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THE SOCIOLOGICAL MILIEU OF THE TEACHER-ROLE

by
Robin Herman

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
(Education)
in The University of Michigan
1972

Doctoral Committee:

Professor David Angus, Chairman
Professor William Cave
Professor Richard Knowles
Professor Richard Mann

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PROLOGUE

Analyses of the urban public school in America, of its historical record and current aspect of crisis, have reached an immense bibliographic proportion. Commentators on the educational establishment derive from every intellectual discipline. Voices from the lay community, religious ideologues and politically opinionated persons also add to the quantitative dimension of educational criticism.

The critics are often motivated by private concerns and preferences. Some are plaintive, some dispassionate. And there are individuals who cannot morally sanction the debilitating condition of the urban school today. The variety of conclusions and ultimating solutions that may be drawn from so many diverse perspectives is awesome. Most frequently, however, the examining eye of the salaried researcher, the journalist or the citizen, assess the problems and dysfunctioning element, the atmospheres of violence and disruption in the city school as a matter of attitudinal or value conflict.

Characteristic of this general approach is the prevalence of scape-goatism or arbitrarily finding fault with isolated groups of children, parents, teachers, administrators, minority groups and their particular childrearing methodologies. Too, nostrums about generation gaps and the

conviction that the school is a purely neutral physical plant rather than an organized social system where groups of different mind and attitude come to conflict, typify this approach. The crisis of the schools, it follows, is remedied by the forfeiture of values and attitudes held by some groups. This generalized view maintains that foreign attitudes brought into the school are the causal agents of turmoil and disruption.

This traditional line of argumentation will be opposed, in this thesis, by the provision of an alternate stance whose intellectual constructs translate the structural arrangement of the school into primary determinants of behavior. The theories of organizational behavior advanced by Emil Durkheim, Daniel Katz and Robert Kahn, Professor Merton, Talcott Parsons and Erving Goffman in the main, may be here acknowledged as having been instrumental in the development of the position cited above.

This study concentrates its purposive research upon the public school teacher in urban America. Thus, the perspective of our investigative efforts divests itself of particular concern for the attitudinal patterns pervasive among teachers at given periods. Nor do we establish contrasts between the class values of teachers and those presumably antithetical values the teacher discovers in the behavior of subcultural groups. The accountability of an educator's achievement as measured by certain evaluative codes is a matter equally alien to the goals of this study.

Rather, this monograph confines its address to these <u>Objectives</u>:

The construction of conceptual models of the sociological milieu of the contemporary teacher-role;

The description of these milieux, their dramatic presentation and critical importance in the production of interpersonal conflict, sanctioned behaviors and societal discomfiture at the inability of educative institutions to fulfill their mandated responsibilities;

The hazarding of an innovative organizational model for the public school.

Our conception of the first objective entails a clear depiction of the urban public school as an organizational entity which exhibits the characteristics of traditional bureaucracies, of total institutions, of rigid social systems exhibiting partial features of openness and closure. Similarly, the second objective we have cited necessitates a precise examination of role-playing, role-assumption and expectation and role-interrelatedness in the context of the school's organization. The text also reports upon the specific effects of role-playing in the design of behavioral limitations, motivations and functionality.

An initial Definition of Terms, it is believed, may provide a consistent basis for a common understanding of the analysis to follow. J. W. Getzels and E. G. Guda (1954) cite three major terms of obvious import to the concept of Role Theory:

Actor: The individual considered in abstraction from his personality and roles;

> Role: The set of complementary expectations regarding the actor in his interaction with other individuals; and
>
> Personality: The System of need-dispositions reacting to the alternatives presented by the existence of the different roles.[1]

Ivey and Rubin (1966) define the special properties of Role-Assumption:

> Norm: The expectation of behavior stemming from a general agreement or from those whose judgments are psychologically significant to the actor;
>
> Position: A location in a defined social structure; the definition of a given position is in terms of others' positions in the structure
>
> Role-Behavior: Sets of norms or expectations that are assigned by significant others to a specific position... roles provide a method of organizing expectations by reference to a social structure.[2]

We identify the intellectual features of an organization with those of a social system. Katz and Kahn (1966) suggest this connection in The Social Psychology of Organizations when they write:

> A social system is a structuring of events or happenings rather than of physical parts and it therefore has no structure apart from its functioning. When a social system ceases to function there is no longer an identifiable structure. It is difficult for us to view social systems as structures of events because of our needs for more concrete and simple ways of conceptualizing the world. Hence, we identify the buildings, the technological equipment and the people they contain as the structure of an organization.[3]

In this guise, bureaucracy, total institutions, open and closed systems may be viewed as ways to order human experience and events rather than serving to furnish typological descriptions of organizations based on what they materially produce.

The sociological milieu which we are to explore finds its bearing in the field of formal and less formal sources that wield influence upon the performance of a given social role. The composite of these influences include those explicitly within the organizational realm (say, the principal's expectations for the performance of the teacher-role) and those outside the formal parameters such as parental expectations.

Role conflict, it follows, may be perceived as an instance where the actor, or role-player, is confronted by conflicting expectations which originate from different, yet legitimate, sources within his milieu. As defined by Katz and Kahn:

> We define 'role conflict' as the simultaneous occurrence of two (or more) role sendings, such that compliance with one would make more difficult compliance with the other. In the extreme case, compliance with one expectation as sent would exclude completely the possibility of compliance with the other; the two expectations are mutually contradictory.[4]

Underscoring the objectives designated for this study are several Postulates which we advance as the essential presuppositions for our train of reasoning: The school, as a social system, is organized by way of rigidly ordered roles that enmesh in a classically hierarchical manner. Secondly, the sociological milieu of each role-player within the school, as exactingly typified in the teacher's role, is filled with numerous sources

of expectation that are psychologically significant to the actor. In the context of a violent and divisive America, new social pressures proliferate which impose their particular expectations upon the school's role-player, thus precipitating role-conflict. The additioning of these conditions result in individual and organizational behaviors which are directed toward security rather than productive growth. And when self-preservation or job security, in their most vulgar range, become of paramount concern to the actors in the teacher-role there follows that moral crisis and forfeiture of originally intended service so characteristic of almost everyone presently inhabiting positioned roles in the school.

This study has been undertaken because of the belief that behavioral motivation may be significantly lodged in the systematic structure of the school. This notion, we reported earlier, contrasts sharply with the belief that conflict is a by-product of opposing attitudes brought to the school's social system. Perhaps Rhinehart Bendix captures this sentiment when he writes: "People develop traits that make them 'want' to do that which they 'have' to do"[5]. In other words, if we wish to gain insight into the motivation of school-based persons, the structural environment in which they live must be examined.

An attempt will be made in this study to employ the tenets of organizational theory to depict the sociological milieu of the teacher-role as one that, by its very nature, accentuates role-conflict. The sociologic milieu of the teacher-role, it is held, predictably inhibits some forms of positive teaching behavior

while encouraging the exhibtion of other, less ennobling expressions.

The physical structure of this dissertation is unlike its traditional counterparts in that it includes, in addition to its application of conceptual theory to the teacher-role milieu, a fictional presentation of the emotive life of the teacher-role. The monograph ends with the proposal of an innovative conceptual model to be employed in the elementary school.

The dramatically informal portion of this thesis may be considered as a very personalized reflection upon my three years as a teacher in the public schools. Similarly, the purely academic segment of this study is meant to create an intellectual and scholarly translation of those years.

Any value in these efforts lies in the challenge of adding meaningful perspectives to the educational realm, in legitimizing a novel use of tools seldom called upon by educational interests and in the stimulation of innovative thought and action in the urban public school experience.

CHAPTER I

RECOLLECTIONS OF THE SOCIOPATHOLOGICAL MILIEU OF THE TEACHER-ROLE

Introductory Scene:

Twelve-year old black young man sitting in an empty classroom. He is reading, or seems to be doing so. Carved on his desk-top is the inscription: 'Milky-A-Punk.' The clock on the rear wall indicates that it is three-forty-three. A slight snowfall is seen through the classroom windows. At the feet of the young man is a newspaperboy's bag.

The young man rises and walks to the front of the room and turns to face the assembly of vacant desks. The palms of both hands are flatly pressed against his sides, hear erect.

Young Man: Dr. Burnstein, Mr. Quinn, parents, teachers and fellow students. "What Freedom Means To Me"

"If I had one million dollars I would buy myself the biggest house known and my servants bringing my food up to me. I'd have one for everything. Then I would give one penny to charity and a nickle to UNICEF. With all the other I'm going to buy beer whiskey wine. I'll give my wife five dollars a month. I'll bail out every criminal I know. I'll buy myself three lions two bears and a gorilla. I'll have 130343097 wives. The rest for college."[7]

A pause and slight bow from the waist.

Young Man: I want to thank Mr. Quinn for helping me learn my speech which I memorized from the book The Me Nobody Knows. I also want to thank Mr. Reeves the best janitor I know. He does not mess wit' the cleaning lady or drink wine until he checked that all the halls are sweeped up, all the lockers are dusted up, and all the desks are in neat rows.

Scene Two (Over-head Shot):

1969 Ford Bronco wends its way through downtown traffic. Snow is lightly falling. No cars are allowed to park on either side of this main street which people briskly pedestrian, carrying many decoratively wrapped packages.

The Bronco passes a horse-drawn wagon that is stopped at the curb. At the reins is an elderly gray-haired Negro who is wearing a magnificent black tuxedo with a felt ambassador-like ribbon across the chest. Tilted slightly forward on the man's head is a rather stately top hat. The wagon is filled with sundry junk: bed-springs, stacks of cardboard bound with cord, planks of wood, bundles of newspapers, broken tables, a TV console without its tubes, and heaped atop some unidentifiable stuff is a school desk with the inscription carved on its top, 'Milky-A-Punk.' The same young man from the previous scene is behind the wagon picking up a piece of auto trim which he throws into the wagon. He also gets a pop bottle from out of the gutter. The twelve-year old puts the bottle in his news-carrier bag, stands and glances at a Latin American sitting on the curb nearby. The Latin's head is drooping in semi-slumber. The drowsy man is wearing a serape and has an enormous sombrero on his head. Held, as an appendage of his being, is a fine casting rod and reel whose line runs down through the tiny hole in a manhole cover. The boy, looking over his shoulder at the fisherman, slowly moves toward the wagon and climbs up next to the driver.

As the Bronco slowly continues, it passes a Cadillac pulled over to the curb by a patrol car topped with flashing light. As the officer stands aside the car, a young hippy-type bearded fellow is passing some bills through the window to the policeman. Taking the money and folding it into his pocket, the officer clicks some change out of an 'ice-cream man's' changer on his belt and gives it to the driver of the Cadillac.

Walking past the Cadillac and patrol car are two nuns in habit. One is lugging, with obvious difficulty, a huge cauldron brimming over with dollar bills. Walking next to the other, in perfect cadence, is a vicious looking Doberman pinscher.

Further up the street, two men in dark business suits and darby hats are engaged in an exceedingly heated exchange. One of the men, unusually thin, is leaning on an umbrella cane that could, in circumference and shape, be a third leg and is waving a folded newspaper in the face of the other. The second man, as incredibly obese as the first is thin, utilizes one hand in what seems a gesturative denial and with the other holds a leash which is collaring a large pelican. The fat one maintains a fastened gaze upon his antagonist while he extracts a large fish from his inside suit pocket and gives it gently to the bird.

Returning to the slow moving Bronco, its driver's appearance becomes partially distinguishable. Clean-shaven and middle-aged,

the white man wears a sportman's fishing hat decorated with colorful lures and an immense button on the front, reminiscent of a miner's head lamp. The slogan, bordering the edge of the button, states, "Cream Rises To The Top - reelect Ralph Milctum." The driver's trench coat collar is upturned and unbuttoned at the neck, revealing a bow tie. The man gingerly exhibits melody, both by the grace with which he rolls a cigar from one side of his mouth to the other and by his tapping fingers on the top of the steering wheel.

The Ford continues a block or so before being halted by a traffic light. The driver nods his head in a knowing fashion, as if that single cranium was privileged to possess the secrets nature deems unravelable to all other mortals, and leans over to activate the car radio. The aura of wisdom vanishes from the driver's being and is replaced by one of intense concentration (obviously fixed upon the radio communique).

This is Ullysus Samson Mann...Age: five feet, eleven inches; weight: forty one next July; annual income: Caucasion; physical disabilities: his yet unpaid for 1969 off-the-road Ford Bronco. Despite his placid exterior, he is in the throes of inner turmoil. Admittedly not as raked by conflict as in his younger days, when the multitude of insidious little voices drove him to absolute distraction. However, those years which, in retrospect, seemed to have bordered on lunacy, are gone. It was some time during the late 1960's that Mann stripped the little voices of their legitimacy, turning a deaf ear to them. With resolution, he reasoned that the little voices were lewd and held for him only confusion, never bestowing clarity nor understanding. Proudly, Mann periodically reflects upon those times and how he retooled his intellect through fortitude and bits and pieces of advice offered on various TV panel discussion programs. It seemed reasonable that those famous enough to attain television airing could confidently instruct and direct, unlike the cowardly voices that chose the conveyance of suggestion or proposition.

Car and driver remain at the traffic light.

Now Ullysus finds his psyche embroiled in the issue of youthful decadence, promiscuity and lack of respect for all things spiritually and divilly sacred. His concern is founded upon offended decency and the erosion of good citizenship, while frenzily fanned because of his two siblihgs now enrolled in the buttress of obscenity - the school. Held to be empirical by all is the potential of teacher-laxity and impotence to transform the most endearing adolescent purity into fiendish perversion.

Car radio becomes audible.

Car radio: ...Furthermore, the municipally contracted researchers reveal that many teachers entertain thoughts of discontinuing the traditional report card

grading-system. The researchers, distinguished as painters, have actual tape recordings of these subversive sentiments and others espoused by the foppish faggots in what they so foolishly believed was the sanctity of their teachers' lounge. One eunuch was overhead defending a female student's right to decide upon the length of skirt she...

In visible indignation, the driver of the Bronco almost rips the knob from its dashboard moorings in his haste to turn iff the radio.

Ullysus Samson Mann: Sure! Why not encourage nudity? He was probably playing with himself at the time. What kind of guy do you think goes into teaching, in the first place? A pervert or a queer, he's probably some draft-dodging hop-head. They tell the kids it's candy and then when the little impressionable kids are too high to remember what their parents have taught them, the queers get the boys and the hop-heads finger the girls.

Take my little Beatrice, for example. She didn't know the difference. She even tried to bring a little spook home for dinner that time. If I didn't set her ass straight, she probably would have, too. And what was his name? Ah... let me see, oh, yes! Who but spooks would make a kid, Howard Taft Lincoln Jefferson. If I ever meet his black ass, I'll blow his thing off so he might as well go into teaching with the rest of 'em.

Hell! Between all them nigger kids and freak teachers, what chance does she have? She probably thinks that since the spook kids like that kind of stuff from teachers, it's okay for her too. Shit! That's all spooks see at home, what do you expect?

I wonder if a gynecologist will see a ten-year old? I'd save the goddamn money and take a look for myself buy that's just not healthy.

Inner Gutteral Voice: Hell, why not? The hillbillys do a lot more than that. You got money to throw away on some quack?

Ullysus Samson Mann: There are some things more important than money. A father just can't go around doing that kind of thing to his daughter. She might get the wrong idea.

Inner Sophisticated Voice: Dear, dear Mr. Mann, it's not to your advantage to dwell upon such thoughts. Please cast them from your mind. I have a proposal that will doubtlessly relieve you of such banal inclinations. I beseech you to listen closely. Why don't you immediately disrobe and go into that furniture store over there. Perhaps you can find something of reasonable expense. The Lord only knows your home could use a little brightening. Besides, it has been proven repeatedly that a nicely cared for home is highly conducive to wholesome adolescent growth.

Inner Gutteral Voice: Go ahead, Mann. Charging one more thing sure ain't gonna break you. If it gets too heavy, declare bankruptcy.

In the old days, Mann would hastily undress: hat and coat thrown into back seat, bow-tie hurled into glove compartment, shoes kicked off on the floor in front of passenger seat, body slightly elevated so pants could clear buttocks, then off, shirt hung on rear-view mirror and, finally, underwear stuffed under the seat. That was the format: a place for everything and everything in its place. However, carelessness became an issue with shoes and sox. They were usually discarded outside the car. But those were the days of less restraint. Now Ullysus only thought about such escapades, never actualizing them.

Scene Three:

A wintry urban twilight, illuminated by the soot-gray snow. The regally clad junkman and his twelve-year-old companion emerge from an old dilapidated turn-of-the-century garage-barn and walk along the litter-strewn alley.

The boy picks a rock from the ground and lobs it hook-shot-like into a cement garbage receptacle, loosing a screaming rat-pack whose members stream out through the cracked seams. One rat, more adventurous than the others, scurries into a partially opened basement apartment window.

Inside, a large cat leaps onto the windowsill, then off, in the direction of the recent arrival.

Both the old man and the boy are expressionless as they proceed down the alley.

Old Man: Well, boy, you happy now? Old Brenda and her cat got some company.

Twelve-Year-Old: Teach her to keep her winda shut. Besides, that a bad cat. He'll get 'em.

Old Man: So you a teacher now? Well, Mr. Professor, if she close that winda, the stove gas 'ill get her. And if she cut da gas, the cold 'ill freeze up her old bones. You teachin' her awright!

Twelve-Year-Old: All I did was throw a rock. I didn't make those rats go crazy. They crazy by their ownselves.

Old Man: Just keep teachin', professor. You too busy teachin' for learnin'. Keep at it, boy, you'll teach us old folks some sense.

Twelve-Year-Old: You know I didn't mean to cause Brenda no trouble. I just...

Old Man: Look here, boy. They don't call dis place 'da bottom' fa nothin. Who you think gonna pop up when you stir da bottom?

The boy nods his head in acceptance. As the two near the end of the alley, they turn toward the third back door from the corner. The door is a rear entrance toa shop.

Three elderly black men - attired in assorted rags reminiscent of those worn at Valley Forge during the winter of 1776 - are huddled around a tin garbage can that is aglow from its flaming contents of scrap wood, newspapers and milk cartons. The inflammables merely introduce fire to the large stones inside that are the real source of consistent heat. The can's cover is resting on top, but inverted: has holes punched in it and holds two strips of barbecuing ribs. A second can cover, supported by a stick run through its handle, is suspended over the meat so as to intercept snowflakes and afford space for continual prodding and basting by the chefs.

The junkman and the boy approach the triad.

Junkman addresses the group: You all got to be crazy! Now I can't wait for dis monster to drag his snowy behind outa here, but you all jus' got to be pushin' the old men too hard. Nex thing I know, you be slicin' up a 'letter from home' and spitting seeds into da snow. Why ain't you inside usin' da hot plate?

Man holding the can top: How you doin' King Man?

Junkman: Forget how I'm doin'. What are <u>you</u> doin'? Why ain't you inside?

Man prodding the ribs: Come on, King Man. You know a nigger ain't shit in da winta time.

Junkman: Dat a nigger ain't shit in da winta time don't mean he got to be a goddamn fool.

Man holding cover: You know, King Man, dose young foos are tootin' Jones inside, and we know how you feel about dat goin' on in da shop.

Junkman (to twelve-year-old): Why don't you run back fo a minute an see if Poor-Boy shook off his blanket. It's goin' down to zero dis evening.

The twelve-year-old turns and literally retraces his steps in the snow, trying to alight only in those footprints he made coming. Pausing, with his feet in old prints and his arms outstretched for balance, the boy shouts over his shoulder to the junkman.

Young Man: After Poor-Boy I believe I'll check out old Brenda's for a minute.

Man holding cover: Dat's a good boy you got there, King Man.

Junkman: You god dam right. An he goin' stay dat way till he go sour on his own. Give me a minute, then bring dat meat inside.

The junkman disappears through the door and emerges in a barbershop. The shop has four antiquated barber chairs, a row of stools and metal chairs along the one wall, while the wall behind the barber chairs is lined with cracked mirrors. On the ledge adjoining the mirrors is an assortment of hair tonic and wine bottles. Near the rear entrance, where the junkman is now standing, is a chest of

drawers and a refrigerator. On top of the chest are five or six school books held upright by wooden stallion bookends.

At the front of the shop, the windows are curtained with white bedsheets. The human adornment of the shop consists of a man sleeping in one of the metal chairs near the back of the shop, two men poring over a checkerboard and three young men in their mid-twenties sitting on the front window display case platform. Passed between them is a playing card. A corner of the card is held to one nostril followed by a deep inhalation. The card is then passed to another, a corner dipped into a tiny unfolded piece of tin-foil, and again uplifted to inhalation position. The two men playing checkers look up as the junkman pulls toward him the top drawer of the chest. He, the junkman, closes the drawer and takes a few steps toward the three young men who are too preoccupied to notice. Facing the three, the junkman holds a 38 caliber revolver behind his thigh. The weapon is visible only to the checker players who immediately rise and walk toward the rear door. As they leave, one taps the sleeping man, who immediately apprises himself of the circumstances and leaves with the checker players. The slamming of the rear door prompts the three young men to look up in unison.

Junkman: Now I told you young peoples to stay out or leave dat monkey at da door.

The young man with card ready for intake, intakes. He tilts his head back, then looks at the junkman and speaks nasally.

Young Man (with card): Bro' King Man, what's da deal? You been on parade downtown in your carriage?

Second Young Man: Hey, be coo, old man. We ain't funkin' wid nobody, ya unastand. We jus' tryin' to git coo, ya undastand.

Junkman: I told you young peoples to stay out or leave dat monkey at da door. Since da monkey go where you all go, get out!

Young Man (with card): I can dig where you comin' from Bro' King Man, but dig here, you out to make my man a punk? That little Nigga is a Nigga and goin' to be a Nigga, so's he best be hip to Niggas. A punk Nigga is a dead Nigga, you dig, Bro' King Nigga?

Third Young Man: Look here, King Man. We kickin' this monkey out...afta dis little bit. Dat's all we into...gettin' coo jus' dis one last time.

Second Young Man: Dat ain't no shit. Ya can't jus' throw da shit away, ya undastand...gettin' coo just' dis...

The junkman brings his arm from behind him and points the revolver at the second young man.

Junkman: I told you young peoples to stay out or leave da monkey at da door. Since da monkey go where you go, get out! Or, you jittabug, go first.

Second Young Man: Goddamn, no coo, King Man. Man, be coo. You knows my mamma... you don't want to blow me away, man. You been knowin' me all my life.

Third Young Man: Let's pull...this Nigga's crazy.

The three young men stand and back toward the front door. As they pass through the door - young man who had the card speaks.

Young Man With Card: Someday I', goin' off dat Nigga. He tryin' to blow my high.

The junkman, still aiming the pistol, slowly moves toward the front door and locks it. The three men barbecuing, the two checker players, the man once asleep, and the twelve-year-old all enter the shop through the rear entrance. The junkman quickly conceals the pistol in his coat pocket. The checker players return to their game, the man who slept goes behind the refrigerator and produces the hot plate. He and the chefs begin preparing the ribs.

King Man (to the boy): How was Poor-Boy?

Boy: Just like you thought; he shook his blanket off. I had to snap it on him. He didn't like it much but at least he'll be warm. And old Brenda was layin' up, talkin' to Fat Charles about some big ole rat her cat had for supper.

King Man: Dat sure enough a bad cat.

Boy: He sure is. I could learn a thing or two from that ole cat.

King Man: Maybe so. Why don't you rest up a bit in your chair before we eat. You can sweep da place out later on.

Twelve-year-old goes to the chest, removes a wool blanket which he covers himself with, reclining in the third barber chair from the front. King Man walks over to the checker game and looks on, scrutinizing the board. In a whispered voice, one checker player asks without averting his glance from the game:

Checker Player: What's da deal wid does Jones heads?

King Man: Fo'get 'em.

Scene Four:

Morning. Ullysus Samson Mann sits in his easy chair perusing the early edition of the local newspaper. Moments before, Mann's wife, Margaret, left for work and his children for school. Flipping through the pages of the periodical, one article captures his full attention. Intently, he runs his finger over each word. As the finger runs through the piece, Ullysus slams the paper to the floor. So incensed is he, Mann speaks to himself aloud.

Mann: ..right! Those Harlequins, and precisely at 8:00 A.M.! I am nauseated by their impotence. Those faggot, hippy, old spinster horny harlequins...harlequins?

Mann leans over the arm of his chair, fumbles through his collection of Reader's Digests stacked on the magazine rack and extracts his most cherished memento - he won it twenty-two years ago in a fourth grade spelling bee. Untilizing the clothbound tool, Ullysus reads aloud.

Mann: According to Webster's unabridged... "Harlequin - a comic...

Children's voices: "They never kid around with us...

Mann: ...character in pantomime...

Children's voices: ...We're computers and they want to sink it into our heads, but don't care how we feel...

Mann: ...who is gay, wears spangled tights...

Children's voices: ...So are we to blame if the teachers are punks?

Mann: ...and a mask."[9]

Children's voices: ...I treat my dog better than what they treat us."[10]

Mann replaces the dictionary on the rack. Leaning back in his chair, assuming a scholarly air (he has learned to mimic after watching countless episodes of Dr. Welby, M.D. and Room 222), Mann devolves analytically.

Mann: It becomes very evident that the once revered public school teacher...

Children's voices: "When he talks to you he puts his stink breath in your face and you could get high."

Mann: ...has lost a slight degree of esteem in numerous quarters of our society. Dissidence spews, not only from the faceless crevices of the ghetto and the bland blue-collar suburbs, but also through the syrupy rhetoric of the self-proclaimed liberated intellectuals. Everyone recognizes the hideous state of the public school.

The elastic hue-and-cry for improvement at any cost has elicited a variety of responses from local and federal educational bureaucrats: Afro American Jackie Robinson history, neighborhood paraprofessionals, 'borrow-from-Peter-to-bandaid-Paul' millage campaigns, culture free I.Q. tests, B'nai Brith tutoring programs, culture expanding excursions to factories and breweries. Yet, regardless of these attempts to innovatively coddle and compromise, the nation's young become more disgusting and less educated.

The whole sequence of permissiveness if corrupting the very fibre of the American heritage. However, to rectify these misdeeds, we must not simply bemoan the entire condition, but localize perspective upon the one most criminal...the teacher! Who are these insincere devisors? These creatures? These stink-breathed buffoons who pantomime dedication in the ghetto and propagandize in the suburbs? Who is it exactly who undermine parental discipline and turns

our rozy-cheeked young into narcoticized sex fiends?

Alright! Let's, as parents and citizens, swing into action, call the populus together and get down to that damn school and see for ourselves. Sound the clarion!

Sophisticated Voice: My noblely inspired fellow, you can't be serious. Another crusade?

Mann: And I'm really serious this time.

Sophisticated Voice: Much like the time you were planning to accuse the Postal Service of steaming open your mail?

Mann: Not like that episode with the Post Office, either.

Sophisticated Voice: Unlike your proposed legal action when you found that marble in the box of hard candy?

Mann: Nothing similar to that dental plot to simulate business. This time it's serious. Spottled harlequins, one and all, beware! The carnival must cease! There's power in the upraised voices of a united people. We need a group! A collectivity! A conglomerate of diverse Americans seething in our national melting pot.

Gutteral Voice: And we need a name so's we can have bumper stickers.

Mann: First, we must have a name so we can distribute bumper stickers. Let's see... a name, eh? It must sound ominous enough to frighten passing motorists, but literary so that harlequins won't go around correcting our English. How about...something like...Relentless Examining Committee To Unify Maturation. That's it!

Now we need people - members, patriots who'll obey parliamentary procedure. Right off, forget that far crucifix-toting lush next door. He sends his kids to Catholic School and he ain't even a Catholic. He says he's

just trying to play it safe. That's a laugh...him swallow the pill of decency without a major Papal degree? Well, then, who can I call? Who's got the red-blooded American entrails to join R.E.C.T.U.M. and stop-up the movement toward permissiveness? How about the P.T.A.? No, of course not! If they had done their job I wouldn't have to get involved now. That's just common sense.

Calmly and wisely I must proceed. Analysis of their bureaucratic defense system tells us we require two major instruments to undertake this civic mission. A passkey is needed for entrance to the school and a credential necessary to overwhelm those who might try throwing us out.

A passkey? Of course, it's as plain as the nose on their faces. A passkey...a Negro. These days you got to be colored to get a goddamn break. Now a credential...sure, I got it... a rich man. We all know that money and Jews talk. A spade to get us in... be our front - maybe he's got a relative on the janitorial staff, and a rich Jew to dispense with petty conversational bureaucrats. Now the ball's rolling, and...

Wait a minute! Wait one damn minute! If the spook gets all the breaks, who gives it to him? It's obviously the soft-ass Jew dishing out those breaks at less than union scale. Hell, have you ever seen a line of colored women standing at a bus stop in the Jew suburbs? Every damn one of them carries a shopping bag bulging with goodies, while my old lady gets all the napkins she can stuff in her purse.

To think I almost let myself associate with one of those philanthropists. He don't care about me. He takes the money he Jews from me and sends it to those Hebes in Israel and whatever's left he forks over to spooks. The regular Joe in this country is the one

really taking-it-in-the-chops; pay most taxes and some lazy whore either sits pretty on welfare or spends the day dusting and eating.

Forget the flourescent fingernailed rich. It was poor men who founded this country on ideals, that's what it's all about, isn't it? Poor men dreaming, demanding, seizing the right to breathe the most fragrant of all effluviums - freedom. The freedom to worship in your own god-damn way, freedom of the press and that which we call upon today - the right to bear arms...

Gutteral Voice: ...and legs and thighs and asses and tits and every damn thing.

Mann: ...and assemble. It was that very placenta of purity, lovingly encompassing our infant nation that still makes us great. It wasn't materialism in those splendidly earthy days, but idealism.

Sophisticated Voice: I beg your pardon, but "...that which aroused apprehension in the colonies and created unrest was, in the beginning, the effect of the British imposed laws on the cost of living, their interference with trade both home and abroad, and their consequent menace to colonial prosperity."[11]

Mann: It's the poor men who made this country noble from Bull Run to Guam, Iwo Jima to Laos. We're the beautiful but wretched of the earth. The good Lord keeps a special watch over his poor flock.

Sophisticated Voice: Perhaps. However, I prefer to lend credence to the Ashanti proverb, "Indigence will make one look for nuts in a dung heap."

Mann: We, the downtrodden, must pull together, overlook our genetic differences and regain the dignity stripped from us by the rich. We must control the school before the children turn away from us and toward syphilis, gonorrhea, trench mouth, communism. The average Joe and everyday Willie

must unite.

What black brother can I count on to join the march? Willie Jones? Hell, no. He kissed everybody's butt so he could make union steward and now he calls himself a militant. He's so militant he only charges those other niggers a dollar each for a ride to work every day.

But he's just one maggot; all the meat doesn't have to be rotten. Maybe Willie Reeves will come along; he got laid off when I did. No, not him; he only has one thing on his mind. Margaret said he tried to pat her behind at the Christmas party he threw. Can you imagine that? He gets you over to his house, talking about partying and a few drinks and when you get there he asks for a quarter for a beer and thirty-five cents for mixed drinks. We were good enough to go to that pig's feet and intestines banquet and some spook goes and tries to adore my wife's ass. All they got on their mind's is white tail.

Sophisticated Voice: Perhaps your contention has merit, but may I remind you of Cleaver's words, "I fought frantically to be free, but the ogre only mocked me and sank its claws deeper into my soul. I knew then that I had found an important key; that if I conquered the ogre and broke its power over me I would be free. But I also knew that it was a race against time and that if I didn't win I would certainly be broken and destroyed. I, a black man, confronted the ogre - the white woman."[12] So, you see, my friend, it takes two to...

Mann: All that liberal garbage you hear about white sex symbols; hell, if black broads would just shave their legs you wouldn't have all this. No white woman willingly goes with a spook unless she's a crazy whore. I know all about those horse-limbs, but that's not everything. A decent woman wants a strong man for security, love, respect. A man who knows how to be gentle and poetic. Those studs don't know what sensitivity is; look how they handle their own women. It's a damn

shame. Those spooks wouldn't know what to say to a decent woman if they weren't trying to score.

Sophisticated Voice: Dear me, dear me. You mustn't allow your own inadequacies to forment into blatant racism. I'll have to compile a relevant reading list for you. Listen to Cleaver: "When she comes to him, his heart is empty, a desolate place, a dehydrated oasis, unsolaced, and he's craving womanhood without which sustenance the tension of his manhood has unwound and relaxed. He has imperative need of the kindness, sympathy and understanding and conversation of a woman, to hear a woman's laughter at his words, to answer her questions and be answered by her, to look into her eyes, to sniff her primeval fragrance, to hear - with slaughtered ears - the sensuous rustling of frivolous garments as legs are crossed and uncrossed beneath a table, to feel the delicate, shy weight of her hand in his. How painfully and totally aware he is of her presence and every movement."[13]

Mann: No way! Spooks think about nothing but tail and quick change in their pockets. You just can't count on them...

The door-bell rings. Mann looks surprised, glancing at his wrist watch. He rises from the chair and walks to the door.

Mann: It's eight-thirty in the morning. Who in the hell could be out this early?

Mann opens the door and is greeted by the twelve-year old who resides at the barbershop. Slung over the young man's shoulder is his empty newspaper bag.

Twelve-Year-Old: Collect, Mr. Mann. I thought I'd come now rather than wake you at six or interrupt you at dinner time.

Mann: That's real thoughtful of you, son. But you should be in school now, not out hustling up a few cents. How you going to better yourself if you don't go to school?

Twelve-Year-Old: Yes, sir. I'm going straight from here. That'll be three dollars and sixty cents for the last three weeks.

Mann: Three-sixty? Didn't my wife catch you last week?

Twelve-Year-Old: No, sir!

Mann: Well...I believe you, son. If you say three-sixty, then three-sixty it is.

Mann removes his wallet from a back pocket and opens it, holding it up close to his face.

Mann: Three-sixty it is, alright. A man has to pay his debts and don't you forget it, boy. You...got change for a fifty? It's the smallest bill I got.

Twelve-Year-Old: No sir. I don't have no change for a fifty, if you mean a fifty dollar bill.

Mann: Well, son, I'm sorry you don't carry change. But more important, you're going to be late for school if you don't hurry, so why not come back next week and we'll even this thing up.

Twelve-Year-Old: I'd like to, sir, but I have to lay out the money to the station manager and I just can't...

Mann: Now don't back-talk your elders, boy. Escuse me, I shouldn't call you boy, you're a young man. What's your name?

Twelve-Year-Old: Howard Taft Lincoln Jefferson, sir. Now if you can't make the whole three-sixty, I mean if you just have a dollar or two - besides the fifty...

Mann: Boy, I told you all I have is a fifty. If you want me to call your station and tell the manager, who I happen to know personally, that you came barging up to my home and called me a liar. Stand there ten more seconds... that's all, just ten more seconds.

Mann puts the wallet back into his pocket. Holding his wrist watch up to his face, Mann's lips move silently in mock countdown. The

twelve-year-old calmly looks into his bag, withdraws a small magazine and gives it to Mann.

Twelve-Year-Old: Here's your TV Guide, Mr. Mann. I forgot to stick it in with your paper this morning. I knew you could use it...if you got a TV.

The young man starts away from Ullysus S. Manns' doorway. Mann looks at the TV Guide, the departing newsboy, and then shouts to him.

Mann: Hey, son, come back here for a minute.

The boy turns around slowly, stoically, as if all steps, all directions, all conversations lead to the same place.

Mann: Did you say your name was Howard Taft Lincoln Jefferson?

Twelve-Year Old: Yes, sir.

Mann: Are you in Mr. Quinn's homeroom over at the school?

Twelve-Year-Old: Yes, sir, but don't worry about it. My father and mother took me in our car out to a big fancy restaurant that night, so I couldn't of come over anyway. See you next week. I got to get to school so's I can make something of myself.

Tucking his hands in his pockets, the newsboy walks away glidingly, taking long casual strides and tilting his head back so that Mann can see the boy speaking to himself quietly, as if he was reciting something memorized.

Mann: No way! You just can't count on them. Almost got typped out of part of my paper. School don't teach 'em a damn thing, no responsibility, no respect, nothing. Smart ass kid mumbling some obscenity under his breath. They probably let him say that same filth in school, too.

Scene Five:

The men teachers' lounge was once a shower room when, many years before, the neighborhood residents were middle-class. The space now consists of a small outer room furnished with a couch, two

tables, a few straight-backed wooden chairs and an even smaller inner room with two toilet booths. The lone sink is in the outer room.

According to the wall clock, four minutes remained until the first bell was to ring, ushering children into the building and teachers out of the lounge. However, without exception, all seven men teachers knew that actually eight minutes remained and that the wall clock's inaccuracy was a long standing ritual rather than a mechanistic error.

As with most rituals, this one existed ornately, in display yet without practical significance. Its origin dated back two years before to a labor dispute between the mean teachers and the principal. The issue of contention was whether the sounding of the first bell should find the teachers 'on the job,' meaning stationed in their respective classrooms, or should loose them from the lounge toward their rooms. The adherents of the two opposing positions should be obvious. Dialectically, the teachers had the final word, reasoning that the bell was to initiate work, which specifically meant being responsible for the management of children. Since no children were allowed admittance to the school before the bell, no work could possibly be done until the bell rang. The principal's counter - that 'preparing' in this case, positioning one's self for the children's entrance, was as much a responsibility as the actual management - fell on deaf ears. In all fairness to the administrator's expectations of a dedicated teacher (accepting the extended responsibility), the men teachers decided to be on their collective way to the rooms when the bell tolled. By pursuing this course, they could be out in the halls when the children streamed in, beat the students to the rooms and still maintain their right to emerge from the lounge with the bell. This compromising gesture, involvl ng the forfeiture of a minute by the teachers, should have set the universe in perfect order, but it didn't.

The principal, an elderly but still active officer in the Naval Reserve, stung from the loss, and the pain would have persisted even if all the teachers voluntarily took to their rooms an hour early each morning. To salve the wound, the principal apprised the janitor of the preceeding events jocularly. The janitor, having followed, the play-by-play action all along, feigned indolence, then interest in the administrator's tale. When, with hands cradling a belly laugh, the principal jokingly thought out loud about having the lounge clock set on bar-time, the janitor understood his unwelcomed role in relation to the punchline.

That's how the clock got set ahead. Since jokes, by their very nature, are meant to be shared, the men teachers abandoned their course of generosity and simply stayed until the bell rang. Ordering the clock reset would have inferred the ultimate in embarrassment for the administrative captain, so that clock faithfully, for the past two years, has told the wrong time.

Of the seven teachers in the lounge, most were relaxing, talking

about the morning's traffic, the number of days left in the semester, the obesity of the spinster music teacher and the likelihood that she engaged in perversities, or about the idiocy inherent in all seven children of one particular family.

Amidst the pre-bell frivolity, one man, Harley Quinn, a tall gangling middle-aged homeroom teacher imbued with a love for literature and drama, worked feverishly on a last minute subject. The atmosphere in the lounge was far from what he considered conducive to good work but, as a practical person, he realized the potentially repugnant ramifications of retiring to his room prematurely. He had seen the havoc teachers could wreak upon a non-conforming peer. Cementing his loyalty to other teachers and the administration, if additional adhesive was necessary, was not a fear of punishment, but a lifestyle devoted to grace and gentility. Quinn simply chose to avoid the problematic.

Some thought of Quinn as living in a fantasized world impenetrable by others; a few believed him to be smug and aloof, while most in the school never granted him the importance warranting an impression. And, as always, there were those individuals unable to resist the temptation to torment one who seemed disinterested in self-defense. The ex-college football lineman, now gym teacher, was one such weakling. Dutch, as he insisted he be called by young and old, would unfailingly rub his blockish chin just prior to an assault on Quinn. To signify the culmination of a barbed foray upon the six-foot-five-inch victim, Dutch would lay the palm of one hand on his frontal lobe, flap it wavingly against his forehead, a la Curly in Larry-Moe-and Curly (the old-time movie comedy trio) and add, as the finishing touch the appropriate accompaniment of 'woo-woo-woo' sounds.

Having exhausted the topic of intrigues the music teacher might have enjoyed with the elderly imbecile who often walked through the playground, Dutch turned from his conversational cohort - Mr. Beatty (the shop teacher and most infamous disciplinarian in the school) and cast his focus toward the lanky figure writing furiously upon paper resting in his lap. Quinn, quite bent over due to his poor vision and thick lenses, gave the impression that if the pen ran dry he would simply continue with the tip of his nose.

Quite predictably, Dutch gave his chin a thoughtful message in announcing his new source of interest.

> Dutch: Hey, Quinn. If you can just bend your head a little lower, you got a good shot at doing what most men dream of.

Without raising his head or breaking stride in his script, Quinn responds.

> Quinn: Just one moment, Dutch - almost finished with this translation.

It's one of Goethe's least known works. I couldn't even locate it in English.

Dutch: Come off it, Harley, old boy; we know what you're really trying to...

The impish-looking Irishman, Mr. O'Ridelin, teacher of the emotionally-disturbed class, interrupts Dutch's prodding. With head still abuzz from the previous evening's quiet drinking at home and face straining to surpass its usual reddish hue - almost capable of radiating heat, O'Ridelin was not in the mood to witness the pathetic sight of assured embarrassment when Quinn became cognizant of Dutch's inferences.

O'Ridelin: Shut your fat mouth and leave this poor man be. Just because what you teach don't require not a-tweet of preparing doesn't mean it's true for the rest of us.

Dutch: Hey, O'Ridelin, watch what you say. Talk about my mother but don't you take that tone with my profession.

As Dutch speaks he aims a big furry-finger at the teacher of the emotionally disturbed.

Dutch: All you do all day is baby-sit for those fifteen weirdos; then as if you ain't rested enough all day, you get to leave ten minutes early with the other goony keepers. Now you better listen real good... I'm dealing with concepts, not bodies; I'm dealing with 'teamwork', fair play, good sportsmanship, physical and mental fitness...

O'Ridelin actually looks incredulous and tickled, looking from one teacher to the next, who are all now, except for Quinn and one other, listening with seriousness.

O'Ridelin: This big donkey's ass is talking about concepts... He... he must have just taken his first Master's course and thinks he's really working on a degree. And he's trying to tell me that every goddamn kid in this school isn't a weirdo.

With the student population in the school being forty per-cent

black, the usually affable new Black History teacher, Mr. Goodwright, appears jolted by the last weirdo charge.

Goodwright: What do you mean all of the children are weirdos? You just can't relate to them. They think you're the weirdo.

Dutch now levels his finger at both O'Ridelin and Goodwright.

Dutch: Now do you see how important teamwork is? Those old ladies out there don't know, but at least us men in the building should be a team. There ain't a one of you that wouldn't cut the other out of a free period by sharing a movie. You're all loners who sneak little notes down to the office.

The accusation of dissension amidst the rank-and-file draws Mr. Beatty, who aside from being the shop teacher has the added duties of building representative for the A.F.T., into the arena.

Beatty: If you suckers would help me unionize those gray-haired old bats, we'd have a closed shop. Then you'd see some teamwork. While you walk the picket line, they go on vacation and come back to the benefits we fought for. And, for you, you dumb Polak...

Beatty stands up so close to Dutch that Dutch's head and furry frozen finger must point straight toward the ceiling if they are to hit their mark.

Beatty: Don't nobody in the Movement and especially nobody in my building go to the Administration without conferring with me first. You elected me the building rep here and I'm the only link to the bosses.

Dutch, O'Ridelin, Goodwright and Beatty all stand facing each other in the tiny floor space. Missing only were tails, to give them that pastured-cows-on-a-wintry-night look.

Leaping into the circle, as if some treasure in their midst was about to be divided, is the heavily-bearded young man who has been substituting at the school for the last three days. His blue-denim

workshirt open at the neck makes room for a "Power To The People" emblem on a chain to be worn on his chest.

Substitute: I don't know about any of you, but I'm a human being and I don't have any bosses, any Master's courses, any weirdos in my class, or any desire to blow myself.

From the tightly compressed circle of four, two arms - the owner of either being impossible to ascertain - flail out and shove the young man back and down into his seat. Somewhere from the interstices of the four-headed enigma, without the turning of a single head outward, came a throaty dog-like growl.

Growl: Sit down, freak, or I'll break your head!

The room falls ominously silent. The young substitute lays back pinned to his seat on the couch; the mass still does not reveal its secular nature. Quinn remains submerged in his work and Mr. Sloven, at fifty-five the oldest in the room, continues his nap which he has begun the moment he came through the lounge door. Sloven always arrives at school earlier than the others and is always peacefully asleep when they begin trickling in. As always, his shoes are off and neatly side-by-side under his seat (the only armchair in the room), the top three buttons of his shirt are open, and his bow-tie clings to one collar.

The bell rings and the spell is broken. All of the characters spring into animation, much like in a movie slowed to a single frame, then return instantly to normal speed. In the blink of a lash between the bell sound and the exodus, Mr. Sloven has managed to both lead the pack out into the hall and fully clothe himself. As for Quinn, his transportation from the ethereal to the real world is a feat equalling Sloven's.

Scene Six:

Class begins in strict compliance with the tradition Quinn has established throughout his nine years of teaching: the clerical banalities, maintenance of materials and then the use of Humanization Tactic #I. The first two tasks, comprised of attendance and pencil sharpening, Quinn conducts while seated behind his desk. The third, however, HT. #I (the abbreviation Quinn employs for the tiny squares in lesson plan blooks) involves Harley casually perched upon the front of his desk, asking the children to report any personal experiences of special significance. Through the nine years of utilization, H.T. #I had yet to produce a single report. And for nine years of weekday mornings, Quinn genuinely grieved for the children and their uneventful lives.

The morning passes as charted, the academic drills sprinkled with H.T. #2 ("You have all performed splendidly") and H.T. #3 (I wonder what exotic repast awaits us in the lunchroom.") Just before the grand march to the lunchroom, Quinn makes his first personal request of the day.

Quinn: Will Howard Taft Lincoln Jefferson please, at his most immediate convenience, join me at my desk?

The young man rises and complies.

Jefferson: Yes, sir.

Quinn: Well, my good fellow, tomorrow is the illustrious day. Are you making ready?

Jefferson: Yes, sir. I practice every chance I get.

Quinn: Splendid! Splendid! I eagerly await the moment and look forward, with honor, to meeting your mother and father; their pride must be overwhelming.

Jefferson: Mr. Quinn, I don't think they be able to come. They very busy folks, you understand, and...

Quinn: Nonsense, my boy. Their attendance is an irrevocable tradition of the theatre. I must be candid; if they are absent I will hold your modesty at fault. No parent of his own accord would forego such an opportunity, the actualization of every parent's dream.

Jefferson: Yes, sir. I know they'd like to come, but some things make it impossible...

Quinn: Jefferson, you evoke fiddle-faddle. I know you, Jefferson, at the very core of your being. I recognize in you a piety and modesty glorious in texture but absolutely unacceptable in this instance. Quite similar to my own

youthful purity, you place your own moment of immortality secondary to what you think are the practical wishes and involvements of your parents. Their absence, perish the thought, would solely reflect your misguided belief that they are embroiled in circumstances more lofty than your own. Believe me, son, parents are in dire need of reassurance that you welcome them. Those inspiring words, 'What freedom means to me,' introduce not merely a soliloquy but a theatrical adventure reaching out to all the distant polar caps. The pronouncement of these words in the absence of those who suckled you would be as much a violation of the artistic as would speed-reading poetry. The very thought chills my marrow.

Jefferson: Yes, sir, but sometimes...

Quinn: Howard Taft Lincoln Jefferson, you know me as a fair man, but this is beyond comprehension. My belief in you will be greatly threatened if you do not heed my words and accept them as the wisdom of one older, as the wisdom spawned and nurtured by my own misguided compassion. I, myself, have committed these atrocities and have remorsefully been hurled into pits of fiery agony. In the midst of the days of splendid innocence, yet unscathed by such pain, I wish only to spare you that unnecessary anguish. The clock insists we all adjourn to lunch. The matter is settled.

Jefferson: Yes, sir, I know what I got to do.

The class advances toward the lunchroom with great decorum. After lunch, Quinn's afternoon group enters and are exposed to the morning format that proved so successful. Again, the program flows, not only in accordance to mere expectations, but more in tune to some

divine prescription. This is, indeed, the case until late in the afternoon.

In the midst of Quinn's analysis of Dante's preoccupation with the Inferno, a timorous limb in row three, seat three lifts so as to elicit the teacher's attention.

Quinn: Yes, my good lad, what is it you wish?

Limb: I got to go to the bathroom, Mr. Quinn.

Quinn: Ah, yes, of course - a need that transcends all others.

Harley turns toward the blackboard ledge by the door. It is universal, adhered to in classrooms across the land, that the bathroom passes be situated precisely there on the ledge. Slightly astonished, Quinn fails to see the boys' pass that will guarantee safe passage through the cavernous halls made treacherous by over-zealous hall guards. Quinn signs, mustering the courage needed to convey unpleasant tidings.

Quinn: I am truly sorry, but the boys' pass is presently in use; hence, you must persevere until its return.

Limb: But I got to go bad, Mr. Quinn.

Quinn: If it was within my means, I would reach out and embrace you, diverting your interest. But I fear only you can adequately set yourself for what I pray is a scant duration.

Limb: Mr. Quinn...

Harley cannot completely suppress annoyance with this fellow's inability to perceive and cope with the obvious.

Limb: Mr. Quinn...Larry Perkins took that pass.

Quinn: My annoyance is tempered only because I empathize with your plight. You shall go immediately upon the return of Larry Perkins.

Limb: Mr. Quinn, Larry Perkins took the pass and moved two weeks ago.

Composure now was beyond possibility. Harley blurts out.

Quinn: A theft? Stealing? Larry Perkins stole the boys' bathroom pass?

The class responds in unison.

Class: Yes, Mr. Quinn.

Quinn: Outrageous! Scandalous!

Limb: But Mr. Quinn, I got...

Enraged partially by the Limb's relentless persistence, partially by the insidious insertion of theft into the classroom domain, but primarily by the set of conditions that makes resolve impossible. Harley Quinn entirely out of character, screams at the Limb.

Quinn: Good Lord, man, you don't expect to use the girls' pass, do you? It would take hours to sort out the vast number of precedents governing such precedences. Does taking the girls' pass make entering the girls' premises mandatory? What social inferences would be drawn if the girls' pass was seen entering the boys' bathroom? Would your anxiety, hoping not to be discovered, prevent you from actually performing? Man, the uncertainties are endless and complexly interwoven. First, I must submit a Missing Material Under Dubious Circumstance Slip.

Quinn sits at his desk, fumbles for a few moments in search of the appropriate form and begins filling one out when the dismissal bell rings. Quickly, the students are escorted to the appointed exit and with that done Quinn returns to his room. It being Thursday, Harley has precisely little time to tarry, for on Tuesday and Thursday afternoons, and all day Saturday, Quinn works at The Shoo-porium, a women's footwear shop of considerable social standing.

Despite his distaste for postponing treatment of responsibilities, Quinn could not expect to appear at The Shoo-porium punctually as well as fill out the missing material slip and give the room a once-over for minor debris. With great haste, Quinn gets down on his hands and knees, as is his custom every day after school, and like a centipede speeds through the rows. All went well in the race against time until he comes to row three, seat three and the pool of stagnant fluid. Still on hands and knees, Harley backs away from this lake-of-last-resort as if the liquid might become mobile and take the offensive. Stealthily moving in reverse,

the usually unruffable one emits mutterings.

Quinn: Uncivilized, contrary to the very native of western tradition.

Scene Seven:

In his Edsel Quinn speeds along the avenues with a carelessness previously unknown to him. Habitually, a six minute rest-and-relaxation period at the Donut Dungeon preceeded the Shoo-porium. The vehicle, directing its course autonomously, screeched to a halt outside of the basement donut shop. The alarm clock sitting atop the dashboard, a device consistent with the Tuesday and Thursday afternoon regimen, announces 3:44 P.M. Despite the challenges to his schedule, Quinn is exactly on time- leaving for the shoe shop at 3:50 P.M. and arriving at 4:00 P.M.

There existed a rather unique relationship between Quinn and the owner-clerk of the Donut Dungeon. Each venture to the Dungeon in the last two years featured a cup ot tea and a prune-filled donut set out for Quinn just prior to his appearance. In addition, the snack is always placed before the same stool at the counter. This regularity was frequently held in amazement by Quinn because the location of the stool is one of the most favorable (being most distant from the air vent which acts as a conduit for the exchange of fumes between basement shop and the tattoo parlor above), yet the seat is never in use at 3:44 P.M. on Tuesdays and Thursdays.

Although this lent itself well to Quinn's tight schedule, the owner's behavior is not motivated by affection. In effect, it seemed a good way to keep Quinn's steady patronage without having to share a single syllable. This status of incommunicado developed out of a disagreement about the exchange rate of a Canadian dime. Despite the presence hositility, the arrangement persists because it did, in the main, satisfy the primary interests of both parties.

Seated, Harley brings the donut close to his mouth, but it is intercepted by a large trucker-type who grabs Quinn's wrist.

Truck driver: Hey Mac. You gonna eat that thing?

Quinn: Yes, that was my intention. What objection could you possibly have?

Truck driver: Prunes, Mac, prunes.

Strangely pleased by conversational address, absent from the Dungeon for so long, Harley invites continuance.

Quinn: Yes, there are prunes in prune donuts.

Truck driver: Better watch out, Mac. They'll stop you up like a cork.

Gazing at the tough exterior of the man, Harley tilts his head slightly and smiles. This expression of concern for Harley's well-being was, indeed, touching. Responding with a candor rare between strangers at a donut shop.

Quinn: What you say has truth for most but, oddly enough, the opposite reaction is my experience. Frankly, they cause me diarrhea.

The truck driver either winks at Quinn's antagonist behind the counter or has a foreign particle in his eye.

Truck driver: Excuse me, partner. Got something in my eye. There... got it. Ah, tell me, do you get the runs alot?

Quinn: To be quite truthful, my bowels have been loose continually for two years and I hold these donuts responsible.

Truck driver: Well, ain't that a bitch. These prune donuts have made you run for two years, but you stick with 'em. You're really quite the sporting type. What do you do for a living?

Quinn: I'm a school teacher but I imagine it's rather difficult to believe in light of my prune mania.

Truck driver: Listen, Mac, don't think that for a second; it ain't hard to believe. But you got to do something else to earn a living.

Quinn: You're right once again. I sell women's shoes.

Truck driver: Oh, beautiful. Now, that's a sweet racket. My brother-in-law's in the business. You get to deal with the public and make people happy...finding the right shoe

for just the right foot.

Quinn: In the context of making people happy, I really find that teaching is far more...

Truck driver: Shoes...that's real beautiful...Bet you see a lot of well-healed broads.

Quinn: Yes, but the world of the teacher is...

Truck driver: I just wouldn't know how to talk to them fancy broads, but it's plain to see you got a way about you...

The alarm clock goes off in Quinn's car and is audible.

Quinn: Please excuse me, I must run...

Truck driver: Well, after two years I guess you can get used to almost anything.

Harley hurries out the door but not before he overhears the driver and clerk.

Truck driver: I'll be damed if that stork didn't sit on those springs and didn't care there wasn't no cushion. You're right, Joe, here's your two bits, but I'd give a ten to see him do it again.

Clerk: I told you, Pete. It ain't every day you see a guy take those springs up the ass.

Scene Eight:

Quinn arrives at the Shoo-porium, discards his top coat, places the Mr. H. Quinn name tag upon his suit jacket lapel and walks out to the selling floor at 4:01 P.M. Harley approaches a very attractive and stylishly-dressed woman in her mid-thirties.

Quinn: Good afternoon, madam. I am Mr. Quinn and would be honored to play the humblest role in support of such beauty and captivatingly fashionable taste.

The woman smiles warmly and is visibly charmed by Harley's greeting.

Self-Counsciously, she adjusts her skirt as if her aristrocratic beauty was transparent in the resence of such gallentry. Almost stammerlingtly, she responds.

Woman: Oh, yes, Mr. Quinn. I must confess that I hoped you would be here to assist me. I...I...a friend insisted that I come, if not to purchase, to at least meet you. I don't imagine you remember Mrs. Goldspoon? She has brownish...

Quinn: ...hair, with a touch of rust, as if she were daughter of the setting summer sun. Hazel syes as warm as the coals in a wintry night's fireplace. A smile that could lure the petals from a rose - a remarkable woman, indeed. Please extend my best wishes, second only to my indebtedness for guiding you to the Shoo-porium.

Woman: I shall...I mean...she will be thrilled by your recollection of her.

It was an incredulous metamorphosis. At school Quinn was a well-intentioned stumbling awkward boorish figure. At the Donut Dungeon his idiocy was sideshow-like but, here, at the Shoo-porium he was a gallant vivacious self-poised prince. Few people knew, even his wife, Matilda, didn't know how well Quinn sold shoes and how great his income from this part-time job. Actually, only Quinn and the store manager knew that Harley's eighteen hours at the Shoo-porium produced a salary comparable to the one he received for two weeks at school. Many times the manager had begged Quinn to accept full-time employment, taking at least a sabbatical from teaching, and each time Harley would reply that the store was a magnificent place but simply could not afford him the dignity and satisfaction inherent to the teaching profession. As Quinn would always say, "Anyone can make a dollar, but few know the immeasurable wealth of a child's gratitude."

As was customary, the lavish lady with whom Quinn first speaks, leaves the store with two boxes under each arm. One of the boxes contains a pair of shoes that had been in the stockroom for six years. Quinn entices the woman into a pair of while and black saddle shoes by extracting the promise to never attempt neglect of her girlish charms that would be hers till entombment.

And so progresses the afternoon and evening: the ballet-like slippers to the elderly matron who learned that grace resided in one's spirit, not feet; pink flats to the young woman in the black leather suit who feigns an indifference to the soft caress of spring, and sandals to the 'born bypsy in the guise of business woman.'

Quinn does not see his customers as suckers, mindless upper-class dilettantes, nor women whose pocketbooks and hearts could be opened with a few indulging moments of the complimentary. His attitude, perhaps, can be best revealed by his conversation with a freckle-faced high school girl who, upon witnessing his conquest of the business gypsy, confronted him with flushed anger.

Quinn: Please hear me through before you condemn me to an eternity in that hellish pit designed for those justly deserving business rogues. Your words have succeeded if their mission was to stingingly prick honor and pride. What I say to people I believe with every fibre of my being. That woman was a gypsy - born as were we all. I didn't sell two pieces of leather cloth to that woman, nor to any other whom I may encounter. That the medium of exchange was involved is a condition not of my making and, indeed, inconsequential to me. I give the people who patronize this store a tangible symbol of their innermost dreams and yearnings to be free, beautiful, graceful, soft and alive. Even if for only a few fleeting moments, those people are what they wish to be. Perhaps some learn to believe in their own worth and beauty after relating to those symbols; perhaps some leave here believing and make others believe in it too.

Girl: I really believe you. It's unfortunate that those symbols are needed, but it's true that they are and they can do what you say. What a beautiful salesman of the beautiful you are.

Quinn: Thank you for giving me the opportunity to express my beliefs to a sensitive ear.

Girl: Thank you for sharing a few valuable moments of your life with me.

Quinn: Now you make me feel beautiful and alive. However, allow me to add, although you couldn't know how

I detest the word salesman. I see myself as a teacher, maybe a little bit here too.

Girl: You're a teacher...in a school?

Quinn: Yes, and...

Girl: Then all that crap you ran down is just more bull. This is just your second job. What crap! What bull!

The girl stalks out.

Scene Nine:

Night at the barbershop. Three old men and an old woman are seated around a table playing cards. The game involves holding a few cards, drawing and discarding others. As is the custom, discarding is accomplished only by raising the unwanted card high in the air, then slapping it down onto an unruly pile. The game is played rapidly. All of the players are wearing heavy outdoor clothing, except for the one man in tuxedo and top hat.

The height of the chairs match poorly with that of the table, putting all four heads slightly above eye level of the tabletop. In accordance with the discarding principle, each must elevate himself to reach the pile. The visual result is a quadruplet jack-in-the-box effect.

The twelve-year-old boy, wrapped in a blanket and wearing a cap with the ear-flaps down, sits removed from the game in the barber chair closest to the front of the shop. The card game ends and all four stand, each putting a few coins in their respective pockets.

King Man (in tuxedo): Brenda, if dis was da Mississippi, you be a rich ole gal.

Woman: I been playing Tonk since I was a baby, and none ah you all fo'get it.

Second Man: Is there a taste a wine left?

King Man bends down and lifts an empty bottle from under the table.

King Man: Son, we drank dat up las' Christmas.

The four move toward the rear door. The woman turns and shouts to the boy.

Woman: Night, baby.

Boy: Night.

The two men and the woman leave. The King Man bolts the door behind them, hangs the tuxedo on a coat rack and stands in his long underwear looking at the boy who does not return the glance. The King Man walks over to the chest of drawers and removes a blanket in which the pistol is hidden. He then turns off two of the three overhead lighted bulbs, leaving the one over the back door on. Wrapping himself in the blanket, careful to conceal the weapon from the boy's view, King Man sits in the barber chair nearest the rear - farthest from the boy.

A few minutes of silence pass.

King Man: Well, boy, till dat 'night' to Brenda, I was thinkin' maybe your mouth froze.

The boy wrapped in his blanket, rises from the chair and walks to the one next to the old man.

King Man: An till dat I was thinkin' maybe you was movin' out.

Boy: Where I got to move to?

King Man: Well, I hear they got heat over to da Juvenile. You wouldn't be da first to go out an git popped on a winta night.

Boy: The only reason I don't do just that is you too old to be put in Juvenile.

King Man: Ha! You a kind ole dog alright. Heat an a bed's more an I can give ya.

A few more minutes of silence.

King Man: What got you mouth froze, boy? We been thru worst cold before. I said talk to me, boy.

Without hesitation.

Boy: Why you wear that suit and ride that wagon everywhere?

King Man: Cause ma red and green outfits is at the dry cleaners and I

give Brenda da Cadillac to keep. Why you wanna know?

Boy: You know that talk I been practicing for tomorrow? Mr. Quinn says he can hardly wait to meet my mother and father. He says they got to be there.

More silence.

King Man: The ole King Man awright behind closed doors but he ain't much out in da street, is dat it, boy? The ole King Man awright to stay wit, eat wit, sleep wit, just not out in the street, is dat it?

Silence broken only by young man's weeping and sniveling nose.

King Man: I got a story to tell, boy. You wanna hear it?

Boy: Yes, sir.

King Man: Well, dis young colored boy jus up from da South, he maybe fifteen years old, gets a job over to da railroad. Goin' from where he stay to da railroad yard he see his time double on 'em. Now he thirty. In all dat time he worked wit whites, blacks, browns, red, yellows, every color peoples come in. But in all dat time he go jus to da railroad yard an back to his street.

Now one day, a white fella he worked wit all dat time say to him, "I gettin' married dis Saturday, why don't you comes." And our boy say he be there.

Now da man I been tellin' you about never did see white folks get married and he never been nowhere but the railroad yard. Well, wantin' to do everything right, da man saw a picture sign wit white folks in tuxedos, so he spends all his money to buy a tuxedo, cause nobody 'bout to rent tuxedos to colored peoples.

Saturday comes and da man been told how to get to da wedding hall but da man don't have one penny left over from da tuxedo an gettin' all cleaned up. He don't have one penny to ride da trolley car. Now da time fo da wedding is real close and da man still ain't got no way to git over to the weddin' hall.

So da man go to another colored man on da street who got a horse an wagon. An because a colored boy goin' to a white folks' weddin' ain't happended to anybody on da street before, da man got to use da horse an wagon.

Dat night was hot as a skillet and by da time he gots over to da weddin' hall, all da white folks were out in da street drinkin' an laughin' an carryin' on. But nobody had no tuxedos, jus shirts and pants, and someone shouts out, "Who is dat Nigga? A King? In a minute all da white folks, like gospel singers, is yellin', "Who is you, a Nigga King? Even the man who got married was shoutin' it.

So da colored man didn't even get out da wagon; he jus went on back to his street. At the railroad yard everybody heard about da weddin' an da Nigga King. An fo another fifteen years folks laughs about da Nigga King and his wagon. Every day an every night da man don't hear nothin' in his head but, "Who is you, a Nigga King? So da man say to hisself over an over, "Who is you?" Dis went on till da man say, if you don't know who you is you really ain't nothin'.

One day behind some wine da man says, "I know who you is; you ain't jus a man, a colored man, a railroad worker or anythin' else like that. You is you, the only you that ever was and the only you ever to be. You is you." An dat was the first time he ever thinks

about hisself as 'you is just you.' Behind dat, da man never did have no pain because if a man knows who he is, he is somebody.

To make sure he never forgets who he is, he save money and gets his own horse and wagon so he always knowed who he was and who he wasn't. Since then, da man always wear a tuxedo and rides a horse an wagon. No matter what other folks did or how they change, dis one man always knowed who he was and who he wasn't. And there ain't nothin' more important than dat, bein' happy jus in the knowin' that you is you. Since dat time, da man ain't never had no pain cause he been knowin' who he was, the only puzzle was who are da other folks. An dat jus ain't no puzzle if you knows who you is. Other mens must be knowin' who they is, an dats they business.

Well, dat's my story. What you think 'bout it?

The boy was still weeping and sniveling. He was, however, not as anguished as much as relieved. Amidst sobs he was able to vocalize.

Boy: I want to know who I am, but I'll never really know who they are, so I want the real you and maybe the real Brenda to come to school tomorrow. Because whoever I am, you are my people.

King Man: Thank you fo the ticket to your talk. I knows ole Brenda be proud seein' you up there wit every ear in da place on your talk. Dis shop seem to be fightin' da cold a little better now.

Boy: Ten o'clock in the auditorium.

Scene Ten:

Morning. Ullysus Samson Mann is sitting in his stuffed chair.

His wife and two children have departed to pursue their appointed chores. Mann's entire aura exudes resentment, his hands clutching the arms of the chair as if some powerfully sinister force is trying to dislodge him.

Ullysus Samson Mann: Eight-fifteen and no paper! Eight-fifteen! Any later and I'll be reading history; not a shred of responsibility or respect, but that's how they are. One paycheck and they're nigger-rich. If they don't learn about holding a job and the meaning of hard work in school, they'll never learn it. The goddamn kid's probably applying for unemployment or welfare right this minute. All they want is a free ride on the gravy train that decent people pay for with long hours and sweat.

Those faggot teachers got it easy; three-month paid vacation for watching children rot in their own lust and irresponsibility.

You see, the problem's worse when adults shirk their duty and leave kids out on a limb. All that stuff about 'self-control,' 'self-direction,' 'self-evaluation,' teachers try and make us swallow as good for kids is just a way of getting out of work. They're afraid of those kids.

The truth is that a kid doesn't have any self unless older people give it to him. A kid wants adults to tell him what to do and show the way to do it. Where would I be if my old man didn't take the time to whip me into shape? He said I'd thank him for it later, and I do. Those were the good old days when children knew their place, knew respect, knew the difference between right and wrong.

To hell with the newspaper.
Think I'll listen to the radio.

Mann leans over to activate the radio, then settles back in exaggerated comfort.

Ullysus Samson Mann: Who needs the goddamn paper. The sun's shining; I'm in my own hard-earned home with a little time to kill until they changeover at the plant. I'm in the prime of life; to hell with the rest of them. I feel great. I been brought up right, got a hard-working old lady and two good kids just passing through that smart-ass stage. Some prople simply don't know how to relax.

Mann gently closes his eyes and smiles contentedly.

Radio: I'm glad to be an...attention, please. We interrupt this program for a news flash. This hour rock and bottle throwing incidents have closed three elementary schools. Seventy-two first, second and third graders have been apprehended. In addition, Jerry Rubin, one of the nation's most viperous child molesters, was located in a nearby motel suite and taken into custody. Of those arrested, eleven are whites.

Ullysus slumps forward woefully, burying his face in his hands.

Ullysus Samson Mann: What the hell. They should string his ass up and make room for every goddamn teacher at those schools to swing too.

Inner Sophisticated Voice: You now see, dear friend, this is the real world. Mustn't be lulled into a passive stupor by listening to the news. What became of yesterday's vow to involve yourself as a publicly concerned citizen?

Inner Gutteral Voice: Naw, Mann. They're just going through that smart-ass stage. A little leather across the bottom would straighten 'em all up.

Ullysus Samson Mann: First, second and third graders taking drugs? It's...it's communism. To hell with goddamn ping-pong and egg rolls.

The telephone rings.

Ullysus Samson Mann: Hello. Who the hell is this?

Voice on the phone: This is Mr. Jacks from the Credit Division of the Telephone Company. Your account has fallen into sad neglect, thereby leaving the company little option but to interrupt your service tomorrow morning if the bill goes untended.

Ullysus Samson Mann: Oh, yes, of course, Mr. Jacks... sir. But I'm certain you can appreciate that changeover has...

Voice on the phone: Speaking candidly, Mr. Mann, that is what you told our representatives when they called on November 28, December 11, December 19, January 3, January...

Ullysus Samson Mann: Alright! Alright! If you bloodthirsty bastards aren't sympathetic to the plight of the workingman in this country, you can go shove the phone up...

Mann slams the receiver down vehemently.

Radio: Police say that the three prepuberty ringleaders are blacks and still at large. Exhaustive... excuse me, ladies and gentlemen, I'm being handed a note revealing the most up-to-date occurrences, proving once again that KKWN keeps its faithful listeners best informed.

Nine of the previously reported eleven white youngsters held by police have been able to verify their identities and have agreed to turn state's evidence. They have been cleared of charges, deputized and are, at this

very moment, helping police ferret-out the three aforementioned ring-leaders...

The telephone rings.

Voice on the phone: Good morning, Mr. Mann. This is Miss Filch from The Sweetwell Finance Company. We've heard about recent reversals with regard to your car, telephone, newspaper and mortgage payments, and would like to offer our support to hard-working Americans such as you. We are in the position to...

Ullysus Samson Mann: I don't know where you heard that crap, but I own my home and have no reversals.

Mann slams the phone. The moment the receiver touches base, the ring sounds again. Mann slightly bewildered, lifts the receiver to his ear.

Voice on the phone: Good morning, Mr. Mann. This is Jack Filcher from The Quick Flight Realty Company. We understand that you are the outright, no-liens-attached owner of your home. I'm certain little need be said about the changes your neighborhood has recently undergone, and we are in the position to airlift you and your family...

Ullysus Samson Mann: Listen, you son-of-a-bitch! I don't know where you heard that crap about me owning this place, but you better believe if I could afford to pay for this damn house-note, I would and be out of here is a minute.

Mann slams the phone.

Radio: In search of the three charged with inciting the violence, the police, spear-headed by the young deputies, have raided every depraved hangout in the city. Official sources have revealed that their dragnet, in the last twenty minutes alone, has rounded up five hundred and fifty-six black adolescents ranging in age from a two-and-a-half-year old who refuses to tell police of his whereabouts dur-

ing the time of the riot, to a seventy-one-year-old dressed in an Abraham Lincoln-like tuxedo who admitted he was on his way to an elementary school. In all fairness, officials indicate that the school mentioned by this last suspect was not one of the three earlier cited, but all will be detained at least overnight so as to determine the presence of a citywide conspiracy.

On other fronts.

Mann reaches over to the radio and silences it. Again, the phone rings.

Voice on the phone: Mr. Mann? This is Jacks of the Tolerant Telephone. I repeated your comment about the company not being sympathetic to the plight of the workingman in this country to my superiors. I am authorized, happily, to illustrate that the company is, indeed, sympathetic. We are willing to extend further credit if you agree to accept the long-distance charges from Tokyo, a call that has been trying all day to get through to you.

Ullysus Samson Mann: Are you out of your damn mind? That would run at least thirty bucks and I can't make the payment as it is. Besides, I don't even know anyone in...

Voice on the phone: Look, you ungrateful deadbeat. If you don't accept the company's magnanimous offer, thereby depriving us of our cut on that call, we'll see to it that you never so much as use a pay-phone again in this state. This means no more calls to your brother-in-law for those loans when your back acts up, no more calls to the Pizza Parlor to fraudulently have dozens of pizza's sent to your neighbor, not to mention calls to the barmaid you met on January 6...I believe...at approximately..."

Mann wilts, withers, appears gelatinous, boneless, as he sinks deeper into the armchair. Almost in a whisper,

Mann: Alright! Alright! Enough! I'll accept the call, Jacks.

Voice on the phone: Mr. Mann, it is a pleasure bringing company and community even closer together. Whoever it may be trying to bridge the spatial and cultural distance, I wish you good luck in your adventure. Hang up gently and your call shall be swiftly put through.

Phone hung up for a micro-moment, then rings. A nasal voice amidst the appropriate static speaks.

Nasal voice on the phone: Mr. Ullysus Samson Mann, this is your long-distance overseas operator. Do you accept a...

Mann: Yes.

Nasal voice on the phone: Go ahead, Tokyo.

Faint voice on phone: Ullysus Samson Mannsahn?

At the sound of this genuine Japanese voice coming all the way from the Orient, Mann regains his old form; swept up by the majesty and incredulousness of such a technological feat happening in his home.

Mann: Yes, Tokyo. It's me, I can hear you. Over.

Faint voice: Ullysus Samson Mannsahn, your honorable family name has been drawn by your humble servant, J. Filchsing, which entitles you to a free set of stainless steel cutlery and a transistor radio with the purchase of a Toyota station wagon shipped...

Mann: No! No! No!

In one motion Mann slams the phone and is on his feet. With the unwavering determination and rigid torso of a robot, Ullyssus slowly, calculatingly, moves toward the front door. His glassy

eyes are not averted from the door as he picke up his hat that was resting on the bannister knob at the foot of the second-floor stairs.

Mann: Those permissive impotent pervert teachers are allowing our children to drown themselves in the sea of filth so enticing to the innocent. Adolescents trusting the dirty little voices within themselves because no one at school insists they do differently. I'm the one to change that.

Mann's hand freezes on the door knob. He turns and enters the kitchen for a moment. Now completing the exodux, Ullyssus Samson Mann leaves his front door ajar, while the purpose of his detour into the kitchen is starkly sheathed in his belt.

Final Scene:

Harley Quinn's classroom, 9:48 A.M. H.T. #I and H.T. #2 have already been executed smoothly, without hitch, question or response. A new boy's bathroom pass (a square piece of plywood painted red) rests perfectly on the blackboard ledge by the door.

Since there was to be an assembly in the auditorium momentarily, Quinn hurriedly tries to gracefully terminate a mini-lecture on freedom, the topic of the assembly, and its thematic appearance in Greek mythology.

Quinn: One may then boldly venture the opinion that Paris did freely take Helen, if the concept of freely is held to imply...

The classroom door is pulled open and smashes violently against the wall of the room's entranceway. Ullysus Samson Mann, plainly in a state of frenzied lunacy, barges into the room, stopping inches from Quinn. Quinn smiles broadly, beckoning Mann to the fore with one hand and presenting him to the class with the other.

Quinn: Learned gathering, we have been honored with a visit by Mr. U. S. Mann. Beatrice Mann's illustrious father. Welcome, sir.

Mann stands mute, staring at Quinn and then at the seated children, finally allowing his gaze to rest upon Harley.

Mann: 'Learned gathering,' my fat ass. 'Welcome,' crap! You lanky queer. You pimply-faced faggot! The game

is over!

With broad smile and good natured slap on the back, Quinn addresses U. S. Mann.

Quinn: Sir, you seem to have a bone to pick. Does your anger concern the C- Beatrice received in poetry comprehension? If, indeed, it is, I assure you...

Mimicing Quinn, U. S. transforms himself into a hybrid cross between an ancient scowling hump-backed hag and a chicken. Clenched fists resting on his hips, head bobbing and pecking and lips protruded, U. S. speaks in falsetto tone as he prances around Quinn's desk.

U. S. Mann: Sir, you seem to have a bone to pick, Couldn't be about poetry or laundry detergents, or is your girdle too tight, sweetie...

Leaping at Quinn, Ullysus Samson Mann seizes the teacher by the neck-tie and slowly reels the bony face in toward his own.

U. S. Mann: I ain't going to pick no bones! I'm going to break some!

Grasping the reins firmly, U. S. Mann pulls the large head so it faces the seated children.

U. S. Mann: Look at these sex maniacs. They're so tired from pot parties and orgies, they don't have the strength to stand up. And it's your goddamn fault; with that poetry crap.

Recapturing his tie.

Quinn: Mr. Mann, despite your status of guest and parent, you go too far! I must take exception with your charges that the children's demeanor is not one of enrapture with the classics, not of excitement jousting with the masters, not of joy in transcending the gauche earthly entanglements. That these innocents copulate is as foreign to truth as is the statement about their inability to stand proudly. Watch closely.

Class...stand!

In an instant the children have complied in a fashion laudable for the finest of drill teams. Quinn struggles to remain stoic as his pride and love for the children beg an explosive display.

At that moment the principal enters the room and surveys the realm. Blinded by the professional indignation the scene elicited in him, he approaches Quinn.

Principal: Mr. Quinn, the initial purpose of this visitation was in regard to your flagrantly rebellious attitude - personified by your continually tardy departure from the teachers' lounge. But now I can see that a far more crucial incident has arisen. To be frank, what in God's name is the reason for this chaos? Why are these children out of their seats?

Class...be seated! Instantly!

All seat themselves.

Quinn: Allow me to explain, sir. First, though, may I introduce Mr. U. S. Mann, a genuinely concerned parent.

Mr. Mann, this is our principal, Mr. ...

U. S. Mann: So you're the old fart running this whorehouse.

Mr. Beatty, the shop teacher-union representative, now enters the room.

Beatty: What in the hell's going on here? Don't worry, brother Quinn, I'll have a grievance phoned-in in ten minutes.

Quinn: Thank you, Mr. Beatty, but that won't be necessary. First, allow me to introduce...

Mann speaking to the most recent arrival.

U. S. Mann: What's your trip - the little girls or the little boys?

Beatty: Who is this bum?

Principal: Mr. Beatty! How dare you address a parent so boorishly. This is the much respected Mr...

Upon hearing the principal's tone, Mann initiates a repeat performance of his hybrid routine.

U. S. Mann: Mr. Beatty...Sweetie...How dare you, how dare you,..

Beatty: This is the much respected...?

At this juncture, in shredded tattooed tuxedo and squashed flat top hat, the King Man bursts into the midst of the carnival. Gone are all vestiges of self-control.

King Man: What dis goddamn Quinn sho say my boy ain't worth 'a fart in a windstorm' if he don't bring his natural mother and father...

As Quinn tries to step forward, Mann leaps into the center of the gathering and whirls Quinn against the blackboard. Quinn slides down the wall until resting on the floor unconsciously.

U. S. Mann: Now, who in the hell is this, some Nigger King?

The principal, Beatty, Mann and the elderly black man begin shouting, each oblivious of the others' utterances. Almost absentmindedly the four kick the body of the fallen Quinn.

Unnoticed by the screaming adults, the lump of flesh lying on the floor, nor the children who stare blankly aheard, a twelve- year-old rises and stands next to his seat. The palms of his hands are pressed flatly against his sides. The clock has announced the arrival of ten o'clock - the anointed hour of the assembly.

Twelve-Year-Old: Dr. Burstein, Mr. Quinn, parents, teachers and fellow students 'What Freedom Means To Me"

If I had one million.....

CHAPTER II

THE EULOGY

It is of importance to develop a perspective of the school as a many-faceted element operating upon the milieu of the teacher-role. This element influences teacher-role behavior directly through specific expectations held for roles other than the teacher's, but certainly relative to it.

The single school occupies a pivotal position in this scheme since it may represent competitive or variant agencies. It may organize the energies of its own membership in the fashion of an independent bureaucracy, or it may exist as a small sub-system within a vast school board system, or as an even smaller component of a state-national educational institution, or even the societal whole. Each of these positions compels differing sets of expectations which cause different elements to operate upon the role-player's milieu. In light of the school's unwavering need to maintain internal organizational discipline, for example, the presentation of persons socially alien to its membership could prove inconsistent with the institution's primary need for regulation and predictability.

The maintenance of a school's organizational balance and the constancy of its membership's behavior, despite personnel turnovers, has caused the school to devise a rigid set of expectations for individual role performances. The school establishes

precise designations of specific role-behaviors and the positions of that particular role-behavior is fixed between other strictly defined roles. In this manner the school exercises various influences upon the milieu of the teacher-role since it sanctions specific expectations for the teacher-student role, the interaction of teachers and parents, in addition to the teacher-peer role interaction and those expectations for the teacher-administrator role interaction. The perpetuation of these expectations and their rigid enforcement force the school organization to maximize the insulation of its membership from external elements which tend to promote divergent expectations.

In this guise the school and its parent system have had to adapt to unique cultural environments in specialized ways. Generally, the school system treats social issues which it perceives as challenging with combative disdain or abject withdrawal. The school responds to challenging measures by insulating its membership from what it considers a threatening input. It hopes, thereby, to maintain internal authority and to forestall collapse. The moral worth of this level of response is obviously questionable in intellectual terms. Yet it is precisely the caliber of influence allowed to dominate the milieu of the teacher role.

Consider the following conceptualization by Katz and Kahn (1966): "When bureaucratic survival becomes paramount, there is an abdication of policy making with respect to the major substantive goals of the organization. And, paradoxically, this form of concentration on survival leads to organizational disaster."[14]

CHAPTER III

A CONCEPTUALIZATION OF THE SOCIOLOGICAL MILIEU OF THE TEACHER-ROLE WITHIN AN URBAN ELEMENTARY SCHOOL

The concept of a sociological milieu includes those social influences which contribute to the creation of the teaching environment. Sociological roles, it may be stressed, comprise the particular analytic vehicle through which the notion of a milieu assumes an identifiably organized framework. Accordingly, the specific role of the teacher must be examined through the perspective or organizational theory and its reliance upon precise description of social structure, role-interactions and organizational functionality, rather than the evaluation of human behaviors.

Two basic hypotheses will undergird this discussion:

> A single urban elementary school (a subsystem within an institutionalized school board system), owing to its inherent structure, qualifies that school as a traditionally perceived organization; and
>
> The caliber of human interaction within the school can be depicted in accordance with its organizational posture.

These projections demand a precise portrayal of those organizational characteristics that may be attributed to the urban school.

A. The School As A Bureaucracy

Michael B. Katz (1971) has provided an historical outline

of the educational realm in American life. He has written that "Among the competing organizational models, incipient bureaucracy has triumphed."[15] Characteristic of Katz' argument are the following elements;

> First, the modification and eventual elimination of the bastion of democratic localism, the district system, whereby each section of a town or city managed its own schools with a great deal of autonomy. The ultimate remedy was the replacement of the district by one central Board of Education.[16]
>
> The grading of schools formed the second and related component of centralization. In the district system, children of all ages were taught in one room by one teacher. That is precisely what school reformers wanted to end. As Henry Barnard put it, one of the principal 'conditions of success' for a system of public education was a 'classification of scholars' that brought 'a large number of similar age and attainments, at all times, and in every state of advancement' together within classrooms under the exclusive charge of the same teacher. Reformers argued that graded schools yielded enormous increases in educational efficiency and effectiveness, and their blueprints featured carefully designed sequences of schools of which a high school formed the apex.[17]

Katz sketches the rise of educational bureaucracy and cites many of its ramifications. In directing his attentions to the educational realm, as a whole, he concludes that incipient bureaucracy has remained unchanged for a century and a quarter.

David Rogers (1968), employing this perspective to address the issue of bureaucratic centralism, observed that:

> Many of the pathologies of the New York City school system can be traced to the overcentralization of decisions, combined with the proliferation of specialized administrative units. Most decisions on such matters as curriculum, staffing, budgeting, supplies, construction and maintenance are made by professionals at central headquarters, several layers removed from the schools themselves.[18]

He adds:

> Positions and task were simultaneously grouped along both divisional (elementary, junior high, high) and functional (curriculum, instruction, staffing) lines.[19]

And at the school level itself, Professor Rogers states:

> The pattern of tight supervision rather than professional support is perhaps most acute in principal-teacher relations. Teachers feel the principals are often authoritarian, coercive and paternalistic, and union spokesmen describe principals as similar to old-line foremen, who talk of 'my' school and 'my' teachers.[20]

The notion that schools can no longer be envisioned as places where teachers are the spiritual backbone of the educative enterprise and children the benefactors of their endeavor exist in the writings of many scholars. In an open attempt to galvanize parental response, Ellen Lurie (1970) charges:

> Schools should be for the children and in our large cities today that simply does not happen. These schools exist for the sake of the system. The children are barely tolerated. The system wants to build more build buildings, raise more money, retain more teachers, reduce student unrest,

> win community support. The children simply serve that system.[21]

Michael Katz, David Rogers and Ellen Lurie are only a few who have addressed the education spheres as the 'system,' the 'organization,' or the 'bureaucracy' in generally denigrative tones. Their writings on the individual school, a subsystem within a highly institutionalized world of public education, must be understood in detail so as to identify precisely what the label 'bureaucracy' involves and its appropriateness to the single school experience.

Traditionally, a bureaucracy is an organized system of human activities and events which presuppose specific productivity. The personnel of the organization - the school - are ordered hierarchically. The ranks of that organization are differentiated authoritatively by its personnel's subjectability to directives and 'requests.' Directives are promulgated in downward channelizations of command while requests are transmitted either upwardly or in horizontal flow. In schools, the day-to-day participants in the structure are:

1. The Principal

1'. The Assistant Principal

2. The professional service echelon - Reading Coordinator, School Community Agent, Assistant Principal for Curricular Design, the Staff Coordinator and the Counselor.

3. The clerical (in Administrative offices) and lunchroom staff

4. The Janitorial staff

5. The Teaching Faculty

6. The paraprofessional community teacher aides

7. The student-worker class

The genotypic function - (the relationship of the organization to the society at large) of the organization is maintenance. This function implies a preoccupation with the survival of the society by insuring elements of stability and predictability. The school (the organization) supplies parts for society (the client). The welfare and stability of the client necessitates the continuous acquisition of reliably interchangeable and uniform parts. The criterion of social reliability in this analysis infers an assured functionality of the new cadres while interchangeability relates the versatility of application to the client's varying temporal needs and cultural disposition. Uniformity is an inherent part of this scheme as it adds the ability for reducing those individual parts of common fibre to a single denominator.

The organizational product - of the school is its parts which socially translate the ability of designated persons to fit societal roles or niches ('role-ability'), In a complex society allowing considerable mobility, there exists an interplay of highly interdependent roles. These roles require skillful precision regarding performance and, when vacated, these same roles must be filled again rapidly and smoothly. Such roles and the persons who occupy them must also share a universality in outlook and ideology.

In the past, the produced part, the client's role and the student-worker himself have appeared, quite erroneously, as one

and indivisible. This misjudgment has been the cause of much moral and technical confusion. It is essential, therefore, that the independent scholar recognize that the role is a functional performance niche in the societal complex; the part is a set of abilities that satisfy the needs of that functional performance niche; and the living student-worker is the conduit for those abilities. The part is external to the student as a human being. The value of a student's 'humanness' is found in the process of part-refinement and conveyance. Analogously, malleability and ductility are changing properties of steel in given circumstances.

(It is only too obvious to note the many tasks and roles once best conducted by human beings that are presently assigned to machines).

The organization is the fictive refinery into which the human natural resource is placed. Humans are 'reshaped' in the sense that they can properly convey the part...the role-ability. The finished product of all this machination demonstrates three major characteristics: a sharpened social awareness that is dedicated to the acceptance of society's norms and values; behavioristic propriety which conforms to socially acceptable standards of conduct and those purely academic skills which formally qualify the product for its role.

The organization has a budgetary unit (Weber) which is operationally distinct from those divisions involved in the pursuits of its mandated goals. This unit (made up by the Principal and Assistant Principals) manipulates the organization's resources - monetary, material and environmental. (Environmental

resources include the P,T.A., neighboring businesses, community projects, city agencies, parks and museums).

The organization also maintains a particular set of allocation parameters (Katz and Kahn) which clearly define and mete out rewards and sanctions. These allocative parameters include both formally ritualized elements of praise worthiness (favorable marks, the safety patrol, hall monitors), and those informally evoked chastisements which number various punishments to low-status seating locales in a work area.

Inspiriting the organizational network is an operational ideology which supports the sanctity of the product: passivity as proper response to authority, the recognition of schedules and work-time tables, respect for the organization's material property and the avoidance of physical contact between peers with special stress placed on the non-contact of superiors. The school's ideology is very much like that of the client, thereby offering a certain purposive duality: smooth organizational functioning and preparation for the eventual assumption of a useful social role.

In a classical sense, the organization can be depicted as authoritative rather than democratic. This, too, promotes a subtle preparation of organizational transference to the client.

> The essential difference between a democratic and an authoritative system is not whether executive officers order or consult with those below them, but whether the power to legislate on policy is vested in the membership or in the top echelons.[22]

Task interdependence is another bureaucratic feature of the school. Despite emphasis on individual performance, there exists occasions that demand cooperation; i.e., the coordinated supervision necessitated when the student-worker must carry his unrefined product from one work area to another; a teacher will guide the student-workers to a designated place in the hall at which point they are 'picked-up' or greeted by another teacher who guides them to his or her specified work area where certain skills are taught by different teachers.

The concept of organizational space is well defined within the school. Limitations on physical mobility and job interrelatedness are clearly drawn; i.e., the staff on the professional-service echelon strata are not expected to infringe upon the duties of the kitchen staff; student-workers are not burdened with the responsibilities of the budgetary unit; teachers are discouraged from performing janitorial services.

By use of allocation parameters, an organizational ideology and an authoritative structure, dynamic homeostasis is achieved.

Perpetually anticipating deviant behavior and exerting sanctions the moment disorders occur provides a systemwide equilibrium. The well-defined relationship of standardized competence and prescribed temporal limitations also lend a stability to the process with regard to expectations.

The disposal process is clearly outlined and easily performed. The higher institutions of refinement are easily identified and simply communicated with; i.e., the neighboring

junior high school organization is expected to have 'intake' facilities and channels for the transference of invoices. This is equally consistent with high schools.

With regard to further organizational description, the issue of open system versus closed system deserves mention. An open system is one that is sensitive to influences from its environment. This sensitivity implies the continued possibility of adaption which is voluntarily enacted out of the desire to expand and improve. A closed system may operate without concern for external interests or react only after extreme duress. There is little doubt that the central system (the Board of Education) exemplifies an open system, i.e., reliance on an industrial property tax, millage issues vying with other proposed taxations, societal standards of living, political influences. In that the school is a subsystem of the central board, the organization, too, is an open system receiving funds from the central office. However, in its isolated locale, its inability to make significant legislative decisions and the impossibility of raising its own funds, the single school bureaucracy must then be classified as a closed system. It is vulnerable solely through its link to the central board. This structural has nourished community-organization disharmony (e.g. personalized pressures placed upon the school), yet its inability to structurally comply). This 'inability' often appears to critics as a refusal due to the school's generalized appearance of operational autonomy - little or no external daily input.

In light of this structural duality and community displeasure, the claim that the school's internal maintenance

dynamic exceeds its maximization principle appears to have validity. Customarily, the inverse is true...the maximization principle encourages the organization to expand and voraciously envelop environmental resources, forcing the organization's internal stabilizing instruments - the maintenance dynamic - to catch up and integrate the new with the old. In simplified terms, the school is primarily on the defensive and, therefore, reduces focus on improvement and innovation. Changes that do occur are, first, funneled through the central board by pressure groups and then forced upon the organization and adopted as acts of appeasement rather than as a by-product of calculated investigation and profit-oriented experimentation. This violation of normative organizational theory (a defensive rather than a growth orientation) hampers profitable operations.

The Supervisory Network...

An authoritative interaction between the hierarchical strata is based on its subjectibility to a directive or request. The following is a description of interrelationships within the authoritative network:

Rank	Directive (downward)	Request (upward)	Request (horizontal)
1	1',2,3,4,5,6,7		8*
1	3,4,5,6,7	1	2
2	7	1	8* 1, 3,4,5,6
3	7	1,1'	2, 4,5,6
4	7	1,1'	8* 2,3, 5,6
5	7	1,1'	8* 2,3,4
6	6,7	1,1'	8* 2,3,4
7	7	1,1',2,3,4,5,6	

8* A source of recourse outside of the organization, a program center, union or special office in the central board.

Certain responsible propositions may be derived from the

scrutiny of the supervisory charts:

(a) Within the boundaries of the organization, the Principal need make request of no man.

(b) Members of all strata may give directives to the student-worker class.

(c) The student-worker is the only participant capable of giving directions to or making horizontal requests of no one.

(d) Five out of seven strata are responsible (request upward) only to the Administration.

(e) Excluding the Principal, only one stratum is not subjected to directives from the Assistant Principal.

(f) Six out of seven strata, excluding the Principal, have peer ranks of whom horizontal request must be made.

(g) In terms of downward authority, there are only three rank groupings; the Administrative, the professional service, non-professional service and the enterprizing (teachers); and the student-worker class.

(h) The Assistant Principals and the student-workers are the only participants without provisions for 'sources of recourse' outside of the organization.

(Implications of these propositions regarding the nature of interpersonal relationships will be discussed in a later phase of this thesis).

Formal communication within organizations usually patterns on supervisory networks. Communiqués emanating from the middle

or lower strata go directly to the top for approval and are dispersed in the same manner as those originating on high. Informal communications and the quaisiformal task-oriented communications that require no approval go downward or horizontally from their point of origin.

The communication may be open-circuited - between ranks, or closed-circuited - within the particular stratum. The importance of this seemingly obvious distinction lies in the premeditated intention of various transmissions; i.e., a teacher may directly make request of a janitor's services with the understanding that the communiqué remain secretive in the case of a teacher hoping that the Assistant Principal will not find out that a student-worker, unsupervised, broke the pencil sharpener. This analogy illustrates an open-circuited communiqué between ranks, but one that, according to proposition 'g' above, remains on a certain authoritative plane and has a closed-circuited secretive quality to it. If the janitor violates the pact and notifies an Administrator, the teacher might confide in teaching peers that the janitorial staff is untrustworthy (closed-circuited). Closely related to this communicative typology are the perceptions of an authoritative self and authoritative-others; the estimation of one's own role influences one's bargaining power, one's nepotismic leverage and that of others.

Closed-circuited communication is most frequent in the teacher group. Factors that support this contention are high population within the stratum, a teachers' lounge and relatively little supervision. Teachers can seize opportunities to communicate - step out of the work area for a moment, send notes with

trusted couriers, speak during mass gatherings, converse during periods of task interaction. Student-worker inter-stratum communication is usually an object of organizational sanction: silence, few unsupervised occasions, high priority on competition and the separation of informally engaging cliques.

It should be recognized that most task-oriented informal and closed-circuited communiqués assume their form in the lack of official channels through which they may satisfy their specific needs. It is evident that such informal and secretive tactics are reactions to the formally established networks. Since these networks are neither official nor open to all responsible strata, these procedures must be viewed as deviant forms of communication actually promoted by the nature of the organizational provisions. If there is but one channel designed for communication between two roles and the officious mode lacks the desired level of secrecy, or of exclusivity, or productivity potential, then unapproved alternates are contrived by the parties of a vested interest.

Thus far the depiction of the single school as an organizational bureaucracy has been the primary intention of this analysis. The basis for this claim has been the application of certain classical tenets from the realm of organizational theory to the case at hand: the illustration of a ranking hierarchy, the specifications of the product, the presentation of an organization-client relationship, the presence of a budgetary unit, a normative ideology, allocation parameters, task interdependence, organizational space and the disposal process.

Behavior Within The Organization...

It may be of value to first attempt an overview of the behavior within the organization. If general trends of interpersonal relationships can be justifiably described, Durkheim's model of 'organic solidarity' might provide the beginning of a trial and error search for an appropriate schemata:

> For if (self) interest relates men, it is never for more than some few moments. It can create only an external link between them. In the fact of exchange, the various agents remain outside of each other, and when the business has been completed, each one retires and is left entirely on his own. Consciences are only superficially in contact; they neither penetrate each other nor do they adhere. If we look further into the matter, we shall see that this total harmony of interest conceals a latent or deferred conflict. For where interest is the only ruling force, each individual finds himself in a state of war with every other since nothing comes to mollify egos, and any truce in this eternal antagonism would not be for long duration.[23]

Durkheim suggests that contracts between individuals are usually entered voluntarily and involve not only the expected exchange, but also a host of unreckoned for subsidiary responsibilities and activities. Social solidarity, within the confines of a society, an institution, or a dyad, rests with the voluntary nature of the compact and the awareness of the unavoidable obligatory outgrowths; i.e., expectations of fidelity, honesty, mutuality, continuity.

As Durkheim proposes:

> What shows better than anything else that contracts give rise to obligations which have not been contracted for is that they 'make obligatory' not only what there is expressed in them, but also consequences with equity, usage, or the law imputes from the nature of the obligation.[24]

In efforts to view the organization's social system in accordance with Durkheim's 'organic solidarity,' three criteria seem of paramount importance: individuals enjoined for reasons other than self-interest, contracts voluntarily formed and the recognition of subsidiary obligations associated with those contracts coupled with a predisposition to satisfy all facets of the relationship.

It would be a violation of findings cited by industrial psychologists and, in general, unfair to contend that monetary remuneration is the only factor that attracts workers to the school. It is unlikely that any would participate without salary, but of importance, too, is the pride associated with performance of a vitally needed service - the refinement of parts for the future.

No individual is coerced into the school's occupational schemata which, in actuality, implies voluntary involvement. Despite the legal dictates regarding the student-workers' participation, it seems that even they are eager to engage themselves at the onset.

The needed fulfillment of the expected portions of the contract as well as the unexpected subsidiaries is far more difficult to satisfy. Durkheim suggested that the nature of

informal obligations are predictable but that the specifics vary with circumstances. The obligatory outgrowths relate to the various innate aspects of human social intercourse. Through this perspective, the bureaucracy, and its highly defined task-oriented roles, adequately satisfies the formal expectations of the contract, while simultaneously reducing the frequency of informal outgrowths. Vulnerability to these informal extensions are perceived as structural weaknesses, detracting from smooth operational functioning. Formal procedures are, therefore, employed to limit or, at best, channel the informal behavior and extra-contractual expectations. These delineating procedures assume the form of behavioral modification and, in turn, become institutionalized into a normative system. It is, perhaps, in this context (the stifling of informal behavior, expectations or communication) that Merton's Model (1957) of Dysfunctional Behavior seems best suited.

> Problems are approached in terms of some ready organizational precedent rather than a thorough search for alternatives. The emphasis upon role and position decreases personalized relations.[25]

Task performance comes under the auspices of the formal contract, while the psychological repercussions of failure (emotional and social support) and the ensuing explanation of self-defense can be perceived in the realm of informal human interactions. If opportunities for personalized expression are limited, the individual

> ...challenged in the performance of his duties, his defense is to fall back upon some highly visible

> role to prove that he has only been doing his duty as prescribed by statute.[26]

If the humane understanding of failure is an expected outgrowth of the formally enjoined interpersonal contract, the bureaucratic organization is in violation of the pact of organic solidarity. If both personal and organizational inconsistencies are expected to be broached clearly and therapeutically, the bureaucracy fails to fulfill its part in the bargain.

Gouldner (1954) reinforces the position that organizational guidelines infringe upon informal behavior.

> The unanticipated consequence of the general impersonal rules is the creation of minimum acceptable standards of organizational behavior.[27]

Howard Becker, in his study of teacher-administrator interactions, illustrates the formalization of behavioral expectations: the teacher accepts a position of subservience in exchange for the administrator's institutionalized protection against threats from outside the organization.

In light of Durkheim's guidelines and those of Merton, Gouldner and Becker, an organization's inability to cope with behavioral variety renders it ineligible for the status of organic solidarity. If this overview approach seems analytically incomplete, perhaps a more precise look at human relations would be meaningful.

At first glance, the supervisory network of the school bureaucracy appears to afford optimal protection of the individual's dignity and job security.

A. Rather than a highly restrictive vertical structure, limiting inter-strata horizontal requests, five of the eight groupings are categorized in comparable authoritative positions. The burden and visibility of authority and decision-making rests solely upon the shoulders of administrators. This seems much preferable when matched with a system that, by its structural nature, makes it necessary for each ordered individual to flaunt his status inthe face of subordinates. The fewer status differentials, the better. A system that lodges most responsibility at the top may be comforting to those persons inhabiting lower rungs.

B. What presents the system in a still more favorable light is the minimalization of contest between the prestigious professionally trained and the stigmatized unskilled labor; i.e., the teacher may not dictate to the janitor, the reading-coordinator must make requests of teacher aides and the counselor may not give directives to the kitchen staff. These relationships are conducted on the basis of horizontal request, making the precepts of democracy appear an organizational reality for most participants.

C. An additional attribute is the 'souce of recourse' - or ombudsmen - for seven of the nine strata. These external offices not only provide avenues of appeal; they set guidelines which define responsibility and reduce the possibility of exploitation.

D. Every stratum, with the exception of one, has the officious authority to give directives to at least one other

stratum. If little else, this has merit regarding morale (affording positions of limited authority to many) and thereby promotes organizational harmony.

Through this supervisory system, the conditions of contract and associative expectations are foreseeable and within the realm of bureaucratic control. However, Durkheim's proportions regarding the 'unexpected' outgrowths of contractual interactions seem to materialize.

A. The lack of immediate supervision of everyone in the hierarchy may lead to inter and intra-rank suspicions. Each individual confronts his failures alone and is left to speculate about those of others. Each sees his own cadre as bearing the brunt of the enterprising process. Ethnocentric groupism arises as each seeks peers (within strata) for social, productive and emotional support.

> Psychological forces always push people toward communication with peers; people in the same boat share the same problems.[28]

This perception of 'the same boat' obviously implies that all others are in different vessels; i.e., the school community agent begrudges the organizational space of others within the secure building while he must make the neighborhood rounds. The teacher envies those who simply 'shoot-the-bull' with student-workers without being subjected to one work area all day; the community teacher-aides perceive themselves as most capable of relating to student-workers; Assistant Principals perceive weakness on the part of those who do not handle behavioral deviance in their own work areas. These between-rank suspicions

inevitably lead to closed-circuited communications, especially on the teacher stratum since they are the ones most involved in the enterprising activities and, hence, most visible in failure. This groupism resigns communication to the state of a secret property of select groups (which) can be utilized to control and punish people at lower levels.

B. The air of equality that appears to prevail among the 'middle five strata' may really harbor the resentment of professionals who must make requests of laymen. The nature of these horizontal-request relationships renders the response arbitrary unless the petitioner wishes to lodge a complaint with the administration. The response to requested service can very easily be "No! Not now! I have other duties to perform first." Without the aforementioned immediate supervision, the requisitioner has no way of knowing the validity of such a response. The horizontal-request interactions can then become immersed in personality or ranking conflicts and alliances that lie festering in informal corridors or, worse, become openly explosive.

C. The beauty of the 'source of recourse' has its shortcomings, also. Administrators - especially the Principal, must play 'tip-toe-through-the-guidelines' when relating to subordinates. The Principal becomes expert at non-violation of program and union platforms, diverting consideration from the organization's product. The prime determinant for evaluating a Principal's leadership is the number of grievances filed against him. The Assistant Principal's position is even more precarious. He must be sensitive to the identical issues, but has no prescribed

source of recourse of his own. In an instance of crisis, his immediate source of support, reassurance and job security may have both hands spent in self-defense.

D. It is quite true that members of all strata - except one, can give directives to at least one lower stratum. However, it is also true that at least one lower stratum is always the same one - the student-worker class. To complicate the fact that all can give directives to the student-workers, this group is the one exception that cannot give directives to anyone else. The participants on this plebian level are most certainly cognizant of the inequity. Since the student-workers are most susceptible to directives, they are most supervised. Wherever they go, regardless of work locales, or so-called leisure, directives are inescapable and behavioral modification never relaxed.

At this juncture, two considerations must be introduced. First, despite the above A, B and C elements that promote disharmony, ranks 1, 1', 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6 are more cohesive than in conflict and, stratum 7, the student-worker class becomes alienated from the cohesive others. The possible between-rank conflicts discussed in A, B and C do not overshadow the commonality shared by members of 1, 1', 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6. All of these workers receive immediate gratification on the self-interest level of income. And these participants also share a common experience - having already gone through the refinement process and, therefore, lean supportively toward the organizational value system. In brief, it can be safely assumed that these school members believe in the legitimacy of the organization. Any negation of this last

point would amount to the negation of the reality of those people presently employed by the client as well as the Marxian premise that implicit in bureaucracies is the mass membership recognition of the leaders' legitimate right to rule. Their dictates might be questioned, but never their right to dictate.

Secondly, the student-worker class becomes alienated from the cohesive strata-collective because they are aware of their inability to share in the elements that cement the generalized collective. The student-worker is salaried on a deferred basis; he cannot view the refinery in retrospect; he cannot make rationalizations about the worth of the refinery since he has had no rewarding proof, and he cannot ignore the inequities described in D. The student has no channel of appeal outside of the organization, nor within it. He, unlike all others, must accept directives from all other strata and, uniquely, cannot issue a directive to anyone. He is even denied the privilege to make a horizontal request. If neither rule nor reason supports the contentions of his superiors, his age is the ultimate criterion brought to bear. Not only are his arguments disregarded due to the chronological factor, his protests are silenced by the absence of real outlets for expression. In addition, his whole tenor is held suspect due to his lack of refinement, and he is believed capable of violating the most sacred of behavioral taboos. If the individual student-worker is unable to conform to the ideological or technological facets of the refinement process, all alternatives available are in conflict with the organization. If those alternatives are sought by the student, the degree of deviance is the only issue left for his superior's discernment.

Robert Merton's categories of behavioral adaptions of alternatives, created by the very bureaucratic system directed toward subduing alternatives, are meaningful when applied to the school organization. The categorical (conformity, innovation, ritualism, retreatism and rebellion) transparency can be placed over the means-ends schemata of the system. The system espouses profitable ends (goals) both as rewards and as acceptable ideology, and when the individual internalizes those objectives, the means for attainment are made available. Those who cannot or will not conform find themselves in one of the other classifications.

Innovation	- acceptance of objectives, but utilization of less traditional methods
Ritualism	- achievement of goals appear unattainable or distasteful, but mimicry of conventional behavior
Retreatism	- perceived inability in achieving goals, coupled with inability to conduct self in accordance with traditional codes
Rebellion	- the rejection of both approved goals - ideology and traditional modes of procedure.

A sixth-state resentment (Nietzche, Max Scheler) is depicted by, first, feelings of hate, envy and hostility; second, a sense of powerlessness to express these feelings actively against the personal or social stratum evoking them; and, thirdly, a continued re-experiencing of this impotent hostility.

These classificatory designations for human responses to

systems may be perceived as alternatives - individually open for selection or as rungs on a behavioral ladder. "Choice' enters in the decision as to where to cease the descent. The choice is made more as a psychological last resort than as a rational decision regarding one's tolerance. It is the position of this thesis that the above conditions are schematic in nature (in descent) and do not open to a 'grab-gab' type of selection by the actor.

In reference to Durkheim and the ensuing discussion regarding the voluntary aspect of contractual enjoinment, it can be said that all begin willing to conform. Conformity here implies the presupposed attributes of the organization, thereby enticing one to willingly contract. From the outset, certain individuals experience difficulties; i.e., understanding directions, accepting directions, performing tasks. A portion of these individuals accept the forthcoming organizational sanctions and obey accordingly, while others cannot or do not. If granted that members of strata 1 through 6 are long acquaintances of the organization and its normative standards, and that the student-worker is, in comparison, a neophyte, it can be believed that the difficulties in acceptable adjustment occur overwhelmingly in the seventh stratum, the student-worker. It should be understood that these difficulties need not surface the first day nor the first year of student employment.

When the absolute inability to conform (accept - understand both objectives and procedures) does come to light, the individual may innovate...accept the proposed goals but function

in a non-traditional manner; i.e., try to acquire skills but insist on autonomy, utilize non-prescribed materials, or cheat.

The aforementioned approach produces punitive repercussions (the detection of alternate means), the locus of success may shift from the attainment of skills to the acquisition of social acceptance; i.e., the individual who is unable to read, attempts improvement only as a token but seeks favor through avenues of extreme courtesy, punctuality, cooperation, docility.

For those workers still unacclaimed, having attempted total acquiescence (conformity), a concentration on high grades (innovation) and the vying for social recognition (ritualist), retreat or rebellion may constitute the remaining manners of coping with frustration. If the retreatist is subjected to further sanctions, he may lapse into a state of anomia...normlessness, or the complete inability to determine or distinguish between appropriate behavior and expected results. The rebellious may resign themselves to a position of sheer resentment.

It has been repeatedly contended that school bureaucracy insists that members adhere to standardized behavioral codes; proper conduct being held to mean maximized production - the full refinement of the part and its conductor. Yet, Merton and Gouldner illustrate (pp 73-74) how bureaucracies tend to place great value on the adherence to behavioral norms at the expense of production itself.

In short, the school bureaucracy appears to place stress on behavioral standards while losing sight of actual achievement.

It does so to satisfy the client's needs and to assure a smooth-running school. Society and the school can accomodate an illiterate but not a behavioral deviant; i.e., a bigamist, a homosexual, a drifter, a tax evader, an aetheist, a socialist.

To consider the student-worker class and the Mertonian adaptive-categories, the previous propositions must be reiterated: the organizational stress on proper conduct is spent and the student stratum is subjected to exhaustive scrutiny by all other strata. The recognition of these points lead to the conclusion that deviant behavior is highly visible and that it predictably elecits an institutionalized chastisement. For the non-conforming student-worker, ritualism is, then, the most profitable and the most practical stance. Innovation, retreatism and rebellion are positions easily noticed due to their overt deviance. Ritualism, however, is most practical due to its high degree of invisibility. Ritualism is profitable, too, for other reasons: the well-behaved receive social recognition from superiors; being well-behaved may actually extract favorable reports (grades - the actual goal) from teachers. Proper conduct is a virtue beyond compare in the client's estimation for individuals without skills have been known to fare well in society because of their appropriate mannerisms. And with regard to Merton's Model of Dysfunctional Behavior, the ritualist need not internalize task-oriented failure. He can justly rely on the legitimacy of his behavior in the context of bureaucratic guidelines.

Despite the vociferous and highly publicized student misconduct in public schools, ritualism, as a practice, immeasurably

exceeds rebelliousness. The import of this position is in its contrast with the traditional decress that 'attitudes' or 'upbringing' are the prime causal factors of deviance. Advanced here is the belief that the organization, through its rigid claims on human experience, instills, perpetuates and reinforces such behavioral forms by affording little option.

Finally, ritualism is by no means the sole property of the student or the school. This resort is certainly not school-boyish. It permeates the entire social schemata of the client. Learning-to-play-the-game is of as high priority on Wall Street as on Bourbon Street. As long as a game directs, regulates or manipulates individuals, familiarity with its loop-holes and idiosyncracies will always be a resort by which to avoid demeaning pressures.

This preliminary examination yields two types of systemic deficiences...Hyper-organizationalism which restricts vital growth and tends to drive many to shelters that prevent intrusion and inhibit extension, and hardening of communication arteries, the restriction of healthy communicative passage, while making necessary the use of alternate channels that hinder the organization.

B. The School As A Total Institution

Hyper-organizationalism may reveal itself in a variety of forms and nuances. It has been argued that the school has developed a highly constrictive level of bureaucratic pathology. We must attempt, at present, to pinpoint the precise type of organizational stricture this schemata implies.

In the light of the public school's growing involvement with non-academic social-oriented services (briefly mentioned in the last segment of this discussion as sppeasement rather than expansion or innovation), what case can be made for depicting the school as a total institution?

The value of such exactitude would do much to cause clarification, despite its ugly ramifications. No one relished this harsh perception of the school, yet sentimentality must not hamper the analysis.

> A total institution may be defined as a place of residence and work where a large number of like-situated individuals, cut off from the wider society for an appreciable period of time, together lead an enclosed formally administered round of life.[29]

The depiction of the student-worker's role in this type of organization need not relegate the Principal to a position of warden, nor the teacher to turnkey. However, the status of no other stratum in the hierarchy can shed as much illumination upon the organization in this case as can the students'. As seen in the preceeding discussion, many institutionalized relationships reside within like confines. The student-worker may operationalize in a factory-like setting and simultaneously function as if residing in a total institution. The administration may in one instance perceive its role as monarchical and, in the next, as liaison between the central board and the democratically-oriented teaching faculty. It is the recognition of this variety of structural contortions and their incongruous interplay that shall ultimately

provide a depiction of the phenomenon at hand.

Goffman offers five types of total institutions (Asylums), Anchor Books Edition, 1961): "First, there are institutions established to care for persons felt to be both incapable and harmless; second, there are places established to care for persons felt to be both incapable of looking after themselves and a threat to the community; total institutions are established to protect the community against what are felt to be intentional dangers to it; fourth, there are institutions purportedly established to better pursue some worklike task and justifying themselves only on these instrumental grounds; and, finally, there are those establishments designed as retreats from the world even while serving as training stations."[30]

If the public school could be easily assigned to one of the above categories, this segment of the project could be justly concluded here. Complexity arises with the understanding that the school shares a certain commonality with all of the five types outlined. First, with regard to functioning in the societal mainstream, the young student-worker is certainly incapable. The student-worker is viewed as incapable of taking care of himself, and to mothers with extra home involvements the school performs a baby-sitting task as well as the more traditional purposes. Secondly, without the organization's ability to legally conscript students, the possibility exists that hordes of eager young workers could overrun the labor market and be willing to accept below standard remuneration. Also, the influx of so-called unrefined, untutored, and uninvolved youth into the community's

streets could result in ethical and technical choas. Thirdly, when schools afford students days off (parent-teacher conference days, teacher-meeting days, legal holidays), the local law enforcement agencies are alerted. This tactic is intended to hopefully reduce vandalism and expected anti-social behavior that is perceived as a correlate of young people with time on their hands. To some this implies an intentionally motivated danger to society. The obvious relationship between academic rigor and some worklike task; and the easily accepted consideration of the school-institution as a retreat from reality and an isolated training ground constitute the fourth and fifth typologies in a total institution's objections. In short, the institutional objectives of the school are to train, detain, and restrain young people for they are trained in light of socially-needed skills, detained until polished enough to economically, socially and morally interact with adults and restrained from interfering with societal mechanism.

The operative mode of the school relates closely to Goffman's description of methods employed by total institutions:

> First, all aspects of life are conducted in the same place and under the same single authority. Second, each phase of the members' daily activity is carried on in the immediate company of a large batch of others, all of whom are treated alike and required to do the same thing together. Third, all phases of the day's activities are tightly scheduled with one activity leading at a prearranged time into the next, the whole sequence of activities being imposed from above by a system of

> implicit formal rulings and a body of officials. Finally, the various enforced activities are brought together into a single rational plan purportedly designed to fulfill the official aims of the institution.[31]

Justifiable uncertainty may arise in questioning the applicability of 'all aspects of life conducted in the same place' when referring to the school. But this seemingly striking inconsistency will be addressed again in this examination when it is transformed into the phrase, 'the overwhelming majority of aspects of life which are conducted in the same place.'

The institutionalized patterns of 'inmate-supervisory' interaction within the school vividly complies with Goffman's presentation:

> When persons are moved in blocks, they can be supervised by personnel whose chief activity is not guidance or periodic inspection but rather surveillance - a seeing to it that everyone does what is required of him, under conditions where one's infraction is likely to stand out in relief against the visible, constantly examined compliance of others.[32]

This surveillance need not refer only to emotive personal expression and behavior, although as previously stated it becomes the major concern. It can easily include the well-defined task-oriented expectations. This is so, due to the school's unequal concern with conformity (in the behavioral and ideological realms) and acquisition of skill realms. The great stress placed on normative conduct should be accepted here without unduly detailed explication.

> In total institutions there is a basic split between a large managed group conveniently called inmates, and a smaller supervisory staff.[33]
>
> Social mobility between the two strata is grossly restricted; social distance is typically great and often formally prescribed. Even talk across the boundaries may be conducted in a special tone of voice.[34]
>
> All of these restrictions of contact presumably help to maintain antagonistic stereotypes. Two different social and cultural worlds develop, jogging alongside each other with points of official contact but little mutual penetration. Significantly, the institutional plant and name come to be identified by both staff so that when either grouping refers to the views or interests of 'the institution,' by implication, they are referring to the views and concerns of the staff.[35]

The reality of student-worker impotence, in the area of policy and decision-making, leads to the pragmatic conclusion that those who legislate <u>can</u> do so only from a vantage point of self-interest. Despite the intentions of student-oriented policies, the aura of the school is undeniably fashioned in the image of adults - not children. Whether or not it is for their (the students') own good, is inconsequential. It cannot avoid discoloring the good intentions of the decision-makers.

With regard to both 'cultures' - the students' and the schools' - the results of their meeting may be considered alienating for the student.

> It is characteristic of inmates that they come to the institution with a 'presenting culture' derived from a 'home world' - a way of life and a round of activities taken for granted until the point of admission to the institution.[36]

The institutional dominance by the school's ideology - conducted by its reward-punishment system, is the accepted basis for the socialization of the child. Oftimes, however, unhealthy repercussions arise:

> Disculture may occur; that is an 'untraining' which renders him temporarily incapable of managing certain features of daily life on the outside, if and when he gets back to it.[37]

Because the inmate is on the outside every day for a period of time does not negate the 'carrying-over' of institutional norms and expected modes of conduct. The resentment of those norms and the inability to either change them or voice opposition to them within the organization may shed light on their flagrant abuse by some when 'hitting-the-streets.' Since each week the student spends a great amount of time within the physical boundaries of the school and within a matrix of conflicting norms extant on the outside, cognitive dissonance most certainly ensues. The frequent incidence of vandalism perpetrated against the school after hours itself stand as supporting evidence.

If time spent away from the school is imagined as being 'out,' then it takes on the form of a reaction to being 'in.' Making the most of one's time while 'out' implies the tension and intimidation of going back. This condition may be evident

in young and older students alike when the emotive associations of Friday night, Saturday, and Sunday are considered as individually significant representations. If time 'out' is spent 'coming down' from the school experience and then 'preparing' to return, the impact of school seems hardly removed from student awareness even while on the outside. When homework is thrown into the picture, the portrait becomes quite detailed.

> The full meaning for the inmate of being 'in' or 'on the outside' does not exist apart from the special meaning to him of 'getting out,' or 'getting on the outside.' In this sense, total institutions do not really look for cultural victory. They create and sustain a particular kind of tension between the home world and the institutional world and use this persistent tension as strategic leverage in the management of inmates.[38]

Threats to keep one after school or, even worse, to be failed, implies the prolongation of confinement.

How this tension is created, or how the school begins its socializing process can best be broached by an analysis of <u>admission procedures</u> attributed to total institutional policy:

> The recruit comes into the establishment with a conception of himself made possible by certain stable social arrangements in his home world. Upon entrance, he is immediately stripped of the support provided by those arrangements. In the accurate language of some of our oldest institutions, he begins a series of abasements, humiliations and profanations of self. His self is systematically, if often, unintentionally mortified.[39]

The child is accustomed to direction and suggestion only from intimates before entering school. Parents, relatives and neighbors are participants in his schemata of familiar face-to-face relationships. On the first day of school, a whole new set of authoritarians are introduced to him. "Thus these initial moments of socialization may involve an 'obedience test' and even a will-breaking contest: an inmate who shows defiance receives immediate visible punishment, which increases until he openly 'cries uncle' and humbles himself."[40] Aside from the new source of authority and the unexpected mode of implementation, the act is conducted in the presence of many strange peers and simply adds to the entire experience of humiliation.

The unaccustomed 'sequential scheduling of the individual's roles"[41] is another new experience for the recruit; i.e., what to play, how long to play, how tactfully to share, when to show anger and even how to eliminate bodily wastes in groups with a strange female overseeing the once unassuming, uncomplicated act.

When the child finds himself a faceless member of the class, he may feel that he is "being stripped of his identify kit. At admission, loss of identity equipment can prevent the individual from presenting his usual image of himself to others;"[42] i.e., the aforementioned equipment may involve toys, special clothes, secret hiding places, a high priority placed on privacy, the uninhibited display of tears or excitation. As the individual child progresses through the institution, his liberty is reduced rather than heightened; i.e., in the first grade stationary seats are introduced as well as the full day involvement; greater

academic demands are placed on the child, more adult supervisors appear on the scene, less and less peer interaction is tolerated, more and more sacred artifacts are placed in the student's care. The age of innocence rapidly comes to an unceremonious end.

> There is another form of mortification in total institutions; beginning with admission, a kind of contaminative exposure occurs. On the outside, an individual can hold objects of self-feeling such as his body, his immediate actions, his thoughts and some of his possessions - clear of contact with alien and contaminating things. But in total institutions these territories of the self are violated; the boundary that the individual places between his being and the environment is invaded and the embodiments of self profaned.[43]

Physical, as well as psychological invasion or contamination occurs within certain total institutions. A visit to almost any urban public school could verify the following:

> A very common form of physical contamination is reflected in complaints about unclean food, messy quarters, toilets without seats and dirty bath facilities.[44]

> In some total institutions the inmate is obliged to take oral or intravenous medications (polio vaccinations, etc.) whether desired or not, and to eat his food however unpalatable. When an inmate refuses to eat, there may be forcible contamination of his innards. And, too, the actual medicinal benefits derived from such medication are undermined by the child's fear and lack of understanding.[45]

> The practice of mixing age, ethnic and racial groups in prisons

> and hospitals can lead an inmate to feel he is being contaminated by contact with undesirable fellow inmates.[46]

To elaborate on this last proposition, innumerable public elementary schools bus in special education students who are categorically labelled emotionally disturbed, mentally retarded, physically handicapped, partially seeing, trainable or socially maladjusted. One public school with which I am acquainted has regular elementary students (kindergarten to sixth graders), junior trainable (the brain-damaged and mongoloid idiots aged five, six and seven) and the Senior Special B (young people between fourteen and seventeen years of ago who are considered mentally retarded as well as behaviorally deviant).

> Another kind of contamination exposure brings an outsider into contact with the individual's close relationship to significant others.[47]

What example could more vividly depict this type of contamination than the teacher who vows to notify a parent that the child is notoriously bad. The child's horror is multiplied by the knowledge that his beloved parent will, undoubtedly, accept the word of the prestigious teacher. The intrusion into an individual's personal relationships with others occurs, too, when one is forced to 'denounce' another; also, when one is not allowed to come to another's aid. Or, when a child is accused of an abnormal friendship by wishing to sit close to or hang-out exclusively with a specified friend.

Finally,

> One of the most telling ways in which one's economy of action can be disrupted is the obligation to request permission or supplies for minor activities that one can execute on one's own on the outside.[48]

Entrapments:

The foundation upon which this position rests is not simply the analytical unification of this document's premise with Goffman's precepts. Of equal importance is the reality that the school has been encouraged (coerced) to address itself to many non-academic, social service-oriented needs of student-workers. The fact that some students may genuinely be in dire need of those services does not alter the growing trend of the school's involvement with the child's total-self. The school participates 'in an overwhelming majority of aspects in the child's life.'

The following is a partial list of Service Centers taken from The Detroit Public Schools Directory, 1969-1970, pages 115-116.

Psychological Clinic
Speech and Hearing Clinic
Cardiac Clinic
Deaf and Hard of Hearing Clinic
Epileptic Clinic
Orthopedic Clinic
Juvenile Court Representative
School Social Work Services
Guidance and Counseling
School-Community Agents

In addition, the school (meted out through the central board) can provide special dentists, clothing, work permits and work-study programs. Considering these facilities juxtaposed upon the daily meals (breakfast programs in some school also), shelter and the preponderance of behavioral and emotional directives, the child appears immersed in school involvements.

This immersion has even greater depth for those students who come to the institution from improverished settings. The immense importance of the school lunch should easily be understood. The shelter provided by the school building is not always, however, as obvious. In many instances, children will come to school an hour early. They will mill around in the entrance ways, sit in the auditorium and sometimes help teachers who have also arrived early. Affection for the school's procedures need not be equated with attendance and the early arrival of certain students. The simple reality is that some homes are not properly heated in the winter. Some children must accept the experiences in the school so they may satisfy other needs.

For those who have no economic recourse to private facilities, the school publicizes its role in an individual's medical condition and his confrontations with civil authority. The advertisement of his familial circumstances and welfare status is simply part-of-the-program. The more dependent the individual becomes on the growing school services, the more entrenched he becomes in the institution's life and a less private self results. The child is then a captivated participant when the services are combined with the ideological components of standardized total institutional procedures.

It should not be concluded that the school round-of-life would improve if returned to its ancient one-room academic tenor. The extension of the aforementioned services is humane and noble. But the awareness of the total institution-like posture of the school is also vital. The posture assures contradictory effects

in the child for it immixes the distasteful nature of school policies, with a dependence upon the institution for much needed services. Building on this basic dichotomy is the awareness that one has to attend school and that you won't live a happy life unless educated. The child's future depends on the rewards, both academic and psychological, handed out at the school, or so he's led to believe.

The following excerpts were taken from The American Journal of Corrections. Consider their applicability to the school institution.

> One of the most painful factors with which the inmate must contend is loss of freedom. In a very real sense the prisoner's loss of liberty is a double one-first by confinement to the institution and, second, by confinement within the institution. His freedom of movement is usually confined by a strict system of passes, military formations in moving from one point to another, as well as the demand that he remain in his cell until given permission to do otherwise.[49]

> In short, he is not only incarcerated within the walls which seal him off from the outside community, but also enmeshed in another community; namely, the prison population, from which the only temporary escape is psychological withdrawal.[50]

> On the one hand, he is told that he must learn responsibility and self-discipline in order to succeed in the free world and, on the other, he sees glaring examples of evasion of responsibility by the very people who told him he must learn it.[51]

> For rehabilitation, each offender must be sufficiently tolerant, if not accepting, of the standards and values of the middle class citizens on the outside who back up the laws to which the inmate must conform.[52]

> From a strictly pragmatic standpoint, the correctional agency attains its objective if the offender becomes law-abiding even though he may be ignorantly illiterate, a vocationally unskilled neurotic who rejects religion. Indeed, if one person remains law-abiding because he is capable and determined to obtain things he wants out of life in an acceptable way, and another because upon release from confinement he is sick and tired of doing time, each will affect a correctional agency's recidivist rate exactly the same.[53]

Such extractions from casebook penology illustrate a great deal about institutional experience. These innuendoes place a high priority on regulated behavior, with obvious disregard for the classical concepts of rehabilitation. The emphasis upon behavioral uniformity appears to greatly outweigh self-actualization and self-renewal. Being tolerant of middle-class standards, being physically law-abiding, being self-disciplined, and obeying institutional dictates are not objectives foreign to the public school. In this light, resentment must remain disguised, while Mertonian conformity and/or ritualism externally coats the wise inmate's person. Since proper conduct has high priority in terms of institutional guidelines, behavioral violations are easily perceived by others and quickly disapproved. Expressing resentment is self-defeating, while harboring it is understandable, yet dysfunctional in the sense of mental hygiene.

It is the position of this portion of the analysis that the school qualifies as a total institution. Justifying this stance is the school's admission procedures, its approach to standardized conduct and its vast involvement in the student's daily life. This recognition need not connotate condemnation. A portioned role of education is, indeed, ideological introduction - indoctrination to client norms and modes of acceptable conduct. That the school provided added social and medical services is more to its credit than to its infamy. However, the institution's ignorance of the contradicting influences and the dysfunctional psychological repercussions does make it liable to criticism. If the school is to be more to children than an academic routine, it must adjust its emotive climate to accommodate these extracurricular involvements. To afford personalized services with a regimental demeanor is a contradiction too oblique to understand. Since the school should not become less accommodating to student social needs, it should become more patronizing in the psychological realm.

In retrospect, it is possible to explain how the system fell prey to this dichotomy and lent itself to conditions of total institutionalism and bureaucratic pathology.

The organism...the school, was bombarded with environmental stimuli that pointed to the institution's shortcomings and encouraged address to various non-academic social needs of student-workers. The system responded to the stimuli, not out of eagerness to expand, but, instead, out of fear not to. The systematic responses involved altercations and additions in its

bodily functions; i.e., Black history, quasi-open classrooms, new football uniforms. The source of irritation lay in that these additions, or changes, did not elicit a systemwide shift. There were no structural adjustments to accommodate the introduction of what were, at the time, organizational antibodies.

Talcott Parsons has also pursued this line of inquiry. He illustrated that successful organizational change required shifts, both in conduct and attitude, throughout the entire structure. Change isolated to a department, a subsystem or a segment yields confusion, suspicion and the obscuring of constitutional objectives. One department competes with the next for funded handouts.

In the case of the educational system, encroachment into the student's extracurricular self was not enjoined by a modification of the psychological atmosphere. New departments were created, teachers had new referral channels and students were subjected to new involvements. The new was simply tossed into the barrel with the old. The novel introductions were funneled through the traditionally high-disciplined channels. When the extended services did emerge, they were as tainted as the old. The organization's expression of sincere concern about the student's physical and psychological welfare became an intrusion.

The irritation was heightened by the student's awareness that he probably needed the service badly; i.e., the student who is constantly humiliated by his reading failure is told he must undergo a vision examination; the student who has been noticed not buying lunch is directed to take home a Family

Information Form so he can become eligible for free lunches; the misbehaving child is sent to the counselor for prodding into his parents' relationship, his bedtime, the activities of his brothers and sisters.

A corresponding analogy may be the severely underpaid worker who is presently slapped across the mouth with a wad of hundred dollar bills before it is relinquished to him. The result is heightened dependence upon the paymaster, increased obligation to the organization, while at the same time greater resentment and a lower self-concept. The worker is cognizant of his need for the increased paycheck and simultaneously outraged by his self-effacement.

When the student's dependence upon the school for his social needs (in combination with its impersonal mode of extension) is juxtaposed against burdensome institutional confinement, stiff behavioral regulation and cultural emphasis upon graduation, he is genuinely held captive.

C. The School And Its Imbalance With Environmental Neighbors

Historically, the urban public school has always represented a host of problems involving imbalanced relationships with the social environment. The environments of the school are many; a few being the immediate community, the central board of education, civic and municipal influences and various institutionalized self-interest groups representing different clans of schoolmen. In this context, imbalance infers an inability to relate clearly with interests abounding in the organization's environment. Classically, organizations are said to relate to neighboring

influences in an open-system fashion (profit being an outgrowth of sensitivity to environment) or a closed-system (functional independence of outside interests).

As shall be portrayed, the school organization resembles neither of the above two forms exactly but exhibits some dysfunctional characteristics of each. The school position is one of being involuntarily open to inputs emanating from the central board of education (which is oftentimes motivated by non-academically oriented interests) and voluntarily closed to the more immediate needs of the community. This latter condition is due partially to the school's lack of authority to make autonomous legislation and, in part, due to the school's basic ignorance of those immediate needs which, for all practical purposes, remain uncommunicable to the organization.

Raymond E. Callahan (Education And The Efficiency Cult) describes historically how the urban school has been impotently open to officious input.

> What was unexpected was the extent, not only of the power of the business-industrial groups, but the strength of the business ideology in the American culture, on the one hand, and the extreme weakness and vulnerability of schoolmen, especially school administrators, on the other.[54]

> I was surprised and then dismayed to learn how many decisions they made or were forced to make, not on educational grounds but as a means of appeasing their critics in order to maintain their positions in schools.[55]

In the early twentieth century the school order was pounced upon by an industry-conscious citizenry who bore two insistent

requests: one, that the educational institution direct its energies away from traditional scholasticism and toward preparing students for participation in the newly developed business society; and, secondly, the school itself adapt policies more efficient and businesslike. The most prominent instigator of the nationwide addition to efficiency cultism was Fredrick Taylor. His time-and-efficiency studies were revolutionizing the fast-growing industrialized economy. In the wake of the immigrant and rural hordes, and the vast needs of industry for personnel, the urban schools were more than vulnerable to the tirade of accusations.

> The publicity given the efficiency movement began to have its effect. In Providence, Rhode Island, the school board was criticized by the press for declaring a holiday on a Monday preceeding Decoration Day to allow students a four-day vacation. This action, said the newspaper, cost the taxpayers five thousand dollars, not in actual appropriations but in terms of loss of possible returns on the money invested. The board's action was described as 'poor business' and not 'scientific economy.'[56]

As publicity grew, the educators finally caught on. In 1912 an Efficiency Committee was established in New York City by the public school system. The following was their greatly acclaimed findings:

A. Purpose or objective of 'scientific management:'

1. To increase efficiency of the laborer;* the pupil.

2. To increase the quality of the product;** the pupil.

3. Thereby to increase the amount of output and the value to the capitalist.

B. Comparisons between schools and mercantile establishments:

1. The teacher obviously corresponds to planing department, superintendent, manager of a factory.

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* It should be understood that the 'difficulties' were merely lamentable obstacles to be surmounted and not sufficient cause to dismiss the entire proposition. This report and its successors impregnated the weak educators more by rape than intellectual seduction. This, then, was the embryo of the withered system we now examine.

** Franklin Bobbitt, an instructor in Educational Administration at the University of Chicago in 1913, prescribed the duties of the public school educator:

> They must find the best methods of work and they must enforce the use of these methods on the part of the workers. They must determine the qualifications necessary for the workers and see that each rises to the standard qualifications, if it is possible and, when impossible, see that he is separated from the organization.

2. The elements of the enterprise (the workmen, the raw material and the finished product) are combined into the pupil. The other elements (tools, etc.) are the textbooks, charts and other apparatus.

C. The teacher should study and know thoroughly all these materials.

D. The final responsibility must be put on the pupil and he should be trained and made to feel this responsibility. The teacher's system of grading a pupil helps him to realize the amount of his progress.

E. Difficulties in the way of making exact applications of scientific principles:

1. So many elements are combined into one; i.e., pupil.

2. The raw material (the pupil) is affected by so many outside conditions.

3. Poor raw material cannot be exchanged for good.

4. The teacher never sees or deals with a finished product.[57]

The intrustion of business interests, among others, into the school was felt by administrators with great impact. They, being the most visible to outside lobbyists, reacted accordingly. As one such position-holder wrote:

> The one point I wish to make is that 'nothing, absolutely nothing' is of more vital consuming interest to the average superintendent of schools than the tremendously important question of whether he will be retained in his present position for the coming year.[58]

Illustrative of involvement with non-academic issues, another school superintendent confessed:

> You don't visit your classrooms regularly because you're writing publicity for the next levy that you can't have fall. Therefore, you don't know what is going on in the classrooms too well.[59]

The trend of brutal input into the school organization has become almost a normative practice, as witnessed in the previous two decades. The Russian space exploits of 1957 splashed down right in the public school's lap. The hue-and-cry for improved science and mathematics instruction became a national priority, suggesting shameful neglect in school curricula. The Civil Rights crusade, sex education, drug education, social welfare, physical education - all had their moments of prominence in the public eye and each, ultimately, was held as the responsibility of the public school. Neither the salience of these matters

nor their place in the school is questioned here. Of import is the recognition that these issues of concern surfaced as societal problems and were, in turn, pigeonholed in the school organization. This 'dumping procedure' was to take its toll on teacher-status due to the burdensome nature of responsibility as well as the lack of grace employed in each instance. Somehow each 'forced entry' was justified through insinuation that the 'cause' as well as cure could be found in the school.

To this line of argumentation one might reply that the school, a vital-support organ of the societal metabolism, should and must be sensitively open to the cultural temperament. Admittedly, it should and must, yet when viewing the school as a single organizational entity, uncertainty about procedural openness - how open and open to whom? - arises.

Examining the above uncertainties requires employment of open-system and closed-system organizational theory as conceptual tools. The motive behind the use of these concepts is not to juggle definition so as to afford academic labeling, but to measure the health of the organization by way if a theoretical yardstick. The following is a description of pure open and closed systems, their properties and their worth as an index of school operations.

> Open-system theory would maintain that environmental influences are not sources of error variance but are integrally related to the functioning of a social system, and that we cannot understand a system without a constant study of the forces that impinge upon it. The general principle which characterizes all open-system is that there does not have to be a single method for achieving an objective.[60]

The basic platform of the open-system perspective is one of symbiosis; the give-and-take characteristic of a system's adaption to its continually evolving environments. Inherent in this relationship is a sense of discretion exercised by the system as to rates of absorption as well as stances of selective rejection to potentially negativistic input. This type of analytic application to the school has meaning if it can be illustrated that the organization is endowed with the open-system physique but deprived of the accompanying organismic privileges. The school's inability to social and officious input through its umbilical link to the school board, while being formally excluded from interpretation or selection of such input, tends to support the argument of deprivation of natural privilege. Further description of open-system properties, their categorical appearance in the school and their aberrant nature of exercise, strengthen the contention.

The general principle outlined in the above definition is called <u>equifinality</u> ("a system can reach the same final state from differing initial conditions and by a variety of path)"[61] by Katz and Kahn (<u>The Social Psychology of Organizations</u>). Despite the open-system demeanor of the school, it seems to be inviolate of its general principle. The organization functions autonomously on a day-to-day basis (inferring that external input is not a prerequisite to operation) but does so in the one manner prescribed by central board policy. Variety of paths is not a condition found in the school structure.

<u>Importation of energy</u> ("...open-systems import some form

of energy from the external environment)"[62] as a feature of the school seems difficult to isolate and define. If energy is perceived as raw material to be transformed into a polished conclusion, the unsophistication and individuality of the student-worker may suffice. Yet this persuasion breaks down in light of the school's resentment of individuality, its annoyance with the expression of individuality, its consideration of unsophistication as a threat and individuality as a hindrance to operation. This is hardly the type of greeting an organization extends to its energy source.

If energy is to refer to motiviation, research evidence has eliminated salary as a primary motivator. The irrelevant curriculum rarely motivates productivity, and the gratification of personalized needs seems all too infrequent. One must conclude that motivation as an imported energy source does not come in forms of monies, intellectual challenge, nor humanistic gratification.

For purposes appropriate to this discussion, the energy source of the school - whether it be entitled raw material or motivation - seems to be formal guidelines, behavioral expectations and structural arrangements passed off as lessons in socialization vital to the task of good citizenship. The energy is not imported, not transformed, not really processed, but is the driving force that holds the organization together. Even if the 'newness' in idea and demeanor is viewed as an imported energy source, it is all too quickly drained by the organizational nature of the school.

Through-put ("...open-systems transform the energy available to them. The organization creates a new product, or processes materials, or trains people, or provides a service. Some work gets done in the system)"[63] requires slight interpretation as a quality of the school. It is undeniable that work gets done in the organization, but an immense portion of that work is related to sustaining the life of the organization, not in growth-oriented projects.

Out-put ("...open-systems export some product into the environment, whether it be the invention of an inquiring mind or a bridge constructed by an engineering firm)"[64] of the school organization draws attention to the lamentable quality of out-put. The incredible number of 'defective' units exported to the societal client illustrates the painful reality all too visibly; junked discards are useless to society in that they can neither 'fit in,' nor inaugurate change. To many, the organization's successes are as disheartening as the failures. Those units that do 'fit in,' do so only for the cultural moment, becoming obsolete when new requirements arise from cultural and global change.

Systems as cycles of events ("...the pattern of activities of the energy exchange has a cyclic character. The product exported to the environment furnishes the sources of energy for the repetition of the cycle of activities)"[65] as an open-system tenet, assumes that the 'returning' energy, once tasting the outside, will be reflective of that outside as well as characteristic of its organizational origins. The new teacher may analogously comport to that 'returning' energy, except that the school

feeds more upon those wualities attuned to organizational tradition than those characteristic of the outside. Insured is the "... repetition of the cycle of activities,"[66] but these activities involve the maintenance of the school, not enhancement of the product.

The last property of open-systems to be mentioned most succinctly describes the plight of the school as an organization.

Negative entropy ("...to survive, open-systems must move more to arrest the entropic process; they must acquire negative entropy. The entropic process is a universal law of nature in which all forms of organization move toward disorganization and death. The open-system, by importing more energy from its environment than it expends, can store energy and acquire negative entropy)"[67] is precisely the sought after goal the school is failing to acquire. If the school organization utilizes its policies as energy source, we are witnessing a rapid dwindling of that store. Since the school cannot legitimately seek to revitalize itself, atrophy and death beckons. At present, the organization acquires input and energy solely from the distant central board. This distance is gauged by red-tape as well as spatial factors, leaving the school desperately isolated from its only legal source of nutrition.

It is not to be assumed that the above critique of the distance between the central board and the local school distance is an affirmation of presently considered decentralized plans.* These plans, too, fail to locate discretionary power and the

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* This matter will be dealt with more fully in the Epilogue.

implements with which to acquire energy within the school and its immediate environmental constituents.

Itemization of open-system properties and their abuse in the school organization leads only to the speculation that the school skeletally resembles an open-system but utilizes its framework dysfunctionally. The organization exceeds a simple misuse of its open-system potential by involuntary resemblance to the antithesis, a closed-system.

> ...There has been something of a tendency to continue thinking in terms of a 'closed-system;' that is, to regard the enterprise as sufficiently independent to allow most of its problems to be analyzed with reference to its internal structure and without reference to its external environment. Traditional organizational theories have tended to view the human organization as a closed-system. This tendency has led to a disregard of differing organizational environments and the nature of organizational dependency on environment.[68]

Despite the organization's impotence to ward off officious input, it is simultaneously constricted in efforts to open up to local community interests. Viewing the school as many urban citizens must, the organization appears Kafkaesque, removed from the village, resting high upon a towering summit. Supporting this image of impenetrability is the reality that the organization truly has no official door open to community input. It has no legitimate way to act upon community needs even if they somehow become audible to those within.

When confronted by community input, administrators have

no recourse but to measure them against the imposed internal structure of the school. All problems are made relative to the school's guidelines. Although going to the school and raising hell is one way for the irate to exercise influence upon the school, it is hardly a desirable avenue to build in by design, much less afford as an only alternative.

The school's likeness to a system closed to environmental interest not only has been responsible for much external hostility; it has inhibited internal effectiveness.

> ...the closed system, moreover, results in a failure to develop the intelligence or feedback function of obtaining adequate information about changes in environmental forces.[69]

The shortage of feedback and information has led to the mountaninous growth of mole-hill issues of fad and style (dress codes, appearance of new heroes, new symbols of identity) as well as the festering of sincere social concern.

Katz and Kahn point to four major weaknesses incorporated into closed-system stances:

1. ...Little account of the constant commerce of the system with its environment. Constantly changing environmental influences necessitate constant changes in the organization.

2. ...Neglect of many types of input-output exchanges with the environment. It restricted input to raw materials and labor power. That input also consists of the values and needs which people bring with them into the organization and which was ignored. On the output side there was a similar exclusion of all

outcomes besides the physical product exported.

3. ...Little attention paid to the subsystems of organization with their dynamics and their own interchange within the organization. Each subsystem in its process of interchange, codes and filters its input according to its own characteristics. The mutual influencing of the different subsystems and the problems of their interrelationships are dealt with sparsely.

4. ...The semiformal and informal structures created within the formal organization, often as a reaction to institutionalism, were also conspicuously neglected.[70]

The ramifications of the school's systematic duality exacts a great toll from those within. The lack of sanctuary for schoolmen caught between official decree and enraged community partisans easily explains their preoccupation with emotional and occupational survival. Ironically, when teachers attempt to air fears of job loss, loss of dignity and, frightfully, even loss of limb, through union spokesmen, their professional status is more ardently assailed.

To be gained from this analysis of the school's relationship with its environment is awareness that here, too, the texture of human experience within is greatly sculpted by the order of organizational structure. With this understanding, innovators may begin directing increased interest toward the organizational nature of the school, and critics bent on scapegoating may cease their quest to locate a specific group of persons to hold responsible for the horrendous conditions in the public

school. Such attacks simply elicit institutionalized defense mechanisms (administrative unions, community associations) that enflame hostility and further remove focus from the educational issues at hand.

D. Overviews And After-thoughts Of The Urban Public Elementary School As An Organizational Entity

The primary objective of this dissertation has been a descriptive analysis of the variety of motivational variables abounding in the teacher's role milieu. The variables that play upon teacher-behavior range from those external to the school itself - social disposition of the citizenry, local and national political issues infringing upon educational decision-making, and industrial interests that wield powerful influence in fiscal matters as well as demands for specific types of desired skills to those native to the internal structural environment of the single school.

Inherent to this presentation has been the belief that these sociological factors weigh heavily upon performance of the teacher-role. The importance of this position, in terms of its relevance to the public educational realm, lies in its relative neglect by innovative theorists seeking methods to improve the school's worth. The structural character of the milieu seems to have been relegated to a secondary status, while subcultural ideosyncracies and attitudinal patterns have maintained positions of prominence in the interests of many responsible theorists. Although the resurgence of free school and open-classroom model-building does suggest interest in the environmental composite of

the learning sphere, its thrust tends towards focusing solely upon student residents, suggesting that the other involved in the school world must readjust their attitudes. Underlying these two avenues of innovation concern is the perspective that 'school is for kids' and in that pursuance one school-related group or another comprised of non-children have dysfunctional or expendable belief systems. This persistent view sharply conflicts with the notion that the school is, in itself, an organizational entity. The conflict is revealed most vividly when introducing the tenet of organizational theory that successful change in an organization depends upon the extension of sensitivity to all participating individuals and departmental units. Talcott Parsons addressed this contention by stating that change in isolation potentially harbors between-group misunderstanding and loss of focus upon institutional goals.

In essence, attitude studies are more illustrative than remedial in nature. They generally expose between-group dissension, illuminating little about resolve, except that a change in attitudes is required. This approach to resolution, bordering on the witch-hunt, openly implies that the texture of certain firmly entrenched attitudes are distracting to operational procedure. Built in, here, is the belief that people, rather than the formal set of prescriptions governing human interaction, are most liable for the dissension. Closely related, as well, is the inference that the school is a void-like meeting ground to which persons bring their private attitudes, negating the possibility that the structural depolyment of persons within the organization has impact upon attitude and behavior formation.

In contrast, this project espouses support for the conviction that the performance of organizationally-based persons is more relevant to role expectations than individual persuasion.

Whereas attitudinal research may fail to grant appropriate attention to structural influence upon behavior, model-building appears insensitive to the intense reliance of the existing arrangement. If structure does, in fact, greatly affect behavior and accompanying beliefs, then assault upon its framework connotates a threat to internalized values. At the core of model-building innovation resides a set of givens which, with brief adieu, casts off anchors to which behavior has long been fastened and attitude long rationalized. Whether aiming at large portions or smaller segments, model-building seems to require that clumps of reality be yanked from its moorings and severed from that which is deigned to remain. It is suggested that newly contrived models be inserted within the living space of the old and that difficulties involving the fusion of old and new constitute an annoyance, rather than a chaotic situation where psychological loyalties have been regarded lightly by organizational foreigners.

Despite any theoretical virtue in a proposed model, if its implementation lacks grace and immediate gratification for those manipulated, its sky-hook foundation simply will not hold. Frankly, model-building as an approach to organization change rests too often on unrealistic asumptions in regard to insertion.

> ...Model-builders are usually non-members of the organization and lack insight as to specific circumstances at the site of implementation.

> ...Model-builders, as organizational outsiders, frequently must sell their plans to the very decision-makers who will be most affected by the innovation.
>
> ...Model-builders usually present plans with an 'all-or-nothing' presumptuousness, lacking means for gradual introduction. In addition, the model is often more of a utopian scheme than an open-ended evolutionary one. This not only treads dangerously on the dogmatic, but may simply act as a static surrogate, rather than a doorway to an unpredictable future bearing its own newness and need-fulfillment.

This critique of innovative practices is not intended to be a digression from the purpose of conclusion set for this section. Instead, it is meant to lend justification for the direction assumed by this analysis and lay groundwork for the forthcoming conclusions and the associated proposals for change.

The individual urban public school, embodying features reminiscent of the traditionally conceived of bureaucracy, with internal mechanisms resembling in overtone a total institution, and whose relatedness to environment is one of interactive imbalance - impairing valuable exchange with neighboring interests and, in fact, causing occasion for friction - must be granted acknowledgement as a formally defined organization. From this acceptance, conclusions may be drawn that (1) educational goals surface as transformed organizational goals; (2) that behavioral styles within the school reflect organizational goals and structures; and (3) that school reform may be profitably instituted by a renovation of organizational demeanor.

1. A vast schism lies between the school's classifical educational aims and its organizational goals. While the former is of the theoretical nature, the latter, shaped by coercion, takes on rigid forms that greatly motivate performance. The result is that the organization directs school energies toward survival, leaving the more abstract educational objectives far in arrears. The Ocean-Hill Brownville affair illustrates, beyond refutation, organizational conflict in the most bitter sense; certainly not an academic matter dealing with the question of better education. Each individual school, caught up in the backwash of the ferocity between school board, union and community, had - as an individual subsystem - to grapple for its life with each of the combatants; i.e., the school administrators had to submit their organization to school board decree, regardless of specific self-interest. The organization could not attempt to negotiate with its own faculty; the organization was thrust into hostility with its local community. The conclusion, then, as noxious as it may be to the aesthetic portrayal of education, scholasticism and child-rearing, is that change of educational goals is inseparable from change in organizational structure and goals.

The implications of this proposition are far-reaching. Changes introduced to the school must adhere as closely to organizational theory as to the humanistic content of the proposed reform. Libertines, who bemoan the ill-fortune of student-workers, must now broaden their understanding of the teacher role; seeing it performed not simply by poorly trained, vituperatively inclined, or culturally unatoned players but, instead, by individuals as

enslaved by rigid expectations as are their charges. Innovators, who propose changes in the quality of life for student-workers, must recognize that student and teacher experience are closely related and that there must be built-in reward for teachers (and administrators, janitors, counselors, etc...) if the proposal is to successfully take hold. The school may no longer be viewed as a place for kids, but one for people.

2. The exhaustively publicized claims that the student-workers are massively adopting rebellious and violent behavioral forms are intellectually assuming stances of individualism rather than conformity, and that students by so doing are challenging the legitimacy of the school order and need hasty reexamination. Such a reconsideration would yield, if scrutinized through the organizational perspective, the understanding that only a minority of students deviate in an open and demonstrative way and that of those who do, many are exhibiting an emotional inability to adapt to the codified regimen. A few are seriously suffering from psychological problems and the remainder, who comprise the majority, are making statements of style, as appearing uniformly throughout society, but standing in relief to normative school policy because the policy is 'stylistically' outmoded.

Addressing the question of youthful deviance, John Corry (<u>The Politics of Style</u>), states:

> The hippies represent a culture that pretends to deliver us from the malfeasance of affluence, but it does not and the hippies are enchanted by nothing so much as the charm and grace they find in Georgetown. Nevertheless, if they stay on, they will destroy

> it. First, there are head shops, and then the tourists and then the crummy gin mills. The radical culture is still only a reflection of the conventional one, and somewhere in that there ought to be a lesson for all of us.[71]

...the lesson Corry speaks of is the one that critics of the school need to fathom. This is not to insinuate that the school is without fault or responsibility. The opposite is the contention. Display by the rebellious student minority may reflect much larger cultural trends, but assume the forms they do so as reaction to the outmoded rigidity of the school structure. If the school were attuned to contemporary culture, it could organizationally provide avenues for 'stylized' statements without chaotic accoutrements.

Far more prevalent than the rebellious form of deviance is a second one that surfaces quietly and politely but is, in essence, more harmful to the exhibitor and society. Robert Merton labels this type of behavior as <u>ritualism</u>. It is this form of deviance - going through the ritualistic overt motions of participation but intellectually having given up the quest for goal attainment - that permeates the school. Its exercise is witnessed in those who put in time without deriving profit, who generally conform to expectations of physical obedience while not being able to function intellectually, who attend school and are called underachievers, or given social promotions by teachers who have come to equate good behavior with academic potential.* The opposite

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* An exaggerated ritualist may be a student who attends school faithfully, is relatively docile but is narcotically higher than a kite.

of this prototype created by teachers (if a student behaves he has the ability to achieve) is that a student who can't emotionally adapt to the rigid normalcy isn't bad enough; he also must face teacher-expectations of failure.

Putting the educational goals of wisdom, skill and emotional adjustment back into the fore requires an organizational change in structure. The stylistically demonstrative need a legitimate channel for expression so profit can be its outcome rather than punishment. A loosening of regimentation is vital for those who simply need more than being robots, and alternatives are required for those who cannot grasp the scholastics in their current form of presentation.

3. Innovation must come to the school as organizational change. This does not mean that it is desirable to perpetuate the organization-like quality of the school. What is implied is that if the school is an organization in nature, it must be treated as one. If it is to blossom in the future, the school must organizationally evolve into the butterfly. The need for evolution, or graduation, is not only vital so change will cause minimal anxiety, but vital because that approach - the ability to be evolutionarily fluid - is, in itself, a prerequisite to a successful organization.

EPILOGUE

The scope of an epilogue is, according to custom, futuristic; i.e., predictions about the direction of evolutionary processes, innovative perspectives providing new ways to view existing phenomena, issues still in need of additional research, proposals of new models. In essence, 'looking to the future' is an endeavor much like bridge building: one must have a substantial notion about the dynamics of his present stance. He must plow through the alternatives and skillfully select which distant locale is more promising than the other; and, he must devise a blue-print that will inspire confidence in those who will actually implement the plan.

As for the first stage, the dissertation has attempted to describe the current condition of the urban public school organization, both as an organizational entity and as a network of complex human interactions. Stage two, scanning the horizon in search of structural alternatives, must now follow. To be ambitious, yet remain within realistic bounds, two directions shall be explored. From Alvin Toffler's Future Shock (1970), "organization: The Coming Ad-hocracy," will be analyzed as to its instructive value for educational theorists concerned with organizational forms. Then, the "Four Suggestions For Reformers," presented by Michael Katz (1971) will be evaluated.

In citing 'permanence,' 'hierarchy,' and 'division-of-labor' as the most prominent features of traditional bureaucracy, Alvin Toffler contends that each are rapidly disappearing and, hence, so too is the classical bureaucratic form.

Speaking of the depreciation of permanence in task roles, Toffler states,

> The high rate of turnover is most dramatically symbolized by the rapid rise of what executives call 'project' or 'task force' management. Here teams are assembled to solve specific short-term problems. Then...they are disassembled and their human components reassigned. Unlike the functional departments or divisions of a traditional bureaucratic organization, which are presumed to be permanent, the project or task force is temporary by design.[72]

And,

> This process repeated often enough alters the loyalties of the people involved; shakes up lines of authority and accelerates the rate at which individuals are forced to adapt to organizational change.[73]

In what Toffler calls The Collapse of Hierarchy, it is argued that authoritative channels are assuming vastly new, less vertical, patterns.

> The central, crucial and important business of organizations is increasingly shifting from up and down to 'sideways.' What is involved in such a shift is a virtual revolution in organizational structure and human relationships. For people communicating 'side-

> ways' - i.e., to others at approximately the same level of organization - behave differently, operate under different pressures than do those who must communicate up and down a hierarchy.[74]

Furthermore,

> This silent but significant deterioration of hierarchy now occurring in the executive suite, as well as at the ground floor of the factory, is intensified by the arrival on the scene of hordes of experts - specialists in vital fields so narrow that often men at the top have difficulty understanding them. At one time, they (the experts) merely consulted with executives who reserved unto themselves the right to make managerial decisions. Today, managers are losing their monopoly on decision-making.[75]

In Beyond Bureaucracy, Toffler advances the belief that the advent of new specialist roles is meaningfully contributing to the demise of traditional bureaucracy.

> What, then, will be the characteristics of the organizations of super-industrial society? The key word, says Warren Bennis, social psychologist and professor of industrial management, will be 'temporary;' there will be adaptive, rapidly changing 'temporary systems.' Problems will be solved by task forces composed of relative strangers who represent a set of diverse professional skills.[76]
>
> Executives and managers in this system will function as coordinators between various transient work teams. They will be skilled in understanding the jargon of different specialists, and they will communicate across groups, translating and interpreting the language of one into the language of another.[77]

Finally,

> Instead of operating as individual entrepreneurial free lancers, millions of engineers, scientists, psychologists, accountants and other professionals have entered the ranks of organization. What has happened as a result is a neat dilectical reversal. Veblen wrote about the industrialization of the professional. Today, we are observing the professionalization of industry.[78]

Considering Toffler's presentation, what first comes to mind is the hope that educational theorists do not succumb to the same misconceptions that have led Toffler astray. In brief, he has failed to ferret out the real nature of role-playing and rigid role-expectations. He has mistakenly assumed that bureaucracy is characterized more by strict up and down communication than by predictably ordered human experience, and he has miscalculated the systemwide potential of change when it is isolated to a few strata. This latter point is especially true when the strata privileged to experience change are the top echelon ones.

For reformers concerned with innovations meant to touch all organizational bases, it is of immeasurable importance to understand that changing the sets of expectations held for particular roles does not significantly alter the role-playing experience native to bureaucracy. It is not 'what' is expected, in the context of task performance that requires change but, instead, the 'kinds' of expectations, the 'latitude' of expectations, the 'intensity' of expectations, and the 'sources' from which expectations originate. Furthermore, if 'side-ways' communication is to be a virtue, it must become an organizational

ethic, a vehicle for personal exchanges, not a prearranged marriage where the partners feign mutual respect but ultimately adhere because they accept the legitimacy of the match-maker and fear his displeasure.

Unlike Toffler, Michael Katz (1971) argues that little change has occurred in a century and a quarter in the educational bureaucracy. To initiate the much-needed change, he offers "Four Suggestions For Reformers." First proposed is that the school concentrate primarily on the transmission of academic skills, deemphasizing attitude formation.

> It must be emphasized that, opinion to the contrary notwithstanding, people ask no more of schools today than they did a hundred and twenty-five years ago. Even then the schools were asked to do the impossible. As we have seen, the purpose of the school people has been more the development of attitudes than of intellect, and this continues to be the case. It is true, and this point must be stressed, of radical reformers as well as of advocates of law and order.[79]
>
> The moral should be clear. Educational reformers should begin to distinguish between what formal schooling can and cannot do. They must separate the teaching of skills from the teaching of attitudes, and concentrate on the former. In actual fact, it is, of course, impossible to separate the two; attitudes adhere in any form of practice. But there is a vast difference between leaving attitudes untended and making them the object of education.[80]

Secondly, innovation can take hold only in a changed organizational climate.

> The reformulation of educational purposes cannot be accomplished within current educational structures. Bureaucracy, as I hope I have made clear, is more than a form of organization; it is a crystallization of particular values.
>
> The school structure communicates particular norms; the learning of these norms has priority to the learning of skills.
>
> It is difficult to see the functional relationships between large-size economies of scale, bureaucratic organization, and so on, on the one hand, and learning to read, write and do math, on the other.[81]

The element of compulsion should be dispensed with wherever possible and voluntarism inserted in its stead.

> It would be well if this reformed set of educational arrangements could be voluntary; compulsion should be removed on principle, wherever possible. However, the abolition of compulsion should be accompanied by radical changes in educational structure - it may be dangerous if it happens alone.[82]

Lastly,

> Decentralization as a shift of power to teachers and students, away from administrators, as well as to local communities. Many of the recommendations for community control represent merely the exchange of one arbitrary authority for another. It is certainly true that parents could hardly do a worse job of running ghetto schools than educational bureaucrats have done.[83]

Katz's inclinations toward structural change, voluntarism and decentralism have merit, hence shall be expanded upon and put to use shortly. However, that schools should withdraw primary

interest from attitude formation is a sentiment requiring commentary.

Viewed anthropologically, the school is one fragment of the American child-rearing mechanism. Therefore, ascribto the school is the duty to transmit certain broad cultural values, norms and preferred mores. As a mammoth social system, society cannot function unless there exists a degree of commonly shared values. This presumption usually rests upon an academic pedestal so lofty that it stands without challenge. What has, in fact, fallen into ill-repute is the process by which this societal need has been fulfilled and the limits it has exceeded. The socialization process, in its finest moments, could become the point of commonality from which individuals embark on personalized paths. Theoretically, it might be hypothesized that the stronger the bond of commonality, the more the group is secure and, in turn, the greater the tolerance for individual variance. In its worst occasion, socialization may be a process of imposing inflexible mandates upon the docile masses. Obviously, the task set before educational theorists involves recognizing the dangerous and successful potential of the socialization process, deciding upon its rightful place in the school and finding ways to utilize it in the most beneficial manner.

Furthermore, it is ludicrous to speak of social systems, social structures and social environments apart from attitude development and personality expression. Again, it is the chore of the educator to create climates both conducive to formal learning and sensitive to personality differences. Indeed, it could be

said with confidence that formal learning is the antecedent of certain attitudes and perspectives. Even creativity, one of the most publicized and admired personal qualities, must be inspired, not simply left to surface randomly. As said by Fredrick Hacker (1956),

> There exists now an increasingly popular universal fallacy which regards creativity as a birthright of man, everybody's natural endowment which by social adaption and by influence of poor education and an imperfect society has been stifled, crippled, inhibited and destroyed in all but a few.[84]

Without straying beyond the realm of scholarly theory, abilities akin to creativity, self-motivated inquiry, critical thinking, and problem solving may be considered, on the one hand, skills to be acquired and sharpened and, on the other, derivatives of personality. Tolerance for complexities, willingness to question, openness to divergent opinions surely are reflections of self-concept and flexibility in attitude formulation. If education is to be a life-long process, which it must be in this era of rapid socio-technological change, it is only logical that the school address those attitudes facilitating such learning-living commitments.

At this juncture, utilizing that which has been presumably gained from this treatise, proposal of an alternative model to the contemporary school arrangement now becomes appropriate.

The model shall be called an "open-social system." The theoretical framework of the arrangement is expressed in its nomenclature. Combined here are the concepts of <u>open</u>-<u>system</u>

organization and social system, the former depicting operative characteristics of the organization and the latter specifically dealing with the quality of human experience. Initially, the two will be described separately; then - since there can realistically be no dichotomy between organizational perspective and member perspective - they shall be juxtaposed and applied to the school.

The primary features of "open-system" organizational theory (partially discussed earlier in Chapter II, C) are, as outlined by Katz and Kahn:

> The Maximalization Principle...the self-propelled drive toward growth by enveloping resources in the environment.
>
> The Maintenance Mechanism...an internal device that attempts to integrate the new brought by expansion with the existent, thereby maintaining organization equilibrium.
>
> Environmental Interrelatedness... a continually on-going exchange with environmental neighbors; included here might be in-put of resources in exchange for out-put products or simply exchanges of information about the societal climate.
>
> Equifinality...the belief that like objectives may be attained through use of a variety of methods.
>
> Negative Entropy...an attempt to curtail the 'entropic process' (the natural tendency for all living organisms to move toward their own demise) by storing a surplus of vitally needed resources. This is done as a precaution against the possibility of crisis periods when resources cannot be obtained from the environment.

> **Recognition of Informal Groups...** the expectation that individuals within the organization will coalesce as informal groups and subsystems.

The philosophical back-drop of "open-system" theory is that an organization is similar to a living organism. The major theme is that an organization, if it is to flourish, must not operationally negate its internal organismic nature nor its citizenship as a social being. Each organization, as with each person, must define a personalized course that is both individually gratifying and socially responsive.

Repeatedly, the concept of "social system" has been used interchangeably with organization and social structure. In those instances, implied meaning has been the sequential ordering of human experience registered as expected events or happenings. Yet, to understand the innerworkings of social systems more fully, certain human motives or mechanisms must be examined. Posed in question form, the issue is, why do people react so predictably to organizational expectations? The magnitude of this quandry becomes immense with the realizations that many, if not most, expectations are <u>not</u> conveyed through the conduit of authoritative command, and that due to the monolithic size of bureaucratic social systems - like the school - many people might not encounter direct supervision for weeks on end. One answer, mentioned previously, is as exemplified by the teacher-administrator relationship - that conformity to organizational expectations reduces the necessity for supervisory intervention. Despite the import of recognizing the existence of this agreement, much remains to be said. Stated

straightforwardly, it seems that people internalize the expectations associated with their roles as inherent to their personalized status. In other words, they incorporate a number of the privileges, limitations and expectations native to their role, into the formation of self-identity. To some degree they view themselves through the same perspective that they are viewed by the order and, in turn, by fellow organizational members. Hadley Cantril (1941) speaks to this relatedness of self-concept and social context.

> Since the 'ego' is for most individuals so largely composed of common social values, almost every person to some extent evaluates himself in terms of the norms of his particular society. This relationship between a person's interiorized values and the norms of his society we shall call "status." A person 'places himself' in some definite relationship to his social world.[85]

For the individual, Cantril's position assumes significant proportion when the status afforded by the organization is relatively consistent with that extended by society at large. This notion takes on particular accuracy in the case of the student-adolescent role, while substantially reflecting upon the teacher-role as well.

Subsequently, the opinion might be advanced that people <u>react</u> to role-expectations in predictable fashion because expectations become internalized expectations-of-self. Furthermore, <u>react</u> in this sense need not connotate absolute acquiescence. It could easily infer diametric opposition. An illustration of this latter conduct might be the prisoner who, as an inmate, is expected by the penal institution to obediently submit to incar-

ceration, but, as a criminal, is incarcerated because he's expected to behave again deviantly. In this same vein, the organization expects the professional teacher to attend faithfully, yet allows a specific number of 'sick days' because he's expected to be absent. One may question whether this rule governing 'sick days' is an expressed expectation that teachers strictly regulate their patterns of health, or that teachers strictly regulate temptation to take days off. If the case be the former, it seems asinine to make such specifications about health - officially condoning only so much illness - or, if the latter, aspersion is cast upon dignity and dedication, as clearly explained by Alvin W. Gouldner (1954).

> Usually rules are given or are believed to be given, more deliberation than orders, and thus the statement of obligations they explicate can be taken to be definitive. Looked at in this light, rules are a form of 'communication' to those who are seen as desirous of evading responsibilities, of avoiding commitments and of withholding proper and full performance of obligations.[86]

Prediction of role behavior, or reaction, becomes a function based on personal disposition toward expectations. Regardless of whether the teacher is predisposed to see himself as a professional who moralizes about perfect attendance or as a worker suspected "of withholding proper and full performance of obligations," the self-perception is linked to externally levied expectations.

If this line of reasoning has merit, then further presumptions follow. That people draw self-portraits partially from that which is expected of them, leads to the matter of how may they individually induce most desirous expectations. It is

true that limits are intrinsic to all social roles, but the stringency of boundaries is what ultimately dictates differences. The role of American father is not without its preordained facets, yet the latitude of expression is relatively extensive. Men may perform this social role in a variety of ways, hence each can sculpt a personalized set of expectations, then held for himself. In fulfilling those expectations, one man may see himself as a pal to his children and another an aloof spiritual guide. The reflection a doctor might see in his patients' expectations could be confident or coldly objective. However, as the nature of the role becomes more specified and the external definitions contradictory and more numerous, the actor's spectrum of possible self-identity options narrows. Obviously, the range of options is correlated to the organized rigidity of the social system in which the role is slotted.

The role-players within the school bureaucracy have a scant selection of self-identifying characteristics from which to choose. The school social system prescribes exacting role-expectations, thereby producing very limited kinds of behavior. When behavioral expressions are limited basically to acting out formal expectations, there is little substance present for others to legitimately utilize in formulating an impression. Hence, the role-player in the school is likely to be thought of solely in the context of his role-performance - reducing one's self-image building to that channel as well.

An innovative model geared to reshape the social system network of the school must relax the inflexibility of role expect-

ations, broaden the range of behavioral expressions so as to maximize presentation of self to others and provide opportunities for the individual to carve out the prerequisites of a gratifying self-concept. This train of thought is not one based on aesthetics nor that which has been referred to as humanism. It is a statement about human experience and organizational functionality. To exemplify this contention, consider the teacher, who like most other people, wishes to be respected and/or liked by the people he is associated with occupationally. Under present conditions, the realm for presentation of self is confined to, he's a hard teacher; she's easy; he's mean; she has good classroom control; the kids run all over him; she's the first one out of the building every day; etc. He may visualize himself through the eyes of others either as a good organization-man, or a bad one. However, if circumstances were to permit, it could be said, do you know that he's really a good carpenter, she can really sing, he plays basketball, she bowls, he has six children, she makes her own clothes, and so on. Status development, then, is based upon personal qualities and not solely role-performance. This principle applies to persons of all ages and task assignments in the school. Put simply, if behavior is a derivative of self-identity, and identity partially of status afforded by others, attemps to change behavior must address the social environment which defines boundaries for the presentation-of-self.

The <u>open-social-system</u> format, when applied suggests that the individual school as an organization must direct its interests both toward self-growth and adaption to environment. This

proposition infers that the legislative power required to achieve these two broad objectives be located in the school, the classroom and in the individual. Growth and adaption, both on the organizational and individual planes, must be internally motivated and directed. Such motivation and direction is encompassed in The Maximalization Principle. Application of this principle may assume the form of a committee continually surveying the academic realm for newly improved techniques, the social environment for untapped resources, and the cultural climate for popularized styles and changes in values. The membership of this formally accepted school mechanism should be composed of administrators, teachers, non-professionals, parents, local business representatives, university faculty and students. The operative stance of this body should be non-authoritative; levying no decrees, yet being subjected to none. The methodology employed should be introduction, proposition and information in regard to the committee's findings. Acceptance or actualization of the findings by school members should be voluntary.

The purpose of the maintenance mechanism is to integrate that which is accepted by individuals into the system at large so that a state of equilibrium may be maintained. If the announcement is made that twelve movie tickets are available, an unbiased procedure of distribution should be found. If an innovative teaching technique is being described at a local university, those interested should be provided with an opportunity to attend, if possible. The primary components are open sharing of information and fair allotment of resources.

Aside from voluntarily accepted, or sought after, input, the maintenance mechanism must deal with the unwanted and problematic. That these instances would arise is to be expected, but of concern is the toll taken in the process upon the school's stability. The narcotics issue is an example. There was a tremendous temporal gap between the point that drug abuse became an epidemic-sized problem in society and when schools actively moved against it. Because of this gap in time and awareness, curative or preventative school meassures have been impotent. It is not being espoused that schools could have significantly altered the social trend of drug usage; yet, if informed earlier by the maximalization committee and acted upon by maintenance mechanisms, all concerned would presently be far more aware. In the case of drug use, maintenance efforts could have included educating the entire membership rather than simply using propaganda and search-and-seize tactics against students. Clearly, the school lacked the <u>environmental interrelatedness</u> needed to become informed before irate and frustrated social critics decided to pigeon-hole the problem in the educational slot. Much the same may be said about the other major crises of the last decade. It seemed that in each instance the school acted only after it was roundly criticized through the media, or scape-goated by inept public officials trying to wash their hands of the affair.

Problems of both the social and academic ilk are often so mountainous they appear unsoluble. Schoolmen often bemoan their own condition, which is indeed lamentable, by asking rhetorically, "How is the educational establishment expected to answer this

(or that) immensely complex question?" The answer, as made obvious by the lack of results, is that the 'educational establishment' cannot. But individual schools, with unique memberships, and in highly diverse situations, can at least address the specific problem in its own context. The emphasis must be placed upon address and not irradication solution, nor results at the .05 level. It is here that the notion of equifinality is of crucial importance. A school or community can adjust to, or make tolerable, the same problem haunting thousands of other schools and communities, but must explore different avenues before selecting the ones best suiting their circumstances. Similar objectives may be attained by way of differing methodology. This is as true for organizations as for individuals. The issue is not that organizations and individuals learn the right way, but instead learn how to find self-defined better ways.

Whereas the maximalization committee's openness to environmental variables might well be the school's organization's vehicle to multiplicity of techniques and resources, the informal group may provide similar service for teachers and students. Despite the ideological emphasis placed on loyalty to school, homeroom and country, the school structure has categorically labled informal grouping deviant. Teachers who have banded together have been viewed as potentially subversive to school authority and student coalitions held to be contrary to the learning process. Teachers who attempt to share facilities with peers must first receive an administrative stamp of approval, while students are disallowed to work together, talk together in

class and sit together. The case of student autonomy is especially extreme: informality is even discouraged in lunchrooms and gymnasiums; the learning process is staunchly presented as an individually based experience; small group activities in the classroom usually entail assigned membership to fast or slow performance groups; friends are viewed as possible cohorts and forced to distant seats. In essence, informal enjoinment is stereotyped as taboo, yet collective responsibility - "Until those talking stop, no one goes to gym," is granted high priority. In fact, individual teachers and students are normatively pitted against peers and other status members by way of comparative performance. To an extent, this enforced autonomy is responsible for the shallow presentation-of-self mentioned previously.

Within the open-social system school, informal grouping, individual decision-making, and voluntary activities are essential. Individuals, small groups of friends and classes are expected to respond to the information and alternative activities extended by the maximalization committee. If the committee announces that the need exists to cut the lawn, or shop for an elderly or sick community resident, response should be voluntary and diverse in group nature.

Amidst the normal school day, teachers, counselors, parents or administrators or any other capable persons should be provided time and encouraged to create special interest workshops in which students or adults may enroll at random. Derivations of such occasions would be an expansion of so-called curriculum, a broader presentation-of-self in the sense of interest

and personality (because of the absence of formal evaluation and competition), an informal opportunity for friends to work together, a setting where persons of various age share skills and interest, and a situation where adolescents and adults may congregate beneath the common banner of learners.

Negative entropy, then, may accrue in the forms of community support, extracurricular projects or activities stimulated by the school itself and unrelated to school board fiscal policies, the concept of equifinality and its basic tenet that an objective needn't be foresaken if one course of attainment is blocked off, and the strength of interpersonal ties resulting from informal grouping and interaction... For organization and individual alike, negative entropy refers to the internal storage of resources that continue to lend support during instances of shortage in the environment.

In light of the present relationship between school, school board and society (e.g., legislature, courts, public opinion), the negative entropic function becomes critically important. The notion expressed here is not that the school insulate itself against environmental factors - this being both unfeasible and in opposition to the very concept of open-systems - but that it does not franctically bob with every ripple in the societal current. Staff cutbacks or financial losses assuredly would do harm to the school, but the entire organization need not be hurled into the throes of anxiety. The late arrival, or even non-expectance, of valued materials surely hampers the process of formal learning, yet it need not sound the death knell of meaningful experience if

those resources had been viewed as aids to learning and not as the conduit for it.

In conclusion, the position taken is that if the individual school is organization-like in structure, population, and task divisibility, it should possess the strengths of an individual organizational entity. Despite the occasional temptation to raze the school building and start anew, the seeds of reformation must be sewn within the existing climate. If the proposed reform is to take hold and flourish, it must do so evolutionarily while still offering immediate gratification. Finally, innovations must not be implemented at the expense of one group or another, for the belief that 'school is for kids' is more fanciful than practical. As a highly organized social system, school is for all people who reside in it and around it. Urban architect, Bertrand Gross (1966) captures the meaning quite succinctly.

> If we are really to put men in our models, we must be bold enough to cope with the following five aspects of social systems:
>
> individuals and groups - not money, land, roads, roles or disembodied benefits - as the central elements and actors in the structure of the social system;
>
> the satisfaction or frustration of individual and group interests or needs as the most important dimensions in the performance of a social system;
>
> continuing processes of conflict as well as cooperation between a social system and its environment, and among and within its subsystems (including the smallest subsystem, the individual

personality);

complex based not only on many interrelated subsystems but on being contained in larger systems and criss-crossed by many overlapping systems;

and, system looseness, with many 'black boxes' that are partially autonomous, imperfectly coordinated, only partially controllable, and never fully knowable.[87]

FOOTNOTES

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[2]Allen E. Ivey and Stanley Rubin, "Role Theory, Role Conflict, And Counseling: A Conceptual Framework." The Journal of Counseling Psychology 13 (July 1966), p. 30.

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[5]Reinhard Bendix, "Compliant Behavior And Individual Personality." American Journal Of Sociology 58 (July 1952) pp. 292-303.

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[7]Stephen Joseph, ed., The Me Nobody Knows (New York: Avon Press, Discus Books, 1969), p. 97.

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[15]Michael B. Katz, Class, Bureaucracy, And Schools (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1971), p. 28.

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[23]Emile Durkheim, "Organic Solidarity And Contract." In Theories Of Society, ed., Talcott Parsons, and others (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, Crowell-Collier Publishing Company, 1961), p. 436.

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[26]Ibid., p. 74.

[27]Ibid., p. 76.

[28]Ibid., p. 79.

[29]Erving Goffman, Asylums (New York: Doubleday And Company, 1961), p. xiii.

[30]Ibid., pp. 4-5.

[31]Ibid., p. 6.

[32]Ibid., pp. 6-7.

[33]Ibid., p. 7.

[34]Ibid., pp. 7-8.

[35]Ibid., p. 9.

[36]Ibid., p. 12.

[37]Ibid., p. 13.

[38]Ibid., p. 13.

[39]Ibid., p. 14.

[40]Ibid., p. 17.

[41]Ibid., p. 17.

[42]Ibid., p. 21.

[43]Ibid., p. 23.

[44]Ibid., p. 26.

[45]Ibid., p. 28.

[46]Ibid., p. 29.

[47]Ibid., p. 31.

[48]Ibid., p. 41.

[49]John M. Peters, "How An Inmate's Expectancies Affect His Behavior," American Journal Of Correction 31 (May 1969), pp. 18-20.

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[51]Ibid., pp. 18-20.

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[55]Ibid., p. viii.

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[61]Ibid., pp. 25-26.

[62]Ibid., p. 19.

[63]Ibid., p. 20.

[64]Ibid., p. 20.

[65]Ibid., p. 20.

[66]Ibid., p. 20.

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[71]John Corry, "Politics Of Style".

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[77]Ibid., p. 144.

[78]Ibid., p. 146.

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[80]Ibid., p. 142.

[81]Ibid., p. 144.

[82]Ibid., p. 145.

[83]Ibid., p. 146.

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