

# The Bureaucratization of a County Schools Office: An Historical Field Study of the County Superintendent of Schools Office

WILLIAM EDWARD HENDRICK, PH.D.<sup>1</sup> AND FLORA IDA ORTIZ, PH.D.<sup>2</sup>

A current concern in many organizations is the degree of bureaucratization inherent in organizations. Institutional officers and executives are being advised to change or reduce the bureaucratic nature of their organizations. An associated concern has been how organizations validate their usefulness after being created. In response to these concerns, it appears proper to first understand how bureaucratization takes place.

The present report attempts to show historically how a county superintendent of schools office was created to provide a public service and evolved into a highly bureaucratized organization. This study differs from other bureaucratization studies in several ways. First, this study looks at a county superintendent of schools office whereas other studies have looked at urban school districts [3; 8; 32]. Second, this study shows how the interdependency nature of the organization in question relates with two other types of organizations, a state department of education and local school districts and how that contributes to the bureaucratization process. In contrast to the study reported by Sproul and Weiner [27] in which the organization they reported upon was "caught" between congressional legislation and constituent's demands, the present study shows how the county superintendent of schools' office "flourished" from its relationship with other organizations. Finally, in contrast to Carlson's description of public schools as "domesticated" organizations, this study shows how public schools may be "wild." That is, the county schools office has to attract clients' participation (rural schools and others within the country) in order to survive.

## REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

An organization is considered to be bureaucratic, or to have been bureaucratized, when it displays certain organizational features first described by Max Weber [33; 34; 35; 36]. In bureaucratic organizations administrative positions are arranged in a hierarchy where the top or highest position possesses the most authority. Various sub-units exist in which specialists are employed who perform complex tasks that are specific to the particular sub-unit. A system of rules and procedures exists in a

bureaucratic organization that is enforced by the organization's administration in an impersonal manner designed to insure rational decision-making that promotes efficiency. Employees of bureaucratized organizations usually establish careers within them [33; 34; 35; 36].

With rare exceptions, schools are today grouped into larger organizational units usually known as school districts, or in some cases, systems. As schools have evolved in most states, three levels of school governance have been established: a state-level department of education; an intermediate or regional educational agency or unit; and, the local school district or system [26].

Milstein [20] reported that 32 states operate a tri-level system of school governance, while 17 have a two-level system with no intermediate unit. One state, Hawaii, has a single, unified state system. Each of these school organizations has developed and been permitted to operate administrative units that perform specific, complex duties mandated or authorized by state and/or federal laws or regulations.

As schools established themselves as bureaucracies, two distinct patterns of development emerged. Callahan [3], Cremin [8], and Tyack [32] described the development of schools in urban areas of America, where the process of bureaucratization began during the industrialization period of American history. Jagers [15], Cooper [6], and McClure [19] described the development of schools in rural regions of America. Rural schools did not develop organizationally in the same manner as urban schools.

Instead, rural schools developed as highly dependent on the county superintendent of schools office. A history of this structure is instructive. Torrence [30] pointed out that counties are among the oldest form of government and that there are over 3000 different counties in the United States. Counties have three major characteristics. First, their behavior is conditioned by what state governments have done and are doing and to a lesser degree by the federal government. Second, the changes and the demands for modernizing their structures are related to broader changes in society. Finally, the primary responsibilities of counties are to provide public goods and services and to regulate public behavior. The process of deciding how this is done is a political one.

<sup>1</sup>From the Jurupa Unified School District.

<sup>2</sup>From the University of California, Riverside.

Another factor to consider regarding county structure is that states control counties through three different means. First, they stipulate the sources of county taxes, second, they limit the tax rate, and third, they limit the amount of indebtedness the county can incur" [30, p. 9].

A more recent aspect which has affected the county structure is the impact of federal money on its functions. Torrence [30] reported that "county governing boards have become expert at the game of federal "grantsmanship," elevating it to professional status" (p. 186).

School districts have tended to remain independent of the county. Rural schools, however, have differed in this practice. Keith [16] described this relationship as one in which smaller administrative districts would provide selected programs at the local level, such as college preparatory programs, but would delegate those programs and services requiring a larger pupil base for efficiency and economy of operation to an area or intermediate type of service unit (the county office).

Neighbor [22] described the quality of relationship which is generally created between counties and school administrators.

If the counties can enhance their *raison d'être* by becoming more useful to school administrators, well and good, as long as the former do not encroach upon the autonomy of the latter. In other words, school administrators are willing to let county government take over additional service functions, such as purchasing and maintenance. They are quite unwilling to shift any kind of policy making function, feeling that generalists are not competent to make policy in the highly specialized field of education. (pp. 51-52)

Neighbor concludes that "school administrators will take advantage of such additional service functions that county government may from time to time provide" (p. 52).

The present study shows how the county schools office provided services to schools and in so doing became a bureaucracy.

## RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The data were collected from interviews, historical works, documents, scholarly works, and empirical studies. Specifically data were sought that would identify the external and internal factors responsible for the process of bureaucratization.

A total of 26 interviews was completed. All but three of the interviews were recorded. Follow-up interviews were conducted by telephone or in person whenever additional information was found necessary. All interviews were conducted by one writer. A semi-structured format was utilized that included a brief explanation of the research effort. General questions, that in most cases were formulated prior to the interview and based upon the background of the subject, were employed in an open-ended manner to initiate spontaneous conversation. Specific questions that directly addressed pertinent issues were asked, as necessary, during the conversations.

Initial interviews generally lasted from an hour to an hour and one-half. In one case, the interview led to an all-day visit which was exceptionally productive since it provided a great deal of insight into the legislative pro-

cess as it occurs in California.

As information was collected, historical data were compared with interview information to increase accuracy and insure the validity of reported information. For example, historical data derived from official documents prepared within the organization in past years were studied. The *Common School Reports* [24], submitted by early county superintendents to the State Superintendent of Public Instruction, were read in Sacramento. The minutes from County Board of Education meetings were examined for details that described the development of organizational events. The *Biennial Reports of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction* [28] were researched for information regarding the County Office in Riverside County.

Since this study was performed in an identified school organization, care was taken to insure the protection of all subjects who were interviewed. All interview subjects were assured that interview data were for an academic research work and their individual identities would remain confidential.

## THE BUREAUCRATIZATION OF A COUNTY SCHOOLS OFFICE

### *The External Factors*

The bureaucratization of a county office is affected by three external factors: (1) the increasing complexity of the society in which the county office exists; (2) the enactment of legislation that either mandates or authorizes certain education functions to be conducted by the county office; and (3) the interaction and relationship between and with schools and the State Department of Education.

### *The Increasing Complexity of Society*

Schools exist today in vastly different conditions compared to the 1890's when the Riverside County Office was established. It is likely that society has exceeded, in every aspect of life, the wildest expectations of educators who lived during the 1890's.

In 1894, for instance, the Riverside County Superintendent of Schools reported that the total school budget in 1893-94 was \$155,381 [24].

The educational services provided by the Riverside County Office become increasingly complex. The increase in pupil enrollment in the early years of this century has been attributed to an increased interest in education and to compulsory attendance laws. Table 1 presents a graphic account of the county's growth in pupil enrollment, teacher employment, number of school districts, and educational expenditures from 1894 through 1944 (when the function of this county office began to shift and change).

Prior to the 1940's, this county office primarily provided curricular support to rural school districts. An attendance supervisor was employed to supervise pupil attendance and attendance reporting county-wide in accordance with school laws. Rural supervisors visited

TABLE 1

The County Superintendent of Schools Office  
Riverside County  
1893-94 to 1943-44

Years	Number of Schools	Number of Pupils	Number of Teachers	Total Expenditures	Total of Co. Staff
1893-94	62	4,247	110	155,381	1
1903-04	74	4,156	142	110,664	1
1913-14	90	6,296	288	434,692	2
1923-24	97	13,816	505	1,620,383	5
1933-34	96	19,789	784	1,573,660	8
1943-44	84	31,696	1100	2,746,150	10

Source: *Common School Reports, Riverside County*. Archives, State of California, Sacramento, California.

teachers throughout the county and provided them with support in curricular areas.

In 1947, the County School Service Fund was established by the California Legislature [14]. This fund pro-

TABLE 2

The County Superintendent of Schools Office  
Riverside County  
1953-54 to 1979-80

Years	Division or Department	Personnel Totals	Total Co. Office
1953-54	administration	4	40
	instruction	14	
	out of office	6	
	business services	10	
1958-59	business	5	51
	instruction	16	
	teachers	5	
	classified	19	
1963-64	business services	6	78
	superintendent's staff	4	
	business	16	
	instruction	17	
	pupil personnel	11	
1968-69	branch offices	9	155
	special schools	12	
	superintendent's staff	4	
	administration and business	16	
	school accounting	14	
	educational services	29	
1973-74	exceptional pupils	59	315
	branch offices	11	
	special schools	21	
	superintendent's staff	4	
	administration and business	73	
	educational services	44	
1979-80	special schools and services	171	608
	ROP and vocational education	26	
	superintendent's staff	7	
	personnel	13	
	administration and business	109	
educational services	135		
special schools and service	343		

Source: "Public School Directory for Riverside County, California, 1950-1983"

vided county offices with the monies necessary to employ additional staff to provide needed support services to local school districts.

In 1949 the provision of educational services for the mentally retarded children of the state was mandated. Due to the low incidence of these pupils in the general population, small, rural school districts within Riverside County depended upon the county office for this educational service. Beginning in the 1950-51 school year, teachers were employed by the County Superintendent who provided classroom programs for mentally retarded pupils.

Legislation was enacted in 1958 that authorized county superintendents to operate juvenile court school programs. During the 1958-59 school year, the county Board of Education, in a cooperative effort with the Riverside County Probation Department, assumed operation of the juvenile court schools located in various parts of the county.

The result of assuming the operation of these programs was organizational growth for the County Office. These two programs, education for the mentally retarded and operation of juvenile court schools, led to the establishment of the Division of Special Schools and Services during the 1960-61 school year. These programs necessitated the employment of teachers and additional support staff related to the programs.

In more recent years, various programs have been developed in response to needs perceived at the state and federal levels. Special programs were created and made available to schools that sought funding to operate them. Table 2 displays the growth in this County Office in the different divisions from the 1950's through the 1980's. As can be seen, the influence of these programs was dramatic. Not only did the respective divisions grow, but so did support divisions within the office.

The development of modern technology also had an impact on the growth of the County Office. This is reflected in the establishment and growth of the Division of Data Processing. As early as 1959, members of the State Department of Education sponsored a pilot project to determine the feasibility of incorporating a data processing system for a state-wide recordkeeping project

[2]. The concept proved viable and regional data centers were established throughout the state. This County Office was identified as a center in early 1967. An interview with an assistant superintendent revealed that the data division began with two people during the 1967-68 school year. By 1982-83 the division employed more than 30 people.

As increases in modern technology promoted changes within the society, educational services expanded and schools developed programs to meet these educational needs. New services, in turn, resulted in the employment of new and more personnel. In view of these findings, the following proposition is advanced:

1. When the complexity and technology of a society increases, the County Office will provide new educational services and employ additional personnel.

#### *Legislated Mandates and Authorizations for Educational Services*

All of the functions provided by the County Office have their origins in some form of legislative authorization. The services are either mandated, and therefore required, or they are permissive. Mandated services are activities that are required to be performed by a county superintendent of schools office. An example is the calculation of the revenue limits for school district income. On the other hand, a permissive service is one that a county office may elect to provide if the school districts receiving service contract for it. These services or authorizations are permissive in the sense that they are not required to be provided by a county superintendent

of schools office.

In 1893, 24 educational activities were required to be completed, several on an annual basis, by the county superintendents in California. By 1933, the figure had risen to 44, and by 1953, 71 major educational responsibilities were required of county superintendents. Dixon [9] indicated that by 1975, 319 specific sections of statutes and regulations pertaining to activities were mandated. These activities were related to at least 21 general functions provided by county offices. The incorporation of the county offices into the mainstream of public education in California was aided by the enactment of 87 other laws [21]. For example, the development of special programs in the county office is reflected in the dramatic growth of the division of Special Schools and Services, as depicted in Table 3. Between the 1968-69 school year and the 1979-80 school year, this division grew from 59 to 343 employees.

Hoffman [14] and others have reported how legislation that has promoted the delivery of specialized programs, such as special education, has caused the state legislature to view county offices as unique delivery systems for educational services.

Increasingly, county superintendents have been successful politically in proclaiming their usefulness before legislators. When legislation was being developed for special education, staff members of the Riverside County Office were involved with the development of that legislation. Similarly, a state official discussed how several pieces of legislation he authored in the early 1970's were defeated due to the clout of county superintendents and their respective staffs.

**TABLE 3**  
Riverside County Superintendent of Schools  
County Office Staff - 1894 to 1949

Position	1894	1899	1904	1909	1914	1919	1924	1929	1934	1939	1944	1949
Superintendent	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Deputy Supt.				x	x	x	x	xx	xx	xx	xxx	xx
Rural Supervisors												xx
Lower grade							x	x	x	x		
Upper grade								x	x	x		
P.E.							x	x	x	x		x
Music									x	x	x	x
Attendance							x	x	x	x	x	x
Asst. Attd.												x
Art										x	x	x
Coord. course study											x	x
Research/Guidance										x	x	
School Nurse							x				x	xx
Director A/V												x
Asst. A/V												x
Asst. Superintendent												x
Home Teacher												x
Steno clerk												x
Sr. Bk. keeper												x
Typist												x
Totals:	1	1	1	2	2	2	5	7	8	9	10	21

Source: "Public Schools Directory for Riverside County, California, 1893 to 1949"

Hence, the enactment of various pieces of legislation that have authorized or mandated services, have caused County Superintendent of Schools Offices to employ additional personnel. In Riverside County, each new program or service resulted in the employment of new personnel. It may therefore, be concluded that the expansion of the County Office resulted, in part, from new activities that were authorized by school laws. It is therefore proposed that

2. When new educational services are authorized or mandated in legislation, then county offices will need to employ additional personnel to provide new services.

#### *The Interface and Relationship with Schools and the State Department of Education*

The way in which schools and the state Department of Education interact or develop relationships with county offices seems to influence the manner in which county offices develop.

Ferrier [12] and Cloud [5] reported that county offices were established as the intermediate education unit in California's school governance structure. County offices were developed to interface with local school districts and the State Department of Education. The County Office in Riverside County is one of 58 intermediate education units in California. This interface is partially responsible for the bureaucratization of the County Office in Riverside County.

A deputy superintendent for administration in the State Department of Education discussed the role the county offices play in fiscal matters, the more traditional role that has been the main purpose of county offices for several years in California. Several of the services provided by the Riverside County Office are shared with other county offices. For example, an assistant superintendent reported on the early arrangements agreed upon between two county superintendents concerning their joint venture in data processing and instructional television.

Cooper [6] and McLure [19] reported that county administrative units evolved as support organizations for rural school districts. Due to legal restrictions, the large, urban, city school districts were not able to rely upon County Superintendents of Schools Offices for many of the services provided to small, rural school districts. Consequently, large school districts have historically shared a different relationship with county offices. This is evident in the development of the Riverside County Office, where some areas of the county remain rural in nature. The larger, more urban, school districts have maintained independence from the County Office even when some county services are mandated for all schools.

The provision of services to rural school districts began in the 1920's with the employment of curriculum specialists, who served as rural supervisors, and pupil personnel specialists, who provided health and guidance services to pupils in rural school districts. Many of the school

districts in Riverside County continue to depend upon the County Office for such services. As educational needs in Riverside County increased, more extensive services were provided. The provision of these additional services caused the County Office to increase in size. Table 3 reflects the growth in this office since the 1890's; Table 2 depicts the same growth patterns since the 1950's. These same data provide evidence of growth and display how it has been related to the provision of new services.

The interface, maintained between the County Superintendent's Office and the schools in the county, has remained relatively constant since the first support services developed in the 1920's. During the 1950's and 1960's, when many of Riverside County's small school districts unified into larger, more self-sufficient school systems, several remained dependent on the County Office for certain direct services. Many of the medium and small size districts, even though unified, continued to contract for a variety of services provided by the County Office. These services included school financial services, personnel services, curriculum services, and instructional programs.

The data collected in this study demonstrate the continuing dependent nature of many school districts upon the Riverside County Office. These findings indicate that the interface and interaction shared by a county office with other schools and the State Department of Education not only influences, but serves to shape, the growth and development of a county office. The development of the Riverside County Office has been directly related to its role in providing services and programs to school districts in the county, especially small, rural school districts, and its interaction with the State Department of Education. It is therefore, advanced:

3. When a county office interacts with other schools or the State Department of Education to provide educational services or programs, then its growth will be related to the amount of such services it provides.

#### *Internal Factors*

Several internal factors appear to be responsible for the bureaucratization of the Riverside County Office. However, it must be noted initially that the internal factors involved in the process of bureaucratization are directly related to the external factors. The development of the County office remained essentially unchanged for the first 50 years of its operation. It was not until after the Second World War, when the County of Riverside experienced considerable growth, that change became pronounced. It is proposed:

4. When the external factors responsible for growth and development within a county office occur, a series of internal factors will be set in motion that will cause the county office to bureaucratize.

The internal factors responsible for the bureaucratization of the County Office in Riverside County are: (1) the quality of leadership; (2) the interaction between the

County Superintendent of Schools Office and the County Board of Education; (3) the establishment and development of organizational tasks; (4) the establishment and development of organizational control; and (5) the establishment and development of organizational maintenance.

### *The Quality of Leadership*

Duncombe [10] reported that the elective office of the County Superintendent of Schools may have "extensive administrative authority" or the person may "play a relatively minor role in the educational process" (p. 82). For example, the superintendent may "serve mainly as an arm of the state education department in reviewing statistical reports prepared by local schools, inspecting local schools to see that state regulations are being carried out, and helping to administer school elections" (p. 83).

In the present case, the Riverside County Superintendents were charismatic leaders who were able to introduce changes that were accepted and traditionalized in the organization by its members. Weber [33; 34; 35; 36] maintained that charismatic leaders or administrators may produce changes in organizations. But, he believed that following their tenure, a period of adjustment was necessary when the organization traditionalized or routinized the changes. This routinization period represented a time of developing acceptance, during which the organizational changes were granted authority. Only during times of economic growth, according to Weber, was it possible for charismatic leadership to be followed by leaders who introduced more changes that became traditionalized. In such organizational periods, change itself could become traditionalized within the organization as long as the economic growth of the organization continued.

Data collected here provide evidence of different periods of charismatic leadership in which bureaucratic changes were made within the Riverside County Office. The early periods of change were followed by times of routinization. However, subsequent change periods were superceded by periods of continued change. During these change periods the organization experienced considerable financial growth, and the concept of continual change became routinized.

The early years of the Riverside County Office were characterized by a succession of superintendents who alternately introduced changes into this organization. The first superintendent, Lyman Gregory, M.D., did little more than establish the first County Board of Education and hold the original meetings. Following his uneventful 18 month superintendency, Edward Hyatt was elected County Superintendent. Hyatt introduced a series of important changes. These included: establishment of the position of deputy superintendent, re-designing the administration procedures for the eighth grade examination county-wide; and the interaction with other county offices on matters of mutual concern. In 1906, Hyatt was elected State Superintendent of Public Instruction. His

successor, Raymond Cree was a former student of Hyatt's. Cree, during his 12 year superintendency, made very few changes in the operation of the County Office. His tenure as County Superintendent represents the first era of routinization of changes introduced by Hyatt.

Following Cree, Ira C. Landis became County Superintendent. Landis instituted significant changes in the office, and appears to have been a charismatic leader like Hyatt. Landis was responsible for the first major expansion in the organization. It was during his tenure that support services for rural school districts were established. Each of the services he instituted developed following the enactment of pieces of legislation that permitted county superintendents to provide such services [14; 21]. While Landis was County Superintendent for only seven years, he, nevertheless, established several new positions in the office. These people provided new services and included: a supervisor of attendance; a rural supervisor; a physical education supervisor; and a school nurse.

In 1926, Ezra E. Smith was elected County Superintendent of Schools. Smith held the longest tenure in this office to date. He was County Superintendent for 25 years. While the County Office grew from six to 21 employees during his superintendency, the services provided did not change appreciably. As displayed in Table 3, the personnel growth occurred in the 1940's when the various support services began to expand after the establishment of new funding sources for county offices.

The majority of Smith's superintendency was a period of routinization. From 1926 until the late 1940's, the changes instituted in the office by Landis were traditionalized by Smith. However, beginning in 1951, the County Office entered a period of charismatic leadership, marked by dramatic expansion, change and fiscal growth. Ray Johnson, elected County Superintendent in 1950, was a charismatic leader who introduced bureaucratic organization in the office. He organized it into departments and divisions, instituted rules and procedures, and established the use of forms and recordkeeping. The early development of operational programs began under Johnson's leadership.

Figure 1 is a reproduction of an organizational chart developed by Johnson in 1956. The organizational structure began to resemble that of a school district under his leadership. As teachers, principals, and specialists were employed, Johnson established different departments, similar to those found in large, urban school districts.

Moreover, during Johnson's tenure, the County Board of Education was reorganized under legislative mandate into an elected, lay board. During his superintendency, Johnson instituted bureaucratic changes that were traditionalized and remain part of the office.

Importantly, for this analysis, Johnson was succeeded by a charismatic leader, Leonard Grindstaff, who was appointed to office upon Johnson's resignation. One period of charismatic leadership was followed by a second period of such administration. The County Office remained in an expansion mode under Grindstaff's leadership and he instituted several changes too. He was responsible for the major development that occurred in the

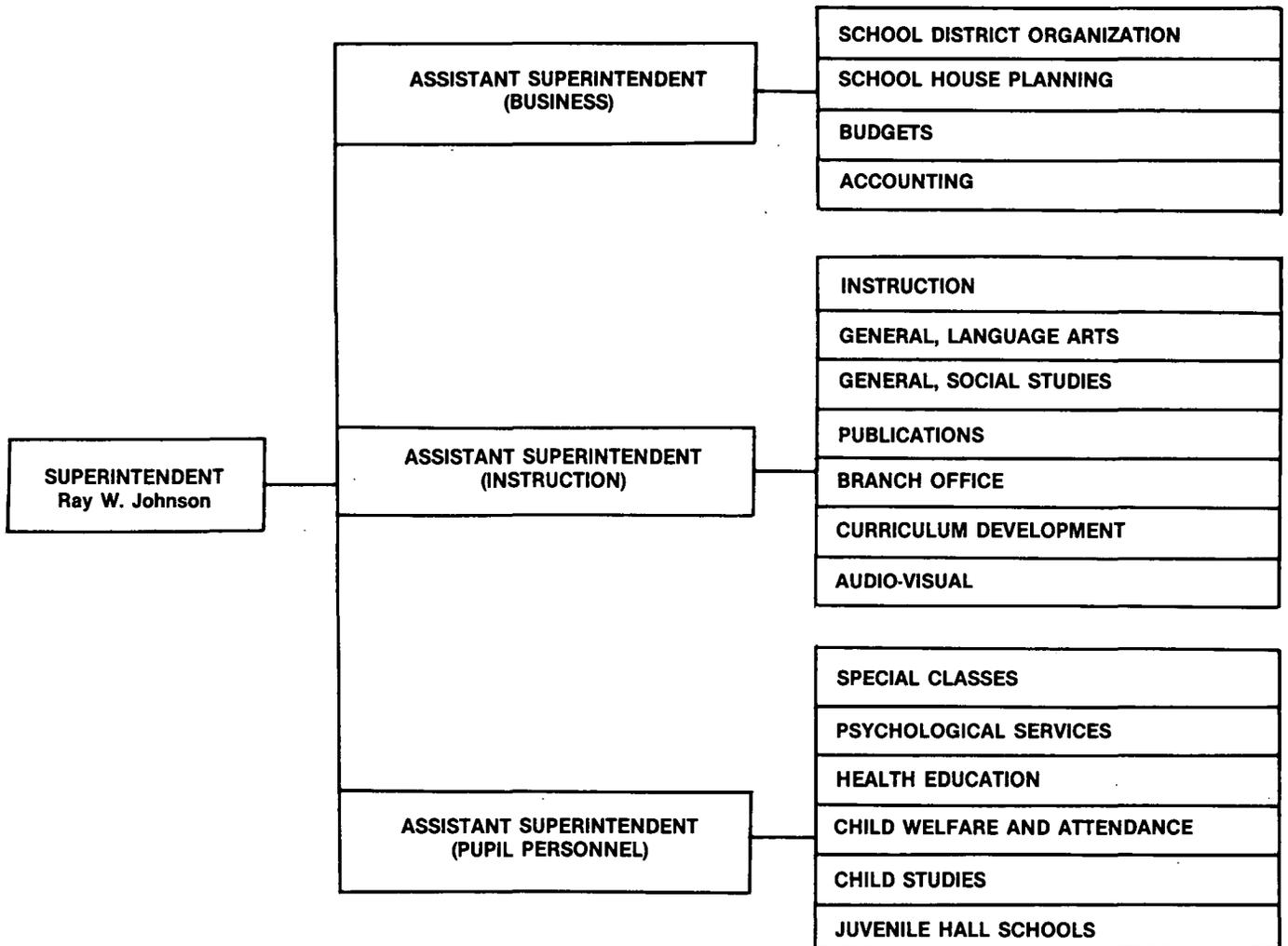


FIGURE 1.

operational programs. Moreover, he, in particular, expanded the development of the curriculum division. As more and more funding became available with the passage of various pieces of legislation, Grindstaff managed to secure funding necessary to begin various kinds and types of programs in the Riverside County Office. Table 2 displays the expansion, due to the changes in the County Office, that occurred under Grindstaff's leadership.

Upon Grindstaff's death, Don F. Kenny, the present County Superintendent was appointed to office. Kenny has not only maintained the expansion of the office, but he has implemented new operational programs and made significant changes in the operation of the County Office.

In 1975, Kenny made one of the most significant

organizational changes that has occurred in the history of the County Office. He was able to establish fiscal independence for the County Schools Office. Prior to this major event, the County Office was fiscally responsible to county government, and therefore, did not have direct control of its budget. Moreover, the County Office could not own property. While taxation was legally permissible for certain kinds of school programs, the County Board of Education and the County Superintendent of Schools did not have authorization to levy a school tax to support the office. Fiscal independence eliminated this dependency.

The years of Kenny's superintendency have witnessed such organizational developments as the creation of the

**Regional Occupation Program.** This operational program, known as ROP, provides direct vocational instruction to high school pupils throughout the county in local school districts. Moreover, a construction program has resulted in the building of a new main office complex, a desert branch office facility, and several special school sites in various locations throughout the county. The new programs and services are the result of this office's attempts to continue to meet the changing needs of the school districts within the county. The County Office created new programs and services as permissive legislation was enacted. The concepts of growth, expansion, and change have become traditionalized in this office. It is therefore advanced:

5. When charismatic leadership is present in a county office, then changes will be instituted that result in new programs and services.

When a charismatic leader is succeeded by a charismatic leader, the organization continues to expand and to experience change that is instituted by the new leader. In the County Office, each of the last three county superintendents has been a charismatic leader. They have implemented important changes that have become traditionalized. This finding supports Weber's contention that during periods of fiscal growth and general good economy, charismatic leaders will be able to institute changes in organizations. When this occurs, the concept of change as an organizational feature will become traditionalized and routinized. It is therefore advanced:

6. When there is a succession of charismatic leaders who establish changes that promote expansion within a county office, then the concept of change and expansion will become routinized.

#### *The Interaction with the County Board of Education*

The Riverside County Superintendent of Schools and the members of the County Board of Education are elected by the voters of the county. Operational authority is shared between the County Superintendent and the County Board of Education. The County Superintendent serves as the secretary to the County Board of Education; each has specific duties defined in the Education Code. While the Superintendent and the Board have many shared responsibilities, they also have some separate duties. This shared authority has accounted for some organizational features that emerged as the County Office became bureaucratized.

For example, the tenure of county superintendents has averaged slightly over ten years. In its 90 year history there have been eight superintendents. This, in itself, is unusual. When a superintendent is not directly responsible to the Board of Education for the activities performed within the school, certain professional freedoms, not generally afforded to school superintendents, may develop. These freedoms allow or encourage a superintendent to institute organizational changes. Therefore, certain services or programs that might not otherwise be

undertaken may be attempted in this kind of atmosphere. The county superintendents instituted their major expansion of office responsibilities during an era immediately following the County Board of Education's transition from an appointed, professional body, to an elected lay one. The newly developed and elected County Board established its role and duties during a period in which the concept of organizational growth was readily accepted. To the new County Board the expansion of the County Office was an established and accepted organizational behavior. To date, the lay County Board has witnessed only an expansion mode.

The County Board of Education's role has been to not get directly involved in the operation of the County Office; instead it has granted the superintendents autonomy. County Superintendents have, therefore, made changes, operated the office and reported their activity to the board. It is therefore proposed:

7. When a county superintendent of schools and the county board of education are both elected by the voters of the county, then a condition of "cooptation" exists.
8. When a condition of "cooptation" exists in a county office, then the county superintendent retains a substantial amount of professional autonomy for the operation of that office (Note: See Selznick [25] for further discussion of "cooptation")

#### *The Establishment and Development of Organizational Tasks*

Expansion results when a county office develops new or reorganizes prior educational tasks. As new programs or services are established, additional tasks are developed not only in the new program, but also in support services provided within the office. Generally, new skills or areas of expertise are required. As discussed by Weber [33; 34; 35; 36] bureaucratic organizations employ experts trained to complete complex organizational tasks. These tasks become specialized and assigned to specific units or departments within the organization for completion. As the County Office developed, additional tasks were completed by individuals with specific skills and expertise. Later, sub-units were assigned responsibility for the completion of various organizational tasks.

Weber [33; 34] identified the concept of recordkeeping as a major bureaucratic function. When Johnson began to initiate bureaucratic structure into the office, he established the concept of paperwork, recordkeeping and completion of specific forms and the like as a major bureaucratic function. As organizational tasks became more complex and involved more functions, additional people were employed.

As new organizational functions were developed, an internal structure emerged to accommodate task responsibilities given to new sub-units. For example, the employment of teachers in the juvenile court schools led to the eventual development of the Division of Special Schools

during the 1960-61 school year. A director was appointed two years later when additional court school programs were created. This person supervised the teachers and principals in these special schools. Later, as the department grew, and more services were developed that required similar training for employment, the entire division was reorganized. When special education programs were established, teachers with specific teaching skills were employed to provide instructional programs. Later, school nurses and school psychologists, speech therapists, and program specialists were employed to provide support services to teachers and principals employed in this division. As each specialization area grew, supervisors were appointed and departments created. In view of such findings, the following is advanced:

9. When new organizational tasks develop that require specific expertise within a county office, then additional personnel will be employed.

#### *The Establishment and Development of Organizational Control*

Both Weber [33; 34; 35; 36] and Barnard [1] perceived authority within an organization as originating in the administrative hierarchy. As various organizational positions develop they are placed somewhere along a chain-of-command. Each administrator reports to a superordinate administrator. Moreover, all organizational members report to a designated supervisor. This system develops to insure a method of control within an organization.

According to Weber, administrators are responsible for the structuring of organizational tasks. This includes the development of rules and regulations that identify procedures for accomplishing organizational tasks. Rules and regulations are developed to insure efficiency, and detail decision-making.

In the historical development of the County Office, the development of these features clearly represented bureaucratization. Initially, the County Office consisted of a single member, the County Superintendent. Then, the position of Deputy Superintendent, as an assistant, was created. Later, several new positions, occupied by specialists who reported directly to the superintendent, were developed. Although the basic bureaucratic structure was present even in the early years of this office, the office lacked certain important bureaucratic features. Only after considerable growth began to take place in the late 1940's did true bureaucratic structure begin to emerge.

Not until Johnson's superintendency, beginning in 1951, did this County Office, through the establishment of several sub-units, display evidence of an administrative hierarchy. Once departments were created Johnson began to institute procedures, rules and regulations.

As the organization continued to expand during Grindstaff's tenure, the establishment of bureaucratic features was more evident. An assistant superintendent [23] reported that as divisions were created, staffing patterns,

policies, and rules and procedures were defined. As personnel were hired and placed in different departments, expansion occurred. This led to the re-establishment of various sub-units as major departments or divisions. Control was instituted by the development of a hierarchy of authority and a system of rules and regulations that identified procedures. As more and more personnel were employed in various new work stations, both inside the office and elsewhere about the county, the policies and procedures were modified to reflect new organizational needs.

The County Office maintains a bureaucratized structure today that is intended to insure organizational control. A formal administrative hierarchy exists. Policies and procedures performed by personnel are detailed in a massive handbook, *Procedures and Policies: the Office of the Riverside County Superintendent of Schools*. This document is revised from time to time to comply with changes in policy or school law. In view of these findings, the following is proposed:

10. When a county office expands, the need to insure organizational control will then develop and the following bureaucratic features will be established: (1) a hierarchy of administrative authority; (2) a chain-of-command that provides supervision to all office members; (3) a system of rules, regulations and procedures that determines the completion of office tasks.

#### *Organizational Maintenance*

All organizations must institute maintenance features that insure their survival. However, Carlson [4] suggested that schools need not be concerned with maintenance features since their survival is assured by law. However, the data analyzed in this study suggest a different conclusion than that reached by Carlson. The county school office could not maintain itself if the changes that were implemented and the expansion which occurred, due to charismatic leadership, did not appeal to its clients. Providing non-mandated services and delivering by contractual arrangement was dependent upon client satisfaction. This mutual interdependence between the rural school districts in the county and the provision of educational services by the County Office resulted in the characterization of the county schools office as "wild." It was then, by necessity, concerned with satisfying its school district clients with the services it delivered. Moreover, the county superintendents generated new ways to provide new services, as requested by the school districts, as they identified such needs. This type of organizational responsiveness to client identified needs is a characteristic of a "wild" organization. By meeting the needs of identified clients, an organization is considered to improve its ability to survive. The expansion of the County Office appears to have developed by its ability to establish programs and services that its clients, school districts, sought.

The historical development of the Division of Data Processing illustrates this process. Several school districts

within Riverside County had indicated an interest in having their mandated recordkeeping functions performed by the Data Processing Department of the County Office. These districts subsequently entered into contracts for the provision of this service. An assistant superintendent characterized the need as "When they needed reports and things, they had to have them." Thus, in order for the County Office to meet the needs of its school district clients, change had to occur. In this instance, by making changes, the Department of Data Processing was able to insure its future and promote its expansion. Client satisfaction and change were necessary to insure organizational maintenance.

The findings of this study suggest that the Riverside County Superintendent of School Office has been concerned with insuring the satisfaction of its school district clients for the services and programs it provides. In so doing, the County Office has assumed "wild" characteristics. It is therefore advanced:

11. When a county office contracts to provide non-mandated educational services to school districts and its ability to continue to provide these services is dependent upon client satisfaction, then the county office will develop characteristics of a "wild" service organization.

#### *The Process of Bureaucratization*

The present study goes beyond the reported descriptive studies [17; 21; 11; 7; 14; 13; 30; 34; 29; 18] to demonstrate how a County Superintendent of Schools Office became an independent bureaucracy. Furthermore, this work suggests that rural and urban school districts in Riverside County developed in an organizationally different manner. Rural school districts have maintained relationships with the County Office for the provision of the services to schools. In the final analysis, a set of complicated, inter-dependent relationships developed, and continue, that promote the existence of both the County Office and the school districts it serves.

It is therefore concluded that this office became bureaucratized as it sought to provide authorized, but non-mandated, educational support services to the school districts of Riverside County.

The dependency upon the county services by rural school districts promoted the expansion of this office. The County Office developed characteristics of a "wild" service organization as it became concerned with client satisfaction. Moreover, a succession of charismatic leaders promoted "wild" organizational characteristics, and influenced bureaucratization.

Expansion of the County office, then, resulted from the interaction of specific external and internal factors. The presence of a condition of cooptation, various periods of charismatic leadership and periods of routinization, were significant features in promoting the expansion and bureaucratization observed.

#### REFERENCES

1. Barnard, C.I. *The functions of the executive*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1938.
2. Bushnell, D., & Howe, R.L. *A report of an experiment—the state pilot project in educational data processing*. Santa Monica, CA: Educational Systems Corporation, 1964. (Monograph No. 3).
3. Callahan, R.E. *Education and the cult of efficiency*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1962.
4. Carlson, R.O. Environmental constraints and organizational consequences: The public school and its clients. *Behavioral Science and Education Administration: The Sixty-third Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, Part II*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1964, 262-278.
5. Cloud, R.W. *Education in California*. Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 1952.
6. Cooper, S., & Fritzwater, C.O. *County school administration*. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1954.
7. Cowan, J.F. *Statement to the State Board of Education*. Report delivered to the California State Board of Education, Sacramento, CA, November 16, 1978.
8. Cremin, L.A. *The transformation of the school*. New York: Vintage Books, Random House, 1961.
9. Dixon, M.T. *A reference guide to the laws and regulations relating to the office of the county superintendent of schools*. San Diego, CA: Superintendent of Schools Office, San Diego County, 1975.
10. Duncombe, H.S. *County government in America*. Washington, DC: National Association of Counties Research Foundation, 1966, pp. 82-83.
11. Farrar, H. *Survey of services provided by California county offices of education*. Report distributed to California County Superintendents, El Centro, California, 1980.
12. Ferrier, W.W. *Ninety years of education in California, 1846-1936*. Oakland, CA: West Coast Publishing Co., 1937.
13. Garrison, L.N. *Preliminary report, data from planning model for intermediate unit of education*. Report prepared for the State Governance Study, Sacramento, California, January, 1973.
14. Hoffman, G. *Survey of education functions*. Report distributed to California County Superintendents, San Jose, California, 1973.
15. Jagers, R.E. *Administering the county school system*. New York: American Book Co., 1934.
16. Keith, G.D. The county and the school districts. In J. Hauptman (Ed.), *The county and intergovernmental relations*. Kansas City, MO: Park College Government Research Bureau, 1968, pp. 40-50.
17. Lieberman, C. *A review of the county offices of education*. Report prepared for the Legislative Analyst, State of California. No. 82-10, Sacramento, California, 1982.
18. Little, A.D., Inc. *The emerging requirements for effective leadership in California education, a study to pro-*

vide a basis for planning the services and organization of the California State Department of Education. Report prepared for the California State Department of Education, Sacramento, California, 1964.

19. McLure, W.P. *The intermediate administrative school district in the United States*. Urbana, IL: Bureau of Educational Research, 1956.

20. Milstein, M.M. *Impact and response, federal aid and state education agencies*. New York: Teacher's College Press, 1976.

21. Muelder, W.R. *The connecting link*. Idylwild, CA: R.D.W. Enterprises, 1981.

22. Neighbor, H.D. The school districts and the county reflections from a workshop. In J. Hauptman (Ed.), *The county and the intergovernmental relations*. Kansas City, MO: Park College Government Research Bureau, 1968, pp. 51-53.

23. Nordland, O. Personal interview, conducted in Indio, California, January 1983.

24. Riverside County *Common school report, 1894 through 1954*. Sacramento, CA: California State Archives, Office of the Secretary of State.

25. Selznick, P. Cooptation: A mechanism for organizational stability. In R.K. Merton et al. (Eds.), *Reader in bureaucracy*. New York: The Free Press, 1952.

26. Sergiovanni, T.J., Burlingame, M., Coombs, F.D., & Thurston, P.W. *Educational governance and administration*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1980.

27. Sproul, L., Weiner, S., & Wolf, D. *Organizing an anarchy: Belief, bureaucracy, and politics in the National Institute of Education*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978.

28. State of California. *Biennial reports of the Superin-*

*tendent of Public Instruction* (16th, 1894; 21st, 1904; 26th, 1914; 31st, 1924). Sacramento, CA.

29. The Committee of Ten. *The future of the intermediate unit in California*. Report prepared for the California Association of County Superintendents of Schools and the California County Boards of Education Section of California School Boards Association, Sacramento, California, 1966.

30. Torrence, S.W. *Grass roots government: The county in American politics*. Washington, DC: New York: Robert B. Luce, Inc. 1974.

31. Trillingham, C.C. *The role of the office of the County Superintendent of Schools*. Report presented at a meeting of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Sacramento, CA, March, 1972.

32. Tyack, D.B. *The one best system*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1974.

33. Weber, M. Bureaucracy In H.H. Gerth & C.W. Mills (Eds. and trans.), *From Max Weber: Essays in sociology*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1946.

34. Weber, M. The presuppositions and causes of bureaucracy. In H.H. Gerth & C.W. Mills (Eds. and trans.), *From Max Weber: Essays in sociology*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1946.

35. Weber, M. The essentials of bureaucratic organization: An ideal-type construction. In R.K. Merton et al. (Eds.), *Reader in bureaucracy*. New York: The Free Press, 1952.

36. Weber, M. The routinization of charisma. In R.K. Merton et al. (Eds.), *Reader in bureaucracy*. New York: The Free Press, 1952.

37. Wright, L.O. Issues in determining the future of California's intermediate education units. Report distributed to County Superintendents, 1971.