

ORGANIZATIONS AND THEIR IMPACT
ON INDIVIDUALS AND SOCIETY
A CASE STUDY OF A STUDENT ORGANIZATION

by

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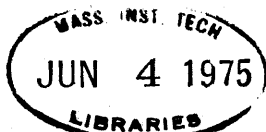
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ABSTRACT

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By Steven Mark Wallman

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The thesis topic focuses on organizations and their impact on individuals and thus on society at large. The thesis begins by describing the relevant literature on the topic and providing a general framework for three levels of organizational impact on society and culture. A model is presented of present day organizations and how they influence and change the behavior pattern of individuals. This is followed by a case study of a student organization. Employing both interviews and questionnaires, opinions are solicited about individual change. The hypothesis is that organizations modify human behavior to fit the described model. The case study showed that for this organization the individuals were changed by their rise in the organization, increased involvement being the primary correlate in personality change. In general the higher a person rose in the organizational structure, the more defensive and parochial they became in their outlook of the organization, and the more distant they became from the feelings and perceptions of the lower ranking members.

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Chapter one
INTRODUCTION

I.

Organizations have taken on many forms and been disguised in many faces. In some ways, organizations as entities may be seen everywhere. In biology the structure of a tree, or an ecological system, or the human body could all be considered operating organizations. Indeed, much of the social sciences literature borrows its terminology from the descriptive writers of biology. The skeletons, skins, roots and branches of organizations all relate to their living analogs in nature. That nature is seen without being understood is perhaps an even closer analogy for the social establishment described as an organization. The literature traditionally describes organizations as a type of social unit; separable from social organization which is a characteristic of social units. The organization is a social unit devoted to the attainment of specific goals. It is this view of the organization which will be maintained as the operating definition throughout this paper.

The setting of the organization must also be taken into account whenever the organization itself is being examined. Schein (1970) presents six points which attempt to cover the organization - environment relations.

To begin with "the organization must be conceived of as an open system, which means that it is in constant interaction with its environment, taking in raw materials, people.... and transforming or converting these into products and ser-

VICES that are exported into the environment." (Schein: 1970: p115).

Second, the organization has multiple purposes and functions that involve multiple interactions with the environment.

Third, the organization consists of interacting subsystems. These mini-organizations are increasingly important in larger structures, and their interactions play a major role in the organization.

Fourth, the subsystems are mutually dependent, and so changes in one subsystem are likely to affect changes in the other.

Fifth, the organization is immersed in an environment containing other organizations. This environment places demands and constraints on the organization. The demands and constraints, therefore, must be taken into account in any examination of the organization.

Finally, the boundaries of the organization cannot be specified absolutely because of the various interactions with the environment. Some organizations may appear to have very well-defined boundaries. However, taken as just one system relating to others, the boundary lines start to become fuzzy.

These last two characteristics, more than the other four, are the basis for conclusions about organizational influence on a variety of levels (See section on Influence). It is from an understanding of the organization's impact on its environment, and vice-versa, that scientists will be able to gain a greater knowledge of man's society. "The range of

theoretically significant and practically important questions would seem to be limited only by the accessibility of the concrete data. Studies of religious, educational, military, economic, and political bureaucracies dealing with the interdependence of social organization and personality formation should constitute an avenue for fruitful research. On that avenue, the functional analysis of concrete structures may yet build a Solomon's House for sociologists." (Merton: 1957: p206)

This thesis is broken down into two main parts. The first part is a literature survey and theory description. I begin with some material on the general nature of organizations. This then leads into a descriptive analysis of the growth of organizations, drawing heavily from theoretical work by Coleman in power analysis. Next comes an equally broad discussion on organization influences in society. With these discussions completed, the following part is a description of the most frequently used models of organizational structure. This part begins to narrow the thesis from its wide beginnings and points to more testable material. It is followed by another section on specific points of the model that serve to highlight generally observable behavior. This focuses the thesis even more on the specific behavior characteristics of individuals in organizations, and leaves the discussion of general organizational impact behind.

"Implications of the literature" section of this survey-and-theory part, attempts to pull together some of the specifics

shown in the model with the overall affects of organizations in society.

The second main section is a discussion of research done on an on-campus organization. My point of view is first explained. Then, for background information, a brief history and description of the structure of the organization (the Lecture Series Committee) are included at this point. My model and hypothesis are then presented. The chapter continues with an explanation of my methodology and procedures followed by an analysis of the data. The thesis ends with my conclusions from the data and my model, and with the ramifications and relations of this research material to the first part of the thesis.

Chapter two

ORGANIZATIONAL THEORY

I. The Growth of Organizations

Organizations have continued to grow since the first individuals banded together for their mutual benefit. Whether or not the meeting was intentional, long-lasting or efficacious is obviously irrelevant. The point is that it happened. Though this statement may seem trivial and simple-minded, its triviality underlines the nature of the inevitability of an organizational structure in human beings. The organization allowed for specialization, security, higher efficiency, and a whole spectrum of other benefits that beginning-man required for survival. Organization was perhaps man's greatest tool in his fight against nature. Like a stone, he formed it, sharpened it, polished it and combined it with other things to create a device that would help him in his time of need. Since that beginning, organizations have been steadily growing.

The basic cause of this growth has been the increase in differentiation or specialization, coupled with a change in cultural norms. The specialization can be viewed in that very first meeting, and even before in the family unit. The family served to provide the foundation for different roles. The mother would take care of the child, the father would hunt. The functions carried out by this social unit were extended in the tribe. The women cared for the children, and the men would hunt. Specialization would grow with some men building, some hunting, some farming. "The process of modernization is one in which old functions are more efficiently served rather than one in which new functions emerge. This gain in effi-

ciency is largely achieved by differentiation...." (Etzioni: 1964a: p106)

This differentiation is needed for two similar reasons. It allows for the establishment of social units devoted to specific functions; and it allows for artificial social units. Thus we find organizations or units set-up to handle fishing or farming. In addition, we find the existence of units dedicated to advertising the fisherman's catch and the farmer's crop. Indeed, the levels of differentiation increase as the advertising agencies add graphics specialists, economists, and marketing analysts to their staff.

Along with these changes in societal structure came cultural changes. The coming of Weber's Protestant Ethic allows for the organizations to find the right kind of "organizational man." The hard-working, delayed-gratification, security-seeking hero of Horatio Alger's books depicts the ideal man for much organization work. To what extent does the societal change, (the increasing organizational characteristics of civilization) decree the cultural change? Or is the cultural change as natural as the societal change? Or perhaps both stem from a certain sort of evolutionary natural selection. Unfortunately, the literature seems to be deficient in meeting these questions. It appears, however, that as organizations are viewed in and as a larger context, the research will begin to pursue these basic questions.

It is clear, though, that organizations have been growing in influence, size and numbers. The amount or number of organiza-

tions existent in society has increased with time. However, amount and size, at some point become competing characteristics. This is not to say that the number of organizational-like entities, such as organizational subsystems (as previously defined) is not increasing. (Indeed, as organizational size grows, the number of potential organizational subsystems grows tremendously. The communications interactions that are potential subsystems are described by Leavitt: "Large groups can, in fact, be different in kind as well as degree from small ones. We pointed out earlier that some communications nets, for example, are unique to small groups. They are not applicable to a ten-man group, let alone to a hundred men. For a group of five people, ten channels of communication are possible; but when the number of people increases to ten, forty-five channels open up, and when the number is one-hundred, 4,950 communications channels are possible." (Leavitt: 1972: p300)) It is to say that as organizations increase in size, the number of organizations that are basically autonomous, non-subsystems must decrease after a certain expansion point. This expansion point is basically the limit at which all individual, non-organized entities become organized. (See Coleman: 1973: next section) Until this point is reached, both the number and size of organizations may increase.

Determining this point is definitely beyond the scope of this paper, and nothing in any of the literature seems to concern itself with it. The limit will be effected by some down-

ward constraints on the individuals that should have the potential to be organized. For instance, there may be some individuals who will just never fit into organizational structures, or there may be a sort of structural individuality, similar to structural unemployment.

The point remains, however, that there is an increasing pressure for larger organizations. The statistics reflect this growth in that the population of self-employed dropped from 23 to 15 per cent of the labor force from 1910 to 1960, despite considerable increases in the labor force population itself. In addition, this trend shows no sign of decreasing. The major constraint on the increasing number of organizations would appear to be only the increasing size. Coleman (1973) suggests that size is contributed to by advancements in mass communication, and a basic continuing change in social organization. "Communication processes focus attention on events controlled by ever larger corporate actors. These are supplemented by other changes that widen horizons, such as travel and the increased leisure of most persons that allows interests to expand. But the principal process appears to be communication through the mass media. There is little evidence to suggest that the trend will be reversed.... In addition, other processes tend to place a given activity under the control of large corporate actors. Such changes...take the form of amalgamations, concentrations (and) consolidations...." (Coleman: 1973: pg7-8)

As organizations grow in size or numbers, so does their influence. The more pervasive they are in society, the greater society's interaction with them. The cultural norms change, or are changed, and the organizational norms are perceived as closer to society's. What are the long-term effects of this influence? Do culture and other non-organizational norms affect the organizations more than the organizations affect culture? What then are the ramifications for the individual in this interchange? How does he become modified, molded or mollified by these changes? These questions form the basis for the next section. Their importance grows with the continued inevitable growth of organizations.

II. A Brief Description of Organizational Influences

A person's behavior is a function of many things. His environment, his innate abilities, and his perceptions, among other factors, all combine to influence and determine his personality structures and behavior orientation. This, in turn, becomes part of the individual's innate characteristics and an input for his perception-generating and value-formation functions. The feedback cycle continues, and the individual's behavior is in a constant state of change.

Part of the influence existing in the environment is generated by the existence of organizations. (Argyris: 1973) This influence occurs on a variety of levels. The first level is that described by Argyris, namely the impact of a particular type of organizational function on the individual's personality. If the worker is kept in isolation, or if he is not permitted to make many decisions, he will reflect this in his outside behavior in a reinforcing way. Specifically, he will remain non-active in volunteer organizations, neither taking the lead nor making decisions. The behavior pattern he has learned on his job will carry over to non-job activities. Though Argyris describes the correlation of job and non-job activities well, the question of cause and effect is not well researched or understood. One can assume, however, that there is an implicit reinforcing of the non-job behavior. The individual's position in the organization, given a relatively stable organizational structure, will not allow for rapid changes of job-

behavior patterns. As the individual continues to change, modify and have molded his personality, (etc. as above), he will be receiving a continual push in one direction, namely that described by his job. The impact, therefore, will be felt in at least an indirect reinforcing way.

It must also be understood, however, that the individual's behavior, both on and off the job, could be related to and caused by other factors. These factors could be such variables as intelligence, economic resources, or in a world filled with discrimination, sex and race. Whether the job be causally or only correlatively related to the overall behavior pattern, its effect is still non-negligible. (Argyris:1973)

The second level of influence due to organizations is more general. This is the impact of the organization due to its overall structure and existence. The individual, here, is influenced by the structure of the organization (Weiss: 1956). He learns which behavior will be rewarded and what kind of behavior is required by the organization. This is not a simple case of superior-subordinate interactions. The contention is that the structure of the organization itself, and the unwritten, unspoken but understood goals and needs of the organization will be able to require particular behavior patterns on the part of the individuals within the organization. (Merton: 1957) Thus, effects such as increasing organizational identification with increasing leadership emerge. (Weiss: 1956: p64) In addition, the values of the organization permeate the values

of the individuals. Identification with the amorphous entity of "management" increases as the individual rises in the organization (Balma: 1960). In other words, there is an internal socializing being carried on by the organizational structure itself. The mechanism that is used to enforce the socializing is the network of people who collectively make up the living members of the organization. However, there is an organizational goal towards which the collective strides. Though it may be possible to change the specific statement of that goal, it is not possible to change the need for the goal, or the direction of the organization as to its movement towards a goal. To quote Weiss, pg. 63: "We will find no organizations without goals, but it is of interest to speculate on what such a social form might be like. Franz Kafka's inventions probably capture the essential elements: an organization which strives for nothing, where there is no reason for one activity to be preferred to another, except perhaps tradition. The total effect is of unbearable pointlessness." It is this tautology of an organization being defined, in part, by having goals, that serves to influence the individual. The structure mandates an awareness of goals. The individual may agree or disagree with them, or not care about them, but he knows there is something there. Most often the individual agrees with these goals. So his behavior, under the same basic concept as the already described feedback behavior system, is modified to fit the increasingly homogenous organizational structure.

This is even more obvious and more direct when the individual voluntarily joins a group and is not held there by any coercive activity. His initial agreement with the group increases this process' efficacy. An analysis of voluntary organizations (Jacobson: 1956) shows this phenomenon being very pervasive in active groups, while decreasing in less active groups.

A third level of influence by organizations centers about their existence in society. This is related to the second level, but relies more on the idea of organizational impact on other organizations, society and culture. Coleman (1973) suggests that the existence of organizations, or "corporate actors," means that the individuals relating to them give up some of their power for the sake of receiving some other benefits. The corporate actor itself, though, has a certain amount of power inherent in its own structure. This is not power controlled by other individuals, but, in essence, is power lost to the corporate actor by each individual when he joined the organization. Individuals will use a variety of methods to attempt to gain back this power. The final outcome, however, pushes towards an even greater loss of individual power in the long run. As Coleman states: "Yet we continue to yield control. I think two central processes bring this about. One is indicated by the motives suggested above: the desire to augment our power vis-a-vis even larger corporate bodies through creating others, a process which is called the creation of "countervailing power" in modern discourse. Such a process leads to

an escalation that has its natural ending only when all our sovereignty lies in the hands of two competing corporate actors, each holding half the world's power." (Coleman: 1973: p13)

This surrendering of power to organizations has obvious ramifications for behavior patterns on a grand scale. Many studies have shown how individuals change their actions and reactions to various inputs due to an organizational setting as a function of perceived organizational structure (Mulder, et al; Goodstadt; and Milgram). As organizations become increasingly ubiquitous in our society, and as they head more and more towards the large end of the size spectrum, their modifying and homogenizing effects will be stronger. This is compounded by individuals organizing to fight already organized groups. (For example, Ralph Nader's organizing to fight General Motors.) As individuals continue to see the need for their own organizations in order to create a "counter-vailing power" to balance particular other organizations, the larger balance between individual and organization becomes increasingly unstable.

These three levels of organizational influence all work on the individual in a modern industrialized society. The levels are integrally related to each other, and form a continua of organizational influence. Some aspects of this influence can be modified or controlled by individuals, basically in the first level. (Argyris: 1974) But it is unclear how much can be done to modify or mollify the influence at the other levels, and how much this affects the change potential at the initial level.

III The Organizational Model

Many models have been formulated to explain organizational behavior in individuals, and the behavior of organizations. Like the blind men attempting to describe the elephant after touching different parts, the modelers have come up with various theories explaining different behavior. As Schein's six-part description of organizations indicates, any model that attempts to describe everything, would be describing all of society. And so we must be content to have partial descriptions of particular aspects, always cognizant of the fact that we are not getting the whole truth. In addition, it is obvious that by not getting the whole truth, we are getting those not-so-little falsehoods that make partial truths palatable. Many times boundary conditions will be ignored, or external constraints or demands will be minimized for the sake of the model. What I will attempt to explain here is a basic model for explaining organizational behavior, both as an entity unto itself, and as a pattern for individuals, with emphasis on the first part.

(This dichotomy reflects the two different approaches to organizational studies. "Two orientations are discernible in our work to date: an emphasis on organization as a setting within which human beings spend a part of their life, and alternatively, an emphasis on organization as a social form. In the one case the individual is figure and the organization ground. In the other it is the other way around." (Weiss:1956:p61)

Weiss (1956) describes organizations as consisting of:
1) individuals in offices, 2) individual responsibilities for definite tasks - functional activities - which are part of a division of labor, 3) an organizational goal to which the individuals contribute, 4) and a structure.

The offices are basically role descriptions. The functional activities relate to these offices in the sense that they are the task performed by each of the roles. So the role of secretary consists of the tasks of answering phones, typing, etc. There is little disagreement as to these first two characteristics of the organizational model.

The organizational goal is more complex than the offices or the functional activities. The organizational goal is, in essence, the reason for the organization's existence. It is the purpose to be of the organization in one sense (explained later) yet it can differ from the "core mission" of the organization. There is a school of thought which explains "core missions" as the purpose to be. The difference between the two ideas, of a core mission and the reason to be for an organization, lead to differences as to what conclusions can be drawn about organizations.

The "core mission" concept is one in which an organization is set up to achieve a particular goal, and that goal is the core mission. For instance, an educational institution may have many missions, such as to provide undergraduate education, graduate education, an environment for experts in the field

to do advanced research, an environment for students to do basic research, an opportunity for professors to teach, maintenance of research and development labs for government and industry, maintenance of special programs for foreign students in energy technology, etc. To the extent that one mission may be the core mission, or that a variety of specific missions can be aggregated to form a comprehensive core mission, then the organization can be defined as having that purpose. For instance, the core mission of an educational institution may be to further and create the arts and sciences. By furthering and creating is meant a combination of the above missions. One might sense a certain inadequacy in even a mission as broad as that, however. For example, why have an athletic department at such an institute? Or why spend a great deal of money for public-relations programs for the neighborhood? Only by continually broadening the scope and meaning of the "core mission" can all of the functional activities of the different offices be included.

Alternatives to this broadening procedure take on two forms. The first is to assume separate or separable "core missions" for the organization's subsystems that are not included under the larger organization's "core mission" These then would be secondary "core missions", bolstering and reinforcing the organization in its movement towards its primary mission. The advantage here is obvious. There is no need to continually broaden core missions simply to include new programs, nor is there

the necessity to discard secondary missions which, over time, may become primary. The disadvantages enter with the problems of analysis. Here an organization is perceived as a set of subsystems arranged about secondary missions, with the entire structure headed by a primary mission. For much work, especially that of Schein's and Organizational Development groups, this is a very useful setting. For understanding, however, the way organizations as whole entities affect change in society, and are affected by society, it creates difficulties. Namely, organizations are continually evaluated as small operational or functional units. This creates a bias towards individual-organization studies as opposed to studies of organizational aggregates. Many of the questions previously raised can only be answered in the context of organizations taken together, as opposed to singly.

The second alternative to the core mission idea as the purpose for the organization's existence, is the concept of the organization as existing simply for the achievement of particular goals (which could be anything). The concept here relates back to that described in the earlier sections, namely, the organization as a tool, or a mechanism. The organization itself is set up to facilitate the achievement of core missions. The core missions are now considered not the reason for the organization's existence but simply the functional activity of a conglomeration or system of offices. The reason for or purpose of the organization is now to hold the office-systems together, in essence, to be the mortar between the bricks. When this

view of the organization is held, the problems of defining a broad enough core mission become lessened. Core missions can be defined by subsystems or by the organization as a whole as primary missions, without destroying or ever changing the underlying reason for the organization. In addition, organizations are now presented in a general light where their impact can be studied from a different perspective. This perspective is approached in some of Weiss' speculation: "The organizational goal is the basis for the existence of the jobs and of the organization. Individuals, by doing their jobs, help the organization reach its goal.... The leaders... do not set the organization's goals any more than do other members. Leaders may come, and leaders may go, and the organization will maintain its direction.... The high-ranking executives... are responsible for the development of a program, a plan of action for the organization, by which the goal may be achieved. This program should not be thought of as setting the goal, in any way. Instead it interprets it - operationalizes it - and sets the means." (Weiss: 1956: p 63) Weiss' definitions call for something in between brick and mortar, a sort of concrete that has the necessary characteristics of both.

With this understanding as to the various frameworks with which organizations may be interpreted, we can look at the concept of organizational structure.

The organizational structure, broadly conceived, is the organization's overall coordinative relationships and distribution

of tasks. The structure defines, in organizational terms, who talks to whom, where to go for resources and decision, and, in general, how the functional activities are integrated with each other.

It is the concept of organizational goals and structure which is usually investigated in the literature. The structure is sometimes considered goal oriented (Etzioni: 1961), or power and authority oriented as Weber's theories describe. When descriptions of organizations are made (Etzioni: 1969) different writers gloss over the first two points and zero in on the last two. Alternatively, process consultants and development people center on the first two points. Again, the dichotomy between investigators' values crops up.

This continuing investigation has led to considerable refinement in Weiss' broad outline for an organizational model. Etzioni (1961) uses compliance as the basis for a comparative study of organizations. He states three classifications of power as possible means for organizations' creating compliance.

The first is a coercive power that relies on threats of physical sanctions, such as pain or death; generation of frustration through restraint of freedom; or controlling through force, basic needs such as food, and sleep.

Next is remunerative power which is simply the control over material resources and awards, such as salaries and wages.

Finally there is normative power. Normative power breaks down into two categories. The first is that based on the mani-

pulation of esteem, prestige, and ritualistic symbols. This is the kind of power that is common in religious institutions. A benediction or a special prayer are the devices that a religious leader might use to reward an individual. The second type of normative power, called social power, is similar to peer pressure (which is actually a subset of social power). This kind of power may be seen when a member of a committee praises a coequal for his work, or a committee chairman in a voluntary organization relies on the contributions of others to force the deviant to contribute. It is the allocation and manipulation of acceptance and positive response. Since Etzioni is concerned with the mechanism of control employed, these two powers, pure normative and social, are classified together. This is clear when it is seen that they both rely simply on the manipulation of symbolic rewards.

Etzioni then continues with a description of the kinds of involvement that are available to a person.

Alienative involvement denotes an "intense negative orientation" towards the organization. This is the type of orientation prevalent in an "inmate" society, such as a prison or a concentration camp. It is also operable in many countries for particular classes of people, where government is the organization. (Michels: 1959)

Calculative involvement is the descriptive term for the second classification. This type of involvement is of low intensity. It is the general type of behavior exemplified by

present day business men towards their customers. The involvement may be either of a negative or positive orientation; but it is a mild involvement.

Moral involvement is a positive involvement of high intensity. This is the kind of involvement expressed by the constant churchgoer, or the devoted member of a political party. As in normative powers, there are two kinds of moral involvement, one pure and one social. The pure-moral idea is that of the "inner-directed" person. Usually occurring in vertical relationships, the pure-moral would be the churchgoer or party member. The social-moral person is more apt to exist in horizontal relationships. Here, the individual is dedicated to the good of the group and his coequals. This would be the case for a committee member volunteering his time, or a service-fraternity member working on Saturday afternoon.

Etzioni then defines his compliance relationship in terms of the conjunction of power and involvement. He maintains that three out of the possible nine combinations are most likely to occur. These three combinations are the "congruent" forms of organizations. Congruency is caused by pressure from the outside and from the inside on organizations to be effective. Thus, an organization that uses normative power will be best off, and most efficient, with individuals with moral commitments to the organization. A remunerative unit requires calculative individuals for optimal performance. This follows from the idea that alienative individuals will not follow the orders of the organizational leaders, even for higher salaries. In addition,

moral individuals are oriented towards normative rewards, and so the remunerative corporations of today require calculative individuals. It should be noted that these characterizations are primarily for the lower levels of the organization, the bulk of the employees. The upper levels of these organizations may be expected to show a more moral commitment than a calculative one.

Along the same lines as above, coercive organizations will be the only ones to work effectively when the individuals are basically alienated from the organization.

Etzioni concludes this description with a general trend statement: "To the degree that the environment of the organization allows, organizations tend to shift their compliance structure from incongruent to congruent types and organizations which have congruent compliance structures tend to resist factors pushing them toward incongruent compliance structures."

(Etzioni: 1969: p69)

This basic amendment to the original model causes a few major changes in the conceptualization of the organization. It causes a lowering of the boundary for low level participation. For instance, the churchgoer is included as an integral member of the church's organizational chart and structure, even though he has no formal role. The businessmen working as suppliers or salesmen are now seen as relating not only to their superiors, but as having a second side to them, namely their relationships with their customers (even though their customers may be ex-

cluded from the organizational considerations).

Etzioni's concept, therefore, leads to a better understanding of the sociological implications of organizations. Their structure and goals are now broadened to show their increasing influence. The boundaries are made even fuzzier, as they must be, so that a larger picture can be examined.

There are many other models that involve various aspects of the organization. The Barnard-Simon theory, for instance, is one of individual motivation and organizational equilibrium. (Etzioni: 1969: p77) It balances inducements from the organization with contributions from the individual, taking into account personal values. Other theories are more dependent on innate needs (Argyris: 1974) and still others such as Weber rely on political theory and authority perceptions.

Combining the described model of Weiss and Etzioni with that of Schein and Argyris provides for that combination of dichotomized material necessary for a full understanding of both parts of organizational behavior.

We now look at a few particular points of the theory in greater detail.

IV Some Specifics of the Model

I will briefly examine some of the characteristics of social forces that impinge on the individual in his role as an "organizational man".

Identification with the organization is a commonly observed phenomenon (Etzioni, Weiss, etc.). Identification has a few theoretical foundations for its existence. To begin with there is the idea that as an individual reaches higher and higher positions, his action-choices become greater, his role description wider, and his functional activities more numerous. (His action-choices basically encompass all of the decisions that he could make within his power.) As the individual has more freedom within his role, he has a greater need for outside direction if his actions are to be consistent and beneficial for the organization. For instance, the elevator operator has few decisions to make, to go up or down and at which floors he should stop. The routine can be relatively well-described, and identification with the organization serves the organization little. The executive, on the other hand, may make many decisions each day which are basically new and which can lead to the organization's resources being used in different ways. If the executive is to serve the needs of the organization, he must be able to identify with it, and understand its needs. Therefore, there is a greater requirement for organizational identification as the individual rises in the organization.

This increasing identification can be caused by two things. The first is selectivity on the part of the organization. At each successive stage in an individual's rise, he is reviewed in a certain sense, for his conformity and identification with organizational norms. The individual is rewarded by promotions or higher salaries for performing his work well and for conforming to these norms. This conformity may take on a variety of shapes. For instance, the worker may go out of his way to support the organization in outside affairs, or may lie to government investigators about the organization's activities in order to protect it. To the extent that every individual has the ability to conform his actions will indicate the level of his conformity and so the organization will know to what extent it has an "organizational man."

In addition, there is a socialization process that takes place in individuals (see other sections). Socialization can cause conformity and thus the perceived actions of the socialized individuals are the same as the selected individuals. Of course, there is a great deal of interaction in which a person may be socialized, then selected, then further socialized and further selected, etc.

There is a question as to which comes first, and what causes it. Organizations, as we have seen, are natural constructs and social units. They fall together and also have a natural tendency to persist and to grow (see Coleman, other sections). The selectivity process, therefore, may simply be extended social

evolution. Organizations simply attract certain types of people, who benefit from their being in organization. Like the dinosaurs, the individuals who cannot fit into organizations will simply perish. On the other hand, organizations may change the cultural and social norms enough so that individuals learn and become socialized to the organizational way. The selectivity then is to simply pick the cream of a basically adequate crop. Researchers state that a certain level of socialization is occurring, enough to make selectivity the major factor for organizations. However, when the organization of industry and the adult world are being considered, there seems to be little connection between them and the socializing being performed by the organizations called schools and family. Here the researchers tend to put the children's institutions in a separable, non-interacting set. This is where the previous problem of defining organizations emerges again. Though it is understood that a particular organization does not deliberately try to shape a person's personality, it is assumed, therefore, that particular other organizations (such as the schools) do. The reasoning then concludes that the schools themselves cause the socialization. Though this works for surface evaluations, it is the cause of many misconceptions. Complaints are continually heard about the lack of success of "new schools" and other changes in organizations. It is the lack of depth imparted to organizational influence

that causes people to think that changes in one school will have profound effects.

Etzioni states, however, that "The fact that most people in organizations have the requisite psychological characteristics for organizational life is in part a result of selective recruitment by which the organization rejects or removes those whose personalities make them unfit to participate. The major credit for this convergence of personality and organizational requirements, however, must go to the modern family and the modern educational system, both of which produce the type of person who will make a good organization man." (Etzioni: 1964a: p110) He seems to reduce, however, the impact of organizations as a whole on the educational system. The values and teachings of educational institutions, mirroring the organizations they were set up to feed into, were caused by the already formed organizations. Whether the primary cause is socialization by the organizations, or a natural socialization due to evolving societal norms, however, is not important for this phase of the model. It suffices to say that individuals are socialized to work within the framework of organizations. Within this framework, the processes of selectivity and socialization coexist to produce a higher identification at higher levels.

There are many other basic ideas relevant to organizational models. The concept of an elite, or ruling body is necessary in any discussion. However, I will assume that the concept has been described consistently enough, and understood enough,

so that a look at the mechanisms through which the elite maintains its position will be more valuable.

Briefly then, there are three basic mechanisms employed in the normative-moral organization described by Etzioni. (The applications to the coercive and remunerative congruent-types, though not direct, are similar enough to be understood without describing them here. (A full analysis is presented in Etzioni: 1961).) The elite use absorption, cooptation and collaboration for the general purposes of maintaining their power, and replacing those members who have left.

Absorption is simply the taking into the elite of a non-elite who has shown leadership, conformity, and other characteristics valued by the elite. In essence, the elite takes members of a future elite and simply absorbs them into the already present structure. This serves two basic purposes. First, it furnishes the elite with replacements. Second, it stops potential competing elites from arising. In essence, it allows the ruling elite to recruit, thus stemming any possible future challenges.

Cooptation is, unlike absorption, a parrying technique. The elite attempts to take individuals with leadership abilities, (but who do not have the interest, time or whatever to become members of the elite), and channel their abilities elsewhere. For instance, potential dissenters in a university setting are afforded the opportunity to sit on advisory boards. Though the dissenters cannot join the university elite, the elite can use the dissenters' abilities for its own purposes. In addition,

some of the energy of the dissenters is spent on these side activities which the elite, not the dissenters, can control.

The third mechanism is one of collaboration. With absorption being the taking of potential competitors and making them part of the home organization, and cooptation being the handling of competitors without an elite structure, collaboration is the handling of competing elites. Here there is an inter-elite sense of cooperation that is used to support and bolster the goals of the organization as a whole. Collaboration is frequently used within organizational frameworks when common problems of subsystems arise. The subsystems will collaborate to reduce their common problem.

These three mechanisms then underlie the ideas of cooperation and amalgamation for the units in an organization. They serve to strengthen the elite when used effectively, and diminish the strain on the organizational structure. They work towards an increasing cohesiveness of the units.

Cohesion is the last characteristic to be described here, and a small note should suffice. The degree of cohesion in a group is frequently thought of as being a determinative factor in the position of a group. It is true that if a group has a certain position, the greater its cohesiveness, the greater the chance that it will influence a new member of the group towards that position (Etzioni: 1961). However, this is assuming that the group has a position already. The degree of cohe-

sion in the group will not affect its choosing a particular position. In other words, a group could take a positive, negative, or neutral position towards an organization, and the degree to which the group is cohesive will have no affect on this choice. What the cohesion does do is increase communications and the adoption of opinions, but it has no affect on which opinions are to be adopted.

This is an important consideration in the overall actions of an organization. If the organization is very cohesive, any decision made by the elite of the organization will have increased effects. This occurs because of two things. First, the communications flow and basic acceptance of the opinions is faster. Second, any deviants in the organization are under much increased pressure to conform, or drop out.

(This completes the description of organizations and their models as culled from the literature. It was not meant as anything more than a bibliographical essay of the popular research. Many factors, functions, models and descriptions were, of course, excluded from this discussion. Bibliographies for continued reading representing various viewpoints may be found in Argyris: 1963, Etzioni: 1961, and Harlow: 1971.)

V Implications of the Literature

What conclusions can be drawn from the literature? What are the ramifications inherent in the organizational models? The difficulty with answering any of these questions rests in two main areas.

To begin with, the models are incomplete and there is very little empirical data. Then there is the realization that much of the material is written with continual biases. Since the notions of organization, or socialization, etc. are all dependent on the writer's frame of reference, any material built on that frame will have its tilt. But, with this in mind, some speculation can be made combined with some observations (my biases) as to the possible ramifications of the organizational structure.

The section on organizational influence already contains a great deal of my thought on the organizational impact on society. What will be the impact of some of the characteristics described in the model?

Increased identification with the organization is considered beneficial for the organization. It allows for a greater understanding of the organizational norms, and a fuller commitment to the organization, perhaps even allowing for a transfer from calculative to moral commitments. However, identification can also cause great problems depending on the spectrum of values to be identified with. To quote from a recent article

in Newsweek (May 12, 1975) entitled "Ethics: Me, Too" we find that "Most young executives would do just what many members of former President Nixon's campaign staff did in the Water-gate affair: join the cover-up....Almost 60 per cent of those questioned agreed that, to prove their loyalty, today's young managers would go along with their bosses even if it resulted in lies or other deceptions. And in general, two out of three said that all managers feel that they're under pressure to compromise personal standards if necessary to achieve company goals." This type of increased identification is self-explanatory and cannot be good. In addition to the quote above, the article also stated that many managers felt that the business ethics of today are superior to those of the past. This then might be an effect simply of increased organizations. As organizations continue to grow, as outlined in a previous section, they will continue to cause increased socialization and selectivity in their environment. The net effect will be more individuals following organizational norms.

This growth of organizations will also cause the societal norms to become more homogenous. There will be less chance for change or for modification. Just the concept of congruence states there will be a continual steady push towards certain specified behavior patterns. This is reflected in our schooling, our family, and our places of work and leisure.

Organizational pushes towards aggregating and consolidating

social units will extend past the formal institutions of our industrial and political organizations and reach into the smallest social unit, the family. What the changes will be are obviously pure speculation. If the stress on the family is large enough, there may be continual breakups and reaggregations. The growth of communes, community families, and other larger-than-the-nuclear-family family units may be a harbinger of this influence. In addition, the stresses applied to the family because of ease of travel, and therefore tendency to separate, equal opportunity, etc. may all be too much for the old concept. On the other hand, the psychological necessity for a world that can be controlled by the individual, for the expression of Argyris' adult tendencies, the family may be strengthened. This would occur because the individual continually loses power to the organizations, and so seeks to retain that power that remains (in the family unit).

The ramifications for political theory are more apparent. The organizational structure decrees the existence of an elite. There will be no organizations operating efficiently without an elite. That an elite exists, and that all three types of organizations are based upon the construct of uses of power of some sort and control by the elite, one sees the fruitlessness of any real structural political changes. Organizations are all pervasive, and their nature is so deeply understood by the individual that a true alternative political structure to that

of an organization is seemingly unthinkable. No matter what political structure is chosen or forced upon people, the basic framework is the same. The type of power used to ensure compliance may change, and the commitment level of the individuals involved may be altered, but the basic construct will not be changed. "The principle that one dominant class inevitably succeeds to another, and the law deduced from that principle that oligarchy is, as it were, a preordained form of the common life of great social aggregates, far from conflicting with or replacing the materialist conception of history, completes that conception and reinforces it.... Thus the social revolution would not effect any real modification of the internal structure of the mass. The socialists might conquer, but not socialism, which would perish in the moment of its adherents' triumph.... The social revolution, like the political revolution, is equivalent to an operation by which, as the Italian proverb expresses it: There is a new conductor, but the music is just the same." (Michels: 1959: p390)

But there is a tendency not to realize the potentials of organizations. Continually they are taken as separate entities, an organization "A" which could regulate, control or de-organize an organization "B". Coleman maintains that it is this kind of thinking which leads to larger and more organizations. And the cycle then begins again. Each time a regulating organization is created, people start thinking of a new organization to regulate the regulators. Even those that articulate-

ly state the problem seem to find no solutions and so cause a greater problem by advocating even further increases. Etzioni states, "Organizational study has a long way to go before it will do justice to the crucial question of the organization of organizations. The importance of this problem should not be underestimated. Modern society is composed more and more of larger and larger organizations. Society has long recognized that it cannot leave economic interaction to the free play of market forces because this might not lead these organizations to pursue a course that will bring the greatest happiness to the greatest number. The same holds for interactions among organizations that do not pursue economic goals, and for the non-economic interactions of economic organizations. Modern society has found it necessary to build more and more instruments to regulate this interaction to encourage increase not only in the effectiveness and satisfaction within each one, but also of the relations among them." (Etzioni: 1964: p112)

Like the man helplessly flailing his arms after being caught in quicksand, the more motion he uses to try to get out, the faster and further he sinks. What the alternatives are is unclear. The first step, however, is to realize the problems and their causes, to understand their importance, and to stop flailing our arms.

Chapter three

A Case Study of LSC, a Student Organization

I Social Research and Values

Research in the social sciences is always open to interpretation. The same data, viewed in two different ways, may lead to two different conclusions. Therefore, the values and opinions of the researcher must always be taken into account, not only in the reading of the conclusions, but in the design of the initial questions, and the analysis of the data. Without an explicit statement by the author of any work as to what he believes his research should prove, or what he would like it to prove, the reader can only guess about the author. To protect against that occurrence, and to present this material in the proper light, I am briefly stating my opinions.

I feel that the influence organizations, and the organizational structure, have on the individual is enormous. This is not to say that each time a person enters an organization his personality, behavior, opinions, etc. undergoes great change. It is to say that changes do occur to socialize and "organizationalize" people. This process, in a modern industrial society, will generally commence at birth. Parents will teach their children the norms of society, and begin the socialization process. Organizations such as school, clubs, summer and day camps, Little League and the Boy Scouts continue the process. As the individual continues to have more and more interaction with the world of organizations, the socialization process continues to fine-tune the individual. What may occur

at the end of this process is the perfect organizational man. He will be able to identify with almost any organizational structure, working within it and for it, doing whatever needs to be done to sustain and advance it. He will accept the norms and values of the structures, changing his expectations so that the rewards of the organization are the rewards he now strives for. He is a man any organization would be happy to have.

I find this process to be potentially very dangerous. It is this kind of socialization that allows men to blindly follow the orders of their superiors in armies, so that they carry out evil acts as well as heroic ones. The managers who lie and cheat for their companies are also products of this kind of pressure. The non-cooperating leaders of college service or social groups reflect another effect of this force.

Though this socialization may be necessary to strengthen organizations, to build them to the point where their good potential can be utilized, it also leads to problems. At what point are the benefits accrued from this process outweighed by the damages it causes? My feeling is that the damages will increase and spread. That a man can break the law, obstruct justice, and commit many other crimes to protect an office or an organizational entity, and do so self-righteously, is a phenomenon that I feel is becoming less atypical. And as it rises in frequency, it will also rise in intensity.

My point of view then is obvious, I feel that the process called socialization is increasing in our society. I feel that organizational structures are one of the things that contribute very highly to this process. And I feel that the process has, potentially and realistically, very damaging effects to society.

II LSC: History and Structure

The Lecture Series Committee was started in 1948 as a joint effort between the administration, faculty and students of MIT. The intent was to institute a standing committee that would provide lectures to the MIT community. It was supposed to be a central clearinghouse through which a variety of proposals could flow. With funds and continuity of membership, the Committee could grow in size and experience so that a valuable new set of programs could be offered. LSC presented nothing but lecturers through 1951 when they started a movie series as well. It is not clear from the records as to the primary motivation behind this series. The two alternatives call for the series because of: one, financial constraints and the necessity for initiating revenue producing events, or, two, a simple desire on the part of LSC people to provide a new and different form of on-campus programming. Whatever the initial reason for the movies, they have grown since 1951 to be the major part of LSC's undertaking.

In addition to the lectures and movies, LSC has also run concerts as well as other entertainment features. In the mid-60's, for instance, Hal Holbrook and his one-man show of Mark Twain was contracted to perform. However, lectures and movies have been almost the sole focus of the group. Almost since its birth, LSC has shown three movies a weekend for nominal charges (now at \$.50/person) and has used their revenues, and money contributed by others, to pay for lectures. The lectures have ranged throughout the spectrum of students' interests. Politics

was the theme of Harry Truman's 1956 lecture co-sponsored with the Harvard Law Forum; and it was politics again in the early 1970's with the World Peace Lecture Series, and politics again with the John Dean and Sam Ervin 1975 lectures. Drugs were debated a few times, most notably in the 60's Tim Leary-Jerome Letvin debate, which received nation-wide press coverage. And the topic of sex was adequately covered in the video-taped Sex Lectures, a half dozen lectures by specialists in the field of interpersonal relations.

The structure of the Lecture Series Committee has not changed greatly in the over 25 years of its existence. At first, it was under the control of the Institute Committee. The Institute Committee (Inscom) was the central governing board of the undergraduate student body. Composed of elected and appointed officials, this group of about 20 people controlled all the resources and policies of the various student groups. As LSC became more and more student oriented (less lectures and more movies) the control that InsCom had over it grew, and the influence of the administration decreased. (It is hard in such a continuum to pinpoint the moment in which authority was transferred; in addition, the internal structure of LSC maintained itself through this transfer and then another one. It is the internal structure, and the people that related to it, that are of interest here.)

Through this period, LSC ran its day to day affairs by a three-tier structure (InsCom concerned itself only with major long-term decisions). The decisions made by this hierarchy were concerned with the way LSC carried out its duties. Decisions

were made as to which films would be secured, how many students would be required to work at each movie, etc. The interaction with other groups was the primary concern of the Chairman who worked through InsCom. This stable structure held until 1968, when the Institute Committee vanished. LSC had already been gaining independence from InsCom since 1963, when the Finance Board of the Institute Committee and LSC jointly agreed that the level of revenues flowing into LSC from its movie series warranted a termination in funding from the Finance Board (and, hence, from the Institute Committee). In 1968, the InsCom Constitution was changed and replaced with a representative General Assembly. The GA had all of the power of InsCom, but lacked the expertise, contacts, and background of the inbred InsCom. LSC, along with many other groups, discovered that control by a body representing (allegedly) the student body, but containing no representatives or interested members from the operating groups (such as LSC) would not work. Most of the large groups who had the ability to split off, did so. Since control was mainly financial, and since LSC's income had been separate and sufficient for half a decade, it easily left the domain of General Assembly control. It is at this point that the three-tier structure of LSC becomes important.

With the new autonomy of a decentralized government, LSC had to readjust its sense of responsibility. It was no longer working for the Institute Committee, or the General Assembly. Nor could it claim to be working for the student body, since the wishes and feelings of that group, embodied only symbolically

at best in the General Assembly, were basically unknown. The obvious answer was the General Committee of LSC.

The General Committee, along with the Executive Committee and the Chairman, made up the control structure of LSC. Membership on the General Committee was open to all students. The only requirement was a certain amount of work, regularly quantified and overseen by a member of the Executive Committee. In return for this work, the general committee member received a pass which gave him free admission to all of the movies that LSC ran, and preferential treatment for seats at lectures. In addition, it gave him a vote at all general meetings of LSC. The Executive Committee was elected each year from amongst the membership of the General Committee. The ExecCom members were chosen to fill certain positions, such as Friday night director, or projectionist director. As a member of ExecCom, they are entitled to a pass for life (there are still some ExecCom members from the early 60's in the area who occasionally use their passes), to rule their particular division (i.e. the Projectionist director assigns all of the general committee projectionists to the various movies) and make decisions on the size of their division and its particular membership, etc. with the approval of the rest of ExecCom. In addition, ExecCom itself is empowered to make certain day to day decisions. These decisions include the expenditures of small amounts of money (under \$100.), poster printing, and the picking of movies.

The Chairman of LSC is also picked from the General Committee membership during the same elections as that of any other ExecCom member. He is not given the powers that many small committees

or large organizations reserve for their Presidents or Chairmen. Instead, he is viewed as more of a block to the unchecked power of the Executive Committee, than as the Executive Committee's chief executive. Many of the motions and decisions of both the General Committee and the ExecCom are on the order of approving something, or doing something, if and only if, the Chairman and some director agree. For instance, directors used to be able to make certain announcements during movies, or show certain slides, at their discretion; the Chairman now has to approve these actions. The role of the Chairman is thus very much like the second signature on the treasurer's checks. He is there to control or moderate decisions more than to make them. He does have one role, though, that does give him decision-making power, namely, working with other groups. This is very important in the light of this paper. For it is this aspect of his job that can, at times, bring him to disagree strongly with the rest of his committee, and which has some of the power to alter his perceptions of his ExecCom and its relationship to other groups. (Since this impinges more upon the theory discussed in later parts, I will leave it for there.

The interrelationships between the Chairman, the Executive Committee, and the General Committee are very deep and complex. The ExecCom chooses all of the General Committee members (there is a strong tradition of seniority and first-come-first served for any openings, but technically the ExecCom votes on the acceptance of every General Committee member. On occasion, the ExecCom has denied a senior member continuing membership). The

General Committee then votes for new ExecCom members from amongst itself. The Chairman can veto motions of the ExecCom, ExecCom can overrule the Chairman, and the General Committee can overrule both. The ExecCom makes most of the small decisions, the General Committee makes most of the large ones, and the Chairman who has to work with all of the outside groups (and, in effect, has a great deal of power to influence how they will work with LSC) must go to one or the other for almost all decisions.

Perhaps the most interesting feature of the LSC structure is where the decisions emanate from. Neither the top, (the Chairman), nor the bottom, (the General Committee), initiates many decisions or ideas. The middle group, (the ExecCom), is the group that debates and discusses, almost exclusively, what LSC shall do and how it will run. In essence, they turn their decision over to the General Committee for ratification for major decisions, or to the Chairman for minor ones. This control from the middle is what, I believe, makes LSC and the people in it so much of an extreme group in its viewpoints, and so strong an influence on the actions and feelings of the members within it.

This three-tier structure is the one presently in use. It has undergone very little change since its inception in 1963. As the structures around it have modified their procedures to take into account the decentralization, LSC has remained the same. What influence a structure, designed primarily to handle internal problems and work with large directional pushes from external forces, has on its membership when in a different setting, remains for another section.

III Research Model and Hypothesis

The model of individual organizational behavior that I am using for my research is almost identical to that described in the first section on models. The differences mainly center on my emphasis of certain individual characteristics. This stems from my view that organizational effects are deeper and more pronounced than that of the original model.

The question that I wish to investigate focuses on the degree of socialization that occurs in an organization. I am assuming a model of behavior in which the individual wants to advance in the organization, or alternatively, is at a level where the rewards received are balanced by the amount of work and the increase in perceived rewards is less than the increase in perceived work level required to attain those rewards. Given this base, the question then is what changes occur in the individuals' opinions as they move up in the organization or remain on the organization for long periods of time. The stated hypothesis, that a person becomes socialized by the organization as they move up or remain in it, would indicate a growing identification with the organization, and a change in attitudes as to what the rewards of working for the organization were. Ramifications of this kind of behavior would be a more parochial and narrow-minded view of the organization coupled with an increased hostility or non-cooperation with other groups. Also, there would be a growing trend to look at the individual's work as aimed towards the organization as a whole, and less toward the people or groups it impacts upon. In other words, one would

expect the individuals at the top of an organization to care more about the good of the organization, even if it were at the expense of the organization's stated external-directed goals. Another symptom would be differences of opinion between the high and low ranking members, with the low members more external, constituent or public oriented, and the high members more internal oriented.

There should be one warning entered here. This model is assuming a continual influence from the organization. Certain characteristics may affect individuals, however, to change this. For instance, the head of a group, if his position carries with it a great deal of public relations or inter-group work, may be less narrow-minded or identified with one organization. This would occur because the individual sees the operations of the **other** groups, their problems, interacts with their leaders, and, in essence, becomes a member of a larger inter-organization group. Thus the head of one company might subordinate his own company's interests, at least temporarily, for the sake of the whole industry. This type of behavior, though, would not be reinforced by the home company. Therefore, continual actions of this sort might foster a change in leadership.

In general, this is the model I am operating under, and is the one I wish to test.

IV Methodology and Procedures

Given the previously stated model and hypothesis, the problem now is one of testing it. Three types of information gathering procedures are generally acceptable for gaining insight into motivations, attitudes, opinions, and perceptions. Out of these three types, interviews, questionnaires and projective methods, I used only the first two.

The reason for using both methods stemmed from two main desires. The first was to reach as many people as possible who were involved in the organization. To meet this end I employed a one-page questionnaire.

The second desire was for in-depth responses to broad questions. I wished to delve as deeply as possible into a variety of topics related to the central question of how attitudes might change with involvement. In order to do this, I interviewed various members of the organization.

The advantages of questionnaires centers about the ease of gaining responses from large numbers of people, the standardization of the questions, an impersonal nature so that there is less chance for the respondent to be influenced than in an interview, and a sense of anonymity so that the respondent may be more willing to provide his true feelings.

The interview on the other hand affords the possibility of following up on the respondent's comments. In addition, it allows for a better opportunity to probe the thoughts leading

up to the responses, and a better chance to determine motivations, etc. The interview, however, is more open to the interviewer's sentiments, and the possibility of the interviewer guiding the responses.

Since time constraints eliminated the possibility of interviewing very many members of the group, a combination of questionnaires and interviews was chosen.

The questionnaire used was a fourteen question, one-page sheet. The questions consisted of three background questions about their involvement in the Lecture Series Committee or LSC (the organization used for this investigation; see the section on LSC for a description of its history, structure, etc.). Then came six questions asking for the students' beliefs about LSC and the reasons for students' being members of LSC. This was followed by four questions about their relationship with other members of LSC, and their perceptions of those members. The final question simply asked if they were in any other organizations that might relate to LSC. (A copy of the questionnaire is attached at the end of this Paper.) A space was also left at the top of the questionnaire for the respondent's name. However, all respondents were informed that if they wished, they could leave their name off the questionnaire.

In order to insure a feeling of anonymity if the respondents wanted it, the questionnaires were handed out in a meeting of the group. Thirty-three questionnaires were given out to all of the people present (this is about thirty percent of

the total membership of the organization). In addition, some members of the organization were requested to fill out the questionnaire at home, and return it personally to me. Out of the thirty-three people at the meeting, twenty-four returned the questionnaire. All six of those asked to return the questionnaire from home did so. An analysis of the results of the questionnaire is in the next section.

Six interviews were held all together. Two of the interviews were of low-level, peripherally involved members, one was of a low-level, heavily involved member, two were of various Executive Committee members, and the last one was of the Chairman. All of the interviews were conducted by me and lasted approximately thirty minutes. The interviews were conducted at the subjects' convenience, and anonymity was promised in all cases except for the Chairman. (I would have called the Chairman a member of the Executive Committee, but as the model states, the Chairman's frequent interaction with other groups may change his behavior from that of another ExecCom member.) For this reason, quotes from the Chairman are attributed to him. The subjects were told that the interview was to be used in my thesis, and that the general topic was "how people act in organizations." They were asked to give gut reactions instead of thinking a great deal about their answers, and I told them that I would consistently follow up on their answers during the interview, or at a later time. The reason for this was twofold. First, I wanted the subjects to provide me with the first

thought that came into their minds, instead of thinking a great deal and perhaps hiding or playing down their true emotions. Second, I wanted to attempt to ensure that they would not think that I was looking for specific answers to questions if I did pursue a few of their first answers.

The following section is an analysis of the data culled from the thirty returned questionnaires and the six interviews. It should be noted that the questionnaires contained responses from members at all levels (except for Chairman) in the LSC structure, and that the three low-level interviewees also filled out questionnaires.

V An Analysis of the Data

The following is a question by question tally of the responses from the thirty questionnaires:

Q.1) How many terms have you been a member of LSC?

No. of Terms	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8-10
No. of Respondents	6	12	5	2	1	1	1	2

Average number of terms is 2.9.

Q.2) The General Committee memberships ranged through all of the available options and matched the general proportion of members on each committee. This indicates a relatively random sampling of the committee. The average hours/week spent was exclusively one-half hour to two hours per week for General Committee members, and ten to twenty hours per week for each ExecCom member.

Q.3) What other positions, if any, have you held? Eight people responded that they had held other positions. Of these eight, five were presently on the Executive Committee or had served full terms on the Executive Committee.

Q.4) Briefly describe what you think are the main purposes of LSC. All of the respondents answered "movies" or its equivalent. All but one respondent also answered "lectures", though some of these placed lectures in a category of "money wasting" or as a side purpose. A few others considered movies in the category of "necessary only to provide money for lectures". Nine of the respondents also answered "concerts" or other "cultural

entertainment," and two of the respondents, both on the publicity subcommittee, included publicity resources and printing as a main purpose of LSC. All in all, the results showed a consistent feeling that LSC's main purposes were the showing of movies and the providing of lectures, with other forms of entertainment (i.e. concerts) cited by about one-third of the respondents.

Q.5) What are the main reasons for your being a member of LSC? Seventeen people stated that "to get into movies free" was their only reason for joining. Twenty-seven mentioned the movies with six adding that it was fun or they had friends, two providing a community service, and three that they wanted to get involved and have a little say over the affairs of LSC. Out of the three who did not mention the movies, two stated that it was because they "had fun" doing their work (both were on ExecCom) and one who did it as a service to the Community.

Q.6) What do you think are the reasons that other students are on the General Committee? All of the respondents stated getting into movies free. In addition, six stated that they thought people might join to provide service, or out of a desire to get involved. Each of these six also put down the same answer as in Q.5 except one (who stated only free movies as his reason, but allowed for community service in others.)

Q.7) Why do people become ExecCom members? Twenty-four of the respondents answered "power trips" or "grease" or the

equivalent. Two stated power and to have a voice in what was said, but not necessarily for personal motives. Four said that the people were there to provide service. Out of these four, three of them were on the Executive Committee, and the fourth was President of a similar organization.

Q.8) Has your attitude towards LSC changed with your involvement? Twelve members answered "yes." Seven of the "yes" answers focused on increased awareness of the workings of LSC. Three complained about the structure, stating that their expected work was too much or that the group was too bureaucratic. Two complained about the high level of graft and corruption.

Q.9) Have your perceptions of the main purposes changed with your involvement? Nine members said "yes." Three stated they thought that there was more graft and corruption and "self-interest." Three stated that they were more aware of the workings of LSC. One each talked of the growing importance of : movies, lectures and the press facilities.

Q.10) Do you think that your attitudes and perceptions are different than those of the Executive Committee? Fifteen said "yes," fifteen said "no." For those who said "no," they were asked if they felt their perceptions were any different from the General Committee. Of the fifteen "no," two checked "yes" on this second question. Both of these people were very heavily involved in LSC, both commented that they knew more

about what was going on than the general LSC members.

Q.11) Describe your answer to Q.10. Nine out of the fifteen "yes's" were negative and stated that they felt the ExecCom was concerned too much about itself or LSC. The objections centered about the graft and corruption to a minor degree (three of the respondents) and about lack of caring about the community and more concern with caring about LSC the organization to a major degree (six responses). The other six responders were positive and they stated that they thought the ExecCom was more "responsible" and had "greater motivation" than the General Committee.

Q.12) Why does the difference occur? Out of the nine negative responses, four thought that the differences were due to greed or being power hungry. Three because of involvement in LSC, one because of personality traits, and one did not respond. Out of the six positive responses, four stated involvement, one a basic personality trait, and one did not respond.

Q.13) Do you believe that people change their attitudes and perceptions when they move from the General Committee to the Executive Committee? Sixteen people said "yes," including five who felt that their perceptions and attitudes were the same as both the General Committee and the Executive Committee. Out of this last five, three stated that ExecCom members became more involved, one said more power hungry, and one said

they get a broader perspective. Eight of the eleven who felt differently from the ExecCom stated that they felt that people did change when they moved because of greater involvement and feelings of responsibility. All of these eight were part of the nine that were negative toward the ExecCom. One of the remaining three cited responsibility; one involvement; and one was unintelligible.

Q.14) Were you (or are you) in any other activities related to LSC? This question received many answers and did not correlate with anything. Except in special cases (someone being Chairman of another group for instance,) it was discarded.

Next, some correlations were looked for in a few questions. The first was between the number of terms on LSC, and the perceptions of the main purpose of LSC. (Q.1+4). That is provided as follows:

Purpose/Terms	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8-10	Average
Lectures and Movies	4	11	1	2	0	1	1	0	2.5
Lectures, Movies and Others	1	2	3	1	1	0	0	2	3.9

Then between the number of terms and the perception of differences between General and Executive Committees: (Q.1+10)

Difference?/Terms	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8-10	Average
Yes	2	7	2	2	0	0	0	2	3.1
No	3	6	2	1	1	1	1	0	3.3

Then between purpose and differences: (Q.4+10)

Purpose/Differences	Yes	No
Lectures-Movies	10	9
Lectures-Movies and Others	5	5

Then between the reason for joining and differences between the two committees: (Q.5+10)

Reason for joining	Yes	Differences	No
For free movies only	10		7
Not for the free movies	2		1
To be involved	3		0
Social (friends or fun)	4		4
Community Service	3		0

Then between reasons for joining and changes in perceptions when moving from General Committee to ExecCom: (Q.5+13)

Perceived Change \ Reason for Joining	Free Movies Only	All Others
Yes	9	5
No	5	9
2 non-answers		

And then between personal attitudes changing with involvement and perceived differences between the committees: (Q.8+10)

Personal Attitude \ Change Differences	Yes	No
Yes	7(5-) [*] 2+	7+
No	10	6

*(The plus/minus marks refer to positive/negative changes in attitude.)

And finally between differences in the committees, and changes that occur when moving from General Committee to ExecCom: (Q.10=13)

Perceived Change \ Differences	Yes	No
Yes	9	5
No	6	10

(An explanation is required here. Four out of the five people who marked "No" on differences between the Executive Committee and the General C ommittee but "yes" on whether or not people change when they move to the ExecCom, meant the changes in terms of broader perspectives with more knowledge and such. Thus, they did not see any personality change, but only increased input for the person. The fifth person saw a personality change, but did not feel that that changed the perceptions or attitudes of those people.)

A more descriptive analysis can now be made. The model would expect certain kinds of answers.

To begin with, we would expect to see a greater awareness of what LSC does, and a wider perspective about its goals, from people who have been heavily involved in the group. It is not clear, however, that simply the number of terms on LSC would suffice as an indicator of involvement. Assuming, though, that simple exposure would have at least some affect on people, I took the two questions concerning number of terms and purpose of LSC.

The results are clear. Those members who believed the purposes of LSC to be only movies and lectures were centered about the less involved. An examination of those questionnaires from the members who put down other reasons indicated that they were either rather well involved in LSC, or had been in some group that had worked with LSC and were connected with the ExecCom. In addition, the two members with over five terms

on LSC stating lectures-movies only were both on ExecCom and understood the question to be "what outsiders thought." Removing their scores gives an average of 2.1 terms on LSC for those who thought the purpose was lectures/ movies only. This is compared to an average of 3.9 terms for those who put down other choices.

The interviews also supported this, the three high-level members listed not only lectures and movies, but also the printing equipment for publicity, possible concerts, plays and other events. The three low-level members cited the lectures and movies, with one listing publicity.

The perceptions of the Executive Committee were different from those of the General Committee about the reasons people had for joining LSC. The model would predict a rise in the normative kind of responses (enjoying the work, wanting control, credit or prestige, etc.) from the higher-ranking members. In addition, the low-ranking members would be primarily calculative, wanting only the pass. In general, this trend was followed by the respondents, but not perceived by the Executive Committee. Almost all of the low-ranking members were in LSC for the pass. Most of the high-ranking members were there because it was "fun" or they "have friends in the organization" or "because they needed somebody to do the job, and I thought it might be interesting." When asked what they thought the main reasons for other people joining the General Committee were, all of the General Committee members responded with free admis-

sion (the pass). In the interviews, the low-level members reflected their written answers: "I think almost all of the people are on the General Committee for the pass, about ninety-nine percent, and I think they (the ExecCom) know that." Though 99 percent is high, it is close to true. However, the ExecCom does not know that. The Chairman stated that he thought over one-third of the people joined "to get involved." Actually, only one non-ExecCom member responded that he joined to get involved. The only major reason for joining other than the pass was because the member had friends in LSC, and looked at it as a social group.

The model would also predict a feeling on the part of the top members that they were there to provide real service to the organization; in addition, it would be expected that the lower-ranking members might not perceive this feeling. Again, in both the questionnaires and the interviews, the disparity between high and low ranking members became apparent. General Committee members consistently stated that the motives of top management were purely for "grease" or a power trip. The only respondents who cited "wanting to do a good job" or "caring about the community" were ExecCom members (and the President of another group). This is perhaps one of the more striking separations between the two groups.

Moving on to the question of personal change due to involvement, we find individuals randomly citing "more awareness," "increased disappointment" and the like as they receive more information. The model would predict that the longer and more involved one is in LSC, the more their attitude would change and become more favorable towards LSC. This, however, could

not be borne out by the data from these questions. All that could be determined here is a notion that some members have undergone changes in perceptions and attitudes due to their involvement. However, there was no standard direction in which these changes occurred that is truly significant. There is a two to one trend towards positive changes (9 positive, 5 negative out of 14). But the reasons for these changes were so minor, and the changes themselves so slight, that I do not think anything conclusive can be shown from them.

The major focus of the questionnaire and interviews centered about question 10. "Do you think your attitudes and perceptions of LSC are different than those of the Executive Committee?" The model would predict that the low-ranking members would say "yes" and that the higher one went in the organization, the less would be the chance that they would say "yes." The ExecCom members, obviously, would have the greatest propensity to say "no." The correlations with other questions are also extremely important. How the members see the differences, where they think they come from, and what are the ramifications of these differences, all take on paramount importance if the organization causes these differences. In addition, it will be even more interesting to see "real" differences occur between the General Committee and the Executive Committee, and not have these differences noticed by the committees.

The first step is to evaluate the correlations between

those who stated they perceived a difference, and those who did not. Upon testing for involvement we find no correlations. This is true whether or not we use LSC goals (as before) or terms on LSC. Both sets of figures show no difference in involvement levels for those who answered "yes" to differences and those who answered "no."

Looking at the grid for "reasons for joining" and "differences" and readjusting the categories to eliminate the overlaps we come up with a new grid:

<u>Reason for joining/Differences</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>
Free Movies only	9	6
All Others	6	9

We discover that this is almost the same grid as that for "Perceived changes when moving from General Committee to ExecCom vs. Reason for joining" and also for "Perceived changes when moving from General Committee to ExecCom vs. Perceived differences in the committees." In this similarity we see members who have perceived a difference between their attitudes and perceptions and one of the committee's and who also joined only for the passes. These people are not those that would function on an ExecCom that requires a much greater amount of work for the rewards of power and "grease." In addition, these people see a change in members when they switch from the General Committee to the ExecCom. The next correlation to check would obviously be that of those members who changed their own attitudes (Q.8) vs. those who thought General Committee members changed when

they became Executive Committee members (Q.13).

Here we find a definitely high relationship, ten of those who answered "yes" to Q.8 answered "yes" to Q. 13, eleven who answered "no" to Q.8 answered "no" to Q.13, and a combined total of nine (split four and five) mixed answers (a "yes" to one, a "no" to the other). It becomes clearer now that those people who saw a change in the way a different person acted, also saw a change in themselves (or vice-versa, no causal relation is implied). Those who did not see themselves changing also did not see other members changing (or again vice-versa). In addition, looking at the attitude changes for individuals (Q.8) and its relationship to the difference question (Q.10) we find that all of those whose attitudes became more negative towards LSC also thought that General Committees members changed their attitudes when they became ExecCom members.

To get a better idea of what is going on, though, we must turn to the interviews. The main things to be investigated are: 1) the type of people that move to the ExecCom, 2) whether or not they change when this occurs, and, assuming they do change, 3) in what way do they change and 4) why. The interviews provide much more material on these questions than do the questionnaires. From our previous discussion of the questionnaires we found that there were perceived changes in people as they moved in the organization. However, the results from the questionnaire do not afford the opportunity to find underlying reasons. The interviews do not provide a large enough base for making generaliza-

tions. Hopefully, by combining the two, we will arrive at the requisite combination of depth and breadth.

One of the ExecCom members said this about his Executive Committee colleagues: "Most of the people we need... have to put in a lot of time and often you can't get a nice reasonable person to run for it (a position); therefore, often you get someone who is emotionally unstable or something and who feels that he wants to be wanted somewhere." This comment seems to reflect the notion that LSC ExecCom members are a special breed. But does the structure have anything to do with their actions? Is the model one of selectivity or socialization? A few minutes later in the interview, the same person said this: "The loyalty does change as they become more involved.... And I would say people on ExecCom have increased their loyalty as they have gone up the ladder... (this occurs) because you start identifying with the group, you're working harder for it, and you're doing more for it.... I moved up, and because I moved up, I became more identified."

The notion then of selectivity starts to merge with that of socialization. The members, selected to some degree, are also buttressed in their identification by the structure because of their work. Already starting from the point of a potential organizational man, the organization turns the potential into reality. The reality at times, however, can hit hard enough or fast enough so that people get knocked overboard. How much of this occurrence depends on the person? Again, the

same ExecCom member states: "(This identification) is, in general, good; but at times it gets in the way, at times it goes too far." And then: "(This would change) if we had super-reasonable people who were rational and would sit around and think about things." but then "Given the people we get, and given the time they put into it, I think it (over-identification) is a natural thing to have happen."

Other interviewees agreed with this member, and the lower they were in the LSC structure the more emphasis they put on the individual's change by the structure, with less emphasis on the selectivity parts. "I think you'll have to change (when you join ExecCom). If you don't you'll be making poor decisions. If you don't change, you'll probably lose your place because you'll be making bad choices for LSC." "I think that I would be looking at things in a different way. I think that I might change, I wouldn't like to, but I really think you're on (ExecCom) for more than the free pass, and you look at things differently than before." This member broke down the socialization steps into two phases. Given the case of newly elected ExecCom members, she responded that "In the beginning it would be the structure that influences people, and then the indoctrination from the other people takes over." Here we see the introduction of socialization effects not only from the structure but from the people in the organization. Whether or not this should be counted as a structural effect is unclear. Many researchers (Argyris, for instance) feel that it is. Others would define

structural much more narrowly. Keeping in line with the rest of the paper, this kind of effect would most closely resemble a hybrid concept. It is definitely an effect of organizational structures and groups, yet it is almost exclusively on the Level One plane of influence. Another low-level member stated almost the same thing: "As you go up, it's just a matter of how involved you get in that activity. And the more involved you get, the more time it takes, and you become more insulated from the feelings of the rest of the community.... They (the ExecCom members) sort of reinforce each other." here we have added the little twist of structural isolation. The lack of contact with other people, due to internal contacts and sheer lack of time, causes a greater identification with the group. The organization, in essence, builds up a cocoon around the person, insulating him from reality. Continuing with this thought, the member states: "I think it (the organization) orients them (the people in it) more towards the view that no matter what the organization does, it is right.... I think once you associate a person with a group, they will defend that group."

That last quote provides the transition into the third question and reference frame. Given that people change, given that they will identify more with a group as they move up the ladder, what will their course of action be? The natural action as outlined from the interviews is defensiveness. This is translated to a narrow-minded parochialism on the part of the ExecCom

members. When asked what ExecCom would do "if they had the power to cancel a conflicting event that would take part of their attendance away," the answer in every case was that they would vote to cancel. When asked, "Even if it were an event that was considered good for the student body?" the answer was again yes. The Chairman's response was as follows: (In cases of conflict with LSC for movies) "people do view that as hurting the student body, through hurting LSC." "When you say 'people,' is this the Executive Committee or the General Committee?" "The Executive Committee, and to some extent the General Committee, more ExecCom, mostly because they're more identified with LSC." The low-level member stated this about the same subject: "If people want to go to the other thing, then that makes the point of the LSC movie worthless." "Is that a reason for people to try to cancel the other thing, or for people to say 'If they want to go there, let them go there'?" "To let them go, (for the General Committee) to vote not to cancel it." "How would the Executive Committee vote?" "They would vote not to let them have it, because they want to make their money." The difference between Chairman and low-member can be seen in the above two passages. Both accept that the Executive Committee would favor cancellation, yet the low-ranking member differs with the Chairman on the level of low-ranking support. The Chairman feels a more unified LSC than he has, and a more closed and defensive one also. Even in the case of non-competing types of events. Events that would conflict only in terms of prestige or influence, some of the

high-ranking LSC members would apparently be upset. The Chairman states, "I think that there would be a few people on Exec-Com who would vote to stop that sort of thing (another group putting on a lecture). In general, however, they (the majority) would vote that that would be good (that it should be allowed)." And he adds: "One reason, I think, is that I would argue for that."

The slight hesitation and then the comment showing this member's support of other groups leads to the last point of this section. This was the Chairman speaking and it shows his relationship with other groups. In general, it was understood by the lower ranking members that the Chairman might have a broader perspective of the group and its environment than the Executive Committee. This was stated as "People talking to other committees more, will see their point of view more." This then, fits into the model as previously described. The Chairman, in essence, may begin to identify with a new group, namely a group of chairmen. Because of this, he may take a broader viewpoint when looking at his own organization. "The Chairman, I (the chairman) would say, starts thinking of LSC more as it relates to other groups most of ExecCom doesn't think that way at all, and General Committee doesn't think about those things at all."

This is perhaps one way around the continuing increased narrowness of the higher ranked members - getting them to identify with the other groups they come in contact with. It should be noted though, that this is not a universal phenomenon, and frequently does not happen (the chairman often becomes more parochial). To continue with this Chairman's words: "I started identifying more with some other groups, Jim's (a former chair-

man) identification (with LSC) went up."

It should also be noted, most importantly, that the identification aspect caused by organizations have not gone away, they have simply been transferred to another organization that is even wider in scope. This fits in very well with Coleman's idea about organizational growth, and provides insight into another cause of the expanding and growing organization.

Chapter four

CONCLUSION

I

We have an understanding now as to what occurs, what happens to the individuals as they move. But there is one more question that is more important to understand. And that question remains: Why? What reason is there for the increased defensiveness and non-cooperation in a world already encased in too many conflicts? One member suggested that the higher-ranking members acted this way "because they're in the official capacity of having to defend LSC . . . they would have to be more vocal, but I think the stronger view would come from the fact that they are the select members of the entire series, of LSC, to the outside world, that's where they're stronger interest in LSC would come from." Another offered a slightly different view: "It is because the Executive Committee cares more about LSC, and the General Committee cares more about having a good time for themselves The General Committee is the same thing as the general public, the Executive Committee is more like LSC. The Executive Committee person is working to make the movie go over, the general public doesn't care." Out of the motivation of caring comes the desire "to screw the other organization." Something doesn't fit.

Each time a "why" was asked for, the responses were generally similar to those above. The answers, however, are not answers to the question "why?" but to the question "what?" They are descriptions of actions, not motivations. They do not explain the reason for this kind of behavior. No more so, at least, than the man who responds, "Because I'm your father" when his child asks why he has to go to bed early. They are

facts, not explanations. And herein lies a problem. This behavior has become so second nature that it is not thought of as having reasons behind it, it is a reason by itself. And so we are led back to the model, the reasons are in the organizational structure. The structure dictates a certain kind of behavior because that is what is needed for its survival. But is that the answer? What have we proven?

We have shown how people change in an organizational setting. There is perceived rise in narrow-mindedness and non-cooperation. It appears that this kind of behavior stems from increased identification and concern with the organization. The more highly placed the individual, the more identification with the organization and the more belligerency towards others. The analogs of this small organization in the real world are obvious. National governments as well as national corporations exhibit this kind of behavior. The larger the group, and the higher one is in it, the greater the chance of lost contact with the low-ranking members. There is a tendency to defend the organization, stand up for its rights, and fight for its programs even if they are detrimental to the organization's environment. Would it be too far-fetched to view the organization of human beings and the spoilage of our natural environment in the same way? I think not.

What is the cause of this behavior, the necessity for it? One answer that comes into mind from the sciences is the concept of evolutionary survival. Organizations, needing a certain kind of individual to operate within them, and organizations,

being a valuable tool for man, simply built upon each other. The organizational man behavior today is simply the product of those millions of years of behavior. More to the point, however, is the concept of the organization being a tool. It gave those who could use it an edge in the fight for survival. Returning to the organization as a stone analogy, as long as it remains a very sharp stone, people will keep using it for cutting through things. Not very much will change until mankind comes up with a laser to replace the stone in his cutting action. He can keep changing the material, from stone to iron, to brass to steel, but the cutting, chafing action remains. The micro-thin slice of the laser remains in the future. Argyris suggests some models for change on the Level One plane. How much can be accomplished by this remains to be seen. More realistically a true understanding of the larger forces at work would facilitate any change planned on the lower levels. More optimistically, a mode for controlling and modifying the behavior of organizations could be discovered. Maybe then Argyris' Model II behavior of man will be fully realized. For now, we have Model I: "Model I conditions cluster and reinforce one another, whether the individual wishes them to or not, and tension, inter-group rivalry, self-sealing attributions, or political lying become viewed as being as natural as apple pie. Once these phenomena become part of the social landscape, individuals see less need for changing them and may even design ways to circumvent or adapt to these processes. Even those who recognize self-sealing behavior on the part of colleagues or friends are quick to dis-

count these behaviors, they say, "If you knew him as I do, you would know that under that ruthless exterior, there is a heart of gold."

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Appendix

GENERAL COMMITTEE QUESTIONNAIRE

NAME _____ YEAR _____

- 1.) How many terms have you been a member of LSC? _____
- 2.) What General Committee Subcommittee (Friday night, publicity, etc.) are you on? _____ How many hours/wk. do you spend? _____
- 3.) What other positions, if any, have you held? _____ Hours/wk. _____
- 4.) Briefly describe what you think are the main purposes of LSC?
- 5.) What are the main reasons for your being a member of LSC?
- 6.) What do you think are the reasons that other students are on the General Committee?
- 7.) What do you think could be other reasons that students want to become members of the Executive Committee?
- 8.) Has your attitude towards LSC changed with your involvement? Yes _____ No _____.
If yes, in what sense?
- 9.) Have your perceptions of the main purposes of LSC changed with your involvement, Yes _____ No _____. If yes, in what sense?
- 10.) Do you think that your attitudes or perceptions of LSC are different than those of the Executive Committee?
Yes _____
No _____ (If no, do you think that your perceptions are different from those of the majority of the General Committee? Yes _____ No _____)
- 11.) If you checked yes to either part, please describe the differences.
- 12.) Why do you think these differences occur?
- 13.) Do you believe that people change their attitudes and perceptions when they move from the General to the Executive Committee? (Yes _____ No _____)
Why would you say so?
- 14.) Are you, or have you ever been, a member of any other group that integrally relates to LSC? If yes which one(s)?