The Treatment of Bureaucracy in Texas Government Textbooks

Mario Molina, MPA
Department of Political Science
Southwest Texas State University
San Marcos, TX 78666

and

Patricia Shields, Ph. D.
Department of Political Science
Southwest Texas State University
San Marcos, TX 78666

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INTRODUCTION

Bureaucratic agencies are responsible for the day to day operations of the government's many functions and services that often require expertise, technical skills, or varying degrees of professional skills. Both the National Association of Schools of Public Affairs and Administration and the National Commission on Public Service are concerned with the improvement of the public's perception of bureaucracy. This project serves as a follow-up to the study conducted by Beverly Cigler and Heidi Neiswender (1991). Their findings were published in *Public Administration Review*. The purpose of the Cigler and Neiswender (1991) study was to survey the image of public administration at the federal level as presented to undergraduate students in introductory American Government textbooks. Cigler and Neiswender's focused on the federal bureaucracy and the presidential models that stressed bureaucratic control. 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 scholarship about the treatment of bureaucracy 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 government employees.

At a minimum, as adult citizens, students should have a sense of the roles and functions of public bureaucracies. Their view of the public work force 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. Information the students receive in the introductory courses, like the image presented in the popular media, influences their view of public service. Is public administration presented to students in a positive way 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 from are discouraged from public service?

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

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the bureaucracy and the bureaucrat. 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.

LITERATURE REVIEW

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 section is to review the literature pertaining to governmental bureaucracy that includes the definition, the origin, the purpose and myths about bureaucracy. 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.

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 (Cole, 1987 p. 141).

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).

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, 1991: 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. He contrasted these positive with big government. Reagan won public support by attacking big government and the people who managed government programs - the bureaucrats. His strategy contributed to the continuing the erosion of public confidence in the bureaucracy (Hubbell, 1991: 240).

Bureaucratic Myths

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 bureaucratic myths and

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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.

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.

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 work force has remained relatively stable at about 2 million civilian and 2.5 million military personnel. During the 1980's the work force 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.

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.

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.

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.

It is the myths or exclusion of factual information that is of interest to this study. As in the Cigler and Neiswender (1991) study, the content of the sample textbooks is compared to the myths outlined in the Stillman (1987) text.

Political Culture in Texas[1]

The United States political culture is made up of three major subcultures: individualistic, moralistic and traditionalistic. According to Elazar (1994,: 284) the political culture of Texas falls into the category of the third subculture, specifically the traditionalistic dominant, strong individualistic strain. 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).

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[1]For an expanded discussion of political culture see Elazar 1994.

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 African American'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. After the New Deal, the democratic party began to factualize between liberal (Yarborough) and conservative (Conoly). Subsequently, the republican party has been able to capture much of the conservative element of the democratic party (e.g., Phil Gramm). Although the politics of Texas has changed, the political culture as it relates to the bureaucracy has not. [2]

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

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[2]   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-American 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 Political Structure

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 legislative influence is handicapped by infrequent sessions that restricts the ongoing supervision of state agencies (Bedichek, 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[3] (Bedichek, 1986).

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. Their research is valuable because scholarly information regarding exposure to bureaucracy by college students is limited. Because public administration is not a common undergraduate major, the information provided in the introductory government course may be the only formal academic exposure to a career in public service.

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[3]Political scientist Steven Neuse studied administrators of eight of the largest state agencies in Texas (about 72% of all employees). 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).

Cigler and Neiswender (1991) 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. 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.

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 did not adequately examine the origins and history of the bureaucracy. The chapters focused heavily on the federal bureaucracy but neglected 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 presented the bureaucracy using the model of a strong presidency and focus on control mechanisms to contain the bureaucracies and the bureaucrats. The texts lacked discussion on the recent arguments dealing with the possible negative effects of micromanaging bureaucracy. The textbooks also overlooked 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 revealed that no distinction is made between career and politically-appointed bureaucrats nor the tensions that exist between the two. The textbooks did not review the relationship between the policymaking role and the regulatory role of bureaucracies.

The text authors perpetuated the myths about the bureaucracy identified by Stillman(1987) and provide no empirical evidence to support their claims. The authors relied on a small number of published works by distinguished commentators on bureaucracy for their chapter references and citations. Pictures, graphs, illustrations, and cartoons were 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 indicated that bureaucrat-bashing has increased in the Government texts published after 1985. Although the narrative presented 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, Cigler and Neiswender suggest that text authors review and revise 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.

METHODOLOGY

We used content analysis to examine Texas Government textbooks. 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, the University of Texas at Austin, and Austin Community College. The textbooks are used to teach the legislatively mandated introductory undergraduate Government courses The Texas legislature mandates that all Texas graduates must complete two Government courses. One course must cover American Government and the other Texas Government. These courses are generally taken in the sophmore year.

Two textbooks make up approximately fifty percent of the market. The top sellers include *Practicing Texas 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. All but two books have multiple authors. 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 texts used are presented Table 1.

For the coding procedure, 10 categories were developed and arranged as illustrated in Table 2. 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.

Table 1 Texts Used

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 (2nd 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 (2nd 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 (10th ed)	Houghton Mifflin Company	1993	570
Kraemer, Newell, and Prindle	Essentials of Texas Politics (7th ed.)	West/Wadsworth	1998	277
Maxwell, Crain, Davis, Flores, Hinojosa, Ignagni, and Opheim	Texas Politics Today (8th ed.)	West/Wadsworth	1998	388
Richardson, Anderson, and Wallace	Texas: The Lone Star State (7th ed.)	Prentice Hall	1997	433
Tannahill	Texas Government: Brief Edition	Harper Collins	1996	252

Table 2

Conceptual Framework and Coding Procedure

Descriptive Categories	Elements
Subject Areas Other Than Bureaucracy	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	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
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
Most Cited Authors	list author
Most Cited Works of Most Cited Authors	list work

Table 2 (Cont.) Descriptive Categories	Elements
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
All Chapter Illustration	1. Pictures 2. Graphs/charts 3. Illustrations, highlights, etc. 4. Cartoons
Cartoon Themes	1. General bureaucrat bashing 2. Generally negative toward government 3. Governor bashing 4. Bashing of political appointees 5. Congress-bashing
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
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 employees

Findings

Overall, the texts gave sparse treatment to the bureaucracy or bureaucracy related topics (see Table 3).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 3 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 Devoted to Discussion of Bureaucracy
11	4	2	5.8

The information on bureaucracy is limited and usually confined to a sub-section of a chapter. Table 4 through 13 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). 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. 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 Index Listings Under Bureaucracy

Table 5 illustrates the most frequently listed index topic under the title "bureaucracy" are (1) "public perceptions/attitudes/citizen satisfaction" and (2) "definition of" bureaucracy. Each of these categories is found in 38% of the books. The second most frequently listed topics are "power", "size", and "accountability" (31% for each category).

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 5 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

Myths The myths illustrated in Table 6[4] 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.

Table 6 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	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

Most Cited Authors and Their Works

A key point of interest in Table 7 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.

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[4] Based on Stillman 1987. The American Bureaucracy. Chicago: Nelson-Hall.

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.

Table 7		
Most Cited Authors in Reviewed Textbooks (N=13)		
Author of Cited Work	Number of Text Citing	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 8 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.

Table 8 Most Cited Works of Most Cited Authors in Reviewed Textbooks (N=13)		
Author/Title	Number of Texts Citing	Primary Author Of Texas Textbook
Weber *Essays in Sociology*	2	L. Tucker Gibson Stefan Haag
Straussman *Public Administration*	1	L. Tucker Gibson
Dubnick *American Public Administration*	1	L. Tucker Gibson
Lowi *The End of Liberalism*	1	L. Tucker Gibson
Gerston *Making Public Policy*	1	L. Tucker Gibson
Lineberry *American Public Policy*	1	L. Tucker Gibson
Jones *Texas Politics*	1	L. Tucker Gibson
Prindle *Petroleum Politics*	2	Stefan Haag Neal Tannahill
Berstein *Regulating Business by Independent Commission*	1	Stefan Haag
Rourke *Bureaucracy, Politics and Public Policy*	1	Richard H. Kraemer
Seidman, *Politics, Position, and Power*	1	Neal Tannahill
Saffell *State and Local Government: Politics and Public Policy*	1	Neal Tannahill

Fighting Words, Phrases, and Topics

The topic discussed most often, as seen on **Table 9**, 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.

Table 9 Fighting Words, Phrases, and Topics in Reviewed Textbooks	
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 10) 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.

Table 10 All Chapter Illustrations in Reviewed Textbooks		
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 11) 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.

Table 4.9 Cartoon Themes in Reviewed Textbooks	
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 12) 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.

Table 12		
Subjects of Pictures in Bureaucracy Chapters		
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 13. 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.

Table 13	
Subjects of Graphs and Charts in Bureaucracy Chapters	
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

Overview

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.

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 14, 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 14** below.

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.

Table 14 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
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/Bureaucrac	33	5	963
5	No		Yes		Executive	23	3	361
6	Yes		No		Exec/Bureaucrac	12	8	319
7	No		Yes		Governor/Exec	8	2	105
8	No		Yes		Policy/Admin	76	1	555
9	No		Non		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 22	Average 6	Average 386

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 15** 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 16**

Table 15 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 15** The Topic components are derived from the same Cigler and Neiswender article as the Similarities.

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 , 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. Additional research could unveil new information about the bureaucracy that was not discovered in this study.

Table 15 *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

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.

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