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ORIGINS OF BUREAUCRATIC STRESS

A Dissertation Presented

By

Kenneth Fred Warren

Submitted to the Graduate School of the
University of Massachusetts in partial
fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

July

1973

Major Subject Political Science

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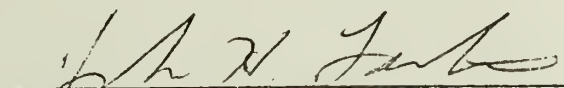
ORIGINS OF BUREAUCRATIC STRESS


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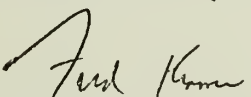
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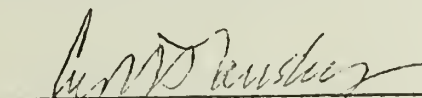
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ABSTRACT

This dissertation focuses on one of the major problems confronting large state bureaucracies--high employee turnover resulting from intense job dissatisfaction. It is essentially a comparative case study involving a sample population of 269 employees (17%) from two rather large bureaucracies of similar size and purpose with excessive employee turnover rates--the Fort Logan Mental Health Center in Colorado and Metropolitan State Hospital in Massachusetts.

A significant portion of this dissertation is devoted to presenting some of the basic literature dealing with the possible "origins of bureaucratic stress". Max Weber's ambivalence toward bureaucracy, Robert K. Merton's theory of anomie, David Riesman's theory on "other-directedness", William H. Whyte, Jr.'s reflections on "organizational man", Chris Argyris' thoughts on how the normal paths of human development are blocked by the "unhealthy" working environment of modern bureaucracy, Robert Presthus' hypothesized three organizational personality types, and Robert L. Kahn's and Louis R. Pondy's analysis of role conflict situations in bureaucratic life, all give us possible clues on the possible origins of bureaucratic stresses and high employee turnover.

Drawing from theorists and empirical findings, a model was designed to test certain major and minor hypotheses. The basic, underlying assumption in the model, based on literature consensus, is that severely stressed employees tend to be high turnover risks. The basic hypothesis to be tested was: "Certain personality traits that are manifested within individual employees cause employees in bureaucracies to experience various

sorts of bureaucratic stress." It was argued that although objective working conditions in the bureaucratic environment may "set-off" tension in employees, these conditions constitute only indirect causes of bureaucratic stress. Responses from the 139 item questionnaire, combining biographical data, personality scales, and various job dissatisfaction and bureaucratic stress indexes, tended to validate this hypothesis.

In the employment of various personality measures, special emphasis was given to operationalizing Presthus' three modal patterns of adjustment (the upward-mobile, the indifferent, and the ambivalent types) to bureaucratic organization. It was felt that if Presthus' ideal types existed, they may have significant heuristic power for management. The findings from this research tend to show that they do exist to a meaningful extent.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION TO BUREAUCRATIC STRESS

Introduction to the Research

How many times is a child asked when he is growing up: "What do you want to be when you grow up?" Depending on the sex, age and background of the child, he would usually respond in predictable fashion. "I want to be a nurse." "I want to be a fireman." "I want to be a farmer." "I want to be a teacher." "I want to be a doctor." "I want to be a lawyer." "I want to be a policeman." "I want to be a baseball player." If a child answered, "I want to be a bureaucrat," the interviewer would be somewhat startled. Why? Because who would want to be a bureaucrat?

The one thing common to all of the professions mentioned is vividness or recognition of the responsibilities of the occupation. Through such jobs, at least at face value, a person can "find" himself, obtain independence, or better still, "do his thing." What the child fails to see are the hidden restraints on seeking self-expression in these professions. Some professions are considerably more bureaucratized than others.

When the child says he wants to become a policeman, he is probably thinking of certain identifiable qualities which would satisfy his social and psychological needs. By and large, if the child chooses an occupation which is consistent with his socio-psychological needs, he will enjoy a job for a lifetime which is fulfilling to him.

But because most jobs are bureaucratized today, few people obtain

jobs outside of bureaucracy. Because of the severe criticism against bureaucratic jobs, this may be a depressing fact. Whether true or false, bureaucracies have been described rarely as pleasant places in which to work. Charges are that bureaucratic jobs are repetitive, mechanistic, unimaginative, restricted by rigid rules and regulations, stagnant, unrewarding, dull, and generally dehumanizing. Bureaucrats are pictured as frustrated, alienated workers because they have lost their identity and have become merely replaceable "commodities" in the processes of production.

This researcher seeks to probe some of the alleged frustrations of employees within bureaucracies. Millions of people are entering private and public bureaucracies every year. In fact, we live in a bureaucratic society. Almost all workers are bureaucrats to a greater or lesser degree. What is their likely fate? What sort of stresses do they encounter? It is the task of this researcher to discuss some of the theories relating to the origins of bureaucratic stress, to describe and relate theoretical positions on the problem, and to investigate some of the specific causes of stress in the immediate bureaucratic environment of two state mental hospitals.

What is "Bureaucratic Stress"?

Although "bureaucratic stress" may be broadly defined to mean any tensions, frustrations, or stress pain employees experience in their jobs, the definition of bureaucratic stress in this study is more narrow, limited by the research design (see model on p. 77). Actually, bureaucratic stress is defined in terms of items which constitute the

six indexes in the bureaucratic stress syndrome (Circle C of the model). But until this model is explained more fully in Chapter III, it will suffice to define bureaucratic stress as an intense state of job dissatisfaction as measured by the various bureaucratic stress indexes in the model. A bureaucrat is stressed if he scores "high" in relationship to other bureaucrats surveyed in one or more bureaucratic stress indexes (i.e., the "general bureaucratic stress", the "material rewards stress", the "job task stress", the "agency operations stress", the "leadership, co-worker, and subordinate competency stress" or the "fear of failure" index). The specific items nominally defining each index are listed in Chapter III.

Bureaucratic stress, or organizational stress,¹ as some scholars prefer to label it, probably exists in all organizations irrespective of location or size of the organization, its resources, its personnel, its purposes, its age, or the like. Several investigators have contended that organizational stress is an unwanted element in bureaucracies because it tends to be dysfunctional to both the individual employee and to the operations of the organization. Robert L. Kahn and Rensis Likert, for example, recognized that human skill is an organizational asset which can be measured, and if such skill is diminished by low employee morale, the efficiency and effectiveness

¹This researcher is concerned with organizational stress in large, public bureaucracies consisting of hundreds of employees. Because of this size factor alone, it is more appropriate to employ the phrase "bureaucratic stress" to differentiate the sort of organizational stress under investigation.

of the organization is reduced significantly.² This can be seen in poor and inadequate public services in public organizations and low production figures and client alienation in private enterprise.

Bureaucratic stress can be conceptualized as a frame of mind in which the individual experiences a form of strained exertion. This strain or tension is presumably "caused" by intervening environmental conditions and somewhat more immediate organizational pressures upon the individual; that is, to the employee who experiences stress, whether justified or unjustified, the organization and/or its surrounding climate are perceived as a threat to self-expression, impersonal, and unfair in its demands.

Due to variations in personality structure, some individuals undergo stress when confronted with an organizational situation, while others experience little or no stress. It appears that bureaucratic stress is uniquely manifested in virtually all organization members to some extent and, for this reason, it is contended that such stress should be regarded as an individual phenomenon. But what is crucial is not that individuals undergo stress, but to what intensity. Some stress can be expected and should be considered normal, but extreme stress is usually considered an abnormal and unhealthy condition.³

²Robert L. Kahn et al., Organizational Stress: Studies in Role Conflict and Ambiguity (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1966); Rensis Likert, New Patterns of Management (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1961).

³Victor Vroom, for example, advances the argument that an unhealthy bureaucrat is a tensionless one. Vroom does acquiesce to the consensus position that bureaucratic stress is generally something that should be reduced.

This researcher is mainly interested in the causes and manifestations of the more severe condition.

Victor A. Thompson, who seeks to integrate the recent findings of researchers in political science, sociology, and organizational psychology into an approach for the study of modern organizations, believes that it is appropriate to call severe stress a "disease." According to Thompson, many employees fail to adjust to contemporary organizational life and, as a result, find the highly-specialized organization to be a constant and unbearable source of tension and frustration. These frustrated employees are presumably suffering from a disease which Thompson labels "bureausis". To both the employee and the employer, "bureausis" is a serious and costly bureaucratic problem which should be cured.⁴

Bureaucratic Stress: An Expanding Problem

The "disease" to which students of bureaucracy refer, has existed in varying degrees since unspecialized man left his kinship groups for more specialized types of life in larger and more complex groups. While nonspecialized groups typified by the family, club, and church groups fulfilled, and to a large extent continue to fulfill, a great many of the desires and needs of the individual member, the specialized, contemporary, bureaucratic organization fails apparently to satisfy

⁴Victor A. Thompson, Modern Organization (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1961), pp. 24, 152, 170-177.

many personal needs of the individual (i.e., the employee). But this is not to suggest that, say, all families satisfy the needs of their members and that stress cannot be seen in family life. Obviously, family stress exists as well as bureaucratic stress and common sense dictates that bureaucratic stress cannot be separated from tension brought on by family problems or vice versa. Thus, a part of this study consists of the examination of some of the probable stress-causing conditions brought to the job by employees and how these "outside" tensions may contribute to bureaucratic stress.

Several scholars and practitioners concerned with the bureaucratic phenomena have dealt specifically with the problem of modern organizational demands upon employees. In The Organizational Man⁵ Whyte views modern demands of bureaucracy as infringements upon the personal life of employees. This position is in sharp relief to Max Weber's previous holding. Weber thought that in bureaucracy, the personal rights and duties were indeed separated from the organizational rights, duties, and obligations. Whether today's bureaucracies infringe any more, less, or even in the same way upon the personal lives of their employees than the smaller organizations of yesteryear is questionable. But the simple point is that considerable evidence now exists which indicates that the typical organizational environment of an employee is full of stress-causing situations. Employees who are confronted with these conditions may ultimately experience stress and be prevented

⁵ William H. Whyte, Jr., The Organizational Man (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1957).

from fulfilling their personal needs and demands.

This raises several related questions. Are there really any stress-free people in any field of employment in the United States? Who are these people? Is employee stress really more acute in large, bureaucratic organizations or is this just another myth? Naturally, whether these questions can be answered in the affirmative or the negative is of vital importance. Important because researchers in this area have too often assumed, possibly erroneously, that stressful environments are only to be found in large bureaucracies.

Karl Marx and Max Weber, although differing in specifics, expressed skepticism about the virtues of bureaucracy. For Weber, the growth of rational society and the decline of traditionalism were paralleled by the advance of bureaucratic administration in both the public and private spheres of the state. Weber showed some ambivalence at this incremental improvement toward bureaucratic society. That is, although he contended that greater efficiency ("rationality" in terms of specialization of task) necessarily resulted from progressive bureaucratic organization, he acknowledged simultaneously that such a structure could cause acute employee alienation and destroy individualism. Weber deplored the human loss as individuals were altered into cogs in the bureaucratic machinery. While Weber tended to argue that bureaucratic stress stemmed largely from the means of administration, Marx's culprit tended to be the means of production (specifically, the "division of labor" and "specialization of

task').⁶ In this dissertation several theorized sources of organizational stress in the larger bureaucratic environment are explored. For example, several theories are examined by such thinkers as Max Weber, Robert Merton and David Reisman, who have sketched certain ideas about tension areas in the social environment. It is thought that an examination of such theories in contrast to specific organizational theories may be helpful in understanding some of the frustrations employees are said to endure in addition to those they evidently experience while at work.

Justification for the Research

The problems created by enlarging and expanding bureaucracies do not terminate with the psychological effects. Renis Likert has pointed out that the problem is more than simply an individual problem; it is a problem which finds itself manifested in the practical administrative operations and machinery of an organization. To Likert, the mental well-being of employees, or more specifically, employee morale plays a crucial role in the functional effectiveness of the bureaucracy as a functioning entity.⁷

Many observers support Likert's view. Kahn, for example, arrives at the same conclusion. Using limited empirical data, he finds that independent variables such as role conflict, ambiguity, job

⁶ For a more complete discussion of the differences between Marx and Weber regarding bureaucracy, see: Nicos P. Mouselis, Organizations and Bureaucracy: An Analysis of Modern Theories, Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1968.

⁷ Kahn, op. cit., pp. 53-54.

dissatisfaction, and the like, cause bureaucratic tension in a variety of ways and with different outcomes. Such bureaucratic stresses ". . . exact a price, both in terms of individual well-being and organization effectiveness."⁸

In short, bureaucratic stress is an individual, organizational, and social problem and should be approached as such. Although realizing that certain aspects of the bureaucratic environment tend to promote anxieties and tensions, this researcher takes a more Freudian position that stress is basically an internalized, psychological manifestation within individuals and external forces are in actuality only indirect generators of stress. It should be clear, then, that in this research the notion is being advanced that conditions external to the individual's psychological system can only be treated or conceptualized as secondary indicators or indirect "causes" of bureaucratic stress. But this is not to suggest that the objective working conditions in the bureaucracy are not important as indirect generators of stress. After all, these objective conditions do provide the stimuli which are perceived by individual employees which begin to "set-off" the stress episodes. Thus, in this research the objective bureaucratic conditions (e.g., pay) are treated as dependent variables. This treatment will be explained fully in Chapter III.

⁸Ibid., p. 53.

Specific Objectives of the Research

If Thompson's position is accepted that bureaucratic stress is a disease, then it, like any other disease, would have symptoms which can be diagnosed. One goal of this thesis is to focus on the indirect symptoms of organizational stress. This research is broadly concerned with two commonly hypothesized causes of bureaucratic stress. One, do certain individual characteristics, such as career factors, socio-economic factors, and various personality traits tend to cause an employee to experience stress in one form or another? Two, and partially a result of the above, does job dissatisfaction⁹ "cause" certain kinds of tension to mount within employees, and does this tension (bureaucratic stress) vary according to the intensity and type of job dissatisfaction¹⁰ that the employee is experiencing (e.g., lack of material rewards, failure to achieve recognition in the bureaucracy, dislike of superiors, and dissatisfaction with job tasks)?

⁹ It must be noted that technically there is a difference between what constitutes job dissatisfaction and what constitutes career dissatisfaction, as Gross, Mason, and McEachern make evident in their study of role analysis (Explorations in Role Analysis, John Wiley and Sons, Incorporated, 1958). Although this study acknowledges that there is a distinction (to be explained later in the body of the thesis), both factors are combined for explanatory purposes here.

¹⁰ Here may be a good place to say something about "job dissatisfaction", although more will be said in Chapter III. In this study extreme job dissatisfaction is conceptualized as being on the opposite tail of the non-parametric continuum (i.e., a rough bell-shaped curve) from extreme job satisfaction. More moderate or neutral expressions of job dissatisfaction are found toward the middle of the continuum. Frederick Herzberg in "Movement or Motivation?" reprinted in Fred A. Kramer (ed.), Perspectives On Public Bureaucracy (Winthrop Publishers, Inc.: Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1973) rejects this manner of analysis because he contends that "the opposite of job satisfaction is not job dissatisfaction, but no job satisfaction; and, similarly, the opposite of job dissatisfaction is

To approach the problem of bureaucratic stress, this researcher has employed three major and several minor hypotheses for the primary objective of making the specific focuses, research objectives, and findings both vivid and understandable. Such hypotheses are stated and explained briefly in the following paragraphs. Collectively, these hypotheses indicated the central research concern.

Hypothesis 1 states: Certain personality traits which are manifested within individual employees cause employees in bureaucracies to experience various forms of bureaucratic stress. Specifically, focusing on the individual personality characteristics is especially pertinent to our problem because personality properties tend to lead employees into stressful states when the individual is confronted with the "going-ons" in organizational life. Too frequently students of bureaucratic behavior espouse the belief that administrative operations of the bureaucracy or some other objective or identifiable organizational phenomenon should be assigned the blame for the development of bureaucratic stress. But this investigator hypothesizes that bureaucratic stress may not be directly induced by the situations which compose the organizational environment. Rather, it is contended in

not job satisfaction, but no job dissatisfaction" (p. 117). Herzberg, however, is splitting hairs because any such continuum does have in fact a neutral position at the very middle of the continuum or bell-shaped curve (i.e., the statistical middle or absolute zero point) where neither job satisfaction nor job dissatisfaction is expressed. Clearly, researchers would not talk about people in this middle area as either satisfied or dissatisfied with their jobs.

Herzberg also argues that separate factors lead to job dissatisfaction and job satisfaction, but Herzberg is wrong if he is implying that common factors are not important. Pay, for example, is a common factor which is meaningful and it is ludicrous to argue contrarily.

this research that certain events and conditions in the bureaucratic environment may indirectly cause or "set-off" tension and frustration constituting bureaucratic stress. But the recipient of such stress, due to the way in which various personality characteristics combine, is actually directly responsible for the bureaucratic stress experience.

The antithesis of Hypothesis 1 constitutes Hypothesis 2 which is: Environmental and organizational situations are only indirectly responsible for creating bureaucratic stress in employees. It should be emphasized here, then, that this researcher is refuting the holding of any theorist such as Marx who argues that the social condition or organizational environment causes directly bureaucratic stress.

Hypothesis 3 is: The attitude an employee holds toward his job in terms of the job dissatisfaction syndrome reflects the area and extent to which an employee is experiencing stress. For example, dissatisfaction with salary tends to manifest itself in broader areas of job dissatisfaction. In this study these broader areas of dissatisfaction are nominally defined as stress areas. Thus, in the example, simple salary dissatisfaction would be expected at least to be closely linked to material rewards stress, although it would not be unexpected to see dissatisfaction with salary transcend other nominally defined stress areas. The dissatisfaction syndrome is conceptualized as a composite of four chief job factors which contribute to an employee's overall satisfaction or dissatisfaction with his job. It is hypothesized, therefore, that there is a significant correlation between job dissatisfaction and bureaucratic stress (see model on

p. 77 in Chapter Three).

The sub-hypotheses of the major hypotheses to be tested are grouped as follows:¹¹

Sub-hypothesis Related to Career Variables

Sub-hyp. 1: The longer an employee is employed at the same position,
the higher his perceived general bureaucratic stress.
(invalidated in the Fort Logan study)

¹¹The sub-hypotheses listed below do not represent all the sub-hypotheses to be tested. Most of the sub-hypotheses listed are those that proved statistically significant (employing Chi-square tests at the .1, .05, .025, .01, .005, and .001 levels of significance) in the previous study. Of course, comparisons between the prior case study and this one will be impossible in regard to this latter category of sub-hypotheses. The sub-hypotheses that are not listed include those that proved statistically insignificant in the Fort Logan study and some that future probing in this study may bring to light. No attempt is made to list all possible hypotheses (i.e., relationships), but only those deemed critically important for developing the major hypotheses more clearly.

Several sources provided the theoretical bases for these sub-hypotheses. The sub-hypotheses related to career and socio-economic variables and most of the personality variables were derived from a general survey of relevant literature. The sub-hypotheses related to Presthus' organizational personality types (i.e., sub-hypotheses 11, 12, and 13) were, however, based solely on the notions of Robert Presthus in The Organizational Society (New York: Vintage Books, 1962). Sub-hypotheses 15 and 16 were based on the contentions of Robert Ford in "The Obstinate Employee," Public Opinion Quarterly, (Summer, 1969).

Sub-hypotheses 17 and 18 could be considered among the major hypotheses, but because the basic approach conceptualizes bureaucratic stress to originate in the personality system of the individual and that therefore bureaucratic stress is internalized and unique to individuals, then I can only remain consistent if I assert that all other circumstances only cause bureaucratic stress indirectly (i.e., that bureaucratic stress can be "set-off" elsewhere, but can only truly originate within the individual). But although my bias leads me to this position, this is not to say that the conditions that tend to generate bureaucratic stress do not involve more crucial questions than where bureaucratic stress originates directly.

Sub-hypotheses Related to Socio-economic Variables

- Sub-hyp. 2: The higher the level of education of employees, the greater the salary dissatisfaction. (invalidated in the Fort Logan study)
- Sub-hyp. 3: As the educational level increases, perceived agency operations stress will increase. (validated in the Fort Logan study)
- Sub-hyp. 4: Employees with certain educational backgrounds tend to be more adaptive to agency operations than others. (validated in the Fort Logan study)
- Sub-hyp. 5: Female employees will express less general bureaucratic stress than will males. (invalidated in the Fort Logan study)
- Sub-hyp. 6: Younger employees tend to experience more status dissatisfaction than older ones. (validated in the Fort Logan study)
- Sub-hyp. 7: The age of employees is not related significantly to job dissatisfaction. (invalidated in the Fort Logan study)
- Sub-hyp. 8: Age will not be related significantly to the extent to which bureaucratic stress is expressed by employees. (validated in the Fort Logan study)
- Sub-hyp. 9: The higher the family income of employees, the greater the salary dissatisfaction. (invalidated in the Fort Logan study)

Sub-hypotheses Related to Personality Variables

- Sub-hyp. 10: Employee personality components tend to influence the way in which employees perceive different aspects of their jobs (validated in the Fort Logan study)
- Sub-hyp. 11: Presthus' upward-mobiles will express only slight job dissatisfaction, especially in regard to superiors. (validated in the Fort Logan study)
- Sub-hyp. 12: Presthus' ambivalents will express the most job dissatisfaction of the three organizational personality types, especially toward their superiors. (validated in the Fort Logan study)
- Sub-hyp. 13: Of the three Presthus organizational personality types, ambivalents will demonstrate the most bureaucratic stress, while the upward-mobiles will display the least. (validated in the Fort Logan study)
- Sub-hyp. 14: Employees displaying high professionalism will also exhibit relatively low bureaucratic stress. (validated in the Fort Logan study)

Sub-hypotheses Related Generally to the Major Hypotheses

- Sub-hyp. 15: "Dissatisfaction with work, will become increasingly a public issue, that people in 'dum-dum' jobs will become increasingly hard to manage" and turnover will be high within this group.
- Sub-hyp. 16: Bureaucratic stress tends to be a result of the nature of the work itself more than any other organizational or

environmental variable.

- Sub-hyp. 17: Bureaucratic stress originates in the working conditions which confront the individual in the bureaucracy (i.e., bureaucratic stress is an organizational problem caused by the objective conditions in the bureaucracy)
- Sub-hyp. 18: Bureaucratic stress originates in the structure of the bureaucratic system (society) itself (i.e., the social structure of which the bureaucracy is an integral part is culpable; and thus bureaucratic stress is a social problem)
- Sub-hyp. 19: Those employees experiencing job dissatisfaction(s) do not necessarily experience forms of bureaucratic stress.

Basic Research Methods

To investigate the possible origins of bureaucratic stress, two basic approaches are utilized. The first phase of the research attempts to probe some of the background theories relevant to the study of origins of bureaucratic stress. This is accomplished by focusing on the pertinent theories of such thinkers as Max Weber, Robert Merton, David Riesman, William H. Whyte, Jr., Robert Presthus, Chris Argyris, Robert Kahn, and Louis Pondy. The thoughts of other contributors will be noted where appropriate. A probing of these theories will reveal some theorized causes of bureaucratic tensions and frustrations from which hypotheses can be constructed.

The remainder of the study focuses primarily on the gathering and analysis of survey data from Metropolitan State Hospital in

Massachusetts.¹² Since the dissertation is largely a comparative case analysis of two large public bureaucracies, the data obtained from the Massachusetts' agency is compared with the data previously acquired from the Fort Logan Mental Health Center in Colorado (an agency of 789 employees studied in 1967 by this researcher).

Because personal interviews are costly, time-consuming and subject to a degree of contamination under certain circumstances, the mail questionnaire technique is employed. Although mail questionnaires are subject to considerable contamination of data, as are all research procedures to a degree, the mail questionnaire does have several advantages over personal interviews.¹³ Mail questionnaires are

¹² Of course, for the comparative case study to be valid, the methods employed in the previous study must be replicated as close as possible in order to reduce contamination. But since approaches to research and conditions can never be duplicated exactly, the researcher is cognizant of the fact that some contamination will take place. But rigorous research efforts can reduce contamination so the comparisons are affected only slightly. As a first step, a Massachusetts' agency similar to the previous Colorado agency was selected for study.

¹³ Mail questionnaires have some other advantages. One, data obtained in personal interviews ". . . inevitably include an element of interpretation on the part of the interviewer" (Dale Yoder, Personnel Management and Industrial Relations, 4th edition, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1956, p. 760). The questionnaire, on the other hand, is not subject to the various interpretations which even highly trained interviewers give to certain interviewee responses. Two, the questionnaire is not subject to the personalities, differences in physique, facial features, age, sex, and the like which elicit various responses from the interviewees. Three, it is argued that people tend to answer questions which they deem as personal (e.g., age, family income) more validly if they do not have to answer directly to another person (i.e., the interviewer). Four, more "honest" answers may be given if the interviewee feels that he or she cannot be identified. An interviewer can assure the interviewee that the given information will be held in the strictest confidence, but this is not too convincing since a personal confrontation has already been accomplished. Mail

are valuable particularly when they are combined with follow-up personal interviews as is the case in this study. That is, questionnaires disclose vast amounts of data, but in some instances some of the responses or correlations from the existing data cannot be explained fully. Under such circumstances personal interviews can be utilized sparingly to ascertain explanations for unexpected and mysterious findings and to give more insight into the responses to the items which comprise the questionnaire. Such combination of techniques makes for somewhat controlled, concentrated, efficient, and inexpensive probing.

The questionnaire itself is basically the same as the questionnaire used to investigate bureaucratic stress at the Fort Logan Mental Health Center. This is done so comparisons between the two bureaucracies are not contaminated by the bias of two dissimilar approaches. But because this study seeks to explain additional dimensions of bureaucratic stress, items were either deleted or added to the new questionnaire to suit the specific objectives of the entire research.

questionnaires are much less personal.

However, there are several chief disadvantages to mail questionnaires. One, there is not any guarantee that the designated respondent actually filled out the questionnaire. Two, in "open-ended" questions, there is not any opportunity for the interviewer to "press" for more complete responses, nor to check to see whether all "closed-ended" questions have been answered. Thus, there is a greater chance for incomplete and unusable data. Three, there is great difficulty in receiving a high rate of return on mail questionnaire, thus jeopardizing the chances of obtaining a representative sample.

Summary of the Research Objectives

In summary, this research endeavor has the goal of examining and describing some of the more specific generators (origins) of bureaucratic stress found within the organizational framework. Also, an attempt is made to locate and explain some of the ecological origins of bureaucratic stress somewhat removed from the immediate bureaucratic environment. Such treatment is designed to prevent bureaucratic organizations from being studied as if they were isolated from the larger social community which influences their behavior.

This enterprise tests certain related hypotheses with the objective of providing new information in regard to the probable roots of bureaucratic stress behavior. Two somewhat similar large bureaucracies have been selected for this comparative case study, one in Colorado and one in Massachusetts.

Generally, three basic theoretical concerns of the origins of bureaucratic stress are explored. First, bureaucratic stress originates in the personality system of the individual. Advocates of this position assert that bureaucratic stress is largely a personal problem. This is the position taken by this researcher, but with some qualifications. Secondly, bureaucratic stress originates in the working conditions which confront the individual. Proponents of this position focus on the immediate bureaucratic environment and hold that bureaucratic stress is largely an organizational problem. Thirdly, bureaucratic stress originates in the social structure of the larger bureaucratic system itself. The advocates of this position take the stand that the social

structure of which the bureaucracy is an integral part is at fault.

Thus, they view bureaucratic stress as a larger social problem.

In dealing with the problem of bureaucratic stress, the researcher devotes attention to the following points: (1) showing what is meant by bureaucratic stress; (2) showing the development of bureaucratic stress theories through historical and contemporary literature; (3) showing how certain immediate organizational and ecological circumstances contribute to a stressful working experience for employees; (4) showing why bureaucratic stress tends to lead to high employee turnover; (5) showing the role objective and subjective working conditions may play in promoting bureaucratic stress; (6) showing how bureaucratic stress tends to reduce the efficiency and effectiveness of bureaucratic operations; (7) showing how and why certain organizational personality types tend to experience stress differently; (8) showing how job dissatisfactions tend to be manifested in bureaucratic stress; (9) showing how traditional theories and empirical findings can be combined to advance our understanding of the problems involved in bureaucratic stress.

The next chapter reviews some of the background theories of bureaucratic stress.

CHAPTER II

THEORIES RELEVANT TO THE STUDY OF BUREAUCRATIC STRESS

Introduction

Man versus organization has been a topic for centuries. Because this topic is vitally important to this case study, it is worth reviewing some of the theories which help place this study on a broader and stronger theoretical foundation. Simply put, how can anyone examine the origins of bureaucratic stress without examining some basic theories on the subject? For example, in this research such concepts as "alienation", "cynicism", and "organizational rigidity", to mention a few, have been operationalized. These concepts, to a significant extent, embody the general notions of other previous theorists. These general notions are made into scales (e.g., alienation scale) and indexes (e.g., job task stress index) for the specific purposes of this case study (see model on p.77).

This comparative case study is based on several theories of the origins of bureaucratic stress. Over-conformity in one form or another appears to be a central focal point of the majority of theorists. Whether we are talking about conformity due to formal or informal pressures, both are basic for understanding job dissatisfaction and employee turnover. The demand to conform to expected behavior patterns is basic to role analysis and also to this dissertation. Modern bureaucracy in its rigid organizational structure and its demand for specific behavior patterns has alienated bureaucrats in various ways.

Some workers can cope with the demands of modern bureaucracy, but others cannot handle the problem so well.

It is deemed essential to review some of the more pertinent theorists who argue that over-conformity, particularly brought on by modern bureaucratic structure, tends to alienate man from his job. The chief purpose of presenting the following theorists is to convey the message that bureaucratic stress is a problem which goes well beyond the arbitrary parameters of this case study. This, of course, is the limitation of any case study. It is also important to note that this researcher has drawn heavily from the theorists presented in this chapter to construct the various measures (indexes and scales) used in the research design.

Weber's Ambivalence Toward Bureaucracy

Students of bureaucracy probably best remember Max Weber for his conceptualization of the ideals of bureaucratic organization. Weber believed strongly that bureaucracy was the most rational and efficient organizational structure ever devised by man. Specialization of task, chain of command, unity of direction, hierarchical authority, recruitment solely on the basis of merit, impersonality between organizational members, impartial treatment of patrons, promotion on the basis of ability and seniority, are just some of the administrative principles of bureaucracy which influenced Weber to conclude that bureaucracy is certainly uncontested for its rational efficiency, uninterrupted operations, swiftness, accuracy, responsibility, and professionalism.

To Weber, bureaucratic procedures ideally relied upon the technical

knowledge and expertise of career bureaucrats, not on a patronage system which staffs organizations with relatively untrained, short-term personnel which are largely governed by the whimsical direction of "short-lived" politicians. Weber regarded this tendency to separate administration (bureaucracy) from politics, specialists from politicians, as one of the most advantageous traits of bureaucratic structure.¹⁴

But while Weber praised the high degree of rationality and efficiency of bureaucracy, he reflected simultaneously upon the shortcomings which accompanied bureaucratic organization. In Weber's mind, the very aspects which contributed to the rational efficiency of bureaucracy also contained the seeds of a basic "irrationality" which could weaken the human spirit.

As a "nostalgic liberal"¹⁵ Weber was a passionate humanitarian and individualist who resented the infringements which expanding state bureaucracies placed upon its citizens. He opposed socialism because he believed vehemently that such a system would lead to further domination of the individual by the state. He maintained that the present threat to individual freedom was the growing domination of

¹⁴ Weber's ideal model of bureaucracy has probably been criticized more on the basis of this holding than anything else. Almost all students of bureaucracy today hold that administration and politics simply cannot be separated since the two are inherently intertwined. But during Weber's time bureaucracies were still infiltrated by the spoils of politicians. Merit systems, although in effect, were only slowly being put into practice. In this light, then, a merit system must have appeared like a giant step toward separating the two.

¹⁵ According to his wife, H.H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills, From Max Weber (New York: Oxford University Press, 1958), p. 50.

bureaucratic society and not the Marxian fear of capitalist exploitation of the proletariats. Weber was frustrated by what he considered efficient procedure, but at the same time dehumanizing and oppressive. His writings on the ideals of bureaucracy contrasted sharply with his personal struggles during the war with what he considered the stupid behavior of the Berlin bureaucrats.¹⁶

But Weber also felt that the oppressive force of bureaucracy was not limited to the relationship between bureaucracy and its patrons. Inside bureaucracy the structure oppressed the bureaucrats as well. Seemingly, the conditions and pressures which produce efficiency in bureaucracy also produce crippling effects on individuals. Influenced by the writings of Karl Marx, Weber also admired the enriched man, the whole man of the past. He knew that increasing bureaucratization meant the replacement of cultivated man with a technical expert--an incomplete man who knows his trivial job tasks and not much else. He recognized that unfortunately bureaucratic rules and regulations were designed to adjust bureaucrats to the needs of the bureaucracy (i.e., maximum production), while fully ignoring the needs of the bureaucrats.¹⁷

Within this setting, some modern writers have traced the possible roots of bureaucratic stress. Allegedly, and in somewhat strong rhetoric, such authors as Merton, Presthus and Kahn argue that employees

¹⁶ Ibid., pp. 46-50.

¹⁷ Ibid.

are entrapped by the mechanistic nature of the bureaucratic system. Bureaucratization of fractionalized job tasks has the effect of suppressing man's imaginative powers, frustrating his ambitions, and generally ignoring his socio-psychological needs. Confinement to strict routine extremely limits the freedom of movement in job performance. The traits of spontaneity, creativeness, initiative, personal expression, and the like are actually discouraged by bureaucratic organization. It is often argued that now bureaucracy demands only personnel who follow orders without question and delay. There is little room for the spontaneous, innovative bureaucrat. The system is simply not designed to accommodate the "exceptional" bureaucrat with original ideas. Actually, it is asserted that creative employees are punished frequently as system heretics since failure to follow standardized procedures is often defined as incompetence.¹⁸

Weber was well aware of the distasteful sacrifices bureaucracy demands upon its employees for the sake of maximizing output. Weber realized the long-range effect that increased efficiency might bring. It distressed his liberal conscience.¹⁹ Weber, a man deeply entrenched in the belief systems of the past, did not resist the emergence of

¹⁸ See David Reisman, The Lonely Crowd (New York: Vintage Books, 1962); William Whyte, The Organization Man (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1957); Vance Packard, The Pyramid Climbers (Greenwich, Connecticut: Fawcett Publications, Inc., 1962); Robert Presthus, The Organizational Society (New York: Vintage Books, 1962) who espouse the following position.

¹⁹ H.H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills, op. cit., pp. 46-50.

science and rationalization (efficiency), but he did believe that along with it came the gradual destruction and rejection of religious beliefs, traditional values, and moral law. In short, he felt that the demystification of the world by the ingress of science and rationalization also meant the egress of certain cherished values and beliefs which man had traditionally relied upon to guide his life on earth.²⁰

Weber was grieved by the type of people developed by bureaucratic dominance. Confronted by a vast and complicated organizational structure, rigid rules and regulations, there existed a tendency for a bureaucrat to become alienated by the structure. Formal codes of conduct dominate his behavior. Specialized job tasks mechanized and narrowed his skills. Eventually, the bureaucrat is absorbed completely into the bureaucratic machinery. He dedicates himself to petty routine and the ends of bureaucracy (i.e., maximum efficiency in production and services). Finally, the mechanized bureaucrat, with only the "artificial" rewards of higher pay, security, and status to strive for, becomes alienated from himself.²¹ "This type of man Weber deplored as a petty routine creature, lacking in heroism, human spontaneity, and inventiveness. 'The Puritan willed to be the vocational man that we have to be.'"²²

²⁰ Nicos P. Mouselis, Organization and Bureaucracy: An Analysis of Modern Theories (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1968), p. 19.

²¹ Reflects Marxian terminology.

²² Gerth and Mills, op. cit., p. 50.

Because Weber was influenced somewhat by Marx's insight on bureaucracy, a brief comparison is in order. Simply stated, Marx concluded that conflict among men has always centered on the struggle over the means of production. Marx held that workers were exploited because they had been separated from the means of production. Weber agreed with Marx, but contended that the trend was more widespread. Separation from the means of production was a general trend reducing the strength of individualism and limiting freedom. "The modern soldier is equally 'separated' from means of violence; the scientist from means of enquiry; and the civil servant from the means of administration."²³ Weber, disagreeing with Marx, argued that this trend could not be explained in terms of class struggle, but in the process of bureaucratization. But regardless of how the separation from the means can be explained, it acts to reduce the meaningfulness of work to employees. The Weberian analysis, drawing from Marx, makes very vivid that increasing specialization and rationalization in the workplace, typified by the environment of bureaucrats, tends to reduce the meaning of work for man. Bureaucratization tends to transform man into a "living machine", frustrating his attempts to express himself and re-emerge as a "whole man" instead of an instrument of the bureaucratic apparatus with goals and purposes different from his own.²⁴

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Robert Presthus, as will be explained in Chapter III, offers a theory which changes the complexion of this outlook. Presthus contends that the majority of employees (about 90%) are indifferent to their working environment and seek nothing but material rewards from it. Indifferents can be happy since they can seek and obtain those socio-psychological needs while off the job. But this is not to suggest that indifference is not caused by working conditions.

In summary, it is felt that Weber has focused on some of the possible origins of bureaucratic stress. Weber talked about those aspects of bureaucratic structure he feared would possibly alienate bureaucrats from their work such as (1) rigid rules and regulations; (2) petty, mechanistic job tasks (i.e., specialization of task); (3) impersonalization; (4) destruction of belief systems; and other such negative features which tend to be associated with the increased "rationalization" of the workplace.

This researcher has set out to test whether some of these fears Weber and others have raised are actually "causing" bureaucrats to experience forms of bureaucratic stress. As we shall see in Chapter III, certain measures in the model (job dissatisfaction", "job task stress", "agency operation stress", and "leadership, co-worker, and subordinate competency stress" indexes) are designed to test employee attitudes toward rigid rules and regulations, job tasks, the impersonalization of the workplace.

Deviant Patterns of Adjustment to Social Structure: Spotting

Possible Sources of Bureaucratic Stress Origins in the

Theories of Robert K. Merton

Whether the larger social system or a small organization, Merton contends that there are certain structural features which tend to promote anomie. We are interested in Merton's theorized conditions of anomie in American society, especially within the bureaucratic framework, because Merton's theories do suggest that stress experiences of bureaucrats could be the result of anomic conditions caused by defects

in social structure (i.e., the larger social system of the immediate bureaucracy).

Basically, Merton contends that a condition of anomie is generated within people who identify with society's cultural values and goals, but find that such goals are unreachable by prescribed, institutionalized channels. In Merton's words, "It is the conflict between cultural goals and the availability of using institutional means--whatever the character of the goals--which produces a strain toward anomie."²⁵ Anomie is described as a form of alienation which differs from alienation in intensity and possibly in kind. "Simple anomie refers to the state of confusion in a group or society which is subject to conflict between value-systems, resulting in some degree of uneasiness and a sense of separation from the group; acute anomie, to the deterioration and, at the extreme, the disintegration of value-systems, which results in marked anxieties."²⁶

For example, success in the United States is largely measured in terms of social and financial status. Merton argues that America is ". . . a society which places a high premium on economic affluence and social ascent for all its members."²⁷ But freedom of choice in goals and means of obtaining culturally defined goals is not so free. Intense cultural pressure is exerted on all people to conform to socially defined expectations. From pre-school age to death, parents, radio,

²⁵ Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure (New York: Free Press, 1968), p. 220.

²⁶ Ibid., p. 217.

²⁷ Ibid., p. 221.

television, newspapers, churches, schools and the like, all emphasize the importance of becoming successful in certain terms.

But the dilemma is, according to Merton, that few have the opportunity in reality to fulfill the demands of this patterned expectation. The fact that a few people can be cited in our history as emerging from "rags to riches" does not mean that the accomplishment is commonplace. The fact is, implies Merton, that Americans are raised on the dangerous myth that anyone who is willing to work hard can become rich and socially prominent.²⁸

As a result of the imbalance between social demands and possible channels to meet these social dictates, certain adjustment patterns are acquired by persons at different positions in the social structure. Merton places the responses to these societal pressures into five categories. He discusses these five types of adaptation under the headings of: (1) conformity; (2) innovation; (3) ritualism; (4) retreatism; and (5) rebellion. It is crucial to note that Merton suggests that "these categories refer to role behavior in specific types of situations, not to personality. . . ."²⁹

Despite the incongruity between cultural goals and limited access to them, Merton states that most Americans conform to these defined goals and the prescribed means for attempting to reach them. Whether willingly or unwillingly, conformity to the "ways and means" is the most

²⁸Ibid., pp. 185-195.

²⁹Ibid., p. 194.

prevalent manner of adaptation by Americans. In fact, if this was not the case, American society as we know it would crumble. Conformity to basic behavior patterns and beliefs is the ingredient which stabilizes any organization, whether it be a small family unit, a business organization, or a nation.

We can conclude from Merton's thinking, then, that bureaucracies are in a somewhat stable position in American society because most bureaucrats (reluctantly or otherwise) accept both the established goals and the patterned rules and regulations of the bureaucracy. If this was not the case, the bureaucratic system would have collapsed.³⁰ It should also be assumed that bureaucrats who have accepted "the rules of the game" are accepting the system for what it is and are, at least at face value, relatively satisfied with it. The conformist's role and contribution to the stability of a system is crucial and should not be forgotten, but neither should the material and psychological costs people pay for non-conformity.

Conformity was described as a condition in which both societal goals and institutionalized means are accepted by persons. A stressful condition arises when persons conform to the goals, but not to the prescribed channels for reaching them. The people who adopt this form of adaptation Merton calls "innovators". In this group we find anyone who

³⁰Conformity as a prerequisite for system maintenance is illustrated vividly by David Easton in A Framework for Political Analysis, (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1965), although Easton speaks in terms of "compliance", "feedback loop", and "the authoritative allocation of values".

seeks culturally defined goals through noninstitutionalized means.³¹ Most of the people in this group belong to a social class which is excluded largely from paths to success. Infamous Al Capone epitomized the innovative type who obtained financial success through unconventional and illegal channels. But also belonging to this category are the "white-collar criminals" who find success symbols so magnetic that they employ ruthless, devious, "no holds barred", and even illegal tactics to achieve these ends.³² Of course, the uncomfortable incompatibility here is between lawful behavior and the socially prescribed success notions of high status and financial ascendancy.

Merton's conceptualization of the innovative mode of adaptation is useful for the study of bureaucratic stress origins since individuals in public bureaucracy are caught in a social structure which offers to only a few the opportunity to reach prestigious goals. The vast majority of bureaucrats cannot realistically compete for the rewards of high status and financial abundance in an organizational structure held in low esteem by the general public³³ and where upward mobility is restricted by the

³¹ Ibid., p. 195.

³² Merton cites a New York study where 65% of the men and 29% of the women sampled admitted to researchers of crimes they committed regarded as felonies. Ninety-nine per cent of the people sampled confessed to lesser crimes punishable by a maximum sentence of not less than one year imprisonment. The point is that "innovative" or illegal adaptation styles appear more commonplace than one would surmise.

³³ Weber believed that the prestige of bureaucracies in the United States was particularly low (Gerth and Mills, op. cit.) From a review of more current literature, the image of the civil service still appears to be low.

ever-narrowing walls of the bureaucratic pyramid. Merton's point is conveyed ignobly by a comment made in a questionnaire by an employee at Metropolitan State Hospital when she wrote beside an upward-mobile scale item: "How can a regular lower class employee like me or any other people even doctors, R.N.'s, hope to someday be head of this agency in a superintendent's job?" (sic.)

Bureaucracy's formal structure, its rigid rules and regulations, its seniority system, appear to some as nothing more than an overpowering force blocking their success goals. To these "success-minded" bureaucrats, the system is much too slow in advancing their career goals. Their perceptions of self-worth and the social and financial rewards they have obtained as bureaucrats create resentment in them toward the bureaucracy. This fact becomes evident with a glance at questionnaire responses. A goodly proportion of bureaucrats express their frustration by checking "Strongly Believe So" beside questionnaire items such as "Believing that your present job provides little opportunity for 'getting ahead'."³⁴ "Believing that advancements are much too slow." "Believing that your talents are really not being sufficiently tested." "Believing that, despite promotions, your pay will still be lower than you get from another organization." Also linked with "Strongly Believe So" responses to the above statements is high cynicism toward other

³⁴Of course, it is unlikely that all such respondents are innovators, but evidence here does support Merton's contention that many upward-mobile bureaucrats are frustrated by the institutionalized ('normal') channels for becoming successful within the bureaucracy. Such frustrated bureaucrats, Merton suggests, may adopt the innovative role type and use non-institutionalized means to climb the organizational ladder to success.

people and "institutionalized means."

Seeing little relationship between ability and success, it is theorized that the innovative employees become alienated from the prescribed means. Chance, high risks, and mysticism become a substitute for the values of diligence, honesty, and sincerity. But Merton holds that in a social structure which reserves success for only the select few, no matter how strenuously individuals struggle to achieve success, the odds weigh heavily against them. According to Merton's theory, people who recognize this structural reality may (1) accept their fate and continue to conform to both the goals and means regardless of its imbalance; (2) substitute means for goals (i.e., displacement of values); (3) reject and quietly withdraw from the system; or (4) actively reject and rebel against the prevailing social structure (in our example, the bureaucracy).³⁵

The "ritualist" behavior pattern (#2 above) is such a reaction to the system. It is probably the most common form of behavior in bureaucracy. In this role type is involved the rejection of culturally defined standards of success and the strict compliance with institutionalized norms as a substitute.³⁶ Merton theorized that this lowering of aspirations is caused by continued failure to make meaningful progress toward cherished goals (i.e., culturally defined goals) or possibly by the realization ". . . that reward is not

³⁵Robert K. Merton, op. cit., pp. 193-195.

³⁶Ibid., pp. 203-204.

proportioned to conformity."³⁷ It could also be a consequence of perceived insecurity with co-workers and the general public.

Insecurity may be brought on by a lack of confidence as a worker. Fearing the charge of incompetence, the bureaucrat adheres even more stringently to the formal rules and regulations of bureaucratic procedure, causing the public to become even more angered by inflexible "red tape" and impersonal treatment. The bureaucrat becomes caught in a bind between what Weber considered administratively rational, but at the same time ineffective in practice. That is, the bureaucrat remains between what is considered administratively efficient for all cases and what is expedient and practical for the unique circumstances of some clients. Because the bureaucrat cannot satisfy both, for the sake of job security, the bureaucrat learns quickly and too frequently to "over-comply" with the rules and regulations. The bureaucrat then is cast into the role of the obnoxious bureaucratic "virtuose". As Merton explains, "thus it may be conjectured that some ritualists, conforming meticulously to the institutionalized rules, are so steeped in the regulations that they become bureaucratic virtuosos, that they overconform precisely because they are subject to guilt engendered by previous nonconformity with the rules."³⁸

The frustration of the ritualist is commonly portrayed in the bitter

³⁷ Ibid., p. 203.

³⁸ Ibid., p. 206. As might be expected, the case study revealed that there tends to be a high correlation between inflexible character (i.e., the character most like the type Merton is portraying in the "bureaucratic virtuose") and low dissatisfaction with bureaucratic work.

attitude of so many bureaucrats. One reason for the surly behavior of some bureaucrats toward the citizenry may stem from their belief that the general public just does not understand their problems. Responses to a related questionnaire item in this case study confirms this belief. Sixty per cent of the respondents indicated agreement with the job alienation item (6 item continuum): "For the most part, the general public does not understand the problems involved in government work like I do." Although this may be a fairly accurate perception objectively, the degree to which bureaucrats feel the public misunderstands their problems is a significant indicator when combined with other measures of stress due to job alienation.³⁹

Alienated from both the demands of the public and the bureaucracy, deviant and vehement outbreaks against both the rules of the organization and the wishes of clients become more frequent. Such points out some of the psychological tensions caused by rigid adherence to dominant rules. To escape public attack and the oppressive force of the bureaucracy, the employee may eventually withdraw from the bureaucratic structure, thereby adopting Merton's "retreatists" mode of adjustment. Merton's retreatist type is the least common characterized by the rejection of both cultural goals and institutionalized means. The retreatist withdraws completely from society in a non-physical sense. That is, they can be accurately described as people who are "... in the society but not of it."

³⁹The alienation measure is explained fully in Chapter III and the results of the test are explained in Chapter V.

Knowledge of the character of the retreatist in society is important for our probing into the origins of bureaucratic stress not so much because they are members of bureaucracy, since most are not, but because they are potential members. A retreatist is a priori a withdrawn individual. But such appears to be a limited description of the retreatist style of adjustment, especially when it probably excludes many people who are normally not considered retreatist types. Actually, although Merton's theory fails to adequately account for this, a goodly percentage of retreatists are undoubtedly within the bureaucratic walls, as well as other institutions. They are not bums, tramps, or the like, but rather critically alienated and depressed individuals. Because such employees do not identify with either prescribed goals or means (except to a minimal extent), nor are they physically withdrawn retreatists or active rebels, Merton's schema appears to force this type into an uncomfortable category for the sake of convenience.

Robert Presthus, however, accounts for such a role type. He refers to this type as "indifferents".⁴⁰ These individuals have probably been alienated either before or shortly after they have joined bureaucracy. They display all the traits of Merton's retreatist type except that they are members of the bureaucracy. But they are truly detached emotionally from every aspect of the organization. They reject well-nigh all goals, symbols (Marx's "sordid materialism") and norms of the bureaucracy, but they remain "non-involved" physical members merely for the sake of

⁴⁰ A complete discussion of the "indifferent" personality type is given in Chapter III.

survival. By survival is meant limited financial security to keep the family unit at a subsistence level. No attempt is made by this retreatist type within bureaucracy to compete for higher social and economic rewards. This trait distinguishes them from the employees who also live at a subsistence level but compete in a failing manner for the rewards which the organization offers. Surely, many have witnessed such unattached, "maladjusted", stressed co-workers who express hatred toward almost every aspect of the bureaucracy as well as the values, goals, customs, etc. of the society in which they dwell. Their socially antagonistic attitude, it should be noted, becomes not only an unmanageable source of stress for themselves, but also for their co-workers.

The "rebellious" individual is the last adaptative type to be conceptualized by Merton. The rebellious type differs from the retreatist in that the former is actively opposed to all institutionalized means and goals, while the latter only rejects them in a rather isolated, private, and quiet manner. Retreatists may seek out other retreatists, but they do so largely for companionship. Rebels, on the other hand, are activists who enthusiastically campaign to enlarge their membership so they can actively force a "new" code on the prevailing social order. Rebels regard the existing structure as a "wall" between their legitimized goals and the satisfaction of these goals. The rebellious response is typified by both withdrawal and an attachment to a new social code.⁴¹

⁴¹ Robert K. Merton, op. cit., pp. 209-213.

Typical of this group would be any bureaucrat(s) who are actively campaigning against the basic bureaucratic values. Outside of the immediate bureaucratic organization are clearer examples which serve to make the point, such as the Communist Party members in the United States, Black Panthers, "Weathermen", and possibly the more extreme members of the Students for Democratic Society (SDS). These groups advocate the overthrow of the present framework in the United States and their purpose should not be confused with groups who are basically with the system, but are opposed to certain features of it (e.g., Prohibition Party, Jewish Defense League, Women's Liberation, Mothers For Adequate Welfare, Stop the War Protest groups, etc.).

The rebellious mode of behavior reflects on sources of stress in bureaucracy because rebellion itself is a product of the social atmosphere in which bureaucratic institutions are a part. Bureaucrats themselves may not be rebels analogous to the "Weathermen", but they are indubitably influenced by such rebellious groups in one way or another. The possible influence rebels may have on the satisfaction of workers within bureaucracy is significant to note. Job satisfaction is usually studied as if workers were isolated from the "outside" world. But the social climate in which these workers actually spend most of their time cannot be ignored. Any ideas which are heard by employees which relate to their work must influence, however slightly, their future perceptions

of their work.⁴² They may reject revolutionary ideas as "hogwash" or become convinced that something is indeed wrong with the present norms to which they must conform. But regardless of how social rebels effect their perceptions of their work and life styles, the fact is that reaction to rebellious activity may be carried over to the work environment where measured job dissatisfactions may be more the function of off-the-job influences than immediate job satisfiers and dissatisfiers.

As indicated in the model (p.77), this researcher has developed an alienation scale, based in part on Merton's ideas concerning alienation (anomie), to see how personal alienation effects employee attitudes toward their work. How do alienated employees perceive their working environment? Can personal alienation, as a personality trait, tell us much about employee job dissatisfaction, bureaucratic stresses, and employee turnover? Are employees who express high personal alienation more dissatisfied, more stressed, and thus high turnover risks? As we shall see, data presented in Chapters IV, V, and VI are in fact much more dissatisfied, stressed, and consequently higher turnover risks than those employees expressing less intense personal

⁴²Of course, to inform the workers of the "evils" of the system was Marx's strategy as a rebel. Marx believed that he could win more workers to his side if he could make workers aware of exploitations by the system in which they were previously not aware. His strategy was simply to make workers disturbed with their present position in society. In Marx's thinking, a stressed proletarian class was essential to mobilize them into taking arms against the prevailing social system.

alienation.

Riesman and Whyte: Stresses Due to Overconformity

As the conditions of men become equal amongst a people, individuals seem of less, and society of greater importance; or rather, every citizen, being assimilated to all the rest, is lost in the crowd, and nothing stands conspicuous but the great and imposing image of the people at large.

Alexis de Tocqueville,
Democracy in America

Close to a century and a quarter later, David Riesman continued and expanded De Tocqueville's thoughts. In The Lonely Crowd, a title reflecting the language of De Tocqueville, Riesman examined the character of the American people of the mid-1950's. As was De Tocqueville, Riesman was alarmed at what he saw. To Riesman, American society had passed from an "inner-directed" stage to an "other-directed" stage. In his theory, "inner-directed" is typified by the "old" middle class which consisted of bankers, small entrepreneurs, tradesmen, and technical engineers. Life directions in this pattern stem from stimuli which are internalized in early childhood. "Other-directedness" is characterized by a "new" middle class more dependent on the opinions and actions of others while at work or leisure. This "new" class consists largely of bureaucrats, people in service trades, or more generally, the salaried, dependent employee. In contrast to the "tradition-directed"⁴³ and

⁴³ As an entire nation, Riesman contended that America never passed through the "tradition-directed" stage.

the "innder-directed" types, the "other-directed" personality type lives in an environment where the system of communications is extremely well developed. Such a system Riesman deems as a prerequisite to the development of the other-directed nature.

The bureaucrat typifies the other-directed character. Since childhood he has been taught to conform to prevailing attitudes and behavior. Pressure to conform leaves practically nothing untouched. "Individuals" learn to conform to styles of dress, language (slangs), sports, television programs, art, etc. People eat "Wheaties" because it is supposedly the "Breakfast of Champions" and they use "Dial" soap because they "think everyone should". Riesman noted in his study of musical taste among teenagers that learned "other-directedness" tended to force teenagers to take cues from their peers which led them to like the "right" music, the music which is in.⁴⁴

Relentless pressure to conform to group taste continues throughout maturation until a point is reached where resistance to such pressures are nill. By the time young adults seek employment in bureaucracy, the aimless craving to satisfy the tastes of others has supposedly reached its peak.⁴⁵

Despite the rigorous socialization process, Riesman maintains that an inner struggle exists between pressures to conform and a yearning to be free of near total commitment to the desires of others. Although

⁴⁴David Riesman, The Lonely Crowd, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961), p. 77.

⁴⁵Ibid.

people have developed a sort of "radar apparatus" to detect group preferences, the equipment is still incapable of responding properly in all situations. "Short-circuiting", for example, is inevitable in situations where a person attempts to win the approval of two or more conflicting "role senders" simultaneously. Any attempt by individuals to assert something contrary to group tastes or ignore them is also destined to end in a stressful experience. To Riesman, attempts to escape from group dictates are rare since these people are too socialized to the other-directed nature to make non-conformity a general practice. In fact, their fear of non-conformity is so intense that failure to comply results in severe and uncomfortable guilt feelings.⁴⁶

Thus, Riesman concludes that the other-directed bureaucrat is inwardly lonely. His contentment is artificial. This idea is probably best expressed in Riesman's concept of "false personalization". To Riesman, false personalization is a stress promotor and one of the two chief obstructions to the development of individualism (autonomy).⁴⁷ False personalization refers to an atmosphere where personalization is hypocritical. That is, friendliness is not genuine, but employed to manipulate others. Employees of both private and public bureaucracy, for example, are forced to project a phony facade of friendliness to become "successful" (popular and upward-mobile). This leads to frustration when one cannot determine whether the friendliness is

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ The other is "enforced privation". Enforced privation is conceptualized as restrictions (e.g., economic, hierarchical, ethnic, familial) imposed on people while at leisure. Even at leisure the pressures to conform obstruct efforts to individualize.

genuine or bogus. This excess in sociability places people in an uneasy and lonely atmosphere where they cannot determine whether friendships are real and dependable or just more "sleazy" acquaintances. Riesman urges more genuine relationships to reduce resulting psychological strains.⁴⁸

Another depressing aspect of the other-directed nature is that nothing can be considered individual. If a person develops a unique manner of expression, either rejection or acceptance of the mannerism takes place. If rejected, he suffers from ostracism, the "cardinal sin" in an other-directed society. If his ways are accepted, the groups also adopts his style, thus changing his way to the group way.⁴⁹

In sum, the plight of the other-directed personality is that destiny is directed by the values and tastes of others. This total commitment to group direction is theorized as innerly frustrating for the individual, tearing him ". . . between the illusion that life should be easy, if he could only find the ways of proper adjustment to the group, and the half-buried feeling that it is not easy for him."⁵⁰ Such, according to Riesman's theory, is the atmosphere of personnel in bureaucracy.

William Whyte in The Organization Man, dealing more specifically

⁴⁸Ibid., pp. 261-275.

⁴⁹Ibid., pp. 276-285.

⁵⁰Ibid., p. 160.

with organizations than Riesman also lashes out against the spirit of acquiescence which seems to him to be entrapping the minds of an increasing number of people. Whyte appears to be more pessimistic about this trend than Riesman in that he sets 1985 as the approximate date of the total absorption by the group of any remaining elements of individualism. This date is based on the premise that by that time the dependent, passive, standardized group-conscious children of today⁵¹ will be governing society and perpetuating another generation of "well-rounded" offspring.⁵²

"Well-rounded" is a term used sarcastically by Whyte to describe the type of narrow-minded, technically oriented "organization man" who is increasingly occupying organizations, especially large bureaucratic organizations, today. Whyte perceives contemporary bureaucracy as filled with anti-intellectual, non-creative "yes men" who emphasize the importance of "team play" and conformity over any other values, especially those which may possibly disturb the co-operative spirit of

⁵¹ "Today" refers to the youth of the early and mid-1950's.

⁵² Whyte appears to ignore the Aristotelian idea that every generation tends to generate a polar reaction from the new generation. That is, Whyte's argument implies that a group-minded society necessarily stimulates another group-minded generation. The Aristotelian notion, however, suggests that a group-minded society would promote a reaction, thus producing a future society quite unlike the parent. The reaction of the youth in the 1960's to the established social norms tends to support the latter argument. It now appears that by 1985 a society will emerge embracing values quite dissimilar from those now held by today's leaders.

the group. This emphasis on conformity is epitomized by the bureaucrat who remarked when asked about the possibility of hiring a brilliant individual: "I would sacrifice brilliance for human understanding every time" (by "human understanding" he meant compliance).⁵³

Whyte admits that it is illusory to suggest that there does not exist a basic incompatibility between man and organization which promotes a certain degree of strain, but he argues that stress is amplified today by extreme pressures to dream, think, and act like the group. Once more, he believes that people are inwardly aware of their conformity, thus causing their inner and outward motivations to conflict.⁵⁴ In public they show that they have been properly socialized. But privately they yearn to control their own fortune. "Yet again the drive, the fierce desire to control one's destiny, cannot help but produce the inner conflicts that the demeanor would deny."⁵⁵

Whyte points to the subtlety in which today's organizations entrap or "plays checkers" with its members. He notes that "it is not so much that The Organization is going to push the individual around more than

⁵³William H. Whyte, Jr., The Organization Man (New York: Doubleday and Company, 1957), p. 152.

⁵⁴Ibid., p. 172 From interviews Whyte has concluded that people who admit to conformity, even though they assert that they conform willingly, are actually confessing to their own non-conformity impulse. That is, to realize one's conformity one admits to an inward feeling of non-compliance since the idea of conformity stems from the idea of non-conformity. To admit to conformity, then, is to inwardly confess that a basic antithesis exists between oneself and system demands.

⁵⁵Ibid.

it used to. It is that it is becoming increasingly hard for the individual to figure out when he is being pushed around.⁵⁶ The point Whyte is making is that bureaucratic organizations of the past tended to be more authoritarian, thus clearly defining the limits of individuality. He is not suggesting that rigid, authoritarian organizations are better, since he is well aware of their abuses, he is merely noting that employees of modern organization tend to be frustrated by an unclear code of proper behavior, (i.e., the vague requirements of the group or the Social Ethic). More concretely, employees, he contends, are entrapped by the incremental nature of fringe benefits. Health plans, retirement plans, bonuses, etc. tend to limit the feasible alternatives of "organization man", slowly but surely choking off his free choice and bonding him to the organization.⁵⁷

To Whyte, a fundamental conflict prevails between the dictates of the Social Ethic (i.e., devotion to "other-directedness") and the Protestant Ethic (i.e., devotion to individual self-development through hard work). For our purposes, and for Whyte's, these conflicting ethics are best described in terms of The Organization versus the individual. Whyte charges that the Social Ethic is unsuited to guide "modern man", in fact it ". . . reinforces exactly what least needs emphasis and at the sacrifice of what does."⁵⁸ He maintains that the Social Ethic

⁵⁶ Ibid., p. 184.

⁵⁷ Ibid., pp. 173-185. Whyte is aware that not all employees are entrapped in this way. He realizes that employees in higher positions can rather easily bargain with competing organizations who desire their talents, losing few if not increasing their fringe benefits.

⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 439.

frustrates people because it is "redundant", "premature", "delusory", "static", and "self-destructive". It is redundant in the sense that the Ethic reiterates the virtues of group opinion and discourages individual initiative and creativity. It is premature in that it preaches lessons on how to get along, but without explaining why "togetherness" is valued so highly. It leaves the individual in a premature condition because co-operation is emphasized in a manner unrelated to goal attainment. The Ethic is delusory because it teaches people that individual and organizational interests are compatible, thus blanketing incentive for resistance. Whyte theorizes that the incompatibility between individuals and organization must be recognized if healthy adjustment is to occur. He holds that a sound relationship exists where conflict is minimized through mutual adjustment, not deceit. The Ethic is static since organization itself cannot be dynamic. Only individuals can be dynamic, thus individuals must question their own interests in light of the organization's. Finally, the Ethic is self-destructive because it demands "normalcy", a condition that no one knows. It asks people to adjust to a shaky ideal which no one understands. "Adjustment to what? Nobody really knows--and the tragedy is that they don't realize that the so-confident-seeming other people don't know either."⁵⁹

But Whyte is not a fatalist for he believes that the trend toward "groupism" can be reversed. He holds the reversal of this to be essential since he believes that individual well-being is a prerequisite

⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 441.

to healthy human organization.⁶⁰ He recommends the following:

(1) that human relation studies continue to probe the relationship between the effects of organization on the individual and vice versa; (2) that less attention be devoted to the "self-proving assumptions" of "equilibrium, integration, and adjustment"; (3) that attempts be made to adapt the individual to the organization and not vice versa; (4) that workers are given complete job tasks (not a small percentage of one) to make work more skillful and challenging; (5) that maximization of individuality be obtained by reducing team play (e.g. conferences); and most importantly (6) that an educational system be developed which eludes the "social adjustment" emphasis and teaches people how to "reach". Finally, Whyte warns that in the fight against conformity people must not develop an individuality in a "stupid" or "selfish" manner for the pitfalls of misguided individualism can be as oppressive as the shortcomings of extreme co-operatism. The end Whyte seeks is a relationship between "organization man" (bureaucrat) and organization (bureaucracy) where conflict and tension is reduced to a manageable level. Although Whyte's theory and recommendations concerning organization man appear somewhat simplified, they do serve to point out the possible dangers of extreme group mindedness and some thoughts on how to preserve basic individualism.

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It should be noted that Whyte's theories contrast sharply with group theory which espouses that individual identity can be achieved through the group. Whyte argues that individual, free expression is curtailed by needless group involvement. Whyte is never clear, however, on what constitutes unnecessary group involvement.

Because Merton, Riesman, Whyte, and as we shall see in the next section, Chris Argyris, believe that pressures to conform to organizational norms are largely responsible for destroying individual expression and consequently promotes intense job dissatisfaction and stress in bureaucrats, several tests have been incorporated in this study to measure the role conformity plays as an origin of job dissatisfactions and bureaucratic stresses. Such personality measures as the authoritarian, organizational rigidity, professional, in-group orientation, and the Presthus upward-mobile* scales are measurements which are used to try to discover the degree to which employees conform, in one way or another, to bureaucratic norms. For example, the authoritarian, organizational rigidity, professional, in-group orientation, and Presthus upward-mobile scales are tests designed to measure in part the extent to which employees conform to culturally defined value systems, rigid rules and regulations of bureaucracies, prescribed professional codes of conduct, informal group norms (i.e., the extent to which employees are "other-directed"), and expected behavior patterns deemed essential for success.

The "job task dissatisfaction" and "agency operations stress" measures were created specifically to measure the extent to which employees are bothered by organizational pressures to conform to rather restrictive agency rules and regulations. Although less

* The Presthus upward-mobile scale is taken exclusively from Presthus, however, but does reflect much of the thinking of Riesman and Whyte on conformity.

specifically, the "superior dissatisfaction" index and the "superior co-worker and subordinate competency stress" indexes were designed partially to measure employee attitudes toward orders from their superiors.

In summary, both Riesman and Whyte are concerned deeply about how pressures put on individuals to conform to social and organizational norms tends to frustrate individuals and prevent healthy, normal growth to occur. Argyris, an organizational psychologist as well as an organizational humanist, probes this problem more thoroughly, explaining in detail how bureaucratic organizations tend to block the normal development of individuals, thus creating a very frustrating and unhealthy condition for bureaucrats. The insights of Argyris, presented next, help to explain further how features of bureaucratic life tend to promote job dissatisfaction and bureaucratic stress.

Chris Argyris: The Unhealthy Working Climate of the Employee

Argyris theorizes that bureaucratic stress is caused by a multiplicity of factors, but largely to an interruption in the normal growth pattern of individuals. He asserts that normal and sound development of people

. . . involves growth from being passive as an infant to being active as an adult; from being dependent to being relatively independent; from being in a subordinate position to achieving equal or higher position than friends achieve; from expressing few shallow abilities to

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expressing many and deeper abilities.

Argyris argues that the bureaucratic structure necessarily impedes healthy development of its employees. He contends that a healthy environment cannot be obtained in our modern, complex organizations. That is, an employee is confronted by specialization, chain of command, unity of direction, span of control, inflexible rules and regulations, and similar rigid organization, environmental factors. As a result, employees are committed to performing job tasks within an organizational framework where they must be dependent and subordinate as well as passive to their superiors. It is theorized that such an environment places abnormal restraints on employees which ultimately leads to organizational stress of some form. The stress experienced by employees manifests itself in a variety of outcomes (e.g., withdrawal, regression, autism, projection, rationalization, etc.), which can be detected in employee attitudes and management production figures. According to Argyris, if an organization could be conceived where the employees could mature normally and where employee conflict could be significantly reduced, service and productivity would increase. Several empirical investigations have shown that workers produce at a higher rate if they are content.

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⁶¹ Chris Argyris, "The Individual and Organization: Some Problems of Mutual Adjustment", Administrative Science Quarterly, Vol. 2 (June, 1957), p. 1

⁶² Floyd L. Ruch, Psychology and Life, sixth edition (Chicago: Schott, Foresman and Company, 1963), pp. 495-522. Other empirical studies have refuted such findings: see pp. 124-127 for such studies.

Argyris bases his theory of bureaucratic stress on the premise that certain normal paths of maturation are blocked by the modern bureaucratic organization. What exactly are these normal paths of development and how does bureaucracy stifle the normal growth patterns of the employees and cause persons to endure stress?

First, it has been observed that people in early childhood are passive (i.e., they are content to be the object of the action, not the action itself). But as development occurs, passive behavior evolves into increased activity which is thought to be a positive sign of healthy development. If the individual is to follow a normal growth pattern, the increased activity should not be noticeably curtailed. Unfortunately, in a bureaucratic organization passive behavior is once again forced upon the individual. As a child the individual was obliged to be passive toward his parents, his teachers, and other authority figures and as an adult he involuntarily becomes a passive person once again, only this time toward the formal organizational structure and toward the formal leader.⁶³

Next, there is evidence indicating that people mature from a dependent state to a relatively independent state as they age. Inherent in the maturation process is the shift from a dependency on parents to a relatively independent "self". Maturing adults not only learn to stand alone, but they also take on dependents of their own.

⁶³ Chris Argyris, op. cit., pp. 2-6.

They develop a set of beliefs and a pattern of behavior which is basically free from the authority figures who played a large role in determining their behavior during the youthful years. Consequently, these adults are reluctant and resentful of having their behavior determined for them once again by numerous organizational rules and regulations and by their superiors whom they confront nearly every day.⁶⁴

Third, children behave in only a limited number of patterns when they are young. As they mature, their behavior patterns tend to become more diversified and complex. But, as one can readily observe, the different ways an employee can express himself in a bureaucratic organization are severely limited. Accepted behavior patterns are rigidly set forth by the formal organization "blueprint" and by a multiplicity of organizational norms. Because employees are ceaselessly expected to behave in accordance with the norms of the organization, frustration, tension, and stress inevitably develops in either a mild, moderate, or sometimes severe and damaging state.⁶⁵

Fourth, people have a natural tendency to develop their interests in a nomadic, random, and superficial manner during their youth, but as they reach adulthood, their interests take on a more sincere and deepening character. "The mature state is characterized by an endless

⁶⁴ Ibid., pp. 1-24.

⁶⁵ Quite correctly, the type of stress an employee experiences depends on the particular cognitive system of the employee. Some employees become harmfully frustrated by the bureaucratic standards, while other personality types are hardly bothered by the rigidity, formality, and role conflict situations of the bureaucratic life.

series of challenges where the reward comes from doing something for its own sake."⁶⁶ Of course, this mature state to which Argyris refers cannot be realized under the rigid and formalized bureaucratic framework.⁶⁷ "Doing something for its own sake" is unacceptable in a formal organization. In a formal bureaucratic system an employee acts because the formal structure dictates that such and such an action should be accomplished. In many instances, an individual responds to the will of the formal hierarchy largely because the acquisitive drive requires it. Once again, the normal drives of employees are frustrated by bureaucratic organization.

Fifth, individuals tend to mature from a position of subordination to a position of relative domination, or at least to an equal position in society. But status ambitions are frustrated because employees are prevented from achieving a superordinate position⁶⁸ because they are constantly being checked and harassed by the rigidity of the formal system. Violation of the formal code could result in an employee's dismissal--a fate few workers could afford economically and/or socially to endure.

Finally, an individual is in a state of relative unawareness of the self as a child, but develops into a state of awareness of the self as an adult. An individual also acquires a degree of self-control

⁶⁶ Chris Argyris, op. cit., p. 4.

⁶⁷ For a discussion of rules as ends, see Robert K. Merton, op. cit., pp. 249-260.

⁶⁸ Even high officials cannot escape the seemingly infinite number of rules and regulations inherent in the operation of the system.

over his own behavior. That is, as an adult an individual learns that he is capable of determining his own future and fate. However, the bureaucratic environment, according to the Argyris School, hampers the healthy maturation path by placing bureaucrats in a cog of bureaucratic machinery where they lose their individuality to the system.⁶⁹ In sum, the individual is thwarted in his attempt to achieve integrity, self-worth, and identity. Thus, according to Argyris, the objective conditions (formal bureaucratic structure) confronting bureaucrats provide the origins of bureaucratic stress--a position Weber imagined and feared many decades before. As Riesman and Whyte, Argyris also provided insights which helped to contribute to the development of specific tests for measuring dissatisfaction and stress due to demands placed upon employees to conform to bureaucratic norms. Argyris' insights were particularly influential in the construction of the "superior dissatisfaction", "job task dissatisfaction", "status dissatisfaction", "general job dissatisfaction", "job task stress", "agency operations stress", "leadership, co-worker, and subordinate competency stress", "fear of failure", and general bureaucratic stress" indexes. All of these indexes, to a greater or lesser degree, are concerned with measuring certain aspects of frustration due to forced conformity.

⁶⁹Victor A. Thompson, op. cit., pp. 152-177.

Robert L. Kahn and Louis R. Pondy: Role Theory
and Origins of Bureaucratic Stress

Due to the growing importance of role analysis as a means of studying employee frustrations in bureaucracies in the past few decades, it is fitting to cover two role theorists who have investigated some of the possible origins of bureaucratic stress, and consequently influenced the development of the research design employed in this case study. As we shall see in the next chapter, Robert Presthus relies heavily upon role theory for developing his organizational personality types. Because the organizational role types of Presthus are operationalized in this research and play a vital part, it is important that the reader understands what role theory is generally about and how it can be used to probe for the origins of bureaucratic stress.

In this section two role theorists are examined. Robert L. Kahn presents a general description of the theoretical framework role theorists employ and describes how "role conflict", "role overload", "role ambiguity", and "role uncertainty" function to promote stress within employees. Louis Pondy examines role conflict into five analytically distinct stress episode stages.

Kahn and his associates have approached the problem of bureaucratic stress through role theory.⁷⁰ Their theoretical framework includes such concepts as "office", "role", "role set", "role expectations", "sent role", "role pressures", "role forces", "role conflict" and

⁷⁰Robert L. Kahn et al., op. cit., pp. 11-35.

"role ambiguity". An office is a "unique point in organization space" where a certain "pattern of activities" are executed which distinguish one position from another and are related to the whole system.⁷¹ The activities unique to each office are described as "potential behaviors" and the performance of such activities constitute the role of the office. Each role is said to be a part of a role set. A role set is an arrangement of the offices along with the various activities of each office. All attitudes and beliefs of employees in a role set regarding how they should or should not play their roles are defined as role expectations. Role expectations do not necessarily reflect how the management prefers the job to be accomplished, but rather only how actors in the role expect the job to be handled. Employees of the role set are referred to as role senders because they communicate role expectations. These communicated role expectations constitute the sent role.⁷² The attempts to influence the role of an employee (the "focal person")⁷³ in the role set causes the individual to experience role pressures. The extent to which an employee feels role pressure is our concern because bureaucratic stress, according to Kahn, arises from the intensity to which one experiences role pressures.

Role pressures evolve from role conflict situations, and role conflict arises from conflicting role expectations. When conflicting

⁷¹Ibid.

⁷²The concern of role senders was borrowed from Rommetveit's formulation (1954), cited by Kahn, op. cit.

⁷³The "focal person" simply refers to the employee under consideration in the discussion.

expectations, the focal person becomes stressed because of the psychological conflict. The various types of potential or real role conflict situations are all a part of the bureaucratic environment and an employee's experience life.⁷⁴ Kahn lists five types of role conflict which inevitably lead employees to experience some degree of bureaucratic stress.⁷⁵ The first is labeled intra-sender conflict. Such role conflict occurs when one employee of the role set sends an incompatible request. Such a situation would evolve if a superior requested a piece of work to be completed at the expense of something else he demanded on short notice. The focal person in this situation becomes pressured and stressed because of the incompatible demands on his work time.

A second type is referred to as inter-sender conflict. Inter-sender conflict occurs when demands from various role senders within the role set of the focal person contradict each other. The pressures resulting from conflicting demands cause the focal employee to undergo stress.

A third type of role conflict is termed inter-role conflict and it occurs when the demands of one organization or group conflict with the demands of other organizations and groups with which the individual is identified. A common example is when office work, or the demands of the boss, conflict with family, church, or club obligation and responsibilities. Such a conflict situation probably exists continually for most employees

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An employee's psychological life (experienced life) in regard to role conflict must be distinguished from objective life. That is, role conflict both factually and psychologically exists within individuals. Role conflict is factual when it has actually been sent. Role conflict is perceived when it in fact has not been sent, yet the focal employee perceives that it has.

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Robert L. Kahn, op. cit., pp. 18-20.

in a pluralistic society. The ability to cope with the situation determines the amount of tension the focal person will experience.

The fourth type of role conflict is person-role conflict and such a situation arises when moral values of the focal person are violated by role demands. The boss requesting a Seventh-Day Adventist to do some work on a Saturday would be an obvious example. Role overload is the fifth type of role conflict. It can best be described as a combination of certain features of inter-sender conflict and person-role conflict. That is, role overload could involve a situation where the expectations of role senders of the focal person are legitimate, yet impossible for the focal person to complete within the time allotted by the role senders. Stress evolves here as a result of the inner-struggle over which demand should be given priority. If the focal employee inwardly senses an obligation to fulfill all requests, yet knows that he is incapable of producing in accord with the demands, he experiences the type of stress which Kahn categorizes as person-role conflict.

It should be noted in the foregoing that the intensity to which an employee experiences stress depends upon the force of the sent role. As Kahn puts it, ". . . if there are two opposing forces, the greater the strength of the weaker force, the greater the conflict."⁷⁶ Secondly, Kahn's conception of role conflict involves the time element. That is, "the extent to which a particular level of conflict characterizes a position over time or throughout changes in personnel is a question to

⁷⁶Ibid., p. 19.

be determined empirically, not by definition."⁷⁷

Another major ingredient in Kahn's conceptualization of bureaucratic stress is role ambiguity or role uncertainty. Kahn distinguishes between what constitutes role conflict and what constitutes role ambiguity. That is, while role conflict is basically a matter of illogical role sending which fails to take into account the focal person's abilities and needs, role ambiguity involves a situation in which the focal person is deprived of the necessary information for executing his job tasks with confidence.⁷⁸ According to Kahn, deprivations of "role-related information" tend to lead to personal maladjustment and to an unhealthy emotional state.

Role ambiguity causes organizational stress because employees want to know what is taking place in the bureaucracy. The cliché, "out of sight--out of mind" has no validity in this context because employees are constantly in search of information which will tell them how they are doing on the job, what chances are there for promotion, what sorts of behavior will be rewarded by the boss, or how will the job satisfy certain personal wants and career objectives. Therefore, a lack of information tends to create frustration and stress, not to eliminate it.

⁷⁷Ibid.

⁷⁸As with role conflict, objective and subjective (perceived) role ambiguity must be distinguished. Objective ambiguity is an environmental condition, while subjective ambiguity is simply a state of mind.

For example, ambiguity--the lack of clear, consistent information--about financial security in a given position is apt to be stressful for almost anyone who might occupy that position. Information about opportunities for advancement, about what behaviors will be rewarded and what will result in punishment, is required for most of us to be personally comfortable in our jobs.⁷⁹

It is, of course, true that the organization itself cannot always be blamed for failures to communicate role-related information. As Kahn notes, sometimes the information simply fails to exist. That is, who knows whether or not an earthquake will destroy the organization and force employees out of work, or whether a depression will occur in the next year. In other cases, the information exists, but it is insufficiently communicated.

Louis Pondy approaches the problem of bureaucratic stress by focusing on the conditions which promote role conflict episodes. Pondy believes that the stress episode can better be understood if it is regarded as a dynamic process.⁸⁰ Essentially, ". . . a conflict episode can be thought of as a gradual escalation to a state of disorder."⁸¹ While certain conditions set the stage for a conflict episode, a form of aggression concludes it. But this is not to say that

⁷⁹Ibid., p. 23.

⁸⁰Louis R. Pondy, "Organizational Conflict: Concepts and Models", Administrative Science Quarterly, Vol. 12, Number 2 (September, 1967), p. 299.

⁸¹Ibid.

all conflict episodes are concluded. Many stress episodes are interrupted before the final stage of open conflict behavior evolves. That is, perceived conflict may be resolved before developing into a serious state, or possibly the conflict may not even be recognized by the employees involved.⁸²

Pondy recognizes five distinct stress episode stages.⁸³ Each episode is uniquely characterized and an investigation into the character of each will aid in comprehending the multiplicity of variables involved in bureaucratic stress causations. The first conflict episode state Pondy labels latent conflict. Latent conflict is divided into three fundamental types: (1) struggle for scarce resources; (2) autonomy wants; and (3) goal subunit divergence. First, then, competition for scarce resources is basic to a conflict logic episode. Type 2 involves a motive to govern oneself and to control one's own activities, and Type 3 involves a problem of divergence where two employees are in conflict over the way to accomplish a joint job task requested of them by the management. All three types of latent conflict situations can occur simultaneously.

The second conflict stage is perceived conflict and may exist when

⁸²Development of conflict episodes and alternatives to open conflict are discussed in Vilhelm Aubert, "Competition and Dissensus: Two Types of Conflict Resolution," Journal of Conflict Resolution, Vol. 7 (March, 1963), pp. 26-42 and James S. Coleman, Community Conflict, (Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1957).

⁸³Louis R. Pondy, op. cit., pp. 300-306.

in fact the conditions of latent conflict do not. Perceived conflict usually involves a breakdown in interpersonal relations where the focal parties misunderstand one another's real position. But as Pondy asserts, if the situation is such that the participants' positions are truly in opposition, then an improvement in interpersonnel relations might intensify the conflict.

Cyert and March, two organizational psychologists, have noted why certain latent conflict conditions are not perceived by some employees. They hold that some people have built-in suppression mechanisms for certain conflict situations and attention-focus mechanisms for others.⁸⁴ Krech, Crutchfield, Ballachey, Bass, Leavitt, and several other concur that individuals block relatively mild conflict frustrations from their awareness. Severe conflict situations, however, are handled by employees in a variety of ways. The most common stress-reducing tendencies are known as aggression, regression, withdrawal, and repression.⁸⁵

The third stage of conflict episode is known as felt conflict. The distinction is made here between what conflict the focal person perceives and what conflict is actually felt. "A may be aware that B and A are in serious disagreement over some policy, but it may not make A tense or anxious, and it may have no effect whatsoever on A's affections toward B."⁸⁶

⁸⁴ Richard M. Cyert and James G. March, A Behavioral Theory of the Firm (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1963), pp. 117-118. Also see Harold Leavitt, Managerial Psychology (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1964), pp. 53-72.

⁸⁵ David Krech and others list of total of nine. For an adequate treatment of interpersonal reactions to frustrating situations, see David Krech et al., Individual in Society (New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc., 1962), pp. 119-134.

⁸⁶ Louis R. Pondy, op. cit., p. 302.

The fourth conflict episode stage is manifest conflict episode. Such conflict episode is evident in the conflicting behavior of its participants. Although the most expressive form is overt aggression (verbal or physical), most aggressiveness is cloaked in subtlety because open violence severely violates bureaucratic norms. These less obvious methods of expressing aggression for opposing courses of action are covered by Dalton, (e.g., transferring a person instead of firing him).⁸⁷

Determining whether certain behavior patterns are conflictful involves the understanding of role expectations and knowledge of the participant's intents and motives in an action. For this reason, Pondy is more cautious than Kahn, advising that students of bureaucracy should be skeptical about labeling certain behavior as necessarily conflictful.

Certain patterns of employee behavior conflict with the completion of job assignments and with the personal drives and goals of other organization members, but only those behaviors which deliberately frustrate others should be deemed conflictful. Therefore, conscious, but undeliberate behavior should not be recognized as conflictful behavior. But if an employee is conscious of his actions and is eventually informed that it is conflictful and the behavior persists, then such behavior should be considered conflictful.

The last state of stress episode is referred to as conflict aftermath. Conflict aftermath is a product and continuation of a

⁸⁷ Melville Dalton, Men Who Manage, (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Incorporated, 1959), pp. 188-189; 246-259.

suppressed and unresolved conflict episode between certain participating organization members. Conflict aftermath is usually more severe in nature than are the previous forms mentioned. Such conflict evolves from a suppressed stage by some sort of aggravation which finally sets it off. The intensity of the conflict frequently destroys the entire relationship of the focal employees. Conflict aftermath typically proves extremely dysfunctional to the organization.⁸⁸

Is Bureaucratic Stress Necessarily Unhealthy For Employees and Dysfunctional For Bureaucracy?

The theories reviewed in this chapter tend to imply that bureaucratic stress is dysfunctional for both personnel and the bureaucracy. But a strong minority of scholars of organization contend that a limited amount of stress is a better condition than total absence of organizational tensions and frustrations.⁸⁹ Pondy writes, "conflict may be functional as well as dysfunctional for the individual and the

⁸⁸For theories of role conflict resolution, see: Bernard M. Bass, Organizational Psychology (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Incorporated, 1965), pp. 337-362; Neal Gross et al., Explorations in Role Analysis (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Incorporated, 1958), pp. 281-313; Robert L. Kahn et al., op. cit., pp. 337-374; Elliot G. Mishler, "Personality Characteristics and the Resolution of Role Conflicts", Public Opinion Quarterly, XVII (1953), pp. 134-135 and the included footnotes.

⁸⁹Chris Argyris, Integrating the Individual and the Organization (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Incorporated, 1964), pp. 3-7.

organization."⁹⁰ Kahn admits that "one might well make a case for interpreting some conflict as essential for the continued development of mature and competent human beings."⁹¹ Another scholar, Kenneth Boulding, contends that a certain amount of bureaucratic stress needs to be generated if an optimum level of production is to be achieved.⁹² Studies by Kurt Lewin and his team have shown that some tensions and stress actually increases activity and productivity in children.⁹³ Gordon Allport challenges the supposition that man seeks to reduce tension. He has claimed at times that a tensionless state is an unhealthy state.⁹⁴ Jerome Bruner has insisted that it is healthy for man to continually strive for something.⁹⁵ Argyris wrote that:

what man actually needs is not a tensionless state but rather the striving and struggling for some goal worthy of him. What he needs is not a discharge of tension at any cost, but the call of a potential meaning waiting to be fulfilled by him.⁹⁶

⁹⁰ Louis R. Pondy, op. cit., p. 298.

⁹¹ Robert L. Kahn et al., op. cit., p. 65.

⁹² Kenneth Boulding, Conflict and Defense (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1962), pp. 305-307.

⁹³ Roger Barker, Tamara Dembo, and Kurt Lewin, Frustrations and Regression, University of Iowa Studies in Child Welfare, Vol. 8, 1941.

⁹⁴ Gordon W. Allport, "The Trend in Motivational Theory", American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, Vol. 23, No. 1 (Jan., 1953), pp. 107-119.

⁹⁵ Jerome Bruner, "The Act of Discovery", Harvard Educational Review, Vol. 31, No. 1 (Winter, 1961), pp. 26-28.

⁹⁶ Chris Argyris, Integrating the Individual and the Organization, op. cit., p. 6.

To relate the above assertions specifically to organizations, Victor Vroom discovered that employees who experienced a degree of tension in their work displayed satisfactions in self-expression opportunities.⁹⁷ William Henry has contended that the functional effectiveness of executives is positively related to a limited amount of tension, conflict, and preoccupation in their work. Ineffective executives were experiencing less tension, conflict, and preoccupation than were more productive executives.⁹⁸ From Argyris' review of such findings, he has hypothesized:

. . . that the incongruence between the individual and the organization can provide the basis for a continued challenge which, as it is fulfilled, will tend to help man to enhance his own growth and to develop organizations that will tend to be viable and effective.⁹⁹

In conclusion, there is much evidence that a limited amount of tension, frustration, and stress is healthy for the individual and for the bureaucracy for which he works. But this is not to say that the more the stress, the more healthy and productive the employee will be. Several critics have asserted that bureaucratic stress is an unhealthy

⁹⁷ Victor H. Vroom, "Ego-Involvement, Job Satisfaction, and Job Performance," Personnel Psychology, Vol. 15, No. 2 (1962), pp. 159-178.

⁹⁸ William E. Henry, "Conflict, Age, and the Executive", Business Topics, Vol. 9, No. 2 (Spring, 1961), pp. 15-25.

⁹⁹ Chris Argyris, Integrating the Individual and the Organization, op. cit., p. 7.

condition for both the bureaucracy and its employees. Pressures which lead to bureaucratic stress are inherently involved in employee morale considerations. And as Dale Yoder asserts, employee morale plays an important and crucial role in the success of any organization. That is, low morale tends to manifest itself in low production or services.¹⁰⁰

Thus, the real question seems to be: what is the optimum level of bureaucratic stress for both employees and organization? Accordingly, then, in interpreting the results of the study (Chapters IV-VI) only those bureaucrats who tend to express "high " job dissatisfaction and stress relative to the others surveyed are regarded as potentially "high turnover" bureaucrats.

Concluding Comments

It appears that origins of bureaucratic stress really exist within the personal systems of the employees, especially within the employee's personality components. Studies of bureaucratic stress are in reality examinations of: 1) personality types; 2) bureaucratic pressures on various personality types; 3) role conflict episodes; 4) employee motivations and wants; and 5) the ability or inability of organization officials to manage competently the unique personalities of their employees. In short, bureaucratic stress is a complex organizational phenomenon.

¹⁰⁰ Dale Yoder, Personnel Management and Industrial Relations, 4th edition (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1956), pp. 725-773.

Several general theories on the symptoms and causes of bureaucratic stress have been presented in this chapter. It is felt that such a discussion of the theories was essential to acquaint the reader with the more common theorized prerequisites of the tensions and frustrations of bureaucratic organization which were extremely influential in helping to develop the hypotheses and measures used in this research, despite the oversimplification and conceptual weaknesses of some aspects of these theories. Weber's reflections on bureaucracy were discussed to show how organizing to maximize efficiency tends to create frustrations for organization members. Merton's theory of anomie was presented to demonstrate how certain conditions in the social structure tend to promote deviant behavior patterns in bureaucrats. Riesman's theory of "other directedness" and Whyte's reflections on modern "organization man" were useful in showing how modern bureaucrats have frustrated themselves by committing their lives to the capricious command of others. Argyris' theory was probed to reveal how basic objective factors (i.e., the formal bureaucratic structure) tend to lead employees into stressful states by blocking their "normal" paths of development. Kahn's theory was reviewed to indicate how subjective perceptions inherent to the role players or bureaucratic actors promote and produce bureaucratic stress experiences. Pondy' theory of role conflict episodes demonstrated how bureaucratic stress tends to evolve from environmental factors which are objective and personality variables which are necessarily subjective.

The research design and the related hypotheses discussed and explained in Chapter III considers selected objective and psychological

factors advanced by these theoriticians and many of their supporters, although the model employed in this research attaches considerably more weight to the subjective perceptions of employees. By and large, the purpose of this chapter was to provide background theories for understanding the complex nature of our subject by presenting the general environment of the bureaucrat as theorized by a few major thinkers on the subject. The specific measures presented in the research model (Chapter III) were designed for the specific objectives of this research and reflect a combination of the theories discussed.

In the next chapter specific applications of the theories examined in Chapter II are illustrated in the model and discussed fully.

CHAPTER III

THE RESEARCH DESIGN

Introduction

In this chapter the research design (model) is presented. Many of the theories set forth previously have influenced the construction of the model. This researcher in the model has diagrammed conceptually the different hypotheses to be tested. Although a model can give the reader at quick glance a general idea of the purposes and objectives of the research, the model cannot be understood clearly unless all the terms and relationships illustrated are explained fully. In this chapter, then, the major objective is to explain the model.

At first the meaning "operationalizing" is explored while in the remaining sections space is devoted to explaining the specific applications of the model. Thus, the following is examined:

(1) nominal definitions; (2) scales and indexes; (3) major hypotheses to be tested (i.e., independent and dependent relationships); (4) the purposes of the model; and (5) the meaning of job turnover in light of the research design.

Operationalizing

It has been stated by Alan C. Isaak that ". . . the creator of a model will realize its limitations as an explanatory device. . . ." ¹⁰¹

¹⁰¹ Alan C. Isaak, Scope and Methods of Political Science (Homewood, Illinois: The Dorsey Press, 1969), p. 145. Of course, it is unlikely that all creators of models do realize their limitations as explanatory devices.

Unquestionably, there exists great truth in this assertion for models in political science cannot really explain anything about the real world. Theories explain, not models. Properly conceptualized, theories represent hypotheses which have been prove true. In the social sciences, of course, there does not exist any universal scientific generalizations (theories) concerning human behavior (except basic theories involving physical behavior, i.e., all people need to eat, sleep and breath or they will die), although numerous hypotheses have been shown to be true under a given set of conditions. Consequently, the social sciences have reached a stage where hypotheses have made probabilistic explanations possible under particular circumstances (e.g., blue collar voting behavior), but universal explanation is impossible until universal theory in the social sciences becomes a reality. $E=mc^2$ in the exact sciences exemplifies general theory which is genuinely explanatory. The social sciences have not, and probably cannot produce such powerful theory due to the complex structure of human nature. However, this is not to imply that the universe is easy to explain but certain physical properties/happenings in the universe are more definite and thus easier at times to explain. Human behavior is less exact and thus more difficult to explain scientifically.

The model, then, employed in this research should not be confused with explanatory theory since it, like most models in the social sciences, only performs a heuristic function, (i.e., an engineer's model of a real airplane is an isomorphic model because it represents

physically certain features of the actual plane, only on a smaller scale). The heuristic model employed here consists of several sets of hypotheses to be tested. These sets of hypotheses form a conceptual framework. These hypotheses are several sets of guesses to be proven true or false under a given set of conditions in the empirical world. The particular conditions selected from the empirical world are established by the researcher who arbitrarily includes or excludes certain variables. The results of the study reflected in the accepted or rejected hypotheses are meaningful only in the context of the study. A researcher is guilty of faulty inference if he concludes something which the parameters of the study prohibits.

The conceptual framework (i.e., heuristic model, research design, or whatever) is the result of the effort to define a term "operationally". Although operationalizing is a somewhat controversial term, the notion at least is critical to behavioral research. Operationalizing is nothing but a rudimentary method designed to introduce concepts (i.e., a cluster of hypotheses) into a scientific language. Specifically, terms employed in the heuristic model are operationalized if they are given precise definitions (operational, dispositional, or nominal definitions) which fit the specific conditions and purposes of the research design. For example, in this research "cynicism" is nominally defined by four items in the questionnaire:

- A. "Barnum was very wrong when he said there is a sucker born every minute."
- B. "Most people are selfish."

- C. "Society is made up of people who are always trying to help others."
- D. "Actually, everybody tries to gain a little extra for themselves at the expense of others."

Thus, cynicism in this study exists if conditions A, B, C, and D are satisfied. That is, if A, B, C, and D, then cynicism exists. Cynicism, therefore as utilized in this research, has no meaning beyond the scope of this research.

Nominal definitions are the only definitions employed by behavioral scientists, or all scientists for that matter. "Science has no place for real meanings and essential characteristics. Concepts are used to describe the world as we observe it and so the very notion of essentiality is foreign to science."¹⁰² Theoretically, then, every nominal definition is equal in scientific value and neither true nor false. Of course, on a more practical level, nominal definitions are more practical or useful for researchers if the nominal definitions relate meaningfully to the real world (i.e., possess "empirical import").

To operationalize, then, is a method to link vague concepts by nominal definitions to observable properties in the empirical world. Nominal definitions have the advantage of being linked to empirical realities so that one may ". . . indirectly infer concepts from directly observable properties."¹⁰³ Thus, although we may not be able to talk about, say, "cynicism" broadly, we are able to talk about cynicism in

¹⁰² Ibid., p. 63.

¹⁰³ Ibid., p. 65.

narrow, empirically based terms. That is, after cynicism has been defined nominally, acquiescence is reached on the term so that we now can talk about cynicism meaningfully without any problem in communication.

The above has introduced the value and limitations of heuristic models. Now the model ("Research Design for Investigating the Origins of Bureaucratic Stress" shown on p.77) can be presented with the conditions and purposes of the model more clearly understood. The conceptual design illustrates the possibility of many contingencies (hypotheses) that can be used to analyze the possible origins of bureaucratic stress. The model is comprised of three circles (Circle A, Circle B, and Circle C) which contain the various factors and components (all nominally defined) that are utilized in the analysis. Circle A includes three distinct groups of independent variables--career factors, socio-economic factors, and personality factors. Although the arbitrary parameters drawn exclude graphically the "extra-environmental" variables in terms of the model, it should be understood, as Chapter II made clear, that all such immediate environmental variables are surely influenced meaningfully by the larger social environment. That is, the model assumes, for example, that the attitudes of the bureaucrats are shaped from both "inside" and "outside" of the bureaucracy.

Circle B consists of the different types of job dissatisfaction (job dissatisfiers) that are common to bureaucrats. Such dissatisfiers are conceptualized as intervening variables because it has been hypothesized that differing types of job dissatisfaction tend to be both a product of Circle A and frequently a generator of the bureaucratic stress areas of Circle C. Circle C is comprised of variant forms of

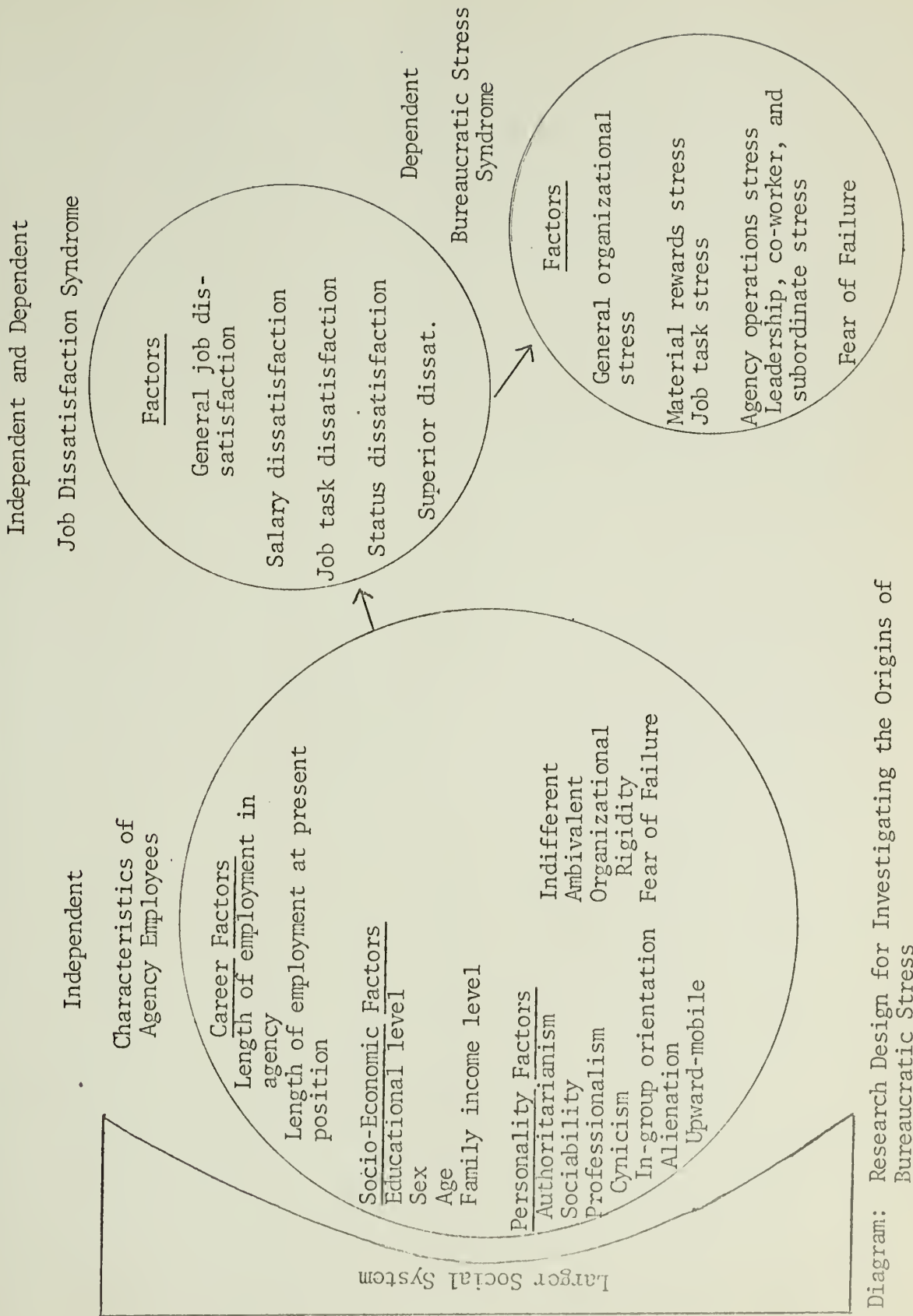


Diagram: Research Design for Investigating the Origins of
Bureaucratic Stress

bureaucratic stress which are treated as dependent variables for the purpose of the tests here.

Nominal Definitions in the Research Design

Basic to the model are the nominal definitions. These operational definitions are fundamental to concept formation, therefore, they should be thoroughly understood for an adequate understanding of the entire research and its results.

Circle A consists of measures for career factors, socio-economic factors, and personality factors. Nominal definitions are not given for the first two categories since they are self-explanatory and available in the biographical section of the questionnaire presented in Appendix B. The personality measures (personality scales), however, need an explanation because each personality factor is derived from several personality items placed randomly in the questionnaire.

Operationally defined, authoritarian personality types are rigid, defer to authority figures and symbols, and resist challenges to their belief systems.¹⁰⁴ Sociability describes people who prefer being with

¹⁰⁴

It should be understood that we are describing ideal personality types consistent with the nominal definitions, realizing fully that such ideals are only approached, never reached.

The items which comprise each personality scale are listed in Appendix C and can be traced in the questionnaire in Appendix B. The original scales, except for the Presthus' scales and the "organizational rigidity" scale, can be found in Delbert C. Miller, Handbook of Research Design and Social Measurement (New York: David McKay, Inc., 1964).

others than alone, are frequent and persuasive participants in social conversation, and like to lead others. However, this is not to say that highly sociable people are necessarily leaders. Employees exhibiting professionalism enjoy their work, regard their pay as of secondary importance as compared to the satisfaction they achieve from working, vigorously support professional norms, and believe that their work requires extensive knowledge, skill, and experience. Cynical people express the attitude that selfishness governs the actions of people or that people are constantly attempting to gain something for themselves at the expense of others. In-group orientation tendencies refer to people who identify with a perceived group. In in-group oriented feel that they have certain responsibilities for protecting the group from "outsiders". The alienated are people who are largely removed from society, who regard the general public as generally cold, not understanding, frequently a nuisance, and seldom very helpful. Organizational rigidity is typified by people who want to work for an organization governed by set rules and regulations, where job tasks are defined clearly, where few changes are experienced in the work environment, and where work is always orderly and completed on schedule.

With the exception of "organizational rigidity", the other personality scales have been heavily used in social science research in the past two decades with slight word changes to fit specific research needs. The "organizational rigidity" scale was designed specifically for this research as were the three Presthus' organizational personality scales (pp. 93, 98, 101). These four scales, although proven reliable

statistically in this study, need a great deal more verification.

Nominally Defining and Operationalizing Presthus' Three
Modal Patterns of Accommodation to Bureaucracy

In The Organizational Society Robert Presthus describes the character of three organizational personality types. He calls these types upward-mobiles, indifferents, and ambivalents--three ideal types of accommodation. One of the chief objectives in this research is to discover whether or not these three organizational personality types actually exist in organizations (i.e., even begin to approach the modal patterns) as Presthus has hypothesized. If they do, Presthus has contributed meaningfully to our understanding of the behavior of bureaucrats. More specifically, Presthus would have helped us understand more fully why some employees "hate" their jobs, why some bureaucrats feel neutral toward them, and why some even "love" their jobs. That is, his insights would be helpful in our search for the origins of bureaucratic stress.

Because of the potential explanatory power of Presthus' contentions, in this study his three organizational personality types have been operationalized from his detailed description of their typical behavior pattern of each type. Background information and theories, from which Presthus draws from heavily, are given which provide a proper theoretical setting for his theory. Also, each organizational personality type is described in relative detail so the reader will obtain a rather thorough understanding of how each type is employed in the model.

In an attempt to explain the sociological, psychological, and political character of human organization, it has been a common practice to categorize human behavior patterns. A good example can be found in the writings of Plato. In the Republic Plato classified the citizens of his ideal polity into three distinct groupings: (1) those who were happy and satisfied with the system; (2) those who were opposed to it; and (3) those who held no emotional attachment to it one way or the other. Victor A. Thompson presents a contemporary example in his treatment of Modern Organization:

Many people have the feeling of powerlessness, of alienation, and they respond with various kinds of behavior. Some are able to manipulate organization sufficiently well to achieve important aims of their own. There are many people in our society who have not been able to adapt to bureaucracy and who, therefore find it a constant and complete frustration.

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But probably the best definitive distinction and description of organizational personality types is given by Robert Presthus in The Organizational Society. Searching for a general theory to explain individual perception, reaction, and adjustment to modern bureaucracy, Presthus posits three modal organizational personality types somewhat similar to those of Plato and Thompson. Presthus refers to these types as "ideal types of accomodation." He labels the three types as

¹⁰⁵ Victor A. Thompson, Modern Organization (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Publisher, 1961), p. 4.

"upward-mobiles", "indifferents", and "ambivalents".

Presthus' theoretical framework relies rather heavily upon Harry Stack Sullivan's theory of interpersonal psychiatry. Sullivan's notion of "adaptive anxiety" was particularly useful to Presthus' theory of bureaucratic adjustment. Consequently, Sullivan's basic contributions are worth attention.

Basically, Sullivan believes that the human animal is extremely adaptive, so much so that they are capable of adjusting to almost any socially contrived rule or expectation. If exposure to even the most absurd norms occurs very early in life, such norms will appear natural and rational to these socialized individuals. In this light, early socialization can make bureaucratic society, with all of its absurdities and demands, appear rational and appropriate.¹⁰⁶

Crucial to his theory is his conceptualization of "anxiety", "self-system", and "anxiety-reduction". Anxiety is perceived as an unpleasant stress or tension-filled experience of the self-system. Anxiety (stress) exists in all interpersonal relations to some extent and acts to provide guidance for the self-system. Central to his position is his belief that ". . . anybody and everybody devotes much of his lifetime and a great deal of his energy. . . to avoiding more anxiety than he already has, and if possible, to getting rid of some of this

¹⁰⁶Harry Stack Sullivan, The Interpersonal Theory of Psychiatry (New York: 1953), p. 6.

anxiety".¹⁰⁷

Of course, this reflects the ingredients basic to the theories of the psychological and ethical hedonists. To maximize pleasure and minimize pain (anxiety, stress) is far from a novel idea, being very evident in the writings of such thinkers as St. Augustine, Thomas Hobbes, Jeremy Bentham, and John Stuart Mill. But the point is that though the seemingly natural tendency to reduce stress has been well discussed in the historical literature, empirical studies to explain the various ways people attempt to maximize pleasure and minimize pain in specific environments (e.g., a modern bureaucracy) have begun only recently.

To Sullivan, "adaptive anxiety" provides us with a useful tool for learning. That is, learning is the consequence of "adaptive anxiety" in that through efforts to reduce and/or avoid anxiety, individuals are forced to learn the situation, to adjust continually to variations in the situation until they have mastered the circumstances and are able to cope with it. In all new situations, then, a degree of anxiety prevails, but individuals are forced to learn manifestations of the situation to reduce stress. This is the "anxiety-conformity-approval" syndrome's positive function. To prevent the reoccurrence of stressful episodes, a heightened sense of cognizance and motivation must be demanded by the self-system,

¹⁰⁷ Harry Stack Sullivan, "Tensions, Interpersonal and International", in H. Cantril, ed., Tensions That Cause Wars (Urbana, Illinois, 1950), p. 95.

thus enabling individuals to learn and adapt to new situations.¹⁰⁸

As Sullivan expressed it:

"The first of all learning is called out to avoid reoccurrence of the extremely unpleasant tension of anxiety, which is, and always continues to be, the very antithesis of everything good and desireable. . . . the child soon learns to discriminate increasing and decreasing anxiety and to alter activity in the direction of the latter. The child learns to chart a course by the anxiety gradient."

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In like fashion adults in modern bureaucracies attempt to plot a strategy for successful anxiety reduction. It has been theorized by Presthus that anxiety reduction takes place in three basic forms. These forms, he maintains, can be seen clearly in the different behavior patterns of the upward-mobiles, indifferents, and ambivalents.

Before proceeding, it should be emphasized that although three separate patterns of adjustment to bureaucratic structure appear to have a measure of credibility, the upward-mobiles, indifferents, and ambivalents are strictly ideal types and must, therefore, be regarded as modal patterns of accommodation to bureaucratic life. For example, within

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It should be noted that this amazing ability to grasp and adjust so rapidly to new situations is one trait that separates man from other animals. Some animals may adjust fairly quickly, but never to the degree a human does because of their perceptual underdevelopment.

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Ibid. It should be noted here that Sullivan is obviously not dealing with maladjustment. Not all people are able to diagnose successfully situations, and consequently, fail to adjust properly to them. And it is the aspect of maladjustment which this research is most concerned since bureaucratic stress is largely the product of maladjustment.

one "bureaucratic personality" action inconsistent with the normal behavior pattern most likely will appear. That is, an upward-mobile may sometimes behave in a manner most typical of an indifferent or an ambivalent. As Presthus notes, "if social structure alone were responsible for personality and behavior, our discrete types of accommodation would presumably not exist. The organization would evoke very similar accommodations in all of its members."¹¹⁰ So it is confessed that classifying people into ideal types ignores to some degree the unique personality traits and backgrounds of individuals. This shortcoming noted, however, it is also true that humans possess a multiplicity of commonalities. It is this recognition of common traits among individuals which justifies their classification into ideal types, but being cognizant of the truism that not a single individual in a category conforms to all of the ideal specifications.

Adjustment to Bureaucracy: The Upward-Mobiles

Unlike the upward-mobiles, the indifferents and the ambivalents are strict conformists. The upward-mobile ". . . behaves in the manner dictated, and society rewards the individual with 'success' if his behavior conforms to the role. It would punish him with 'failure' should he deviate from it."¹¹¹ The contention that upward-mobiles do conform with

¹¹⁰ Robert Presthus, The Organizational Society (New York: Vintage Books, 1962), p. 167.

¹¹¹ William E. Henry, "The Business Executive: The Psychodynamics of a Social Role", American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 54 (1948-49), p. 286.

the organization's norms and purposes is crucial since not only does this phenomenon help the "pyramid climber"¹¹² succeed, but it also has a functional value of insuring conformity and stability in the bureaucracy. This natural urge to conform to bureaucratic standards is one of the reasons why the upward-mobile is referred to as an individual with a "bureaucratic personality". Such well-adjusted types comprise only a small percentage of the total bureaucrats according to Presthus' thinking.¹¹³

Consistent with the notion of conformity, upward-mobiles also thought to identify strongly with the organization. While indifferents adopt a rather complete noninvolvement attitude toward the bureaucracy, upward-mobiles are allegedly faithful allies. While indifferents are held to be mostly happy in the work situation because they estrange themselves from it and their superiors, upward-mobiles attain high job satisfaction because they become totally involved in bureaucracy regarding their superiors as future instruments for enhancing their mobility in the organization.

Typically, upward-mobiles are said to possess high morale, constant optimism, and a ceaseless desire to succeed. This latter trait is aided by the upward-mobile's indestructable air of conceit or infallibility. They demonstrate a grasp for the immediate situation as well as the

¹¹² The upward-mobile in Vance Packard's terminology (see The Pyramid Climbers (Greenwich, Conn.: Fawcett Publications, Inc., 1962).

¹¹³ Unless otherwise noted, the information given as to the behavior pattern of the upward-mobiles is taken from Presthus' The Organizational Society, op. cit.; almost exclusively from his chapter, "Patterns of Accomodation: Upward-Mobiles."

future. They connect immediate activity with future successes.

Vis-a-vis the indifferents and ambivalents, the upward-mobiles supposedly have an ability to manipulate them for their own career advancement. Upward-mobiles approach superiors with considerable respect and identify with them, while they perceive their subordinates as merely "doers of work".¹¹⁴ But upward-mobiles are regarded as Machiavellians, excelling at the projection of favorable images to those in both subordinate and superordinate positions. It is Presthus' argument that it is the ability of the upward-mobiles to impress people favorably which allows them to advance in the bureaucracy's hierarchy. These bureaucratic Machiavellians are experts in "dramaturgy" (impression management) since these Machiavellian tactics have potential career utility.¹¹⁵

In a study Henry reports on the findings of characteristics of successful business executives (i.e., upward-mobiles a priori).¹¹⁶ Henry found that these upward-mobile types ". . . had many personality characteristics in common."¹¹⁷ Like Presthus, he concluded that despite unique personality variables, enough common traits exist among certain persons to justify construction of ideal organizational personality styles. His findings, listed below, reflect the essence of Presthus'

¹¹⁴ William E. Henry, op. cit., p. 290.

¹¹⁵ Victor A. Thompson, Modern Organizations, op. cit., pp. 138-151.

¹¹⁶ William E. Kenry, op. cit.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., p. 286.

upward-mobile type of accommodation.

One, upward-mobiles have high achievement desires who must produce to be content. This drive is genuine. The individual with a pseudo-drive is not a true upward-mobile (i.e., successful business executive in this case). Real upward-mobiles are doers, not "dreamers" as are the bogus upward-mobiles.

Two, upward-mobiles have tenacious mobility tendencies. They are constantly looking "up the ladder" and figuring how they can make the climb. "Finished work and newly gained competence provide them with their sense of continued mobility."¹¹⁸ They are "status seekers" always concerned about how others feel toward them. They view their work as challenging, interesting, and necessary.

Third, upward-mobiles regard the authority of their superiors as advantageous to their careers. They respect and obey authority, visualizing themselves in such power positions in the future.

Fourth, even though upward-mobiles do vary considerably in intelligence,¹¹⁹ their ability to organize is far superior to other behavior types. They organize the unfamiliar into the familiar. "This means, of course, that there is a strong tendency to rely upon the techniques that they know will work and to resist situations which do not readily fit this mold."¹²⁰ As previously noted, Sullivan contended that stress is linked with unfamiliar situations. Adjusting

¹¹⁸ Ibid., p. 287.

¹¹⁹ Confirming Herzberg's findings cited earlier.

¹²⁰ Henry, p. 287.

to the situations or changing the situation to fit oneself is a way of reducing stress.

Fifth, upward-mobiles are decisive in decision-making. "Nothing is too difficult for them to tackle and at least try to solve."¹²¹

Sixth, upward-mobiles have a strong self-system. "They have a great deal of confidence in themselves and are relatively definite in thier actions."¹²²

Seventh, upward-mobiles are active, enterprising individuals. "This activity and aggressiveness is always well channeled into work or struggles for status and prestige--which implies a constant need to keep moving, to do something, to be active."¹²³ Such activity, however, produces severe mental and physical stress. Consequently, some of the weaker members of the group fail to make the arduous climb, experiencing acute stress.

Eighth, upward-mobiles are apprehensive, possessing a deep fear of failure. Because of their ceaseless drive to climb upwards, upward-mobiles are never really content with their present position. Their reach always exceeds their grasp. Logically, then, the top is unreachable and thus all upward-mobiles culminate as failures, their most dreaded fear.

Ninth, upward-mobiles regard their parents in a way which is unique to both the indifferents and ambivalents. Upward-mobiles have

¹²¹ Ibid., p. 288.

¹²² Ibid.

¹²³ Ibid., p. 289.

established definite independence from their parents. The clearest break is with their mothers, while they view their fathers as helpful and non-restraining images. Without a positive attachment to their fathers, their struggle for advancement would seem overly hazardous. But it should be noted that Henry found that the successful executives indicated no resentment toward their parents.

Lastly, upward-mobiles reflect the norms, values, and sentiments of "middle America". All of the rewards for playing this role (status, power, and wealth) are found among the "successful", but not without great sacrifice. "But they also pay the price of holding these values and of profiting from them. Uncertainty, constant activity, the continual fear of losing ground, the inability to be introspectively leisurely, the ever present fear of failure, and the artificial limitations put upon their emotionalized interpersonal relations--these are some of the costs of this role."¹²⁴ A book review in the New York Herald Tribune of Vance Packard's The Pyramid Climbers also expresses the same resentment concerning the apparent price one must pay to be an upward-mobile. "The Pyramid Climbers is a unique portrait of what the executive's world is really like . . . that strange society that offers a man fabulous rewards in money and prestige--and demands in return nothing but his entire life . . . "¹²⁵

Although the upward-mobile largely escapes overt stress episodes,

¹²⁴
Ibid., p. 291.

¹²⁵
This review appeared on the back cover of the paperbound publication of Vance Packard's The Pyramid Climbers (McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1962).

latent anxiety experiences are thought to exist. Interestingly enough, hidden stresses presumably motivate the activity of the upward-mobiles more than the other two bureaucratic types. As Presthus asserts, "whatever its sources, anxiety explains some of the upward-mobile's discipline and energy."¹²⁶ For example, it is theorized that the upward-mobile's intense drive to succeed is rooted in his exaggerated fear of failure. Likewise, a feeling of basic insecurity is partly responsible for his drive for high status, recognition, independence, wealth, and power. The attainment of such rewards offers to the upward-mobile artificial security as a substitute to ease the subconsciousness of the real thing.

Because upward-mobiles find it most unpleasant to confess to stress experiences, even in the care of sympathetic psychiatrists, anxiety pain may be deeply internalized and difficult to detect. In support, Timothy Leary found that "self-deception" was a common feature in the "managerial personality" (a personality type similar to the upward-mobile).¹²⁷ Basically, self-deception is a condition where individuals attempt to convince themselves that they are something other (usually something superior to how others perceive them) than what they are. For example, in a study of four self-deceptive executives, Leary found that each executive tended to rate themselves as "strong, hypernormal, and responsible", while they rated each other quite differently and as somewhat inferior to themselves, showing that the

¹²⁶ Presthus, op. cit., p. 172.

¹²⁷ Timothy Leary, Interpersonal Diagnosis of Personality (New York: The Ronald Press, 1956).

misconceptions of self was evident. According to Leary, " . . . such misconceptions of self and others must result in strained, unproductive relations."¹²⁸

Whether or not strained relations in the bureaucratic setting become manifest and destructive to the individuals and the organizational structure is quite another thing. It is conceivable that since upward-mobiles tend to be expert at internalizing or concealing stress feelings from others, then even the tests designed in this research to detect forms of bureaucratic stress may be doomed. Even in confidential questionnaires and interviews, if such personality types fail to admit even to themselves that they are stressful, such techniques for measuring perceived stress would fail.¹²⁹

But it appears quite reasonable that a lot can be speculated about the stress of upward-mobiles from what psychologists such as Maslow have disclosed concerning the hierarchy of needs.¹³⁰ If the alleged traits of the upward-mobiles are true, then we can speculate intelligently as to the forms of bureaucratic stresses they are likely to experience. For example, the attempt to achieve high status, power and dominance may likely reflect their endless quest for increasing security. Their excessive energy may indicate their suspected abnormal fear of failure.

¹²⁸

Presthus, op. cit., p. 176 (as interpreted by Presthus).

¹²⁹

One of the chief criticisms of survey research is that it fails to measure what objectively the case may be, but only perceived situations. Defenders of survey research would argue that we live in a world of self-perceptions so such methods are legitimate.

¹³⁰

See: A. H. Maslow, Motivation and Personality (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1954).

While the practice of self-deception in role-playing may reflect stress associated with an inferiority complex. None of these stresses is usually noted as types of bureaucratic stress. And maybe they should not since their origins originate clearly outside of the bureaucratic situation. In any event, bureaucratic conditions may act as a catalyst, promoting stress in individuals and creating in turn a problem for both employees and management.

The stresses endured by upward-mobiles differ dramatically in this regard from the tensions of the indifferents and ambivalents. While the upward-mobiles employ the bureaucratic structure to ease their frustrations, the bureaucracy tends to aggravate stress pains more blatantly for the indifferents and ambivalents. More clearly, it is hypothesized that upward-mobiles attempt to utilize bureaucracy to reduce their inner stresses, while indifferents and ambivalents find that their stresses are intensified by the bureaucratic environment. Again, it is for this reason that the upward-mobiles have been referred to as the bureaucratic type with the "bureaucratic personality". Despite the stresses which the upward-mobiles may encounter in bureaucracy, Presthus hypothesizes that they adapt and may enjoy bureaucratic life considerably more than the other two personality types.

In summary, the following nominal definitions form the Presthus upward-mobile scale as operationalized in this research:

1. "I would some day like to head this agency."
2. "I enjoy life more when I am working than when I am not working."
3. "In all honesty, I believe most people are status seekers."
4. "I usually regard my superiors as helpful to my career."

Adjustment to Bureaucracy: The Indifferents

Indifferents comprise the vast majority of bureaucrats, possibly up to 90%. Typically, indifferents are found in waged and salaried jobs among both white- and blue-collar employees. "In 1960 such employees comprised almost ninety percent of the labor force, divided almost equally into blue- and white collar workers."¹³¹ Presthus presents some evidence to show that these potential occupational areas for indifference is increasing.

Alienation and indifference is presumably caused mainly by the working environment of large organizations. Several conditions can be noted for their contribution to indifference, a few appearing very Marxian in tone. One, workers are excluded from the means of production. They share neither in the ownership or profits in public bureaucracies and seldom, if ever, in private bureacracies. Two, employees, due to centralized decision-making processes, are excluded from any meaningful participation in the power structure. Three, large organizations tend to make work life impersonal and confusing. Four, the work itself is fragmented into tiny chores, reducing the need for skill and education and all but eliminating the need for creativity in the workplace. Actually, creativity is discouraged since deviation from standardized work procedures only acts to disrupt the bureaucratic machinery.¹³²

Prebureaucratic conditions also serve to promote indifference. Indifferent as well as upward-mobile attitudes are products of the social system. Due to inequalities in the American system, expectations

¹³¹Presthus, op. cit., p. 206.

¹³²Content in this section is based on Prethus' chapter, "Patterns of Accommodation: Indifferents."

tend to differ according to social class. The socialization of expectations according to class takes place early in life. The upper and upper-middle classes tend to view upward-mobility as a genuine trait of the American system. These people tend to adopt the upward mobile style of accommodation. Lower and lower middle classes tend to regard upward-mobility as something less than a realistic possibility. Unequal opportunities in education, "good" grooming, etc. early in life leave the lower classes in America handicapped. Because the majority of these people probably perceive this handicap, career and general life expectations are lower than those set by the privileged classes. Thus, alienation and indifference can be detected in the prebureaucratic stages.

Chances are, however, that some lower class individuals fail to perceive their handicapped position. As a result, their "improper" socialization allows them to enter bureaucracy with high hopes. Although a few in this category may escape the setbacks, due to either virtu and fortuna, most of the expectations of this group are lowered almost immediately. Alienation then begins to ensnare their minds. Alienation is allegedly followed in time by indifference, a state of mind where life ambitions and hopes are redirected elsewhere. Alienation in the workplace does not necessarily imply a state of general alienation.

Once indifference captures the personality of the bureaucrat, withdrawal symptoms are said to become evident. As bureaucrats, they begin to just "go through the motions". They go to work, put in the required time, and leave the work situation at the end of the work day without feeling any attachment to what they have left behind. Indifference

could just as easily be labelled the "uncommitted" for they regard the bureaucracy as only a place to earn a living and their jobs ". . . as mere instruments to obtain off-work satisfaction."¹³³

Unlike the upward-mobiles, the indifferents are immune to the values of the organization. In opposite fashion to the upward-mobiles, indifferents safeguard rigorously their own time, yielding only minimum loyalty to the bureaucracy. "Although he must accept the economic bargain, selling his skill and energy for forty hours a week, the remaining time is jealously guarded as his own."¹³⁴

This behavior type feels powerless in the bureaucracy because they simply do not understand how the organization functions, nor do they care to learn. This lack of knowledge causes indifferents to remain "outside" of the bureaucracy. Almost total noncommitment, lack of identity with organizational values and goals, appears to be an advantageous mechanism of indifferents for avoiding stress. In a three year study of 139 junior executives in private bureaucracies (85 high school and 55 college graduates), stress was shown to be linked meaningfully to both educational achievement and class backgrounds. Both groups had common white, European backgrounds. Controls for heredity and personal habits' differences were made and found to be insignificant. It was found that the college educated junior executives from "substantial middle class families" adapted easily to their executive positions. The high school educated executives from lower class families (usually, sons and daughters of

¹³³Prethus, op. cit., p. 15.¹³⁴Ibid., p. 220.

immigrants) were found to be paying a high price for upward-mobility. Stress was shown to be responsible for twice as many illnesses, many more cardiovascular disorders, and death was ten times more likely in this group as compared to the college educated executives.¹³⁵

It can be inferred from the results that indifference may result from a person's unwillingness to suffer the "slings and arrows of outrageous fortune". Noninvolvement or indifference appears to be a more healthy way out for this group than involvement with the hazards of pyramid climbing.

But this is not to suggest that the indifferents are the least happy on the job, they are just the least attached to it. Actually, the indifferents are often times ". . . the most satisfied of the organization men."¹³⁶ The reasons are quite sensible because while upward-mobiles and ambivalents are often frustrated by strong drives for recognition and status, indifferents exclude themselves from these frustrations. Since job dissatisfactions and bureaucratic stresses tend to be consequences of the relationship between expectations and expectation attainment, job dissatisfaction and stresses can be lowered by reducing career expectations to realistic, reachable levels. Also, while upward-mobiles must conform to the values of the organization both on and off the job which demands strenuous self-discipline, indifferents can allow themselves to play a less confining, normal role. "In this

¹³⁵ W. N. Christensen and L. E. Hickle, Jr., *Time*, Vol. 75 (May 16, 1960), p. 45. Studies carried out at Cornell University Medical School.

¹³⁶ Presthus, *op. cit.*, p. 218.

sense, the indifferent is the most 'normal' of individuals."¹³⁷

Speculatively indifferents find identity and certain satisfaction by withdrawing, thus presenting some obvious problems for management. Authority figures in bureaucracy can control any members of their organization who seek rewards from the organization. Although upward-mobiles and ambivalents perceive their superiors in opposite fashion, both accommodation types realize that superiors can effect their chances of career success. But because indifferents do not seek organizational rewards, other than continued employment, they are largely immuned to their superiors' discipline. Management is left with only weak methods of controlling these employees, taking into consideration the high costs of employee turnover.

In summary, the following nominal definitions form the Presthus indifference" scale as operationalized in this research:

1. "This is a 'job' just like any other 'job'."
2. "It doesn't really make much difference to me what kind of work I do, as long as I make a 'decent living'."
3. "The most important part of my job is the pay and fringe benefits."
4. "The extra responsibilities demanded in this kind of work make me content to remain at my present position."

Adjustment to Bureaucracy: The Ambivalents

The ambivalent is clearly the most frustrated and unsuitable bureaucratic personality type. Unlike the upward-mobiles, they lack the

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Ibid.

dramaturgical skills and are therefore unable to make a successful climb in the organizational pyramid.¹³⁸ To Presthus, "the ambivalents are a small, perpetually disturbed minority who can neither renounce their claims for status and power nor play the disciplined role that would enable them to cash in such claims."¹³⁹

Ambivalents undergo bureaucratic tensions because their ideology conflicts with that of the organization. They are creative, intelligent, and anxious, but their intellectual tendencies are too deep and narrow for their superiors to appreciate. Consequently, the ambivalents, who are usually the specialists in bureaucracies (e.g., doctors, scientists), fail in interpersonal contact.¹⁴⁰ Eventually, they become introverts and attack almost everything in the bureaucracy as irrational. Few organization ideals are left uncriticized. Their interpersonal relations with their superiors are usually strained and uncomfortable because they resent their leaders, seeing them as threatening. Intense hostility is held toward their superiors even though they realize the aid "higher-ups" can give to their careers. Ambivalents risk frequently the costs of angering their superiors to assert a cherished principle. Such behavior is directly opposite that of the upward-mobiles since they would never risk an action which could conceivably jeopardize their relationship with

¹³⁸ It is fitting to note here that Herzberg found in a study that there is "no relationship between intelligence and aptitude and individual success as defined by their ranks or by their salaries." See F. Herzberg et al., The Motivation to Work. (New York: Wiley and Sons, 1959) p. 129.

¹³⁹ Ibid., p. 15. Basis of this section from Presthus, op. cit., ch. 8.

¹⁴⁰ H. J. Eysenck, The Dimensions of Personality (London: 1947), p. 160.

their "higher-ups".

Ambivalents become irrational in their beliefs. The power structure embitters their personalities. Although ambivalents are not excluded from membership in the bureaucracy's "high circles", they feel that they are. Angered by their perceived exclusion, they distort the members of the power structure as being nothing more than "unrestrained Machiavellians."¹⁴¹ Such distortions perpetuate and worsen the ambivalent's situation.

The rigid character of bureaucratic operations is impossible for the ambivalent to accept. The typical ambivalent favors individualism, experimentation, creativity, flexibility, personalization, and accessible paths to change. Bureaucratic dictatorship, structured procedures, inflexible rules and regulations, impersonality, all aid to promote stress feelings in the ambivalents. Continued stress episodes finally transform constructive criticisms into irrational claims against the bureaucracy. Thus, the ambivalents' one functional role of a concerned critic or agent of change is destroyed. His hostile behavior causes others to lose respect in his ideas, making the ambivalent even less influential, revealing his true plight. That is, "the ambivalent's tragedy is that he cares too much, but can do so little."¹⁴²

Unlike the indifferents who withdraw emotionally from bureaucratic life to find pleasures and rewards elsewhere, the ambivalents cherish

¹⁴¹ Presthus, op. cit., p. 284.

¹⁴² Ibid., p. 285.

dearly the rewards of power, prestige, and status which can be got in bureaucracy. It is these drives coupled with their personality limitations which prevent ambivalents from adopting a less stressful mode of accommodation.

In summary, the following nominal definitions form the Presthus "ambivalent" scale as operationalized in this research.

1. "I never seem to get the 'breaks' necessary for real success in this organization."
2. "I sometimes feel uncomfortable or strained when I am informed that I must see my superiors."
3. "I have made important suggestions many times, only to have someone else around here take the credit."
4. "My superiors never seem to pay much attention to my recommendations."

To summarize Presthus' three organizational personality types for operation clarity, upward-mobiles are status-seekers who enjoy organizational life and climbing the organization ladder. They display professional attitudes, and thus, seldom express hostility toward agency rules or toward their superiors."¹⁴³ Indifferents, much unlike the upward-mobiles, express strong indifference toward their work and the organization. For the indifferent who displays low professional tendencies, the best attributes of the job are the material rewards, vacations, and quitting time. To such bureaucrats, their job is just

¹⁴³Robert Presthus, op. cit., pp. 164-204. All Presthus scales were created from the essence of his descriptions of the three ideal organizational personalities. Presthus is not responsible for the specific items constituting the scales.

like any other job. Actually, the indifferents are so emotionally detached from their work that they are frequently regarded as the most content organizational personality types because they are presumably not subject to the frustrations which plague the upward-mobiles and ambivalents.¹⁴⁴ The ambivalents are the least content of the organizational personality types. Typically, they spend a great percentage of their work day combatting the bureaucratic structure, its rules and regulations, and their superiors. While upward-mobiles are often found at administrative positions in the hierarchy, ambivalents are commonly the specialists in the bureaucracy. They frequently see many things wrong with bureaucratic operations, but their recommendations go largely unnoticed because they lack the personality (manipulative skills) necessary to convince their superiors that such action would help to improve the bureaucracy. As a result, ambivalents express much bitterness.¹⁴⁵

Measuring Personality Traits by the Guttman Scalogram

Guttman scalogram techniques were used to find certain personality characteristics of the sampled employees. Eleven attitudinal or personality scales were employed in this study as shown in Circle A of the research design. Four or five questionnaire items were used to constitute a single scale. Once certain personality traits are detected, the expressed personality profiles of the sampled employees could be correlated with

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., pp. 205-256.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., pp. 257-286.

certain aspects of their jobs, thus indicating how various personality types perceive their work.

Guttman scaling is considered to be relatively reliable as a measurement because the scales, to be considered acceptable, must pass a test which measures the internal validity of the scale items (i.e., Coefficient of Reproducibility) as opposed to indexes where no tests for internal validity are made.* To explain, the Guttman scale measures only a single dimension at a time, say indifference. Intensity of an attitude is measured by forcing the respondents to place themselves in either of six categories ranging from an extreme positive to an extreme negative position. The categories in this study's continuum being: "Agree Strongly"; "Agree Somewhat"; "Not sure but tend to Agree"; "Not sure but tend to Disagree"; "Disagree Somewhat"; and "Disagree Strongly". Responses are ordered from the most difficult to agree with an item to the least difficult to agree. Since a scale is constructed to measure only a single trait (e.g., indifference), if the scale is internally valid, consistent responses should be expected. That is, a positive response (+) on an item to which it is the most difficult to agree should be followed by three more positive responses. A negative response (-)

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Indexes are more useful in measurements where there is no need for internal validity.

¹⁴⁶To explain by a political example, in measuring attitudes toward direct political involvement, if a respondent felt that political assassination was acceptable (i.e., answered positively), we would also expect the respondent to accept less extreme political acts included in the scale, such as destroying public property, boycotts or peaceful sidewalk demonstrations.

would throw the pattern into error. In a four item scale any deviation from the following patterns would constitute an imperfect pattern:

++++; -+++; --++; ---+; and ----. Examples of imperfect patterns would be: +++-; --+-; -+-+; and the like. An employee who responded positively to all four items would have a ++++ pattern and an employee who responded negatively to all four items would have a ---- pattern. The former employee would be typed as "highly" indifferent and the latter would be typed as possessing "low" indifference. Employees falling in between these two extremes would be labelled as being more "moderate".

Although some error patterns are expected, if too many error patterns occur, the scale must be rejected as unacceptable. A statistical test known as the Coefficient of Reproducibility (CR) is used to determine the internal validity of the scale (i.e., the extent of internal consistency). If the CR value falls below .90 (1.0 constituting a perfect scale), the scale is considered unacceptable.

After corrections are made for the imperfect responses, all of the respondents are placed into one of the five possible perfect patterns given which they fit. The percentage of respondents in each group are calculated. In the Colorado study, for example, the percentage breakdown for the Upward-Mobile Scale was as follows (see upward-mobile items on p.93):

Group A	++++	12%	36% (Highs)
Group B	-+++	24%	33% (Moderates)
Group C	--++	33%	31% (Lows)
Group D	---+	22%	
Group E	----	9%	

$$CR = .9309$$

Because the five separate categories were too spread out for practical application in this research, the categories were collapsed into only three categories ("Highs", "Moderates", and "Lows"). Groups A and B formed the "Highs" (the 36% which were considered the upward-mobiles). Group C formed the "Moderates" (33%) and Groups D and E formed the "Lows" (31%). Identical steps were followed to operationalize the "indifferent" and "ambivalent" scales.

After the high, moderate, and low categories are established, the scales are correlated with other dimensions. In this study Presthus' three bureaucratic types were crossed with certain job dissatisfaction and bureaucratic stress measurements in the job dissatisfaction syndrome and bureaucratic stress syndrome respectively (see "Research Design for Investigating the Origins of Bureaucratic Stress" on p. 77). Cross tabulations were made to determine the validity of Presthus' theories concerning employee attitudes and their adjustment patterns.

The Job Dissatisfaction Syndrome

The job dissatisfaction syndrome and the bureaucratic stress syndrome do not connote the same meaning in this study. To say that a bureaucrat is dissatisfied with a certain aspect of his job is not to say that he is necessarily bothered by it or experiencing stress because of it. In this research the bureaucratic stress syndrome provides a stronger test for employee discontent than does the job dissatisfaction syndrome (i.e., if discontent is measured in terms of stress). The job dissatisfaction syndrome attempts to measure various, but specific, aspects of a job for which employees express discontent. Unlike the

bureaucratic stress syndrome which contains several items to measure a stress area, the job dissatisfaction instrument is comprised of only a single item. ¹⁴⁷ The following indexes were used:

- 1) salary dissatisfaction: "How satisfied are you with your present salary?" (question #81 of questionnaire in Appendix B)
- 2) job task dissatisfaction: "Are there any features of your particular job which you dislike?" (question #93)
- 3) status dissatisfaction: "Are you satisfied that the people of your community give proper recognition to your work?" (question #86)
- 4) superior dissatisfaction: "How satisfied are you with your superiors?" (question #80)

The job dissatisfiers of the job dissatisfaction syndrome are used as both dependent and independent variables, depending on their two functions in the model. When related to employee traits (Circle A), the job dissatisfiers are employed as dependent variables. When related to the bureaucratic stress syndrome, they become independent variables. This is so because these job dissatisfiers are conceptualized as being both a possible product of bureaucrat features (Circle A) and possible generators of bureaucratic stresses (Circle C).

The Bureaucratic Stress Syndrome

The bureaucratic stress syndrome is only used as a dependent

¹⁴⁷ The General Job Dissatisfaction index transcends all the areas of job dissatisfaction as displayed in the model (p. 158). The 12 item index (questions 78-89) is shown in the questionnaire, Appendix B.

factor. The areas of stress shown in Circle C are conceptualized as being far more severe (stressful) areas of discontent. One of the major tasks of this research, of course, is to show that employees who tend to exhibit intense stress are likely moreso to quit the bureaucracy than more content personnel. This is not difficult, but specifying the stressed employees is difficult.

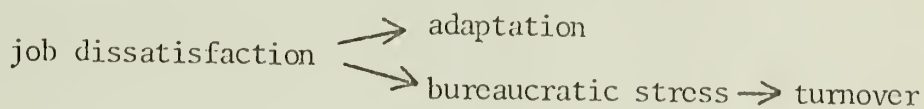
The bureaucratic stress indicators are, as previously mentioned, more complex than the single job dissatisfaction measures. Each stress area is comprised of several items (never less than five) which comprise a stress index. Unlike the simple and specific measures of the job dissatisfaction syndrome, the stress indexes test the depth and range of a discontent. For example, "material rewards stress" tests for more than just salary dissatisfaction. Concern over salary constitutes only one item of six in the material rewards stress index. The material rewards stress index attempts to probe other material aspects of a job associated with material happiness and success (e.g., training programs, promotion plans, career opportunities, visions of higher pay in the future). From this viewpoint, then, it is conceivable that a bureaucrat in a perceived "dead-end" job may show no dissatisfaction with present salary, yet score high on the material rewards stress index. This pattern, however, is not the typical one. The other indexes also measure the same sort of job dissatisfaction intensity (stress) and can be seen in the questionnaire in Appendix B.

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To understand what comprises the stress areas indicated in Circle C, the reader should consult the last section of the questionnaire in Appendix B. Items 118, 122, 127, 128, 133, and 138 constituted the

In short, many employees may acknowledge a dislike for particular aspects of their jobs, but some will learn to cope with them. Others, however, unable to adapt may become increasingly bothered by a job dissatisfaction to a point where they experience stress. This increasing tension may or may not be apparent to the particular employees. The alternatives available to the dissatisfied employee are:



As conceptualized above, job dissatisfaction can be stopped short of a stressful state if employees adapt. If employees fail to adjust, prolonged bureaucratic stress will most likely cause the employees to terminate their jobs to relieve the stress pain. Here is one of the basic hypotheses to be tested; namely, that job dissatisfaction results in adaptation or bureaucratic stress.

Model Purposes

The heuristic model presented reflects the three major hypotheses to be tested. In brief review, Hypothesis 1 states that certain personality traits which are manifested within individuals cause employees in bureaucracies to experience various sorts of bureaucratic stress. Bureaucratic stress, then, is conceptualized as a personal

material rewards stress index. Items 121, 123, 124, 132, and 137 comprised the job task stress index. Items 119, 120, 125, 129, 135 and 136 constituted the agency stress index. Items 117, 126, 130, 131, and 134 comprised the leadership, co-worker, and subordinate competency stress index. The types of job dissatisfaction were constructed along lines outlined by David Krech et al., op. cit., p. 400.

problem since conditions within the bureaucracy are viewed as only indirect causes of stress. This theoretical position is held because the same situation, say salary of \$8,000. will undoubtedly be perceived differently by every individual. Thus, due to each bureaucrat's unique perspective, the objective condition (\$8,000 salary) will be considered either not acceptable or acceptable in varying degrees by the different bureaucrats. But it is not inconsistent with this position to suggest that a "better" working environment would lessen employee dissatisfactions and stress. Hypothesis 2, then, is the antithesis of Hypothesis 1: environmental and organizational situations are only indirectly responsible for creating bureaucratic stress in employees. Hypothesis 3 states that the attitude an employee holds toward his job in terms of the job dissatisfaction syndrome reflects the area and extent to which a bureaucrat is experiencing stress. This hypothesis was explained in the previous section.

The sub-hypotheses are also reflected in the model's blueprint. Most of the sub-hypotheses tested simply provide measures which lend support to the major hypotheses.

Defining and Measuring Employee Turnover

Because through the model relationships between variables are sought to give us some understanding of the possible origins of job dissatisfaction and stress so we can understand employee turnover, it is necessary to explain how employee turnover is defined, conceptualized, and employed in this research. By and large, employee turnover (i.e., the recruitment, separation and replacement cycle) is an expression of

employee discontent. Some turnover, however, cannot be attributed to employee dissatisfaction. That is, turnover may be caused by such unavoidable circumstances as death, physical and mental illness, marriage, pregnancy, change in residency, shifts in the economy and demands for certain job services, and similar conditions. Thus, employee turnover should not be regarded as a precise measure of the employee satisfaction level, but only as an unrefined indicator.

Although in a few instances high employee turnover has been shown to be advantageous,¹⁴⁹ a majority hold that high turnover is a serious organizational problem.¹⁵⁰ It is no wonder that it is regarded in this way. Recruiting, selecting, orienting, and training costs can be very expensive. New employees tend to be inefficient and accident prone. Damage to themselves, supplies, and equipment tends to increase operating costs. Inevitably, then, continued high turnover causes the public to lose effective services and the bureaucracy suffers a setback in its reputation. Termination procedures for employees are costly, not to mention the costs of unemployment compensation. In addition, bitter, severed employees may spread ill-will, negating expensive advertising campaigns designed to recruit potential employees.

Formulas for measuring turnover vary, but basically employee turnover is ". . . the number of separations per month per 100 of the

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For a case in point, see: Bernard M. Bass, Organizational Psychology, (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1965), p. 42.

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Dale Yoder, Personnel Management and Industrial Relations, 4th ed., Englewood Cliff, N.J., (prentice-Hall, Inc., 1956), p. 744.

working force."¹⁵¹ Separations include turnover of any kind (i.e., quits, layoffs, discharges). The working force is calculated by adding together the number of employees on the payroll at the beginning and at the end of the month, then dividing by two. Thus, if an organization had 790 employees at the beginning of the month and at the month's end had 810 employees, the average working force would be set at 800. If during this month 20 employees left the organization, the turnover rate would be calculated as:
$$T.R. = \frac{100}{800 \div 20} = 2.5\%.$$
 A yearly rate can be established by employing the same formula, only formula calculations would be figured on a yearly basis.¹⁵² Yearly turnover percentages are much higher since a twelve month period is taken instead of only a single month. In some organizations, the turnover rate may exceed 100%. This is an exceedingly high turnover pace, but not an impossible one. If an employer replaces each job vacancy more than once a year on the average, then the turnover rate would be in excess of 100%. Such T.R. rate would severely cripple most bureaucracies since the replacement cycle is so costly. Healthy turnover runs much lower, probably at a rate of below 20% or just enough to allow the ingress of new blood and ideas. In the Colorado civil service system, the average yearly turnover rate was figured between 17-20%.¹⁵³ The Fort Logan Mental Health Center

¹⁵¹ Ibid., p. 744.

¹⁵² Because of the cyclical changes in the economy and the work force, seasonal variations and the varying number of work days per month, yearly T.R. figures are less precise than monthly ones. But despite these shortcomings of the yearly T.R. figures, they are used in this study because they reflect long-range estimates which are more illustrative for the purposes of this research.

¹⁵³ Statistics released by William Hilty, Personnel Director of the Colorado Civil Service system (Fall, 1967).

was selected for the first case study because T.R. = 41%, well above the average for state employment in Colorado. The Metropolitan State Hospital in Massachusetts was chosen for the second case study because its T.R. (46%) also went well beyond the state's average.¹⁵⁴

To obtain a more representative picture of employee turnover due to the dissatisfaction of employees, it is better if one distinguishes between "avoidable" and "unavoidable" turnover. This refined T.R. can be accomplished by simply subtracting the unavoidable separations from total severances and proceeding with the formula as before.

Studies such as this one are concerned with causes of turnover which can be classified as "avoidable" separations. To make the distinction between "avoidable" and "unavoidable" turnover is crucial. People who quit because of disabling injuries, lengthy illness, retirement, marriage, pregnancy, and so forth, obviously cannot be classified meaningfully into the same group as those who quite because they do not like their jobs. It is difficult to reduce unavoidable separations since the organization is really rather helpless in such cases.¹⁵⁵ In preventable cases, however, there is much that management can do. Once problem areas are detected, reasonable efforts, weighing organizational and human costs, can be made to improve employee-organization relations to the benefit of both.

The remaining chapters present the findings of the comparative case study.

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Statistic estimated by Anthony Tauro, Personnel Manager of Metropolitan State Hospital (February, 1971).

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This, of course, is not totally true. By discriminating against

unmarried young women who have a tendency to marry and leave the organization, and other such high risk groups, management can reduce turnover by avoiding such risky employees. The biographical data presented with applications provide an excellent reference for detecting and discriminating against such turnover risks. But ethical hiring practices and fair employment laws fortunately prevent such discrimination. Although it is an objective of this study to seek ways to reduce turnover, low turnover rates and bureaucratic efficiency are not extended a higher priority than human rights. The reduction of turnover is only sought where it can be beneficial to all concerned (i.e., employees, employers, and the public.)

CHAPTER IV

Linkages of Career and Socio-Economic Factors with the
Job Dissatisfaction and Bureaucratic Stress Syndromes

This chapter focuses on how the career and socio-economic factors illustrated in the research design relate to the job dissatisfaction and bureaucratic stress categories in their respective syndromes (refer to Model on p. 77).

Career Factors vs. Job Dissatisfaction and Bureaucratic
Stress Contingencies

Length of Employment in Bureaucracy. In the Fort Logan study, the "length of time employees are employed in the agency" was found related only to "status dissatisfaction," while in the Metropolitan State study this factor failed to be related to status dissatisfaction, but was related to salary. Table 1 shows these relationships.¹⁵⁷ The first part of Table 1 shows a rather weak statistically significant relationship between length of employment in agency and status dissatisfaction. The relationship indicates that job dissatisfaction with status varies according to the length of time employees are employed in the agency. Persons employed no longer than eighteen months and between three and seven years are relatively

¹⁵⁷ Because the Fort Logan Mental Health Center was only in operation about seven years when studied, unfortunately comparisons cannot be made for categories above seven years.

Table 1

Fort Logan

Metro. State

Length of Employment In
Agency vs. Salary Dissatisfaction
(In Percentages)

Dependent

	Status Dissatisfaction			Salary Dissatisfaction		
	Dissatis- fied	Satisfied	(N)	Dissatis- fied	Satisfied	(N)
Independent Length of Employment In Agency	23	77	65	83	17	29
	44	56	32	52	48	23
	26	75	51	67	33	12
				59	41	27
				39	61	18

 $\chi^2 = 4.826$; sig. $> .1$ $\chi^2 = 10.456$; sig. $> .05$

satisfied with the status they believe they are being accorded. Individuals employed between eighteen months and three years, however, show noticeable dissatisfaction with status rewards. This tends to indicate that the employees with three to seven years tenure have adjusted and/or accepted the sort of recognition they are receiving after three years in the agency. Those who did not have evidently departed. But because this relationship is a weak one and failed to prove statistically significant at Metropolitan State, the relationship deserves little attention.

The second part of Table 1 appears more meaningful even though this stronger relationship proved significant only at Metropolitan State. Dissatisfaction is quite apparent in the "0-18 month" category possibly indicating, in light of other evidence, that starting salaries are too low to satisfy the employees or salary satisfaction increases as the salary increases. Although a rather large decline in salary dissatisfaction appears between "18 months and 3 years", salary dissatisfaction increases again between the third and seventh years, declining only modestly between 7 and 15 years, but rather dramatically after 15 years of service. Such a trend implies that the starting pay is too low and the graduated pay scale is too slow to satisfy most employees. The fact that dissatisfaction with salary drops rather sharply after 18 months can be explained partly by the high turnover rate during these beginning months among those probably most disturbed about their pay. It is worth observing that not a single group is very pleased with their salary. This fact is made more meaningful as other trends in job dissatisfaction are presented.

Although length of employment in the bureaucracy was related to status dissatisfaction at Fort Logan, this career factor failed to be

significantly linked to anything in the bureaucratic stress syndrome. Apparently, adaptation occurs short of stress episode. As hypothesized, this results because perceived dissatisfaction is not necessarily manifested as stress.

In the Metropolitan State study, "length of employment in the agency" is related to several bureaucratic stress categories. Table 2 shows that length of employment is related to "material rewards stress."¹⁵⁸ Again, we find the most recently employed employees to be the most discontented. Only 6% in the "0-18 month" category express low "material rewards stress", a percentage about four times lower than the next closest in that category. All other employee groups appear to express undramatic differences in the low "material rewards stress" category, 13 percentage points separating the extremes. The only inconsistency to this pattern is found between employees employed between 3 and 7 years. After 7 years of employment in the bureaucracy, a sharp decrease appears indicating that previously malcontented employees have either left the organization before 7 years or have adapted. As will be sufficiently demonstrated, employees who have been with the bureaucracy for a goodly number of years are generally more satisfied and express considerably less stress than employees who have been with the bureaucracy a much shorter time. However, this may be due to higher salaries and/or changed life

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It should be remembered that "material rewards stress" is quite different from mere "salary dissatisfaction". As explained, "material rewards stress" reflects many aspects of a job which reflect material matters, only one of which being the pay itself.

Table 2

Length of Employment In Agency
vs. General Bureaucratic Stress
& Material Rewards Stress

Metropolitan State
Dependent

(In Percentages)		Material Rewards Stress				General Bureaucratic Stress			
		Low	Mod.	High	(N)	Low	Mod.	High	(N)
0 - 18 months		6	48	45	31	10	42	48	31
18 months - 3 years		35	39	26	23	18	55	27	22
3 - 7 years		33	33	33	12	27	18	55	11
7 - 15 years		30	59	11	27	23	69	8	26
Over 15 years		22	44	33	18	18	82	0	17

Independent

$\chi^2 = 13.588$; sig. $> .1$

$\chi^2 = 25.503$; sig. $> .01$

styles. When "length of employment in agency" is related to "General Bureaucratic Stress", (Table 2) this tendency becomes more clear. This pattern is due to a variety of factors which will become evident as other relationships are presented and explained.

Table 3 presents the relationships between "length of employment in the agency" with both "agency operations stress" and "job task stress". Once again it is apparent that newly recruited employees are experiencing both more agency operations stress and job task stress than those employed longer. In the high stress categories both relationships follow similar trends with the exception of the "over 15 years" category. Here we find high "agency operations stress" to be three times the extent of "job task stress". Evidently, in this group personnel are able to cope with the specific tasks of their job more easily than with the operations of the bureaucracy as a whole. A glance at the low stress columns indicates that this is generally the case since larger percentages appear more frequently than under "agency operations stress". But because these findings at Metropolitan State are not verified by the Fort Logan study, they should be re-tested before firmer conclusions can be drawn.

In summary. Employee discontent seems to be greatest for employees who have only been in the bureaucracy a short time. The measures employed showed personnel employed between "0-18 months" to express high "salary dissatisfaction", "material rewards stress", "agency operations stress", "job task stress", and "general bureaucratic stress" compared to other tenure categories. Of course, intense dissatisfaction at this early stage in employment explains partly the high turnover rate at both institutions. If discontent could be reduced in the "0-18 months" stage,

Table 3

Metropolitan State
DependentLength of Employment In Agency
vs. Agency Operations Stress &
Job Task Stress

(In Percentages)

	Agency Operations Stress				Job Task Stress			
	Low	Mod.	High	(N)	Low	Mod.	High	(N)
0 - 18 months	3	61	35	31	19	39	42	31
18 months - 3 years	13	74	13	23	30	52	17	23
3 - 7 years	9	64	27	11	33	42	25	12
7 - 15 years	37	48	15	27	33	52	15	27
Over 15 years	28	39	33	18	11	78	11	18

Independent
Length of Employment in Agency $\chi^2 = 17.963$; sig. > .05 $\chi^2 = 13.670$; sig. > .1

it is believed that the turnover rate could be reduced significantly. Both organizations should devote serious attention to why employees are so disturbed with their work when they are first hired.

Controlling for Length of Employment in Bureaucracy. To explain more about the relationships between "length of employment in the agency" and various job dissatisfaction and stress factors, length of employment was cross-tabulated with the personality variables.¹⁵⁹ Although not anticipated, some interesting and enlightening relationships were shown. Table 4 displays the relationships between length of employment in the agency and three personality factors (authoritarianism", "organizational rigidity", and "indifference"). The first relationship shows a close, positive relationship between bureaucracy and authoritarianism. This pattern is best illustrated by combining the moderate and high percentages in each category of the independent variable or by the low "authoritarian" category alone. This table makes it rather clear that "rigidity" in thinking and perspective (part of the authoritarian nature) increases with age (reflected in the length of service) and supports the belief that older people are more "set in their ways" than the young. At least at Metropolitan State 65% of the employees employed "18 months or less" were found to express low authoritarian tendencies, while only

¹⁵⁹ Although the personality variables were generally used as independent variables, they were crossed with the career and socio-economic variables and thus employed as dependent variables to give clues as to some of the findings.

Table 4

Metropolitan State
DependentLength of Employment In
Agency vs. Authoritarian,
Organizational Rigidity &
Indifferent

(In Percentages)

Length of Employment In Agency	Authoritarian				Organizational Rigidity				Indifference			
	Low	Mod.	High	(N)	Low	Mod.	High	(N)	Low	Mod.	High	(N)
0 - 18 months	65	10	26	31	42	42	16	31	23	65	13	31
18 months - 3 yrs.	35	17	48	23	26	57	17	23	26	52	22	23
3 - 7 years	33	50	17	12	17	58	25	12	17	42	42	12
7 - 15 years	11	38	50	26	11	50	38	26	19	50	31	26
Over 15 years	11	33	55	18	22	72	6	18	17	17	67	18

 $\chi^2 = 28.867$; sig. > .001 $\chi^2 = 14.259$; sig. > .1 $\chi^2 = 18.029$; sig. > .05

11% of the employees employed over 7 years were found to be low authoritarian. This is a significant and helpful finding because, as will be demonstrated later, high authoritarianism has a strong tendency to be related to low job dissatisfaction and low bureaucratic stress.

The relationship between "length of employment" and "organizational rigidity", although only a .1 significance level is reached, lends more support to the "length of employment--authoritarian" contingency. Again, the same general pattern exists where "organizational rigidity" increases as the number of years in the bureaucracy increases. The only inconsistency in this otherwise perfect pattern occurs for bureaucrats employed "over 15 years". But even though high organizational rigidity decreases sharply, moderate organizational rigidity contains the highest percentage of employees for any group. Thus, when moderate and high organizational rigidity percentages are combined a total of 78% is reached--a percentage greater than the first two tenure categories, and only slightly down from the "3-15 year" groups. Because the authoritarian personality is typified by a rigid character, and organizational rigidity is a measurement of the extent to which one desires inflexibility in their work, it is expected that a similar pattern would appear for both, especially when used as independent variables.

"Indifference" is also related to authoritarian and organizational rigidity, but in a more subtle manner. As Table 4 shows, high indifference tends to increase as "length of employment in the agency" increases. According to the theories of Robert Merton (reviewed in Chapter II), the bureaucratic virtuouse is typified by an authoritarian type who is largely indifferent to bureaucratic ends, but adheres rigidly to bureaucratic

rules and regulations. Robert Presthus, in discussing the indifferent personality type (reviewed in Chapter III), concludes that indifferents are people who simply put in the necessary time, obey the rules and regulations, and refuse to become involved. For these reasons, such employees are frequently the most content because they differ from those who experience frustrations at work because they are involved. As will be shown later, such allegations are essentially correct. Not only do the authoritarian and high organizational rigidity types express low job dissatisfaction and stress, but the indifferents do as well.¹⁶⁰

Length of Employment at Present Position. In the Fort Logan study it was hypothesized that: "the longer an employee is employed at the same position, the higher his perceived job dissatisfaction and stress: (sub-hypothesis 1). It was believed that this would be true because employees would not be enjoying the fruits which accompany promotion such as more status, more salary, newness of job tasks, and the like. However, the hypothesis was proven false. In effect, Table 5 demonstrates that peaks of bureaucratic stress are reached between three

¹⁶⁰ It is hoped that by now the reader has grasped the discouraging implications of this trend. That is, it appears that those most content in bureaucracy are a combination of Merton's bureaucratic virtuosos and Presthus' indifferents. They are also employees most unlikely to resign from bureaucracy. Those who are most likely to quit are those with a quite opposite character. Those who are frustrated because they are involved bureaucrats, potential reformers of current policies and practices.

Table 5

Fort Logan
Dependent

Length of Employment at
Present Position vs.
General Bureaucratic &
Agency Operations Stress

(In Percentages)

	General Organizational Stress				Agency Operations Stress			
	Low	Mod.	High	(N)	Low	Mod.	High	(N)
3 months or less	13	81	6	16	50	25	25	16
6 months or less	25	45	30	20	41	29	29	17
1 year or less	27	58	15	26	52	24	24	25
2 years or less	13	50	37	40	48	40	13	40
3 years or less	47	37	16	19	79	16	5	19
5 years or less	50	31	19	16	65	6	29	17
7 years or less	33	44	22	9	25	0	75	8

$\chi^2 = 20.425$; sig. > .1

$\chi^2 = 22.699$; sig. > .05

Independent

and six months at the new position and again between the first and second years. After the second year a noticeable decline appears, but a slight upward trend occurs after three years tenure. The noticeable fluctuation in perceived stress between position inception until the third year seems to indicate that employees are undergoing a relatively rapid change in orientation toward the entire bureaucratic machinery during these first few years. A possible explanation may be that the employees are being assigned new responsibilities periodically which tend to produce overall tension until workers adjust.

The second half of the table, however, seemingly contradicts the findings of the first half in that "agency operations stress" appears to remain at about the same level for the first year. A decline in agency operations stress then takes place until the third year after which this stress sharply increases. Since relatively low agency operations tension exists between the first and second years, it is apparent that high "general bureaucratic stress" may not result from it. This implies that employees who are experiencing bureaucratic stress are perceiving intense strain from other possible tension areas in their work.

Similar relationships appeared in the Metropolitan State study. Although several differences are apparent, the table demonstrates a basic similarity. In contrasting Table 6 with Table 5 it is apparent that for the "length of employment at present position--general bureaucratic stress" contingency--nothing can be concluded for categories of 1 year or less. There are just too many fluctuations within the same table and between tables to reach any conclusions. But there exists a somewhat similar pattern for the period between one and seven years. A close look

Table 6

Metropolitan State
Dependent

Length of Employment At Present Position vs. General Bureau- cratic Stress & Agency Operations Stress (In Percentages)	General Bureaucratic Stress				Agency Operations Stress			
	Low	Mod.	High	(N)	Low	Mod.	High	(N)
3 mos. or less	0	33	67	3	0	0	100	3
6 mos. or less	17	33	50	12	8	75	17	12
1 yr. or less	0	45	55	11	0	55	45	11
2 yr. or less	11	61	28	18	0	79	21	19
3 yr. or less	27	45	27	11	27	64	9	11
5 yr. or less	17	67	17	12	58	33	8	12
7 yr. or less	33	42	25	12	25	50	25	12
Over 7 years	21	71	7	29	21	55	24	29

Independent

 $\chi^2 = 24.579$; sig. $> .1$
 $\chi^2 = 35.319$; sig. $> .01$

at the two tables shows that there is a similar dip in expressed high "General Bureaucratic Stress" after two years leveling off to similar percentages at 5 years. It is also shown that a like increase in stress intensity appears between the fifth and seventh years. Figures from the Metropolitan State study show that high general bureaucratic stress tapers off sharply after seven years. No comparison with the Fort Logan Mental Health Center can be made because it was only about 7 years old when investigated.

A comparison between the tables of the relationship between "length of employment at present position" and "agency operations stress" demonstrates an even more positive trend. For the period between one and seven years a definite pattern is shown. First there is about a 50% decrease in agency operations stress between the first and second years. Then there is even a further drop until the third year (note that on both tables the percentage of employees expressing high agency operations stress is very low at this point). Between the fifth and seventh years the percentage increase is approximately the same for both groups, although the actual percentages are quite different.

The Metropolitan State personnel between the third and seventh year of employment at the same position are obviously less stressed with agency operations than the same groupings at Fort Logan. These statistics tend to show that adjustment is strenuous during the first year, especially to the rules and regulations of the bureaucracy, and declines in difficulty thereafter. The jump in perceived stress after five years may be due to a form of itchiness to leave this position for one higher in the hierarchy.

Two contingencies involving length of employment at present

proved statistically significant in the Metropolitan State study, yet fell short of statistical significance at Fort Logan. Table 7 which links "length of employment at present position" to "status dissatisfaction" tends to indicate that perceived moderate to high status dissatisfaction remains rather constant, varying no more than 7 percentage points between 6 months and seven years. But at the same time, high dissatisfaction fluctuates considerably but in a somewhat consistent manner between 3 months and 5 years.

Findings here imply that there are rather definite intervals where concern for status is either heightened or reduced and by a predictable percentage of bureaucrats. No category exists for 6 years or less, but if one did, would the percentage of employees highly dissatisfied with status decrease again? One cannot help but ask this question since perfect yearly declines and inclines seems to appear in this table. Curiously enough, status dissatisfaction after 7 years is unlike any other category. That is, bureaucrats here generally express either high or low status dissatisfaction. Few remain between the extremes.

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Length of employment at present position proved to produce a strong relationship with "job task dissatisfaction" in the Metropolitan State study. Table 8 demonstrates that intense dissatisfaction with job tasks

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This statistic is even more meaningful when considering that in establishing the High, Moderate, and Low categories, a bell-shaped distribution is sought (i.e., most of the sample is "tossed" toward the middle).

Table 7

Metropolitan State

Length of Employment At

Present Position vs. Status

Dissatisfaction

(In Percentages)

Length of Employment at Present Position	Status Dissatisfaction			
	Low	Mod.	High	(N)
3 months or less	33	0	67	3
6 months or less	17	58	25	12
1 year or less	45	55	0	11
2 years or less	32	47	21	19
3 years or less	25	67	8	12
5 years or less	25	50	25	12
7 years or less	25	42	33	12
Over 7 years	45	14	41	29

Independent

$$x^2 = 27.382; \text{ sig. } > .05$$

Table 8

Metropolitan State
DependentLength of Employment At Present
Position vs. Job Task Dissatis-
faction

(In Percentages)

Length of Employment At Present Position	Job Task Dissatisfaction			
	Low	Mod.	High	(N)
3 months or less	67	33	0	3
6 months or less	33	42	25	12
1 year or less	9	55	36	11
2 years or less	6	50	44	18
3 years or less	25	33	42	12
5 years or less	17	25	58	12
7 years or less	0	67	33	12
Over 7 years	3	38	59	29

Independent

$$\chi^2 = 31.591; \text{ sig. } > .02$$

increases as one remains at the same position of employment. Only between the fifth and seventh year is there a decline. But the suspicion that job task dissatisfaction decreases during these years is quickly erased by combining the moderate and high categories, leaving 0% of the employees expressing low job task dissatisfaction. This trend tends to lend support to sub-hypothesis 1 which was disproven in the Fort Logan study. That is, the longer an employee is employed at the same position, the higher his perceived general bureaucratic stress. Since job tasks at the same position would unlikely become more difficult to handle, chances are that increased dissatisfaction is more a function of boredom or lack of new challenges than anything else. This inference is given more support by the data previously cited and other data not given which shows that longer tenure bureaucrats generally express more satisfaction and less stress.

In summary. It appears that sub-hypothesis 1 must be rejected (i.e., "the longer an employee is employed at the same position, the higher his perceived job dissatisfaction and stress") because the data indicate that no such pattern exists. Although inconsistencies exist, generally dissatisfaction and stress appear to be the least intense between the third and fifth years of employment in the same position. Actually, a cyclical pattern occurs up to two years, then a decrease in job discontent appears, then job dissatisfaction increases again after the fifth year. Possibly this occurs because adjustment to new job tasks are frustrating at first until the proper skills are mastered. Between the second and fifth years the job tasks are performed adequately. After the fifth year the employee may become bored with the same position and be itchy for a new one.

Controlling for Length of Employment at Present Position. As with the independent variable "length of employment in the agency", "authoritarianism", "organizational rigidity", and "indifference" proved to be the only personality variables related to "length of employment at present position". Basically, the same patterns prevail. Table 9 illustrates that more intense authoritarianism, organizational rigidity, and indifference are associated with longer tenure in the same position. But such contingencies, turns out to be more the function of age than either length of tenure in the bureaucracy or length of service at the same position. A quick glance at Tables 9 and 9A demonstrate clearly that older employees tend to be considerably more authoritarian, organizationally rigid, and indifferent than their younger co-workers.

Socio-Economic Factors vs. Job Dissatisfaction and Bureaucratic Stress Contingencies

Educational level. In both the Fort Logan and Metropolitan State samples educational level proved to be a very discriminating variable when correlated with job dissatisfaction and bureaucratic stress syndromes. In both studies educational level was linked closely with salary dissatisfaction. Table 10 shows consistency between the two samples, others differ greatly. Discounting the uncomplete high school category and below for lack of adequate sample size, we can see that the following groupings demonstrate similar percentage breaks: completed high school; business or trade school; some college; and more than 2 years of graduate school. In both samples we find a large percentage of those with some college dissatisfied with their salary, while those with business or trade school training or more than 2 years graduate school express the

Table 9

Metropolitan State
Dependent

Length of Employment At Present Position vs. Authoritarian, Organizational Rigid- ity & Indifference (In Percentages)		Authoritarian				Organizational Rigidity			
		Low	Mod.	High	(N)	Low	Mod.	High	(N)
Length of Employment at Present Position	3 months or less	67	0	33	3	33	33	33	3
	6 months or less	67	8	25	12	58	25	17	12
	1 year or less	45	18	36	11	9	64	27	11
	2 years or less	58	11	32	19	26	63	11	19
	3 years or less	25	17	58	12	33	58	8	12
	5 years or less	25	33	42	12	17	42	42	12
	7 years or less	8	50	42	12	25	42	33	12
	Over 7 years	14	38	48	29	14	69	17	29

Independent

 $\chi^2 = 27.591$; sig. $> .05$ $\chi^2 = 23.821$; sig. $> .1$

Table 9
(continued)
Metropolitan State
Dependent

Independent	Length of Employment at Present Position	Indifference			
		Low	Mod.	High	(N)
	3 months or less	67	33	0	3
	6 months or less	17	75	8	12
	1 year or less	9	45	45	11
	2 years or less	26	53	21	19
	3 years or less	25	67	8	12
	5 years or less	17	67	17	12
	7 years or less	33	17	50	12
	Over 7 years	14	38	48	29

$\chi^2=28.707$; sig. > .05

Table 9-A

Metropolitan State
DependentAge vs. Authoritarianism &
Organizational Rigidity

(In Percentages)

	Authoritarianism				Organizational Rigidity			
	Low	Mod.	High	(N)	Low	Mod.	High	(N)
Under 25	56	11	33	27	44	37	19	27
25-34	27	7	66	15	27	60	13	15
34-44	30	25	40	20	30	45	25	20
45-54	21	49	33	24	8	79	12	24
55-64	24	33	43	21	14	57	29	21
Over 65	33	67	0	3	33	0	67	3

Independent

 $\chi^2 = 20.8281$; sig. $> .05$ $\chi^2 = 19.2654$; sig. $> .05$

Table 10
Dependent

Fort Logan Metropolitan State

Educational Level vs.

Salary Dissatisfaction

(In Percentages)

Independent	Educational Level	Salary Dissatisfaction					
		Dissatis- fied	Satis- fied	(N)	Dissatis- fied	Satis- fied	(N)
	8 grades or below	100	0	1	0	100	1
	Uncompleted high school	38	62	13	100	0	6
	Completed high school	54	46	26	50	50	16
	Business or trade school	24	76	21	43	57	23
	Some college	70	30	30	76	24	22
	College Degree	38	62	21	82	18	17
	2 years graduate school or less	27	73	26	69	31	13
	More than 2 years graduate school	23	76	13	38	62	13

 $\chi^2 = 18.526$; sig. $> .01$
 $\chi^2 = 17.731$; sig. $> .02$

least dissatisfaction with their earnings. There are two categories, however, which show a major shift in salary dissatisfaction. In the Fort Logan study of 1967, employees with college degrees and 2 years of graduate school or less are largely satisfied with their pay. But a dramatic reversal in satisfaction level is witnessed in the 1971 study at the Metropolitan State. But due to significant changes in the economy since the first study, no wonder such changes appear. In 1967 the economy was prosperous and unemployment was low, especially in Colorado. College-educated people could find suitable employment and just rewards for their higher education. In this light, then, it is not too surprising that relative satisfaction with salary was expressed. During this period people with some college training had to settle for jobs generally far inferior to those who had a sheepskin.¹⁶² It is speculated that for these reasons the some college group expressed about double the dissatisfaction with salary than those who earned the college degree.

Four years later the economy shifted for the worse. Unemployment was high, especially in Massachusetts (reaching 8% plus in July of 1971) and state budgets were often frozen, as was the case in Massachusetts. This meant that college educated people had no choice but to accept employment frequently far below their skills and training. Instead of being rewarded for earning a B.A. or M.A., their expectations had been shattered by a dismal economy and a confrontation with the "dumb-dumb"

¹⁶²

This was particularly true at Fort Logan as learned by interviews with the management. "Some college" people were frequently found as technicians, while college degree holders were found in higher and more rewarding positions.

jobs.¹⁶³ Dissatisfaction with salary at Metropolitan State has led to severe material reward stress for 67% of the college educated group (Table 11).

Failing to be statistically related in the Fort Logan study, educational level--status dissatisfaction produced a tight contingency at Metropolitan State (Table 12). Beginning with those employees who have completed high school, there appears to be a general decline in status dissatisfaction as educational level rises. For example, while 56% of the completed high school group expressed status dissatisfaction, only 33% of the "some college" did, 23% of the "2 years graduate school or less" group, and 0% of those indicating the highest education. Although only 17% of the college degree group express high status dissatisfaction (making them slightly out of focus with the general trend), 72% of these employees expressed at least moderate status dissatisfaction, thus making the combined moderate and high status dissatisfaction percentage 89% --higher than any other grouping. Of course, this statistic is not unexpected given what has previously been said about the plight of the recent college degree holder.

In regard to the bureaucratic stress syndrome, only one dependent variable (agency operations stress) was found statistically relevant in both studies. It can be seen in Table 13 that dissimilarity prevails over

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In discussing this trend with Anthony Tauro, Personnel Director at Metropolitan State Hospital, he conveyed that he was filling many "non-college" positions with college educated personnel.

Table 11
Metropolitan State
Dependent

Education Level vs.

Material Rewards Stress

(In Percentages)

Independent	Material Rewards Stress			
	Low	Mod.	High	(N)
8 grades or below	0	100	0	1
Uncompleted high school	0	67	33	6
Completed high school	31	50	19	16
Business or trade school	29	46	25	24
Some college	14	48	38	21
College degree	11	22	67	18
2 years graduate school or less	31	62	8	13
More than 2 yrs. graduate school	38	54	8	13

$$\chi^2 = 24.360; \text{sig.} > .05$$

Table 12
Metropolitan State
Dependent

Educational Level vs.

Status Dissatisfaction

(In Percentages)

Independent Educational Level	Status Dissatisfaction			
	Low	Mod.	High	(N)
8 grades or below	0	100	0	1
Uncompleted high school	33	50	17	6
Completed high school	19	25	56	16
Business or trade school	33	38	29	24
Some college	29	38	33	21
College degree	11	72	17	18
2 years graduate school or less	38	38	23	13
More than 2 yrs. graduate school	77	23	0	13

$$\chi^2 = 29.754; \text{ sig. } > .02$$

Table 13
 Fort Logan Dependent Metropolitan State

Educational Level vs. Agency Operations Stress		Agency Operations Stress							
(In Percentages)		Low	Mod.	High	(N)	Low	Mod.	High	(N)
Independent Educational Level	8 grades or below	0	0	100	1	0	100	0	1
	Uncompleted high school	42	25	33	12	0	20	80	5
	Completed high school	72	24	3	25	19	56	25	16
	Business or trade school	61	39	0	18	25	62	12	24
	Some College	47	24	29	28	0	67	33	21
	College degree	47	24	29	21	11	56	33	18
		54	15	31	26	38	54	8	13
		31	8	62	13	31	54	15	13

$\chi^2 = 24.273$; sig. $> .05$

$\chi^2 = 23.407$; sig. $> .1$

similarity. Again we witness a meaningful change in the college degree group. At Fort Logan 47% of these employees indicated low stress toward agency operations, while at Metropolitan State only 11% expressed low agency operations tension, leaving 89% in the moderate to high stress categories. This increase in agency operations stress was demonstrated even more profoundly in the some college groups, moderate to high operations stress increasing from 53% to 100%. The only stable pattern existed in the business or trade school group where once again those experiencing high stress remained relatively low. One more notation is warranted. For sundry reasons, in the highest two educational categories high agency operations stress differs sharply between studies, considerably less stress is expressed at Metropolitan State. Unique policies of the state's civil service system or management within the bureaucracy can cause such reactions.

Two more relationships proved significant in the Metropolitan State survey. The first half of Table 14 shows severe job task stress to be generally more prevalent among the less educated groups. Those with some college are experiencing the most job task stress--96% expressing either moderate or high job task stress. But because job tasks vary greatly according to position (largely reflecting educational background and experience), it is not expected that a general pattern should exist. A general trend would only be anticipated, if say, all educational groups were employed at the same position (i.e., say, all technicians). Possibly the reason high job task stress decreases by more than one half between the "some college" and "college degree" groups results from them being forced into performing similar job tasks--a situation explained previously. The importance of this table for management is clear. Obviously, employees

Table 14

Metropolitan State
Dependent

Educational Level vs. Job Task Stress & Superior, Co-worker & Subordinate Competency Stress (In Percentages)		Job Task Stress				Superior, Co-worker & Sub- ordinate Competency Stress			
		Low	Mod.	High	(N)	Low	Mod.	High	(N)
Independent Educational Level	8 grades or less	100	0	0	1	0	100	0	1
	Uncompleted high school	20	20	60	5	33	67	0	5
	Completed high school	19	37	44	16	6	81	12	16
	Business or trade school	25	42	33	24	25	50	25	24
	Some college	5	48	48	21	14	48	38	21
	College de- gree	17	61	22	18	11	44	44	18
	2 years grad. school or less	54	46	0	13	62	31	8	13
		46	46	8	13	46	46	8	13

$\chi^2 = 27.0952$; sig. $> .02$ $\chi^2 = 29.783$; sig. $> .01$

with certain educational backgrounds are considerably more stressed with job tasks than others, thus indicating where employee turnover is most likely and least likely to occur. It is also possible that extreme fluxuations between felt job task stress among different educational backgrounds may indicate that some employees are not trained enough to handle their job tasks easily, while other jobs may be too easy or unchallenging. For example, could it be that those with "some college" are overburdened, while those with "2 years graduate work or less" are taking it easy. But because the nature of the work differs, speculation here is difficult.

Part two of Table 14 suggests that stress over the competency of superiors, co-workers, and subordinates increase through the college degree group, then decline. An immediate reaction is that lower level employees have more confidence in middle management than middle management has in top level management. Since high stress with superiors, co-workers, and subordinates is dramatically lower in the highest educational categories (reflecting top management), it appears that top management has considerably more confidence either in themselves or their subordinates than their subordinates have in their co-workers or superiors.¹⁶⁴ It is again apparent that the college degree employees are the most stressed. It should be remembered that this group also expressed high salary dissatisfaction, high status dissatisfaction (when moderate and high

¹⁶⁴ The manner in which the questionnaire items were phrased would make responses relative to the position of the bureaucrat. Theoretically, then, higher-ups would think in terms of their subordinates and co-workers, while lower level employees would think in terms of their superiors and co-workers.

categories were combined), and high material rewards stress. Intense stress was not demonstrated for job tasks, but this is consistent since ability to perform the work is seemingly correlated with the willingness or pleasure in doing the work. Again, the table indicates that personnel with college degrees are working in positions far below their expectations or capabilities. Being bothered by inferior pay and status, poor opportunities for future job success, and superiors who under different conditions might have been their colleagues or subordinates, appears to be a natural reaction to their plight.

In summary. Generally, the most dissatisfied and stressed bureaucrats tended to be those who had only "some college" education and a "college degree", but no graduate school training. From personal interviews and investigating the biographical background of these two educational groups, it appears that these bureaucrats are being employed in jobs degrading to their training. This was particularly the case at Metropolitan State. The poor job market of the late 1960's and early 1970's has undoubtedly added to the high employee turnover problem by "forcing" college trained people to take "non-college", technical jobs. Management at both institutions informed me that turnover was the most critical among hospital technicians.

Those employees least likely to be dissatisfied or stressed with their jobs tended to be the bureaucrats with a business, trade school, or graduate school educational background. Evidence indicates that these employees are filling positions for which they were trained. Therefore, they do not tend to be disturbed or in any rush to leave their positions because they are "educated misfits".

Sex linkages. Sex proved to be largely unrelated to the job dissatisfaction syndrome in both studies, but one relationship did appear at Metropolitan State. Table 15 shows that women employees are notably more dissatisfied with their superiors than are men. Although just missing at the .1 significance level at Fort Logan, this same tendency prevailed. It is speculated that women are still largely dominated by male superiors even in civil service organizations where jobs are held ideally on the basis of merit. Evidently, even though less discrimination against women in top level jobs undoubtedly exists in public service than in private enterprise,¹⁶⁵ the practice is still too pervasive to reduce the resentment of the female employees.

But in reference to the bureaucratic stress syndrome, women appear to display a disproportionate amount of stress as compared to the male bureaucrats. Both at Fort Logan and Metropolitan State (Table 16) females expressed slightly over double the percentage of high general bureaucratic stress than their male counterparts. However, at Fort Logan an apparent trend was seen in regard to agency operations stress (last part of Table 16). In this contingency males demonstrate more than double the extent of stress. It was hypothesized that women would be more adaptive to bureaucratic rules and regulations than men but not to other organizational features (sub-hypothesis 5). Because the females scored higher than the

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A point of interest is that the Fort Logan Mental Health Center was headed by a woman at the time it was researched. Otherwise, men employees in both organizations dominated the hierarchical peaks.

Table 15

Metropolitan State
DependentSex vs. Superior
Dissatisfaction

(In Percentages)

Independent	Superior Dissatisfaction			
	Low	Mod.	High	(N)
Sex	31	55	13	45
	27	37	36	64
	Male			
	Female			

 $\chi^2 = 7.182$; sig. $> .05$

Table 16

Sex vs. General Bureaucratic Stress & Agency Operations Stress		Dependent											
		Fort Logan				Metropolitan State				Fort Logan			
		General Bureaucratic Stress				General Bureaucratic Stress				Agency Operations Stress			
(In Percentages)		Low	Mod.	High	(N)	Low	Mod.	High	(N)	Low	Mod.	High	(N)
Sex	Male	30	55	14	56	16	67	16	43	47	16	36	55
	Female	24	46	30	93	19	46	35	63	56	30	14	89

$\chi^2 = 4.804$; sig. $> .1$ $\chi^2 = 5.496$; sig. $> .1$ $\chi^2 = 11.172$; sig. $> .005$

males in the general bureaucratic stress measurement, yet scored lower in agency operations stress index, it became apparent that women employees must be undergoing somewhat more stress in other ways.¹⁶⁶ Such was substantiated by the inspection of additional data that was statistically insignificant. The data showed females to be consistently more dissatisfied or stress in the remaining measurements, although a few exceptions occurred. This would tend to invalidate sub-hypothesis 5.

In summary. Generally, women bureaucrats tended to be more dissatisfied and stressed with their employment than their male counterparts. Women expressed over twice as much "general bureaucratic stress" than the men. The women bureaucrats also expressed about twice as much resentment toward their superiors than the men. Although some studies in the past have shown some women to prefer male superiors, the women's liberation movement of the late 1960's and early 1970's probably made women acutely sensitive to male domination. Maybe the women are reacting to the fact that the hierarchies of both institutions are male dominated. But placing more women in higher positions in the hierarchy may not reduce employee turnover because it could cause the "unliberated" men to become resentful and cause them to quit. This is a delicate issue, which many men have learned to their dismay, must be handled very carefully.

Controlling for sex. To understand further why women tended to be more dissatisfied and stressed with their employment, sex was correlated

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Since the general bureaucratic stress index is a composite of all the other stress areas, women had to show consistently more stress in areas other than agency operations stress to allow them to score higher in the general bureaucratic stress index.

with the personality variables employed in the study.¹⁶⁷ Two explanatory relationships appeared. Sex was found to be related to indifference and alienation. Table 17 shows where high indifference tends to be more the trait of males than females. Since it was stated earlier that high indifference tends to be linked with increased satisfaction and low stress, then one of the reasons women tend to express more dissatisfaction and stress might be due to this personality factor. Tentatively, it appears that low indifference (high involvement in the bureaucracy) promotes frustration which leads to dissatisfaction and anxiety. Highly indifferent employees (a large percentage of them being men) seem to avoid frustration by their indifferent or noninvolved attitude toward their work.

The last half of the table presents a similar relationship. Here we find the percentage of females exhibiting extreme alienation to be less than one-half that displayed by the males. And as was found later in the study, high alienation tends to be related to high job dissatisfaction and stress.¹⁶⁸

An additional fear of failure index was employed in the second case analysis to cast more light on certain relationships. In regard to sex

¹⁶⁷ Only for Metropolitan State employees.

¹⁶⁸ Originally, simply for curiosity sake, sex was run against "research optimism", a single item asking whether studies such as this one could help stimulate positive bureaucratic change. Results showed 50% of the females to be pessimistic, while only 27% of the males were (sig. .05). Again, this reflects the consistent trend between men and women. Women, being more displeased with the present job situation from their perspective, appear less likely than the men to perceive of future and dramatic changes which will improve the bureaucracy, especially for them.

Table 17

Metropolitan State
DependentSex vs. Indifference
& Alienation

(In Percentages)

		Indifference				Alienation			
		Low	Mod.	High	(N)	Low	Mod.	High	(N)
Independent Sex	Male	16	39	45	44	35	26	39	43
	Female	23	55	22	65	36	45	19	64

 $\chi^2 = 6.992$; sig. > .05 $\chi^2 = 6.786$; sig. > .1

only a single, weak relationship appeared. Table 18 illustrates that women fear failure more than men. But this contingency is weak and not much credence should be placed upon it. However slight, the trend is not inconsistent with the other findings presented. The tendency is at least helpful in explaining why women are more bothered by their superiors, exhibit more general stress, and yet remain more involved in their work (i.e., less indifferent to it) than the men.

But it should be mentioned that although women do appear to be more dissatisfied and stressed than men, this outcome could be more of a function of age than sex. Table 19, below shows that more than twice as many women as compared to men are found in the age category where the most intense dissatisfaction and stress occurs, as we shall see in the next section. Of the women surveyed in this "under 25" age category, 62% express "high" general job dissatisfaction, while 79% expressed "moderate" to "high" general bureaucratic stress. These percentages are still much higher than for the males, however, although there are not enough women and men in these cells to draw any adequate conclusions.

Table 19

Sex vs. Age

Metropolitan State

		Age					
		-25	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+
Sex	Male	8	7	9	11	9	1
	Female	19	8	11	14	13	1

Table 18

Metropolitan State
Dependent

		Fear of Failure			
		Low	Mod.	High	(N)
	Male	26	58	18	43
	Female	16	57	27	63

Sex vs. Fear of Failure

(In Percentages)

 $\chi^2 = 2.514$; sig. $> .1$

Age linkages. Of the career and socio-economic variables, age in both studies produced the most statistically significant relationships with the job dissatisfaction syndrome, although at Fort Logan, age failed to be linked to any factors in the bureaucratic stress syndrome. This finding tends to support the thesis that job dissatisfaction does not necessarily lead to stress.

Table 20 shows the linkages between age and salary from the two case studies. Although similar expressions of salary dissatisfaction are shown for the under 25 category, and for those 55 or over, strangely enough, opposite relationships were obtained for those between the ages of 25 and 45. While employees between these ages are satisfied with their salaries at Fort Logan, dissatisfaction is displayed at Metropolitan State. It is apparent that at Fort Logan salary dissatisfaction is only acute for beginning employees (i.e., those under 25). Henceforth, salary satisfaction increases until a slight dip is noticed for those 55 or over. But at Metropolitan State, salary dissatisfaction continues until a rather late age--until age 55. Several factors could explain this discrepancy. One, the pay scale at Metropolitan State progresses too gradually to please most employees. Two, the pay scale is too low in contrast to the high cost of living in the Boston area as compared to the lower cost of living near Denver. Three, the condition of the economy in 1971 is so much worse than it was in 1968 that Metropolitan State is a victim of present economic conditions rather than agency or civil service policy.¹⁶⁹

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Pay scales are governed by the state's civil service system. Individual organizations do not have the power to control wages. Because general civil service policy is slow, pay hikes could be far behind cost of living increases in time of growing economic despair.

Table 20

Dependent

Fort Logan Metropolitan State

Age vs. Salary Dissatisfaction		Salary Dissatisfaction					
(In Percentages)		Dissatis- fied	Satis- fied	(N)	Dissatis- fied	Satis- fied	(N)
Independent Age	Under 25	64	36	25	73	27	26
	25 - 34	45	55	51	75	27	15
	35 - 44	30	70	30	70	30	20
	45 - 54	33	68	31	62	37	24
	55 or over	44	56	9	33	67	24

 $\chi^2 = 8.122$; sig. $> .1$ $\chi^2 = 11.071$; sig. $> .1$

In Table 21 a well-nigh perfect pattern exists between age and job task dissatisfaction. As age increases, job task dissatisfaction decreases. This same pattern is shown in the Metropolitan State data, but the contingency failed at the .1 level of statistical significance. Evidently, ease in handling new job tasks successfully may not be the reason for the expressed discontent. As previously indicated, and will further be elaborated, perspective, reflecting one's previous experiences, appears to be more responsible for perceived dissatisfaction and stress than ability to perform assigned duties. For example, preliminary results from these two studies indicates that the younger bureaucrats consistently experience considerable unhappiness, not because of their talents, but because their previous backgrounds and frame of mind which does not allow them to be satisfied with their present position--generally one of low status, salary, and the like.

Proving insignificant at Metropolitan State, but showing a strong .001 relationship at Fort Logan was the age-status dissatisfaction contingency (last half of Table 21). Again we see that those under 25 are dissatisfied with their present status. Again, this is so because of the generally low position of the beginning bureaucrat. Since status dissatisfaction decreases so sharply after 24, evidently quick adjustment is made or these younger employees quit. There is also another possibility to explain the gross dissatisfaction of employees under 25. It could be that few college educated people exist in this age group, especially when considering the men. This is a likelihood simply because college educated personnel would generally have to 22 years old at least. The military

Table 21

Fort Logan
DependentAge vs. Job Task
Dissatisfaction &
Status Dissatisfaction

(In Percentages)

	Job Task Dissatisfaction				Status Dissatisfaction		
	Low	Mod.	High	(N)	Dissatis- fied	Satis- fied	(N)
Under 25	0	80	20	25	64	36	25
25 - 34	0	75	25	51	22	78	51
35 - 44	17	77	7	30	30	70	30
45 - 55	20	77	3	30	10	90	30
55 or over	33	67	0	9	22	78	9

Independent

Age

 $\chi^2 = 19.620$; sig. $> .025$ $\chi^2 = 21.892$; sig. $> .001$

obligation would also delay college men from beginning full-time employment. Consequently, few people could hold a college degree and still be under 25. Most of this age group, then, would include non-college people in the lowest income and prestige positions in the bureaucracy. Such provides a partial explanation for the high dissatisfaction within this age group.

Consistently, superior dissatisfaction also formed a rather perfect pattern when crossed with age. Generally, Table 22 reveals that dissatisfaction with superiors declines as age increases. Although not a single employee under 25 expressed high superior dissatisfaction, 48% indicated moderate dissatisfaction. By combining the moderate and high categories, however, one can see that those under 25 are the most dissatisfied. This pattern is even more apparent in the data from Metropolitan State. Here 52% of the "under 25" group feel high superior dissatisfaction, contrasted to a mere 8% for those 55 or over.

Oddly enough, the age-general job dissatisfaction contingency just missed statistical significance at Fort Logan, but a somewhat close relationship appeared at Metropolitan State. As before, the general trend prevailed where as age increased, dissatisfaction decreased (Table 23).

As mentioned, age failed at Fort Logan to be unrelated to any factor in the bureaucratic stress syndrome, thus indicating that some form of adaptation (either in the form of adjustment to job demands or turnover) took place short of more widespread and intense job tension (i.e., forms of bureaucratic stress). But once again the same pattern prevailed at Metropolitan State in reference to the bureaucratic stress syndrome (Table 24). Excluding a minor inconsistency involving the

Table 22

Dependent

Fort Logan Metropolitan State

Age vs. Superior
Dissatisfaction

(In Percentages)

		Superior Dissatisfaction							
		Low	Mod.	High	(N)	Low	Mod.	High	(N)
Under 25		52	48	0	25	11	37	52	27
25 - 34		57	27	16	51	20	60	20	15
35 - 44		80	10	10	30	35	50	15	20
45 - 54		68	26	6	31	25	50	25	24
55 or over		89	11	0	9	54	38	8	24

Independent

$\chi^2 = 14.370$; sig. $> .1$ $\chi^2 = 23.083$; sig. $> .02$

Table 23

Metropolitan State
DependentAge vs. General Job
Dissatisfaction

(In Percentages)

		General Job Dissatisfaction			
		Low	Mod.	High	(N)
Independent	Age				
	Under 25	15	30	56	27
	25 - 34	20	60	20	15
	35 - 44	30	55	15	20
	45 - 54	21	58	21	24
	55 - 64	46	37	17	24

Independent

Table 24

Metropolitan State
Dependent

Age vs. General Bureaucratic Stress		General Bureaucratic Stress			
(In Percentages)		Low	Mod.	High	(N)
Independent Age	Under 25	11	37	52	27
	25 - 34	13	73	13	15
	35 - 44	20	55	25	20
	45 - 54	12	67	21	24
	55 - 64	33	57	10	21

 $\chi^2 = 20.870$; sig. $> .05$

"25-34" age group, increased age is accompanied by less general bureaucratic stress feelings. While, as many as 52% of the youngest employees expressed general bureaucratic stress, only about 10% of the older expressed high bureaucratic stress.

As discussed previously under the sections dealing with the "length of employment in agency" and "length of employment at present position", dissatisfaction and stress in these two relationships appears to be more the function of age than any other factor.

The above analysis regarding age gives us one firm indication for explaining the high turnover rate at both Fort Logan and Metropolitan State. Without any doubt, the younger employees are highly dissatisfied with every aspect of their employment (at least those aspects measured). The gap between employee dissatisfaction in the younger age groups and older age groups is too significant to be overlooked. Obviously, to keep younger employees with the bureaucracy, a more concerted effort to meet some of their demands should be made. It could be that the rigidity of the seniority system is simply too slow and frustrating for most of the younger bureaucrats. If the system discourages young, flexible, involved, and talented people, possibly the only employees who remain are those bureaucratic virtuosos Robert Merton so detested.

The fact that age was only related with the bureaucratic stress syndrome once does not necessarily imply that the young are not that bothered by their work. It seems more probable that the young bureaucrats are simply quitting shortly after being hired, thus eluding the stressful condition which follows prolonged, acute dissatisfaction. This inference is supported by statements obtained from interviews with the personnel

managers of the two institutions. Both conveyed that turnover is exceedingly rapid in the first few months for most age groups, but particularly with the young.¹⁷⁰ It is not enough to suggest that the young are just more mobile. Their instability may be the result of a sound reason--a possibly unintentional, but nevertheless, systematic discrimination against them.¹⁷¹

In summary. The age factor appears to tell us a lot about the causes of employee turnover. Obviously, the data show that the younger employees are very disturbed about their employment. The most dissatisfied and stressed personnel tend to be under 35, but especially under 25. The findings in this comparative case analysis indicate rather convincingly that youthful employees are rather high turnover risks simply because they show serious displeasure with about every aspect of their jobs. Although the management at Fort Logan and Metropolitan State are somewhat aware of the intense job discontent by the younger employees, they had better concentrate on resolving this problem, with the cooperation of the respective civil service systems, or they will not be able to reduce employee turnover significantly. My data indicate that over one half of the employees at Fort Logan and over one third at Metropolitan State were under 35 years of age. This is another vital reason why, if turnover is to be reduced, careful attention should be given to why employees under 35 are disproportionately dissatisfied and stressed with their employment.

¹⁷⁰ Interviews with Murray Hilty, Chief of Personnel, Fort Logan Mental Health Center, Fall, 1967; and Anthony Tauro, Personnel Director, Metropolitan State Hospital, Spring, 1971.

¹⁷¹ This is not to suggest that employees should not be rewarded for long tenure. But inflexible policies have led to incompetence in both

Family income level. The final independent variable in this section, family income level, was found to be related twice in the Fort Logan analysis and three times at Metropolitan State. But none of the relationships appeared twice in both studies. Table 25 shows the Fort Logan contingencies, while Tables 26 and 27 display those found at Metropolitan State. The first half of Table 25 illustrates the linkages between family income and salary dissatisfaction. Wages only reflects one's earnings at work since contributions to family income may come from other sources. However, family income is in some ways more descriptive than straight job earnings since the former reflects more accurately the standard at which one lives. It is obvious from the table that an inverse relationship exists between family income and salary dissatisfaction. That is, as family income increases, salary discontent decreases. Only one minor exception occurs at the \$10,000 - 14,999 level. One might conclude that this pattern is expected, but public administration literature has hypothesized the following about pay in public bureaucracies: the higher the salary of employees, the greater the salary dissatisfaction. This hypothesis is based on the belief that as employee classification level rises, salary becomes comparably lower as compared to what could be commanded in private enterprise. That is, clerks, typists, etc. receive approximately the same wages whether they are employed by the public or private sector. But top level administrators in public institutions, for example, receive salaries which are generally not competitive with what public service and private enterprise. To improve our public service, incompetence should not be protected by codes which function to discourage and exclude young talent.

Table 25

Dependent

Fort Logan

Family Income vs. Salary Dissatisfaction & Agency Operations Stress (In Percentages)		Salary Dissatisfaction		Agency Operations Stress			
		Dissatis- fied	Satis- fied	(N)	Low	Mod.	High (N)
Independent Family Income	Under \$2,500	75	25	4	0	50	4
	\$2,500 - 4,999	71	29	24	57	44	23
	\$5,000 - 7,499	39	62	39	56	22	36
	\$7,500 - 9,999	35	65	34	64	24	33
	\$10,000 - 14,999	46	55	33	58	13	31
	\$15,000 - 24,999	10	90	10	18	27	11
	\$25,000 or over	0	100	4	50	0	4

 $\chi^2 = 14.717$; sig. > .025 $\chi^2 = 22.356$; sig. > .05

Table 26

Metropolitan State

Dependent

Family Income vs. Status Dissatisfaction (In Percentages)		Status Dissatisfaction						
		Low	Mod.	High	(N)	Satis- fied	Dissatis- fied	(N)
Independent Family Income	Under 2,500	0	50	50	2	0	100	2
	\$2,500 - 4,999	60	20	20	5	60	40	5
	\$5,000 - 7,499	3	58	39	31	3	97	31
	\$7,500 - 9,999	35	48	17	23	35	65	23
	\$10,000 - 14,999	39	17	43	23	39	61	23
	\$15,000 - 24,999	61	39	0	18	61	39	18
	\$25,000 or over	29	57	14	7	29	71	7

 $\chi^2 = 32.460$; sig. > .001 $\chi^2 = 22.480$; sig. > .001

Table 27

Metropolitan State
DependentFamily Income vs. Leadership,
Co-worker, and Subordinate
Competency Stress

(In Percentages)

Family Income	Leadership, Co-worker, and Subordinate Competency Stress			
	Low	Mod.	High	(N)
Under \$2, 500	50	0	50	2
\$2, 500 - 4, 999	40	60	0	5
\$5, 000 - 7, 499	16	42	42	31
\$7, 500 - 9, 999	4	70	26	25
\$10, 000 - 14, 999	50	61	9	23
\$15, 000 - 24, 999	50	44	6	18
\$25, 000 or over	29	45	29	7

Independent

 $\chi^2 = 25.724$; sig. $> .02$

they would be receiving in private enterprise.¹⁷² But the statistics presented from the Fort Logan study suggest that this hypothesis is false since those receiving higher incomes are considerably more content with their salaries than lower paid employees. Income alone, regardless of other factors (e.g., age, educational level) appears to determine the level of satisfaction with salary. But no pattern seemed to form at all at Metropolitan State, leaving the above conclusions very suspect.

The second half of Table 25 demonstrates close, but puzzling relationships. Employees with a family income of \$2,500 (yet the sample size is too small) and between \$5,000 and \$14,999 are relatively dissatisfied with their income as well as stressed by agency operations. Employees with a family income of between \$2,500 and \$4,999 show extremely high salary dissatisfaction and report relatively low agency operations stress. Personnel with a family income of over \$15,000 express high agency operations stress, although these same workers display high satisfaction with their family income. The above indicates that employees with a family income of between \$2,500 and \$4,999 are likely to be dissatisfied with their salary, but not stressed by agency operations. Employees with a family income over \$15,000 are likely to be satisfied in regard to salary, but stressed by agency operations. This somewhat inverse outcome between income and agency operations stress was not supported in the Metropolitan State study, implying that possibly unique, undetected conditions made these outcomes particular to Fort Logan. Only

¹⁷²Verification can be obtained from the Statistical Abstract of the United States (Superintendent of Documents, Washington, D.C.).

additional studies could verify such tendencies.

To reveal a clearer picture of the relationships between family income and status dissatisfaction, three-way and two-way tables are presented (Table 26). The first is better for illustrating the intensity of dissatisfaction, while the latter expresses in clearer fashion whether the bureaucrats are either dissatisfied or satisfied with their status. Generally, status dissatisfaction decreases as family income increases until the \$25,000 or over category. Strangely enough, status dissatisfaction increases dramatically in this group. Although high status dissatisfaction is only at a modest 14% level, part two of the table implies the extent to which status dissatisfaction increases among these rather wealthy employees. The \$25,000 or over group is the only family income level which appears inconsistent with the downward trend beginning at the \$5,000 level. Certainly, it is obvious that our sample for those earning \$25,000 or more is small, yet still large enough to indicate a reversal in the trend.

Unless further probing is carried out, this shift is difficult to explain. Ordinarily, one would think that these people would be the most content with their assigned status, especially since their family income is indicative of their entire socio-economic position in society. However, it is a possibility that these "bureaucratic elites" feel that they should be given even more recognition than they are by both fellow employees and the community. Since status feelings are relative to self-perceptions, it is possible that these high income employees believe that they are not accorded proper recognition when compared to other people in the community with similar educational backgrounds, and the like. It is also a possibility

that the professional-generalist clash¹⁷³ is showing through here: That is, if these employees are doctors (either physicians or psychiatrists), which seems highly probable, they may feel that their professional talents are superceded by generalist dictates and the rules and regulations of the bureaucratic system. In any event, status dissatisfaction among these workers is not shown to be intense, nor is the sample large, nor did such findings appear in the Fort Logan study. Consequently, concern here seems to warrant only casual attention until further evidence is provided.

The contingency expressed in Table 27 shows an identical pattern to the table just explained. Only this time we are dealing with leadership, co-worker, and subordinate competency stress. Again, as family income increases, stress declines until the \$25,000 or over category is reached. Then, like in Table 26, an increase is noted. This further affirms the notion that these employees are disturbed about their position in the bureaucracy. Not only do they express status dissatisfaction, but they also are frustrated by the perceived capabilities of their co-workers, subordinates, and their superiors. Implications are that turnover among these employees would be caused more by their ill-feelings over their place in the bureaucracy than the work itself. In a table not shown, this group expressed next to the least amount of dissatisfaction over job tasks.

¹⁷³ Public administration literature frequently refers to the generalist-professional feud. It is speculated that uneasiness exists between the two groups due to a basic difference in perspective and identification. The professionals (i.e., experts such as doctors, scientists, etc.) identify with their profession and are primarily concerned with their own trade, caring little about "trivial" rules that seem to interfere with their professional expertise. Generalists (administrators), on the other hand, identify with the bureaucracy and

In summary. In general "family income" failed to tell us very much about employee dissatisfaction and turnover. About the only consistency found was that bureaucrats with a family income less than \$7,500 did tend to be the most dissatisfied and stressed when compared to their more wealthy co-workers. But with such a low salary, this is understandable. This study does conclude that pay (reflected in family income) is about the most critical, single factor in determining one's happiness in employment. It appears that financial security must be satisfied before people are content in their work. After a certain income (in this case \$7,499), income appears to play a more minor role in determining a person's attitude toward work.

Conclusions

As discussed in Chapter II, statistical tests only establish relationships between variables; they cannot tell us why such relationships exist. But despite this limitation, a great deal can be learned once the relationships are apparent, especially if a series of relationships are carefully scrutinized. In the series of relationships involving career and socio-economic variables found in this comparative case study and presented in this chapter, meaningful patterns have evolved which can help us understand more about employees (at least those employed in public mental health institutions) and the complex nature of employee turnover. At the same time the data presented here also contradicts previously presented information, refuting and confusing the understanding we thought

are primarily concerned with organizing principles such as co-ordination and regard the experts as generally uncooperative. In sum, both sides feel that the other is insensitive to their responsibilities.

we once had. But we cannot escape the reality that differences in theoretical orientation, methods, inferences, mechanical and human error in the process of survey research, and the unique conditions of various organizations lead researchers to different and sometimes erroneous conclusions. Consequently, it appears that only patterns which have survived rigorous and continuous retesting under different organizational and methodological conditions warrants high respect, although no trends should be discarded thoughtlessly.

Of the independent factors surveyed in this chapter, age appears to have one of the most consistent trends. The general trend indicates that job dissatisfaction and stress decreases as age increases. But even more crucial, perhaps, is the consistently high dissatisfaction and stress, far out of line with all other age categories, expressed by employees under 25 with almost every phase of their jobs. These employees exhibited the highest dissatisfaction with their wages, job tasks, superiors, and their status. Although age failed to be related to the bureaucratic stress syndrome at Fort Logan, this group also expressed the highest general bureaucratic stress at Metropolitan State.

Another tendency shows dissatisfaction in certain job areas to increase slightly in the pre-retirement years. The data show slight increases in dissatisfaction to occur for those 55 or over in the areas of salary, job tasks, and status.

Thus, the evidence seems clear. As a group, the young are the most neglected and unhappy personnel. Even though the younger employees may not deserve as many rewards as older and probably more-experienced workers, it is apparent that to reduce turnover, more efforts should be

made to make bureaucratic employment more tolerable for the young. But at the same time changes should not be made which would only serve to trouble other age groupings.

Generally, the same pattern appeared for "length of employment in the bureaucracy" as appeared for age. That is, as length of tenure increases, job dissatisfaction and bureaucratic stress tends to decrease. But as with age, the most dissatisfaction and stress exists in the short tenure groups, most likely occupied by the younger employees. Also, as with age, slight increases in dissatisfaction is evident for those with the longest tenure, almost necessarily occupied by the oldest bureaucrats. Thus, the findings here verify the conclusions drawn concerning age, making both causal variables more understandable.

It was also pointed out in dealing with the above independent factors (age and length of employment in the agency) that certain personality variables also enlighten us about the above trends. High dissatisfaction and stress among the young and those with short tenure (probably consisting predominantly of the same people) can be partially explained by the tendency for these people also to display low authoritarian, organizational rigidity, and indifferent personality features. As discussed more fully in the next chapter, those people possessing low authoritarian, organizational rigidity, and indifferent personality traits tend to experience higher job dissatisfaction and more severe bureaucratic stress.

Employees with certain educational backgrounds are more dissatisfied and/or stressed with various phases of their employment than others. At Fort Logan the employees with some college training exhibited

the most unhappiness, while those holding degrees experienced considerably less. At Metropolitan State, however, a dramatic reversal appeared showing employees with college degrees to be appreciably more dissatisfied and stressed, except in regard to job tasks. It was learned from the personnel manager that an increasing number of college degree people were being hired for typically non-college jobs. Thus, it is speculated that because college degree winners are being forced to accept employment unrelated to their previous talents and training, hostility is demonstrated toward the bureaucracy in the form of salary and status dissatisfaction, and agency and material rewards stress. Only slight displeasure is shown regarding job task stress, but such is not unexpected since inability to perform job tasks does not necessarily reflect the willingness to do them.

In both studies those with business or trade school backgrounds were found to be the least dissatisfied and stressed with all aspects of their work. Evidently, it is in this group where previous training and present jobs are the most harmonious.

Too many fluctuations occurred in other educational categories for any conclusions to be drawn, except those with graduate school training generally reflected less dissatisfaction and stress than those at a lower educational level, excluding the "business or trade school" group. Also, the highest educated employees, although generally content, expressed rather high stress toward the operations of the bureaucracy in both studies. Assuming these employees are mostly doctors, psychiatrists, or psychologists, this indicates that they are frustrated more by the formal bureaucratic controls which infringe upon their professional duties, than anything else.

Largely, the two studies have shown that women bureaucrats are more dissatisfied and frustrated than the men. Women were shown to be particularly dissatisfied with their superiors. Their extreme discontent with their superiors has evidently led them to experience stress in other areas. Women also expressed considerably more general bureaucratic stress than men. Even in other job areas where correlations proved statistically insignificant, generally the same trends prevailed. Additional correlations were run in the Metropolitan State study to explain some of the reasons for higher female unhappiness. Women were found to express lower indifference and alienation, and a higher fear of failure and pessimism toward the possibility of bureaucratic reform by surveys. At least low indifference and high fear of failure have been shown to be linked consistently to job discontent. It was also noted that more intense feelings of dissatisfaction and stress among women could be due more to age differences than sex differences since more than twice as many women as men were found to be under 25 (the age group where employees appear the most dissatisfied and stressed).

Family income level failed to be related enough in the two studies for conclusive comments. A few patterns could be seen, however. As family income increased, job dissatisfaction and stress tended to decline. The only exception existed with the highest paid employees.

Noticeable increases were found in regard to status dissatisfaction and their perception of the competency of their superiors, co-workers, and subordinates. But the sample size in this category remains too small to place any real significance to it as yet.

CHAPTER V

The Impact of Personality Characteristics on Job
Dissatisfaction and Bureaucratic Stress

Introduction. Predominantly, most studies have been concerned with the impact various career and socio-economic variables have on job dissatisfaction and eventual employee turnover. By and large, the role personality traits play in job happiness and employee turnover has been ignored. For some reason, it has been assumed that career and socio-economic variables are much more influential and, thus, warranted most of the attention. This chapter points out, however, that personality factors are indeed relevant for explaining job tensions and employee turnover. In fact, from this comparative case study, indications are that personality factors provide more explanatory and predictive power than do career and socio-economic variables.

Authoritarianism. The authoritarian personality measurements failed to show statistical significance at Fort Logan, but four modest relationships appeared in the Metropolitan State data. Authoritarianism related to general job dissatisfaction, job task dissatisfaction, general bureaucratic stress, and superior, co-worker, and subordinate competency stress.

The first half of Table 28 shows that low authoritarianism is linked much more closely with high general job dissatisfaction than either moderate or high authoritarianism.¹⁷⁴ The low authoritarian group expresses over

¹⁷⁴Of course, high authoritarianism would epitomize the authoritarian personality. Moderates would be in between, while low authoritarians

Table 28

Metropolitan State
DependentAuthoritarianism vs.
General Job
Dissatisfaction &
Job Task
Dissatisfaction

(In Percentages

	General Job Dissatisfaction				Job Task Dissatisfaction		
	Low	Mod.	High	(N)	Satis- fied	Dissatis- fied	(N)
Low	22	33	44	36	54	46	37
Mod.	28	55	17	29	83	17	29
High	29	51	20	45	64	36	45

Independent

 $\chi^2 = 8.217$; sig. $> .1$ $\chi^2 = 6.008$; sig. $> .05$

double the general job dissatisfaction of the other two groups. The second half of this table shows that low authoritarian personality types still express more dissatisfaction (i.e., job task dissatisfaction) than the other two groups.¹⁷⁵ But the figure that stands out the most is in the moderate category. Of the bureaucrats who display moderate authoritarian tendencies, only 17% are dissatisfied with their job tasks.

Table 29 again demonstrates the same pattern. This table shows that low authoritarianism is consistently associated with both high general bureaucratic stress, and more specifically, leadership, co-worker, and subordiant competency stress. Of course, this latter relationship is somewhat expected since those who possess non-authoritarian traits are necessarily (according to the measures employed) much more flexible or overt in their thinking. Rigid rules and regulations rigorously adhered to by superiors, co-workers, and subordinates would expectedly frustrate the minds of the non-authoritarians, but would not be expected to disturb very deeply the more authoritarian oriented employees. In fact, true authoritarians greatly prefer to give or take specifically defined orders, and to work in an atmosphere where job tasks and employee roles are clearly defined (i.e., predictable).

The relationships here help to explicate some of the findings in regard to "length of employment in the bureaucracy", "age", and educational" level. In the last chapter it was shown that employees

would be in fact non-authoritarian.

¹⁷⁵ This relationship is presented in a two-way collapsed table. The three-way collapsed form indicated the same pattern, but proved statistically insignificant.

Table 29

Metropolitan State
DependentAuthoritarianism vs. General
Bureaucratic Stress &
Leadership, co-worker, &
Subordinate Competency Stress

(In Percentages)

	General Bureaucratic Stress				Leadership, Co-worker & Subordinate Competency			
	Low	Mod.	High	(N)	Low	Mod.	High	(N)
Independent Authoritarianism	Low	14	42	44	36	16	43	37
	Mod.	25	64	11	28	31	10	29
	High	16	61	23	44	29	16	45

 $\chi^2 = 10.270$; sig. $> .05$ $\chi^2 = 10.924$; sig. $> .05$

with short tenure experienced considerably more dissatisfaction and stress than those with longer tenure. It also became apparent that short termed personnel were likely to be young. Younger employees expressed similar dissatisfaction and stress. In addition, it was discovered that those with a college degree also displayed high dissatisfaction and stress. Given what has been shown in this and other studies, implications are that these people also tend to possess low authoritarian tendencies. That is, rigid thinking (i.e., being set in one's ways), tends to increase with age; while a flexible perspective appears to increase with education up to a point and levels off (say, through four years of college).

In summary. The data show that employees who tend to be the least authoritarian tend to be the most dissatisfied and stressed about their work. Such employees, then, would be expected to be the greast turnover risks since it has been shown in the literature that intense dissatisfaction and stress tends to lead to high employee turnover. In this study personnel tending to score high on the authoritarian personality measurement also tended to be the most satisfied with their work. Thus, the data have shown employees with authoritarian personalities tend to be the lowest turnover risks, if we can assume, as the literature implies, that "high" dissatisfaction and stress is indeed associated with actual turnover.

Organizational Rigidity. Expectedly, organizational rigidity produced relationships tending to affirm the above findings regarding authoritarianism. Table 30 shows that high organizational rigidity is associated with low material rewards and agency operations stress. The "organizational rigidity--materials rewards stress" relationship, is particularly convincing, illustrating that high material rewads stress

Table 30

Metropolitan State
DependentOrganizational Rigidity vs.
Material Rewards Stress &
Agency Operations Stress

(In Percentages)

	Material Rewards Stress				Agency Operations Stress			
	Low	Mod.	High	(N)	Low	Mod.	High	(N)
Low	29	32	39	28	18	57	25	28
Mod.	15	52	33	60	10	63	27	59
High	39	57	4	23	39	48	13	23

Independent

Organizational Rigidity

 $\chi^2 = 12.814$; sig. $> .02$ $\chi^2 = 9.690$; sig. $> .05$

is experienced approximately ten times more by bureaucrats possessing low organizational rigidity than for those having high organizational rigidity orientations.

From the data presented, there are strong indications that high authoritarianism and organizational rigidity, reflecting a somewhat similar character, are traits least likely to lead to severe dissatisfaction, stress, and high turnover. Evidently, highly inflexible personality types (high authoritarian and organizational rigidity types) are congruent with the rather rigid structures commonly found in state bureaucracies. Employees unable to tolerate such an environment evidently resign before they grow much older or adjust to the inflexibilities of the bureaucratic atmosphere. This assertion is partly verified by the previous finding that older and longer tenure employees tend to display significantly more authoritarian and organizational rigidity tendencies than younger employees with less tenure.

In summary. In general, the authoritarian and organizational rigidity measures showed very similar tendencies in personnel. This was expected since the measures were measuring a similar personality trait. Employees with "high" authoritarian and "high" organizational rigidity traits appear to be the most content employees and thus the least likely to turnover. Conversely, those employees exhibiting "low" authoritarianism and "low" organizational rigidity tend to be the most disturbed with their employment and therefore the most likely to quit.

To reduce turnover it appears that state bureaucracies either must give preference to authoritarians who will be more conducive to bureaucratic conditions or make the bureaucratic environment less rigid

and thus more inviting to more flexible people. This change was recommended by Robert Merton in the late 1940's with the hopes of changing the prevalent bureaucratic personality shown by the obnoxious, rigid, and ineffective bureaucratic virtuosos who are rules (means) oriented to a more pleasing, flexible, and effective behavior type more interested in clientele needs.¹⁷⁶

Sociability. Sociability as a descriptive indicator was largely rejected in the first case analysis at Fort Logan since only one weak contingency appeared. "Sociability-superior, co-worker, and subordinate competency stress" proved significant only at the .1 level. However, in the second case analysis at Metropolitan State sociability showed six statistically significant relationships (including linkage to the Fear of Failure index not employed at Fort Logan).

Overall, highly sociable personnel tend to display more satisfaction and less stress than the less socially motivated, although inconsistencies do appear. In regard to the job dissatisfaction syndrome, Table 31 reveals the consistent relationship between high sociability and satisfaction relative in reference to superiors and job tasks. Only 11% of those displaying high sociability express intense superior dissatisfaction --about three times less than exhibited by the other two categories. Similarly, only 22% of those highly sociable express job task dissatisfaction as compared to 51% who scored low on the sociability scale.

The same pattern generally prevails throughout the bureaucratic

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Robert K. Merton's bureaucratic personality type is reviewed on pp. 28-41 of Chapter II.

stress syndrome. Those employees with high sociability tend to experience only slight general bureaucratic stress, job task stress, superior, co-worker, and subordinate competency stress, and fear of failure (Tables 32, 33, and 34).¹⁷⁷ But unlike in the job dissatisfaction syndrome, low stress feelings are also consistently found among non-sociable bureaucrats. In fact, in a few cases low sociability is linked more closely with low stress (i.e., superior, co-worker, and subordinate competency stress and fear of failure) than is high sociability. In all contingencies with both syndromes, except for job task dissatisfaction, moderately sociable bureaucrats tend to display more job dissatisfaction and stress than either those with high or low sociability.

But the "sociability-material rewards stress" contingency is dissimilar to the above findings (last half of Table 32). Here we find an opposite pattern where high sociability is linked to high stress. As sociability increases, so does stress with material rewards. This inconsistency is given support by the Fort Logan data, although the contingency (sociability-salary dissatisfaction) just missed statistical significance. Of the highly sociable, 57% expressed dissatisfaction with their salary as compared to 38% and 39% in the moderate and low sociability categories respectively.

In reference to sociability, it appears that either high or low sociability is more desirable in terms of job dissatisfaction and stress

¹⁷⁷ The fear of failure measurement is an index unlike all the other scales in the bureaucratic stress syndrome. The measurement was added in the second case study to provide further explanation as to the origins of bureaucratic stress.

Table 32

Metropolitan State
DependentSociability vs. Material
Rewards Stress & General
Bureaucratic Stress

(In Percentages)

		Material Rewards Stress				General Bureaucratic Stress			
		Low	Mod.	High	(N)	Low	Mod.	High	(N)
Independent Sociability	Low	38	43	19	37	19	59	22	37
	Mod.	14	57	30	37	6	50	44	34
	High	19	43	38	37	27	57	16	37

 $\chi^2 = 8.410$; sig. $> .1$ $\chi^2 = 10.569$; sig. $> .05$

Table 33

Metropolitan State
DependentSociability vs. Job Task
Stress & Fear of Failure

(In Percentages)

	Job Task Stress				Fear of Failure			
	Low	Mod.	High	(N)	Low	Mod.	High	(N)
Low	35	43	22	37	11	73	16	37
Mod.	14	39	47	36	9	59	32	34
High	27	54	19	37	38	43	19	37

Independent

Sociability

 $\chi^2 = 10.370$; sig. $> .05$ $\chi^2 = 14.986$; sig. $> .01$

Table 34

Metropolitan State
Dependent

Sociability vs. Superior, Co-Worker, & Subordinate Competency Stress		Superior, Co-worker & Subordinate Competency Stress			
		Low	Mod.	High	(N)
Independent	Low	57	39	4	23
	Mod.	29	48	23	86
	High	38	51	11	37

(In Percentages)

$\chi^2 = 8.621$; sig. > .1

than moderate sociability. Evidently, high sociability and low sociability is a characteristic which is acceptable to others, although probably for different reasons. Highly sociable personnel evidently project an amicable personality and are able to win the confidence of others. The ability of these employees to get along with others explains at least partially why these employees are largely content with their superiors, co-workers, and subordinates. On the other hand, non-sociable employees are the most satisfied with their superiors, co-workers, and subordinates. This may be the case because such employees are so restrained socially as not to cause friction between themselves and others. One aspect of sociability (according to the sociability scale used here) is the desire to convince others in what you believe. Those with low sociability by definition lack this trait; consequently, they cannot alienate others by trying to persuade others. The highly sociable employees may possess the ability to win the respect of others by persuasion, while the moderately-sociable group may experience dissatisfaction in this area because they have the desire to persuade, but also may be obnoxious to others while trying. The same reasoning could also explain how the different groups on the sociability continuum relate to the "fear of failure" measurement.

The inverse relationship between sociability and job dissatisfaction could be due to one's perspective toward the working environment. That is, the most socially-minded employees also are the least satisfied with their job tasks, while the least socially-oriented employees are the most dissatisfied. Possibly, the former look forward to their work for the social relationships it brings, while the latter do not perceive

their job tasks in this light.

Findings showing the highly sociable to be the most dissatisfied with their salary and the most stressed with material rewards is not surprising, since acquisitive matters are largely impersonal, unlike other areas of the job which involve interpersonal relations.

In summary. In general, highly sociable personnel are more satisfied and less stressed with their jobs than those who are less sociable. More socially minded employees were found to express less "job task dissatisfaction", "superior dissatisfaction", "job task stress", "general bureaucratic stress", and a less intense "fear of failure" than the less sociable employees. Only one noteworthy exception appeared. Highly sociable employees did express severe "material rewards stress". But in general the data supports the conclusion that sociability is a desirable characteristic which is linked with a more positive perspective of one's work. Those employees with high sociability, unless very dissatisfied with their pay, would be expected to be lesser turnover risks than their less sociable co-workers.

Professionalism. Considering professionalism, it should be emphasized that, culturally defined, professionals (many of whom are highly educated and highly salaried) do not necessarily have professional orientations (i.e., professional attitudes and perspectives).¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁸

In reiteration, the epitomy of a professional orientation is a person who enjoys his work, regards his pay as of secondary importance as compared to the satisfaction he obtains from his work, vigorously supports professional norms, and believes that his work requires extensive knowledge, skill and experience.

Moreover, persons defined by bureaucratic criteria or professional standards as non-professional may conceivably possess a professionally oriented frame of mind and order their behavior accordingly.

Professionalism only related to the bureaucratic stress syndrome in both studies, but within this syndrome a definite pattern evolved. Without exception, in the four statistically acceptable relationships, high professionalism is associated with low stress. Table 35 shows professionalism related to general bureaucratic stress and agency operations stress at Fort Logan. Although the relationships are relatively weak (sig. at .1 level), the tendency is for moderate to high stress to decrease as professional orientation increases. This trend is more apparent in Table 36 which demonstrates the linkages between professionalism and job task stress at both Fort Logan and Metropolitan State. In these stronger contingencies, job task stress is shown to decrease sharply as the professional tendencies of the employees increase. While this trend is perfectly clear in the data from Fort Logan no matter how one views the table, combining moderate and high job task stress percentages, or isolating the low task category, is necessary to reveal the same pattern at Metropolitan State. These findings tend to support sub-hypothesis 14. That is, employees displaying high professionalism will also exhibit relatively low bureaucratic stress.

The trend illustrated here is consistent with the findings in regard to authoritarianism and organizational rigidity. Generally, it was found that high authoritarianism and high organizational rigidity linked with low job dissatisfactions and bureaucratic stresses. This same pattern appeared for professionalism. One commonality seems crucial

Table 35

Professionalism vs. General Bureaucratic Stress & Agency Operations Stress		Fort Logan Dependent							
		General Bureaucratic Stress				Agency Operations Stress			
		Low	Mod.	High	(N)	Low	Mod.	High	(N)
Independent	Low	25	55	20	20	33	56	11	18
	Mod.	20	53	28	91	54	20	26	90
	High	43	43	14	35	58	21	21	33
		$\chi^2 = 9.112; \text{ sig. } > .1$				$\chi^2 = 9.193; \text{ sig. } > .1$			

Table 36

Professionanlism vs. Job Task Stress (In Percentages)		Dependent							
		Fort Logan				Metropolitan State			
		Job Task Stress				Job Task Stress			
Independent	Professionalism	Low	Mod.	High	(N)	Low	Mod.	High	(N)
		14	29	57	21	9	36	55	22
		50	31	20	91	28	50	22	58
		62	24	15	34	33	43	23	20

$\chi^2 = 18.362$; sig. $> .005$ $\chi^2 = 9.97$; sig. $> .05$

for explanatory purposes. Rigidity, or rigorous adherence to bureaucratic rules and regulations, is a trait common to each personality measurement.

Since the majority of experts in the field of organizational psychology contend that low stress is favorable to increased worker production, high professionalism, organizational rigidity, and authoritarianism, which tend to be associated with low job dissatisfaction and stress, should be regarded as desirable by management. Since high dissatisfaction and stress tend to be related to high turnover, then management might benefit by testing for the intensity of professionalism, organizational rigidity, and authoritarianism, especially among applicants. Such tests, like many personality measures, are rather quick, easy, and economical to administer. For the added understanding and predicatability these tests will supply, it seems that such tests are worth the effort.

In summary. It is apparent that "professionalism" is a desirable feature in employees since those with high professional characteristics tend to be less dissatisfied and stressed with their employment. Such finding validated sub-hypothesis 14: employees displaying high professionalism will also exhibit relatively low bureaucratic stress. It would appear, then, that employees possessing high professionalism would tend to make low turnover risks. But this may be a dangerous assumption since professionals tend to identify more with their particular jobs than with the organization for which they work. Thus, they may leave the organization, despite their apparent happiness with their work, for a still better job opportunity.

Cynicism and Alienation. In several respects, highly cynical and alienated people are alike. Both personalities express a tendency to

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 withdraw from society. Simply put, the cynics regard human nature as largely selfish, and as a result, these personality types are distrustful of others and believe their society to be an appealing habitat. The alienated, for various reasons, remove themselves from society because they feel that society is working against them and that they cannot cope with its present structure. It was for these reasons that cynicism and alienation was hypothesized to be related similarly to the job and bureaucratic stress syndrome. By and large, this hypothesis was verified by both studies.

Personal cynicism produced ten relationships, more than any other independent relationship in the comparative study. Moreover, in all ten contingencies, not an inconsistency of any meaningful scope is shown. Although displaying the same general trend as cynicism, alienation generated far fewer and less convincing correlations.

While cynicism failed to related to the job dissatisfaction syndrome at Fort Logan,¹⁸⁰ cynicism linked with all dissatisfaction areas except salary at Metropolitan State. In every case but one a perfect pattern exists showing job dissatisfaction to increase sharply as cynicism increases (Tables 37 and 38). Only a very slight deviation occurs in regards to job task dissatisfaction where a 2% drop appears between the

¹⁷⁹ Such personality types (their forms of withdrawal) are reviewed in the critique of Rober K. Merton presented in Chapter III).

¹⁸⁰ Statistical significance missed barely at the .1 level for job task dissatisfaction. The trend was consistent with the above findings. But cynicism's weak relationship with the job dissatisfaction syndrome at Fort Logan is somewhat surprising when considering how tightly it related at Metropolitan State.

Table 37

Metropolitan State
DependentCynicism vs. Superior
Dissatisfaction & Job
Task Dissatisfaction

(In Percentages)

		Superior Dissatisfaction				Job Task Dissatisfaction		
		Low	Mod.	High	(N)	Satis- fied	Dissat- isfied	(N)
Independent Cynicism	Low	44	44	11	27	74	26	27
	Mod.	24	55	21	42	76	24	42
	High	24	37	39	41	50	50	42

 $\chi^2 = 9.834; \text{sig.} > .05$
 $\chi^2 = 7.492; \text{sig.} > .05$

Table 38

Metropolitan State
DependentCynicism vs. Status
Dissatisfaction &
General Job Dissatisfaction

(In Percentages)

		Status Dissatisfaction			General Job Dissatisfaction			
		Satis- fied	Dissat- isfied	(N)	Low	Mod.	High	(N)
Independent	Low	81	19	27	33	56	11	27
	Mod.	69	31	42	29	52	19	42
	High	52	48	42	20	34	46	41

 $\chi^2 = 6.505$; sig. $> .05$ $\chi^2 = 12.539$; sig. $> .02$

low and moderate categories (second half of Table 37). But dissatisfaction is still nearly double for those found to be highly cynical than those showing low cynicism. In other job dissatisfaction areas cynicism is even more descriptive, the highly cynical expressing over three times more high superior dissatisfaction, about two and one half times more status dissatisfaction, and well over four times the extent of high general job dissatisfaction as those employees with low cynicism.

With regards to the bureaucratic stress syndrome, the same trends generally persisted (i.e., high cynicism tended to be associated with high stress). Table 39 shows that the highly cynical employees express more than double the severity in general bureaucratic stress than the non-cynical group,¹⁸¹ while high job task stress is expressed over five times as much by the highly cynical employees as compared to their non-cynical counterparts.

Table 40 shows the findings in regard to cynicism versus job task stress at Fort Logan and Metropolitan State. The Metropolitan State data seem to verify what was found at Fort Logan. Only insignificant deviations appear. Again, the highly cynical are the most stressed by far, while the moderate or low cynics are considerably less disturbed. Not only is the general pattern the same for both samples, but even close to the same relative percentages prevail, especially in reference to the high stress categories.

Table 41 provides further proof as to the reliability of this

¹⁸¹ It should be noticed, however, that those moderately cynical express the least general bureaucratic stress, although only a slight 6% difference prevails. This slight dip is also seen to a lesser extent

Table 39

Metropolitan State
DependentCynicism vs. General
Bureaucratic Stress
& Job Task Stress

(In Percentages)

	General Bureaucratic Stress				Job Task Stress			
	Low	Mod.	High	(N)	Low	Mod.	High	(N)
Independent Cynicism	Low	20	60	20	25	58	8	26
	Mod.	26	60	42	29	43	29	42
	High	7	49	41	17	40	43	42

 $\chi^2 = 12.200$; sig. $> .02$ $\chi^2 = 10.272$; sig. $> .05$

Table 40

		Fort Logan			Dependent Metropolitan State				
		Leadership, Co-worker, & Subordinate Competency Stress	Leadership, Co-worker, & Subordinate Competency Stress	Leadership, Co-worker, & Subordinate Competency Stress	Leadership, Co-worker, & Subordinate Competency Stress	Leadership, Co-worker, & Subordinate Competency Stress	Leadership, Co-worker, & Subordinate Competency Stress		
(In Percentages)		Low	Mod.	High	(N)	Low	Mod.	High	(N)
Independent	Low	45	41	14	22	26	63	11	27
	Mod.	36	52	12	83	33	52	14	42
	High	29	39	32	38	17	45	38	42

 $\chi^2 = 7.869; \text{sig.} > .1$
 $\chi^2 = 10.656; \text{sig.} > .05$

Table 41

Metropolitan State
DependentCynicism vs. Agency
Operations Stress &
Fear of Failure

(In Percentages)

		Agency Operations Stress				Fear of Failure			
		Low	Mod.	High	(N)	Low	Mod.	High	(N)
Independent Cynicism	Low	20	69	11	26	24	60	16	25
	Mod.	24	62	14	42	24	64	12	42
	High	12	48	40	42	12	51	37	41

 $\chi^2 = 11.311$; sig. $> .05$ $\chi^2 = 8.663$; sig. $> .1$

personality component. Predictably, as cynicism increases, agency operations stress increases, intense cynicism being experienced almost four times as much by the highly cynical as contrasted to the lowly cynical. Table 41 also shows that highly cynical employees have a considerably deeper "fear of failure" than those less cynical.¹⁸²

The data from these two samples seem to imply strongly that personal cynicism is indeed carried over into the working environment. Those people generally disturbed with the society in which they live also tend to find grievances in their work environment. But it is worth noting that the grievances expressed were made against non-material work features. That is, in neither study did we find the highly cynical to indicate either salary dissatisfaction or material rewards stress. Evidently, concern over the material aspects of one's job is not confined to the cynics. Cynics, at least as operationally defined by the particular measure, are predominantly distrustful of people. Therefore, it is not surprising that the highly cynical bureaucrats express more distrust in areas involving working with others particularly and with the whole bureaucratic system generally.

Because younger employees were found to express rather intense job dissatisfaction and stress than older employees, it was speculated that possibly cynicism contingencies could be more the function of age than

in reference to the "cynicism-superior, co-worker, and subordinate stress" contingency from the Fort Logan data (first half of Table 40).

¹⁸²To reiterate, the "fear of failure" index was not employed in the Fort Logan study.

this personality factor. But cynicism failed with age, thus eliminating this possibility. Cynicism also failed to show significance when crossed with other career and socio-economic variables. Indications are, then, that cynicism tends to stand alone as a powerful, discriminating measurement, providing clues as to the origins of bureaucrat discontent and turnover.

As theorized, alienation contingencies revealed similar patterns to cynicism. By and large, highly alienated employees tended to express more job dissatisfaction and stress than the less alienated. Although only one significant relationship appeared at Fort Logan in regards to alienation, this trend prevailed. Table 42 shows a strong relationship between alienation and general bureaucratic stress. By collapsing the moderate and high stress categories it becomes clear that general bureaucratic stress increases impressively as alienation tendencies increase. While 100% of the highly alienated express moderate to high general bureaucratic stress, 74% of the moderates and only 45% of the lows do.

At Metropolitan State, despite the close relationship found at Fort Logan, the "alienation--general bureaucratic stress" contingency failed. However, the same patterns prevailed in specific relationships as shown in Table 43. The "alienation--status dissatisfaction" contingency shows that the least alienated bureaucrats tend to experience the least status dissatisfaction. The moderately alienated, unexpectedly, express the most dissatisfaction with status. But despite this inconsistency, the trend showing the least alienated employees to also express the least dissatisfaction and stress is not refuted. The

Table 42

Fort Logan Dependent		General Organizational Stress			
		Low	Mod.	High	(N)
Independent	Low	55	20	25	20
	Mod.	26	55	19	108
	High	0	50	50	18

 $\chi^2 = 18.962$; sig. $> .001$

Table 43

Dependent
Metropolitan State

Alienation vs. Status Dissatisfaction, Agency Operations Stress & Leadership, Co-worker and Subordinate Competency Stress		Status Dissatisfaction		Agency Operations Stress				Leadership, Co-worker Sub. Competency Stress				
		Satis- fied	Dissat- isfied	(N)	Low	Mod.	High	(N)	Low	Mod.	High	(N)
(In Percentages)		77	23	39	26	59	15	39	41	44	15	39
		52	47	40	20	60	20	40	12	57	30	40
		67	33	30	7	53	40	30	20	57	23	30

Independent

 $\chi^2 = 5.229$; sig. $> .1$ $\chi^2 = 8.268$; sig. $> .1$ $\chi^2 = 9.591$; sig. $> .05$

"alienation--agency operations stress" contingency demonstrates another perfect pattern consistent with the prevalent findings in regards to cynicism and alienation (i.e., stress becomes more intense as alienation increases). Although "superior, co-worker, and subordinate competency stress" is expressed the least among the least alienated, those moderately alienated again are slightly more troubled than the alienated.

Although considerably weaker as a causal variable than cynicism, alienation tends to be a personality factor providing us with some more insights as to the origins of stress experiences leading to employee turnover. Without exception, the least alienated employees at both Fort Logan and Metropolitan State expressed the least dissatisfaction and stress toward their work. And generally, the most alienated personnel tended to be the most discontent and frustrated concerning their employment. To reduce employee turnover, then, management should be aware that high employee turnover would least likely be expected among personnel with low alienation inclinations.

In summary. The personality factors of "cynicism" and "alienation" contributed significantly to our understanding of employee discontent and turnover. The results of the study show consistently that intense job dissatisfaction and stress is related closely to "high" cynicism and alienation. High cynical and alienated employees at both Fort Logan and Metropolitan State turned out to be quite dissatisfied and stressed with their jobs. Such patterns occurred without exception. The discontent expressed by the highly cynical and alienated employees was so intense that there is little doubt that these personality types would make high turnover risks. The factors of cynicism and alienation appear to be

indicators of job dissatisfaction, stress, and turnover which should be given careful attention.

The Validity of Presthus' Three Organizational Personality Types

One principal concern of this research is the verification of Presthus' theories regarding three bureaucratic personality types (the upward-mobile, the indifferent, and the ambivalent). These "ideal types of accommodation" and their unique adjustment patterns were discussed at length in Chapter III.

The Fort Logan case study seemed to indicate that Presthus' theories were essentially valid. The Fort Logan data did reveal that such personality types do tend to exist with traceable and somewhat predictable behavior patterns. As Presthus hypothesized, upward-mobiles and ambivalents showed remarkably polar attitudes toward their work (Diagram. 2). Ambivalents tended to express considerably more dissatisfaction and stress, especially in regard to superiors, job tasks, and general bureaucratic stress. Upward-mobiles were found to display opposite or more content feelings toward their jobs. Indifferents were also found to be relatively undisturbed about most facets of their work. In general, then, the Fort Logan study yielded empirical evidence in support of Presthus' model. In fact, validation was so complete that it appeared that Presthus had provided students of bureaucracy with a research design of impressive predictive and descriptive magnitude. However, it was conjectured that the Presthus measures¹⁸³ needed far more testing before any substantial

¹⁸³ Of course, Presthus only provided the theoretical framework for

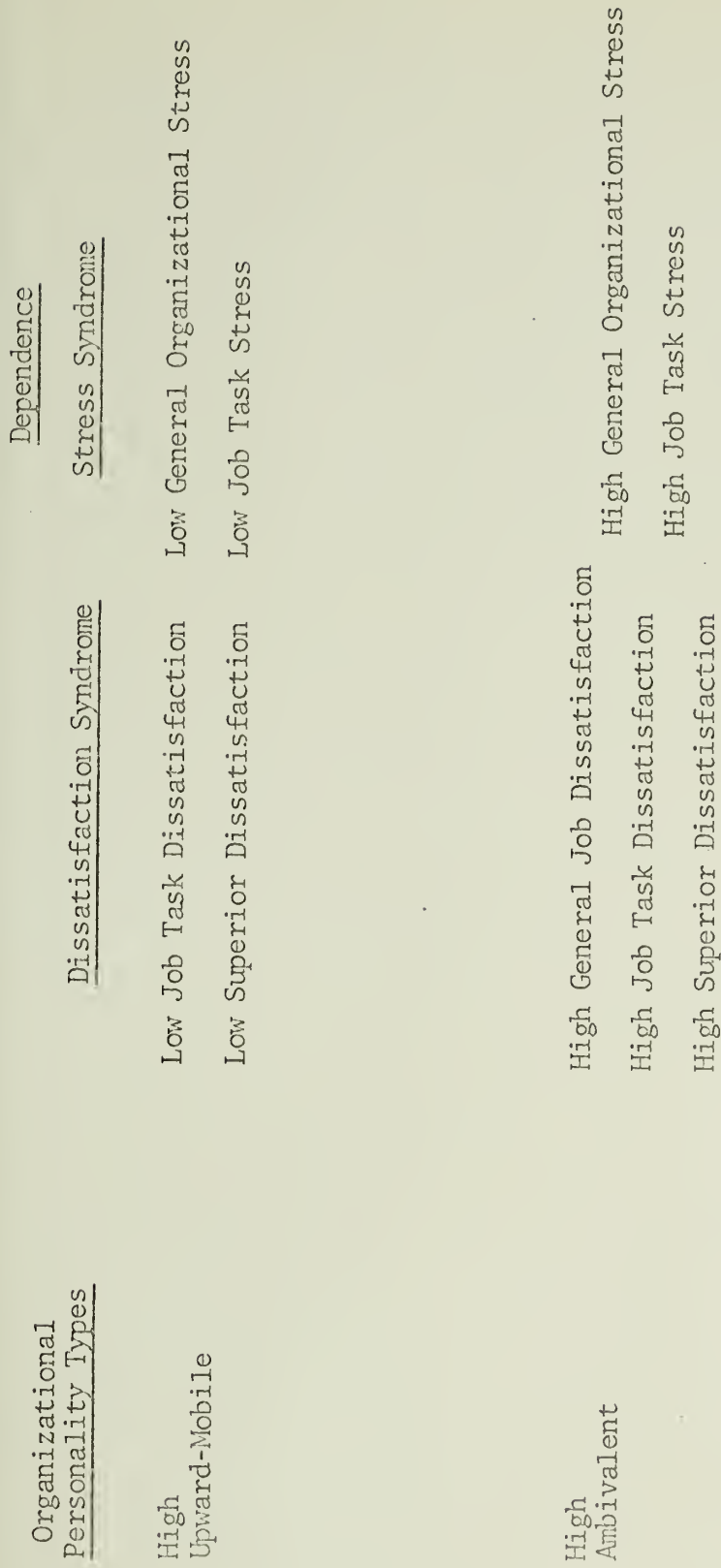


Diagram 2: Dissatisfaction-Stress Linkages of Polar Organizational Personality Types

conclusions could be made.

The Upward-Mobiles. In the Fort Logan study the upward-mobile measure related twice to the job dissatisfaction syndrome and once to the bureaucratic stress syndrome, while only one linkage to the stress syndrome appeared at Metropolitan State. Table 44 shows the contingencies in reference to the job dissatisfaction syndrome from the Fort Logan study. In regards to the two job dissatisfaction areas presented here, Presthus had hypothesized that upward-mobiles should express relative satisfaction toward their work, but even more satisfaction with their superiors. These suppositions are largely supported. In a weak relationship it appears that high job task dissatisfaction declines as the ideal upward-mobile is approached. But the contingency as a whole is not so convincing since by collapsing moderate and high dissatisfaction ranges, or by isolating the low dissatisfaction category, the trend crumbles. But nevertheless, a perfect pattern does exist as hypothesized in the high job dissatisfaction category. The "upward-mobile--superior dissatisfaction" contingency is more persuasive. Although a perfect downward trend does not exist, it is obvious that moderate to high upward-mobile employees enjoy considerably less unhappiness with their superiors than do the low or non-upward-mobile personnel. This table tends to support firmly Presthus' contention that upward-mobiles are typically friendly toward their superiors since they regard their superiors as being potentially helpful to their careers (i.e.,

the development of the specific measures. The specific measurements were designed and employed by this researcher.

Table 44

Fort Logan
DependentUpward-Mobile vs. Job Task
& Superior Dissatisfaction

(In Percentages)

	Job Task Dissatisfaction				Superior Dissatisfaction			
	Low	Mod.	High	(N)	Low	Mod.	High	(N)
Upward-Mobile	2	74	24	46	47	34	19	47
	18	70	12	50	76	22	2	50
	7	81	11	54	70	24	6	54

 $\chi^2 = 8.849$; sig. $> .1$ $\chi^2 = 12.103$; sig. $> .025$

their upward climb).

Although both of these relationships failed the test for significance at Metropolitan State, upward-mobiles still tended to display the same pattern regarding job task dissatisfaction. Table 45 illustrates that again moderate to high upward-mobiles exhibit about three times less high job task dissatisfaction than the non-upward-mobiles. Even after collapsing the moderate and high dissatisfaction categories, the trend holds true, although to a lesser degree. Thus, the "upward-mobile--job task dissatisfaction" contingency outcomes shown at Fort Logan is replicated, although weakly, by the Metropolitan State study. Strangely enough, the stronger "upward-mobile--superior dissatisfaction" contingency found at Fort Logan failed flatly at Metropolitan State. Thus, verification could not be made.

At Fort Logan the general bureaucratic stress and the upward-mobile continuums combined to display a perfect pattern. Consistent with Presthus' hypothesis, general bureaucratic stress decreased as upward-mobile tendencies increased (Table 46). The Metropolitan State data did not confirm this finding. This contingency at Metropolitan State revealed that low, moderate, and high upward-mobiles all perceived about the same general bureaucratic stress. Again, verification was not obtained from the Metropolitan State data.

Table 47 displays a gross inconsistency in the data involving upward-mobiles. Contrary to Presthus' hypothesis, stronger upward-mobile tendencies are linked with more severe job task stress.¹⁸⁴ This is in

¹⁸⁴ This same inconsistency appeared in the Fort Logan data.

Table 45

Metropolitan State
Dependent

Upward-Mobile vs.

Job Task Dissatisfaction

(In Percentages)

		Job Task Dissatisfaction			
		Low	Mod.	High	(N)
Independent	Low	42	35	22	40
	Mod.	39	54	7	41
	High	52	41	7	29

 $\chi^2 = 7.027$; just insig. at .1 level

Table 46

Upward-Mobile vs. General Bureaucratic Stress		Fort Logan Dependent			
Independent	Upward-Mobile	General Bureaucratic Stress			
		Low	Mod.	High	(N)
	Low	26	38	36	47
	Mod.	30	46	24	50
	High	23	63	13	52

$\chi^2 = 9.096$; sig. $> .1$

Table 47

Metropolitan State
Dependent

Upward-Mobile vs.

Job Task Stress

(In Percentages)

		Job Task Stress			
		Low	Mod.	High	(N)
Independent	Low	40	42	17	40
	Mod.	20	45	35	40
	High	13	50	37	30

 $\chi^2 = 8.658$; sig. $> .1$

direct contradiction to the rest of the findings, especially refuting what was discovered concerning job task dissatisfaction. Although the job task dissatisfaction index was based on an instrument different from the instrument constituting the job task stress index, it is unexpected that a turnabout should appear. The job task stress index is largely a measure of job task disinterest or alienation from the work itself,¹⁸⁵ while the job task dissatisfaction index attempts to measure job task discontent by asking the respondent how satisfied he is with the amount of time he must devote to his work. The item assumes that a person quite dissatisfied with the amount of time given to his work evidently does not enjoy his tasks very much. Results from these two sets of data indicate that upward-mobile employees are content with the time that they devote to their work, but somewhat disturbed over the work they must do. These findings indicate that Presthus probably overstated his case when he conjectured that upward-mobiles are relatively happy with all phases of bureaucratic life. Evidently, upward-mobiles are much more concerned with climbing the bureaucratic pyramid than performing their immediate job assignments. But consistent with Presthus' reflections of the upward-mobile type, the data do indicate that upward-mobiles are genuinely upward-oriented. In fact, their upward perspective may be the reason why they view their present job tasks as both boring and below them. But as will be shown momentarily, the ambivalent organizational personality type

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Within the job task stress index are tests to measure boredom, the challenge of the work, and the degree to which the tasks give a person worthwhile experience in which to advance.

does experience, as hypothesized, more job task stress than the upward-mobiles

In summary. The findings from the comparative analysis do not support, by and large, Presthus' model of the upward-mobile personality. Of the relationships showing statistical significance, only one seemed to be contradictory. Although it is conceivable that this contradiction is not a contradiction at all, but rather very consistent with the upward-mobile's behavior pattern. It is reasonable to conjecture that Presthus just failed to recognize how powerful and influential the upward-mobile attitude is. Even though the upward-mobile appears somewhat more stressed with job tasks than Presthus theorized, a later table shows upward-mobiles less stressed than ambivalents. But also crucially important here is the fact that many anticipated relationships did not appear. Some appeared at Fort Logan but could not be verified at Metropolitan State. Others did not appear at all. For example, the upward-mobile scale failed to show association with the general job dissatisfaction measurement. Presthus' theory on upward-mobiles suggests that a significant inverse relationship should be found. Likewise, one would expect upward-mobiles to demonstrate significantly less agency operations dissatisfaction and stress, but no relationship appeared. Thus, what was not found in these two studies, despite the positive findings, tends to weaken, but not destroy, the explanatory power of Presthus' model.

The Ambivalents. Although the predictive and descriptive qualities of the Presthus model seems to suffer somewhat in reference to the upward-mobile typology, confidence is restored by the research results

dealing with the ambivalent personality. In the nine contingencies appearing, not one contradicted Presthus' ambivalent model. In every case, as hypothesized, as ambivalence increased so did job dissatisfaction and bureaucratic stress. Every table showed a perfect pattern in this respect. In addition, many of the relationships found at Fort Logan were found verified by the Metropolitan State data.

Table 48 compares the findings in regards to superior dissatisfaction. Basically, the same trend appears where superior dissatisfaction increases as the "pure" ambivalent personality is reached. This trend, however, is shown more dramatically in the Fort Logan data, where not a single "low" ambivalent expressed high superior dissatisfaction.

The attitude of the ambivalents should be compared with that of the upward-mobile shown in Table 44. A comparison shows that, as Presthus theorized, upward-mobiles are considerably more content with their superiors than the ambivalents. Upward-mobiles are shown to express only 6% high superior dissatisfaction, as contrasted to 25% of the ambivalents. Surely, these findings give strong support to Presthus' model.

Table 48 also provides significant evidence in support of Presthus. Here we see a sharp increase in general job dissatisfaction as the intensity in ambivalence increases. While 0% of the non-ambivalents express high general job dissatisfaction, 18% of the "moderates" and 65% of the ambivalents do. Surprisingly, this potent trend proved statistically insignificant at Metropolitan State, although the same pattern appeared in weaker form.

The ambivalent's linkages with the bureaucratic stress syndrom are even more impressive. Table 49 compares how ambivalents from both studies

Table 49

Independent		Dependent							
		Fort Logan				Metropolitan State			
		General Bureaucratic Stress							
		Low	Mod.	High	(N)	Low	Mod.	High	(N)
Ambivalent	Low	60	30	10	20	28	56	16	32
	Mod.	26	53	21	108	22	51	27	37
	High	0	50	50	20	5	59	36	39

$\chi^2 = 25.525$; sig. $> .001$ $\chi^2 = 8.697$; sig. $> .1$

reacted to the general bureaucratic stress measure. Again we see that in both sets of data general bureaucratic stress increases steadily as high ambivalence is approached. Note that of those employees exhibiting high ambivalence at Fort Logan, not one fell into the low bureaucratic stress category, while at Metropolitan State only 5% did. Once again these findings for ambivalents should be compared to the findings for upward-mobiles. Table 46 shows that only 13% of the high upward-mobiles perceive high general bureaucratic stress, while Table 49 shows that 50% or about four times that percentage is expressed by ambivalent employees. Table 49 makes clear that the Fort Logan and Metropolitan State data verify each other and provide further proof of the validity of Presthus' thesis.

Verification is also provided for the "ambivalent-job task stress" contingency. At both Fort Logan and Metropolitan State the same perfect pattern appears (Table 50). Once again, intense stress increases as the ambivalent orientation intensifies. As with the other job dissatisfaction and stress areas, high job task stress is experienced by less upward-mobiles (Table 47) than by ambivalents.

Table 51 displays two relationships found at Metropolitan State, but not at Fort Logan.¹⁸⁶ Consistently, frustration increases as ambivalent character becomes more "ideal". Agency operations stress is shown to be twice as intense for the high ambivalent as for the low ambivalent, while the ratio increases to over three to one with the fear

¹⁸⁶ One, the fear of failure index, was not employed at Fort Logan.

Table 50

Metropolitan State
Dependent

Ambivalent vs.

Job Task Stress

(In Percentages)

		Job Task Stress						
		Low	Mod.	High	(N)	Low	Mod.	High
Independent	Alienation	60	25	15	20	47	34	19
	Low	50	32	17	107	21	54	26
	Moderate	24	19	57	21	13	46	41
	High	32						

 $\chi^2 = 16.249$; sig. $> .01$ $\chi^2 = 15.306$; sig. $> .01$

Table 51

Metropolitan State
DependentAmbivalent vs. Agency
Operations Stress &
Fear of Failure

(In Percentages)

		Agency Operations Stress				Fear of Failure			
		Low	Mod.	High	(N)	Low	Mod.	High	(N)
Independent	Low.	28	56	16	32	22	66	12	32
	Mod.	23	56	21	39	22	65	14	37
	High	5	61	33	39	15	46	38	39

 $\chi^2 = 8.608$; sig. $> .1$
 $\chi^2 = 9.324$; sig. $> .1$

of failure index.

In summary. Clearly, the ambivalent employee is at odds with many of the features of his bureaucratic environment. As hypothesized by Presthus, ambivalents are truly unsuited for bureaucratic life, experiencing intense dissatisfaction and stress while in the workplace. In this comparative analysis, without an inconsistency, a relatively high percentage of the "ideal" ambivalents expressed extreme superior dissatisfaction, general job dissatisfaction, general bureaucratic stress, job task stress, agency operations stress, and an exaggerated fear of failing to perform adequately. This is not to suggest, however, that the overwhelming majority of ambivalents experience extreme job dissatisfaction and stress, especially since the data show that only in one area did extreme discontent rise over the 50% level. However, what the data do indicate is that, as a group, ambivalents tend to display an exceptionally high degree of job discontent and tension as compared to other organizational personality types. Obviously, then, a higher turnover rate would be expected within this group compared with the upward-mobiles or indifferents.¹⁸⁷

The Intensity of Job Dissatisfaction and Stress

Among Indifferents

The indifferents, much unlike the character of the upward-mobiles, are theorized by Presthus to engage in bureaucratic work life mostly for

¹⁸⁷As is shown in the following section, indifferents do tend to express less intense job dissatisfaction and stress.

the material benefits the job has to offer. The indifferent attitude is epitomized by Presthus' assertion that the most enjoyment indifferents find in their work is leaving it at the end of the day. For the indifferent, his job is perceived as just like any other job.¹⁸⁸ But Presthus does not speculate that this non-professional attitude leads necessarily to high job dissatisfaction and stress. Actually, Presthus conjectures that indifferents are so detached from their work that they may possibly be the most content of the three personality types. That is, it is thought that such non-involved employees largely exempt themselves from the pressures and frustration common to the more involved employees (to the upward-mobiles and ambivalents). For example, while upward-mobiles tend to experience anxiety due to setbacks in their upward-climb, ambivalents are commonly frustrated by an inability to accept the bureaucracy the way it is, despite its perceived shortcomings.

Data presented in Chapter IV indicated that indifference does have a tendency to be associated with job contentment. When indifference was cross-tabulated with length of employment in the bureaucracy and sex (Table 4 and 17 in Chapter IV), it was found that high indifference tended to be associated with male employees and personnel with longer tenure. Also, because male employees and longer tenure tended to be linked closely with less dissatisfaction and stress, implications were that low indifference was symptomatic of more intense job dissatisfaction and bureaucratic stress.

At Fort Logan, an indifferent personality also tended to relate to

¹⁸⁸ Presthus, op. cit., pp. 205-256.

relative job contentment. Table 52 shows that only 16% of the "pure" indifferents express dissatisfaction with salary, while 38% of the "moderate" and 58% of the non-indifferents do. The relationship of indifference to job task dissatisfaction is more confusing, but if the moderate and high dissatisfaction are collapsed it becomes evident that a smaller percentage of highly indifferent employees associate with moderate to high job task dissatisfaction (62%) than those with weaker indifferent tendencies. This table seems to illustrate, then, that highly indifferent employees do experience less job dissatisfaction--at least in these two areas. But it should be noted that the indifferents do indicate that they are more dissatisfied with their job tasks than the upward-mobiles (compare Tables 45 and 52).

At Metropolitan State only three rather weak relationships appeared regarding indifference. In two of the three contingencies, trends appeared as hypothesized. Table 53 shows that moderate to high indifferents are more satisfied with their job tasks than the non-indifferents are, but that those moderately indifferent are the most satisfied.¹⁸⁹ Unexpectedly, this pattern does not hold for job task stress. High job task stress is indicated more by the highly indifferent than for those with weaker indifferent inclinations. This statistic compares rather closely with the up-ward-mobiles (37%) and the ambivalents (41%). But the table does show that stress with superiors, co-workers, and subordinates does decrease

¹⁸⁹ This table is presented in a two-way collapsed version since the three-way collapsed table failed to show significance. Consequently, precise comparison with the three-way table is impossible.

Table 52

Fort Logan
Dependent Dependent

Indifferent vs. Salary &
Job Task Dissatisfaction

(In Percentages)

		Salary Dissatisfaction			Job Task Dissatisfaction			
		Dissat- isfied	Satis- fied	(N)	Low	Mod.	High	(N)
Independent	Low	58	42	45	13	73	13	45
	Mod.	39	61	93	3	80	16	92
	High	16	85	13	39	46	16	13

$\chi^2 = 8.760$; sig. $> .025$ $\chi^2 = 14.922$; sig. $> .005$

Table 53

Metropolitan State
Dependent

Indifferent vs. Job
Task Dissatisfaction,
Job Task Stress, &
Leadership, Co-worker,
& Subordinate
Competency Stress

(In Percentages)

Indifferent vs. Job Task Dissatisfaction, Job Task Stress, & Leadership, Co-worker, & Subordinate Competency Stress											
Indifferent	Job Task Dissatisfac.			Job Task Stress				Leadership, Co-worker, Sub. Competency Stress			
	Satis- fied	Dissat- isfied	(N)	Low	Mod.	High	(N)	Low	Mod.	High	(N)
	64	36	22	30	48	22	23	26	35	39	23
	55	65	54	34	40	26	53	31	50	19	54
	44	56	34	9	53	38	34	15	68	18	34
(In Percentages)											
Low											
Mod.											
High											

 $\chi^2 = 5.149$; sig. > .1 $\chi^2 = 7.805$; sig. > .1 $\chi^2 = 8.834$; sig. > .1

as the indifferent perspective increases. Both the upward-mobiles and the ambivalents showed no linkages with this measure.

In summary. Generally, the data show that indifferents are relatively content with their work, especially when contrasted with the ambivalent. By and large, the intensity of dissatisfaction and stress does not differ appreciably from that expressed by the upward-mobiles. Ambivalent types, as Presthus' model predicts, are by far the most discontented and frustrated with their bureaucratic jobs.

Taken as a whole, the analysis of Presthus' organizational personality types traced through both the job dissatisfaction and the bureaucratic stress syndromes on the two samples have shown remarkable consistencies tending to suggest that Presthus' three modes of bureaucratic accommodation actually exist. Only minor deviations from the expected behavior pattern prevailed. Thus, verification as to the anticipated behavior pattern of each personality type could be made. All three types examined tended to show definite characteristics, each differing from the other and at the same time remaining surprisingly consistent with Presthus' speculations.

Concluding Remarks

In this chapter it has been shown that personality factors are important for understanding why some employees tend to like or dislike their jobs more than others. Examining Presthus' three organizational personality types proved particularly fruitful. Other such personality factors such as authoritarianism, organizational rigidity, cynicism and alienation also provided valuable information. The next chapter summarizes the results of the study.

CHAPTER VI

Summary and Conclusions

This chapter condenses the findings for easy understanding and practical use. To clarify the findings, the summation centers around the major and minor hypotheses set forth in Chapter I.

Validation of the Three Major Hypotheses. Hypothesis 1 stated that "certain personality traits that are manifested within individual employees cause employees in bureaucracies to experience various sorts of bureaucratic stress". In this case "personality" refers broadly to the entire personality system of the individual, thus including his socio-economic and career background. All of these factors are represented in Circle A of the model (p. 77).

Because Hypothesis 2 is the antithesis of Hypothesis 1, it is easier to prove their validity together. Hypothesis 2 stated that: "environmental and organizational situations are only indirectly responsible for creating bureaucratic stress in employees."

Admittedly, in the manner conceptualized, these hypotheses are logically true. That is, it is commonsensical that employees are responsible for how they react to the different stimuli in the bureaucracy. That is, it is only natural that some people will be happy, others neutral, while others quite dissatisfied with a certain objective condition in the bureaucracy. It is essential that the point is made clear that each individual views the same situation somewhat differently. To reduce employee turnover, then, it follows that employees should be selected who will have more positive reactions toward the bureaucracy.

Conditions in the bureaucracy can be changed somewhat to please more employees, but state agencies are limited in their ability to change dramatically their particular organizational climate. For example, working with the mentally ill may be more frustrating than other forms of work, but the purposes of the hospitals will remain basically unchanged. Promotional policies and pay scales are established and governed by rather rigid civil service rules and regulations superceding the immediate organizations, leaving the single agencies rather impotent to make dramatic organizational changes. Practically, then, since some employees are better suited for certain kinds of employment than others due to their unique personality systems, it may be better to select employees for the particular working conditions rather than to change the agency to satisfy "employee misfits".

This data from the Fort Logan Mental Health Center and Metropolitan State Hospital presented in Chapters IV and V validated the notion that employees tend to promote directly their own job dissatisfactions and stresses which they endure. This was demonstrated by the fact that selected socio-economic, career, and personality factors (shown in Circle A of the model) tended to be related differently to selected "job dissatisfaction" and "bureaucratic stress" areas (Circles B and C of the model). Findings indicated that the origins of job dissatisfaction and more intense job tension (bureaucratic stress) originate in each bureaucrat's unique perspective which is a manifestation of his total personality. The idea advanced throughout this research that bureaucratic situations only tend to "set off" job dissatisfactions and stresses, but do not contribute directly to its production, was sufficiently tested and

validated by the tables shown. Thus, Major Hypotheses 1 and 2 were validated.

Validation of Major Hypothesis 3: It was held throughout the study that employees who are dissatisfied with certain areas of their jobs do not necessarily experience any severe stress because of these job dissatisfactions. Actually, as was discussed in Chapter I, a limited amount of dissatisfaction is regarded as a somewhat normal and healthy condition. Few employees, if any, are completely tensionless. But as was mentioned at the outset, this study was concerned primarily with severe employee discontent leading to high employee turnover. At both Fort Logan and Metropolitan State, employee discontent had reached critical levels leading to high employee turnover rates. The main task of the research, then, was to find out what employees (i.e., personality types) were experiencing intense job dissatisfaction and stress and in what specific areas of their jobs.

In Major Hypothesis 3 it was contended that although expressed job dissatisfaction was not "necessarily" a serious condition leading to high employee turnover, it was hypothesized in any event that "the attitude that an employee holds toward his job in terms of the job dissatisfaction syndrome reflects the area and extent to which an employee is experiencing stress." Simply stated, job dissatisfactions may not necessarily lead to stress situations, but they do tend to be related to certain stress areas. Table 54, which combines 30 tables, shows clearly how job dissatisfaction areas tend to relate closely to bureaucratic stress areas. Because $V_{\max} = 1.0$, it is clear that most of the relationships shown are strongly related. This means that if all the separate relationships were shown graphically, the cases would tend to cluster around one diagonal. In these

Dissatisfaction Areas vs. Stress Areas

Satisfaction as vs.		Bureaucratic Stress Areas					
		Material Rewards	Leadership Co-Workers etc.	Agency Operations	Job Task	General Bureaucrat.	Fear of Failure
Job Dissatisfaction Areas	Salary	.001 .527	.01 .290	.05 .254	insig. .140	.02 .276	insig. .083
	Superior	.02 .232	.001 .443	.001 .313	.01 .263	.001 .433	.01 .250
	Status	insig. .199	insig. .191	insig. .198	.02 .242	insig. .140	insig. .103
	Job Task	insig. .167	.01 .101	.01 .168	.05 .117	.001 .205	.05 .150
	General Job	.01 .276	.001 .380	.001 .373	.001 .341	.001 .488	.01 .252

Note: Above the dotted lines are the significance levels for χ^2 values; below are the values for Cramer's V (variation between 0-1).

cases, the relationship is positive where "high" job dissatisfaction areas tend to relate to "high" stress areas, while "low" dissatisfactions would relate to "low" stress areas. Salary dissatisfaction has the closest relationships, while job task dissatisfaction has the weakest linkage. The fear of failure measurement is found to have the weakest association with the job dissatisfaction areas. Because Cramer's V values do not have any intrinsic value, they are only meaningful when compared to other outcomes (tables). Thus, it is interesting to note only the fear of failure measurement failed consistently to reveal a close association, as compared to other tables. But the chief reason for presenting the table is to illustrate that dissatisfaction with certain aspects of the job is symptomatic of broader and deeper areas of job discontent leading to stress and high turnover.

Although an individual may exhibit only salary dissatisfaction in the tests, Table 54 shows that there is a tendency for salary dissatisfaction especially to spread to other areas. That is, one gripe tends to lead to other gripes. Because of the tendency for grievances to expand if not satisfied, it is advisable that the intensity of a grievance be minimized by management if possible or employee-management problems will likely increase.

The history of labor disputes has witnessed how complaints about low pay have led employees to voice other complaints they never would have brought up if their salaries were satisfactory. Thus, this analysis has demonstrated that bureaucratic stress within individuals has a tendency to spread into other job dissatisfaction and stress areas if adjustment to

the bureaucracy is not made. When the dissatisfactions and stresses become too widespread and unmanageable, employees tend to quit to reduce their anxieties (if they have other options open to them).

A Composite Sketch of the Most and Least Dissatisfied and Stressed Employees: Those Most and Least Likely to Turnover

This research has shown that some employee characteristics may be more conducive for sustaining productive bureaucratic life at these particular public bureaucracies than others, (see Diagram 3 on p. 301). Certainly, efficient and effective services cannot be rendered by either the Fort Logan Mental Health Center or Metropolitan State Hospital if the employees they recruit quit during or shortly after their training periods (training periods or "breaking in" periods can be extremely costly for management, especially in highly skilled occupations). Nor will employees be effective if they are severely stressed and depressed about their work. In addition, employees who are bitter about their jobs probably have a tendency to alienate others, thus reducing the morale of the entire organization. Bitter employees who happen to be clique leaders may present serious problems for management by extending their grievances to their followers. There are probably very few personnel managers who have not been confronted with the problem of preserving good morale in the face of an attack on the organization by some informal or clique leaders severely critical of administrative policy.

Although the data from Fort Logan and Metropolitan State Hospital conflicted on occasion, for the most part rather consistent and meaningful patterns appeared. At least enough patterns appeared so ideal types can

be sketched.

The Age Factor. At both institutions "age" proved to be a very discriminating variable. The most dissatisfied and stressed employees are very likely to be under 35, but an even more critical condition of dissatisfaction and stress is exhibited by employees under 25 years of age. The data have shown that a disproportionately high percentage of these employees are displeased with almost every aspect of their employment. These young employees are disturbed over their low pay and status, their particular job tasks, and how the organization is governed. Needless to say, these young employees are high turnover risks, but interviews with the management of both Fort Logan and Metropolitan State convey the message that they are already well aware of the turnover problem among young workers.

The Significance of Discontent Over Low Pay. At both institutions low pay has evidently contributed to job frustration. Although the employees under 35 tend to be the most displeased over pay, it is important to note that the tables made clear that not a single employee group at either institution were very content with their salary, but discontent over pay was even more noticeable at Metropolitan State. Dissatisfaction with pay among the "college degree" group was as high as 82%, while other educational groupings were not far behind in their expressed dissatisfaction. In regards to age, all bureaucrats below 55 expressed over 62% salary dissatisfaction, while it rose to over 70% for those employees under 45. These statistics provide powerful evidence that high employee turnover at these two institutions, especially

at Metropolitan State, stems from very low pay scales.¹⁹⁰ Again, management is aware that the pay is not competitive, but they are correct when they contend that establishing state salaries is "out of their hands". But one thing is certain, if employee turnover is going to be reduced, then the salaries must be raised to a more competitive level. Actually, it may be more economical to raise the salaries to a competitive level than to waste revenue on inefficiencies due to excessive employee turnover. Also, employee stability would probably improve the effectiveness of the services provided by the hospitals. And in the final analysis, the purpose of a public bureaucracy is to provide adequate, economical citizen services.

Length of Service. The length of time an employee was employed in the agency also proved meaningful. As expected, in light of what was learned in regards to age, employee discontent was greatest among those who had only been at the institutions a short period. Personnel employed between "0-18 months" showed high "salary dissatisfaction" and excessive "material rewards stress", "agency operations stress", "job task stress", and "general bureaucratic stress" compared to other tenure categories. This tendency was evident at both hospitals but was more common at Metropolitan State. Of course, these statistics reaffirm simply the obvious fact that exceedingly high turnover exists at both Fort Logan and Metropolitan State. Once again, it appears that if younger employees were more satisfied with their employment, particularly with their salary, the turnover rates

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For example, at the time of the study the Director of Personnel, a man with a master's degree and experience, was receiving only \$8,400 at a hospital of over 1,100 full and part-time employees in a high cost of living area (Boston and vicinity).

would undoubtedly decline.

Women Employees. Women employees were found to be more dissatisfied and stressed overall with their employment than the men. In contrast to the men, women expressed at both institutions over twice as much "general bureaucratic stress" than their male counterparts. Females also displayed about twice as much dissatisfaction with their superiors. Discontent with superiors is not unexpected since very few women were found to occupy positions of power in the bureaucratic hierarchy. Job discrimination on the basis of sex seems still to exist and/or "fair" employment practices have not had enough time to permit women to reach the upper echelons of the bureaucratic pyramid. It appears that women employees are particularly sensitive about their "oppressed" position at this period in history.

This attitude, whether justified or not, has led to increased dissatisfaction and stress for women in their jobs. At least at the time of this study, then, women employees disliked their jobs more than the men, thus making women greater turnover risks. However, as was speculated earlier, since a very high percentage of women under 25 expressed severe job dissatisfaction and stress, it is possible, if not probable, that "high" dissatisfaction and stress is more the function of age than sex.

The Personality Factors. But for explanatory and descriptive power, probably the personality measures were more revealing than any other factors with the exception of possibly the independent factor "age" and the dependent factor "pay". The Presthus measures in particular were the most definitive. Results of the study at Metropolitan State were remarkably similar to the findings at Fort Logan in regards to the Presthus measures. Only minor inconsistencies appeared.

Generally, the data from the comparative case analysis affirmed strongly the hypotheses of Presthus regarding the expected behavior patterns of his theorized three ideal organizational personality types (the upward-mobile, the indifferent, and the ambivalent).

The Polar Perspectives of Upward-Mobiles and Ambivalents.

Upward-mobiles and ambivalents displayed the same polar perspectives towards bureaucratic life in both studies. As was expected, then, sub-hypotheses 10, 11, 12, 13, and 14 were validated. While upward-mobiles were found to enjoy and identify with most features of bureaucratic life, ambivalents displayed significant hostility toward the bureaucracy. More specifically, upward-mobiles showed almost no dissatisfaction or stress toward their superiors and scored very low on the "general bureaucratic stress" measurement. The ambivalents, conversely, showed they were experiencing severe "superior dissatisfaction", "general job dissatisfaction", "job task stress", "agency operations stress", "general bureaucratic stress", and scored disproportionately higher than the upward-mobiles or indifferents on the "fear of failure" index. Not once either at Fort Logan or Metropolitan State were ambivalents found to express less job dissatisfaction or stress than the upward-mobiles or indifferents on any job dissatisfaction or stress measurement.

The indifferents were found to express "middle of the road" sentiments toward their employment. Only in the area of "job tasks" did indifferents express discontent. The indifferent personality type was related to high "job task dissatisfaction" and high "job task stress". These findings regarding indifferents do not refute the contentions of

Presthus.

In terms of employee turnover, only the ambivalents tend to be high turnover risks because of the extreme discomfort they tend to experience (again, assuming that extreme dissatisfaction and stress tends to lead to high turnover). But because ambivalents tend to be the specialists in the organizations (e.g., doctors), they are indeed indispensable to these institutions.

The Authoritarian and Organizational Rigidity Measures. Other personality factors also provided some insight as to the sort of personality traits which tend to lead to actual job dissatisfaction. It was interesting to discover that employees scoring "low" on the authoritarian scale turned out to be the most dissatisfied and stressed with their employment. "Low" or non-authoritarians were found to express intense "general job dissatisfaction", "job dissatisfaction", and "leadership, co-worker, and subordinate competency stress". A somewhat similar personality measurement, "organizational rigidity", showed similar inverse relationships. Low organizational rigidity was associated with high "material reward stress" and "agency operations stress".

Again, the "age" variable tends to intervene. In manipulating the data it became apparent that the younger employees, who are the most dissatisfied and stressed, also possess low authoritarian personality traits. Rigidity, the central authoritarian characteristic, tends to increase with age rather dramatically after age 25. The older employees, who tend to be the most authoritarian (particularly more rigid), are evidently better prepared to accept the rigid bureaucratic structure than their younger co-workers. Thus, we have discovered another reason why

the young, especially those under 25, tend to be the most unhappy workers and consequently the greatest turnover risks. These younger employees simply do not possess the mind-set which seems to be required for coping with the rigid rules and regulations of the bureaucratic system.

The Sociability Factor. Regarding "sociability", the data showed that employees who were the most content with their work were the ones who were the most sociable. Employees failing to be categorized as highly sociable expressed intense "job task dissatisfaction", "superior dissatisfaction", "job task stress", and "general bureaucratic stress". They also possessed a relatively intense "fear of failure". Only one exception to this general trend existed. Highly sociable employees did express high "material rewards stress". But the latter relationship is really not an inconsistency since "material rewards" is a non-sociable or non-interpersonal aspect of one's work. High sociable employees then, tended to be considerably less bothered with features of their work involving interpersonal relations than the less sociable personnel. Overall, then, it would be expected that highly sociable employees would not be high turnover risks unless their discontent over the lack of adequate material rewards becomes so intense that they would sacrifice favorable aspects of their jobs for "fatter" pay checks.

Professional Attitudes. Employees with "high" professional tendencies were found to be consistently more content than less professionally oriented personnel. The professionals scored "low" in "job task stress", "agency operations stress", and the "general bureaucratic stress" measurements. This validated sub-hypothesis 14: "employees displaying high professionalism will also exhibit relatively

low bureaucratic stress". But this prediction, as with the others, is based on the underlying assumption that extreme dissatisfaction and stress leads to high turnover. In this case professionals, as with other types if they had the option, may leave to find even better employment, but not because they are particularly disturbed about their present jobs. Because it is characteristic, professionals may identify strongly with their work no matter where they are employed, but it would not mean necessarily that they would not leave for a better employment opportunity.

Cynicism and Alienation. Two more personality characteristics proved rather fruitful, "cynicism" and "alienation". Without an inconsistency, highly cynical and alienated employees at both Fort Logan and Metropolitan State turned out to be quite dissatisfied and stressed with their jobs. Their discontent was so intense and widespread that these personality types are surely much more likely to quit the bureaucracy than employees possessing less cynicism and alienation.

The highly cynical employees displayed high dissatisfaction with "superiors", "job tasks", "status", and "general job dissatisfaction", but not with their pay. The cynics likewise expressed high "job task stress", "agency operations stress", "leadership, co-worker, and subordinate competency stress", and a high "fear of failure". But consistent with the findings from the job dissatisfaction syndrome, no "material rewards stress" was expressed.

Alienated personnel expressed similar tendencies. The alienated exhibited intense "status dissatisfaction", "agency operations stress", and "general bureaucratic stress". Most of the patterns regarding the cynics and the alienated were perfect patterns. That is, as cynicism and

alienation tended to increase, so did job dissatisfaction and bureaucratic stresses, and of course, the possibility of these employees resigning.

In summary. Diagram 3 shows in a listing the employees who are most and least dissatisfied with their employment, and consequently, the most or least likely to be high turnover risks. It should be noted that any of the factors on the list represent only tendencies. Any single factor is relatively meaningless, but in combination these factors can have significant heuristic power for management.

For example, it is absurd to make faulty generalizations and conclude that a woman is likely to be unhappy and quit because she possesses certain traits. To make such an inference would defeat the purpose of the study. But it is meaningful to know, for instance, that a woman with a college degree, under 25, with a family income of less than \$7,499, and with a personality profile exhibiting extreme cynicism, alienation, and ambivalence does fall into a group where the tendency to turnover is great. The reason she is a high turnover possibility results from the fact that people similar to herself have a tendency to become so distressed with their work that they leave it. But this is not to say that this particular woman employee will resign and it seems rather "cold" to discriminate against a particular woman in recruitment simply because she has such characteristics.

Utilizing the biographical data and personality inventories to recruit or preserve personnel no doubt brings to the forefront a serious ethical question. Should personnel officials discriminate against certain potential employees for the "good" of the organization simply because they show that they are, according to fallible measurements, high turnover



Factors Associated With
The Most Dissatisfied
And Stressed Employees
And Most Likely To
Turnover

Employed less than 18
months in the bureau-
cracy and between 3-7
years

Some college and college
educated, but no graduate
school

Women

Employees under 35

Family income less than
\$7,499

Low authoritarians

Low organizational rigidity

Low to moderate sociability

Low professionalism

High cynicism

High alienation

Low upward-mobility

High ambivalence

High fear of failure



Factors Associated With
The Least Dissatisfied
And Stressed Employees
And Least Likely To
Turnover

Employed between 18 months
and 3 years

Business or trade school
or graduate school

Men

Employees over 34, especially
between 35-54

High authoritarians

High organizational rigidity

High sociability

High professionalism

Low cynicism

Low alienation

High upward-mobility

Low ambivalence

Low fear of failure

Diagram 3: Employees Tending to be Most and Least Dissatisfied (Note:
This listing represents only general tendencies and is not
meant to demonstrate anything more exact.

risks?

Not only can composite sketches of ideal employees be inaccurate, such sketches can also be unrealistic in light of existing organizational circumstances. Obviously, the unique needs and operating budgets of Fort Logan and Metropolitan State prevent the non-hiring of valuable talent simply because they fall into high turnover categories. The recruitment of the needed talent would be worth the risk unless management had a choice of selecting between one who had the talent as well as desirable "low" turnover potential and a talented person with a "high" turnover possibility.

The Pertinence of the Extra-Organizational Environment

The results of this study have tended to support Robert Ford's hypothesis (sub-hypothesis 15) that "... people in 'dum-dum' jobs will become increasingly hard to manage and turnover will be high within this group." Part of the reason younger employees, women, and employees holding four year college degrees tend to be greatly disturbed about their employment stems from the fact that they hold largely the "dum-dum" jobs in the bureaucracies. This is especially true at Metropolitan State. The "war-baby-boom", the over-emphasis on a college education for well-nigh everyone, sex discrimination, age discrimination, the merit system, and high unemployment in our economy has compounded this problem. Both of the institutions examined, especially Metropolitan State, have been a victim of these socio-economic, political environmental factors. One consequence has been the placement of overly trained personnel in positions normally held by non-college educated personnel. Metropolitan State Hospital is loaded with college educated people with high expectations, but they are

employed largely in jobs far below their formal training or expectations. One thing that this case analysis made clear is that these employees are extremely bitter over the present situation which has placed them in "dum-dum" jobs. Employee turnover may decrease due to the poor job market as it did in organizations during the years of the Great Depression. But also as in the 1930's, employee morale can be expected to decline for most employee groups until the particular organizations reflect a better economy.

These findings indicate that there is little doubt that the extra-organizational environment plays a significant role in influencing the inner workings of a bureaucracy. Although environmental conditions are indirect (invalidating sub-hypothesis 18), economic, political, and social influences may be one of the primary contributors to the development of bureaucratic stress "inside bureaucracy". Certainly, the severe cynicism and alienation detected in some employees, especially in the young, did not originate wholly "inside bureaucracy", but rather was at least a partial product of the larger social environment.

A Word of Caution

In a study such as this, there is a great danger for the data to be misused. One tendency is to place too much stock on the reliability of the data and to act accordingly. This researcher does not claim infallibility and it would be unwise to employ the study's results without caution. Although much of the data presented here has been verified in previous studies and twice here, faulty inferences can be made if the limitations of the data are not understood.

Most importantly, it must be understood that this was a comparative case study. This means that the probabilities presented are true only for the two bureaucracies studied at that particular point in time. It is true that commonalities exist among different bureaucracies and findings from this study can be applied to other organizations, but this should be done with extreme caution because all organizations have their unique features which could make findings here inapplicable for other agencies.

But all this is not to imply that the data presented here is not valuable and useful when used carefully, especially to the two bureaucracies studied. A careful probing into the sort of assumptions and tests employed behind the data presented can make the data more valuable for understanding and reducing job dissatisfaction, bureaucratic stresses, and excessive turnover which tends to reduce the efficiency and effectiveness of bureaucracy.

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APPENDIXES

APPENDIX A

COLORADO STATE UNIVERSITY
FORT COLLINS, COLORADO
80521

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

September 14, 1967

Dear

We need your help in completing a study of great importance to you and other employees of the State of Colorado. Our purpose is to find out about employee opinions and wants. Thus, your opinions about various aspects of your job are extremely important in obtaining a representative picture of state employment.

All of your opinions will be kept completely confidential.

Your responses to the items will be treated as a part of the total employee population, thus your name should not appear on the questionnaire.

We sincerely hope for your cooperation and are grateful for the time you are able to give in responding to the enclosed questionnaire and returning it in the self-addressed, postage paid envelope provided.

Sincerely yours,

Duane W. Hill
Professor and Director
of Research

Kenneth F. Warren
Research Associate



The Commonwealth of Massachusetts
University of Massachusetts
Amherst 01002

258

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

February 26, 1971

Dear

We need your help in completing a study of great importance to you and other employees of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. Our purpose is to find out about employee opinions and wants. Thus, your opinions about various aspects of your job are extremely important in obtaining a representative picture of state employment.

All of your opinions will be kept completely confidential. Your responses to the items will be treated as a part of the total employee population, thus your name should not appear on the questionnaire.

We sincerely hope for your cooperation and are grateful for the time you are able to give in responding to the enclosed questionnaire and returning it in the self-addressed, postage paid envelope provided.

Sincerely,

John H. Fenton, Professor
and Director of Research

Kenneth F. Warren
Research Associate

APPENDIX B

QUESTIONNAIRE

- 1) Male _____
2. Female _____

I need your help in finding out how employees like yourself feel about various matters in your particular agencies. Several public agencies have been selected for this study and your agency represents only one. You, as one of the several selected employees, are an important and necessary part of this research. Thus, I would appreciate it if you would cooperate with me by giving to me a few minutes of your time. YOUR NAME WILL NOT APPEAR ON THIS FORM OR ANYWHERE ELSE. ALL OF THE INFORMATION YOU WILL BE GIVING TO ME WILL BE KEPT COMPLETELY CONFIDENTIAL.

IN THE FIRST PART OF THIS QUESTIONNAIRE I NEED TO HAVE A FEW GENERAL FACTS ABOUT LENGTH OF EMPLOYMENT IN THE AGENCY WHERE YOU WORK, APPROXIMATE YEARS SPENT IN CIVIL SERVICE AGENCIES IN TOTAL, EDUCATION, AGE AND THE LIKE SO I CAN COMPARE EMPLOYEES LIKE YOURSELF WITH THE OTHER EMPLOYEES IN THIS STUDY.

1. How long have you been employed in this particular agency?

1) _____ 0-18 months	4) _____ 7-15 years
2) _____ 18 months-3 years	5) _____ over 15 years
3) _____ 3-7 years	
2. How many years have you been employed in an agency governed by a civil service system?

1) _____ 0-18 months	4) _____ 7-15 years
2) _____ 18 months-3 years	5) _____ over 15 years
3) _____ 3-7 years	
3. Could you tell me your age?

1) _____ under 25	4) _____ 45-54
2) _____ 25-34	5) _____ 55-64
3) _____ 35-44	6) _____ over 65
4. What was the highest grade of school you have completed (circle the choice)?

Grades: 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12
 Trade School 1 2 3 4
 College 1 2 3 4 Graduate School 1 2 3 4
 Business School 1 2 3 4
5. What is the specific title of your position in this agency?

6. If you have a Civil Service grade, what is it? _____
7. How long have you been employed at your present position (in years and months please)? _____
8. What was your father's regular occupation when you were growing up (ages 1-20)? Again, please be specific _____
9. Are you employed under the Massachusetts Civil Service System?
 1) _____ Yes 2) _____ No
10. What is your marital status?
 1) _____ single 4) _____ separated
 2) _____ married 5) _____ divorced
 3) _____ widowed
11. How many dependents do you have? Specify number _____
12. Which of these following categories best fits your present family income?
 1) _____ under \$2500 5) _____ \$10,000-14,999
 2) _____ \$2500-4999 6) _____ \$15,000-24,999
 3) _____ \$5000-7499 7) _____ \$25,000 or over
 4) _____ \$7500-9999

IN THIS SECTION I WOULD LIKE TO FIND OUT HOW YOU FEEL TOWARD THE FOLLOWING STATEMENTS. SOME OF THESE STATEMENTS ARE CONCERNED WITH CERTAIN ASPECTS OF YOUR JOB, WHILE OTHERS ARE NOT. ALL OF THESE STATEMENTS ARE MATTERS OF OPINION ONLY. THERE ARE NO RIGHT OR WRONG ANSWERS.

PLEASE READ EACH STATEMENT CAREFULLY. THEN INDICATE THE EXTENT TO WHICH YOU AGREE OR DISAGREE. PLEASE GIVE YOUR OPINION ON EVERY STATEMENT. DO NOT WORRY OVER INDIVIDUAL ITEMS. IT IS THE FIRST IMPRESSION, YOUR IMMEDIATE "FEELING" ABOUT EACH STATEMENT THAT COUNTS.

	Agree Strongly	Agree Somewhat	Not sure but tend to agree	Not sure but tend to disagree	Disagree Somewhat	Disagree Strongly
	1	2	3	4	5	6
13. What youth needs most is strict discipline, rugged determination and will to work and fight for family and country.						
14. The general public provides a pretty cold world for a government employee.						

	Agree Strongly	Agree Somewhat	Not sure but tend to Agree	Not sure but tend to disagree	Disagree Somewhat	Disagree Strongly
	1	2	3	4	5	6
15. I would some day like to head this agency.						
16. It seems like a lot of people in this organization try to take advantage of you.						
17. Workers in this organization have to stick together and protect each other's interests.						
18. Barnum was very wrong when he said there is a sucker born every minute.						
19. As a group that is separate from administration the lower rank persons in this organization just don't seem to have any leadership.						
20. Society is made up of people who are always trying to help others.						
21. Generally speaking men won't work hard unless they are forced to do so.						
22. Most people are selfish.						
23. Government work demands too much time and energy for me to both with.						
24. It's good to work for an organization that knows what they are doing all of the time.						

	Agree Strongly	Agree Somewhat	Not sure but tend to agree	Not sure but tend to disagree	Disagree Somewhat	Disagree Strongly
	1	2	3	4	5	6
25. Training programs and attempts to install "professionalism" are mostly a waste of time.						
26. In social conversation I frequently have definite ideas and try to convince others.						
27. A fellow should stay by the professional code even when it gets him in trouble with the fellow he works with.						
28. I'd rather not have very much responsibility for other people.						
29. I often wish that I didn't have to work so that I could do the things I really enjoy.						
30. Government workers like myself count their acquaintances by the thousands, but only their friends by the dozens.						
31. In a group I usually take the responsibility for introducing others.						
32. I sometimes feel uncomfortable or strained when I am informed that I must see my superiors.						
33. The extra responsibilities demanded in this kind of work make me content to remain at my present position.						

	Agree Strongly	Agree Somewhat	Not sure but tend to agree	Not sure but tend to disagree	Disagree Somewhat	Disagree Strongly
	1	2	3	4	5	6
34. I prefer to work for an organization where job tasks are clearly defined.						
35. I would like to work in a place where I could experience frequent changes in the work environment.						
36. Actually, everybody tries to gain a little extra for themselves at the expense of others.						
37. I never seem to get the "breaks" necessary for real success in this organization.						
38. I like to see all work completed on schedule.						
39. The public is generally cooperative with government employees like myself.						
40. I usually regard my superiors as helpful to my career.						
41. I believe that people generally "watch out" themselves first.						
42. I cannot stand to be "on the go" all the time.						
43. People ought to pay more attention to new ideas even if they seem to go against the American way of life.						

	Agree Strongly	Agree Somewhat	Not sure but tend to agree	Not sure but tend to disagree	Disagree Somewhat	Disagree Strongly
	1	2	3	4	5	6
44. I usually enjoy meeting new people.						
45. The best thing about this job is leaving it at the end of the day.						
46. For the most part, the general public does not understand the problems involved in government work like I do.						
47. My superiors never seem to pay much attention to my recommendations.						
48. In all honesty, I believe that most people are <u>status seekers</u> .						
49. The most important part of my job is the pay.						
50. The public is a nuisance and seldom very helpful.						
51. Subordinates should have little, if any say, in proposals for organizational change.						
52. Most of our social problems would be solved if we could somehow get rid of immoral, crooked, and feeble minded people.						
53. It is not what you know but who you know that determines promotions.						

	Agree Strongly 1	Agree Somewhat 2	Not sure but tend to agree 3	Not sure but tend to disagree 4	Disagree Somewhat 5	Disagree Strongly 6
54. Any good leader should be strict with people under him to gain their respect.						
55. Personally, my work is not very rewarding.						
56. When I think something is good for a person, I frequently try to persuade him that this is the case.						
57. My line of work, although hard and difficult, is very rewarding.						
58. It doesn't really make much difference to me what kind of work I do, as long as I make a "decent living".						
59. I have made important suggestions many times, only to have someone else around here take credit for it.						
60. My work requires much experience and great skill.						
61. To be perfectly truthful, achieving a higher status is as important to me as receiving a slight salary increase.						
62. I enjoy life more when I am working than when I am not working.						
63. Organizational changes should be initiated only by my superiors.						

	Agree Strongly 1	Agree Somewhat 2	Not sure but tend to agree 3	Not sure but tend to disagree 4	Disagree Somewhat 5	Disagree Strongly 6
64. The most important part of my job is the pay and pension plans.						
65. Actually, its not what you know or how you perform on the job that counts, its who you know.						
66. The findings of science may someday show that many of our most cherished beliefs are wrong.						
67. I prefer being alone than with other people.						
68. Actually, although some people criticize the rules and regulations, this organization would be chaos without them.						
69. In order to get anything accomplished, work must be orderly at all times.						
70. This work is a "job" just like any other "job".						
71. I have found in life that the people who usually "get ahead" are the people who have the ability to fool others.						
72. Obedience and respect for authority are the two most important virtues children should learn.						

	Agree Strongly 1	Agree Somewhat 2	Not sure but tend to agree 3	Not sure but tend to disagree 4	Disagree Somewhat 5	Disagree Strongly 6
73. When in a group, I frequently have trouble thinking of the right things to talk about.						
74. Few people in the lower ranks of this organization seem to care very much about what happens to a fellow.						
75. I sometimes fear not being able to "get ahead".						
76. I'd rather go to a movie alone than go with a group of friends.						
77. Talking to "outsiders" about problems in my job is a waste of time.						

I WOULD NOW LIKE TO LEARN A FEW THINGS MORE ABOUT YOUR JOB. IN THIS SECTION I WOULD LIKE YOU TO CHECK THE BOX ON THE RIGHT WHICH BEST INDICATES YOUR SATISFACTION OR DISSATISFACTION WITH THE CORRESPONDING ASPECT OF YOUR PRESENT JOB.

	Very well Satisfied 4	Fairly well Satisfied 3	Somewhat Dis- satisfied 2	Very dis- satisfied 1
78. How satisfied are you with the amount of time which you must devote to your job?				
79. On the whole, are you satisfied that the superiors accept you as a professional expert to the degree to which you feel you are entitled by reason of your position, training, and experience?				

	Very Well Satisfied 4	Fairly Well Satisfied 3	Somewhat Dis- satisfied 2	Very Dis- satisfied 1
80. How satisfied are you with your superiors?				
81. How satisfied are you with your present salary?				
82. How satisfied are you with your staff?				
83. Are you satisfied that you have been given enough authority by your superiors to do your job well?				
84. How satisfied are you with your present job when you compare it to similar jobs in the area?				
85. How satisfied are you with your present job in the light of your career expectations?				
86. Are you satisfied that the people of your community give proper recognition to your work?				
87. Are you satisfied with the progress you are making toward the goals which you set for yourself in your present position?				
88. How satisfied are you with your present job when you consider the expectations you had when you took the job.				
89. How satisfied are you with the amount of interest shown by the community in government agencies such as the one you work in?				

IN ANSWERING THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS PLEASE CONSIDER YOUR WORK AS A CAREER RATHER THAN YOUR PRESENT JOB.

90. How much does your work give you a chance to do the things which you like best?
- | | |
|--|---|
| 1) <input type="checkbox"/> A very good chance | 3) <input type="checkbox"/> Some chance |
| 2) <input type="checkbox"/> A fairly good chance | 4) <input type="checkbox"/> Very little |
91. How does your line of work compare with other careers?
- 1) ☐ It is the most satisfying career a person could follow.
 - 2) ☐ It is one of the most satisfying careers.
 - 3) ☐ It is as satisfying as most careers.
 - 4) ☐ It is less satisfying than most careers.
92. Considering your work as a whole, how well do you like it?
- | | |
|---|--|
| 1) <input type="checkbox"/> I like it very much | 3) <input type="checkbox"/> I don't like it too well |
| 2) <input type="checkbox"/> I like it fairly well | 4) <input type="checkbox"/> I don't like it at all |
93. Are there any features of your particular job which you dislike?
- | | |
|---|---|
| 1) <input type="checkbox"/> Very many | 3) <input type="checkbox"/> Only a couple |
| 2) <input type="checkbox"/> Quite a few | 4) <input type="checkbox"/> None |
94. If you "had to do it all over again" would you enter your present field?
- | | |
|--|---|
| 1) <input type="checkbox"/> Definitely yes | 3) <input type="checkbox"/> Probably no |
| 2) <input type="checkbox"/> Probably yes | 4) <input type="checkbox"/> Definitely no |
95. Are you making progress toward the goals you had set for yourself in your occupational career?
- 1) ☐ I have achieved my goals
 - 2) ☐ I am making good progress towards my goals
 - 3) ☐ I am making some progress towards my goals
 - 4) ☐ I don't seem to be getting anywhere
96. Has your present career lived up to the expectations you had before you entered it?
- | | |
|--|--|
| 1) <input type="checkbox"/> Yes, in all respects | 3) <input type="checkbox"/> In only a few ways |
| 2) <input type="checkbox"/> In many ways | 4) <input type="checkbox"/> Not at all |

97. If a friend of yours were entering your field would you advise him to strive for the type of work you are doing?
 1) ☐ Definitely yes
 2) ☐ Probably yes
 3) ☐ Probably no
 4) ☐ Definitely no
98. Do you feel that the work you are doing is satisfying?
 1) ☐ Very satisfying
 2) ☐ Fairly satisfying
 3) ☐ Fairly dissatisfying
 4) ☐ Very dissatisfying
99. How many features of your particular job do you especially like?
 1) ☐ Very many
 2) ☐ Quite a few
 3) ☐ Some
 4) ☐ Very few
100. In general do you feel that your type of work is given adequate recognition when compared to that received by other professionals such as doctors and lawyers?
 1) ☐ Yes definitely
 2) ☐ In most respects
 3) ☐ In some respects
 4) ☐ Not at all
101. How much opportunity does your type of work give you to follow your leisure time interests?
 1) ☐ Very adequate
 2) ☐ Adequate
 3) ☐ Inadequate
 4) ☐ Very inadequate

ALL OF US OCCASIONALLY FEEL BOTHERED BY CERTAIN KINDS OF THINGS IN OUR WORK. HERE IS A LIST OF THINGS THAT SOMETIMES BOTHERS WORKERS IN CIVIL SERVICE ORGANIZATIONS. I WOULD LIKE YOU TO TELL ME HOW FREQUENTLY YOU FEEL BOTHERED BY EACH OF THEM. AS YOU DID BEFORE, GIVE ME ONLY YOUR IMMEDIATE FEELINGS OR FIRST IMPRESSION ON EACH OF THE FOLLOWING ITEMS.

	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Rather Often	Nearly all the time
	1	2	3	4	5
102. Not knowing what opportunities for advancement or promotion exists for you.					
103. Having to decide things that affect the lives of individuals, people that you know.					
104. Feeling that you may not be liked and accepted by the people you work with.					

	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Rather Often	Nearly all the time
	1	2	3	4	5
105. Thinking that you'll not be able to satisfy the conflicting demands of various people over you.					
106. Feeling that you have too little authority to carry out the responsibilities assigned to you.					
107. Not knowing just what the people you work with expect of you.					
108. Feeling that you have too heavy a work load, one that you can't possibly finish during an ordinary workday.					
109. The fact that you can't get information needed to carry out your job.					
110. Being unclear on just what the scope and responsibilities of your job are.					
111. Feeling that you are not fully qualified to handle your job.					
112. Not knowing what your supervisor thinks of you, how he evaluates your performance.					
113. Feeling that you have to do things on the job that are against your better judgment.					
114. Thinking that the <u>amount</u> of work you have to do may interfere with how <u>well</u> it gets done.					
115. Feeling that your job tends to interfere with your family life.					

	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Rather Often	Nearly all the time
	1	2	3	4	5
116. Feeling unable to influence your immediate supervisor's decisions and actions that affect you.					

IN THIS LAST SECTION I WANT TO FIND OUT EXACTLY WHAT ASPECTS OF YOUR JOB SATISFIES OR DISSATISFIES YOU THE MOST. AGAIN, PLEASE GIVE ONLY YOUR FIRST IMPRESSIONS.

	Strongly Believe So	Somewhat Believe So	Somewhat Believe Not	Strongly Believe Not
	1	2	3	4
117. Believing that the technical workers in your organization should know a lot more about their work than they do.				
118. Believing that better career opportunities for you exist "outside" this organization.				
119. Believing that the conditions you work under could not be much worse.				
120. Believing that the rules and regulations of the system handcuff you in your daily work.				
121. Believing that the type of work you are doing is a bore.				
122. Believing that advancements are much too slow.				

	Strongly Believe So	Somewhat Believe So	Somewhat Believe Not	Strongly Believe Not
	1	2	3	4
123. Believing that better career opportunities for you exist in another organization.				
124. Believing that your talents are really not being sufficiently tested.				
125. Believing that the rules and regulations serve no better purpose than to antagonize the employees.				
126. Believing that your superiors, a great deal of the time, do not know what they are doing.				
127. Believing that your job provides opportunity for learning so future job success will be easier.				
128. Believing that your present job provides little opportunity for "getting ahead".				
129. Believing that the people you work with are too often cold, impersonal, and unfriendly.				
130. Believing that agency supervision could be improved if the higher-ups would listen once and awhile to suggestions from their subordinates.				
131. Believing that you could accomplish more if it wasn't for some of the stupid things your superiors make you do.				

	Strongly Believe So	Somewhat Believe So	Somewhat Believe Not	Strongly Believe Not
	1	2	3	4
132. Believing that your career offers little opportunity for making a name for yourself.				
133. Believing that the pay is much too low.				
134. Believing that the competency of your superiors could be extensively improved.				
135. Believing that there is too much inflexibility in the organizational structure.				
136. Believing that you could more efficiently do your work if it wasn't for the system interfering.				
137. Believing that the general public degrades your type of work.				
138. Believing that the system has held back your career.				
139. Believing that questionnaires such as this one are largely a waste of time because they can't begin to solve organizational problems.				

APPENDIX C

Fort Logan
Scaled Items

Authoritarian Scale

<u>Order of Difficulty</u>	<u>Question Number</u>	<u>Cutting Points</u>	<u>Cutting Percentages</u>	<u>Perfect Patterns and Percentages</u>	<u>Coefficient of Reproduci- bility</u>
1	13	1+/2-	18+/82-	++++ 7%	CR = .9150
2	52	5+/6-	38+/62-	---+ 24%	
3	66	3+/2-	61+/39-	---- 41%	
4	43	2+/1-	78+/22-	---- 15%	
				---- 13%	

Sociability Scale

1	31	1+/2-	16+/84-	+++++ 9%	CR = .9139
2	28	6+/5-	34+/66-	-++++ 16%	
3	26	2+/3-	53+/47-	---+ 31%	
4	56	3+/4-	69+/31-	----+ 27%	
5	67	4+/3-	85+/15-	----- 14%	
				----- 5%	

Professional Scale

1	60	1+/2-	19+/81-	+++++ 8%	CR = .9066
2	49	6+/5-	31+/69-	-++++ 15%	
3	27	2+/3-	50+/50-	---+ 34%	
4	70	5+/4-	73+/27-	----+ 29%	
5	55	5+/4-	86+/14-	----- 8%	
				----- 7%	

Scaled Items (continued)Cynicism Scale

<u>Order of Difficulty</u>	<u>Question Number</u>	<u>Cutting Points</u>	<u>Cutting Percentages</u>	<u>Perfect Patterns and Percentages</u>	<u>Coefficient of Reproduci- bility</u>
1	20	6+/5-	14+/86-	+++++ 5%	
2	22	2+/3-	35+/65-	-++++ 22%	
3	41	2+/3-	54+/46-	----- 26%	
4	18	4+/3-	68+/32-	----- 32%	
5	36	5+/6-	82+/18-	----- 9%	
					CR = .9040

In-Group Orientation Scale

1	17	1+/2-	13+/87-	++++ 5%	
2	19	6+/5-	43+/57-	-+++ 37%	
3	74	5+/4-	63+/37-	---- 36%	
4	16	5+/4-	78+/22-	---- 11%	
					CR = .9474

Alienation Scale

1	50	4+/5-	21+/79-	++++ 13%	
2	14	4+/5-	37+/63-	-+++ 16%	
3	46	4+/5-	59+/41-	---- 34%	
4	30	5+/6-	76+/24-	---- 23%	
					CR = .9262

Scaled Items (continued)Upward-Mobile Scale

<u>Order of Difficulty</u>	<u>Question Number</u>	<u>Cutting Points</u>	<u>Cutting Percentages</u>	<u>Perfect Patterns and Percentages</u>	<u>Coefficient of Reproduci- bility</u>
1	15	3+/4-	20+/80-	++++	12%
2	61	2+/3-	39+/61-	---+	24%
3	62	2+/3-	61+/39-	----	33%
4	57	2+/3-	78+/22-	----	22%
					9%
					CR = .9309

Indifferent Scale

1	70	2+/3-	18+/82-	++++	10%
2	33	4+/5-	41+/59-	---+	30%
3	64	5+/6-	60+/40-	----	31%
4	29	5+/6-	75+/25-	----	19%
					11%
					CR = .9022

Ambivalent Scale

1	65	3+/4-	16+/84-	++++	14%
2	37	5+/6-	44+/56-	---+	31%
3	59	5+/6-	60+/40-	----	28%
4	32	5+/6-	79+/21-	----	14%
					13%
					CR = .9390

Metropolitan State

Scaled ItemsAuthoritarian Scale

<u>Order of Difficulty</u>	<u>Question Number</u>	<u>Cutting Points</u>	<u>Cutting Percentages</u>	<u>Perfect Patterns and Percentages</u>	<u>Coefficient of Reproduci- bility</u>
1	52	2+/3-	20+/80-	++++ 7%	CR = .9280
				---- 34%	
2	66	3+/2-	42+/58-	---- 26%	
				---- 14%	
3	43	2+/1-	59+/41-	---- 20%	
4	13	5+/6-	76+/24-		

Sociability Scale

1	31	1+/2-	18+/82-	++++ 12%	CR = .9122
				---- 22%	
2	28	6+/5-	42+/58-	---- 33%	
				---- 24%	
3	56	2+/3-	62+/38-	---- 9%	
4	67	5+/4-	80+/20-		

Professional Scale

1	60	1+/2-	26+/74-	+++++ 12%	CR = .8992
				+++++ 15%	
2	27	1+/2-	31+/69-	+++++ 24%	
				+++++ 29%	
3	25	6+/5-	49+/510	+++++ 8%	
				+++++ 12%	
4	49	5+/4-	72+/28-		
5	55	3+/2-	85+/15-		

Scaled Items (continued)Cynicism Scale

<u>Order of Difficulty</u>	<u>Question Number</u>	<u>Cutting Points</u>	<u>Cutting Percentages</u>	<u>Perfect Pattern and Percentages</u>	<u>Coefficient of Reproduci- bility</u>
1	18	6+/5-	20+/80-	++++ 7%	
				---- 31%	
2	22	2+/3-	39+/61-	---- 38%	
				---- 13%	
3	20	4+/3-	61+/39-	---- 11%	
4	36	5+/6-	79+/21-		CR = .8993

In-Group Orientation Scale

1	17	1+/2-	26+/74-	++++ 11%	
				---- 34%	
2	19	5+/4-	46+/54-	---- 37%	
				---- 14%	
3	16	3+/40	68+/32-	---- 4%	
4	74	2+/1-	88+/12-		CR = .9085

Alienation Scale

1	50	3+/4-	22+/78-	++++ 13%	
				---- 16%	
2	14	2+/3-	38+/62-	---- 40%	
				---- 27%	
3	46	2+/3-	63+/37-	---- 7%	
4	30	5+/6-	81+/29-		CR = .9174

Scaled Items (continued)Upward-Mobile Scale

<u>Order of Difficulty</u>	<u>Question Number</u>	<u>Cutting Points</u>	<u>Cutting Percentages</u>	<u>Perfect Patterns and Percentages</u>	<u>Coefficient of Reproduci- bility</u>
1	15	2+/3-	23+/77-	++++ 13%	
2	62	1+/20	39+/61-	----+ 14%	
3	48	4+/5-	61+/39-	----+ 37%	
4	40	3+/4-	79+/21-	----+ 30%	
				---- 6%	CR = .8942

Indifferent Scale

1	70	4+/5-	22+/78+	++++ 13%	
2	58	5+/6-	40+/60-	----+ 17%	
3	64	5+/6-	55+/45-	----+ 14%	
4	33	5+/6-	72+/28-	----+ 34%	
				---- 21%	CR = .9257

Ambivalent Scale

1	37	3+/4-	22+/78-	++++ 13%	
2	32	3+/4-	41+/59-	----+ 23%	
3	59	5+/6-	62+/38-	----+ 35%	
4	47	5+/6-	76+/24-	----+ 15%	
				---- 13%	CR = .9100

Scaled Items (continued)Organizational Rigidity Scale

<u>Order of Difficulty</u>	<u>Question Number</u>	<u>Cutting Points</u>	<u>Cutting Percentages</u>	<u>Perfect Pattern and Percentages</u>	<u>Coefficient of Reproduci- bility</u>
1	51	3+/4-	14+/86-	+++++ 4%	
				-++++ 17%	
2	35	4+/3-	30+/70-	---++ 28%	
				----+ 26%	
3	38	1+/2-	49+/51-	----+ 16%	
				----- 9%	
4	69	3+/4-	71+/29-		
5	68	4+/5-	83+/17-		CR = .9370

Fear of Failure Scale

1	111	3+/2-	20+/80-	++++ 7%	
				-+++ 30%	
2	107	3+/20	43+/57-	---+ 29%	
				---- 20%	
3	105	3+/2-	55+/45-	---- 13%	
4	112	2+/1-	77+/23-		CR = .9028

