind transcendent purpose definition in relation to the ubiquitous problem of goal displacement.

Goal displacement by a reversal of ends and means values is an ever-present prospect in formal organization. The research literature has confirmed its reality by many studies. Culturally grounded and value-sensitive administrative action is the only viable defense. It is precisely for this reason that Selznick has fixed "the maintenance of institutional integrity" as a central task of administrative leadership.[19] It is also, to repeat, the referent in Barnard's pithy "moral creativeness." All of which provides

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[17]Philip Selznick, Leadership in Administration: A Sociological Interpretation (Evanston: Row, Peterson and Company, 1957), p. 4.

[18]Jack A. Culbertson, "New Perspectives: Implications for Program Change," in Jack A. Culbertson and Stephen P. Hencley, eds., Preparing Administrators: New Perspectives (Columbus: University Council for Educational Administration, 1962), p. 162.

In the same publication, James G. Harlow, then Dean of the College of Education, University of Oklahoma, elaborated on Culbertson's statement in Chapter IV, "Purposing-Defining: The Central Function of the School Administrator."

[19]Selznick, Administrative Leadership, p. 138. Selznick himself has done a frequently cited study of goal displacement in formal organization. See, Philip Selznick, TVA and the Grass Roots (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1949).

a conceptual setting for the instrumental value of the humanities in the training for institutional leadership.

The humanities provide an aesthetic structure to knowledge and have a rich variety of material with which to reinforce grounding in both interpersonal and institutional leadership preparation. Cognitive content in most preparation programs is formed, by and large, around a configuration of three skills. Students are trained in technical-management skill to deal with school organization as a formal system, to cope with clinical problems of bureaucratic effectiveness. They are trained in social-psychological skill to deal with school organization as a personality system, to cope with clinical problems of motivation and efficiency. Last, and most illusive, they are trained in conceptualization skill to deal with school organization as a cultural system, to cope with problems of institutional leadership.

Institutional leadership is society's sobriquet for the best in administrative practice. Selznick, and others, have equated skill in institution building with administrative statesmanship. But in the tri-skills configuration of administrative preparation, skill in institution building holds the greatest challenge for training.

Skill in institution building, at the least, requires insight into the way organization-based mythology motivates goal attainment.[20] Such insight, moreover, has to be coupled with insight into universal dilemmas in the human situation; of how, for example, humankind has been groping over the ages to discover its transcendental purpose, and of how it has been frustrated in this by an ascending domination of rational conventions in human enterprise.[21] And nowhere is this insight more useful to

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[20]For more on the social function of organizational mythology, see the section, "Creative Leadership," in Selznick, Leadership in Administration, pp. 149-54.

The integrative value of organizational mythology is dealt with in textbook literature of other fields under a variety of headings. One such work, as example, uses "organizational saga" as a sub-head and its authors state, "We use the concept of *organizational saga* to include the shared group fantasies, the rhetorical visions, and the narratives of achievements, events, and the future vision of dreams of the entire organization." Ernest Bormann, William S. Howell, Ralph G. Nichols, and George L. Shapiro, Interpersonal Communication in the Modern Organization (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1982).

[21]An instructive elaboration on this theme will be found in Ferdinand Tönnies, Community and Society, translated by Charles P. Loomis (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1957). For a humanist's statement of this ubiquitous dilemma in a contemporary idiom, see Archibald MacLeish, "The Revolt of the Diminished Man," Saturday Review 52 (7 June 1969).

administrative process than in strategic planning.

Formal organization has to attend periodically to a category of <u>recurring</u> problems which are generated by what Max Weber has called "the problem of meaning." Attention to this pattern-maintenance function--to use Talcott Parsons' language--is where strategic planning begins; most usually with a declaration of the organization's mission. It is at this stage that institutional leadership is in greatest need of a humanistic foundation in order to be effective.[22]

To summarize: The foremost requisite of institutional leadership in education is "moral creativeness" in the form of a purpose-defining skill which, when fused with bureaucratic and social-psychological skills, facilitates the administrative integration of school organization as a formal system of differentiated roles, as a personality system of individuals whose psychological motivation in roles continually has to be reinforced by an optimum balance of burdens and gratifications, and as a cultural system whose dominant orientation in the social division of labor is to the socialization needs of society; Parsons' pattern-maintenance. Purpose-defining skill includes: 1) the art of valuing in administrative decision-making, 2) cultural insight into the collective idealism of society and its relation to both genesis and charter myths, 3) knowing empathically of the nonrational in human enterprise, 4) aesthetic awareness of the egocentric predicament in administrative behavior, and 5) a humanistically-grounded perspective of the omnipresent <u>Gemeinschaft-Gesellschaft</u> dilemma in formal organization. The "esthetic wisdom" in the humanities is available to be used, just as the social and behavioral sciences are used already to enrich the training for institutional leadership.

5

Feasible Pathways

Several already familiar instructional methods are available for using the humanities in Educational Administration. Method selection, as a tactical decision, will be affected by which pathway to the humanities is taken and by whether it is entirely a departmental initiative or taken in collaboration with other faculty; say faculties in Philosophy, Art History, Humanities, or Classics.

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[22]For a recently published work which affirms the validity of this thesis, see George Keller, <u>Academic Strategy: The Management Revolution in American Higher Education</u> (Baltimore: The John Hopkins Press, 1983).

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One familiar method which seems to lend itself readily to the blending of humanities content with administrative preparation is case analysis. The so-called "Case Method," of course, has been used in university instruction at least since the Harvard Law School of the 1870s. Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration has been identified with case-method instruction from about 1919. By the late 1950s, case method was brought to Educational Administration first by Cyril Sargent and Eugene Belisle and then by Jack Culbertson and Daniel Griffiths.

Griffiths, especially, made an inventive application of the method by using social and behavioral science concepts and models--Selznick and Gouldner models--as tools for analyzing case material which had been prepared for Educational Administration; The Jackson County Story for example.[23] He appeared frequently on UCEA programs to demonstrate his way of analyzing case material, and, in quick-time, the Griffiths' style had a wide diffusion in the field.[24]

UCEA case-material preparation followed Paul Lawrence's maxim, "A good case is the vehicle by which a chunk of reality is brought into the classroom . . . ."[25] If "reality" is the controlling instructional value in "a good case," and it ought to be, then the humanities have a boundless quantity of engaging and ready-made "good case" material waiting to be used. Reality in human experience, after all, has been given a variety of ontological definitions, and are not artistic depictions of human experience-- Northrop's "aesthetic component of reality"--the very essence of the humanities? Terence's homo sum, humani nil a me alienum puto has been for centuries the universal

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[23]The Selznick and Gouldner models were adaptations of models depicting a variety of sociological and behavioral concepts. They were taken from James G. March and Herbert A. Simon, Organizations (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1958).

Keith Goldhammer and Frank Farner, The Jackson County Story (Eugene: The Center for Advanced Study of Educational Administration, 1969).

[24]Perhaps the single publication which best illustrates the Griffiths' style is Griffiths, Human Relations in School Administration. Culbertson's identification with the case method in Educational Administration dates from his faculty days at the University of Oregon and before his appointment as Executive Director of the University Council for Educational Administration. See, Jack A. Culbertson, Paul P. Jacobson, and Theodore L. Reller, Administrative Relationships (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1960). See also, Cyril G. Sargent and Eugene L. Belisle, Educational Administration: Cases and Concepts (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1955).

[25]Quoted in Glenn L. Immegart, Guides for the Preparation of Instructional Case Material in Educational Administration (Columbus: University Council for Educational Administration, 1967), p. 1.

attitude of the humanities.[26]

The fine point is that ready-made case material in the humanities, the novel and even more so tragedy written for theater, lends itself exceedingly well to case-method analysis with the frequently used concepts and models in Educational Administration as tools. Mutiny on the Bounty, an historical novel, is illustrative.

To establish authority for administrative transactions between nomothetic and idiographic values in the management of formal organization—in Chester Barnard's sense between formal and informal organization—is a primary administrative role-expectation. It is this role-expectation, precisely, which informs the theoretic usefulness of the role-personality model which Jacob Getzels and Egon Guba have adapted from Parsonian theory and introduced to preparation programs in Educational Administration.[27] The following episode in Mutiny on the Bounty lights up this complex idea with aesthetic realism.

First is this exchange between Captain Bligh and Master-Mate Fletcher Christian before the mutiny:

BLIGH: I a-di-da, Mr. Christian! On my word, you should apply for a place
as master of a young ladies' seminary! Kindness, indeed! Well, I'm
damned . . . . A fine captain you'll make if you don't heave
overboard such ridiculous notions. Kindness! Our seamen
understand kindness as well as they understand Greek! Fear is what
they do understand! Without that, mutiny and piracy would be rife
on the high seas!

CHRISTIAN:
I cannot agree. Our seamen do not differ from other Englishmen.
Some must be ruled by fear, it is true, but there are other, and
finer men, who will follow a kind, just, and fearless officer to the
death.

After the mutiny, Fletcher Christian now in command of the Bounty, addresses the crew to instruct them in the basics of reciprocal role-expectations:

There is one matter we will decide once for all . . . and that is who is to be
captain of this ship. I have taken her with your help, in order to be rid of a
tyrant who has made life a burden to all of us . . . . In our situation a
leader is essential, one whose will is to be obeyed without question. It should

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[26]A line spoken by a character in one of the six comedies by Terence which have survived. "I am a man: nothing human is alien to me."

[27]See Getzels' acknowledgement in Jacob W. Getzels, "Conflict and Role Behavior in the Educational Setting," in W. W. Charters Jr. and N. L. Gage, eds., Readings in the Social Psychology of Education (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1932), p. 310.

be needless to tell British seamen that no ship, whether manned by mutineers or not, can be handled without discipline. If I am to command the Bounty I mean to be obeyed. There shall be no injustice here. I shall punish no man without good cause, but I will have no man question my authority.[28]

Mutiny on the Bounty portrays dramatically certain structurally induced tensions in formal organization, but in the role-personality model these are depicted as abstractions. By joining the two in a case analysis, one has here a method of using the humanities and whose instrumental value will be acknowledged readily by most professors who are challenged to blend the abstractness of theory with empirical equivalents in formal organization.

Because case material from the humanities cannot be expected to have the sharp clinical focus of say The Jackson County Story, whose content was drawn from actual events in school-community relations, some may see in this a debilitating condition. For this reason, exactly, material from the humanities has to be selected with care so it will correspond with the objectives of instruction. Perfect artistic equivalents are rarities for much the same reason that social science theories rarely have perfect empirical equivalents. Another illustration.

Clifford Dowdey's Death of a Nation is a near-perfect case for the study of leadership. Although it is a fictional account of the chance encounter in 1863 between the armies of Generals George G. Mead and Robert E. Lee at Gettysburg, it is nonetheless a fertile setting for the conceptually prepared student to contemplate nuances of leadership and the limitations of leadership capacity in altered situations. Confederate Generals who were quite competent at Division-level command proved themselves failures when, by the constraints of altered field conditions, they were elevated by General Lee to Corps command.[29]

Still other case material is available in artistic depictions of human aberration in the pursuit of ideal-driven ends which lead to disaster. In these depictions lie embedded usable models and anti-models for students in administration as they sharpen

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[28]Charles Nordhoff and James Norman Hall, Mutiny on the Bounty (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1960), pp. 38, 145-46.

[29]Clifford Dowdey, Death of a Nation (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1967). Another example in literature of a near-perfect case, now for the study of obedience to orders--Barnard's three zonal responses to directives from a superior--is Stephen Crane's Red Badge of Courage, most especially in the protagonist, Henry. In the vault of some film library is a movie version of Red Badge of Courage, directed by John Huston and Audie Murphy in the role of Henry. It is a short film, little remembered, but one of Huston's masterpieces.

insight into the pervasive problem of value reversal in human enterprise.

Ciardi, earlier, informed his definition of esthetic wisdom" with a recital of how Frederic Wertham's clinical psychoanalytic insight was enlarged by Shakespeare's Hamlet and Aeschylus' Oresteia. Ciardi could have elaborated further with the now-defunct Students for a Democratic Society--SDS.

When the organization of SDS was formed in 1962, at Port Huron, a manifesto was adopted which read in part:

> We regard *men* as infinitely precious and possessed of unfulfilled capacities for reason, freedom, and love . . . . Men have unrealized potential for self-cultivation, self-direction, self-understanding, and creativity . . . . The goals of men and society should be human independence: a concern with . . . finding a meaning of life that is personally authentic . . . one which has full, spontaneous access to present and past experiences. *Human relationships* should involve fraternity and honesty.[30]

Many of those who had signed this statement of student idealism were within a few years, in the words of James Wilson, ". . . attacking universities, harassing those who disagreed with them, demanding political obedience, and engaging in deliberate terrorism."[31] Social psychology, no doubt, has a cogent clinical explanation for this incident of the nonrational in human behavior, and it is of value to have it, but Fyodor Dostoyevsky's Crime and Punishment, in the student Raskolnikov who commits two brutal murders to gain his own ideal-motivated ends, provides "esthetic wisdom" for the imagination to grasp its larger universal meaning in the human situation.[32]

And who has endowed belletristic literature with more variants of what is universal in the human situation than William Shakespeare? No one, not in antiquity or in modernity! His depictions of the human predicament are as contemporary to this time as they were to the age of Elizabeth. Available demonstrations of their contemporaneity are legion, as are demonstrations of their usefulness for the infusion of "esthetic wisdom" in the content of administrative preparation. An episode of sexual harassment in Shakespeare's Measure for Measure (II, iv) will have to do for now as a demonstration.

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[30]James Q. Wilson, "Liberalism versus Liberal Education," Commentary, 53 (June 1972), p. 54.

[31]Ibid., p. 54.

[32]A similar anti-model is available in the character of Colonel Nicholson in The Bridge on the River Kwai.

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Angelo is selected by the Duke of Vienna to rule in his absence while abroad because:

> If any in Vienna be of worth
> To undergo such ample grace and honor,
> It is Lord Angelo.

But straight-as-an-arrow Angelo is soon corrupted by his newly bestowed authority and gives free rein to lust when Isabella stands before him to plead for the life of her condemned brother. Shakespeare shows here that this type of harassment in a hierarchically unequal relationship is universal both in form and its denial. How all-too contemporary is the following exchange between Isabella and Angelo once she is on to what he has in mind.

> Isabella: Sign me a present pardon for my brother,
>   Or with an outstretched throat I'll tell the world aloud
>   What man thou art.
>
> Angelo: Who will believe thee, Isabel?
>   My unsoiled name, th'austereness of my life
>   My vouch against you, and my place i' th' state,
>   Will so your accusation overweigh,
>   That you shall stifle in your own report,
>   And smell of calumny. I have begun;
>   And now I give my sensual race the rein;
>   Fit thy consent to my sharp appetite;
>   Lay by all nicety and prolixious blushes,
>   That banish what they sue for; redeem thy brother
>   By yielding up thy body to my will;
>   Or else he must not only die the death,
>   But thy unkindness shall his death draw out
>   To ling'ring sufferance. Answer me tomorrow,
>   Or, by thy affection that now guides me most,
>   I'll prove a tyrant to him. As for you,
>   Say what you can, my false o'erweighs your true.

And it is altogether useful in administrative preparation that students in Educational Administration be disabused of the notion that Max Weber was the inventor of bureaucracy. By their immersion in Edward Gibbon's The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, Chapter 3, they will find in the distant past, not in perfect situational correspondence to be sure, a model of Robert Merton's "bureaucratic virtuoso" in the person of Emperor Caesar Augustus.[33]

Through administrative manipulations of power, and a cunning conformity to

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[33]The concept of "bureaucratic virtuoso" is in Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure (New York: The Free Press, 1968), p. 239.

republican conventions, Augustus had transformed the Roman Republic into a monarchy. Also, from reading of the Cursus Honorum, the civil service code-manual of the Empire, they will discover how the Romans socialized to bureaucratic roles during the period of Pax Romana.

Comparative analysis is another method of using the humanities and, like case method, it is also an instructional tool already familiar to Educational Administration. The most troublesome program objective in administrative preparation, and this holds for all fields of administration, is training in managerial ethics or, and they are related, in Barnard's "moral creativeness."[34]

Such instruction, if it is to be at all effective, has to begin with a lesson which Emile Durkheim had taught his students at the Sorbonne, where he held professorial chairs in both sociology and education. He pressed upon his students in one lecture that:

> Educational practices are not phenomena that are isolated from one another; rather, for a given society, they are bound up in the same system all parts of which contribute toward the same end: it is the system of education suitable to this country and to this time. Each people has its own, as it has its own moral, religious, economic system, etc.[35]

Moral practice, following Durkheim, is not possible in vacuo. The practice of private banking in the United States is moral, in the Soviet Union it is immoral. Instruction in administrative ethics, therefore, without some axiological grounding is futile. Cultural sensitivity to the institutionalized value system of society, once again Parsons' pattern-maintenance system, is its essential stuff.

The acquisition of cultural sensitivity in administrative preparation, however, is no light task. Theoretical literature in the social and behavioral sciences can generate it cognitively, but the humanities will nurture it also aesthetically. Comparative analysis is an ideal instructional tool for joining the two in a learning experience. Not only is cultural sensitivity sharpened by such an exercise in comparative analysis, but so is the

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[34]It is instructive to call attention at this juncture to a paper Robin Farquhar had prepared for a UCEA-University of Alberta Career Development Seminar in 1979, "Ethics in Administration." In it, Farquhar dealt with the problem of training for ethical behavior in administration. He suggested five approaches to the problem and one of them is through the humanities. He wrote, "It involves having recourse to the study of problems in values and moral dilemmas." Robin H. Farquhar, "Preparing Administrators for Ethical Practice," unpublished paper, p. 18.

[35]Emile Burkeim, Sociology and Education, translated by Sherwood D. Fox (New York: The Free Press, 1956), p. 95.

scholarly imagination.

Comparative analysis toward this end works best when it is set in concept-specific frames. Authority to use power in normative order, as an example, is a subject which is central in Sophocles' Antigone, Machiavelli's The Prince, and Chester Barnard's The Functions of the Executive. A comparative analysis of the three can generate an informative cross-reference to the legitimation of power in cultures separated by time and values. All that is needed is a concept-specific frame, scholarly imagination, and the right questions to sort out their commonalities and differences within the structure of a taxonomy.[36] A brief comment on these three works is helpful here.

Barnard's The Functions of the Executive, as has been noted earlier, is a standard reference in the literature of Educational Administration. His ideas, however, are jarring for most students in a first encounter; this is especially so upon first encountering his concepts of "authority" and its subsumed "zone of indifference," "moral creativeness," "executive responsibility," and the like.

Sophocles' Antigone is a play out of Greek classical antiquity with layers of meaning. At one level is the universal egocentric predicament in the use of authority. Another level is focused on a reversal of ends and means values. Still another level throws aesthetic light on the importance of moral constraint in executive-level decisions.

Machiavelli's The Prince was written specifically as a guide to the practice of executive-level statecraft in sixteenth-century Florentine society. It is, in point of fact, a sixteenth-century version of The Functions of the Executive. Machiavelli

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[36]There is a plentiful literature in the journals of administration to facilitate the use of Barnard's concepts as tools of analysis. One such is David Mechanic's "Sources of Power of Lower Participants in Complex Organizations," Administrative Science Quarterly, 7 (December 1962).

Mechanic defines high-ranking positions and, in turn, lower stationed participants, in this way: "One might ask what characterizes high-ranking positions within organizations? What is most evident, perhaps, is that lower participants recognize the right of higher-ranking participants to exercise power, and yield without difficulty to demands they regard as legitimate." He defines power as "any force that results in behavior that would not have occurred if the force had not been present." Ibid., pp. 350-51.

For ways of taxonomy construction, see Daniel E. Griffiths, ed., Developing Taxonomies of Organizational Behavior (Chicago: Rand McNally & Co., 1969). Also useful is Bill McKelvey, Organizational Systematics: Taxonomy, Evaluation, Classification (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982).

himself was a major figure of the Italian Renaissance. The imprint of his influence on Shakespeare's English chronicle plays, especially the Henriad, is itself an aesthetic revelation of how multi-faceted are the problems of responsibility and morality in governance.

Another concept-specific frame in comparative analysis, to illustrate further, might be the centrality of values and valuing in institutional leadership. These inform the ethical and the nonethical in administrative behavior. Philosophy, and most especially axiology, lays the cognitive foundation for thinking about values and valuing. Here too, however, the humanities can provide aesthetic reinforcement. A slight digression will help.

It is quite correct to say, at a general level of discourse, that moral philosophy has produced two basic theories in ethics: cognitivist and noncognitivist. The former is associated in American philosophical scholarship with the antinominalist pragmatism of Charles Sanders Pierce, whereas the latter is associated with the eighteenth-century nominalist idealism of George Berkeley and David Hume. Beyond this level of background structuring, one has to reach back to fourteenth-century scholasticism and the nominalism and antinominalism, respectively, of William of Ockham and John Duns Scotus.[37]

Most programs in professional education seldom provide such a learning experience in philosophy. Through the humanities, however, students in school administration can experience encounters with these ethical theories in moral philosophy; that is, the philosophical face of ethics, either as relativistic moral realism or as intuitionistic moral realism.

Relativistic moral realism is to be found in a plentiful variety of literary works. Examples are Amos Hawley's Executive Suite, a novel which deals with the tensions of corporate infighting for executive succession, and in Robert Browning's My Last

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[37]In his Treatise Concerning the Principles of Human Knowledge, 1710, Berkeley held that particular qualities of objects are known only in the mind, and that they do not exist except as they are perceived by the mind. This nominalist philosophical attitude later was refined in the thorough-going skepticism of David Hume. A philosophically-grounded treatment of cognitivism and noncognitivism in moral philosophy is to be found in Sabina Lovibond, Realism and Imagination in Ethics (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1983).

For an especially rewarding venture into philosophical attitudes of Hume and Berkeley in belletristic literature, see "A New Refutation of Time" in Jorge Luis Borgess, A Personal Anthology (New York: Grove Press, 1967).

Duchess; a dramatic poem which, among other things, is a caricature of Situational Ethics. T. S. Eliot, likewise, fires moral imagination with Choruses from "The Rock".

Intuitionistic moral realism is to be found in George Bernard Shaw's Man and Superman, a play whose creative inspiration was Henri Bergson's moral philosophy. Don Juan in Hell, a dramatic reading for four characters, is an extended Act 3 of Man and Superman whose central theme is Bergson's concept of a "life force"--élan vital. Then there is Albert Camus' The Fall, also a dramatic work whose inspiration was Existentialist moral philosophy.

These representative works in the humanities are ready-made aesthetic settings for speculative thinking about the values-ethics nexus within concrete contexts of the moral dilemma. Their depiction of the human predicament straightaway leads to moral philosophy, theories in ethics, and questions about moral behavior. What better way is there to illuminate moral issues and of cultivating what John Dewey has called "the habit of reflective thought?"[38]

In all, both case-method and comparative analysis are especially attractive as instructional methods of using the humanities. But others, also familiar to instruction in Educational Administration, should be considered. The following are suggestive:

1. Shakespeare's Hamlet provides the clue for how future UCEA simulations of reality could include material from the humanities. Hamlet is an Elizabethan model of the play-within-a-play and which by now is a familiar genre in theater. Why not do future UCEA simulations with a scenario that includes a logical story-line rationale for, say, a showing of Antigone? Jean Anouilh's adaptation of Antigone has been performed in modern dress on educational television, with a distinguished company of actors headed by Fritz Weaver, and it should be available, therefore, in video-tape. Educational television has other such video-tape gems out of the humanities available to be used in the same way.

2. UCEA simulation also brings to mind "The Conference," a filmed case produced by UCEA and in much use with UCEA simulation of the 1960s. "The Conference" can stand as a production model for a theme-specific mini art lecture in color video-tape. Such a lecture would bring the humanistic

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[38]Jack Culbertson has stated the same conviction early in his UCEA service. See, Jack Culbertson, "The Preparation of Administrators," in Daniel E. Griffiths, ed., Behaviorial Science and Educational Administration (Chicago: National Society of the Study of Education, Sixty-Third Yearbook, 1964).

discipline of art-historical scholarship into administrative preparation for the purpose of reinforcement in instruction. "The Ambassadors" by Hans Holbein the Younger, the National Gallery in London, will illustrate the idea of a theme-specific art lecture.

The egocentric predicament is an occupational hazard in all formal relationships wherein one person is authorized, through legitimation, to use power over another. Much has been written about the corruptive headiness of power. Hans Holbein the Younger, of the German Renaissance and after 1536 Court Painter to Henry VIII of England, chose the symbolism of a memento mori--a reminder of inevitable death--to caution viewers of "The Ambassadors" about the egocentric predicament in power.

Artists and writers of all periods have used the symbolism of a memento mori to state that "A last day is reserved to all of us."[39] "The Ambassadors," shows the memento mori as a skull in trick perspective set against symbols of formal office and the opulence of sixteenth-century mercantile capitalism. The artist does not preach nor lecture; these are left to churchmen and academicians, but he does provide aesthetic illumination for their subject matter. In this instance, it is the theme of an egocentric predicament in high-status office.

3. Still another method would have to be organized in collaboration with faculty in the humanities and in other fields of administrative preparation. Program initiatives of this kind will not be easy to implement, given the ingrained reticence toward interdisciplinary collaboration in academia, but the promise of attractive rewards makes the investment of effort well worth the risk.

Administrative preparation in all fields--business, education, social work, penology, and so forth--are in need of like aesthetic reinforcement in instruction. Now the tactical challenge is in how to join these diverse faculty interests in a binding collaboration for the attainment of shared program objectives. Negotiated Investment

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[39]A line spoken by Oedipus at the end of Sophocles' play, Oedipus the King.

A memento mori in Shakespeare is contained in the following exchange, Hamlet (IV. iii), between the King and Hamlet.

Hamlet: A man may fish with the worm that hath eat of a king, and eat of the fish that hath fed on that worm.

King: What does thou mean by this?

Hamlet: Nothing but to show you how a king may go a progress through the guts of a beggar.

Strategy--NIS--suggests itself as one negotiating technique that might be tried.[40]

NIS was developed with support from the Charles F. Kettering Foundation of Dayton, Ohio. It is an instrument for negotiating the commitment of resources among parties-in-interest in a joint enterprise. NIS has been tested in several cities, and with good results, wherein human-service organizations were brought together to negotiate a collaboration in the delivery of community services. More directly to the point, NIS is an adaptable instrument and should be tested also in the academic community.

A negotiation with interdisciplinary faculty might aim at the following collaboration:

a) a seminar by a humanities faculty which has been prepared especially for students in all administrative fields,

b) a regularly scheduled cross-listed catalogue offering between Educational Administration and some department in the humanities group, and/or

c) a short-term, but time intensive humanities institute, on or away from campus, modelled after the Executive Development Program at Harvard, Columbia, and other universities.

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Conclusion

To conclude, there are any number of pathways to the humanities and a variety of methods of using their content instrumentally in administrative preparation. Several of these pathways have been discovered already by inventive scholars in the social sciences. Alvin Gouldner in Sociology and Anthony Podlecki in Political Science, as examples, have demonstrated that belletristic works of Greek classical antiquity can be of instrumental value to the generation of fresh intellectual insight in the social sciences. Lewis Coser has discovered the availability of enlightening sociological insights in fiction literature. He holds:

> Fiction is not a substitute for systematically accumulated, certified knowledge. But it provides the social scientist with a wealth of sociologically

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[40]The Kettering Foundation has printed literature which provides procedural details in the use of NIS.

relevant material . . . . The creative imagination of the literary artist often has achieved insights into social processes which have remained unexplored in social science.[41]

Faculties in Education Administration, likewise, once they take pathways to the humanities, will find much that is useful to administrative preparation programs.

But there is yet one other instrumental value in the humanities which, by itself, is deserving of an essay-length commentary. It turns on the mental-health consequences of a consuming pre-occupation with the practical in administration. John Ciardi eloquently addressed this occupational hazard in a talk to executives, "An Ulcer, Gentlemen, is an Unwritten Poem," who had come together for in-service professional development through the humanities. In it, he distinguished between the two worlds of practicality and of creative imagination as follows:

> The poet enters his world as an *as if*: he writes *as if* he were analyzing a real man seated before him . . . . The practical man has no such large freedom. He enters a world called *is*. When he is at work, he is plowing a field, he *is* assembling chemical apparatus, he *is* interviewing an actual man whose name appears on the census listing and who *is* offering his services in return for real and taxable wages . . . . There is no poetry for the practical man. There is poetry only for the mankind of the man who spends a certain amount of his life turning the mechanical wheel. But let him spend too much of his life at the mechanics of practicality and either he must become something less than a man, or his very mechanical efficiency will become impaired by the frustrations stored up in his irrational human personality. An ulcer, gentlemen, is an unkissed imagination taking its revenge for having been jilted. It is an unwritten poem, a neglected music, an unpainted watercolor, an undanced dance. It is a declaration from the mankind of the man that a clear spring of joy has not been tapped, and that it must break through, muddily, on its

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[41]See Alvin W. Gouldner, The Hellenic World: A Sociological Analysis, in 2 volumes, (New York: Basic Books, 1965); Anthony J. Podlecki, The Political Background of Aeschylean Tragedy (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1966); and Lewis A. Coser, ed., Sociology Through Literature (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1963), p. 3.

In a sentiment kindred to Coser's, M. M. Kessler, a student of information systems in science, has stated "Even the masterpieces of scientific literature will in time become worthless except for historical reasons. This is a basic difference between the scientific and belletristic literature. It is inconceivable for a serious student of English literature, for example, not to have read Shakespeare, Milton, and Scott. A serious student of physics, on the other hand, can safely ignore the original writings of Newton, Faraday, and Maxwell." Quoted in Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure, p. 28.

own.[42]

And John Ciardi's remarks provide just the right closure for this introduction. Now, on to the pathways!

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[42]John Ciardi, "An Ulcer, Gentlemen, is an Unwritten Poem" in Robert A. Goldwin, Toward the Liberally Educated Executive (White Plains: The Fund for Adult Education), 1957, p. 52.

Part II

Chester Barnard's Conception of Authority
Considered in the Context of Sophocles' "Antigone"
as Adapted by Jean Anouilh

The extraordinary impact of Chester Barnard's contribution to the theory of formal organization has been acknowledged in every field of administrative preparation. The Functions of the Executive, the only major book he has published, stands out in retrospect as a point of departure for the more sophisticated theoretical literature on formal organization which followed the decline of Scientific Management in the late nineteen thirties.[1]

Barnard is not for light reading. As one biographical profile of him has put it, "The ponderousness of Barnard's style is the mark, perhaps, of the amateur scholar."[2] He was also, one could add, a sometime lecturer and only an occasional writer.

After leaving Harvard University short of completing the bachelor's degree, Barnard went to work for the American Telephone and Telegraph Company in the Statistical Department and culminated his near forty-year caree with AT&T as President of New Jersey Bell Telephone. Despite a short-lived formal academic education, and notwithstanding his limitations as a writer, his ideas of formal organization, as they are laid out in The Functions of the Executive, have made their way into textbooks and the most frequently consulted reference works in all fields of

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[1]After The Functions of the Executive appeared in 1938, Barnard published Organization and Management; a collection of occasional papers in which he merely elaborated on the central ideas of his first book.

[2]Kenneth R. Andrews, "Introduction" to the Thirtieth Anniversary Edition of Barnard, The Functions of the Executive, p. XIII. The 1971 printing of the book was its twentieth.

administrative preparation.[3] How is it, then, that his imprint is so strong?

The Functions of the Executive had its beginning as a series of eight lectures given by Barnard in 1937 at the Lowell Institute in Boston. Had these lectures been of a show-and-tell type; that is, descriptive narratives of Barnard's executive-level management experiences, it is not likely Harvard University Press would have published them in book form or would have celebrated its first printing with a thirtieth anniversary edition. Barnard, to be sure, did draw upon his own experience as a business executive, but he did much more.

Just as Talcott Parsons had devoted decades of intellectual effort to the construction of a cognitive map capable of depicting comprehensively the structural-functional configurations of "the social system," so did Barnard set himself in the Lowell Institute Lectures to sketch the complex configurations of "the executive process" in formal organization. As Barnard explained in the "Author's Preface:"

> To me it has long seemed probable that there are universal characteristics of organization that are active understandings, evaluations, concepts, of men skilled in organizing not only in the present but in past generations, which have also been perceived by careful and astute observers and students.
>
> But nothing of which I knew treated of organization in a way which seemed to me to correspond either to my experience or to the understanding implicit in the conduct of those recognized to be adept in executive practice or in the leadership of organizations. Some excellent work has been done in describing and analyzing the superficial characteristics of organizations. It is important, but like descriptive geography with physics, chemistry, geology, and biology missing. More than the topography and cartography of organization would be necessary to understand executive functions; a knowledge of the kinds and qualities of the forces at work and the manner of their operation would also be needed.[4]

The comparison of Barnard with Parsons is altogether in place. Although there was no known collaboration between them in scholarship, there is nevertheless a marked correspondence between the ideas of Barnard and Parsons. Parsons himself has

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[3]Representative of these are Daniel Katz and Robert L. Kahn, The Social Psychology of Organizations (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1966); George C. Homans, The Human Group (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1950); Herbert A. Simon, Administrative Behavior (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1961); Melville Dalton, Men Who Manage (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1959).

[4]Barnard, The Functions of the Executive, p. XXVIII.

acknowledged frequently the theoretical correspondence between himself and Barnard.[5] The quintessential insight, to illustrate in an instant, which springs from the Parsonian social system is that formal organization is a cognitive abstraction. Barnard puts this as follows, "By definition there can be no organization without persons. However, . . . it is not persons, but the services or acts or action or influences of persons, which should be treated as constituting organizations . . . ."[6]

Had Barnard gone no further, and had his overriding concern been only with executive functions which generate mechanistic effectiveness in formal organization, then his contribution to the theoretical literature of organization and administration would have been little more than a redundant argument for Scientific Management. However, the rational model of formal organization was for Barnard only a starting point. He had followed with keen interest Elton Mayo's work at the Hawthorne Western Electric Works. By the time of the Lowell Institute Lectures, therefore, his thinking of formal organization included also the concept of organizational equilibrium; which is to say the necessary administrative balancing of burdens and gratifications in order to fuse effectiveness with efficiency in the organization. Barnard, in short, had become aware of what Charles H. Page was to call later "bureaucracy's other face."

What is executive work? Barnard's response, "Executive work is not that of the organization, but the specialized work of maintaining the organization in operation."[7] Here Barnard illustrates, as he does throughout The Functions of the Executive, why

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[5]In among others, see Talcott Parsons, The Social System (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1963), p. 317; Talcott Parsons, Structure and Process in Modern Societies (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1963), passim. Parsons published his first theoretical book, The Structure of Social Action, in 1937, the year before Barnard published his. Parsons' definitive theoretical work, The Social System, was published in 1951. Barnard did cite Parsons' The Structure of Social Action in The Functions of the Executive.

Those unfamiliar with Parsonian theory will find a well-prepared introduction in R. Jean Hills, Toward a Science of Organization (Eugene: Center for the Advanced Study of Educational Administration, University of Oregon, 1968).

[6]Barnard, The Functions of the Executive, p. 83. The correspondence between the ideas of Barnard and Parsons is quite clear even in the way each defines formal organization. Parsons' voluntaristic theory of action defines formal organization as a rationally-structured network of voluntaristic associates. Barnard defines formal organization as a rationally-structured system of cooperation. Both Parsons and Barnard, moreover, are of one mind that membership in formal organization is induced by a variety of motivations.

[7]Ibid., p. 215.

he should be read and reread reflectively in order to get at the profundity of his ideas. Exactly what does "maintaining the organization in operation" mean? The untutored in school administration might respond, as did Jacques Barzun, ". . . seeing to it that the chalk is there."[8]

Not so in Barnard's thought. He had no custodial "maintenance" in mind. Instead, in his definition of "executive work," Barnard is in correspondence with Parsons' functional differentiations between technical, managerial, and institutional tasks in formal organization.[9]

He then frames out the interactive relationship between role and personality in the social system; again in correspondence with Parsons. Jacob W. Getzels and Egon G. Guba, it will be recalled, have brought this concept to the literature of Educational Administration as a model which depicts the criticalness of administrative transactions between "nonothetic" and "idiographic" values in formal organization. Barnard's statement of this role-personality model is as follows:

> Cooperation and organization as they are observed and experienced are concrete syntheses of opposed facts, and of opposed thought and emotions of human beings. It is precisely the function of the executive to facilitate the synthesis in concrete action of contradictory forces, to reconcile conflicting forces, instincts, interests, conditions, positions, and ideals.[10]

Barnard meant to stress, as did Parsons, that the orientational primacy in the administrative role is to the integrative function. "Thus, the executive process," Barnard held, "even when narrowed to the aspect of effectiveness of organization and the technologies of organization activity, is one of integration of the whole, of finding the effective balance between the local and the broad considerations, between the general and the specific requirements."[11]

This correspondence between the ideas of Barnard the business executive and Parsons the academic theoretician is more than coincidence. Although they had not collaborated as scholars, each had conceptualized formal organization as a social system. Barnard's intention was, however, to deal with "the executive process"

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[8]Jacques Barzun, The American University: How it Runs, Where it is Going (New York: Harper and Row, 1969), p. 96.

[9]Talcott Parsons, Structure and Process in Modern Societies, pp. 60-65.

[10]Barnard, The Functions of the Executive, p. 21.

[11]Ibid., p. 238.

exclusively in The Functions of the Executive, whereas Parsons' entire academic career has been devoted to the construction of a comprehensive theoretic model of the social system in which the idealist tradition of Max Weber and the positivist tradition of Emile Durkheim would be fused in a complex synthesis of interactively related variables. More than mere "historical figures" in contemporary administrative thought and scholarship, the ideas of both Barnard and Parsons infuse theoretical vitality still in much of the significant writing today in the field of administration.

And in his treatment of "the executive process," Barnard straightaway directed attention to a critical moral bind in administrative decision-making. Where should the transactional line be drawn in the role-personality model between nomothetic and idiographic tensions in the organization? The executive on the one hand is invested with authority to use bureaucratic power with which to perform role-related integrative tasks, but on the other hand there are no predetermined absolute values to guide executive judgment in these transactions. Ultimately, according to Barnard, the executive has to rely upon "moral creativeness." Barnard elaborates:

> The strategic factor in the dynamic expression of leadership is moral creativeness, which precedes, but is in turn dependent upon, technological proficiency and the development of techniques in relation to it.[12]

Barnard used expressions such as "moral complexity" and "moral creativeness" as code words for values and the art of valuing in institutional leadership. The executive who knows the price of everything and the value of nothing is in Barnard's mind incapable of institutional leadership. Moreover, when he wrote that "the dynamic expression of leadership is moral creativeness," he anticipated Selznick's later thinking of "value infusion" in formal organization as an imperative precondition of institutional identity. Selznick writes:

> As an organization acquires a self, a distinctive identity, it becomes an institution. This involves the taking on of values, ways of acting and believing that are deemed important for their own sake. From then on self-maintenance becomes more than bare organizational survival; it becomes a struggle to preserve the uniqueness of the group in the face of new problems and altered circumstances.[13]

Clearly, Barnard did not gainsay the importance of "technological proficiency" in the executive role. "Moral creativeness" is primary for him in executive actions, but

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[12]Ibid., p. 288.

[13]Selznick, Leadership in Administration, p. 21.

its implementation in the administration of formal organization is dependent upon "the development of techniques in relation to it." Here, in a characteristic allusive style, Barnard points to the latent moral snare in executive decision-making: the reversal of means and end values. Aesthetic expression of Barnard's insight is provided in one of the great works of tragedy from Greek classical theater.

Sophocles' Antigone, a play written nearly twenty-five hundred years before Barnard's time, and of which more later, celebrates in one scene humankind's Promethian gift for inventing technology. A Chorus of city elders inferentially caution Creon, King of Thebes, of an immoral value reversal in the royal--say executive--decision he is about to make. The warning is given by the Chorus in Sophocles' great "Ode on Man," just as Creon is about to confront Antigone for having defied his royal edict:

CHORUS:

> Many the wonders but nothing walks stranger than man.
> This thing crosses the sea in the winter's storm,
> making his path through the roaring waves.
> And she, the greatest of gods, the earth--
> ageless she is, and unwearied--he wears her away
> as the ploughs go up and down from year to year
> and his mules turn up the soil.
>
> Gay nations of birds he snares and leads,
> wild beast tribes and the salty brood of the sea,
> with the twisted mesh of his nets, this clever man.
> He controls with craft the beasts of the open air,
> walkers on hills. The horse with his shaggy mane
> he holds and harnesses, yoked about the neck,
> and the strong bull of the mountain.
>
> Language, and thought like the wind
> and the feelings that make the town;
> he has taught himself, and shelter against the cold,
> refuge from rain. He can always help himself.
> He faces no future helpless. There's only death
> that he cannot find an escape from. He has contrived
> refuge from illnesses once beyond all cure.
>
> Clever beyond all dreams
> the inventive craft that he has
> which may drive him one time or another to well or ill.
> When he honors the laws of the land and the gods' sworn
> right high indeed is his city; but stateless the man
> who dares to dwell with dishonor. Not by my fire,

never to share my thoughts, who does these things.[14]

Of all the concepts in Barnard's delineation of executive control, the concept of "authority" in formal organization is the most difficult to grasp on a first encounter. But the persistence of a second, and even a third, encounter would be worth the effort.

Because Barnard's starting point was to think of formal organization as a cooperative social system, and not as the domination system in models of the Scientific Management School, he had to specify its mechanisms of control. Accordingly, he reduced control in the cooperative system to two theoretic categories: a) a theory of incentives which included both "specific inducements" and "general incentives," and b) a theory of authority. Barnard rejected the command-obedience definition of authority. He was reinforced in this by a chance reading of Eugene Ehrlich's Fundamental Principles of the Sociology of Law, whose central thesis ". . . is that all law arises from the formal and especially the informal understandings of the people as socially organized, and that so far as these practices and understandings are formulated in substantive law and promulgated by lawmaking authorities the 'law' is merely the formulation."[15]

Mindful that his definition of authority ". . . is so contrary to the view widely held by informed persons of many ranks and professions, and so contradictory to legalistic conceptions, and will seem to many so opposed to common experience . . . ," he, therefore, urged ". . . before attacking the subject it is desirable at least to recognize that prevalent notions are not universally held."[16] Then he cites in support

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[14]David Grene and Richmond Lattimore, eds. Sophocles: The Complete Greek Tragedies, translated by Elizabeth Wyckoff, vol. 3 (New York: The Modern Library, 1954), p. 198.

[15]Quoted in Barnard, The Functions of the Executive, p. XXX.

[16]Ibid., pp. 163-64. Two companion journal articles, both by the same author, will be helpful for more insight into Barnard's "theory of authority." See, Edward Boland Smith, "Chester Barnard's Concept of Leadership," Educational Administration Quarterly 11 (Autumn 1975); and Edward B. Smith, "Chester Barnard's Concept of Authority," Educational Administration Quarterly 11 (Winter 1975).

Readers will also find enlightening the papers which were presented on Barnard's ideas at a Symposium of the 1986 Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association, "The Functions of the Executive: A Reconsideration of Chester Barnard." These papers dealt with "authority and organization," "administrative systems and social system," "incentives and motivation," "ethics and organization."

Roberto Michels' statement on authority in the Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences:

> Whether authority is of personal or institutional origin it is created and maintained by public opinion, which in its turn is conditioned by sentiment, affection, reverence or fatalism. Even when authority rests on mere physical coercion it is *accepted* by those ruled, although the acceptance may be due to a fear of force.[17]

Barnard's idea of authority as a mechanism of control in formal organization embodies Michels' definition and more. He singles out a "zone of indifference" which, as a concept, follows the meaning of Max Weber's "imperative co-ordination" and of those in contemporary social science who think of the acceptance of authority as a "suspension of judgment."[18] The egocentric predicament to which "persons of authority" are vulnerable--the sin of hybris which in the plays of Greek tragedians brings inescapable punishment from the gods--is anticipated by Barnard in his caveat that, in executive functions, "executive responsibility" and "moral creativeness" have to be bound together with uses of authority.[19]

The following excerpts from Barnard's "theory of authority" constitute its core and in it he states the relation between the coercive and consensual in formal organization:

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[17]Quoted in Barnard, The Functions of the Executive, p. 164. Roberto Michels, author of the "Iron Law of Oligarchy," was a Swiss-Italian whose major contributions were in sociology and economics. His best known work in the United States is Robert Michels, Political Parties, translated by Eden and Cedar Paul (New York: Collier Books, 1962). Some six hundred years before Roberto Michels, Marsilius of Padua wrote in his Defensor Pacis, 1324, "Laws derive their authority from the nation, and are invalid without its assent."

A kindred attitude to governance is in José Ortega y Gasset's The Revolt of the Masses--the chapter "Who Rules the World?"--in which he quotes Talleyrand's remark to Napoleon, "You can do everything with bayonets, Sire except sit on them."

[18]"Imperative coordination" is defined by Weber as "the probability that certain specific commands (or all commands) from a given source will be obeyed by a given group of persons." Max Weber, The Theory of Social and Economic Organization, translated by A. M. Henderson and Talcott Parsons (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1947), p. 234. See also, W. Richard Scott, "Theory of Organizations," in Robert E. L. Farris, ed., Handbook of Modern Sociology (Chicago: Rand McNally and Co., 1964); and Herbert A. Simon, Administrative Behavior (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1961), chap. VII, "The Role of Authority." For an empirical study which confirms Barnard's "zone of indifference," see Robert L. Peabody, "Perceptions of Organizational Authority: A Comparative Analysis," Administrative Science Quarterly 6 (March 1982).

[19]For more on the meaning of hybris in Greek tragedy, see "Prologue" in Robert H. Beck, Aeschylus: Playwright Educator (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1975).

. . . Authority is the character of a communication (order) in a formal organization by virtue of which it is accepted by a contributor to or "member" of the organization as governing the action he contributes; that is, as governing or determining what he does or is not to do so far as the organization is concerned. According to this definition, authority involves two aspects: first, the subjective, the personal, the *accepting* of a communication as authoritative . . . and, second, the objective aspect--the character in the communication by virtue of which it is accepted . . . .

If a directive communication is accepted by one to whom it is addressed, its authority for him is confirmed or established. It is admitted as the basis of action. Disobedience of such a communication is a denial of its authority for him. Therefore, under this definition the decision as to whether an order has authority or not lies with the persons to whom it is addressed, and does not reside in "persons of authority" or those who issue these orders.

. . . Thus the [other] contributors are willing to maintain the authority of communications because, where care is taken to see that only acceptable communications in general are issued, most of them fall within the zone of personal indifference; and because communal sense influences the motives of most contributors most of the time. The practical instrument of this sense is the fiction of superior authority, which makes it possible normally to treat a personal question impersonally.

The fiction of superior authority is necessary for two main reasons:

(1) It is the process by which the individual delegates upward, or to the organization, responsibility for what is an organization decision--an action which is depersonalized by the fact of its coordinate character. This means that if an instruction is disregarded, an executive's risk of being wrong must be accepted, a risk that the individual cannot and usually will not take unless in fact his position is at least as good as that of another with respect to correct appraisal of the relevant situation. Most persons are disposed to grant authority because they dislike the personal responsibility which they otherwise accept, especially when they are not in a good position to accept it. The practical difficulties in the operation of organization seldom lie in the excessive desire of individuals to assume responsibility for the organization action of themselves or others, but rather lie in the reluctance to take responsibility for their own actions in organization.

(2) The fiction gives impersonal notice that what is at stake is the good of the organization. If objective authority is flouted for arbitrary or merely temperamental reasons, if, in other words, there is deliberate attempt to twist an organization requirement to personal advantage, rather than properly to safeguard a substantial personal interest, then there is a deliberate attack on the organization itself.[20]

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[20]Barnard, pp. 163-71.

2
Conceptions of Power as Authority

Barnard's "fiction of superior authority" is a cognitive clue that he, like Parsons, thought of "authority" as normative power whose activation in the social system of forma' organization is by means of a universally shared cultural symbolism. Parsons in his theory of social action also deals with mechanisms of control; that is, with ways of obtaining results in formal interaction. He has constructed for this purpose a paradigm of modes which depict four circulating generalized symbolic media ". . ., by which one acting unit . . . can attempt to get results by bringing to bear on another unit . . . some kind of *communicative operation* call it 'pressure' if that term is understood in a nonpejorative sense."[21]

Parsons shows these generalized symbolic media as: money, power, influence, and the activation of commitments.[22] The "communicative operation" in the Parsonian sense, however, will bear no effective response unless there is a consensual validation--a legitimation--by the recipient of the communication; that is, the sender has a <u>right</u> to issue the communication. For Barnard, likewise, in administrative control this means, "If a directive communication is accepted by one to whom it is addressed, its authority for him is confirmed or established."

To illustrate further this exceedingly important conceptual nuance: "Money," as a generalized symbolic medium, is effective in a "communicative operation" as inducement only to the extent that a recipient confirms the symbolic meaning of money as a representation of <u>real</u> value. So it is with normative power. "Power," as a generalized symbolic medium, will be effective in a "communicative operation" as legitimate coercion only to the extent that a recipient, following Barnard, confirms the <u>authority</u> of the communicator to use power in a formal interactive relationship.

Because the concepts Barnard used to formulate his executive functions encompass the generic structural properties of formal organization, <u>The Functions of the Executive</u> has been, as was noted earlier, a certifiable classic of enduring theoretical value for every field of administrative preparation. Especially valuable to administrative theory is his treatment of authority. "It seems to me very important," wrote Parsons in this regard, "that there is an essential continuity between the

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[21]Parsons, "On the Concept of Influence," <u>Public Opinion Quarterly</u>, p. 42.

[22]<u>Ibid.</u>, p. 45.

treatment of authority for total political systems by Weber and others and by Barnard for the formal organization within society."[23]

Parsons' incisive reference to "an essential continuity" in the treatment of authority by Weber and Barnard is informed most especially by their respective preoccupation with the legitimation of normative order. Just as the source of normative order in society is central in Max Weber's scholarship, so is the source of legitimation in administrative decision-making central in Barnard's conception of executive function. Executive decision-making is for Barnard the essential device for maintaining formal organization in a state of equilibrium and, therefore, the confirmation of authority in an executive decision--Barnard's executive "communication" or executive "order"--by actors in subordinate roles is imperative.

More, the "essential continuity" across social science disciplines which Parsons has affirmed in Barnard's conception of authority lends itself to creative explorations in the humanities for validations of its universality. How has Barnard's conception of authority fared in other cultures and in bygone ages? The literature of the humanities, after all, abounds with problems of the human situation whose pivot is, as Parsons has put it, ". . . the relation between the coercive and the consensual aspects of the phenomenon of power."[24] Machiavelli's two major works in political theory, The Prince and The Discourses on the First Ten Books of Livy, and Sophocles' Antigone, a play whose dramatic center turns on the use of executive authority, are instant cases in point.[25]

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[23]Parsons, Structure and Process in Modern Societies, p. 325. Elsewhere Parsons said of The Functions of the Executive, "I would consider it one of the classics of political theory." See Talcott Parsons, "Social Structure and the Symbolic Media of Interchange," in Peter M. Blau, ed., Approaches to the Study of Social Structure (New York: The Free Press, 1970), p. 100.

In an interview conducted two months before his death in 1961, Barnard noted in a retrospective assessment of The Functions of the Executive, "In my opinion the greatest weakness of my book is that it doesn't deal adequately with the question of responsibility and its delegation." See William B. Wolf, "Precepts for Managers: Interviews with Chester I. Barnard," California Management Review 6 (Fall 1963).

[24]Parsons, "On the Concept of Political Power," p. 249.

[25]Nicolo Machiavelli, 1469-1527, a towering figure of the Italian Renaissance stands for many as a symbol of political cynicism and unscrupulousness but as the political scientist turned columnist, George F. Will, has noted, ". . . Machiavelli's bad reputation is the unjust price he paid for being an unsentimental moralist in a world addicted to moral evasions."

Students of Educational Administration will encounter mind-enriching challenges in the construction of a taxonomy within which to compare essential properties of normative order in social systems as conceived by Barnard, Machiavelli, and Sophocles; with "executive responsibility" and "moral creativeness" in executive decision-making held as constant points of reference in the comparison.

Such a comparative analysis should bring home in vivid fashion Machiavelli's disturbing truth of a universal moral dilemma in executive-level decisions: Decisions at critical junctures in human events involve choices in which the implications are not evident because everpresent are contrasting risks, contrasting values, and contrasting ambiguities. How well Sophocles teaches this lesson in the Antigone by means of his

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His best known work, The Prince, was intended as a guide, or handbook, for the practice of affective statecraft and it was dedicated to Lorenzo de'Medici, also known as Lorenzo il Magnifico; astute politician, scholar, and generous patron of Renaissance talents.

Like Dante, his fellow Florentine of the fourteenth century, Machiavelli yearned for Italian unity and, in The Prince, he meant to provide an objective program of how political power is obtained and kept in ways that are neither moral nor immoral. In his The Discourses on the First Ten Books of Livy, Machiavelli laid out the first modern theory of politics, in which the following is the most often quoted passage: "When it is absolutely a question of the safety of one's country, there must be no consideration of just or unjust, of merciful or cruel, of praiseworthy or disgraceful; instead, setting aside every scruple, one must follow to the uttermost any plan that will save her life and keep her liberty."

Those who perceive an ethical or moral quandary in Machiavelli's dictum for the conduct of statecraft might ponder the axiological complementarity between it and a commentary by James March on the relation between truth and justice in models for social action. "Like truth and beauty" March holds, "justice is an ideal rather than a state of existence. We do not achieve it; we pursue it. In that pursuit we accept responsibility for social myths by which we live." Then March makes his Machiavellian-like point in the following argument about models in social action:

"Independent of its truth value, a model has a justice value. Different models suggest different actions, and the attractiveness of the social and moral consequences of those actions do not depend entirely on the degree to which the models are correct. Nor is this problem solved in any significant way by producing a more correct model. *Since two equally correct models may have radically different action implications and radically different moral force, we can easily imagine a circumstance in which we would be willing to forego some truth in order to achieve some justice.*" (italic added) James G. March, "Model Bias in Social Action," Review in Educational Research 42 (Fall 1972), p. 414.

own "esthetic wisdom."[26]

3

Background for Sophocles' Antigone

Sophocles, 496-406 B.C., wrote Antigone, the first of his three Theban plays, at about age fifty-four. Classical scholarship estimates that he had written more than one hundred plays, of which seven have survived; including the Theban trilogy of Antigone, Oedipus the King, and Oedipus at Colonus. They are referred to as the "Theban trilogy" because their setting is the City of Thebes.

Antigone was written first, although rational thematic development within the Theban trilogy would make it appear Oedipus the King was first. Oedipus at Colonus was written last, toward the end of his life, but Sophocles never saw it staged. A grandson produced the play five years after his death.[27] Sophocles' ninety-year life span in Athens was filled with public service, recognized artistic achievements, and a host of other honors. He was a contemporary of Pericles; together with whom he was elected, 440 B.C., one of ten generals.

The Athenian theater of Sophocles' time, unlike modern-day theater, was not a commercial enterprise. Plays were staged as part of religious festivals and performances were restricted to holy days as communal events. Playwrights were

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[26]For more on this moral dilemma, see the third volume of collected essays by Isaiah Berlin, "Machiavelli," in his Against the Current (New York: Viking Press, 1979). Karl Popper, in his dispraise of narrowly conceived logical positivism, also affirms the presence of such a dilemma in philosophy of science. See Karl Popper, Objective Knowledge: An Evolutionary Approach (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1972).

[27]Here one gets a glimpse of how creative energy works its will independently of the artist's cognitive structure. Any number of illustrations are available. Shakespeare, as example, wrote Richard III (1593-94) before Richard II (1596-97). Another manifestation of this, also in a myth-based work, but of a different genre of artistic expression, can be seen in Richard Wagner's music dramas, Der Ring des Nibelungen. Festival performances of the Ring tetralogy are staged in the following order: Das Rheingold, Die Walküre, Siegfried, Götterdämmerung. However, at its libretto-stage of development, Wagner first wrote the poem, "Death of Siegfried," which in the tetralogy is performed last as the music drama, Götterdämmerung. For a light-handed account of this, see George Bernard Shaw, The Perfect Wagnerite: A Commentary on the Niblung's Ring (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1957).

performances were restricted to holy days as communal events. Playwrights were induced by the _polis_ to write for the theater by means of annual competitions--Sophocles won over Aeschylus in the competition of 4€8 B.C.--and, as part of the prize, the winner's play was given a public performance under civic auspices. Theater, in short, was for the Athenians at once adult education in moral law, as give. by Zeus, and entertainment. Athenian playwrights, therefore, had to infuse their instruction with consummate artistic craftsmanship in order to hold the attention of a massive audience in an open theater. It is exactly this educative aspect of Athenian theater which Robert Beck has studied in depth and to which, as published scholarship, he gave the title of _Aeschylus: Playwright Educator_.[28]

Aristotle, philosopher and first known drama critic in the western tradition, regarded Sophocles as the foremost of Greek tragedians. He singled out _Oedipus the King_, in his _Poetics_, as the model of tragedy in theater. He analyzed the play with the value-laden terms ι _hybris_; i.e., excessive pride or excessive violence and _hamartia_; i.e., a fatal flaw of character. These are to this day mainstay concepts in an analysis of the tragic figure. In the earlier given "Ode on Man," Sophocles celebrates humankind's "inventive craft," but at the same time he also hints of _hybris_ in the way the King is about to use his royal authority to punish Antigone.

The epicenter of Sophoclean tragedy, following Hegel's definition of tragedy, is the clash of justice with justice. Tragedy in _Antigone_, by way of illustration, lies primarily in the conflict between two characters asserting their principles of righteousness. Each assertion is in part justifiable and, yet, both characters are stubborn or blind to the justification of the other's position.

Creon, King of Thebes, is too confident in his authority to punish and too blind to see the injustice of his action. Antigone, his niece and daughter-in-law to be, would martyr herself if need - to uphold the moral law of Zeus. A clash of these two obduracies results in dreadful human suffering. "For Sophocles," writes David Grene, "the myth was the treatment of the generic aspect of human dilemmas . . . . Behind the figure of . . . Creon stands the tyrant of the legend; and behind the tyrant of the legend, the meaning of all despotic authority."[29]

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[28]For a condensed statement of the same scholarship in a professional journal, see Robert H. Beck, "Aeschylus: Playwright Educator," _Educational Forum_ 37 (May 1973).

[29]"Introduction," Grene and Lattimore, _Sophocles: The Complete Greek Tragedies_, p. 10.

Creon did not especially want to be ruler of Thebes. As a member of the royal household and brother-in-law to Oedipus the King, he devoted scant attention to matters of State. Instead, he cultivated the arts, collected manuscripts, and otherwise occupied himself with pleasure-yielding pursuits. Then, as this is explained in the legend-line of Sophocles' Oedipus the King, a plague struck Thebes because of the presence of a moral pollution in the city. Fruit and cattle perished, women aborted, and hunger had set in.

It was discovered eventually that Oedipus, the King, was himself the pollutant. He had unknowingly, and quite innocently, years earlier killed his natural father in combat, married his own mother, and incestuously sired two sons and two daughters: Polynices and Eteocles, Antigone and Ismene. For these transgressions of the moral law, patricide and incest, Zeus had punished Oedipus with a plague on the city.[30]

Oedipus, upon becoming aware of his moral transgressions, gouged out his own eyes, abdicated the throne, and took exile. By a formal arrangement, Eteocles and Polynices were each to rule Thebes in alternate years, but the arrangement did not hold. In the contest between the two brothers for rule of Thebes, civil war ensued. Both Eteocles and Polynices were killed in the war and Thebes was left a shambles.

It is at this juncture in the Theban trilogy that Creon takes power and proclaims his first edict as King: Eteocles is to be buried with religious rites, whereas Polynices' corpse is to be left in an open field to be devoured by scavengers. Anyone who attempts a ritual burial is to be put to death. His rationale for the decree is to convey by this symbolic action the harsh consequences that will follow from further civil strife in Thebes.

Antigone defies the edict and twice attempts to bury her brother. She is caught by the guards and brought before Creon. A highly charged confrontation between them follows. Antigone grants that Creon has the right to issue decrees and to make laws. However, she will not obey his burial decree because it is a contravention of Zeus' moral law. Barnard might have observed that Creon's edict landed outside of Antigone's "zone of indifference."

The audience first learns of Creon's decree in the following first exchange in the play between Antigone and her sister Ismene:

Ismene
    What is it? Clearly some news has clouded you.

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[30]For an informative elaboration of Zeus' moral law, see Beck, Aeschylus: Playwright Educator, "Moral Lessons in Aeschylean Drama."

<u>Antigone</u>

It has indeed. Creon will give the one of our two brothers honor in the
tomb; the other none.

Eteocles, with just entreatment treated, as law provides he has hidden
under earth to have full honor with the dead below.

But Polyneices corpse who died in pain, they say he has proclaimed to
the whole town that none may bury him and none bewail, but leave him
unwept, untombed, a rich sweet sight for the hungry birds' beholding.

Such orders they say the worthy Creon gives to you and me--yes, yes, I
say to <u>me</u>--and that he's coming to proclaim it clear to those who know
it not.

Further: he has the matter so at heart that anyone who dares attempt
the act will die by public stoning in the town.

So there you have it and you soon will show if you are noble, or fallen
from your descent.[31]

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<u>Antigone in Jean Anouilh's Free-style Adaptation</u>

Jean Anouilh's <u>Antigone</u> retains the salient features of Sophocles' plot in a free-
style adaptation. In the language of theater this means he has made changes to suit
his own purpose. The major change he has made in the adaptation is to reset
Sophocles' moral instruction and plot in a contemporary social environment and in the
idiom of modern-day language. His characters wear modern dress and use no masques;
as was the dramaturgical convention in Sophocles' day. In short, Anouilh has secu-
larized <u>Antigone</u>.

One ancient dramaturgical convention which Anouilh did retain in his adaptation is
the Greek Chorus, but as a single voice. The multi-voice Chorus in Greek theater was
the earliest use in Western culture of the invention now thought of in social science
research as participant-observation.[32]

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[31]Grene and Lattimore, <u>Sophocles: The Complete Greek Tragedies</u>, p. 186. The
spelling is Polyneices in the Wyckoff translation and Polynices in the Anouilh version.

[32]Participant-observation, as a research methodology in contemporary social
science, has been used in the Bank Wiring Observation Room of the Hawthorne Studies
and in a study of "street corner society." See William F. Whyte, <u>Street Corner Society</u>
(Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1943). Uses of participant-observation can be

As participant-observer, the Greek Chorus was involved in the action on stage with a detachment which gave it a wide-ranging dramaturgical usefulness. The Chorus might heighten audience awareness with a narration of the deeper meaning in an action, it might interject in the performance a recital of a long-forgotten event which now has to be recalled for the audience, it might give prophetic warning to the players of consequences to follow from their action, it might convey, as in Sophocles' "Ode on Man," the playwright's moral instruction, or, as the following first Choral statement in the Anouilh version of Antigone shows, it might do all of these:

CHORUS. Well, here we are.
These people that you see here are about to act out for you the story of Antigone.

That thin little creature sitting by herself staring straight ahead, seeing nothing, is Antigone. She is thinking. She is thinking that the instant I finish telling you who's who and what's what in this play, she will burst forth as the tense, sallow, willful girl who would never listen to reason and who is about to rise up alone against Creon, her uncle, the King.

Another thing that she is thinking is this: she is going to die. Antigone is only twenty years old. She would much rather live than die. But there is no help for it. When you are on the side of the gods against the tyrant, of Man against the State, of purity against corruption--when, in short, your name is Antigone, there is only one part you can play; and she will have to play hers through to the end.

Mind you, Antigone doesn't know all these things about herself. I know them because it is my business to know them. That's what a Greek Chorus is for. All that she knows is that Creon will not allow her dead brother to be buried; and that in spite of Creon, she must bury him. Antigone doesn't think, she acts; she doesn't reason, she feels. And from the moment the curtain went up, she began to feel that inhuman forces were whirling her out of this world, snatching her away from her sister, Ismene, whom you see smiling and chatting with that young man, making her an instrument of the gods in a way she cannot fathom but that she will faithfully pursue.

You have never seen inhuman forces at work? You will, tonight.
(CHORUS turns and indicates HAEMON.)

The young man talking to Ismene--to the pliant and reasonable Ismene--is Haemon. He is the King's son, Creon's son. Antigone and he are engaged to be married. You wouldn't have thought she was his type. He likes dancing, sports, competition; he likes women, too. Now look at Ismene again. She is certain'y more beautiful than Antigone. She is the girl you'd think he'd go for. Well . . . There was a ball one night. Ismene wore a new evening dress. She was radiant. Haemon danced every dance with her; he wouldn't look at

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found now also in the research literature of education and Educational Administration.

44

any other girl. And yet, that same night, before the dance was over, suddenly he went in search of Antigone, found her sitting alone--like that, with her arms claspea round her knees--and asked her to marry him. It didn't seem to surprise Antigone in the least. She looked up at him out of those solemn eyes of hers, then smiled sort of sadly; and she said "yes." That was all. Well, here is Haemon expecting to marry Antigone. He won't, of course. He didn't know, when he asked her, that the earth wasn't made to hold a husband of Antigone, and that this princely distinction was to earn him no more than the right to die sooner than he might otherwise have done.

(CHORUS turns toward CREON.)

That gray-haired, powerfully built man sitting lost in thought, with his little Page at his side, is Creon, the King. His face is lined. He is tired. He practices the difficult art of a leader of men. When he was younger, when Oedipus was King and Creon was no more than the King's brother-in-law, he was different. He loved music, bought rare manuscripts, was a kind of art patron. He used to while away whole afternoons in the antique shops of this city of Thebes. But Oedipus died. Oedipus' sons died. Creon's moment had come. He took over the kingdom.

(CHORUS moves downstage. Reflects a moment.)

I'll tell you something about Creon. He has a tendency to fool himself. This leader of men, this brilliant debater and logician, likes to believe that if it were not for his sense of responsibility, he would step down from the throne and go back to collecting manuscripts. But the fact is, he loves being King. He's an artist who has always believed that he could govern just as well as any man of action could; and he's quite sure that no god nor any man can tell him anything about what is best for the common people.

Creon has a wife, a Queen. Her name is Eurydice. There she sits, the gentle old lady with the knitting, next to the Nurse who brought up the two girls. She will go on knitting all through the play, till the time comes for her to go to her room and die. She is a good woman, a worthy, loving soul. But she is no help to her husband. Creon has to face the music alone. Alone with his Page, who is too young to be of any help.

The others? Well, let's see.

(He points toward the MESSENGER.)

That pale young man leaning against the wall is the Messenger. Later on, he will come running in to announce that Haemon is dead. He has a premonition of catastrophe. That's what he is brooding over. That's why he won't mingle with the others.

As for those three pasty-faced card players--they are the guards, members of Creon's police force. They chew tobacco; one smells of garlic, another of beer; but they're not a bad lot. They have wives they are afraid of, kids who are afraid of them; they're bothered by the little day-to-day worries that beset us all. At the same time--they are policemen: eternally innocent, no matter

what crimes are committed; eternally indifferent, for nothing that happens can matter to them. They are quite prepared to arrest any body at all, including Creon himself, should the order be given by a new leader.[33]

That's the lot. Now for the play.

It should be noted that while Anouilh has retained the Greek Chorus, he did drop the choral "Ode on Man" from his version. Also, on omitting one Sophoclean character; the blind prophet Teiresias, he invents another; Antigone's childhood nurse and now her surrogate mother.

One might surmise with good cause that Anouilh had abandoned Teiresias because the blind prophet had prevailed on Creon in the Sophoclean original, though too late, to revoke his harsh edict and this did not serve Anouilh's purpose. Creon, in the Sophoclean version:

> . . . Now my decision has been overturned shall I, who bou..d her, set her free myself. I've come to fear it's best to hold the laws of old tradition to the end of life.[34]

Sophocles' purpose, as "playwright educator," to borrow from Beck, was to teach that transgressions of moral law, knowingly or unknowingly, will bring relentless divine retribution and there can be no exculpation by a turning back. Anouilh's purpose, on the other hand, was to move his countrymen to resist the Nazi occupation of France. The withdrawal of a harsh Nazi occupation program by the intervention of a spiritual entity, and of which Teiresias was the symbol for Sophocles, would have been incredible for Anouilh's audience.[35] Moreover, Anouilh meant to secularize Antigone.

One final thought. Max Weber's cross-cultural study of normative order in society

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[33]Jean Anouilh, Antigone, in E. Bradlee Watson and Benfield Pressey, eds., Contemporary Drama: Eleven Plays (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1956), pp. 115-16. A number of artistic treatments have been done of the Antigone. One of them is the "Symphony d'Antigona" by the Mexican composer Carlos Chavez.

Shakespeare, in Henry V, made effective dramaturgical use of the "chorus" to present an epic on the otherwise confining stage of Elizabethan theater.

[34]Grene and Lattimore, Sophocles: The Complete Greek Tragedies, p. 228.

[35]In introductory comments to Anouilh's Antigone is the following: "When 'Antigone' was produced in . . . February 1944, Paris was occupied by the Nazis, and all plays had to have their approval before performance. Yet Antigone was an immediate and enduring success with the French audiences, because it seemed to blazon before Frenchmen the message of the Resistance--'Say No, even if you die.'" Watson and Pressey, Contemporary Drama: Eleven Plays, p. 113.

instrument of power for the one who controls its apparatus.[36] Machiavelli had grasped a similar insight in his ideas of statecraft. Barnard came to it in a reflective analysis of his own executive experience in bureaucratic organization. Antigone gives intimations of this same insight in the "esthetic wisdom" of Sophocles.

More to the point, Antigone is an artistic legacy from the distant past which confirms the universality of Barnard's lesson for modern-day executives everywhere: Those who are invested with authority to use the coercive capacity of bureaucracy must do so with a reflectively grounded "moral responsibility" or risk penalties for hybris. And to borrow from Dewey, "There is no better evidence of a well formed moral character than knowledge of when to raise the moral issue and when not."[37]

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[36]H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills, From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology (New York: Oxford University Press, 1946), p. 228.

[37]John Dewey, Theory of the Moral Life (New York: Holt Rinehart & Winston, Inc., 1960), p. 12.

Pai III

Dante's "De Monarchia:" An
Early Italian Renaissance Backdrop for Thinking About
Thomas Jefferson's "Wall of Separation" Metaphor

Justices of the United States Supreme Court have cited with approval Thomas Jefferson's "wall of separation" metaphor in their interpretation of the "establishment of religion" clause in the First Amendment of the U.S. Constitution. Chief Justice Morrison Waite in the 1878 Mormon polygamy case of Reynolds v. United States, and speaking for a unanimous court, pointed to the following excerpt from Jefferson's letter to the Danbury Baptists Association:

> Believing with you that religion is a matter which lies solely between man and his God, that he owes account to none other for his faith or his worship, that the legislative powers of government reach action only, and not opinions, I contemplate with sovereign reverence that act of the whole American people which declared that their legislature should "make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof" thus building a wall of separation between church and state.[1]

Chief Justice Waite's reliance on Jefferson, rather than on James Madison's notes, as to what Framers of the Constitution had in mind is altogether curious. Jefferson had written the Danbury Baptists as President of the United States, a decade after the First Amendment had been adopted. He was, moreover, not a member of the Constitutional Convention, having served his country at the time as Minister to France. Why, then, have Justices of the U.S. Supreme Court, from the time of Chief Justice Waite to now, relied so much on Jefferson's definition of the "establishment" provision in their interpretation of its intended meaning? The answer is imbedded in the experience of church-state relations during the colonial period of American history.

At the time of the Declaration of Independence, with the exceptions of Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Delaware, the British Colonies in America either had an established church or gave some privileged position to a church. In 1786, after

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[1]Saul K. Padover, The Complete Jefferson (New York: Duell, Sloan, and Pearce, 1943), pp. 518-19.

a protracted period of advocacy and debate that had been initiated by James Madison, the Virginia Assembly passed Bill Number 82, "For Establishing Religious Freedom," which Thomas Jefferson had introduced seven years earlier and which historians hold to be a precursor of the "establishment" provision in the First Amendment. In the ruminations of his later years, Jefferson regarded the Virginia Statute of Religious Liberty as one of his three great contributions to social democracy.[2]

So while it is indeed of record that Thomas Jefferson was out of the country during the summer of 1789, and had not been present at the final hammering out of the Constitution, his ideas nonetheless seem to have had a controlling influence in the Constitutional Convention on the issue of church-state separation. Chief Justice Earl Warren held to just this conclusion when he stated the First Amendment "underwrote the admonition of Thomas Jefferson that there should be a wall of separation between church and state." And Justice Hugo Black, speaking for the majority Court in the 1947 case of Everson v. Board of Education, wrote:

> The "establishment of religion" clause of the First Amendment means at least this: Neither a state nor the Federal Government can set up a church. Neither can pass laws which aid one religion over another . . . . In the words of Thomas Jefferson, the clause against establishment of religion by law was

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[2]The other two were his authorship of the Declaration of Independence and the founding of the University of Virginia.

In a more comprehensive account of "separation" ideas which have preceded the establishment clause of the First Amendment, one has to include Roger Williams' pamphlet, The Bloudy Tenet of Persecution for cause of Conscience, discussed between Truth and Peace, written in the seventeenth century.

The colonial record in America shows that Old World patterns of church-state union were transplanted to the New World and were given standing in colonial charters. The banishment of Roger Williams from the Massachusetts Bay Colony for religious dissent, and the trial of Anne Hutchinson by the same colony, are the more spectacular instances of religious intolerance which must have been known to Jefferson and to Framers of the Constitution.

In the Bloudy Tenet, Williams invoked the duality of Tables in the Decalogue to argue for the separation of church and state. It was the business of civil magistrates, Williams held, to enforce the injunctions of the second Table of the Decalogue, which concerned one's relations with others; whereas the punishment of offenses against the first Table, governing one's relations with God, was not within the proper sphere of secular authority.

For a most comprehensive account of the Jefferson-Madison collaboration in the Virginia Assembly for religious freedom, see William Lee Miller, The First Liberty: Religion and the American Republic (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1968).

intended to erect "a wall of separation between church and state."[3]

Jefferson's collected correspondence shows him to have been continuously in touch with James Madison and others in the Constitutional Convention to develop a strategy for obtaining a Bill of Rights for the Constitution. But quite apart from the Jeffersonian influence, and again in the historical context, it is germane to the narrative that by the time Framers of the Constitution had gotten around in 1789 to formulating in sixteen words the prescriptive relation between church and state for the new-found Republic, they had in their cognitive apparatus not only Jefferson's thought to guide their action but also the history of earlier church-state struggles. Having been intellectual beneficiaries of eighteenth-century Enlightenment, they knew well from the works of Voltaire, Locke, and others of the societal instability which had followed from episodic contests between ecclesiastic and secular authority since the last Roman Emperor, Romulus Augustulus, laid down his scepter in 476.

John Locke, whose natural law philosophy had influenced profoundly the political thought of the Founding Fathers, and who held that proper governmental activity be limited to the things of "this world," reinforced the intellectual elite of the Revolutionary Generation in holding to a mutual independence for church and government. And the issue had been joined also at the level of popular culture. The grotesque "Vicar of Bray" is representative.

The "Vicar of Bray,"[4] a ballad of unknown authorship, titillated larger society in

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[3]Everson v. Board of Education, 330 U. S. 1. In the Everson case a sharply divided Court, 5-4 held that a state could reimburse parents for the expense of transporting their children to and from parochial schools without violating the First Amendment. Because the majority considered Everson a borderline case, Justice Black, in speaking for the majority, took the additional step of reaffirming Jefferson's position as to the Framers' intent. One year later, 1948, in the case of McCollum v. Board of Education, the court ruled 8-1 for the plaintiff and again invoked Jefferson's "wall of separation" metaphor.

It is an irony of history that Jefferson, in his later years, grew fearful of judicial encroachment by the very Federal Judiciary which, after his time, turned to his "wall of separation" metaphor for interpretations of the "establishment" provision in the First Amendment.

[4]The Vicar of Bray," in Louis Kronenberger, ed., An Anthology of Light Verse (New York: The Modern Library, 1935), p. 54. Kronenberger arranged his Anthology in a chronological order. Following an arrangement by periods, he placed the first appearance of the "Vicar of Bray" in Great Britain sometime between the birth of Oliver Goldsmith in 1728 and the death of Alexander Pope in 1744. It was about this time also when the satirical ballad, written in clever verse, came into popular literary

both Great Britain and its American Colonies with the following burlesqued instruction on the subject of church-state relations:

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fashion in Great Britain and its American Colonies for the making of a public statement about a contemporary political or social issue.

John Trumbull, of the Connecticut Trumbulls, was one of the more prominent academic verse writers in the Colonies prior to the De laration of Independence.

The ballad itself provides in the concluding verse a clue as to the approximate period of its composition. The first of the five Hanovarian kings of Great Britain, George I, ascended to the British throne in 1714 and, given the known free and voluminous flow of literary works from Britain to its American colonies during the eighteenth-century, a gem of satirical verse such as "The Vicar of Bray" may be assumed to have reached the American colonies soon after its appearance in Britain. For more on the satirical ballad, see Vernon Louis Parrington, Main Currents in American Thought, 3 volumes (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1930), chapter V.

The Vicar of Bray

1

In good King Charles's golden days,
  When loyalty no harm meant,
A zealous High-Churchman I was,
  And so I got preferment;
To teach my flock I never missed--
  Kings are by God appointed,
And damned are those who do resist
  Or touch the Lord's anointed.
      And this is law, I will maintain,
        Until my dying day, Sir,
      That whatsoever king shall reign,
        I'll be the Vicar of Bray, Sir.

2

When royal James obtained the crown,
  And Popery came in fashion,
The penal laws I hooted down,
  And read the declaration:
The Church of Rome I found would fit
  Full well my constitution,
And had become a Jesuit--
  But for the Revolution.
      And this is law, I will maintain,
        Until my dying day, Sir,
      That whatsoever king shall reign,
        I'll be the Vicar of Bray, Sir.

3

When William was our king declared
  To ease the nation's grievance,
With this new wind about I steered,
  And swore to him allegiance:
Old principles I did revoke,
  Set conscience at a distance;
Passive obedience was a joke,
  A jest was non-resistance.
      And this is law, I will maintain,
        Until my dying day, Sir,
      That whatsoever king shall reign,
        I'll be the Vicar of Bray, Sir.

4

When gracious An   ecame our queen,
  The Church of E. ,land's glory,
Another face of things was seen--
  And I became a Tory;
Occasional Conformists base,
  I scorned their moderation,
And thought the church in danger was
  By such prevarication.
      And this is law, I will maintain,
        Until my dying day, Sir,
      That whatsoever king shall reign,
        I'll be the Vicar of Bray, Sir.

5

When George in pudding-time came
o'er,
  And moderate men looked big, Sir,
I turned a cat-in-pan once more--
  And so became a Whig, Sir:
And this preferment I procured,
  from our new faith's defender,
And almost every day abjured
  The Pope and the Pretender.
      And this is law, I will maintain,
        Until my dying day, Sir,
      That whatsoever king shall reign,
        I'll be the Vicar of Bray, Sir.

6

The illustrious house of Hanover,
  And Protestant succession,
To these I do allegiance swear--
  While they can keep possession:
For in my faith and loyalty
  I never more will falter,
And George my lawful king shall be
  Until the times do alter.
      And this is law, I will maintain,
        Until my dying day, Sir,
      That whatsoever king shall reign,
        I'll be the Vicar of Bray, Sir.

2

Dante's Imprint

Just as Jefferson has left his imprint on the church-state issue with the "wall of separation" metaphor, so has Dante Alighieri, 1265-1321, some five-hundred years earlier with the "two swords" metaphor.[5] Dante, unlike Jefferson, was ..o advocate of either social or political democracy. He was an exiled Florentine monarchist and to his last a confessing Catholic. Nevertheless, and althoug'.. they came to the church-state issue with divergent philosophical orientations, both Jefferson and Dante are linked in the history of ideas to the core issue of church-state relations.[6] Historical perspective enlightens this otherwise uriikely Jefferson-Dante connection.

The use of religion to adv .nce the ends of statecraft was an unchallenged convention in the anc ent world. As Leo Pfeffer has put it in his definitive work on church and state:

> The ancient kings used religion as an engine to further the purposes of state: Eannatum of Lagas (c. 2800 B.C.) made secure his conquest of Kis by declaring himself the "beloved spouse" of the highly venerated goddess of that community. Hammurabi unified Mesopotamia and established Babylon as its capital by elevating its city-god to a position of primacy over the previous

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[5]Dante, accordi g to some Renaissance scholars, marks the intellectual end of medievalism and tne beginning of the Itauan Renaissance. Such scholars cite in support Dante's pursuit of personal fame; a characteristic alien to the medieval temperament, his preoccupation with intellectual legacies for posterity, and advocacy of the Italian vernacular for belles-lettres. See his treatise, in Latin, De Vulgari Eloquentia ("About the Vernacular").

Dante, wrote one Renaissance scholar, ". . . was a unique phenomenon in either the Middle Ages or the Renaissance. Still, his towering figure seems to mark more clearly than any other the vague boundary line uetween Medieval and Renaissance culture." Wallace K. Ferguson, The Renaissance (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1945), p. 73. For a comprehensive work on the Italian Renaissance, and especially his reference to Dante, see Jacob Burckhardt, The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy, translated by S. G. C. Middlemore (New York: Oxford University Press, 1945), p. 49.

[6]Central to the philosophic thought of both Dante and Jefferson was the idea of "natural law," whose original source was Aristotle. However, whereas Dante came to natural law philosophy by way of Thomas Aquinas, Jefferson came to it by way of John Locke.

reigning gods.[7]

By the time of Dante, the convention of intermingling temporal and spiritual affairs had been challenged by others. Dante, however, capsulated in his challenge the basic ideas in all of them. His methodological apparatuses were the syllogism, historiography, and theological disputation.

The challenge itself Dante put forward in a lengthy treatise of three "books," written in Latin probably between 1310-1313, and gave it the title of De Monarchia.[8] It is one of the most informative literary legacies of the recurrent frictions between church and state in the Holy Roman Empire.[9]

Active in Florentine politics, and a leader of the political party--Ghibelline-- opposed to the extension of papal domination to Florence, Dante had his public career cut short by the success of Pope Boniface VIII in extending his secular authority to that city.[10] Sentenced to exile, Dante passed the rest of his life away from his native city and died in Ravenna. There, he formed a deep disdain for the factionalism that marked Florentine politics. The De Monarchia was Dante's attempt to bring peace into

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[7]Leo Pfeffer, Church, State, and Freedom (Boston: The Beacon Press, 1953), p. 5.

[8]There have been several English translations of De Monarchia. The one used here is by P. H. Wicksteed. In the "Appendix," Wicksteed provides the following helpful background note for the work:

"Boccaccio, in his Life of Dante, after giving some account of the Comedy, and why it was written in the vernacular, continues, "In like manner this excellent author, on the coming of the Emperor Henry VII, made a book in Latin prose, called Monarchia, which is divided into three books after the three points which he therein determines. In the first he proves by logical disputation, that for the well-being of the world the empire is a necessity . . . . In the second he shows by historical documents, that Rome attained to the imperial title by right . . . . In the third, he proves, by theological arguments, that the authority of the empire proceeds direct from God, and not through the mediation of any vicar of his, as it seems the clergy would have it." P. H. Wicksteed, A Translation of the Latin Works of Dante, The Temple Classics (London: Aldine House, 1929), p. 281.

[9]One other political writer of Dante's period, Marsilio of Padua, also has left for posterity a major literary work related to the struggles between papal authority and secular rulers. Marsilio's Defensor Pacis, completed in 1324, is a remarkable work of original ideas in political thinking and, as with De Monarchia, its philosophical basis was derived from Aristotle.

[10]Pope Boniface VIII stated his legitimation for the extension of secular authority in a papal bull, Unam Sanctum of 1302, and, although Dante does not and could not so state, De Monarchia was an intended reply to Unam Sanctum.

the temporal order by establishing a united Christendom under a single temporal monarch.

The basic argument in the De Monarchia rests upon the traditional doctrine of the "two swords" which, to add historical irony, had been first enunciated by Pope Gelasius I at the end of the fifth century. Apologists for both sides of the church-state issue turned to this doctrine during the eleventh century in the conflict between Pope Gregory VII and Emperor Henry IV over the role of secular authority in the appointment of ecclesiastical officials. The Gelasian doctrine invoked St. Augustine's earlier distinction between communities concerned with spiritual salvation and those concerned with temporal affairs. The doctrine of the "two swords" held to a dual sovereignty in society: the sacerdotium and imperium. Each of these is separate from the other, representing the two substances of which humankind was composed; spiritual and corporeal.

For Dante, the argument in support of an independent secular governance rested on the principle implicit in the metaphor of the "two swords:" Imperial power came directly from God, rather than through any intermediary, such as the Pope, and it is in God alone, and not in any earth-based institution, that the spiritual and secular powers are united.

Dante's argument did not prevail, but his treatise does stand to this day as a literary landmark in a long controversy. Dante adopted the Aristotelian view of society as the fulfillment of human nature and reason.[11] The Aristotelian concern with the rational in human experience is incorporated by Dante into the structure of a theology in which the flesh and the spirit both find their end in God.

In the first "book" of De Monarchia, Dante holds the Empire supreme over all other communities. It is the indispensable condition of peace, world-wide unity, and the fulfillment of rational purpose. The world needs an independent monarchy in order to be perfect according to God's will. Throughout, there are parallel appeals to reason and to faith.

In the second "book" of De Monarchia, Dante reformulates an old argument. The Empire is by right independent because it is heir to the universal authority once exercised by the Romans. Imperial Rome seemed to Dante to be a special instrument of God in the arrangement of temporal affairs.

The last "book" of De Monarchia is devoted to relevant passages in the Bible and

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[11]He frequently refers to Aristotle in De Monarchia as "the Philosopher."

to historical events. The "Donation of Constantine" is introduced to refute the argument that temporal power should be subordinate to the spiritual by virtue of an irrevocable grant from Roman Emperor Constantine I to the Pope. Constantine, upon turning Christian in the fourth century, was purported to have offered the Pope imperial honors, including dominion over Italy. Dante, following the doctrine of "two swords," demonstrates by logical argument that the grant was invalid in the first instance.[12]

Because Dante's period also marked the beginning when Christian Europe was breaking up into a number of competing national states, De Monarchia is, as Lord James Bryce has observed in his Holy Roman Empire, more like an epitaph of an anachronism. Dante's wish for an imperial authority was by his time already a forlorn hope. Indeed, the Holy Roman Empire itself, in which Dante saw the ideal model for secular governance, had wielded power more as a tradition than as a political actuality. And the universal peace for which Dante had hoped seems in retrospect to have been no more than a nostalgic idealization of the Pax Romana.

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"De Monarchia" as an Intellectual Legacy

De Monarchia, as had been noted earlier, is attractive to modern-day sensibilities more as literature in the history of ideas than as political theory. Dante's idea of a society in which church and state are mutually independent anticipated a later time when, as in the Constitution of the United States, the idea was to become an integral part of organic law. More, as a work of the mind and as an early bud of the Italian Renaissance, De Monarchia has fulfilled Dante's hope of leaving behind an intellectual legacy "to the public good." De Monarchia begins with the following statement by Dante:

> It would seem that all men on whom the Higher Nature has stamped the love of truth must make it their chief concern, like as they have been enriched by the toil of those who have gone before, so themselves in like

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[12]The document was so ambiguously worded that later Popes claimed all of Western Europe as their proper share. "The Donation of Constantine" was finally proved to be a forgery in the fifteenth century by the pioneer textual criticism of Lorenzo Valla.

manner to toil in advance for those that shall be hereafter, that posterity may have of them whereby to be enriched.

For he who, himself imbued with public teachings, yet cares not to contribute aught to the public good, may be well assured that he has fallen far from duty; for he is not "a tree by the streams of waters, bearing his fruit in due season," but rather a devouring whirlpool, ever sucking in, and never pouring back what it has swallowed. Wherefore, often pondering these things with myself, lest I should one day be convicted of the charge of the buried talent, I long not only to burgeon, but also to bear fruit for the public advantage, and to set forth truths unattempted by others.[13]

No straight line of influence can be traced from the time of De Monarchia to the "establishment of religion" clause of the First Amendment. Indeed, precious few instances of straight-line linkages between ideas separated by centuries are to be found in intellectual histories. There is, moreover, no evidence even that Jefferson knew of Dante's De Monarchia; although, as Vernon Louis Parrington suggests in the following statement, he might well have:

From the distinguished group of contemporary political thinkers Jefferson emerges as a preeminent intellectual, widely read, familiar with ideas, at home in the field of speculation, a critical observer of men and manners. All his life he was a student, and his devotion to his books, running often to fifteen hours a day, recalls the heroic zeal of Puritan scholars. He was trained in the law, but he was too much the intellectual, too curious about all sorts of things to remain a lawyer. For such a man the appeal of political speculation was irresistible, and early in life he began a wide reading in the political classics that far outweighed Coke and Blackstone in creative influence on his mind.[14]

In the end, whether Jefferson was familiar with Dante's De Monarchia is not as important as the light of history it sheds on the issue of church-state relations. Public school organization has been, and most likely will continue to be, at the center of church-state issues before the United States Supreme Court. Any enlightenment from the past which is capable of providing enlarged insight into the "establishment of religion" clause is, therefore, deserving of attention.[15]

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[13]Wicksteed, The Latin Works of Dante, p. 127.

[14]Parrington, Main Currents in American Thought, p. 343.

[15]Supreme court decisions relating to church-state issues in education: Pierce v. Society of Sisters (1925), Everson v. Board of Education (1947), McCollum V. Board of Education (1948), Zorach v. Clauson (1952), Engel v. Vitale (1962), Board of Education v. Allen (1968), Lemon v. Kurtzman (1970), Early v. DiCenso (1970), Wisconsin V. Yoder (1972), P. E. A. R. L. v. Nyquist (1973), Mueller v. Allen (1983).

Students of school law, immersed in litigious legal briefs which argue the intended meaning of the "establishment of religion" clause of the First Amendment, will find in the _De Monarchia_ a facilitating fourteenth-century backdrop for thinking about Jefferson's "wall of separation" metaphor. _De Monarchia_, if nothing more, shows the church-state issue working its will over long stretches of time. In the spirit of Voltaire's attitude toward the past, _De Monarchia_ should be read today "not for the sake of the past but for the sake of the present."[16]

For good overviews of these cases in non-specialized literature, see R. Laurence Siegel, "Church-State Separation and Public Schools," _Progressive Education_ 26 (February 1949) and David Tavel, _Church-State Issues in Education_, Phi Delta Kappan Fastback Series no. 123 (Bloomington: Phi Delta Kappan, 1979).

[16]Ernst Cassirer is quoted by Alexander Rüstow in the observation: "When Voltaire turns to the past, he does so not for the sake of the past but for the sake of the present. History for him is not an end but a means; it is an instrument for self-education of the human mind." See Alexander Rüstow, _Freedom and Domination: A Historical Critique of Civilization_, translated by Salvator Attanasio (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), p. 331.

Part IV

Art and Artists: Images and
Image-makers of a "Zeitgeist"

Zeitgeist is a borrowed expression one encounters from time to time in the social science literature and for which there is no one-word equivalent in English. Its origin is in the philosophical lexicon of German Idealism. A literal translation of Zeitgeist would be "time spirit," but "enveloping cultural spirit of a period" would be closer to its intended meaning.

More in keeping with its philosophical origin, the meaning of Zeitgeist should be taken as a concept. It evolved from the metaphysical in Hegelian philosophy and, as a concept, its most usual setting has been nineteenth-century German Geisteswissenschaften; that is, scientific studies of culture. It belongs to that collection of pithy concepts which, according to Hans-Georg Gadamer, are used "automatically" and "contain a wealth of history."[1]

Geisteswissenschaft abstracts from the manifold details of human experience the metaphysical qualities of ideas and social conventions which drive the dominant cultural orientation of a given historical period: its Zeitgeist. These metaphysical qualities in Geisteswissenschaft, in short, inform a Zeitgeist and its impact on the social environment.

To know a Zeitgeist as a factual entity; that is, as a controlling influence in the human situation, has to come about through imagistic creations of meaning. A Zeitgeist is after all ineffable, constituted as it is of "spirit." Its meaning, therefore, has to be articulated through the expressive symbolism of artistic talent. F. S. C.

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[1]Hans-Georg Gadamer, Truth and Method (New York: Continuum, 1975), p. ii. Gadamer's Truth and Method deals with philosophical hermeneutics and, in Part I, with Geisteswissenschaft, whose plural form is Geisteswissenschaften.

Those who might want more on Gadamer's intellectual orientation will find it in Hans-Georg Gadamer, Reason in the Age of Science, translated by Frederick G. Lawrence (Boston: MIT Pres, 1983).

Northrop, in his discourse on the unity of the sciences and the humanities, thinks of this aspect of human experience as knowing "the aesthetic component of reality." He illustrates:

> The sunset in all its indescribable qualitative immediacy which is pure fact cannot be described by either the propositions of the natural history scientist or the equations of the theoretical physicist with his deductively formulated theory. In short, the sunset in the sense of the pure fact which is immediately apprehended cannot be said; it can only be shown. And the instrument for showing pure fact is not science but impressionistic art.[2]

Although Geisteswissenschaft did not develop in American social science as a discrete discipline, it eventually did exert an intellectual influence on historical writing in the United States. In Germany, where Geisteswissenschaft did develop as a discrete social science, many works of Geistessgeschichte--cultural history--were produced during the second-half of the nineteenth century. In the United States, where the innate cultural tilt is to the strains of Aristotelian rationalism in natural law philosophy, the positivistic historiography of Leopold von Ranke was more congenial.[3]

Vernon Louis Parrington's sweeping Main Currents in American Thought, published in 1927, was the first major work of scholarship in the United States to use a Geisteswissenschaft methodology. Parrington did not abandon altogether canons of objective history. He followed conventions of historical writing as before, but he also included an innovative use of literary works as a primary source in the writing of history.

Parrington used American literature from 1620 to 1920, not as an editor might with explanatory commentaries, but as an analyst and interpreter of a civilization bent on the creation of new meaning. His documentary approach qualified in American scholarship the work of period literature as a legitimate historical datum. More, he

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[2]Northrop, The Logic of the Science and the Humanities, p. 46. See also Gadamer's Truth and Method for a similar statement, pp. 65-6.

[3]Leopold von Ranke, 1795-1886, is acknowledged as founder of the German School of Objective History. Of his many works, some 54 volumes, perhaps the best known is The History of the Roman Republic.

Although Geisteswissenschaft did not develop in the United States as a discrete social science, its importance for the study of society as a social system was affirmed by Talcott Parsons in his Theory of Action. Parsonian theory, as meta theory, is a synthesis of core concepts in Utilitarianism, Positivism, and Idealism. For an elaboration of this, see Edward C. Devereux, Jr., "Parsons' Sociological Theory," in Max Black, ed., The Social Theories of Talcott Parsons (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1962).

opened new vistas of thought for studies of the American mind and, of equal significance, he established intellectual history as a _genre_ in American _belles-lettres_.

There is no direct evidence in _Main Currents in American Thought_ that Parrington consciously embraced the modalities of _Geisteswissenschaft_. More germane is the fact that, by the time Parrington had begun work on his own classic-to-be, there already were available renowned models of like writing in European art-historical scholarship. Parrington had used period literature as an historical document in exactly the same way as certain European historians had used the period art object as an historical document.

<div align="center">2</div>

The Art Object as an Historic Record

Jacob Burckhardt, a nineteenth-century Swiss historian at Basel University, was the first to include in disciplined scholarship works of art as a usable record of the past.[4] His _Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy_, first published in 1860, covers a period from the birth of Dante in 1265 to the death of Michelangelo in 1564. Life and manners during these three centuries are depicted in a synthesis of mosaic treatments. Burckhardt had looked to the art of Renaissance Italy for a visually transmitted _Zeitgeist_ ". . . of a civilization which is the mother of our own."[5] Moreover, by looking for what Emile Durkheim has called "social facts" in art objects, Burckhardt

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[4]Georgio Vasari, an Italian artist and pupil of Michelangelo, in his _Lives of the Painters_, also included works of art in biographical sketches of such as Raphael, Michelangelo, and Leonard da Vinci. Vasari's _Lives_, however, is flawed by gross inaccuracies and is read today more for entertainment and for Renaissance technical methods than as history.

[5]Burckhardt, _The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy_, p. 1.

Historian Wallace Ferguson has confirmed the sharpness of Burckhardt's synthesis some ninety years later in the observation that Burckhardt's ". . . picture of the Renaissance leaves a vivid impression of rampant individualism, creative energy and moral chaos, with the supernatural sanctions and Christian traditions of the Middle Ages giving way to something more like the ancient pre-Christian ways of thought." Wallace K. Ferguson, _The Renaissance_, p. 4.

laid a foundation for future scholarship in the social history of art.[6]

His successor at Basel University, Heinrich Wölfflin, laid still another foundation. Whereas Burckhardt had looked to art objects for aesthetic indicators of social life in Renaissance Italy, Wölfflin saw in the work of art a communication whose style could be subjected to disciplined analysis for hidden historical information. Wölfflin's innovative methodology also produced a monumental interpretive work on the art of Renaissance Italy and, at the same time, it laid a foundation for <u>formal style analysis</u> in art-historical scholarship.[7]

Wölfflin most especially stressed the communicative significance of style in a work of art. Style for Wölfflin was a means of communication, a visual language within which statements are organized in the manner of a grammar. And style, in the visual language of art, can be analyzed in three categories: individual style, national style, and period style.[8] These styles are manifestations respectively of an artist's individual temperament, cultural inclinations of a society's value system, and a given period's <u>Zeitgeist</u>.

Knowing how to read a language, however, is not enough; to understand the meaning of its content requires more of linguistic analysis. Wölfflin's pioneer work in formal style analysis did provide art-historical scholarship the methodological tool with which to interpret formal conventions in art: its grammatical constructs. But language is at once formal and expressive. Language contains within the style of its formal grammar varieties of expression based in allegory, metaphor, and like symbolism. So it is also with the visual language of art. In order to apprehend its meaning one has to penetrate, and have interpretations of, both its symbolic and formal conventions. This exactly is the stuff of art history.

By mid-twentieth century, Wölfflin's eminence in art-historical scholarship, in the judgment of Erwin Panofsky, was matched by a near dozen German-grounded art historians ". . . whose names have never lost their magic." Given Panofsky's own

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[6]For more on Burckhardt's pioneer work in art history, see Alfred Von Martin, <u>Sociology of the Renaissance</u>, translated by W. L. Luetkens (London: Keagan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., 1945).

[7]Heinrich Wölfflin, <u>Classic Art: An Introduction to the Italian Renaissance</u>, translated by Peter and Linda Murray (New York: Phaidon Publishers, 1952).

[8]Heinrich Wölfflin, <u>Principles of Art History: The Problem of the Development of Style in Later Art</u>, translated by M. D. Hattinger (New York: Dover Publication, 1932), p. 10.

standing in art history, he rightly could have included himself in the group of art historians "whose names have never lost their magic."[9] But that Panofsky could not do for himself without bruising academic decorum, now that he is no more, posterity has done for him.

Panofsky came to the United States in 1931 from Hamburg, where he was Professor of Art History, by invitation of New York University. He taught alternate semesters of art history in Hamburg and New York between 1931 and 1933. After 1933, he joined the regular faculty of New York University. There, with other refugee scholars, he founded its Institute of Fine Arts. Princeton University invited him, 1935, to its newly-constituted humanistic faculty in the Institute for Advanced Study and there he remained permanently.

Panofsky's point of departure in art-historical scholarship was the same as that of Burckhardt and Wölfflin: an art object is a valid historical document whose pertinence can be established by disciplined analysis. Each of them, however, developed a distinctive method of analysis because each had looked for different communicative meaning.

Burckhardt had searched for social facts in visual depictions of a Renaissance civilization. Wölfflin, on the other hand, looked for a grammar in works of art by means of formal style analysis. Panofsky acknowledged the instrumental value for art-historical scholarship of both methodologies and then enhanced them by an elaborate classification system of his own. He called his method Iconographic Analysis. Art historians everywhere now use it for decoding information which has been transmitted through the visual language of art.

An artist, of course, creates a work of art to be experienced aesthetically by its beholder. But consciously or subconsciously, following Panofsky, artists encode othe meanings in the aesthetic message which a beholder is capable of knowing ". . . by re-

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[9]These men of eminence in art-historical scholarship held university art history chairs in Germany, Austria, and Switzerland. Their names are given in Erwin Panofsky, Meaning in the Visual Arts: Papers in and on Art History (New York: Doubleday and Co., 1955), p. 323.

It should be further noted that, although the art historians in Panofsky's reference now are identified with diverse schools of art-historical methodology, they did hold in common one intellectual objective in the writing of art history: Kunstgeschichte als Geistesgeschichte; that is, art history as the spiritual history of a culture.

creating the work of art according to the 'intention' of its maker."[10]   Hence, apart from its aesthetic qualities, an art object is held by Panofsky to contain differential meaning which has been encoded in a visual language whose grammar--this is Wölfflin's formal style analysis--first has to be learned, and then, as a next step, the intent of its symbolism has to be deduced by iconographic analysis.

"Iconography," by Panofsky's definition, "is that branch of the history of art which concerns itself with the subject matter or meaning of works of art, as opposed to their form."[11]   Panofsky's definition distinguishes with the emphasis that it does between "subject matter" and "form" because each conveys to the beholder a discrete type of information.   "Form" communicates primary data of stylistic convention in the art compositions of a period, whereas "subject matter" communicates ". . . the world of specific themes or concepts manifested in images, stories and allegories."[12] Iconographic analysis, in short, is a tool with which to reveal the hidden meaning of "subject matter" in art.[13]

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[10]Panofsky, Meaning in the Visual Arts, p. 15.   "We do not need very much expertise in the history of art," writes William Barrett, "to be able to situate a given work in its approximate historical period.   Somehow the individual work carries the look of its time about it.   It bears all the pressures of its period, however individual and rebellious the artist may have wished to be.   And perhaps the more he seeks to escape them, the more crudely his work will bear the historic marks of his period." William Barrett, "Philosophy & the Disappearing Self," Commentary 78 (September 1984), p. 39.

[11]Panofsky, Meaning in the Visual Arts, p. 26.

[12]Ibid., p. 29.

[13]A closer look at Panofsky's iconographic analysis shows it to be in a comfortable congruence with the more familiar field of communication analysis as it is encountered in the literature of Educational Administration. Harold D. Lasswell's model for communication analysis is a convenient case in point. The skeletal structure of Lasswell's model, it will be recalled, consists of five questions: Who? Says what? In which channel? To whom? With what effect? Both Lasswell and Panofsky have as their objective the analysis of an act of communication for what its content reveals and means. Whereas Lasswell's act of communication is in spoken or written language, Panofsky's is in the symbolization language of the spacial arts: painting, sculpture, architecture, and the like. However, it is quite clear in Panofsky's detailed explanation of iconographic analysis that he and Lasswell had in mind similar touchstone questions in their respective guides to analysis.

It is also useful o recall at this juncture that the interview phase of the Hawthorne Studies had opened a fresh source of information when investigators began to

Art history, and its various forms of scholarship, is today a mature humanistic discipline largely because its conceptual and methodological bedrock has been formed out of the collective scholarship of Burckhardt, Wölfflin, and Panofsky. It is the pathway to a life-time enjoyment of art and to the aesthetic illumination of social facts which artists have captured in expressive symbolization. Each of these has use value for incumbents of administrative roles.

3

Imaginative Beholding

An assessment of use value for administration in art-historical scholarship has to begin with an appreciation of the artist's radar-like gift for detecting, and then communicating aesthetically, incipient Zeitgeist changes. Wölfflin thought of this gift as "imaginative beholding."[14] Donald Weismann, in his introduction to art analysis, elaborates further:

> Like all human beings, artists are born, live out their lives, and die. They experience joy, boredom, ecstasy, terror, despair, frustration, and fulfillment not totally unlike ours. The telling difference between our experience and the experience of a Rembrandt, a Goya, a Cézanne, or a Picasso is not so much in kind as in how its quality and intensity are faced, felt, acted upon, contemplated, and finally manifested in a work of art.[15]

All of which means to say that neither an artist's aesthetic impulse nor the work

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discriminate in content analysis between what workers revealed and what they meant in a communication.

For Panofsky's detailed explanation of iconographic analysis see "Iconography and Iconology: An Introduction to the Study of Renaissance Art," in Panofsky, Meaning in the Visual Arts, pp. 26-54.

[14]Wölfflin uses the expression "imaginative beholding" to mean an artist's "mode of vision" at a given historical period. See "Preface to the Sixth Edition" and "Introduction" in Wolfflin, Principles of Art History.

[15]Donald L. Weismann, The Visual Arts as Human Experience (Engelwood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1970), pp.3-4. For still more on the artist's radar-like sensitivity, and also in a superbly composed introductory work, see "From the Artist to His Audience," Chapter 10, in Reid Hastie and Christian Schmidt, Encounter With Art (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1969).

of art is entirely a world unto itself. The ultimate product of "imaginative beholding"--the finished work of art--is a projected image of human experience. The image has been made vital and relevant through the complex integration of many aspects of experience: through imagination, feeling, contemplation, intellect, and so forth. The artist's task is to organize the materials of medium and experience into expressive forms. And when this task is done by a Raphael or a Picasso through design, symbolization, and color, it is for the informed beholder a thing of beauty.

The enjoyment of art for what it conveys of the beautiful in human experience requires no other justification. However, informed art appreciation has to be assessed also for its value as an instrument of periodic self-renewal in the pressure-cooker life of administrative practice.

Inescapable role-related obligations to such tasks as strategic planning, fiduciary management, and contract negotiations tend to turn administrators into prisoners of the practical--some would say "functional"--mind set. Three types of inter-related occupational hazards lie hidden in such a mind set: 1) entrapment in the egocentric predicament; an inability to see the world except through one's own eyes; 2) the acquisition of a trained incapacity for empathy; a skill which enables one to comprehend what others feel under stress and 3) the all too familiar spiritual "burn-out" in the administrative role.

F. S. C. Northrop, in an incisive commentary on the enjoyment of art as an instrument of self-renewal has put it this way:

> One of the things which makes our lives drab and empty and which leaves us, at the end of the day, fatigued and deflated spiritually is the pressure of the taxing, practical, utilitarian concern with common-sense objects. If art is to release us from these postulated things and bring us back to the ineffable beauty and richness of the aesthetic component of reality in its immediacy, it must sever its connections with these common-sense entities.[16]

Great artists are quick to see "the ineffable beauty and richness of the aesthetic component of reality in its immediacy." They free themselves from the morass of "common-sense entities" to seek a higher level of individual sensibility and perception. "Works of art," wrote John Dewey, "are . . . celebrations, recognized as such, of the

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[16]Northrop, The Logic of the Science and the Humanities, p. 170. Northrop's idea "of the aesthetic component of reality in its immediacy" leads to gainful speculation in the domain of the sociology of knowledge and a good literary preparation for such an exercise of the mind is Janet Wolff, Aesthetics and the Sociology of Art (Winchester: Allen and Unwin, 1983).

things of ordinary experience."[17] It is exactly this gift for "imaginative beholding" of the immediate in "ordinary experience" that qualifies artists as reliable image-makers of a Zeitgeist. Iconographic references to several masterpieces in art will illustrate both Northrop's and Dewey's meaning.

Jan Van Eyck had painted the portrait of Giovanni Arnolfini and his wife in 1434 and it is now in the permanent collection of the National Gallery in London. A visual encounter with the Arnolfini portrait discloses the two standing subjects, her right hand in Arnolfini's left and his right hand raised as in the affirmation of a vow. They are surrounded by the immediate bedroom details of a fifteenth-century middle class house in Bruges. Depicted with a heightened realism in portraiture painting which Van Eyck had perfected are slippers, a bed, a metal chandelier, a small furry dog positioned in front of the standing figures, fruit on a window-sill, a rosary on the wall, and a mirror reflection of the artist's physical presence. Above the mirror is written in Latin Johannes de eyck fuit hic--"Jan Van Eyck was present."[18]

Van Eyck's Arnolfini portrait is a feast for the eyes. That the artist had captured the beauty "of reality in its immediacy" is confirmed on a first encounter with the portrait. With the guidance of iconographic analysis, however, its aesthetic enjoyment is increased considerably. It turns out upon an analysis of its symbolic content--Panofsky's "subject matter"--that the Arnolfini portrait also is a marriage contract.

Everything is there to formalize a fifteenth-century betrothal: the pledge of fidelity is symbolized by the small dog, a promise of fecundity is symbolized by a bed and fruit on the window-sill, church sanction is symbolized by the rosary, and the artist himself is witness--"Jan Van Eyck was present."[19] However, Van Eyck is more than a witness to the "ordinary experience" of a betrothal. His "imaginative beholding" also makes him an eyewitness to the changing social environment of his time.

That the Italian Giovanni Arnolfini should have allowed himself and his wife to be posed in the bedroom of his house is by itself a revealing Zeitgeist statement. A residue of the asceticism and world-to-come preoccupation of the Middle Ages lingered

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[17]John Dewey, Art as Experience (New York: Capricorn Books, 1958), p. 11.

[18]Jan Van Eyck was one of the first to use a resin, or an oil medium, in order to maximize realism through spacial depth. For more on the Arnolfini portrait, and on Van Eyck's "realism," see E. H. Gombrich, The Story of Art (London: Phaidon Press Ltd., 1972), chapter 12, "The Conquest of Reality."

[19]Before the Council of Trent, opened in 1545 and closed in 1563, a priest was not required to solemnize a Catholic marriage.

on in early fifteenth-century European society. Many artists of Van Eyck's time, albeit in a changing style and form, still took for their subject matter biblical settings and characters. But Arnolfini was the agent-banker in Bruges of Cosimo de' Medici, a lavish patron of the arts and first Medici ruler of Florence, and, like his Medici principal, Arnolfini reflected the growing desire of his time for personal prestige, social status, individualism, and even posthumous fame.

Artist and subject, one a founding figure of the Flemish Renaissance in painting and the other nurtured by the social environment of a flowering Italian Renaissance, resonated to an incipient secularism which soon was to transform the Zeitgeist of Western European society. It would have been unthinkable for an artist of the Middle Ages to sign a finished canvas with the boldness and compositional cunning of a Jan Van Eyck.

Another landmark work of art, and closer to the twentieth century, is Georges Seurat's "Un Dimanche d'été à la Grande Jatte," or just "la Grande Jatte," in the permanent collection of the Chicago Art Institute. Seurat exhibited his "la Grande Jatte" for the first time in 1886 at the Rue des Tuileries, where two hundred works were shown of artists who had been refused by the established art galleries of Paris.[20]

Seurat had developed a style of painting in dots of pure color; a technique called pointillism today and which was a refinement on the use of impressionistic broken color by his contemporaries. The subjects of "la Grande Jatte" are a multitude of figures on holiday. They are shown on an island park in the Seine strolling, children and pets frolicking, or just looking at the river. What is curious, however, about these holiday-makers spread over the canvas at random is that they do not look at each other. Each figure is presented self-absorbed and, in the larger setting itself, relations among the assembled seem devoid of intimacy or any display of Gemeinschaft.

Seurat's radar-like perception had captured in the imagery of "la Grande Jatte" an incipient Zeitgeist change. Nor was he alone. Edgar Degas in his painting, "Cotton Exchange in New Orleans," finished in 1873 and now in the Musee de Beaux-Arts, Pau, France, had done the same earlier. Here all the subjects are in the business of trading in cotton. They are shown at work on their ledgers, reading the newspaper,

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[20]For more on Seurat and his time, see Roger Shattuck, The Banquet Years: The Origins of the Avant Garde in France, 1885 to World War I (New York: Vintage Books, 1968).

testing samples and they do these things as if unaware of each other's presence.[21]

Seurat's pointillist style itself, together with the seemingly casual details in "la Grande Jatte," constitute a rebus of David Riesman's "Lonely Crowd" in twentieth-century society. Is it chance alone which accounts for the fact that the year after Seurat had exhibited "la Grande Jatte" Ferdinand Tönnies published Gemeinschaft und Cesselschaft? Not likely! It would seem in retrospect that Tönnies' own sociological imagination was in resonance with Seurat's image of a Zeitgeist in the making. Here the cognition of social science reality is sharpened in the enjoyment of Seurat's "imaginative beholding."

Emile Durkheim's The Social Division of Labor in Society, published in 1893, is likewise illustrative. Two concepts of organic solidarity and mechanical solidarity form the core of Durkheim's sociological classic. Again, is there any connection between the sociology of Durkheim and the iconographic statement of "la Grande Jatte?" The formation of personality, apart from the purely physical, is for both Tönnies and Durkheim a social phenomenon. It is a product of restraints and influences that society exerts on individuals. In a juxtaposition of this idea with "la Grande Jatte," it appears that Tönnies and Durkheim have dealt with the sociological reality of this phenomenon whereas Seurat, following Northrop, has dealt with it as an "aesthetic component of reality in its immediacy."[22]

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Epistemological Relevance in "Imaginative Beholding"

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[21]Degas' brothers were cotton merchants in New Orleans and, on a visit, he observed first-hand the inside of a cotton exchange in New Orleans.

[22]The verity of an artist's radar-like gift for detecting, and then of communicating aesthetically, incipient Zeitgeist changes is reaffirmed in the twentieth century by Robert Beverly Hale, Associate Curator of American Art, Metropolitan Museum of Art, in the following:

"We have seen, in our century, the development of fantastic scientific paraphernalia and much ill will. We live n the fear of some monstrous event which will bring, at best, a curious and distorted future; at worse, annihilation. The artist is in part a prophet. We should not complain if the shadows that have lately haunted us have for some time been visible upon his canvas." Robert Beverly Hale, "Introduction," 100 American Painters of th 20°. Century: Works Selected from the Collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York: 1950), p. i.

Sociologists, to be sure, concern themselves with intellectual ideas and artists with emotive expressions of the imagination. And while the relationship between the two is not immediately obvious in all works of art because of a complex symbolism, as in Van Eyck's Arnolfini portrait, there are certain set pieces in which the artist, without substituting intellect for emotion, did mean to cast heightened luminosity on a driving intellectual idea. Raphael's "The School of Athens" in the Vatican demonstrates instantly how such set pieces of art can be made relevant epistemologically for a theoretic issue.[23]

A current heated disputation in Educational Administration turns on the question: which theoretical paradigms are best suited for the field? The hypothetico-deductive paradigms of logical positivism held the field unchallenged since the first UCEA Career Development Seminar, "Administrative Theory in Education," in 1957. But no more! The paradigms of hermeneutic philosophy have now mounted a formidable offensive against positivism in such forums as Educational Administration Quarterly, Division A programs at AERA Annual Meetings, and a 1983 UCEA Career Development Seminar at the University of Kansas.[24]

The contest for theoretical hegemony between positivist and hermeneutic paradigms is intense. Egon Guba, a staunch advocate of naturalism, shows this intensity in the following introduction to a paper he presented at the 1983 UCEA-University of Kansas Career Development Seminar:

> I shall first describe what I believe to be the salient basic beliefs that characterize positivism, and then place in opposition to them the axioms that

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[23]Sociological kinship between intellectual ideas and emotive expression in art is more immediately obvious when a distinction is made between "the sociology in art" and "the sociology of art." Seurat's "la Grande Jatte," to illustrate, yields sociological information simply by a reflective observation to the manner in which the artist posed figures in relation to each other; this is "sociology in art," whereas the application of sociological ideas to art-historical data is the "sociology of art." For a demonstration of the latter in sociological literature, see Vytautas Kavolis, History on Art's Side: Social Dynamics in Artistic Efflorescences (Ithaca: Cornell University, 1972). Kavolis applied Talcott Parsons' AGIL model of social change to explain the phenomenon of cycles in artistic output.

[24]For a comprehensive survey-review of this dispute, see Jack Culbertson, "Theory in Educational Administration: Echoes from Critical Thinkers," Educational Researcher 12 (December 1983).

The Seminar title at the University of Kansas was "Linking New Concepts of Organizations to New Paradigms for Inquiry: Fruitful Partnerships in Administrative Studies."

undergird the emergent position, which I shall refer to as naturalism . . . .   I will also undertake to refute the contention that positivism and naturalism can be compromised in some form of post-post-positivitistic [sic] 'grand synthesis' which, *mirabile dictu*, realigns the basic beliefs of both systems into compatibility. Unfortunately, I shall come to the conclusion that in this case we are dealing with an either-or proposition, in which you 'puts down yer money and yer takes yer cherce!'[25]

Raffaelo Sanzio, or just Raphael, also had a position in this controversy and, as an artist, he stated it through the iconography of his fresco painting, "The School of Athens." At about the same time that Michelangelo was creating a masterpiece in the Sistine Chapel, Pope Julius II, the Renaissance Pope, invited Raphael to Rome and commissioned him to decorate the walls of his new Vatican apartment. There he completed four large fresco--wall--paintings, referred to in the literature as Stanza della Segnatura, and one of these was "The School of Athens."

He painted in it the two central figures of Plato and Aristotle separated from other subgroupings by a framing archway, but all figures are surrounded by easy-to-recognize symbols of classical antiquity. Plato is shown pointing skyward with one hand and the other holding his book, Timaeus. Aristotle, alongside of him, holds the Ethics in one hand and gesticulates toward the assembled accessory figures with the other. With effortless simplicity, and in crisp color tonalities of blues and whites, Raphael depicted imagistically their respective philosophies.

Through the visually ascertainable interaction among the several subgroupings in "The School of Athens," in one of which the artist worked his own likeness into the composition, Raphael made his own position known in the controversy and it was not the either-or stance of you "puts down yer money and yer takes yer cherce." Art historian Edgar Wind explains:

> In the philosophical circle to which Raphael belonged, a doctrine was current that any proposition in Plato could be translated into a proposition in Aristotle, provided that one took into account that Plato's language was that of poetic enthusiasm, whereas Aristotle spoke in the cool tone of rational analysis. Raphael placed the two contending philosophers, who 'agree in substance while they disagree in words,' in a hall dominated by the statues of Apollo and Minerva: the god of poetry and the goddess of reason preside over

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[25]Egon G. Guba, "The Context of Emergent Research," paper presented at the UCEA--University of Kansas Career Development Seminar, November 4-5, 1983, p. 3.

There is no indication in Guba's paper as to which ontological system his "naturalism" is related. However, since the time of this seminar, a publication by Lincoln & Guba explains it all. See Yvonna S. Lincoln and Egon Guba, Naturalistic Inquiry, (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, Inc., 1985).

the amicable disputation which, concentrated in Plato and Aristotle, is enlarged and particularized in a succession of sciences; these answer each other in the same discords and concords in which Plato and Aristotle converse.[26]

It was not Raphael's purpose, of course, to abandon art for philosophy, but, as Edgar Wind noted, "great artists have always been intellectually quick."[27] Raphael was a master image-maker, a genius at combining intellect with imagination, and these images are a source of uplifting enjoyment and intellectual enlightenment.

No dug-in positivist or hermeneutically-inclined "naturalist" is likely to settle for a "grand synthesis" in the controversy over paradigms because of a re-creative interaction with "The School of Athens;" the philosophical problem here is much too complex for that, but Raphael's ageless art does contribute three things of value to the current controversy in Educational Administration.[28]

First, "The School of Athens" lifts this controversy out of the "reality in its immediacy" and through creative use of color and design projects its "aesthetic component." Then, through iconographic analysis, "The School of Athens" provides visual testimony to the ubiquity of the problem. It is altogether a useful enlightenment for students of Educational Administration to see that the Quatrocento and Cinquecento also had wrestled with this problem in the philosophy of science and which problem many of them now confront for the first time. Last, and also enlightening, is to be made aware by "The School of Athens" that, as far back as Raphael's time, there already were advocates of a "grand synthesis" and that it is not a de novo proposition out of post-post positivism.[29]

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[26]Edgar Wind, Art and Anarchy (New York: Vintage Books, 1969), p. 62. For scholarly-grounded instruction in how to "read" "The School of Athens," see "Raphael's Stanza della Segnatura," in E. H. Gombrich, Symbolic Images: Studies in the Art of the Renaissance (London: Phaidon Press, Ltd., 1972).

[27]Ibid., p. 58.

[28]"For to perceive," wrote John Dewey, "a beholder must create his own experience." Dewey, Art as Experience, p. 54.

[29]In the scholarship of Georg Simmel there is another example of use of "sociology in art" to light up a social-science idea. Simmel's ground-breaking sociology of conflict delineates the social function of conflict in its variety of forms. A certain type of conflict leads to group unity and, to illustrate his point, Simmel used Raphael's "Disputa" or, its more formal name, "The Disputation Over the Sacrament." See George Simmel, Conflict, translated by Kurt H. Wolff (New York: The Free Press, 1964), p. 15.

The "Disputa" is another of the four fresco paintings in Raphael's Stanza della

5

Institutional Leadership and Cultural Sensitivity

The n. uring of cultural sensitivity in institutional leadership is still another asset to be had from program contacts in Educational Administration with art-historical scholarship. All of the literature, both theoretical and textbook, stresses the importance of institutional leadership in adm. ...strative behavior. No professional preparation for administration, not in education or any other field, is likely to produce a full-fledged institutional leader. Mature institutional leadership is produced in the crucible of administrative practice, but the preparation program has to lay a foundation for it.

Modern-day preparation programs in school administration do, as a matter of course, lay a cognitive foundation for the cultivation of institutional perspective; some more so than others, and it is this program component which in all instances can be enriched by aesthetic illumination.

Institutional perspective, or "moral creativeness," begins with an intellectual grasp of how the cultural system, this is Parsons' pattern-maintenance system in his Theory of Action, provides the legitimation of normative order in society. All concepts of formal organization, in both academic and applied fields, are bound to the sociological centrality of the cultural system.

The motivational energy which had brought the "theory movement" to Educational Administration was itself driven by the sociological centrality of the cultural system. Educational Administration abandoned he three B preparation model of beans-budgets-bricks, and turned to theories of organization for the design of a more sophisticated model, when school boards of the post-World War II period began to expect institutional leadership from administrative stewardship. School organization had to re-spond adaptively to new goal demands in society and administration was expected to organize the strategic plan for the change.

Segnatura group and it, too, is a classic model of multi-figured painting. Its subject matter is depicted at two levels, in heaven and on earth, in a complex symbolism. Its literal intent is to show an assembly of Fathers and Doctors of the Church in an animated disputation over mysteries of the sacrament.

The new literature that came to Educational Administration with the "theory movement" further reinforced the urgency of institutional leadership in administration. When Barnard wrote, "The strategic factor in the dynamic expression of leadership is moral creativeness," and when Selznick stressed the attainment of "statesmanship" in the executive office, each had in mind institutional leadership.[30] Each, moreover, alluded to the importance of cultural sensitivity in institutional leadership.

Barnard's reference to cultural sensitivity is in the following discussion of "the executive process:"

> It transcends the capacity of merely intellectual methods, and the techniques of discriminating the factors of the situation. The terms pertinent to it are 'feeling,' 'judgment,' 'sense,' 'proportion,' 'balance,' 'appropriateness.' It is a matter of art rather than science, and is aesthetic rather than logical. For this reason it is recognized rather than described and is known by its effects rather than by analysis.[31]

Barnard alluded to, but could not define, cultural sensitivity because, as he wrote, its substance "is aesthetic rather than logical." It is nurtured by the emotive component of society's institutionalized value system which, as a transcendent idealism, is best articulated through aesthetic expression.

Transcendent idealism is an aspect of culture, imbedded as it is in the ineffable, which has activated creative artistic imaginations from the beginning of human society. It is also the stuff of German Geisteswissenschaft. It is, in short, metaphysical, but also very much of a piece with received reality. John Turnbull's painting, "The Resignation of George Washington," is illustrative of transcendence articulated through aesthetic expression. General Washington is shown in the act of resigning his commission before the Continental Congress. His cloak has been hurriedly flung off to one side to indicate iconographically a surrender of power to its legitimate source, now that the goal of independence had been attained.

And as social reality, the ineffable idealism which envelops a society's regnant values exerts a subliminal influence in cultural adaptation and it provides emotive reinforcement for society's ethics and morals. In terms of social system "function," it

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[30]Barnard, The Functions of the Executive, p. 216; Selznick, Leadership in Administration, pp. 27-28.

[31]Barnard, The Functions of the Executive, p. 235. For a work that deals with the importance of cultural sensitivity in relation to leadership at the level of operations, see Edgar H. Schein, Organizational Culture and Leadership (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, Inc. 1985).

is a guiding star. It cannot be touched but, like the seafarer headed toward a destination, society looks to it for direction to its destiny.

American social science has not devoted the singular attention to this aspect of culture as has German Geisteswissenschaft. One explanation of this, and there are others, is the strong tilt of the institutionalized value pattern of American society toward the affectively-neutral values associated with technological adaptation. Parsons has characterized it as a value pattern of "instrumental activism." Social science in America, as the record in intellectual history demonstrates, has been most responsive to positivistic stimuli in "instrumental activism." Also informative in this regard is that Article I, Sec. 8, the Constitution of the United States, specifically empowers the Congress "To promote the Progress of Science and useful Arts."[32]

6

American Art History

Art-historic ' scholarship on the other hand is a humanistic discipline whose primary data are facts aesthetically encoded in the symbolistic language of art and is more oriented to the ineffable in culture. Altogether, therefore, the work of art historians is a facilitating vehicle for a cultivation of the cultural sensitivity to which Barnard alluded but could not define. American art historians have followed models provided by both Burckhardt and Parrington. Just as Parrington had studied "the American mind" through period literature, so art historians after him, likewise, have studied stages of American civilization through culturally sensitizing images in art. The first such study, and still a model of excellence and comprehensiveness, was done by Oliver Larkin.

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[32]For informative summary treatments of "instrumental activism," see Talcott Parsons, "Youth in the Context of American Society," Daedalus, 91 (Winter 1962); and, under the same title, an adapted version in Henry Borow, ed., Man in a World of Work (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1964). See also, Samuel H. Popper, "In Dispraise of Existential Humanism in Educational Administration," Educational Administration Quarterly, 7 (Autumn 1971). For more on the cultural character of American Social Science, see Don Martindale, Personality and Milieu: The Shaping of Social Science Culture (Houston: Cap and Gown Press, 1982). A reading of James Madison's "Federalist No. 43" in the Federalist Papers will enhance insight into Article I, Sec. 8, of the Constitution.

Larkin's Art and Life in America, published in 1949, was awarded the Pulitzer prize in history. Its purpose, as stated by the author, was to show how the ". . . arts have expressed American ways of living and how they have been related to the development of American ideas, particularly the idea of democracy."[33] Through images of historical periods, Larkin presents a pictographic account of American culture and its nurturing ideals from the early 1600s to 1960.

Art and Life in America is social history at its best. However, what sets Larkin's work apart from other good social histories is its treatment of Zeitgeist imagery. In The Rise of the American City, for example, Arthur Schlesinger draws on a vast body of vital statistics to explain the dynamic urban thrust of the post-Appomatox period.[34] Larkin's history also deals with the social reality of urban development, not by means of cold vital statistics, but through the expressive imagery of "Mop, Pail, and Ashcan."[35]

"Mop, Pail, and Ashcan" is a metaphoric reference to a group of artists of the early twentieth century who found their subject matter in the commonplace and sometimes unattractive landscape of the city. Because they persisted in painting also the seamy side of city life, their work, like that of Seurat in the 1880s, was refused at traditional exhibitions. Robert Henri, as an example, painted "Snow in New York," now in the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., in which he depicted the drabness of a large city on a snowy and overcast day. These artists are collectively referred to by art historians as the "Ash Can School" of painters.[36]

"Ash Can School" painters were at the instant of artistic creation bent on capturing in the space of a canvas what Northrop has called ". . . the intuitive aesthetic component of experience in its purity."[37] For them, as artists, the driving

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[33]Oliver W. Larkin, Art and Life in America (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1949), p. V; revised and enlarged in 1960. See also, John Manfredi, The Social Limits of Art (Amherst: The University of Massachusetts Press 1982).

[34]Arthur Meier Schlesinger, The Rise of the City: 1878-1898 (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1933); Volume X in the series, "A History of American Life "

[35]Larkin, Art and Life in America, Chapter 25, "Mop, Pail, and Ashcan."

[36]Other "Ash Can School" painters, with Robert Henri, were such now-renowned artists as George B. Luks, John Sloan, George Bellows, William J. Glackens, Everett L. Shinn, Arthur B. Davies, and Ernest Lawson.

[37]Northrop, The Logic of the Sciences and the Humanities, p. 380.

motivation was emotive expression and not intellectual discourse. As it turned out, however, they also made a sociologically insightful statement about twentieth-century life in urban America.

The use-value of Zeitgeist imagery for the cultivation of cultural sensitivity is greater still when images of one period's Zeitgeist is juxtaposed with that of another. Volumes have been written by historians of how the social environment of American society was transformed in the span of one century from the pastoral to the urban. Facts which inform this transformation are documented in these volumes, but the emotive response to this American experience is to be found in art.

As the "Ash Can School" had painted in the early 1900s prophetic images of an emerging urban Zeitgeist, so did the "Hudson River School"--about 1825 to 1860--paint images of a soon-to-be lost pastoral innocence. The "westward movement" in the United States was on, a dynamic manifest-destiny mythology was expanding the continental United States from the Atlantic to the Pacific and, in 1893, Frederick Jackson Turner awakened American society to the fact that it no longer had a wilderness frontier.[38]

Even as these events were making their mark in American history, and before the frontier had all been settled, artists of the "Hudson River School" were expressing their intuitive foreboding of a lost American wilderness in dream-like images of rustic landscapes. Their brown tonal veils were suggestive of the biblical Adam dreaming of a once-known paradise.[39]

George Inness is not identified stylistically with the "Hudson River School" of landscape painting, but he was a contemporary. He also depicted intuitive images of an America in transformation. "The Lackawanna Valley," painted by Inness in 1855, and also in the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. but without the tonal veils of early "Hudson River School" artists, is more direct at stating aesthetically the

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[38]For more on the American frontier and its social significance, see George Rogers Taylor, ed., The Turner Thesis: Concerning the Role of the Frontier in American History (Boston: D. C. Heath and Co., 1956). Turner was the Archivist at the University of Wisconsin. He first called attention to the significance of the frontier in a paper, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," which he read at the 1893 Annual Meeting of the American Historical Association in Chicago.

[39]"The Hudson River School" took its name from a group of artists who, at about 1825, did many landscape paintings in the Hudson River Valley of upper New York State. Thomas Doughty, Asher B. Durrand, and Thomas Cole are the more renowned artists of the early "Hudson River School." For more on the "Hudson River School," see Larkin Art and Life in America, chapter 16, "Westward the Course of Landscape."

Adamic dream.

"The Lackawanna Valley" shows an American countryside, the lengthening shadows of a sunny day, a church spire of a close-by town, tree stumps left from a forest clearing, and a hillock with a large tree under which a reclining figure wearing a red jacket is looking at the landscape below. But there is more. An engine, icon of the machine age, belching smoke is shown pulling a long train of coal cars. Also shown is a distant roundhouse and marshaling yards.

Again, Innes the artist sharpens cultural sensitivity by depicting the reality of a turning point in the development of American society. The reality in this instance was the transformation of American society from the pastoral to the urban. The cumulative effect of exposures to this type of aesthetic material could be facilitative reinforcement for a cognitive base in the nurturing of institutional leadership. Cultural sensitivity, as Barnard had indicated, "transcends the capacity of merely intellectual methods." Indeed, it is more a matter of aesthetic insight into the mythopoeic structure of culture.

7

The Art Historian's Input: Sidney Lawrence

How programs in Educational Administration can best make use of art-historical scholarship is, as has been suggested in Part I, a matter of tactical inventiveness. The inclusion of Art History in the spread of a program's supporting-field courses is the most direct way. Another, and one which would be more attuned to program objectives in administrative preparation, is a collaboration with Art History faculty in the development of a service course for all administrative preparation programs on campus. Still another way is to bring the Art Historian to Educational Administration by means of a color video-taped art lecture.

The lecture itself would have to be prepared around core concepts and program objectives in administrative preparation. Relevant slides would then have to be selected from the color-slide collection in Art History.

Art critic Sidney Lawrence, one-time student of Erwin Panofsky, has demonstrated that the preparation of such an art lecture is a doable collaboration. The occasion was a 1973 week-long summer Institute for students of Educational Administration at

the University of Minnesota. Lawrence was invited to prepare a lecture on art with the following objectives in mind: enjoyment, aesthetic illumination of key reality in the twentieth century, and the usefulness of empathy. Out of the collaborative process evolved a lecture by Lawrence bearing the title, "Pablo Picasso: Twentieth Century Man."

Lawrence proposed Picasso as the focal point of the lecture for two altogether persuasive reasons. First, no other painter since Michelangelo has so completely embodied the temperament of his age, both in his work and personality, as has Pablo Picasso. Second, to enter the world of Picasso is the great, central twentieth-century aesthetic experience; fully comparable to entering the Elizabethan period through the works of Shakespeare and the Baroque through the music of Johann Sebastian Bach.

His lecture was received well. It ranked at the top in student evaluations of the Institute. Lawrence combined wit with the right mix of art-historical scholarship to satisfy the instructional needs of an applied field. His lecture is presented here in its entirety to serve two ends: Lawrence's lecture provides an elegant recapitulation of principal ideas set in this section and, then, it is made available as a model for other theme-specific art lectures which might be prepared for instructional use in Educational Administration.

PABLO PICASSO: TWENTIETH CENTURY MAN
By Sidney Lawrence

Pablo Picasso was born in 1881. He was nineteen when the twentieth century was born. He lives now in the South of France near Aix-en-Province and Cannes. He continues to work and to express his enthusiasms, wit, and satire in ingenious inventive ways that make it difficult for us to realize that here chronologically, if nothing more, is indeed a man of the twentieth century.

On the other hand, he has so thoroughly entered the realm of the modern classics that his name has become a cultural byword.

You may have heard the story of the East Indian marriage broker who presented a series of photographs of a prospective bride to the young man's parents for approval. The girl, it was assured, came from a fine family, well educated, accomplished in music and all the social graces. She was wealthy also. "But her arms seem to be peculiarly long and she has six fingers," said the boy's mother. "And her eyes don't seem to focus correctly," added the father. "And she is standing pigeon toed," they exclaimed in unison. "I see," said the marriage broker as he collected the photographs with some disdain. "I see," he repeated, "you evidently don't like Picasso."

Recently, in a parlor charade, a wag put his eyeglasses on the side instead of the front of his head. "Guess what I am," he asked: "A portrait by Picasso."

I am going to make a few appreciative remarks about a man whom I consider one of the greatest, if not the greatest. pictorial genius of all time.

I cannot take the time now to defend that statement in all its complexity, but if there is any doubt about its objective validity, I would appreciate your courtesy in accepting it as an autobiograph al note; that is, it says something about Sidney Lawrence if it doesn't say much about Picasso.

Art is an intelligible communicative medium which, as a document, is also a marker in the history of the spirit and the affairs of humankind. Picasso's art fulfills this function in aesthetics not merely by creating new notions of beauty, but also by giving us new insights into our relationship with the world about us: relationships with nature, other human beings, and the meaning of art. He teaches us how to look at the world. To find "true" relationships.

To understand the spirit of the twentieth century which reflects Picasso's genius as much as it motivates his genius, I would like to speak for a moment about the meaning of truth in its relation to the art object. I forgot the name of the scientist, it might have been Einstein, who in paying tribute to the past, said that he had to stand on the shoulders of his predecessors in order to see beyond to new horizons; that new discovery came with the testing of the knowledge of the past and that new truths grew out of facts no longer true. This does not obtain in art history. The art truths of the Parthenon sculpture are just as valid today as when they were made. Michelangelo's Sistine Ceiling is just as true today as when it was painted in the early sixteenth century. Rembrandt's, "The Jewish Bride," is hardly a lie, even though we know now that it was based iconographically on an episode from the life of the Prodigal Son when he was in bad company. Picasso is no more true in his blue period, or his cubist period, or the period of the great Guernica Mural.

The truth of the art object is as lasting as is its material existence. What merits definition and redefinition is the "truth" of the humanism of the artist or the period which produced the object.

What then is the special advance in knowledge that makes it possible for us to understand an artist in the various ways he communicates his perception of the world around him--nature, human inter-relationships, other art objects-- how he uses technique, material, and style to transform the world he perceives into a work of art? I use "perception" the way psychologists use it. One perceives not only with one's eyes, but with one's whole personality, culture, and purpose. It is the element of purpose which is most important here. We cannot enter into a social, useful communicative process with anyone unless we appreciate the other's purpose. This may be more difficult with artists who must communicate through an art object, but it is essential if we wish to share in the experience of new exciting and rewarding perception. The development of perception techniques is a mark of knowledge on the part of an artist and equally important on the part of an informed audience.

Another area of sensitivity is that of empathy. The great artists of all times seem to me to have had special talents of empathy with aspects of nature and culture. They seem to be able to use art techniques; that is to say, the development of style through the handling of material which adds up to a kind of prophetic image of the times they live in, and for encompassing large ideas and social movements. The talent for empathy is also a noble virtue when employed by an informed audience.

In the art of the twentieth century there have been two giants. Each has given us new experiences in perception and empathy, revealing aspects of art and nature which have become characteristic of our time. One is an institution; a group of men with a common philosophy that, for the sake of

convenienc⁮, I will describe as an interest in the materialistic aspect of contemporary life. This is the Bauhaus movement in Germany which I believe is the most significant motivating resource for contemporary abstract art. The other is Pablo Picasso whose genius has somehow touched every aspect of con+emporary art which is humanistic, whose style and search is in the organic rather than the mechanical, who describes the more fugitive aspects of nature rather than its permanent aspects.

We will see how this is reflected in his work. How may we describe twentieth century man? There are innumerable qualities and areas of analysis. May I suggest the following three conditions:

1. The man of the twentieth century must learn to be comfortable in a world of change, characterized by quick change rather t⁮n slower evolution. Advances in technology create a climate wherein abrupt change is more characteristic of our time than slow change. We are caught in a dilemma of yearning for stability while reality itself appears unstable. And we must find ways of being comfortable and rational in such a condition.

2. The twentieth century man must be a universal man. Nothing should be foreign to him. He must feel comfortable in many cultures and he must contribute to the creation of a new culture which synthesizes in line with its own purpose, techniques, values, ideas, and art from other cultures. He must know how to cherish differences and traditions without permitting differences and traditions to become barriers to common goals.

3. The twentieth century man, if he is to survive at all, must be a man of love and not of hate; a man of compassion and not of greed. He must understand the aspirations of the isolated, the dispossessed, and the social dynamics of culture which may at times make the last first.

Let us look at some of Picasso's work in the light of these three observations. First, his contributions in the field of perception and empathy:

his understanding of change,
his universality,
his humanity.

(Show slide, "On the Globe," a painting of a boy balancing on a large ball while another is seated on a solid square box. This painting symbolizes the problem of living with constant change and the yearning for stability).

If we look now at his artistic development over a large span of time, we recognize the forces of revolutionary change rather than evolution in his work. He doesn't grow like a Rembrandt or a Titian from a tight to a loose style. How else can we explain these striking changes of style?

"Man With a Hat" (Collage)	)	
"Woman in White"	)	shows a variety of style
"The Lovers"	)	from impressionism,
"Picasso"	)	cubism, realism,
"Man With a Pipe"	)	abstract impressionism
"The Mirror"	)	
"Girl Writing"	)	

These changes of style have little to do with concepts of evolutionary development that come with slow "inner growth." They have a great deal to do with experimentation; with perception influenced by social, political, and artistic events. Picasso helps us break through conformity at a revolutionary pace and teaches us many ways to look at nature and art.

"Les Demoiselles d'Avignon", painted in 1906-07, was the first great break-through in European art on a cultural front. Here for the first time the

art of "primitive" Africa enters in as a resource for Europeans. It was this painting, more than any other, that took artists away from their studies in the Louvre and brought them to the "anthropologica'" museums where African art had been kept in crowded cases as arte-facts. Picasso brought the art of "backwards," or children's art, or of non-historical cultures, into his art and made us understand it in terms of twentieth-century perception as form and shape, design and color, rather than function. He led us to the original source and to see with new eyes the art meaning of ancient classical and "primitive" forms previously considered inferior. This event went hand in hand with a whole new ferment in anthropology where the genius of a culture was beginning to be understood in its own terms, its own purpose, rather than in the terms of a technologically disparate culture. The kind of exhibitions of primitive art now current in our art museums would have been impossible fifty years ago. They would have been held, if at all, in a Museum of Natural History, or Museums of Man, where many of the best collections are still stored. If we are able to enjoy these objects as works of art in the same way we enjoy Greek sculpture as works of art, it is because Picasso, and those influenced by him, have given us new perceptions and new feelings of empathy with cultures heretofore thought of as inferior, foreign, or curious.

He has not only done this with unfamiliar cultures, but he has made us take a new look at our own. He reviews for us the limitations of the styles and techniques of other periods in Western art.

In the painting "Green Still Life" he brings into a new dimension the meaning of pointilism and reveals new nuances in the work of Seurat or the early Fauves like Derain and Matisse. In this painting he helps open the eyes of a Roy Lichtenstien to the "pointillism" of newspaper "screen" reproduction. The entire history of art is his and he has taught us by his genius and his sheer prolific output a new way of looking at art of the past so that when we look at some Pompeian painting, our comment is "It reminds us of a Picasso." Thus a whole revival of interest in engravings on ancient classical bronze mirrors develops because they look like Picasso, after Picasso has introduced the engraving style in his own work.

This aspect of universality is, of course, another side of his changing style. If he gives us new insights and sensations regarding styles in Western art history and in traditional subject matter, as in his "Two Seated Women" or "Pipes of Pan," which urge us to take another look at the architectural sculpture of classical antiquity, he also helps us discover new and wonderful virtues in everyday manufactured objects which he employs as new art materials in his collages. Wall paper and news print are used like other artists use paint and color. The junk heap now becomes a romantic source for art material and Picasso gives us new lessons in the meaning of the accidental, the spontaneous, the unrehearsed. He provides us with new symbols to express the ravages of time on nature and culture. Objects of trivia gain their own dignity, nostalgia, and poetic mystery as they are recreated in a composition by Picasso.

In one of the films on Picasso he is shown at lunch where a flounder is served. Picasso eats the fish carefully, removing the flesh from the skeleton with a curious grace. He then takes the skeleton and impresses it on a clay plate which is then fired to produce a characteristic Picasso. There is some kind of magic which flows from him in this act of creating a work of art. The finished object is unmistakably a Picasso.

We see in this pre-occupation, experimentation, and inventiveness with

material something akin to the interests of the Bauhaus, but the difference is the difference between Picasso and the painter Kurt Schwitters; it is the difference between saying that something is no longer useful, or is worn out, and saying that it is junk.

If we note his humanity, it is also interesting to observe that Picasso's earliest affinity was Toulouse-Lautrec rather than Cézanne. For Cézanne, the human figure was seen as an object of form, as an artist's model, as a studio prop. For Toulouse-Lautrec the human figure, recruited almost always from the artistic, bohemian, and a deviant sub-group in society, is more than an object. Picasso recognized Toulouse-Lautrec, rather than Cézanne or Degas, as a kindred spirit who, through art, comes to grips with problems of understanding and living in a world of tension and change, where conflict is associated with progress, and duplicity is an element of sability.

To conclude, I have attempted to explain in outline Picasso as a twentieth-century man the way Michelangelo is ofter described as a Man of the Renaissance. If, indeed, the twentieth century will be described in terms of revolution, universalism, and humanism, then Picasso the artist does indeed express these complex trends of our century. I believe that an increased perception and empathy with the art of Picasso will help to guide us to alternatives of direction and to corrective insights into the realities that face us as culturally sensitive participants in the affairs of our society.[40]

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[40]Lawrence gave his illustrated art lecture with color-slide reproductions borrowed from the University of Minnesota Department of Art History. These are reproductions of key works in Picasso's output and are, therefore, to be found in most slide collections. Cues are given in the lecture where the reproductions are meant to be used.

Part V

Clio's Footprints in the Textbook Literature
of Educational Administration

Writing History

Zeus had nine daughters with Mnemosyne, goddess of memory. It is from her name that English language has derived the word "mnemonic." These preternatural daughters of Mnemosyne assumed roles in the Olympian division of labor as Muses--say patrons--of the arts and sciences. So Clio came to be the Muse of History in Greek classical mythology.

Story telling was a Hellenic tradition at least from the time of Homer, when story-tellers transmitted from generation to generation those myths that formed the world-view of the Greeks. Once writing came into fashion, however, specialists called logographoi wrote these matters into the prose-form genesis narrative of towns, temples and royalty.[1] Logographoi are the ideational source of the modern-day logo, but Herodotus was the first to write history in the Western tradition. He is acknowledged as the Father of History.

Herodotus, ca. 484-425 B.C., wrote of the Persian Wars, 500-449 B.C., in a style that gave birth to the specialized meaning of History as a humanistic discipline.[2] His was the first research-based comprehensive secular history with a purposeful humanistic orientation. The Greek word historia means "research" or "inquiry" and it is often used by Herodotus in his nine books of The Histories. In the manner of writing on a title-page today, Herodotus informed readers that his purpose in writing history is to

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[1]James Westfall Thompson, A History of Historical Writing (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1942), I, p. 62.

[2]For more on History as a humanistic discipline, see Hajo Holborn, History and the Humanities (Garden City: Doubleday and Co., 1972).

teacn by example:

> These are the researches of Herodotus of Halicarnassus which he publishes in the hope of thereuy preserving from decay the remembrances of what men have done, and preventing the great and wonderful actions of the Greeks and Barbarians [foreigners] from losing their due ne ꓹ of glory, and withal to put on record what have been their grounds of feud.[3]

Historical writing by and large followed in the methodological tradition of Herodotus until the eighteenth century, when historians of the Enlightenment became aware that history has a double-barreled meaning. It reports <u>what</u> happened to people in the course of time, and it is also a <u>record</u> of what happened. Rational assessments, therefore, had to be made of precipitating causes and of facilitating proximate determinants. Otherwise, Voltaire held, history is "no more than a collection of human errors." "One demands of modern historians," he wrote in Diderot's <u>Encyclopedia</u>, "more details, better ascertained facts, precise dates, more attention to commerce, finance, agriculture, population. It is with history as it is with mathematics and physics."[4]

Today, some think of history as a bridge between the past and the present, others think of it as a conversation with the past. More germane to the writing of history is that the use of both metaphoric references have been made possible by Leopold von Ranke, 1795-1886.[5]

Ranke transformed historical writing into the mode of Voltaire's rationalist prescription and, for this, he is acknowledged as progenitor of modern scientific history. Credited with having invented in the early 1800s the seminar at the University of Berlin, teacher of Jacob Burckhardt and most other great German historians of the 1850s, a prodigious writer of histories, Ranke's method of writing history became the universal standard in Western historiography. When the American Historical Association was founded in 1885, Ranke was elected as its first honorary

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[3]Thompson, <u>A History of Historical Writing</u>, p. 36.

[4]Quoted in Thompson, <u>A History of Historical Writing</u>, II, p. 67. Voltaire himself produced, among other historical works, <u>The Age of Louis XIV</u> and <u>The History of Charles XII</u>

[5]Thompson wrote in the "preface" of his two-volume work on historical writing: "I was tempted to entitle this book <u>The Bridge of Clio</u>. . . . History may be regarded as a great bridge which arches the stream of Time and links the Past and the Present together." <u>A History of Historical Writing</u>, I, p. VII.

member and was called "the greatest living historian."[6]

The writing of history was for Ranke a disciplined, value-neutral method of reconstructing past events by documentation. All sources, particularly documents contemporaneous with events under study, had to be scrutinized in order to ascertain causality by methods of intensive analysis and broad synthesis.

In a lecture of the 1830s, Ranke began, "History is distinguished from all other sciences in that it is also an art."[7] Then he proceeded to explicate the character of scientific history by means of five principles:

1. The first demand is pure love of truth.
2. Therefore, a documentary, penetrating profound study is necessary.
3. A universal interest
4. Penetration of the causal nexus.
5. Impartiality.[8]

Peter Gay, in a study of form and content in the writing of history, characterized Ranke as "the respectful critic" and concluded:

> Just as the painter paints and the novelist writes so that the critic has something on which to exercise his discrimination, so a Cromwell or a Napoleon changes the world so that a Ranke can discover wie es eigentlich gewesen.[9]

Ranke's prescriptive "penetration of the causal nexus" in the writing of history is what makes it possible to think of history in the metaphor of a conversation with the past. Rational analysis of causal connections, followed by broad synthesis in the telling of "what actually happened," is the essential feed-back loop in a communication

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[6]Leopold von Ranke, The Theory and Practice of History, George G. Iggers and Konrad von Moltke, eds. (New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1973), "Introduction," p. XV.

[7]ibid., p. 33.

[8]Ibid., p. 39-41.

[9]Peter Gay, Style in History (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1974), p. 80. The expression, wie es eigentlich gewesen, is the hallmark of Ranke's historical craft. Its meaning is "What actually happened" and it appears in the preface of his first, 1824, major publication Geschichten der romanischen und germanischen Völker von 1494-1514, as follows: "History has had assigned to it the task of judging the past, of instructing the present for the benefit of ages to come. The present study does not assume such a high office; it wants to show only what actually happened." (wie es eigentlich gewesen). Quoted in Leonard Krieger, Ranke: The Meaning of History (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1977), p. 4.

with the past. Ranke's insistence on truth, objectivity, and the avoidance of parochialism in the writing of history is to assure distortion-free communication.

Ranke's historical scholarship exposed all documentation of past human experience to Clio's panoptic scrutiny. Not wars alone, or the rise and fall of dynastic families, but also the origin and developmental course of cultural specialization were now the historian's province.

Jacob Burckhardt, following the principles of historical scholarship he had learned from Ranke, turned to art objects for documentation of "what actually happened" in the civilization of Renaissance Italy and thus had laid a foundation for art historiography. Ranke's methodological imprint is likewise clear in Max Weber's historical sociology. Analysis and broad synthesis were used by Weber to penetrate "the causal nexus" of a nurturing Protestant ethic and nascent capitalism. In quest of a causal relationship between the two, Weber asked in the mode of historical inquiry:

> Now, how could activity, which was at best ethically tolerated, turn into a calling in the sense of Benjamin Franklin? The fact to be explained historically is that in the most highly capitalistic center of that time, in Florence of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the money and capital market of all the great political Powers, this attitude was considered ethically unjustifiable, or at best to be tolerated. But in the backwoods small bourgeois circumstances of Pennsylvania in the eighteenth century, where business threatened for simple lack of money to fall back into barter, where there was hardly a sign of large enterprise, where only the earliest beginnings of banking were to be found, the same thing was considered the essence of moral conduct, even commanded in the name of duty. To speak here of a reflection of material conditions in the ideal superstructure would be patent nonsense. What was the background of ideas which could account for the sort of activity apparently directed toward profit alone as a calling toward which the individual feels himself to have an ethical obligation? For it was this idea which gave the way of life of the new entrepreneur its ethical foundation and justification.[10]

George Counts has employed a similar methodology to penetrate "the causal nexus" between American schooling and American civilization, as has Lawrence Cremin in his history of the American common school.[11] In fact, the Muse of History has thus inspired also period studies of American education. Her inspiration of period studies in

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[10] [10]Max Weber, The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism, translated by Talcott Parsons (London: George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 1930), pp. 74-75.

[11]George S. Counts, Education and American Civilization (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1952); Lawrence A. Cremin, The American Common School: An Historic Conception (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1951).

Educational Administration is exemplified by Raymond Callahan's Education and the Cult of Efficiency, dedicated to George Counts, which provides valuable historical insight into the professionalization of school administration in the United States. But the Muse of History, albeit more narrowly focused, can be of similar value for the study of core concepts in school administration. The concept of administrative control is illustrative.

Chester Barnard's concept of "moral creativeness," is as one with Philip Selznick's concept of "creative leadership." Both concepts address the utility of a motivating transcendence in administrative control. "The art of the creative leader is the art of institution building," Selznick holds, and the use of what he calls "socially integrating myths" is central to this art.[12] These socially integrating myths, however, cannot be invented ex nihilo; they have to evolve out of an organizational saga, a credible search backward in time when the organization was less complex and values basic to its legitimation more readily discernible. "The organizational saga," when used in operational contexts, "answers such questions as, What kind of organization are we? What kinds of people are members of our organization? What do we do? What is our purpose? What exploits of the past are we proud of? Why are we admirable? What great things do we plan to do in the future?"[13] Answers to these questions are at once the stuff of a nurturing organizational culture and of institution building.

Following Callahan, then, Clio's guidance is invoked now for an analytical historical survey of general textbook literature in Educational Administration for the purpose of ascertaining evolutionary stages in the definition of administrative control in school organization. First, however, a conceptual setting for the survey.[14]

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[12]Quoted references to Selznick are taken from the section "Creative Leadership" in Philip Selznick, Leadership in Administration, pp. 149-154.

[13]Ernest G. Bormann, et al., Interpersonal Communication in the Modern Organization, p. 94.

[14]Historical survey methodology as used here is a variant of content analysis, which can be quantitative or qualitative, and follows O. R. Holsti, Content Analysis for the Social Sciences and Humanities (Reading: Addison-Wesley, 1969), and Thomas F. Carney, Content Analysis: A Technique for Systematic Inference from Communications (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1972).

"General textbook literature" means to differentiate between this type of literature and specialized texts written in school law, school finance, and the like. The textbooks treated in this survey, N=28, were from major publishers.

2

The Conceptual Setting

Any analysis in which administrative control in formal organization is the subject, as a matter of theoretical necessity, has to take power as a given.[15]   Moreover, it matters not whether the referent organization is a loosely-coupled system or an ideal type bureaucracy.[16]   Talcott Parsons explains why: "The value system of society *legitimizes* the organization's goal, but it is only through power that its achievement can be made effective."[17]   Societal legitimation conveys to formal organization the right of participation in social exchange and provides it with the legal sanction for governance by means of an institutional subsystem.[18]   Governance, to continue in Parsons' meaning, entails a coercive capacity--authorized use of power--with which to

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[15]It would be of help for what follows to reflect on this statement in the context of Part I, herein, "Leadership and Followership."   Also of help would be a reflective engagement with the following two schemata from Talcott Parsons' Theory of Action: the A-G-I-L schema of equilibriative development and the schema for "Ways of Getting Results in Interaction."   R. Jean Hills in Toward a Science of Organization provides an instructive exposition of the former.   For the latter schema, see the two companion essays by Parsons, "On the Concept of Influence" and "On the Concept of Political Power," both of which have been cited heretofore in Part I.

[16]The meaning of "loosely-coupled system" will be found in Karl E. Weick, "Educational Organizations as Loosely Coupled Systems," Administrative Science Quarterly 21 (March 1976).

[17]Parsons, Structure and Process in Modern Societies, p. 41.   An informative commentary on power as a latent variable in organizational analysis is provided in Mary F. Rogers, "Goffman on Power," The American Sociologist 12 (April 1977).

[18]Parsons, "Some Ingredients of a General Theory of Organization," in Andrew W. Halpin, ed., Administrative Theory in Education.   Parsons had written "Some Ingredients" for the first UCEA Career Development Seminar, February 1957, at the University of Chicago.   It was in this paper that he formulated his now frequently used concept of "three levels in the hierarchical structure of organization" and in which an "institutional subsystem" is defined.

For the legitimation of participation in social exchange, consult Peter M. Blau, Exchange and Power in Social Life (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1964).

mobilize organizational resources in behalf of official goals.[19]

In K-12 systems of school organization, the institutional subsystem is a board of education. It is a board of regents, or a board of trustees, in systems of higher education. The board of education, as a governing body with fiduciary responsibility, sets performance expectations for all other members of the organization, among whom is a chief executive officer called a Superintendent.[20] A delegated authority is the figurative conduit through which the legitimation of an administrative control is conveyed by the school board and is made flesh in day-to-day operations of school organization.

Evidence of temporal changes in the expectations of administrative control has survived in the textbook literature of school administration and this literature, as Callahan has demonstrated, qualifies as an enduring repository of primary source material. Only a discriminating analysis is required to draw from it embedded indicators of a temporal change.[21] Emile Durkheim's dual concept of mechanical and organic solidarity suggests itself as a facilitating tool for such an analysis.

Durkheim had devoted six chapters in The Division of Labor in Society to the treatment of mechanical and organic solidarity. At the minimum, and not to debilitate the meaning of these concepts altogether, one could explain that mechanical solidarity in the division of labor is grounded in role commonalities; work-related specialization is undeveloped and, hence, individuals are interchangeable with one another. Whereas organic solidarity is grounded in mutually complementary specialization among roles and, hence, their functional interdependence is critical for a highly specialized division of labor.

Barnard, in a pithy paragraph of three sentences, has captured Durkheim's

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[19]For the distinction between "official goals" and "operative goals," look to Charles Perrow, "The Analysis of Goals in Complex Organizations," American Sociological Review 26 (December 1961), and H. Simon "On the Concept of Organizational Goals," Administrative Science Quarterly 9 (June 1964).

[20]"The larger and more differentiated an instrumental system the more essential management or management coordination becomes to keep the organization going as a functioning concern. With this, there emerge executive or managerial roles." Talcott Parsons and Edward A. Shils, eds., Toward a General Theory of Action (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1951), p. 212.

[21]Callahan reports that Jesse H. Newlon did a content analysis of eighteen textbooks on school administration for his doctoral thesis at Teachers College, Columbia University. Callahan, Education and the Cult of Efficiency, p. 200.

quintessential meaning and its clinical relevance for administrative control:

> Authority is another name for the willingness and capacity of individuals to submit to the necessities of cooperative systems. Authority arises from the technological and social limitations of cooperative [formal organization] systems on the one hand, and of individuals on the other. Hence the status of authority in a society is the measure both of the development of individuals and of the technological and social conditions of the society.[22]

One need but look to modern-day organization at the way tension between the centrifugal-like effect of specialization and a need of coordination generates a control problem. Bureaucratic rules as "bearers of organizational authority" have been the traditional mode of obtaining compliance with administrative control, but no more.[23] Administrative control now tilts more and more toward the interdependent organic model of organization; "beyond bureaucracy" to use language by Warren Bennis, because the authority of technical expertise presents an effective counterpoise to the delegated authority of administrative office.

Bennis holds to the centrality of a coordinating "linking pin" in administrative control because as reliance on mechanical solidarity gives way to a need of organic solidarity, there occurs a concomitant transformation in the morphology of formal organization. It is an evolutionary development which has turned obsolescent traditional modes of administrative control and has made necessary the invention of others.[24]

3

Early Textbook Literature

The mode of administrative control in modern-day school organization is a far

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[22]Barnard, The Functions of the Executive, p. 184.

[23]An elaborate treatment of bureaucratic rules in relation to authority is in James G. Anderson, "Bureaucratic Rules: Bearers of Organizational Authority," Educational Administration Quarterly 2 (Winter 1966).

[24]For the "linking pin" model by Bennis, see Warren Bennis, "Beyond Bureaucracy," Trans-action 2 (July-August 1965); also, Warren Bennis, Changing Organizations (New York: McGraw Hill Co., 1966). For how this evolutionary development impacts as well on military organization, look to Morris Janowitz, The Professional Soldier (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1960).

remove from that of the late 1800s, when the first textbooks were published for school administration. Two textbooks, one published by William Payne in 1875 and the other by J. L. Pickard in 1890, define administrative control as supervisory oversight with a coercive capacity. Both authors disclose remarkable sociological intuition insofar as they seem to have sensed the morphogenic connection between specialization and the structure of organization before Emile Durkheim had published, 1893, The Division of Labor in Society. Also exhilarating is to find in these two textbooks a striking anticipation of Barnard's definition of executive work as "specialized work." Some lines in the following passages from Payne have been italicized to note their nascent bearing to contemporary theory of organization:

> The great law of the division of labor has called into existence a new class of professional men, whose duty is the supervision of schools and school systems; yet up to this time, no work, not even the most elementary, has been published on an art whose importance can scarcely be over-estimated . . . .
>
> Then there is the special fact that, as yet, there has not been a clear differentiation between teaching and superintendence. *The fact that superintendence requires a different kind of knowledge, perhaps a higher order of knowledge, is not generally admitted* . . . . The real fact is . . . that the *complicated structure* of a graded system of instruction requires a constant oversight by one responsible head, able to direct the movements of the whole system, *and vested with sufficient authority to enforce, if necessary, a compliance with his decisions*; and, further that, in response to this need, the law of the division of labor has called into existence . . . a new body of professional men who differ from teachers as an architect differs from the workmen who follow the plan which he has prescribed.[25]

Pickard's textbook, School Supervision, followed pretty much the thematic pattern set by Payne. "In every branch of human industry," he wrote, "the importance of supervision grows with *the specialization of labor*. The more minute the subdivision of labor, the greater need of supervision . . . ." Out of this need of supervision, Pickard went on to elaborate, emerges ". . . one whose *special work* it is to adjust the parts, *himself familiar with each, but freed from active work in any part*. He is the

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[25]William H. Payne, Chapters on School Supervision (New York: Van Antwerp, Bragg and Co., 1875), pp. vi, 22-3. (italic added). Of course, the idea of a "division of labor" had been diffused in the intellectual heritage long before Durkheim gave it a focused social science formulation. It had been implied by Thomas Hobbes' Leviathan, published in 1651, and in Montesquieu's The Spirit of the Laws, translated into English in 1750. Eli Whitney, it is relevant to recall, had applied the idea to mechanical engineering in his invention of standardized interchangeable parts for the manufacture of musketry.

overseer, the superintendent."[26] Again, remarkable sociological intuition: Pickard anticipated here a similar statement by Parsons and Shils in Toward a General Theory of Action.[27]

Supervision of instruction stayed fixed in the general textbook literature as the modal expectation of administrative control to the time of Ellwood Cubberly. Before then, from about 1900 to 1916, textbook literatu.e communicates a groping to differentiate conceptually between instructional supervision and administrative control. The following from William Chancellor's textbook is typical:

> In the good superintendent, skill in supervision is more important than ability in administration. One is art, the other is power. Supervision is professional, administration is universal. Supervision is an educational matter, a specialty; administration is business management, an executive quality. *Supervision is an acquirement; administration is largely a native quality.*[28]

No such groping for a definition of administrative control marks the textbook literature from the time Cubberly's Public School Administration was published in 1916. Instantly, Cubberly's textbook became the model for those that followed it; more so, when Cubberly was appointed in 1917 the first Dean of Stanford's School of Education.[29] Public School Administration had several revisions and in each the dominant theme was two-fold: a school superintendent had to have professional preparation and the foremost expectation of administrative control was the application of business norms to the management of school organization. Excerpts from the 1922 edition of his textbook are indicative:

> The opportunities offered in th. new profession [of school administration] to men of strong culture, courage, exact training, and executive skill, and who are willing to take the time and spend the energy necessary to prepare themselves for large service, are to-day not excelled in any of the professions,

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[26]J. L. Pickard, School Supervision (New York: Appleton and Co., 1890), pp. 1-2. (italic added)

[27]See this statement in earlier footnote 20.

[28]William E. Chancellor, Our Schools: Their Administration and Supervision (Boston: D. C. Heath and Co., 1904), pp. 105-6. (italic added) Note the dualism in the title.

[29]A thumb nail biographical sketch of Cubberly is in Callahan, Education and the Cult of Efficiency, pp. 182-184.

learned or otherwise.[30]

More:

Wholly within the past decade one of the most significant movements in all of our educational history has arisen . . . .   The movement is as yet only in its infancy, but so important is it in terms of the future of administrative service that it bids fair to change, in the course of time, the whole character of school administration . . . .

The significance of this new movement is large, for it means nothing less than the ultimate changing of school administration from guesswork to scientific accuracy . . . .[31]

In a textbook on the principalship, published in 1923, Cubberly displays his unqualified embrace of Frederick Winslow Taylor's principles of scientific management in the following passage:

Every manufacturing establishment that turns out a standard product or series of products of any kind maintains a force of efficiency experts to study methods of procedure and to measure and test the output of its works. Such men ultimately bring the manufacturing establishment large returns, by introducing improvements in process and procedure, and in training the workmen to produce a larger and a better output. Our schools are, in a sense, factories in which the raw product (children) are to be shaped and fashioned into products to meet the various demands of life. The specifications for manufacturing · come from the demands of twentieth-century civilization, and it is the business of the school to build its pupils according to the specifications laid down. This demands good tools, specialized machinery, continuous measurement of production to see if it is according to specifications, the elimination of waste in manufacture, and a large variety in the output.[32]

One might speculate at this juncture why the sociological intuitiveness of Payne and Pickard was not sustained in the textbook literature following them?   Several proximate determinants might have been collectively causative. There was no nurturing intellectual reinforcement in academia for such intuitive insight.   Although Lester Frank Ward had published Dynamic Sociology in 1883 and The Psychic Factors of Civilization in 1893, it was in the 1930s when the maturity of Sociology as a social science discipline was acknowledged in academia by the formation of sociology depart-

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[30]Ellwood P. Cubberly, Public School Administration (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1922), pp. 130-1.

[31]Ibid., pp. 325-6.

[32]Ellwood P. Cubberly, The Principal and His School (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1923), p. 15.

ments. Perhaps, also, it is because in the ideological contest between Social Darwinism and Liberal Darwinism in the formation of social policy after Appomatox, the positivistic intellectual influence of Herbert Spenser had prevailed. Mechanistic scientific management and Social Darwinism, after all, have complementary orientations and, given the influence of Cubberly's eminence, what Callahan has characterized as the "Cubberly pattern" of textbook writing was established as the regnant model.[33]

4

Jesse H. Newlon

The Cubberly pattern went unchallenged in textbook literature until Jesse Newlon, one-time school superintendent turned professor at Teachers College, Columbia published in 1934 Educational Administration as Social Policy. Newlon did not gainsay the objective of efficiency in administrative control: "The need of efficiency in education cannot be questioned."[34] What he did question was the unbridled use of scientific management. "The administration of education," he wrote, "does not take place in a vacuum. It proceeds in a welter of social forces . . . ."[35] Then he tied the argument to ideals of American social democracy:

> The administration of education has become one of the most vital functions of modern society. This generalization applies with special force to a country which from its very beginnings has regarded popular education as one of the cornerstones of its social and political systems, and has accepted the idea of equal educational opportunity for all from the primary school to the university.[36]

Newlon urged the critical importance of social and philosophical foundations in

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[33]For intensive historical treatments of this period, see David W. Noble, The Progressive Mind, 1890-1917 (Chicago: Rand McNally and Co., 1970); Richard Hofstadter, Social Darwinism in American Thought, 1860-1915 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1945).

[34]Newlon, Educational Administration as Social Policy, p. 237.

[35]Ibid., p. 26.

[36]Ibid., p. 1.

school administration, and in this he was a pioneer among twentieth-century textbook writers, but his textbook was no match for Cubberly's prevailing influence. Although Cubberly already was Dean Emeritus by the time his Public School Administration had its 1929 revision, a new generation of textbook writers, and of which Fred Engelhardt is representative, held to the Cubberly pattern.

Engelhardt was appointed to the faculty in school administration at the University of Minnesota shortly after he had completed his doctorate, 1925, at Teachers College, Columbia. His textbook, Public School Organization and Administration, was published in 1931. Newlon did a content analysis of Engelhardt's textbook and according to Callahan:

> As with Cubberly's text and others examined by Newlon the entire volume of some 600 pages was devoted to legal, financial, organizational, and mechanical aspects of Education. In the Cubberly pattern the school 'executive' was treated in the grand manner while 'teaching Corps and other Employees' were dealt with under 'Personnel Management.'"[37]

Callahan has drawn two sweeping conclusions from his study of the Cubberly era: The low estate of school administration was raised to the standing of a professional occupation, the cultist embrace of scientific management principles in school administration constituted "an American tragedy in education."[38]

Newlon's Educational Administration as Social Policy may not have been a match in the market for textbooks written in the Cubberly pattern, but its publication in 1934 does qualify it in the annals of textbook literature as an historic marker.[39] The

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[37]Callahan, Education and the Cult of Efficiency, p. 250.

[38]Ibid., pp. 244, 251. Apropos the low estate of school administration, William C. Reavis, himself a distinguished Professor of Educational Administration at the University of Chicago, re ounted in retirement the following experience when he was doing a school survey in the early years of his career: "Early in this study the [survey] staff and I met with the board of education. I was introduced to each member in turn and invited to take a seat at the table. I had, in the meantime, noticed a man sitting quietly at a desk in the corner of the room. Since I had not met him I asked the board president whom he might be.

'Oh,' said the president, 'he's the superintendent. We might happen to want him for something.'" Harold G. Shane and Wilber Yauch, Creative School Administrations: In Elementary and Junior High Schools (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1954) p. 546.

[39]A critical discrimination has been made in this analysis of textbook literature between books that stand out as an "historic marker" and those that stand out as a "best seller." A case in point is Paul R. Mort's Principles of School Administration, one of the two most widely used textbooks in school administration before the UCEA

waning of mechanistic school administration and the advent of human relations models can be traced back to its publication. Newlon had in mind three objectives in his textbook: to define the practice of school administration within an institutional context as a social process, to anathematize mechanistic school administration, to advocate an alternative participation model. These objectives are capsulated in the following passage:

> In education, the problem is not so much one of securing efficiency, as of determining the ends to which efficiency shall be directed and of utilizing all available professional knowledge and insight in the formulation of policies. Educational administrators must see that the exclusion of teachers from the process of formulating policies atrophies their power to think, and eventually makes of them the most unquestioning and submissive of conformists.[40]

Historical analysis is as vulnerable to the tendency of confusing correlation with causation as is any other analytic methodology; this is why Ranke had urged "penetration of the causal nexus" as a principle in historical writing. Accordingly, other than by grounded speculation, no one single event of the period can be ascribed as causative of Newlon's qualitative leap in the writing of textbook literature. It could have been a study Newlon had done of school administration for the Commission on the Social Studies of the American Historical Association in the early 1930s, his textbook might have reflected the intellectual influence of colleagues in the Foundations of Education Division at a time when its faculty included George Counts, Harold Rugg, William H. Kilpatrick, and I. L. Kandel, he might have known of J. L. Moreno's pioneering work in Sociometry, also published first in 1934, or, and more likely, Newlon's Educational Administration as Social Policy was one with a Zeitgeist in transition.[41]

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era. Arthur B. Moehlman's School Administration was the other. In a critique of theoretical strength in Principles of School Administration, Daniel Griffiths concluded, "In analyzing Mort's theory it is difficult to discern its conceptual base." See Daniel E. Griffiths, "Toward a Theory of Administrative Behavior" in Roald F. Campbell and Russell T. Gregg. eds., Administrative Behavior in Education, pp. 371-372.

[40]Newlon, Educational Administration as Social Policy, p. 244.

[41]Here is an often encountered problem in historiography which urges restraint with the attribution of influence in the diffusion of ideas. Apart from the probable influence on Newlon by the social ideas of intellectually eminent colleagues, one also has to reckon with the advent in 1933 of the Educational Frontier; a journal of social reconstructionist thought.

For Moreno's sociometric studies, see J. L. Moreno Who Shall Survive?: A New

The great depression of the 1930s, persistent and itself de. umanizing, had precipitated a sweeping disenchantment with anti-humanistic conventions in American society. Newlon seems to have provided the emerging Zeitgeist a harbinger's exposition in Educational Administration as Social Policy, even as artists of the WPA Federal Art Project had given it aesthetic expression on canvas and in the wall murals of public buildings.[42]

5

Human Relations in Administrative Control

The idea of a Zeitgeist in transition is useful as a general explanation of Newlon s qualitative leap in the writing of textbook literature. A more focused explanation, however, is to think of Newlon's departure from the Cubberly pattern as an idiographic shift away from an administrative control centered in mechanical solidarity to one centered in organic solidarity.

Role differentiation by specialization is basic in Durkheim's division of labor to conditions that necessitate organic solidarity in social organization. By 1934, the publication date of Newlon's textbook, specialization in American life was pervasive. L. Urwick, in a 1938 address before the Institute of Management in New York City, informed his audience, "The growth of specialization and hence of discrimination of

Approach to the Problem of Human Interrelations (Washington, D.C.: Nervous and Mental Disease Publishing Co., 1934). Helen Hall Jennings is credited as "collaborator" in the publication.

[42]The work of these artists can be found in most public museums, including those of colleges and universities, throughout the United States. Especially successful wall murals--frescoes--in which the more humanistic Zeitgeist is celebrated, are those by Philip Evergood in Richmond Hill Branch Library of New York City, and in the U. S. Post Office in Jackson, Georgia. The Old Post Office in San Francisco has the most spectacular WPA mural art, done by Anton Refregier, in which the cultural spirit of the transforming period is captured.

For an historical account of antecedent events in American life that had prepared the social climate for a transformed Zeitgeist, the following works ought to be consulted. Richard Hofstader, Social Darwinism in American Thought: 1860-1915; Frederick Lewis Allen, The Big Change: America Transforms Itself 1900-'950 (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1952); Milton J. Nadworny, Scientific Management and the Unions, 1900-1932: A Historical Analysis (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1955).

function has outstripped our inventiveness in devising organization patterns to meet the new situation."[43]   In this, Newlon anticipated Barnard in print by four years. "Unfortunately for American education," Callahan lamented, "Jesse Newlon's point of view did not prevail."[44]   Disenchantment with anti-humanistic conventions in the 1930s brought in its wake a confusion of pluralist political democracy with the instrumental value of human relations in administrative control. John Dewey, among others in academia, buttressed this confusion as is indicated both by the title, 'Democracy and Education Administration," and the following excerpt from a 1937 address he had given at the Annual Convention of the American Association of School Administrators:

> It may be a guess, but I think it is a safe guess, that the dictatorial, autocratic attitudes adopted by some teachers in the classroom is, in some considerable measure, a reflection of what they feel they suffer from . . . . If these teachers had an opportunity to take some active part in the formation of general policies, they might well be moved to be less autocratic in their own domain.[45]

Textbook literature that followed Newlon's publication likewise showed this confusion. Authors of these textbooks missed altogether the instrumental value in Newlon's urging of participatory decision-making in school administration. A loss of "power to think," following Newlon, is no small loss to an organization in which teacher personnel is the most costly human resource. Passages from the following two textbooks are indicative of how this confusion was sustained well into the literature of the 1940s and mid-1950s:

> American industry in many cases has sought to achieve efficiency by subordinating person to the machine and to the administrative system. Through autocratic exercise of power and control, industrial management has increased production and reduced costs. However, the application of the techniques of industrial management to the business of social engineering inevitably has an undesirable effect upon the personality of the administrator concerned, to say nothing of the effect upon the student and faculty personnel. The spirit of democracy is essentially a spirit of respect for the

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[43]Quoted by Eugene L. Belisle and Cyril G. Sargent, "The Concept of Administration," in Campbell and Gregg, eds., Administrative Behavior in Education, p. 105.

[44]Callahan, Education and the Cult of Efficiency, pp. 203-204.

[45]John Dewey, "Democracy and Education Administration," Official Report, New Orleans Convention of the American Association of School Administrators (Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, February 1937), p. 54.

intrinsic worth of individual personality.[46]

And:

> Some school systems have operated in an undemocratic way so long that the relations of teachers, custodians, and others to administrators are more than tinged with fear and tension. Almost any teacher can bear witness, for example, to the fact that at a social gathering of teachers only there is a more relaxed air and spirit of camaraderie than in a company which includes administrators or board members. Perhaps this is human nature; perhaps it is in part due to the fact that administrators have for generations held the whip over school employees . . . . Nor is it only in social situations that fear exists; it carries over into professional contacts. One of the most difficult problems in fostering democracy in administration is overcoming this unwholesome quality in personal relations, and most of the responsibility for doing this rests with administrators.[47]

Daniel Griffiths' Human Relations in School Administration, published in 1956, was the first textbook in Educational Administration whose "basic purpose" was to provide a social-psychological rationale for the instrumental value of human relations in administrative control. Griffiths wrote in the Preface:

> Many people in school administration may be discouraged with this book because it does not contain lists of human relations rules or techniques of behavior. This is not a cookbook; it is a textbook. As such, theory will be discussed and evaluated and brought to bear on the important problems in school administration. The basic purpose of this book is to bring together in one volume what is known about human relations and relate it to school administration.[48]

Griffiths was right to anticipate the textbook's jarring effect on the field. Antecedent textbooks had so mesmerized the field with notions of "democratic administration," even the author of the "Foreword" to his Human Relations in School Administration had failed to grasp the larger significance of Griffiths' purpose. The following is from that "Foreword:"

> Many familiar with pressures, tensions, conflicts, and demands upon the public schools would agree that the basic need is general application of the principle of the golden rule to school and community. This is the meaning that the author gives to "human relations" as employed in this book--simply the acceptance and application by the school administration of the spirit of

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[46]G. Robert Koopman, Alice Miel, and Paul J. Misner, Democracy in School Administration (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1943), p. 41.

[47]Calvin Grieder and William E. Rosenstengel, Public School Administration (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1954), p. 97.

[48]Griffiths, Human Relations in School Administration, p. VII.

good will of one toward another in all human relations.[49]

Not so! <u>Human Relations in School Administration</u> meant to provide a utilitarian rationale for human relations in administrative control, to free its axiological definition from "golden rule" thinking, and to redefine its meaning in the context of behaviorist-based administrative theory. It was a task of creative synthesis in textbook writing for which Griffiths was intellectually equipped by academic preparation. Moreover, its publication was altogether propitious to the period's changing expectations of administrative control in school organization and, therefore, a comment on its ideational gestation also is relevant.

Griffiths' Ph.D. dissertation at Yale University, completed in 1952, was a performance investigation of successful and unsuccessful school superintendents. The source of items for his instrument, called <u>Administrative Behavior Checklist</u>, was Helen Jennings' sociometric investigation of behavior characteristics of leaders and nonleaders.[50] Jennings, it will be recalled, had collaborated in the early 1930s with J. L. Moreno in sociometric research.

Early use in professional fields of Moreno's work was in social work, where Griffiths found Jennings' research instrument. Then, in 1947, probably about the time Griffiths was getting ready for advanced study, the National Training Laboratories--NTL--of the ational Education Association opened its doors for intensive training in group dynamics. Eminent behavioral scientists were invited by NTL to lecture, give workshops, and to participate in the preparation of sensitivity-training materials and films.[51] All of which is indicative of the strong behaviorist influence at the time of Griffiths' graduate-school years.

Griffiths' applied interest in the behavioral sciences as a graduate student was later nurtured at Teachers College, Columbia where he was appointed to the faculty in school administration. Teachers College, from the early 1950s, included "T-group" type

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[49]<u>Ibid</u>., p. V.

[50]Griffiths, <u>Human Relations in School Administration</u>, pp. 150, 244. For a look at Jennings' instrument, see Helen Hall Jennings, <u>Leadership and Isolation: A Study of Personality in Inter-Personal Relations</u> (New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1950), pp. 145-150.

[51]Among behavioral scientists who had participated in NTL work were Chris Argyris (Department of Industrial Relations, Yale University), Kenneth D. Benne (Human Relations Center, Boston University), and Ronald Lippit (Research Center for Group Dynamics, University of Michigan).

of sensitivity training in its preparation program for school administration. More germane, together with other Centers of the Cooperative Program in Educational Administration, the Center at Teachers college was heavily into the empirical study of interpersonal relations in school organization.[52] However, for Griffiths and others, the paucity of a theoretical base for much of this human relations research in school organization was troublesome.

The corrective was obvious in Griffiths' mind: Educational Administration had to have a general theory of human behavior in organization capable of integrating management process and human relations skill in administrative control. Out of it came Human Relations in School Administration.

Perhaps the most obvious indicator of the textbook's propitiousness is that its publication and the founding of the University Council for Educational Administration were both in 1956. The search for unifying theory in school administration in Centers of the Cooperative Program in Educational Administration had made ready the intellectual climate for both. However, was behaviorist-based administrative theory alone adequate for administrative preparation?

It took a while for textbook literature to confront this question. Largely because of Griffiths' communication skills and intellectual influence, behaviorist-centered content was the stuff of textbook literature following the publication of Human Relations in School Administration. Griffiths had been a driving presence within the theory movement for some time and, not altogether by coincidence, the year his textbook was published he also was elected to UCEA's first governing board. It is understandable, therefore, why textbook writers would have looked to Human Relations in Sc... 1 Administration as a model. Then, also, there was the reinforcing behaviorist influence of Andrew Halpin.

Halpin's academic preparation had been in clinical psychology. His career in education was first as a school psychologist, then as a research psychologist with the Personnel Research Board at The Ohio State University. Fortuitously, one of the eight

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[52]Walter A. Anderson and Richard C. Lonsdale, "Learning Administrative Behavior," in Campbell and Gregg, eds., Administrative Behavior in Education, p. 439. Griffiths own participation in this type of research was published in John K. Hemphill, Daniel E. Griffiths, and Norman Fredericksen, Administrative Performance and Personality (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1962). Material for UCEA simulations of the "Whitman School" was drawn from this research.

See again, Part I, herein, for more on the Kellogg Foundation sponsored Cooperative Program in Educational Administration.

regional centers of the Cooperative Program in Educational Administration also was at The Ohio State University and it was there that Halpin conducted a study of administrative leadership behavior in school organization. The publication of this research in 1959 was Halpin's calling-card to Educational Administration and the field was impressed. He then published The Organizational Climate of Schools in 1962, now in collaboration with Don Croft, and his reputation soared.[53] The research was funded by the U. S. Office of Education and, among other outcomes of value to school administration, it confirmed the empirical entity in Barnard's conception of an "organization personality."[54]

Halpin's intellectual influence on textbook literature was exerted mostly by means of published research, an occasional essay, and as a participant in UCEA programs. He did very little teaching, but whatever he published was endowed with elegance, wit, enlightening metaphor, and with never a compromise of the scholar's integrity. Textbook writers read or listened attentively when Halpin had an idea or insight to impart.[55] So it was! Griffiths' and Halpin's scholarship had opened a window on the behavioral sciences in Educational Administration. UCEA soon thereafter opened another window, but now on the social sciences, and it did so in 1957 with the first of its Career Development Seminars.

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[53]Andrew W. Halpin, The Leadership Behavior of School Superintendents: The Perceptions and Expectations of Board Members, Staff Members, and Superintendents (Chicago: Midwest Administration Center, The University of Chicago, 1959); Andrew W. Halpin and Don B. Croft, The Organizational Climate of Schools (Washington, D.C.: United States Office of Education, 1962). Shortened accounts of the Organization Climate and Leadership Behavior studies, as well as the best of Halpin's theoretical essays, are in Andrew W. Halpin, Theory and Research in Administration (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1966).

[54]Barnard, The Functions of the Executive, pp. 88, 174, 281.

[55]It would be a rewarding effort in scholarship to ascertain as well Halpin's intellectual influence on doctoral theses written during the 1960s. Dissertations, like textbooks, contain useful primary source material for the writing of history.

Among the fond recollections this writer has of colleagueship with Luvern L. Cunningham at the University of Minnesota in the 1960s is of an invitation we had extended to graduate students at the thesis-writing stage to join us evenings in informal seminars at the Faculty Club to explore researchable thesis topics in Halpin's just-published study of Organization Climate. Five Ph.D. dissertations came out of those sessions.

6

Administrative Control as Transaction

Held at the University of Chicago, with the Midwest Administration Center as host and cosponsor, the Seminar theme was "the role of theory in educational administration."[56] Papers at that three-day Seminar, November 11-13, were a mix representative of the behavioral sciences, social sciences, and school administration. Griffiths and Halpin read papers, so did Talcott Parsons, James D. Thompson, Roald F. Campbell, and others. Seminar papers were published later as Administrative Theory in Education, with Andrew Halpin as editor, and their diffusion heightened the theoretical sophistication of textbook literature in Educational Administration.[57]

A twofold developmental influence on textbook literature came out of the 1957 UCEA Seminar: the vast domain of both theoretical and applied social science literature was opened to textbook writers, and the behavioral-social science relationship in administrative theory was made a part of the intellectual capital of Educational Administration.

Two papers read at the UCEA Seminar were especially instrumental in providing textbook writers with instant theoretical insight into the organic complexity of formal organization. One was by Jacob Getzels, in which behavior in formal organization was shown pictographically as a transaction between role and personality; that is, as an administrative transaction between idiographic and nomothetic dimensions of organization. The other was by Parsons in which a constraint on administrative control is explicated in relation to the flow of line authority within three hierarchically arranged subsystems of formal organization. It is, therefore, altogether in point that two textbooks in school administration to reflect the heightened

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[56]Roald F. Campbell, then Director of the Midwest Administration Center, in Halpin, Administrative Theory in Education, p. V.

[57]Following the theory Seminar of 1957, UCEA launched other energizing initiatives by means of "task forces" composed of professors from its member institutions. Among others, there was a task force to think about "school as a political institution," another was charged to develop "new instructional materials and methods," still another was set to explore usable "interdisciplinary content" in preparation programs. This writer had served on the latter task force from its inception.

theoretical sophistication of the UCEA era also had Roald Campbell as coauthor. He, it will be recalled, had given a paper at the 1957 UCEA Seminar.

Both textbooks, The Organization and Control of American Schools and Educational Administration as a Social Process, defined administrative action in school organization as an amalgam of conceptual--human relations--technical skills.[58] But Campbell, as textbook writer, seems to have had a before-and-after conception of human relations. He had coauthored another textbook several years before the 1957 UCEA Seminar. Its identification with the human relations school of administration is made clear in a dedicatory statement which reads, "To the Members of the National Conference of Professors of Educational Administration, Pioneers in Democratic School Administration." Differential performance expectations of the "Role of Educational Administrator" in this book's first chapter, not written by Campbell, is delineated in a two-column schema under the political-science rubrics of "in democracies" and "in dictatorships."[59]

Published writing by Campbell after the 1957 UCEA Seminar is warrant for the speculation that could he have done it over, Campbell might have urged on his earlier coauthors a different view of human relations in administrative control. In 1968, the publication year of The Organization and Control of American Schools, Campbell also wrote for an edited book in which he drew upon social system theory to make the following trenchant observation of human relations value in administrative control:

> . . . I wouldn't throw out the whole business [of human relations]. People are important. Teachers are important. We can't run a school without teachers. Teachers are people, and people have needs-dispositions. So we can't throw human relations away. But again, this is only a partial picture. Anybody who thinks he can equate administration or supervision with human relations is fooling himself . . . . Schools have an exceedingly important social function to perform, and they have been set up by society to perform this function.[60]

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[58]Roald F. Campbell, Luvern L. Cunningham, and Roderick F. McPhee, The Organization and Control of American Schools (Columbus: Charles E. Merrill Books, (1976); Jacob W. Getzels, James M. Lipham, and Roald F. Campbell, Educational Administration as a Social Process: Theory, Research, Practice (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1968).

[59]John T. Walquist, William E. Arnold, Roald F. Campbell, Theodore L. Reller, Lester B. Stands, The Administration of Public Education (New York: The Ronald Press, 1952), pp. 19-20.

[60]Roald F. Campbell, "Applications of Administrative Concepts to the Elementary Principalship," in Sherman H. Frey and Keith R. Getschman, eds., School Administration (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1968), pp. 192-3. It is further relevant, even if as

Before-and-after comparisons in intellectual history are useful, but they do have to guard against what A. N. Whi.ehead has called "misplaced concreteness." Interventions other than the UCEA influence may account for heightened theoretical sophistication in textbook literature. Included among these might have been: a renascent confidence in the social sciences during the period following World War II, the flowering of industrial sociology in university-based Industrial Relations Centers, Administrative Science Quarterly began publishing in the same year that UCEA was founded, recognition in academia of the seminal ideas in Barnard's The Function of the Executiv., and other kindred events. And, indeed, such speculation in historical analysis is of value mostly because it leads straightaway to a confrontation with the problem of causality and of proximate determinants in human events. Did the founding of UCEA in 1956 exert a facilitative intellectual influence on how textbook writers defined administrative control in school administration, or were UCEA and heightened theoretical sophistication in textbook writing resultant events of the same proximate determinants? Documentary evidence is supportive of the former as "causal nexus."

There is no doubt UCEA was founded in an intellectual climate made ready for the field both by the National Conference of Professors of Educational Administration, formed in 1947, and the Cooperative Program in Educational Administration, formed in 1950. The intellectual influence of these two programs on textbook literature, however, does seem to have induced no more than a self-awareness of its atheoretical content and a concomitant groping for theoretical perspective.

To illustrate: In the "Preface" of the heretofore examined multi-authored The Administration of Public Education, 1952, one reads: "The theoretical material so often placed before the reader in early chapters--and then largely forgotten--is here placed near the end of the book where it will mean far more to the reader."[61] And what is "near the end of the book?" A chapter in which very little in its content is theoretical even by standards of the early UCEA era. However, there are passages in the chapter, to borrow from William James, that do have "practical cash-value" for historical analysis.

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a nuance only, that in The Organization and Control of American Schools, p. 210, a reference to the one-time interchangeable use of human relations and democratic as adjectives in definitions of school administration, "democratic" is set in quotation marks, but not so the words human relations.

[61]John T. Wahlquist, et al., The Administration of Public Education, p. III.

In one such passage in the book there is an implied definition of an administrative control that relates functionally to organic transformations in school organization:

> The school executive should see his job in historical perspective. He should sense that from colonial times to the present day the pattern of school organization has never remained static, nor have there been any abrupt revolutionary changes. While old ways of doing things tend to persist, gradual changes have come in response to new conditions, new forces, and new visions. To change concepts and practices in school administration radically is a herculean task.[62]

A textbook published in 1971, and this is the _oint of the illustration, also dealt with administrative control in relation to the phenomenon of organic change, but now with recognizable theoretical awareness. The authors of this textbook characterized "bureaucratically oriented schools" as a "mechanistic model" and "professionally oriented schools" as an "organic model."[63]

One more comment on the facilitative role of UCEA in relation to heightened theoretical sophistication in the textbook literature. There is ample evidence that textbook writers in school administration of the UCEA era have looked to business administration for state-of-the-art applications of social and behavioral science, just as those of the Cubberly era had looked to business administration for state-of-the-art applications of scientific management; Harvard Business Review, as one example, had been the source for a schematic discrimination between human relations and human resources models in a textbook of the early 1970s.[64] Inherent historical significance, however, is not in that textbook writers of both eras looked to business administration for usable knowledge, but in that textbook writers of the UCEA era now were aware that what was borrowed had to be filtered through the mesh of theory.[65]

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[62]Ibid., p. 566.

[63]Thomas J. Sergiovanni and Robert J. Starrat, Emerging Patterns of Supervision: Human Perspectives (New York: McGraw Hill Book Co., 1971), p. ⌄4.

[64]Ibid., pp. 152-153.

[65]Not alone was this so in textbooks for general school administration, but also, as is indicated in the following titles, in textbooks for the principalship. See, as representative, Lloyd E. McCleary and Stephen P. Hencley, Secondary School Administration: Theoretical Bases of Professional Practice (New York: Dodd, Mead and Co., 1965); Charles F. Faber and Gilbert F. Shearron, Elementary School Administration Theory and Practice (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1970).

7

Conclusion

In Clio's panoptic sweep of textbook literature in school administration, key textbooks mark evolutionary stages in the definition of administrative control in school organization. Each reflects in its content the available conceptual capital of its time. It would be a misuse of the historian's craft to demean textbooks of yesteryear out of advantages provided by later intellectual sophistication. There is an epistemological tradition in the writing of history, from the time of Voltaire, that recognizes the difference between historicism and the wisdom of Clio. Perhaps it is this tradition that Dewey had in mind when he wrote, "The past just as past is no longer our affair, but knowledge of the past is the key to understanding the present."[66]

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[66]John Dewey, Democracy and Education: An Introduction to the Philosophy of Education (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1916), pp. 250-251. In a passage that can stand for an elaboration of Dewey's statement, Belisle and Sargent have written, "The search for the beginning of anything in history always seems to reveal some traces lying behind the time and the events at which there is a pattern sufficiently clear that its tracing thereafter becomes self-revealing; nonetheless the emergence of some fairly clear crystallization followed by some evidence of subsequent continuity is exceedingly useful as a point of departure." Eugene L Belisle and Cyril G. Sargent, "The Concept of Administration," in Campbell and Gregg, eds., Administrative Behavior in Education, p. 85.

NOT THE END

TO BE CONTINUED BY CREATIVE PROFESSORS OF
EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION WHO, TOGETHER WITH
STUDENTS, WILL FIND THEIR OWN
PATHWAYS TO THE HUMANITIES.

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