

**BUREAUCRACY IN THE POST-SECONDARY TEXTBOOK:
The Portrayal of Bureaucracy in the Texas Government Textbook**

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION	1
Research Question	3
Research Purpose	4
Chapter Summaries	5
CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW	6
Introduction	6
Bureaucracy defined	7
Historical Perspective	9
Political Culture	15
Political Culture of Texas	16
Political Sub-cultures of Texas	18
Texas Bureaucracy	19
An Analysis of Government Textbooks	20
Conceptual Framework.....	23
CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY	26
Content Analysis	26
Sampling Frame	27
Sample	28
Units of Analysis	29
Operationalization	31
Coding Procedure	31
CHAPTER 4 RESULTS	34
Frequency Report	34
Subjects Other Than Bureaucracy	35
Frequent Listings Under Bureaucracy	35
Repeated Bureaucratic Myths	37

Most Cited Authors	38
Fighting Words, Phrases, and Topics	40
Chapter Illustrations	41
Cartoon Themes	41
Subject of Pictures	42
Subject of Graphs and Charts	43
Conclusion	43
CHAPTER 5 CONCLUSION	45
Research Summary	46
Comparative Studies	47
Differences Between Textbook Studies	49
Research Weaknesses	49
Continued Research	50
APPENDICES	51
BIBLIOGRAPHY	62

TABLE OF TABLES

	Page	
Table 3.1	Sampling Frame	28
Table 3.2	Units of Analysis	30
Table 3.3	Coding Procedure	32
Table 4.1	Overview of Textbook Content	34
Table 4.2	Subject Areas Other Than Bureaucracy	35
Table 4.3	Most Frequent Listings Under Bureaucracy	36
Table 4.4	Most Often Repeated Bureaucratic Myths	37
Table 4.5	Most Cited Authors	38
Table 4.6	Most Cited Works of Most Cited Authors	39
Table 4.7	Fighting Words, Phrases, and Topics	40
Table 4.8	Chapter Illustrations	41
Table 4.9	Cartoon Themes	42
Table 4.10	Subjects of Pictures	42
Table 4.11	Subjects of Graphs and Charts	43
Table 5.1	Summary of Results	47
Table 5.2	Similarities Between Federal and Texas Government Textbooks	48
Table 5.3	Differences Between Federal and Texas Government Textbooks	

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In 1987, a group of concerned citizens formed the National Commission on Public Service. The Commission's purpose was to "to create a more positive image and, in doing so, to encourage the support essential to the revival of the quality and morale of the nation's public service" (Hubbell, 1991: 240). The Commission published a document (*Leadership for America*) that conveyed a message of disdain by the general public towards the government bureaucracy. The document identified the challenges that awaited the Commission. The bombing of the Murrah Federal Building is an extreme example of the negative view of bureaucracy held by many Americans. Other, more common, examples might include the criticisms and complaints about waiting in long lines, dealing with inept government officials or cumbersome processes when requesting government services.

Richard Stillman II writes in *The American Bureaucracy*, that "government bureaucracy is unloved and unwanted but it also is very much a fact of contemporary life" (Stillman, 1987). The federal bureaucracy employs approximately 4 million people and roughly 45% of full-time federal employees work at professional or technical occupations (Stillman, 1987). The bureaucratic agencies are responsible for the day to day operations of the government's many functions and services that very often require expertise, technical skills, or varying degrees of professional skills. The National Commission on Public Service was one group concerned with the improvement of the

public's perception of bureaucracy. The National Association of Schools of Public Affairs and Administration is another organization that shares the Commission's goals.

On October 17, 1997, the Political Science-Based Programs Section of the National Association of Schools of Public Affairs and Administration (NASPAA) held the NASPAA annual conference in Raleigh, North Carolina. NASPAA President, Charles Wise, proposed that the Section undertake a leading role in an effort to elevate public trust and confidence in government and public service. The means to do so included the call to replicate a 1991 review of treatment of these subjects, especially bureaucracy, in Introductory American Government Textbooks. The lead author of the original analysis, Dr. Beverly Cigler, agreed to replicate and update the earlier study. Dr. Alan Saltzstein offered to evaluate California State Government texts and Dr. Pat Shields offered to do the same for Texas books. The questions raised at the NASPAA conference pertaining to Texas government bureaucracy are the basis of this study.

This project serves as a follow-up to the study conducted by Cigler and Neiswender. Their findings were published in a 1991 issue of *Public Administration Review*. The purpose of the Cigler and Neiswender study was to survey the image of public administration at the federal level as presented to undergraduate students in the introductory American Government textbook. Cigler and Neiswender's focus was on the federal bureaucracy and the presidential models that stress the need to control bureaucratic behavior. Their findings indicate that the government textbooks fail to cite reputable contributors to the field of public administration and also do not mention the critical issues facing the public service profession.

Although there is considerable literature on the topic of bureaucracy, there is relatively limited scholarly information about the perceptions of bureaucracy as expressed in collegiate textbooks. Based on general observations of public opinion, an observer might note that *the bureaucracy* is not held in high esteem. The popular media often reports government waste and inefficiency but seldom reports the positive professional services provided by many government employees. The bureaucracy, in the form of public administration: should be presented to college students in introductory government courses as a respected, professional career worthy of consideration.

At a minimum, as adult citizens, students should have a sense of the roles and functions of public bureaucracies. Their view of the public workforce should go beyond the stereotype of the popular media. Students enrolled in the introductory Texas Government courses may still be looking for a career path to follow. The information the students receive in the introductory courses, like the image presented in the popular media, influences the view of public service. Is public administration presented to students in a positive context that encourages a career in public service? Or is public administration, often referred to as "the bureaucracy", presented in such a negative light that students are discouraged from public service? In defense of the public servant and public administration, these questions warrant investigation.

Research Question

The research question involves public administration and, more specifically, the bureaucracy that includes the bureaucrat and the various agencies of public service.

Specifically, the research question is how is the bureaucracy portrayed in the post-secondary Texas government textbook?

Research Purpose

The intent of this project is to examine the image of public administration in the State of Texas as presented to undergraduate students through Texas Government textbooks. Specifically, the purpose of this project is to describe the treatment of the Texas government bureaucracy and bureaucrat by Texas Government undergraduate textbooks. The project uses a descriptive framework to identify and organize the characteristics used to define and identify the bureaucracy and the bureaucrat.

As in the Cigler and Neiswender project, the results of this study are to be made available to the authors of introductory Texas government textbooks, to practitioners who contribute information about public administration and to qualified practitioners who fail to contribute to the literature. The results of this analysis, as well as the results of the California study and the Ciglar update on the federal bureaucracy, are to be made available to the authors and practitioners by introducing these findings at the 1998 NASPAA conference in Idaho. The results of the study are also intended to serve as a gauge to determine whether the textbook literature about bureaucracy needs to be more sensitive about the effect that such literature may have on the students of Texas government.

Chapter Summaries

Chapter 2 presents a literature review of the Texas State government bureaucracy. The chapter offers the following information about the bureaucracy: a definition, a historical perspective, and the purpose. Additionally, information is provided about the political culture and sub-cultures of Texas government and information about the Cigler and Neiswender study in reference to the bureaucracy at the federal level. The conceptual framework is also illustrated in Chapter 2.

Chapter 3 offers an overview of the methodology used to describe the treatment of the Texas government bureaucracy and the bureaucrat by the Texas Government undergraduate textbooks. Chapter 4 presents the results of the analysis. Chapter 5 offers the conclusions about the findings of the analysis.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

In recent years, American citizens have expressed the opinion that the bureaucrat is unresponsive, incompetent, and imperious and that the American government bureaucracy is a "sinister fourth branch of government – unelected, unresponsive and difficult to unseat (Hubbell, 1991: 240).

The purpose of this chapter is to review the literature pertaining to governmental bureaucracy that includes the definition, the origin, the purpose and myths about bureaucracy. The conceptual framework is presented in this chapter. The literature review also acquaints the reader with some specifics of Texas State government that includes a discussion of the Texas political culture and its role in a citizen's understanding of bureaucracy. Additionally, a review of a previous analysis that explored the content of American Government textbooks is included. Finally, this study aims to provide information to public administration professionals and educators who may not be aware of the importance of including information about the bureaucracy in college textbooks. For students, new information about the bureaucracy might encourage them toward a career in public service; and for the general public, new information might offer a new view of bureaucracy. A second purpose of this study is to provide textbook authors, who may not be aware of a neglected area of study, with new information about the coverage of bureaucracy. New information may be helpful and useful to students and the general public.

This research is a follow-up to a study by Beverly Cigler and Heidi Neiswender that analyzed 19 American Government textbooks (Cigler. 1991). The intent of the Cigler and Neiswender study was to provide an overview of the general emphases in the textbook's treatment of the bureaucrats and the bureaucracy. This chapter follows up on the Cigler and Neiswender study by exploring the emphases of textbooks used in Texas Government courses at the post-secondary level.

Bureaucracy Defined

Richard Stillman defines bureaucracy as "the structure and personnel of organizations, rooted in law: that collectively function as the core system of U. S. government and that both determine and carry out public policies using a high degree of specialized expertise" (Stillman, 1987: 2). Barry Bozeman (1996) defines a formalized bureaucracy as "a system of rules covering rights and duties of incumbents and a system of procedures for dealing with work situations." Bureaucracy includes the parameters around which a job is defined and the extent to which rules, procedures, instructions, and communications are written (Bozeman. 1996:5). The bureaucracy – comprised of dozens of departments, agencies, boards, bureaus, commissions, and all of the men and women employed in those agencies - is responsible for administering the laws of the state. The bureaucracy implements public policy while administrators and line employees do the work involved in administering the policies. The bureaucracy is involved in the overall policy process (Cole. 1987 p. 141).

Stillman (1987) offers a summary of the features of the U.S. public bureaucracy

that are listed as follows:

- Consists of 80,000 separate units rather than one massive whole:
- A heterogeneous organization, some large like the Department of Defense, but most quite small with relatively few employees
- Separated into federal, state, and local levels with the majority of the public organizations at the local government level;
- Sometimes expanding in size and other times contracting;
- Geographically evenly distributed across the nation;
- Performs a variety of central functions deemed necessary by society. At the Federal level the largest function is associated with national defense while at the local level the majority of the bureaucratic work is education-oriented;
- Consumes a major share of the Gross National Product, though increasingly at the federal level these monies go for "contracting-out" services with only 5 to 7 percent of bureaucratic work done in-house:
- Made up of several thousand occupational categories containing increasingly professional employees;
- Neither "all-powerful" nor "out of control" but very much dependent, bounded, and controlled by several institutions such as legislatures, courts, elected chief executives, and other agencies as well as by special interests and political groups outside government;
- Difficult to measure in terms of its efficiency or inefficiency because of unique, non-quantifiable outputs and diverse goals, purposes, and activities;
- Highly representative of the U.S. population though particular agencies reflect salient features of their specific clientele groups:
- Different from other public systems in the world because of its fragmented and diverse structures, its experimental nature, its political participation, and its gradual development;
- Involved with "core functions" in government, particularly in making decisions involving four kinds of critical function: regulative, distributive, redistributive, and constituent;

- And along with Congress, the president, and the courts the bureaucracy is actively engaged in the entire spectrum of duties and responsibilities of public policy making and the governing of the United States.

Historical Perspective

The modern American bureaucracy has two major eras of development. The first was the Progressive Period that lasted from the 1890's until the election of Warren Harding in 1920 and the second, the Post-Progressive era, was the period following 1920 until the present. The progressive period of bureaucratization emphasized such values as efficiency, professionalization, merit appointment, discretion, and hierarchical accountability (Yarwood, 1996: 612). The post-progressive period added other values, values which were at times inconsistent with progressive values, including equity, access, and rules to assure procedural due process (Yarwood, 1996: 612).

For Woodrow Wilson and the Progressives, the essence of good administration is giving professionals and managers the discretion to act, then holding them accountable for their choices. According to Yarwood (1996), in the post-Progressive period, the emphasis is on prescribing in detail the rules to which public servants must conform in making decisions, rather than trusting professional judgment. Thus, a distinguishing characteristic of public administration in this latter period is decision making under constraints (Yarwood, 1996: 612).

Robert Stillman (1987) points out that "few things are more disliked in our modern society than bureaucracy; hardly an occupation is held in lower esteem than that of a bureaucrat." The beginnings of bureaucrat bashing can be traced to the administration of President Andrew Jackson. Jackson was the first president to articulate

and thoroughly implement a spoils system for the federal service. By valuing loyalty to party over character, educational attainment and class standing. President Jackson democratized the federal bureaucracy. But, at least in the minds of many members of the aristocracy, Jackson also lowered its quality, and made federal bureaucrats more vulnerable to criticism (Hubbell, 1901: 238).

The criticism of bureaucracy reached its peak in the early 1880's when government jobs were sold and traded like a commodity. As a result, members of the middle class were so outraged by the patronage politics characterizing the federal government of the 1880's that they launched a civil service reform movement to make the federal civil service more professional. The movement resulted in the passage of the Pendleton Act of 1883 that applied merit principles; instead of the spoils system, to approximately 10% of all federal employees. Later, the Ramspeck Act of 1940 and the Classification Act of 1949 created more uniform position descriptions. These reform movements served to improve public perceptions of the bureaucracy (Hubbell, 1991: 238).

Greater job security was a way to insulate the "professional" public service from politics. The Classification Act, however, created a host of new problems. The Civil Service Reform Act of 1978 clearly contributed to many Americans' negative perceptions of federal bureaucrats. Playing upon and contributing to this negative perception, Carter administration officials marketed the Act to the U.S. Congress and the general public primarily as an easier way to fire federal bureaucrats (Hubbell, 1991: 239).

The disdain for the bureaucracy by the general public has also been promulgated by other political figures. During the 1980 presidential campaign, Ronald Reagan

espoused American values such as family, work, neighborhood, peace and freedom. But he used these family values to contrast with big government. Reagan's approach was to win public support by attacking big government but his focus was on the people who managed government programs - the bureaucrats - thereby contributing and continuing the erosion of public confidence in the bureaucracy. Reagan chose his object of attack wisely. Few people had many positive things to say about bureaucrats in the 1980's (Hubbell, 1991: 240).

The dislike of the bureaucracy and the bureaucrat by the American public has manifested itself in several ways. One manifestation is a deeply rooted and often repeated set of myths used to describe the bureaucracy, its functions, processes, and the people who work within it. Richard Stillman (1987), in *The American Bureaucracy*, outlines 12 bureaucratic myths and provides documented data to refute the myths. These myths are important because Cigler and Neiswender used them to examine the myths in the American Government texts. Although Stillman wrote this in 1980, the myths have current applicability. The myths and the associated facts are as follows:

Myth 1 - Bureaucracy is the problem with the U.S. government. The presidency, the courts, and Congress are seen by the public as institutions that conduct the business of our government. Fact: The bureaucracy is made up of approximately 16 million employees at the federal, state, and local level. The bureaucracy is not only *the problem* with government; it makes government possible.

Myth 2 - Government bureaucracy is overwhelmingly large and monolithic. Fact: The federal government is one bureaucracy; there are 50 state bureaucracies and approximately 82,290 local public bureaucracies. The federal bureaucracy employs

approximately 4 million employees including military personnel. The 4 million employees are scattered across 45,431 units. Of these, 57.2% employ less than 4 people. Only .06% employ more than 10,000 people.

Myth 3 - Bureaucrats are all alike; that all are a mass of under-achievers or non-achievers. **Fact:** 45% of full-time federal employees work at professional or technical occupations as compared with only 10% of private sector workers who are classified as professional.

Myth 4 - Bureaucrats stay on forever. Popular image of a bureaucrat is someone tenured for life in a comfortable job. **Fact:** While rates of separation vary from jurisdiction to jurisdiction, in 1980 almost 1 million federal employees left the civil service and most left voluntarily. Among those who stay within an agency, the average length of service is 2.3 years before moving laterally or upward into new positions.

Myth 5 - Bureaucrats live in Washington, D.C. **Fact:** The bulk of civil servants are local workers. There are about 10.8 million employed by states or local government agencies. Local bureaucracies have grown from 40.5 % in 1950 to 51.9 % in 1984. Of the 5.5 million federal employees, including military personnel, only 12.5% live in Washington, D.C.

Myth 6 - Bureaucrats are found everywhere. **Fact:** Bureaucrats are found across diverse occupational categories but most are concentrated in just a few fields of government. At the federal level, 70% of the work force is employed by three departments – Department of Defense, the Veterans Administration, and the Postal Service. The remaining 30% are scattered throughout the other twelve executive departments and several hundred independent agencies. Of the 10.8 million state and

local employees, 5.3 million work in education; 1.29 work in the health field; 596,000 in police and protective services; 369,00 in social and welfare services; and 3.3 million in such fields as fire protection, city planning, and highway construction.

Myth 7 - Bureaucracy grows relentlessly. Fact: the bureaucratic growth rate has been highly uneven. In 1930 there were over a half million federal employees and there were about 2.5 million in 1950. Between 1930 and 1950, three wars caused the creation of new bureaucracies; the Department of Defense, the Veterans Administration, the Central Intelligence Agency, and the National Security Council among others. Since 1950, the workforce has remained relatively stable at about 2 million civilian and 2.5 million military personnel. During the 1980's the workforce dropped because of President Reagan's budget cuts. At the local level, public employment has grown from 6 million in 1960 to 10.8 million in 1981. The point is that the bureaucracy expands and contracts over the years depending upon the circumstances. ¹

Myth 8 - Bureaucracy produces only red tape. Fact: rules and regulations are part of any organization, public or private. There is no evidence that government has more or less red tape than private industry.

Myth 9 - Bureaucracy is all-powerful and out of control. Fact: every public agency operates within the political context of numerous external checks placed upon it by the legislature, the chief executive, the courts, and outside pressure groups.

¹ The Texas Office of the State Auditor, in the Quarterly Report of Full-Time Equivalent (FTE) State Employees ending November 30, 1997, reported 271,021 Full-Time Equivalent state employees. Compared to the previous quarter, overall FTE's increased by 0.077 due to the end of the summer session and the beginning of the fall term at institutions of higher education. In comparison to the first quarter of 1997, state employment has remained relatively constant with an overall net increase of 1424 FTE's (0.534). Total state-wide employment in Texas has increased by 27,593 FTE's over the past five years (11.34%). The increase was largely due to a nearly 16,000 FTE increase at the Department of Criminal Justice.

Myth 10 - Governmental bureaucracy is inefficient and wastes resources. **Fact:** efficiency must be measurable. In private enterprise, efficiency is measured with a profit and loss statement. With government agencies, the task of measuring efficiency is not as clear cut as a profit and loss statement. A government bureaucracy must also take into account fairness: equity, and democracy as other critical values to consider, in addition to efficiency, when providing a service.

Myth 11 - Bureaucrats are unrepresentative of the U.S. population. **Fact:** the overall composition of U.S. bureaucracy is perhaps more representative of the population than any other U.S. institution, but particular bureaus and agencies often reflect the peculiar characteristics, traditions, and demands of the clientele they service.

Myth 12 – Bureaucracy is the same everywhere in the world. **Fact:** Considerable research has been done in comparative politics and administration during the past four decades. Gabriel A. Almond and Sidney Verba, in *A Reader in Bureaucracy*, state that the United States has a unique civil culture characterized by broad-based pluralism and mass participation, including communications and persuasion, a culture of consensus and diversity, a culture that permitted change but moderated it. They go further to say that the United States stands out as a participant civic culture by comparison with the rest of the world.

It is the myths or exclusion of factual information that is of interest to this study. As in the Cigler and Neiswender study, the content of the sample textbooks will be compared to the myths outlined in the Stillman text as part of the analysis.

Political Culture

Political culture has been defined as the summation of persistent patterns of underlying political attitudes and characteristic responses to political concerns within a particular political order (Elazar, 1994). Thus political culture is a kind of "second nature" that is generally unperceived by those who are part of that order and its origins date back to the beginnings of the people who share it. Political culture influences people's perceptions and expectations about the proper roles of politics and government, the recruitment of specific kinds of people into political life, and the actual practice of government and politics (Elazar, 1994: 236).

According to Elazar (1994: 384), political culture encompasses two contrasting views of politics. The first is the political order as a marketplace, characterized by bargaining among essentially self-interested individuals and groups. The second is the political order as a commonwealth, in which people have an undivided public interest in building the best government on the basis of shared moral principles. The national political culture is made up of 3 major subcultures. The first, the individualistic political culture and a product of the Middle State stream, emphasizes the conception of the democratic order as a marketplace. The second is the moralistic political culture, a product of Puritan New England and its Yankee stem. The moralistic political culture emphasizes the conception of the democratic order as a commonwealth. The third is the traditionalistic political culture. It is a product of the plantation agrarianism of the Southern stream that exhibits an ambivalent attitude toward the marketplace and a paternalistic and elitist conception of the commonwealth. According to Elazar (1994) the

political culture of Texas falls into the category of the third subculture, specifically the traditionalistic dominant, strong individualistic strain (Elazar, 1994: 284).

Political Culture of Texas

The traditionalistic political culture is rooted in an ambivalent attitude toward the marketplace coupled with a paternalistic and elitist conception of the commonwealth. The traditionalistic political culture accepts government as an actor with a positive role in the community, but in a very limited sphere - mainly that of securing the continued maintenance of the existing social order. To do so, it functions to confine real political power to a relatively small and self-perpetuating group drawn from an established elite who often inherit the position to govern through family ties or social position (Elazar, 1994: 235).

"Good government" in the traditionalistic culture involves the maintenance and encouragement of traditional patterns and, if necessary, their adjustment to changing conditions with the least possible upset. This culture also tends to be instinctively anti-bureaucratic. The reason is that bureaucracy by its very nature interferes with the fine web of informal interpersonal relationships that lie at the root of the political system and have been developed by following traditional patterns over the years. Where bureaucracy is introduced, it is generally confined to ministerial function under the auspices of the established power-holders (Elazar. 1994: 236).

The people who settled the southern states were seeking individual opportunity in ways similar to those of the settlers in the newly established northern states. Those who settled in the South sought opportunity. not in commercial business or commercially

oriented agriculture, but on plantation-centered agricultural systems based on slavery and essentially anti-commercial attitudes. Ultimately, the Southern political culture spread through Texas where it was diluted on the state's western fringes by individualistic-type European immigrants (Elazar, 1994: 244).

In Texas, the Democratic and Republican parties shared in the political power until late in the 19th century. After the bitter dispute over Republican-sponsored reconstruction and the black's place in politics and society, the political balance shifted heavily toward the Democratic side. The result was half century between 1900 and 1950 in which the Democratic Party was seldom challenged and almost never defeated in electoral contests. A one-party system emerged in which chaotic factional politics took place. The issues of public service or the distribution of costs for these services were seldom the basis for contesting elections. The election process was influenced more by issues other than public service and by personalities of candidates. Elected officials, without the support of a meaningful party, were vulnerable to pressures from established economic interests such as the state's oil, gas, and insurance industries (Anderson, 1979: 52).

The era of fragmented, personalistic politics began to decline in the late 1930's when the economics of issues raised by President Roosevelt's New Deal policies. Along with the realignment along economic issues, the two-party system began to take hold again. However, the tenn liberal and conservative are not as clear-cut as one might believe. According to Anderson (1979: 53) many voters do no apply labels like "liberal" or "conservative" to themselves and have trouble relating such terms to politicians and

public issues. This confusion comes in part from Democratic candidates who call themselves "moderates" or "middle-of-the-roaders."

Political Sub-Cultures of Texas

To understand the political culture of Texas, one must examine the sub-cultures that make up the whole culture. African-Americans and Mexican-Americans make up about 32% of the population. Approximately 13% of African-Americans live in the eastern portion of the state. Therefore, the cultural and political style of East Texas resembles the style of the Old South. Mexican-Americans make up about 19% of the Texas population and population is concentrated in the southern counties (Crain, 1980: 27).

Representation of Blacks and Mexican-Americans in the Texas legislature has been slow to develop. Consequently, lack of political representation has contributed to problems associated with minimal representation. (Crain, 1980) For the counties in question, median family income is the lowest among the state as well as educational attainment. However, as the minority and political representation grows, the plight of the minority becomes more of a political issue. The political process has to address the problems associated with inequality that stems from the political difference in political subcultures (Crain, 1980).

In view of the traditionalistic and individualistic political culture, one might expect that the bureaucracy, as noted earlier, might threaten the political order. If this were the case, one might also expect to see the bureaucracy presented in a negative light in literature written for the professional reader and the college student.

The Texas Bureaucracy

Citizens associate state government with the bureaucratic process because of the frequency of contact with state agencies. Many agencies either provide a public service or monitor or regulate other government or private industries. Citizens, therefore, believe state government and the bureaucracy are analogous. The bureaucratic agencies deal with or have influence over many of the professions and occupations and services with which the general public comes in contact. Consequently, it is important to know who controls administration in Texas (Bedichek, 1986: 237).

The governor of Texas has fewer of the formal tools to control administration enjoyed by many other chief executives. The governor has limited power in budget appropriations and the governor's appointive powers are restricted because many department officials are elected not appointed. The legislature possesses considerably more formal powers but operates under considerable handicaps. The legislature possesses the ability to establish, reform, or abolish an agency and also controls the budget of most administrative boards. The handicap is the form of infrequent sessions that restricts the ongoing supervision of state agencies (Redichek, 1986:238). Because of the part-time nature of the Texas legislature and the relatively few direct gubernatorial controls over the bureaucracy: the Texas bureaucracy is arguably more independent and significant in the execution of public policy than the bureaucracies in many other states (Bedichek, 1986).

Political scientist Steven Neuse studied administrators of eight of the largest state agencies in Texas (about 72% of all employees) and, according to Neuse, found that the "typical" employee is "a white 42 year old male with an undergraduate degree granted by

a Texas university. He has been employed by his present agency for almost 9.5 years and is likely to have a previous employment record which includes other public services experience"(Cole, 1987: 144). The typical administrator usually possesses a high level of training and education. Nearly three-fourths of the sample had earned an undergraduate degree and 32% had obtained a graduate degree. Almost a fourth of these degrees were in the social sciences, almost 20% in biological sciences and education. 16% in business, and 6% and 4% respectively in engineering and physical sciences (Cole, 1987: 144). These characteristics are in stark contrast with the description made by one state level employee of his mid-level managers as "helpless, hopeless, hapless, and useless bureaucrats" (Walters, 1991: 24).

An Analysis of Government Textbooks

Beverly Cigler and Heidi Neiswender conducted a study to examine how the federal bureaucracy is portrayed in the introductory post-secondary American Government textbooks. The results were published in a 1991 issue of *Public Administration Review* in an article titled "'Bureaucracy' in the Introductory American Government Textbook." Their research is valuable because scholarly information regarding exposure to bureaucracy by college students is limited. The information in the texts may be the only formal opportunity students have to study about bureaucracy. Because public administration is not a common undergraduate major, the information provided in the introductory government course may be the only means a student is directed toward a career in public service.

Cigler and Neiswender analyzed 18 American Government textbooks that included 19 chapters dealing specifically with the American government bureaucracy. The purpose of their study was to provide an overview of the general emphases in the textbook treatment of the bureaucrat and the bureaucracy. The presentation of bureaucracy is important because students may be influenced in their choice of career by the information to which they are exposed in the textbook.

Cigler and Neiswender note the topic areas that are inadequately discussed in the texts under analysis and make general suggestions about what should be covered in a bureaucracy chapter. The shortcomings and suggestions for improvement are discussed later in this section. The key audiences for the research findings are public administration professionals and educators who may not be aware of the importance of including coverage of bureaucracy in introductory political science courses. The hope is that an adequate and accurate description of the bureaucracy could be used to orient students toward a career in public service. A second audience is textbook authors who may not be aware of shortcomings in their writings or the ramifications of not providing a more complete view of the bureaucracy.

Cigler and Neiswender found that none of the textbooks discussed public service as a profession and fail to include any information about public administration from the perspective of a practitioner or the academic. The textbooks do not adequately examine the origins and history of the bureaucracy. The chapters focus heavily on the federal bureaucracy but neglect the growing importance of state and local bureaucracies. Comparisons of American bureaucracy with those of other nations are also limited to a few of the more recent textbooks.

The textbooks present the bureaucracy using the model of a strong presidency and focus on control mechanisms to contain the bureaucracies and the bureaucrats. The texts lack discussion on the recent arguments dealing with the possible negative effects of micromanaging bureaucracy. The textbooks also overlook the nature of relationships among and between actors in a system of government in which actors and institutions have overlapping responsibilities as it pertains to control and reform. The analysis also reveals that no distinction is made between career and politically-appointed bureaucrats nor the tensions that exist between the two. The textbooks do not review the relationship between the policymaking role and the regulatory role of bureaucracies. The failure relates to the poor coverage of bureaucracy as highly diverse with roles and responsibilities across levels of organizations and the political system.

The authors perpetuate the myths about the bureaucracy identified by Stillman and provide no empirical evidence to support their claims. The authors rely on a small number of published works by distinguished commentators on bureaucracy for their chapter references and citations. Pictures, graphs, illustrations, and cartoons are used with frequency in the texts. However, these devices are often used to portray a negative view of bureaucracy and the bureaucrat with no differentiation between political appointees and career public servants.

In general, the research indicates that bureaucrat-bashing has increased in the texts published after 1985. Although the narrative presents either neutral or unbiased treatment of bureaucracy, the graphics portray negative images of bureaucracy. Undergraduate students deserve unbiased, accurate, and a challenging introduction to any field of study. Based on the analysis of the textbooks, the Cigler and Neiswender study

suggests that authors review and revise the textbooks accordingly. Additionally, practitioners and academics in public administration should become more aware of how their work is interpreted and depicted by others. Appropriate measures should be taken to deliver useful and accurate information to students of public administration.

The results of the Cigler and Neiswender analysis indicate that a review and revision of textbook content by the authors is warranted. The results of the American Government texts raise questions about the content of state government textbooks. The question is how is the Texas bureaucracy portrayed in the Government textbooks that concentrate on Texas government? This project undertakes a challenge to investigate this question. This study is a follow up to the Cigler and Neiswender study and the results of this project are compared with the results of the Cigler and Neiswender findings.

Conceptual Framework

The purpose of the conceptual framework is to establish an outline or course of action that this study uses for categorizing information. Literature pertaining to the portrayal of bureaucracy in government textbooks is sparse, therefore the descriptive categories and components of those categories used in the Cigler and Neiswender study are used to develop the descriptive categories for this analysis. However, the categories and components used to describe the American Government bureaucracy are adapted to fit the model of a content analysis of Texas government textbooks.

The categories used in the Cigler and Neiswender study are used as the basis to develop the 10 categories for this study. The components are presented as sub-headings under the following categories: Subject Areas Other Than Bureaucracy. Most Frequent

Listings Under Bureaucracy, Most Often Repeated Bureaucratic Myths, Most Cited Authors, Most Cited Works of Most Cited Authors, Fighting Words-Phrases and Topics, All Chapter Illustrations. Cartoon Themes, Subjects of Pictures, and Subjects of Graphs and Charts. **Figure 2.1** summarizes the conceptual framework

Figure 2.1 Conceptual Framework

I. Subject Areas Other Than Bureaucracy in Index

1. The Governor
2. National Affairs
3. State Constitution/Political Development of state
4. Congress/Legislators
5. Domestic/Social Welfare Policies
6. General Introduction to the study of Government

II. Most Frequent Listings Under Bureaucracy in Index

1. Control of/Oversight
2. Public perception/attitudes of public/citizen satisfaction
3. Red tape/paperwork
4. Power
5. Size
6. Accountability/discretion
7. Definition of
8. Problems of/complaints against
9. Permanence/survival power
10. Bureaucracy versus democracy
11. Responsiveness
12. Patronage
13. Coordination

III. Most Often Repeated Bureaucratic Myths

1. Bureaucracy is the problem with Texas Government
2. Government bureaucracy is overwhelmingly large and monolithic
3. Bureaucrats stay on forever
4. Bureaucracy grows relentlessly
5. Bureaucracy is all-powerful and out of control
6. Governmental bureaucracy is inefficient and wastes resources
7. Bureaucrats are unrepresentative of the Texas population

IV. Most Cited Authors

V. Most Cited Works of Most Cited Authors

VI. Fighting Words, Phrases, and Topics

1. Citizen complaints/lack of satisfaction
2. Paperwork/red tape
3. Corruption/whistle blower
4. Negative comparisons of bureaucracy vs. democracy
5. Inefficient/wasteful
6. Too large
7. Difficult to fire bureaucrats
8. Patronage
9. Incompetent

VII. All Chapter Illustrations

1. Pictures
2. Graphs/charts
3. Illustration, highlights, etc
4. Cartoons

VIII. Cartoon Themes

1. General bureaucrat bashing
2. Generally negative toward government
3. Governor bashing
4. Bashing of political appointees
5. Congress-bashing

IX. Subjects of Pictures

1. Political appointees
2. Civil service workers
3. Paperwork
4. Postal service
5. Governor
6. Regulatory functions of government agency
7. Space program
8. Persons waiting for service
9. Striking public employees
10. Governor with staff or cabinet
11. Whistle-blower
12. Elected officials

X. Subjects of Graphs and Charts

1. Organizational charts
2. Number of civilian state employees
3. Growth in government
4. Full-time civilian white-collar workers by occupation
5. Minority representation in state employment
6. Cabinet departments and number of employee

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

Content Analysis

The purpose of this chapter is to examine the method used to analyze the Texas Government texts. The research purpose is carried out using content analysis of introductory undergraduate Texas Government texts. Content analysis helps identify the means used to describe the bureaucracy and descriptive framework is used to operationalize the categories.

Content analysis, by definition, lends itself to descriptive categories. According to Weber, content analysis is a research methodology that utilizes a set of procedures to make valid inferences from text (Weber, 1985).² According to Earl Babbie (1995: 335), content analysis is a social research method appropriate for studying human communication. Babbie states that content analysis refers "to the coding or classification of material being observed" (Babbie, 1995: 311). Babbie (1995: 307) also suggests that content analysis is well suited to the study of communications and to answering the classic question of communication research: *Who says what, to whom, why, how, and with what effect*. Babbie goes on to say that after the "what" factor is addressed, analysis of this data addresses the question of *with what effect*. The textbooks to be analyzed are written forms of communication that meet the criteria established by Weber and Babbie.

² Other authors offer other formal definitions. P.J. Stone et al. (1966: 5) state the following: content analysis is any research technique for making inferences by systematically and objectively identifying specified characters within a text.

K. Krippendorff (1980:21) defines content analysis as follows: content analysis is a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from data to their context.

Based on the definitions provided and the purpose of the project, content analysis is the method of choice. There are several advantages associated with content analysis. One advantage is that since the purpose is to investigate how the bureaucracy is portrayed in the textbook it is reasonable to use a tool designed for reviewing written text. A survey of the book authors, bureaucrats, and readers might provide insight toward the perception of the bureaucracy from each perspective. However, not only would that be more costly, but it would not capture the essence of *how* the bureaucracy is portrayed in *the textbook*.

A second advantage is economy. For this project, most of the books are on loan from professors at Southwest Texas State University. There has been a low cost associated with gathering the textbooks necessary for this project. Other advantages include safety in terms of the availability of the same data in the event the project has to be repeated. The availability of data resulting from updated editions of data is another advantage. Another advantage is that content analysis is unobtrusive. In many instances neither the author of the text nor the reader is aware that an investigation of the document is being conducted.

Sampling Frame

The sampling frame consists of 23 textbooks that are available for use as collegiate Texas government textbooks (see Appendix A). The list was acquired from Dr. Gary Keith: co-author of *Texas Politics and Government* and adjunct professor at Southwest Texas State University. Dr. Keith, upon learning of the analysis of textbooks, volunteer other textbooks he possessed as well as the list of other books available for use

in the introductory government courses. The list, which was developed with the help of Dr. Keith's publicist; is representative of the other textbooks on the market prior to the release of Keith's textbook. Of the twenty-three books, 5 are excluded because 2 are readers (Champagne et.al and Somma et. al) and 3 pertain to public policy and are outdated or limited to specific markets (Bums et. al. Cole et. al, and Dememetrius et. al). Five of the textbooks were excluded because they were not in use during the 1998 Spring or Summer semester at Southwest Texas State University, Austin Community College, or the University of Texas at Austin. The remaining 13 textbooks were collected for analysis (See **Table 3.1**).

Table 3.1

Sampling Frame	Less Readers	Less Public Policy	Less Excluded From Schools	Sample
23	(2)	(3)	(5)	13

Sample

The units of analysis are 13 textbooks that are specifically about the Government of Texas. The books are either currently in use or have been used in the past at Southwest Texas State University in San Marcos, Texas, the University of Texas at Austin, and Austin Community College in Austin, Texas. The textbooks are used to teach the introductory Government courses in the Political Science 2310 and 2320 courses in the Political Science department at Southwest Texas State. The Texas legislature mandates that all Texas graduates must complete two Government courses. One course must be American Government course and the other on Texas Government.

The selection of the sample is based on current or previous use of the selected textbooks in college and university curriculum. According to Keith, two textbooks make

Politics by Jones et. al., and *Texas Politics* by Kraemer et. al. Other top sellers include *Texas Politics Today* by Maxwell, and *Introduction to Texas Politics* by Crain and Perkins.

Further description of the sample reveals that all but one is paperback. The text by Dye, Gibson, and Robison containing 953 pages is the only hard cover book. The sheer weight of the book perhaps explains the necessity to bind it in hard cover. Another interesting observation is the fact that all but two books have multiple authors.

Publishers often employ marketing strategies that include the contribution of several professors from various universities and colleges towards the publication of a text. The strategy serves to increase market share when other educators from the same school as the author choose to use a textbook out of a sense of mutual respect.

All the textbooks included a chapter on the Texas legislature, judiciary, and the executive. Most often, however, the discussion of the bureaucracy is included in the chapter on the executive and discussion of the executive focuses on the governor's role. Discussions of the executive include the myriad of appointed and elected officials that make up the numerous agencies. The discussion of bureaucracy includes a description of the relationship between the agencies, the legislature, and the private interests that agencies monitor or regulate. This relationship is referred to in almost all of the books as the iron triangle.

Units of Analysis

The units of analysis (the sample) are illustrated in **Table 3.2** on the following page.

Table 3.2 Units of Analysis

Author	Title	Publisher	Year of Publication	Total Number of Pages in Text
Benson, Clinkscale, and Giardino	Lone Star Politics	Harcourt Brace College Publishers	1997	384
Crain, Perkins	Introduction to Texas Politics	West/Wadsworth	1997	174
Dickens	Texas Politics	Houghton Mifflin Company	1997	150
Dye, Gibson jr., and Robison	Politics in American: Texas Edition (2 nd ed)	Prentice Hall	1997	953
Elliott, Hofer, and Biles	The World of Texas Politics	St. Martin's Press	1998	372
Gibson, Robison	Government and Politics in the Lone Star State: Theory and Practice (2 nd ed.)	Prentice Hall	1995	458
Haag, Peebles and Keith	Texas Politics and Government: Ideas, Institutions, and Policies	Addison Wesley Longman, Inc.	1997	632
Hill, Mladenka	Texas Politics and Government: A Concise Survey	Allyn and Bacon	1997	113
Jones, Ericson, Brown, Trotter, and Langenegger	Practicing Texas Politics (10 th ed)	Houghton Mifflin Company	1993	570
Kraemer, Newell, and Prindle	Essentials of Texas Politics (7 th ed.)	West/Wadsworth	1998	277
Maxwell, Crain, Davis, Flores, Hinojosa, Ignagni, and Opheim	Texas Politics Today (8 th ed.)	West/Wadsworth	1998	388
Richardson, Anderson, and Wallace	Texas: The Lone Star State (7 th ed.)	Prentice Hall	1997	433
Tannahill	Texas Government: Brief Edition	Harper Collins	1996	252

Operationalization

For the coding procedure, 10 categories were developed and arranged as illustrated in Table 3.3. The 10 categories were developed using the categories from the Cigler and Neiswender study on federal bureaucracy as a model but adapted to fit a content analysis of state government textbooks. A content analysis of the bureaucracy chapter, if one exists, in each Texas undergraduate government textbook is conducted using the following categories illustrated in **Table 3.3** below.

Coding Procedure

A two-step process will be used to record all data. To describe the content pertaining to bureaucracy, each textbook will be reviewed to determine whether the criteria established according to operationalization is met. If the textbook contains a characteristic that corresponds to the category, the item will be recorded. The table will consist of two columns with the variable "yes" and "no". (see Appendix B) If an element is present, it will be coded as "1". If an element is not present it will be coded as "0". Each of the 13 units of analysis will be subjected to the set of 10 categories. The second step involves the tabulation of the results of Step 1. A master set of tables of categories, illustrated in Appendix C, provides a column for recording the data being surveyed or the lack of it. The column refers to the variable "Number of Texts." "Number of Texts" indicates the total number of texts in which a category is found as identified in Coding Procedure 1.

Table 3.3 CODING PROCEDURE

Descriptive Categories	Elements
Subject Areas Other Than Bureaucracy	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The Governor 2. National Affairs 3. State Constitution/Political Development of state 4. Congress/Legislators 5. Domestic/Social Welfare Policies 6. General Introduction to study of Government
Most Frequent Listings Under Bureaucracy	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Control of/Oversight 2. Public perception/attitudes of public1 citizen satisfaction 3. Red tapelpaperwork 4. Power 5. Size 6. Accountability1 discretion 7. Definition of 8. Problems of/complaints against 9. Permanence/survival power 10. Bureaucracy versus democracy 11. Responsiveness 12. Patronage 13. Coordination
Most Often Repeated Bureaucratic Myths	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Bureaucracy is the problem with Texas Government 2. Government bureaucracy is overwhelmingly large and monolithic 3. Bureaucrats stay on forever 4. Bureaucracy grows relentlessly 5. Bureaucracy is all-powerful and out of control 6. Governmental bureaucracy is inefficient and wastes resources 7. Bureaucrats are unrepresentative of the "Texas population"
Most Cited Authors	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1.
Most Cited Works of Most Cited Authors	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1.

Fighting Words, Phrases, and Topics	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Citizen complaints/lack of satisfaction 2. Paperwork/red tape 3. Corruption/whistle blower 4. Negative comparisons of bureaucracy vs. democracy 5. Inefficient/wasteful 6. Too large 7. Difficult to tire bureaucrats 8. Patronage 9. Incompetent
All Chapter Illustration	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Pictures 2. Graphs/charts 3. Illustrations, highlights, etc. 4. Cartoons
Cartoon Themes	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. General bureaucrat bashing 2. Generally negative toward government 3. Governor bashing 4. Bashing of political appointees 5. Congress-bashing
Subjects of Pictures	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Political appointees 2. Civil service workers 3. Paperwork 4. Postal service 5. Governor 6. Regulatory functions of government agency 7. Space program 8. Persons waiting for service 9. Striking public employees 10. Governor with staff or cabinet 11. Whistle-blower 12. Elected officials
Subjects of Graphs and Charts	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Organizational charts 2. Number of civilian state employees 3. Growth in government 4. Full-time civilian white-collar workers by occupation 5. Minority representation in state employment 6. Cabinet departments and number of employees

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS

The purpose of this chapter is to organize and summarize the collected data. The information is used to present the results of this study. The data collected for each category is presented in table form along with a brief summary. It is, however, important to note some interesting facts in reference to the textbooks under analysis.

Frequency Report

Of the thirteen textbooks, only 4 contain a chapter on bureaucracy. Seven other books include only a brief discussion about bureaucracy that is found most often in the chapter on the Executive branch. Two others do not contain any discussion on the bureaucracy. Additionally, the average number of pages per chapter under analysis is 23.2 while the average number of pages devoted to the discussion of bureaucracy is 5.8.

(Note: Averages include only the 11 books that contain information on bureaucracy.)

Table 4.1 Overview of Textbook Content (N=13)

Number of Textbooks that Discuss Bureaucracy	Number of Textbooks with Chapter on Bureaucracy	Number of Textbooks with Bureaucracy as Main Subject of Chapter	Average Number of Pages per Chapter Containing Discussion on Bureaucracy	Average Number of Pages Devoted to Discussion of Bureaucracy
11	4	2	23.2	5.8

The information on bureaucracy is limited and usually confined to a sub-section of a chapter. The content analysis is, nonetheless, applied to the entire chapter that contains the discussion of bureaucracy. This approach is taken to ensure consistency. In other words, if the chapter contained any specific information about the bureaucracy, whether it was the main subject or limited to only a sub-heading, the entire chapter is

subjected to the content analysis using the descriptive categories. Tables 4.2 through 4.11 illustrate the results of the content analysis. A brief summary of the results is provided for each table.

Subject Areas Other Than Bureaucracy

The index listings illustrate a thorough coverage of major subject areas in reference to state government (see **Table 4.2**). The subject area of national affairs is limited but understandably so because the books focus on state government. The strongest emphasis is on the state constitution/political development and Congress/legislators.

Table 4.2 Subject Areas Other Than Bureaucracy Referenced in Index Listing of Introductory Texas Government Texts (N=13)		
Subject Area	Number of Texts	Percent of Texts
The Governor	12	92
National Affairs	5	38
State constitution/ political development of state	13	100
Congress/legislators	13	100
Domestic/social welfare policies	11	85
General introduction to study of government	11	85

Most Frequent Listings Under Bureaucracy

Table 4.3 illustrates the most frequently listed topic under the title "bureaucracy." The frequently listed topics are "public perceptions/attitudes/citizen satisfaction" and "definition of" bureaucracy. Each of these categories is found in 38% of the books. This was the highest percentage of any one book for any category. The second most

frequently listed topics are "power", "size", and "accountability", each with 31 % of the books meeting this category description.

The power of the bureaucracy is most often associated with what the texts refer to as the "iron triangle." The iron triangle refers to the relationship among the legislature that mandates law, the bureaucracy that administers the law, and private interests who influence the bureaucracy through lobbying efforts. The legislature attempts to control the size and power of the bureaucracy through "sunset laws" that abolish an agency if its services are no longer needed or reducing the budget or staff of an agency. The accountability factor is discussed in a negative light. According to the analysis, the bureaucracy is not accountable to the executive or the legislature but rather to private interests. Overall, there are limited listings within the indices under the term "bureaucracy."

Table 4.3 Most Frequent Index Listings Under Bureaucracy		
Listing	Number	Percent of Texts
control of/oversight	3	23
public perception/attitudes of public/ citizen satisfaction	5	38
Red tape/paperwork	2	15
Power	4	31
Size	4	31
Accountability/discretion	4	31
Definition of	5	38
Problems of /complaints against	3	23
Permanence/survival power	3	23
Bureaucracy versus democracy	2	15
Responsiveness	1	8
Patronage	3	23
Coordination	1	8

Most Often Repeated Bureaucratic Myths

The myths illustrated in **Table 4.4**³ are from an introductory public administration textbook by Stillman (1987) that discusses major myths associated with the federal bureaucracy. Cigler and Neiswender used the myths as presented by Stillman to develop these components for their category. This content analysis assumes that similar myths apply to state bureaucracies. Stillman goes on to provide data and explanatory comments to correct the myths. More than 50% of the books contain the common myth that the "bureaucracy is all-powerful and out of control." About a third of the books repeat the myth that "bureaucracy grows relentlessly." Text material discusses the administrator's control over how diligently an agency will implement policies mandated by the legislature and the legislature's attempt to control the bureaucracy by imposing budget restraints and sunset laws.

Myth	Number of Texts	Percent of Texts
Bureaucracy is the problem with Texas Government	2	15
Government bureaucracy is overwhelmingly large and monolithic	3	23
Bureaucrats stay on forever	1	8
Bureaucracy grows relentlessly	4	31
Bureaucracy is all-powerful and out of control	7	54
Governmental bureaucracy is inefficient and wastes resources	3	23
Bureaucrats are unrepresentative of the Texas population	3	23

³ Based on Stillman 1987. *The American Bureaucracy*. Chicago: Nelson-Hall.

Most Cited Authors and Their Works

A key point of interest in **Table 4.5** is the lack of consistency across the texts in the use of references about the bureaucracy. Only two authors are cited more than once among the 13 textbooks. Each of those authors is cited only twice and cited in two different books. Max Weber is cited twice and his writings are used only to present a broad definition of bureaucracy. David Prindle is also cited twice and his writings are used to discuss the relationship between private interests and government agencies.

Francis Rourke and Harold Seidman are two authors cited in the Texas books that are also cited in the study of the federal bureaucracy in the Cigler and Neiswender study. Unlike the aforementioned study in which the well-respected authors and their works are cited in numerous textbooks, the Texas books fail to cite similar authors. L. Tucker Gibson, whose book devotes a chapter to bureaucracy, cites 7 authors in the chapter on bureaucracy.

Author of Cited Work	Number of Text Citings	Primary Author Of Texas Textbook
Weber, Max	2	L. Tucker Gibson Stefan Haag
Straussman, Jeffrey D.	1	L. Tucker Gibson
Dubnick, Melvin	1	L. Tucker Gibson
Lowi, Theodore	1	L. Tucker Gibson
Gerston, Larry	1	L. Tucker Gibson
Lineberry, Robert	1	L. Tucker Gibson
Jones, Eugene W.	1	L. Tucker Gibson
Prindle, David	2	Stefan Haag Neal Tannahill
Rourke, Francis	1	Richard H. Kraemer
Bernstein, Marver	1	Stefan Haag
Saffell, David C.	1	Neal Tannahill
Seidman, Harold	1	Neal Tannahill

Most Cited Works of Most Cited Authors

Table 4.6 also reveals an inconsistency in the references to bureaucracy in the texts. Only two works of two authors are cited more than once. Only one of those authors is cited in a chapter devoted to bureaucracy. The others are in texts that devote only a sub-heading to the discussion on bureaucracy.

Author/Title	Number of Texts Citings	Primary Author Of Texas Textbook
Weber <i>Essays in Sociology</i>	2	L. Tucker Gibson Stefan Haag
Straussman <i>Public Administration</i>	1	L. Tucker Gibson
Dubnick <i>American Public Administration</i>	1	L. Tucker Gibson
Lowi <i>The End of Liberalism</i>	1	L. Tucker Gibson
Gerston <i>Making Public Policy</i>	1	L. Tucker Gibson
Lineberry <i>American Public Policy</i>	1	L. Tucker Gibson
Jones <i>Texas Politics</i>	1	L. Tucker Gibson
Prindle <i>Petroleum Politics</i>	2	Stefan Haag Neal Tannahill
Berstein <i>Regulating Business by Independent Commission</i>	1	Stefan Haag
Rourke <i>Bureaucracy, Politics and Public Policy</i>	1	Richard H. Kraemer
Seidman, <i>Politics, Position, and Power</i>	1	Neal Tannahill
Saffell <i>State and Local Government: Politics and Public Policy</i>	1	Neal Tannahill

Fighting Words, Phrases, and Topics

The topic discussed most often, as seen on **Table 4.7**, is patronage. There is a strong association according to the textbooks between the administrators of bureaucratic agencies and the private interests that the agencies often serve or regulate. Forty-six percent of the textbooks discussed the relationship between the bureaucratic agencies and the private interests they serve or regulate. The relationship was portrayed as an illicit relationship between the two parties. The bureaucracy was often reported as being too large and corrupt. Whistle blowing was discussed to illustrate the need to control the corruption.

Words, Phrases	Number of Texts (N=13)
Citizen complaints/lack of satisfaction	3
Paperwork/red tape	2
Corruption/whistle blower	4
Negative comparisons of bureaucracy vs. democracy	2
Inefficient/wasteful	3
Too large	4
Difficult to fire bureaucrats	2
Patronage	6
Incompetent	3

Note: The Number of Texts column represents a count for each different book in which a category is identified.

Chapter Illustrations

Illustrations and highlights are the most often used methods of accenting information about the bureaucracy and bureaucrat. (see **Table 4.8**) The highlights, embedded within the text of the chapter, include text wrapped in borders and colored with striking background color. The illustrations include italicized text in the margin of the pages. Pictures are also a preferred method of conveying a message. Relatively speaking, cartoons are not used to any noticeable extent as is the case in the Cigler and Neiswender study. In that study of the federal bureaucracy, the use of cartoons is increasing and being used to convey a negative message about the federal bureaucracy.

Type	Total Number	Number of Texts
Pictures	35	8
Graphs/charts	26	7
Illustrations, highlights, etc.	63	7
Cartoons	3	2

Cartoon Themes

The only three cartoons are depicting the governor in a negative perspective. (see **Table 4.9**) Other than the governor, no other elected, appointed, or otherwise bureaucratic figure is illustrated by the use of cartoons. It is interesting to note that only two textbooks use cartoons in the chapter so the use of cartoons is not extensive. However, in both textbooks the governor and the governor's political platform are depicted as being unethical or doomed to failure.

Theme	Number
General bureaucrat bashing	0
Generally negative toward government	0
Governor bashing	3
Bashing of political appointees	0
Congress-bashing	0

Subject of Pictures

The overwhelming majority of the pictures illustrate elected officials but only 5 textbooks include pictures in their discussion of the Executive Branch and the bureaucracy. (see **Table 4.10**) The other category of pictures involves photographs of the governor and the governor with staff. Only 1 photograph is of an appointed political official. Due to the heavy influence of the Executive Branch in the textbooks under review, photographic coverage is sparse of any aspect of the bureaucracy.

Subject	Number of Pictures	Number of Texts (N=13)
Political Appointees	1	1
Civil service workers	0	0
Paperwork	0	0
Postal service	0	0
Governor	6	2
Regulatory functions of government agency	1	0
Space program	0	0
Persons waiting for service	0	0
Striking public employees	0	0
Governor with staff or cabinet	1	1
Whistle-blower	0	0
Elected officials	18	5

Subject of Graphs and Charts

In the textbooks under review: graphs and charts are used most often to depict the growth in government followed by organizational charts as noted in **Table 4.11**. The growth in government is demonstrated by the increase in the number of civilian state employees. Organizational charts are used to illustrate the hierarchy of the Executive Branch of government. Because these chapters focus on the Executive Branch, there is no distinction made between growth in government and growth in the bureaucracy. Discussions of the graphs and charts are most often in reference to elected officials of the Executive and not of the bureaucratic agencies.

Subject	Number of Graphs/Charts
Organizational charts	5
Number of civilian state employees	2
Growth in government	7
Full-time civilian white-collar workers by occupation	2
Minority representation in state employment	0
Cabinet departments and number of employees	2
Sunset Commission	2

Conclusion

The 13 Texas Government textbooks analyzed in this study reveal that a comprehensive discussion of the bureaucracy is absent in the majority of the textbooks. Only four of the textbooks contained a chapter on bureaucracy. In 7 of the texts: the bureaucracy was included as a sub-heading of the chapter on the Executive Branch of

government and subsequently given limited coverage in the discussion. The discussions pertaining to the bureaucracy involved its increasing size and power and the need to exercise legislative control over the bureaucracy.

The final chapter presents an overall conclusion of the content analysis and recommendations for improvement in the discussion of the bureaucracy.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

The purpose of this chapter is to review the research purpose and research question of this project and to present the overall results of this analysis. In addition, the chapter offers recommendations based on the findings of the study. The purpose of the analysis is to describe the treatment of the Texas government bureaucracy and bureaucrat by Texas Government undergraduate textbooks. The research question is to determine how the bureaucracy and the bureaucrat are portrayed in the post-secondary Texas government textbooks.

This project is the response to a challenge made during the 1997 annual conference of the National Association of Schools of Public Affairs and Administration (NASPAA). The challenge called for an examination of the portrayal of public service in college government textbooks at the state level and to update a 1991 analysis of the portrayal of the federal bureaucracy in government textbooks. The results are to be reported at the 1998 annual conference of NASPAA. The intent is to provide new information that might help elevate public trust and confidence in government service.

An overview of the results of this analysis indicates that there is limited coverage of the bureaucracy in the Texas government textbooks. The political culture of Texas, which is traditionalistic and individualistic, may have an influence over the political and policy-making efforts of the bureaucracy. The influence might also be evident in the lack of attention given the bureaucracy in the textbooks. As noted earlier in the discussion of the Texas Political Culture, bureaucracy by its very nature interferes with the fine web of informal interpersonal relationships that lie at the root of the political system (Elazar,

1994: 236). Authors of Texas government textbooks who are aware of this influence of political culture may be hesitant to provide a more extensive coverage of the bureaucracy.

Research Summary

A significant finding that weighed heavily on the results of this study is the fact that a relatively low number of textbooks contained a chapter devoted exclusively to the discussion of the bureaucracy. Four books contained a bureaucracy chapter and two of those shared the chapter with the Executive Branch of government. Two other books did not contain any substantive discussion of the bureaucracy. The remaining 7 books discussed the bureaucracy as a sub-heading within the chapter on the Executive Branch. Noted on **Table 5.1**, the average number of pages devoted to the discussion of bureaucracy is 6 and the average number of pages in the textbooks is 386. Based on the average number of pages, only 1.5 percent of the textbook is devoted to the discussion of bureaucracy.

For the purpose of this study, the descriptive categories are applied to an entire chapter of the textbooks under review even if a textbook devoted only a brief sub-heading to the bureaucracy. This approach was taken because the authors of the textbook did not always limit the information about the bureaucracy to that particular sub-heading. There was information about the bureaucracy sprinkled throughout the chapter when the bureaucracy was a sub-heading of that chapter.

For a summary of textbook information in reference to the bureaucracy chapters, the identification of such chapters, and the number of pages relevant to this study, refer to **Table 5.1** below.

Table 5.1 Summary of Results

Textbooks (anonymous review)	Bureaucracy Chapter Present		Only Sub-Heading Present		Sub-Heading Found in Chapter on	# of Pages in Chapter Containing Bureaucracy	# of Pages Devoted to Bureaucracy Discussion	# of Pages in Textbook
	Yes	No	Yes	No				
1	No		Yes		Executive	23	8	252
2	Yes		No		Bureaucracy	18	18	458
3	No		No		none	0	0	433
4	Yes		No		Exec/Bureaucracy	33	5	963
5	No		Yes		Executive	23	3	361
6	Yes		No		Exec/Bureaucracy	12	8	319
7	No		Yes		Governor/Exec	8	2	105
8	No		Yes		Policy/Admin	76	1	555
9	No		No		none	0	0	143
10	No		Yes		Executive	21	7	167
11	No		Yes		Executive	34	8	621
12	Yes		No		Bureaucracy	12	12	371
13	No		Yes		Governor/Admin	28	6	269
	31% Yes	69% No	54% Yes	46% No		Average	Average	Average

The average number of pages attributed to the chapter in which the bureaucracy is discussed is 22. The average number of pages devoted to the discussion on bureaucracy is 6. Most of the books contain only a brief discussion similar to an overview. The increasing size of the bureaucracy in terms of employees and agencies is discussed. The political influence that the bureaucracy maintains over the legislature is a point of interest in the textbooks. The need to control the bureaucracy by means of the Sunset Commission and budget restraints is discussed.

Comparative Studies

The Results chapter reviews the findings of the two Texas textbooks that contain a chapter specifically devoted to the study of the bureaucracy. The findings of the Texas

analysis are compared with the analysis of the American Government texts. The similarities between the Cigler and Neiswender study and the findings of this project are illustrated in **Table 5.2** under the heading **Similar Textbook Content in American and Texas Bureaucracies**. The components of the **Topic** column are derived from the Cigler article published in the 1991 issue of *Public Administration Review*. The Textbook Content refers to content that is similar in the American Government text and the Texas Government books. Additionally, recommendations for revision or inclusion in Texas Government texts are offered. Differences between the two studies are outlined in

Table 5.3

Table 5.2 Similarities Between Textbook Studies

Topic	Similar Textbook Content in American and Texas Bureaucracies	Recommendation
Public service as a profession	Do not discuss public service as a profession	Information about public service as a career should be provided to students
Origins and history of bureaucracy	Do not examine the history and origins of bureaucracy	The history of bureaucracy should be included in the text to add a chance for a deeper understanding of the subject.
Control mechanisms	The texts focus heavily on control mechanisms for containing bureaucracy and bureaucrats	Provide a balanced discussion of control and freedom that includes positive effects of employee empowerment
Power of bureaucracy	Textbooks fail to provide empirical data to support statements that bureaucracy is too powerful and out of control	Increases in number of employees or agencies are not supportive statements. Empirical data should be provided if such claims of too much power are to be made.
Use of graphics	Several textbooks use the narrative to present a neutral or unbiased treatment of bureaucracy but the graphics portray negative images of bureaucracy	Textbooks should eliminate or more closely monitor the use of certain graphics to prevent negative portrayals being presented to students

Differences in Textbook Studies

The differences in content between the American Government and Texas Government textbook are illustrated in **Table 5.3**. The **Topic** components are derived from the same Cigler and Neiswender article as the Similarities.

**Table 5.3 Differences Between Textbook Studies
Of Federal and State Bureaucracies**

Topic	Federal Bureaucracy	State Bureaucracy
Focus by textbook on bureaucracy	Textbooks focus on federal bureaucracy but fail to mention bureaucracy at state and local level	Textbooks include information and significance of state and local level bureaucracies
Comparative Bureaucracy	Comparisons to bureaucracies of other nations	There is no comparison made to other bureaucracies
Association made by Bureaucracy	The bureaucracy is associated with a strong presidency	The bureaucracy is associated with a strong legislature
Role and responsibility of bureaucracy	Textbooks fail to explain bureaucracy as highly diverse, with roles and responsibilities across levels of organizations and political systems	Textbooks explain bureaucracy as highly fragmented with roles and responsibilities across levels of organizations and political systems

Research Weaknesses

Although this study includes only 13 textbooks that are on the list of 23 textbooks available for the introductory college level Texas Government course (see Appendix A for list), evidence indicates that information about the state bureaucracy is not presented in the most positive context. The selection of the units of analysis was also limited to textbooks that are currently in use or have been used in the past at Southwest Texas State

University, the University of Texas at Austin, and Austin Community College. However, in all fairness, additional research could include more of the texts listed as useable in the classroom. Additional research could unveil new information about the bureaucracy that was not discovered in this study.

Continued Research

Content analysis is considered a tool to evaluate textbooks being prepared for publication. Whether or not the bureaucracy is expanding, there is always a need for well-educated and well-prepared students to enter public service. Practitioners and academics should become aware of textbook material and communicate their desire to provide the encouraging information to book authors. Book authors, as well, should attempt to provide the most accurate information possible. For the sake of the future of public service, it is the hope of this researcher that students are given the best information possible. Continued research in this area of study could help accomplish these goals.

APPENDIX A

SAMPLING FRAME

Texas Government Textbooks and Readers

Benson, Paul, David Clinkscale, and Anthony Giardino. *Lone Star Politics*. Fort Worth, Tex.: Harcourt Brace, 1997.

Bland, Randall W., Alfred E. Sullivan, Robert E. Biles, and Charles P. Elliott, Jr.. *Texas Government Today: Structures, Functions, Political Processes*. 6th ed. Monterey, Calif: Brooks/Cole, 1995.

Blevins, Leon *Texas Government in National Perspective*, 2nd ed. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1993.

Burns, James MacGregory. *Government by the People: Texas Version*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1995.

Champagne, Anthony, and Edward J. Harpham, eds. *Texas Politics: A Reader*. New York: W.W. Norton, 1997.

Cole, Richard L., and Delbert A. Taebel. *Texas Politics and Public Policy*. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1987.

Coleman, Susan, James Calvi, and Fred Mason. *Texas Government*. Englewood cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1996.

Crain, Ernest, and James Perkins. *Introduction to Texas Politics*. Saint Paul, Minn.: West, 1995.

Demetrius, Nelson and Mark Somma, eds. *Politics & Policy: United States and Texas*. Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall/Hunt, 1992.

Dickins, E. Larry. *Texas Politics*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1997

Dye, Thomas R., L. Tucker Gibson, Jr., and Clay Robison. *Politics in America. Texas Edition*. 2nd ed. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1997.

Gibson, L. Tucker, Jr., and Clay Robison. *Government and Politics in the Lone Star State*. 2nd ed. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1995.

Haag, Stefan D., Rex C Pebble, and Gary Kieth. *Texas Politics and Governntent: Ideas, Institutions, and Policies*. New York: Longman, 1997.

Hill, Kim Quaile and Kenneth R. Mladenka. *Texas Politics and Government: A Concise Survey*, 2nd ed. New York: Macmillan/Allyn and Bacon, 1997.

Jones, Eugene W., Joe E Ericson, Lyle C. Brown, Robert S. Trotter, Jr., and Eileen M. Lynch. *Practicing Texas Polilics: A Brief Survey*. 5 ed. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1996.

Kraemer, Richard HI, Charldean Mewell, and David F. Prindle. *Texas Politics*, 6th ed. St. Paul. Minn.: West, 1996.

_____. *Essentials of Texas Politics*. Saint Paul, Minn.: West, 1995.

Lamare, James W. *Texas Politics: Economics, Paver, and Policy*. 6 ed. St. Paul, Minn.: West, 1997.

Maxwell, William Earle, and Ernest Crain, with Edwin Davis, Luther g. Haggard, Jr., Murray C. Havens, Jose' A. Hinojosa, and Cynthia Opheim, *Texas Politics Today*. 7 ed. St. Paul, Minn.: West, 1995.

Mladenka, Kenneth R., and Kim Quaile Hill. *Texas Government: Politics and Economics*. 3rd ed. Belmont, Calif: Wadsworth, 1993.

Somma, Mark, ed. *Texas Policy and Politics: Interactive Readings*. New York: Harper/Collins, 1996.

Tanahill, Neal. *Texas Government: Policy and Politics*. 5 ed. New York: Harper/Collins, 1996.

_____. *Texas Government*. Brief Edition. New York: Harper/Collins 1996.

Tedin, Kent, Donald S. Lutz, and Edward P. Fuchs, eds. *Perspectives on American and Texas Politics*. 4th ed. Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall/Hunt, 1994.

Todd, John R. *Texas Politics: The Challenge of Change*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1996.

APPENDIX B

Note: The tables of Appendix B are used to organize the data as each textbook is being reviewed.

Table 2 Subject Areas Other Than Bureaucracy Referenced in Index Listing of Introductory Texas Government Texts (N=13)		
Subject Area	YES	NO
The Governor		
National Affairs		
Federalism/state constitution political development of state		
Congress/legislators		
Domestic/social welfare policies		
General introduction to study of government		

Table 3 Most Frequent Index Listings Under Bureaucracy		
Listing	YES	NO
control of/oversight		
public perception/attitudes of public/ citizen satisfaction		
Red tape/paperwork		
Power		
Size		
Accountability/discretion		
Definition of		
Problems of /complaints against		
Permanence/survival power		
Bureaucracy versus democracy		
Responsiveness		
Patronage		
Coordination		

Table 7 Fighting Words, Phrases, and Topics in Reviewed Textbooks		
Words, Phrases	YES	NO
Citizen complaints/lack of satisfaction		
Paperwork/red tape		
Corruption/whistle blower		
Negative comparisons of bureaucracy vs. democracy		
Inefficient/wasteful		
Too large		
Difficult to fire bureaucrats		
Patronage		
Incompetent		

Table 8 All Chapter Illustrations in Reviewed Textbooks	
Type	Total Number
Pictures	
Graphs/charts	
Illustrations, highlights, etc.	
Cartoons	

Table 9 Cartoon Themes in Reviewed Textbooks			
Theme	Yes	No	Number
General bureaucrat bashing			
Generally negative toward government			
Governor bashing			
Bashing of political appointees			
Congress-bashing			

Table 10			
Subjects of Pictures in Bureaucracy Chapters			
Subject	Yes	No	Number
Political Appointees			
Civil service workers			
Paperwork			
Postal service			
Governor			
Regulatory functions of government agency			
Space program			
Persons waiting for service			
Striking public employees			
Governor with staff or cabinet			
Whistle-blower			

Table 11			
Subjects of Graphs and Charts in Bureaucracy Chapters			
Subject	Yes	No	Number
Organization charts			
Number of civilian state employees			
Growth in government			
Full-time civilian white-collar workers by occupation			
Minority representation in state employment			
Cabinet departments and number of employees			

APPENDIX C

Codine Scheme

The Master Coding Scheme consists of the following categories:

Table 4.1 Overview of Textbook Content (N=13)

Number of Textbooks that Discuss Bureaucracy	Number of Textbooks with Chapter on Bureaucracy	Number of Textbooks with Bureaucracy as Main Subject of Chapter	Average Number of Pages per Chapter Containing Discussion on Bureaucracy	Average Number of Pages Devoted to Discussion of Bureaucracy

Table 2
Subject Areas Other Than Bureaucracy Referenced in Index Listing of
Introductory Texas Government Texts (N=13)

Subject Area	Number of Texts	Percent of Texts
The Governor		
National Affairs		
Federalism/state constitution/ political development of State		
Congress/legislators		
Domestic/social welfare policies		
General introduction to study of government		

Table 3 Most Frequent Index Listings Under Bureaucracy		
Listing	Number	Percent of Texts
control of oversight		
public perception/attitudes of public/citizen satisfaction		
Red tape/paperwork		
Power		
Size		
Accountability/discretion		
Definition of		
Problems of/complaints against		
Permanence/survival power		
Bureaucracy versus democracy		
Responsiveness		
Patronage		
Coordination		

Table 4 Most Often Repeated Bureaucratic Myths in Bureaucracy Chapters in Introductory Texas Government Textbooks		
Myth	Number of Texts	Percent of Texts
Bureaucracy is the problem with Texas Government		
Government bureaucracy is overwhelmingly large and monolithic		
Bureaucrats stay on forever		
Bureaucracy grows relentlessly		
Bureaucracy is all-powerful and out of control		
Governmental bureaucracy is inefficient and wastes resources		
Bureaucrats are unrepresentative of the Texas population		
Based on Stillman 1987. The American Bureaucracy. Chicago: Nelson-Hall.		

Table 7	
Fighting Words, Phrases, and Topics in Reviewed Textbooks	
Words, Phrases	Number of Texts (N=13)
Citizen complaints/lack of satisfaction	
Paperwork/red tape	
Corruption/whistle blower	
Negative comparisons of bureaucracy vs. democracy	
Inefficient/wasteful	
Too large	
Difficult to fire bureaucrats	
Patronage	
Incompetent	

Table 8		
All Chapter Illustrations in Reviewed Textbooks		
Type	Total Number	Number of Texts
Pictures		
Graphs/charts		
Illustrations, highlights, etc.		
Cartoons		

Table 9	
Cartoon Themes in Reviewed Textbooks	
Theme	Number
General bureaucrat bashing	
Generally negative toward government	
Governor bashing	
Bashing of political appointees	
Congress-bashing	

Table 10		
Subjects of Pictures in Bureaucracy Chapters		
Subject	Number of Pictures	Number of Texts (N=13)
Political Appointees		
Civil service workers		
Paperwork		
Postal service		
Governor		
Regulatory functions of government agency		
Space program		
Persons waiting for service		
Striking public employees		
Governor with staff or cabinet		
Whistle-blower		

Table 11	
Subjects of Graphs and Charts in Bureaucracy Chapters	
Subject	Number of Graphs/Charts
Organization charts	
Number of civilian state employees	
Growth in government	
Full-time civilian white-collar workers by occupation	
Minority representation in state employment	
Cabinet departments and number of employees	

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Yarwood, Dean. "Stop Bashing the Bureaucracy." Public Administration Review 56
No. 6 (November/December 1996): 611-613