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ABSTRACT

Current practices of planning-programing-budgeting systems in educational organizations have been criticized because they impose objectives, emphasize hierarchical control, and foster unproductive climates. A new method, organizational development, makes effective use of human behavior and when used with PPBS could provide an efficient system for educational planning. PPB methods combined with organizational development treat humans as a resource, and one of the first objectives is to improve communication skills and channels so that all members can participate in decisionmaking. Such participation decentralizes hierarchical control, allowing participants to set goals; and it maintains the proper motivational climate. A related document is EA 003 241. (RA)

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ORGANIZATIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND
P P B FOR EDUCATION

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Organizational Development and
P P B for Education

Planning, programming, budgeting systems (PPBS) is a term used to represent a relatively new method for allocating resources in organizations. PPBS helps the planner to determine how resources are being used and how they can best be used in the future.¹

The four major components of PPB, according to Haggart, are: the structural aspect which involves setting objectives and developing a program structure; the analytical aspect, including cost-effectiveness analysis; the control aspect which has to do with keeping apprised of how effectively the program is being implemented; and the data and information aspect or getting feedback over time to make meaningful modifications.²

It is obvious that the human problems within an organization are very important, even critical. Humans constitute the work force responsible for exercising efficiency and meeting organizational goals. It is impossible, therefore, to separate them from such issues as accountability or effective planning. Indeed, in the PPB context it has been recognized that human and other organizational problems are both important. Haggart says,

It should be obvious that solving the people-related problems as a first order of business would have a direct effect on the magnitude of the data-related problems.³

¹see S. A. Haggart, S. M. Barro, M. B. Carpenter, J. A. Dei Rossi and M. L. Rapp, Program Budgeting for School District Planning: Concepts and Applications, Rand Corporation Memorandum, RM-6116-RC, 1969; and Terry L. Eidell and John M. Nagle, "Conceptualization of PPBS and Data-Based Educational Planning," Center for the Advanced Study of Educational Administration, University of Oregon, Technical Report No. 6, 1970.

²Haggart et. al., op. cit., p. 7.

³Ibid., p. 192.

This paper addresses some of the people-related problems in organizations and criticizes current PPB practice in education for not effectively using human potential. The paper also presents a new method, called organizational development (OD), which could be used in conjunction with PPB to effectively cope with the human problems and thereby improve both efficiency and effectiveness. Finally, the paper makes a specific proposal for combining the two approaches. PPB and OD, when used concurrently, allow for total systemic planning, and the dual approach addresses itself to both the data-related and people-related problems in the organization.

PPBS In Education v. Some Principles of Effective Human Behavior In Educational Organizations

In three of the PPB phases mentioned above, principles of effective human behavior in educational organizations are frequently violated. Only the analytical stage is relatively free of the so-called "people" problems. It is possible that pointing out some of these violations will help educational planners using the PPBS method to effect a stronger program. Indeed, it is a thesis in this paper that the successful utilization of PPB as a total system-wide planning tool will not be realized unless the organization concentrates concurrently (at the same time as the PPB) program is being implemented) on changing its human organization. Some current practices in planning, programming, budgeting systems which violate principles of effective organizational behavior will now be considered.

The first principle of effective human behavior in educational organizations is that people are not really committed to decisions and goals they have no part in making. This is one reason why there is so

much subversion of the formal organizational goals and objectives by informal peer groups at lower hierarchical levels in the organization. It is important in the goal-setting process that persons at all levels of the organization be involved in setting objectives appropriate to their own spheres of work. Involving people in this way enhances their commitment to the whole program and facilitates the future implementation of the plan.

Many planners using the PPBS method in school systems do not allow for a two-way goal-setting process. In the objective-setting stage of the PPB program, those persons in the organization who participate are often required to set objectives within the goal parameters already established by those in the upper echelons of the hierarchy. In fact, strong emphasis is placed on statements such as the following:

objectives should be constructed in such a way that they relate upward⁴ to one or more general expressions of public intent.

In other words, the emphasis is on relating one's objectives to the organization's goals, rather than one also considering the goals of those in the system and allowing them to influence the purposes of the organization. This rather limited form of goal-setting with its one-way thrust (downward) could tend to prevent subordinates from really "owning" the objectives they set. A goal-setting process should be designed which allows for the school's goals to be influenced by those who are actually responsible for implementing them at various levels in the organization. Subordinates should set objectives which are bound by rather broad organizational

⁴ see Price Waterhouse and Co., "Recommendations to Improve Management Effectiveness," a document prepared for the Oakland Unified School System, September 23, 1970, p. 10. A similar document was prepared for the Portland schools in 1969.

(public) parameters but which are also personally meaningful within those limits.

Related to two-way goal setting, another principle of effective human behavior in organizations is what might be called shared organizational control. That is, most human systems operate under conditions of change wherein it is impossible to completely legislate subordinate behavior. It is necessary to define roles and responsibilities somewhat broadly and hope that a subordinate will act responsibly within such a context. This fact necessitates that relationships of trust exist between superiors and subordinates. Also, the idea of effective hierarchical control is especially inappropriate to school systems. Teachers and administrators identify with the professional world and naturally resist strict hierarchical controls. In school studies in both Chicago and Boston, researchers have found a very high amount of subordinate independence existing at the principal and department director levels.⁵

Finally, the type of control system used tends to govern the nature of relationships between persons in the organization.⁶ In most organizations, communication and influence networks tend to be informal in nature. A method such as PPBS tends to formalize those relationships such that resources can be systematically allocated rather than bargained for. It can be expected that many powerful persons in the organization--those who

⁵see Morris Janowitz, Institution Building in Urban Education (1969), and C. Brooklyn Derr, "An Organizational Analysis of the Boston School Department," Ed.D Thesis, Harvard Graduate School of Education (1971).

⁶see Joan Woodward, Industrial Organization: Theory and Practice (1965), p. 181.

have already established their networks--will oppose any program which changes their influence. Others may see the new method as an opportunity to gain influence quickly under new conditions. Also, under more rational PPB control system, there may be little to gain from fostering influence relationships. Power in the organization could be redefined to mean entering into relationships which conform to the goal expectations of those who distribute the pay or those who plan long-range objectives. If the control system becomes too rational, one objective may well be to set very safe objectives so as to not be penalized and to seek a condition of autonomy within the parameters of the control system.

Crozier discovered, in studying two public bureaus in France, that subordinates ought to define the rules and then proceeded to do what was required within those rules. Of course, the rules could not possibly govern their total behavior, so they were able to achieve great personal freedom within the rules.⁷ This is a condition of lack of creativity at the expense of organizational accountability or control.

Organizational controls originating from superior and conveyed downward to subordinates (e.g., rules, processes) should be accompanied in effective organizations with meaningful upward (from subordinates to superiors) forms of influence and communication. When control is one-way, there tends to be token compliance to the "letter of the law," overemphasis on the items to be measured and used as criteria, overemphasis on the short rather than the long-run, covering up infractions of the rules and exercising other forms of dishonest behavior, and a reduction in subordinate

⁷Michel Crozier, The Bureaucratic Phenomenon (1965), pp. 162-165.

creativity which comes from allowing discretion within which creative potential can be unleashed.⁸

Most planning, programming, budgeting schemes currently being employed in American education rely heavily on hierarchial controls in order to work effectively. Superintendents demand written objectives by a certain date. These objectives must conform to the rules for writing them. Subordinates are expected to comply with rather stringent system constraints and manage their own objectives within those parameters. The threat of less pay or of losing a particular position looms as a punishment. All of this assumes a high degree of confidence in the ability of the upper echelons of the hierarchy to be able, through modern techniques of analysis, to effectively control the organization, to make it accountable.

However, there is now emerging some experience with the PPB method in education which suggests that while the objectives can be well-written, measured and even analyzed so that a person is held accountable, it is quite impossible to force such a person to risk setting objectives outside of the control parameters imposed by the superstructure. That is, objective-setting tends to be a low-risk process whereby subordinates emphasize the mechanics and concentrate on doing little more than is required of them. This is indicative of a one-way control system, and it points out the limits of control even when the techniques of PPB are used effectively.

Those who have commented on PPBS have alluded to the lack of hierarchial control as a problem for operationalizing the method. E. S.

⁸ see Leonard R. Bayles and George Strauss, Human Behavior in Organizations, (1966), pp. 381-385.

Quade, in discussing systems analysis for non-military planning, openly admits that PPBS may come more slowly to non-military organizations because the latter are "less controlled by the top."⁹ Aaron Wildavsky also states,

The kinds of problems for which program budgeting was most useful (at DOD) also turned out to be problems that could be dealt with largely at the top of the organization . . . the program budget group that McNamara established had to fight with generals in Washington but not with master sergeants in supply.¹⁰

Complete hierarchical controls are not possible in educational organizations nor are they advisable because they tend to stint creative risk-taking and promote a system of rewards based on reaching low-risk objectives.

The third principle of effective human behavior in educational organizations is the social psychological ideal that employees must, in order to be effective, exist in a motivational climate which allows them to grow and develop. Money is only one motivator of performance and it is not the primary motivator among professional groups.¹¹ In order to be effective, a climate should exist in which the individual can be given personal responsibility for finding solutions to problems, where he can set goals and be allowed to take moderate risks, and where he gets concrete feedback on his job performance.¹²

⁹E. S. Quade, "Systems Analysis Techniques for Planning-Programming-Budgeting," a working paper for the Rand Corporation, 1966, p. 26.

¹⁰Aaron Wildavsky, "Rescuing Policy Analysis From PPBS," Congressional Record, 27- 877, 1969. Vol. 3, p. 839.

¹¹see Frederick Herzberg, The Motivation to Work (1959) and Warren G. Bennis, Organization Development: Its Nature, Origins and Prospects (1969); and George H. Litwin and Robert A. Stringer, Motivation and Organizational Climate (1968).

¹²Litwin and Stringer, op. cit., pp. 14-17.

The assumptions superiors make about subordinates is also an important motivational quality in the organization.¹³ Some tend to see their subordinates as lazy, irresponsible, materialistic, dependent and needing to be tightly controlled. When such assumptions are made, the subordinates tend to conform to expectations. This is the pygmalion effect. However, when adults are treated as intelligent, responsible, ambitious, creative, growing, goal-achieving and understanding persons, they may at first wonder "what does he really want" because such treatment is not normal, but they will usually respond to the higher expectations.

Finally, when a superior and his subordinate interact to set meaningful objectives, it is important that such a relationship be open and evaluative, that it be built on mutual respect and trust, and that it encourage the surfacing and resolving of disagreements or conflicts between the two persons. Such a relationship allows for feedback, encourages the subordinate to openly discuss his concerns rather than tell the boss what he thinks the latter wants to hear, and it creates a better motivational climate.

Many current PPB practices in education do not encourage an effective motivational climate in the organization. Decentralization of administrative responsibility and merit pay scales, which often are part of a PPB program, do reward individual performance and should make administrators feel more trusted and more responsible. However, money (pay based on performance) is still the primary motivator. Because the stakes are so high, subordinates are often encouraged to set low-risk objectives.

¹³ see Douglas McGregor, The Human Side of Enterprise (1961).

Also, they are usually not given systematic feedback on their behavior. The emphasis is on writing measurable objectives and being evaluated on those objectives. In other words, a climate does not exist in which superior and subordinate can openly discuss their feelings about the system-wide goal constraints, can talk about their behaviors one with another and try to improve based on some evaluation, and can legitimately disagree and then systematically try to resolve those conflicts.

While the position of the administrator in the school system may have improved as a result of PPB, the total organizational climate of the system may be much less conducive to fostering effective human behavior as a result of PPB. Teachers and students have often been ignored in PPB. When they have been involved, they have had little opportunity to influence the system's goals or to set meaningful objectives. Some proponents of PPB have quite distrustful attitudes about lower-level subordinates. Schick argues, for example, that in PPBS the budgeting and analysis-planning phases should be separate because subordinates in the "bowels of the organization," while they do have budgeting information, lack the insight and competence to be involved in analysis.¹⁴

It is the author's impression that the motivational climate could be improved in educational organizations in conjunction with using PPB, and that the good motivational features of PPB (e.g., decentralizing responsibility, setting objectives, feedback) could, with modification, be used to highly motivate both teachers and students in the school system to be more effective.

¹⁴ Allen Schick, "Systems for Analysis: PPB and Its Alternatives," The Congressional Record, 27-877, 1969, vol. 3, pp. 820-21.

Three principles of effective human behavior in organizations have been discussed. The current practices of PPB in education have been criticized as they relate to those three principles. A new approach to making PPB a more effective organizational planning tool will now be considered.

Organizational Development

Organizational development is a method of intervening in the processes of organizations for the purpose of planning relevant organizational changes. Organization development typically involves the following kinds of activities: getting together an OD team composed of the right combination of expertise; entering the organization and negotiating the organizational change contract in such a way that there is maximum opportunity to use the OD methods; collecting data; diagnosing the organizational problems; feeding back the data to the client for joint action-planning; deciding with the client on the most appropriate change intervention; and sustaining the intervention until such a time that the client has developed his own capacity for organizational change and is ready to sever his relationship with the OD specialists.

To understand what OD does and how it can prove to be useful for educational planners using PPB, a clear understanding of its purpose is essential. The over-all goal of OD is to change the culture of a living system so that the organization becomes "self-renewing." Self-renewing organizations are adaptive in the long run; hence, they are not set in any single organizational structure or procedure. While there is typically some formal hierarchy, organizational form follows function. People are

organized into groups to solve specific problems; both the structure of the organization and the methods used in the groups change to suit the nature of the current problems. In a self-renewing educational organization, for example, the system would choose a process of goal setting and a method for setting objectives which would facilitate the specific problems of the system (e.g., involving certain community groups).

In self-renewing organizations, decisions are made by persons who have the information. Instead of being preoccupied with identifying the decision makers according to who has legitimate authority, emphasis is placed on the best possible decision. Decision making requires adequate information; all too often, those in authority simply lack the information or have it in distorted form. The organization takes all steps necessary to open up channels of communication.

In self-renewing organizations, there are sensing processes and feedback mechanisms to tell when changes are needed. This is already a feature of many PPB programs. Self-renewing organizations are also managed according to specified goals accepted by all the members. The organization learns systematic methods (e.g., problem-solving techniques) for dealing with obstacles to reaching these goals. The goals, naturally, are subject to change as the environment of the school district changes, but planners in a self-renewing organization should be able to count on possessing a set of objectives arrived at by two-way consensus which would be "owned" by the whole organization. This would enhance the potential for implementing the PPB program because the organizational members would already be committed to the goals and objectives chosen by decision-makers and planners as the objects of the planning process.

Finally, in self-renewing organizations there is a culture or climate which permits the features mentioned above to take place. There is open, direct, and clear communication. Conflict is viewed as inevitable and natural and is brought out and managed so that it can be used creatively instead of impeding the work to be accomplished. Creativity, even wild dreaming, is encouraged. New ideas and new persons and groups are seen as additional resources rather than as trouble makers and threats. A climate of trust is developed wherein people more willingly exchange information.

Those are the goals of organization development. However, such an ideal state might seem very difficult to attain. What are some of the OD methods used to help organizations become self-renewing?

Program 30 at the Center for the Advanced Study of Educational Administration, CASEA, at the University of Oregon, has systematically developed a technology called "laboratory training for organizational development" which attempts to develop self-renewing organizations. There are other OD technologies available, but the CASEA methods exemplify the use of the OD methodology. Typically, organizational training as practiced at CASEA uses three major stages to bring into operation a more self-renewing school organization:

Stage 1: Improving Communication Skills. Functions within schools, as in all other organizations, are "carried" through interpersonal interactions. Typically, human beings in organizations lack skill in communicating clearly and succinctly. In the first phase of organizational training, members of a school or district improve their discussions about interpersonal or interrole problems by simultaneously practicing new ways of communicating. The first step, then, is to build increased openness

and ease of interpersonal communication among the participants by training them in the skills of paraphrasing, describing behavior, describing own feelings, and checking their perceptions of others' feelings. The intervention aims to develop skillful, constructive openness; by doing so, it helps the staff develop increased confidence that communication can have worthwhile outcomes.

Stage 2: Changing Norms. After increasing communication skills, the next step is to build new norms that support interpersonal openness and helpfulness among the members of the group being trained. As a lever with which to change group norms, we can use the desires of the participants to ameliorate some of their actual problems. For example, we often invite the faculty of a school to state some frustrations they are encountering in the school and to practice a sequence of problem-solving steps to reduce these frustrations. An activity like this can lead to reduced frustrations and to the satisfaction of knowing that others value the contribution one has made to organizational problem solving. Changes in organizational norms of openness and candor can occur because staff members find themselves behaving in new ways in their actual work-groups.

Stage 3: Structural Change. The culminating phase of organizational training builds into the organizational structure new functions, roles, procedures, and policies. The new structures should become part of the fabric of the school organization. They should be formal and institutionalized with budgetary support.

Of course, each of these training stages follows a very careful entry into the organization, a thorough and systematic diagnosis of the organizational problems which need to be addressed during the training

(e.g., communication problems, authority and power problems, decision-making problems and conflict resolution), and joint planning with members of the organization itself so that an internal understanding of an capacity for carrying out the interventions is left behind.

This is a very brief description of the organizational development method. A proposal for effectively combining it with the PPB approach will now be considered.

Organizational Development and PPB

There are several assumptions underlying an attempt to join the OD and PPB methods for educational planning. First, it is assumed that the employees are considered to be valuable resources. Just as other scarce resources are managed using the PPB method, there will be an attempt to use the costly human resources of the organization in the most effective way.

A second assumption underlying this proposal is that while the PPB System will continue to use some prescribed methods, there will be an attempt to use more effective means for involving people in the organization. The analysis, program structure and data collection phases of PPBS will remain essentially the same, but the goal-setting and objective-setting aspects will be changed significantly and there will be some modification in the control phase. In other words, there is nothing sacred about the PPB method. It can be changed.

A third assumption underlying the marriage of PPB and CD is that this approach to educational planning and change will be systemic (system-wide) and pervasive (massive in scope) over time. It would take at least three years to implement such a program. PPB in and of itself is pervasive

in that it demands a very substantial organizational commitment, even calling for reorganization in some cases. Both organizational development and PPB would be more effective if they could involve an effect all aspects of the system. Thus, a commitment to this program demands financial support and commitment by the organization, especially by the top level of the administrative hierarchy and the school board.

Phase I: During the first phase of the program (sometime in mid-year), four persons comprising the Department of Organizational Development will be selected. The Director should be very experienced in OD methods as they apply to school systems. He should have an advanced degree in a related field of study. He and his staff should also receive special instruction in PPB procedures, and those on the staff who are not already skilled in the use of the OD technology should receive special training so that they are at a certain level of proficiency before the following summer. Such intensive "quicky" courses in OD are offered by such places as the Institute For Applied Behavioral Science (NTL), the Sloan School of Management at MIT, the Human Relations Center at Boston University and by other private consulting organizations. The OD Department should also be placed in a position of influence close to those in the upper echelons of the hierarchy so as to be seen by the rest of the organization as legitimate. Outside consultants who are expert in organizational development should also be employed to help diagnose the school organization and to plan, jointly with the OD Department, the summer training events.

At the same time, a Department of Educational Planning and PPB should be established in which those who have the skills and knowledge necessary to effect the PPB method in the school organization would be placed. Those working in the area of PPB should also be exposed to organizational development and should be encouraged to gain knowledge about OD.

The two departments, OD and PPB, should spend about 20% of their time meeting together, trying to better understand one another's work and orientation. Sometimes an outside (third party) consultant should sit in these planning meetings to help the two units surface their disagreements, resolve their conflicts and better understand one another.

Phase II: The second phase of the program would be more OD oriented and would take place during a two week summer workshop for all teachers and administrators in the school system.

The first four days would be devoted to instruction

in personal goal setting and achievement motivation training. An organization such as McBer and Associates in Cambridge, Massachusetts, specializes in this training. The training would stimulate thought about why setting objectives is important for one's own life, would help participants to be more achievement oriented (therefore more effective) through goal setting, and would help the participants to formulate one personal development goal related to their jobs and one job improvement goal for making their work more effective.

The next two days would be devoted to instructions from the PPB department on how to write measurable behavioral objectives. The principles and form for writing these statements would be discussed and rehearsed.

Five days would then be spent on building a general organizational climate between working groups in the organization which would permit them to work more effectively together. New norms would be introduced (e.g., openness and trust). Communication training would take place. Conflict resolution training would also be on the agenda, as would decision-making and problem-solving modes.

A significant part of the above training would be to get participants to understand a new structure in the organization called the "linking pin" structure. In every school there will be department or unit (e.g., grade) heads elected to leadership positions by their peers. They will also receive extra salary. These persons have the responsibility for reporting the school system constraints (e.g., money, goals, time) to their teachers and for carrying teacher group decision and requests to the principal. The department or unit head also has some released time to set objectives with teachers. Personal development, job improvement and system objectives are to be set.

The department or unit heads then set objectives with the Principal. They set their own objectives with him in one conference and hold a second conference to communicate to him the desires of their group members.

The principals set objectives with their superiors and the department directors with theirs. They also have two kinds of conferences, one for personal objectives and the other for school or departmental objectives. Those at the top of the organization have two similar meetings with the Superintendent. The Superintendent also meets with the school board in a like manner.

Thus, there is a linking between teachers (represented upwards by the department head as linking pin), department heads (represented upwards by the principal), members of curriculum and special departments (represented upwards by the

department director), and the assistant and associate superintendents (represented upwards by the Superintendent). And, there is a similar linking downwards so that communication and influence flow in both directions.

Members of the OD Department might be present throughout the year to help the linking pins and their subordinates negotiate objectives and evaluate performance.

The final two days of training in Phase II would be devoted to working in effective superior to subordinate and linking-pin to group relationships. The role of a third party as an intervening consultant would be established. How to negotiate, communicate, build trust and give and accept feedback could be topics for consideration.

Phase III: A third week immediately following Phase II will be devoted to deciding the system's goals for the forthcoming year. Administrators and teachers will again be involved, as well as community representatives, parents and students. Each school faculty will set its goals in its building and will include students, parents and community in the process. The school board, Superintendent and top staff will also agree on system-wide goals. The department directors with their staffs will also set appropriate goals. All of this activity will take place in the first three days of the training.

Each school will then select three persons plus the principal to represent it at the system-wide goal-setting meeting. The department directors will all attend the meeting, as will the top staff and members of the school board. This mass meeting will be for the purpose of sharing the different goals and agreeing on some mutually acceptable goals for the entire school system (some goals may fall outside the system-wide parameters and could be continued at the individual unit level).

These goals will later be rewritten with the help of the PPB department and it is expected that the various units will set objectives within this system-wide framework.

Phase IV: This is a period, say during the first two months, in which the teachers and administrators are to write their objectives (one personal development, one job improvement and requested system-wide objectives) and report them to their linking pin. Members of the OD department will try to sit in on as many of these initial conferences as possible.

A program structure will then be built by the PPB department based on these objectives.

Interim conferences between linking pins and subordinates

are then to be held at least every two months to try to communicate downwards and upwards, to ascertain to what extent the various objectives are being reached, and to give feedback to superior and subordinate alike on his performance over the past few months.

Forms will be used and completed during these conferences which will permit the parties to evaluate and communicate needed information to the PPB department for the control and data gathering phases. However, to make this a two-way evaluation both the linking pin and his subordinate must sign the evaluation-information form. If they cannot agree, they will meet with a representative of the OD department and try to resolve their differences.

Phase V: Phase V, which may not begin for one or more years after Phase I, will involve teachers training their students in the techniques of objective-setting. Both teachers and students will then set meaningful objectives using the same techniques. Students may set one or more personal development goals. They may set more traditional (i.e., core subject) learning goals. They may set educational experience learning goals. The teacher may also have some system goals to which he must conform, or he may have experiential learning programs in progress. Thus, the student may be required to set some goals within the parameters of those teacher imposed constraints. However, it will be important to protect the students so that they really can set some meaningful objectives for themselves.

Again, it is possible to train teachers to teach personal goal setting and to arouse achievement motives so that objectives will be meaningful to students. Such a technology for teaching teachers such techniques is presently being developed at Harvard, at the Center for Humanistic Education attached to the State University of New York in Albany, and especially at McBer and Associates in Cambridge.

Summary

Current practices in PPB in educational organizations have been criticized. They impose one-way objective and goal-setting. They put too much emphasis on hierarchical control. They foster unproductive motivational climates in the organization.

A new method for making human behavior in organizations more effective has been presented. This method is known as organizational

development and, when used in conjunction with PPB, could prove to be an effective way for planning system-wide changes and programs in educational organizations.

One possible way to combine the two approaches has been suggested in the paper. This proposal should give the reader some idea of the kind of training events that would take place--and some of the expected outcomes--if PPB and OD could be married to form a more complete approach to educational planning.