

the activities of their subordinates" or not. The study chooses to focus on "administrative feedback", defined as all the processes by which the bureau leaders—the whole headquarters—are apprised of subordinate behavior" to the exclusion of "substantive feedback," the flow of information advising headquarters how close the activities of the organizations come to the substantive targets set by the leaders" (p. 1). This is a dubious distinction (as anyone who has wondered about communication between Washington and Vietnam knows), but within the rights of researchers to make. Amid the homilies of this chapter (e.g., "Despite efforts to reconcile instructions, many directives come down without regard to those from other sources. When this happens, subordinates may have to decide for themselves what their situations require, picking and choosing among the directives for justification" [p. 21].), there is precious little help in sorting proverbs from hypotheses, findings, or useful distinctions.

In chapter 2 ("Research Strategy") the attempt is made to deal with questions which are usually thought of as "methodological." It is here the reader gets the first hint about what sort of evidence is likely to be reported back from the field:

So we set ourselves a more modest objective: to examine feedback practices and experience in a small number of organizations without aspiring to exhaustiveness or to methodological rigor. We discovered very early we would have to rely heavily on impressionistic and anecdotal evidence, and that the results would be inconclusive. But we thought impressions based on empirical studies would be more enlightening than the surmise and speculation that now surround the subject (p. 16).

This statement brings forward a host of doubts about the book. That the study can't be "exhaustive" is certainly understandable; but what are we to make of a "study" which disavows aspiration to methodological rigor? If the "evidence" is going to be "impressionistic and anecdotal" how much better off will we be than with "surmise and speculation?" The fear arises that we will get anecdotes and impressions as evidence and we will be asked to consider them as based on empirical studies largely on faith and without seeing much of the empirical study—this fear is pretty well substantiated by the rest of the book.

It is a good thing that the authors explain (in the last paragraph of the "Research Strategy" chapter) how the research was carried out, because the reader would be hard pressed to guess from the subsequent discussion that all these sources had been consulted. The reporting of research results is usually not specific enough

even to be called anecdotal. *How* the generalizations were arrived at is almost totally without indication. The data base is invisible.

The discussion is riddled with statements which remind us of what the study *doesn't* tell us. For example:

So the web of personal contacts is fashioned from both formal and informal elements. It therefore carries a great deal of traffic, including abundant cues and signals to bureau leaders about subordinate behavior (p. 37).

This approaches (at the "therefore") the obviousness of redundancy, but (at the "including") becomes a non sequitur. *Does* the web provide "abundant cues and signals" or not?—one would have thought that was one of the things the study might have cleared up! Moreover, while we get hard data on number of phone calls and number of employees (tangentially relevant at best), we get no data on, say, the number of investigations or inspections the various bureaus conducted in the period studied.

The book's conclusions present more unsubstantiated but perhaps wise homilies ("We think net increments of social and individual benefit are possible, often at modest cost, simply by bettering administrative feedback") and closes thus:

Every researcher ends his report with a plea for further research. These entreaties often arise from the special curiosity of the researchers, rather than from the broader social implications of the additional knowledge. We are impressed with how many assumptions about the functioning of our governmental system rest in the last analysis on untested faith in feedback as one crucial component of that system. Just suppose that faith is misplaced (p. 80).

Right! Maybe someone ought to study administrative feedback.

FRANK MARINI

San Diego State University

Political Strategies in Northern School Desegregation. By David J. Kirby, T. Robert Harris, Robert L. Crain, and Christine H. Rossell. (Lexington, Mass.: D.C. Heath & Co., 1973. Pp. 255. \$10.00.)

In the preface the authors state that they have attempted to write "a statistical social history" of the school desegregation issue from 1963 through 1968. In the course of doing so, they seek to answer the question of what actors attempted to influence school desegregation policy and to what effect. As social history the project fails, for its comparative analytic framework is too spare to permit full description of

Political Strategies In Northern School Desegregation

SA Dillow



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Table of Contents Political Strategies In Northern School Desegregation

1. Understanding the eBook Political Strategies In Northern School Desegregation
 - The Rise of Digital Reading Political Strategies In Northern School Desegregation
 - Advantages of eBooks Over Traditional Books
2. Identifying Political Strategies In Northern School Desegregation
 - Exploring Different Genres
 - Considering Fiction vs. Non-Fiction
 - Determining Your Reading Goals
3. Choosing the Right eBook Platform
 - Popular eBook Platforms
 - Features to Look for in an Political Strategies In Northern School Desegregation
 - User-Friendly Interface
4. Exploring eBook Recommendations from Political Strategies In Northern School Desegregation
 - Personalized Recommendations
 - Political Strategies In Northern School Desegregation User Reviews and Ratings
 - Political Strategies In Northern School Desegregation and Bestseller Lists

5. Accessing Political Strategies In Northern School Desegregation Free and Paid eBooks
 - Political Strategies In Northern School Desegregation Public Domain eBooks
 - Political Strategies In Northern School Desegregation eBook Subscription Services
 - Political Strategies In Northern School Desegregation Budget-Friendly Options
6. Navigating Political Strategies In Northern School Desegregation eBook Formats
 - ePub, PDF, MOBI, and More
 - Political Strategies In Northern School Desegregation Compatibility with Devices
 - Political Strategies In Northern School Desegregation Enhanced eBook Features
7. Enhancing Your Reading Experience
 - Adjustable Fonts and Text Sizes of Political Strategies In Northern School Desegregation
 - Highlighting and Note-Taking Political Strategies In Northern School Desegregation
 - Interactive Elements Political Strategies In Northern School Desegregation
8. Staying Engaged with Political Strategies In Northern School Desegregation
 - Joining Online Reading Communities
 - Participating in Virtual Book Clubs
 - Following Authors and Publishers Political Strategies In Northern School Desegregation
9. Balancing eBooks and Physical Books Political Strategies In Northern School Desegregation
 - Benefits of a Digital Library
 - Creating a Diverse Reading Collection Political Strategies In Northern School Desegregation
10. Overcoming Reading Challenges
 - Dealing with Digital Eye Strain
 - Minimizing Distractions
 - Managing Screen Time
11. Cultivating a Reading Routine Political Strategies In Northern School Desegregation
 - Setting Reading Goals Political Strategies In Northern School Desegregation
 - Carving Out Dedicated Reading Time
12. Sourcing Reliable Information of Political Strategies In Northern School Desegregation
 - Fact-Checking eBook Content of Political Strategies In Northern School Desegregation
 - Distinguishing Credible Sources
13. Promoting Lifelong Learning

- Utilizing eBooks for Skill Development
- Exploring Educational eBooks

14. Embracing eBook Trends

- Integration of Multimedia Elements
- Interactive and Gamified eBooks

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