AGE/GRADE LEVEL AND THE COMPLIANCE

STRUCTURE OF THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM
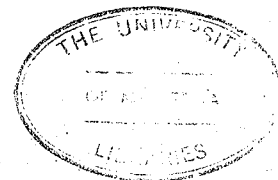
by

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the relationship of one
common institutional characteristic, the age/grade con-
tinuum, to contemporary schooling. More specifically, it
poses the question: is the nature of the compliance
structure of the school as it is manifested in the teach-
er/pupil relationship systematically related to the age/
grade level of the pupils in the classroom. In order
to answer this question, the rationale for the class-
room structure is discussed. Etzioni's theory of com-
pliance structure and Herriott and Hodgkins' theoretical
development of Etzioni's taxonomy in terms of the school
system serve as the theoretical basis for the decision.
The thesis pursues Herriott and Hodgkins' premise that
the type of compliance which is emphasized by the teacher
in the classroom is related to the age/grade level of
the students.

In order to test the general hypothesis that a rela-
tionship exists between the age/grade level of the pupils
in the classroom and the nature of the compliance struc-
ture, three specific hypotheses are adduced. These hypo-
theses predict that the teacher's emphasis of an instru-
mental orientation as well as the emphasis and use of
sanctions in the classroom are related to the age/grade

level of the pupils. The hypotheses are tested by
means of a questionnaire administered to teachers with-
in the St. Boniface School District in Winnipeg, Mani-
toba. Included on the questionnaire are questions de-
signed to test the hypotheses. The means by which these
questions are "operationalized" are subsequently described.
The results of the study are mixed and both methodolo-
gical and theoretical limitations are set forth which
might account for the varied results. It is concluded,
however, that a relationship definitely does exist be-
tween the age/grade continuum and the nature of the com-
pliance structure in the classroom.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER I

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Although a great deal has been written about formal
education in modern society, there is limited empirical
information available about the effects of basic educational
characteristics, common to all modern educational systems,
upon the nature of the learning experience in the school.
For example, the effects of compulsory attendance, the
teacher/pupil ratio, or the length of the academic year
upon the selection of subject matter, teacher/pupil rela-
tionships, or students' attitudes toward formal education
are poorly understood. The purpose of this thesis is
toward a clearer understanding of the relationship of one
such common institutional characteristic to schooling.
The characteristic to be considered is the age/grade con-
tinuum. This refers to the segregation of students into
class grades, based primarily upon the students' age, as
they progress through the educational system.

There have been various reasons advanced to explain
this arrangement which is a relatively recent one in the
history of formal learning.[1]

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[1] During the period between the seventeenth and nineteenth
centuries "children increasingly passed through an orderly
sequence of classes and subjects, a temporal order was im-
posed on the various subject matters, promotion from class
to class became more regular ... in short, a growing recog-
nition of the connection between age, ability and school
grade emerged, a connection later representing the under-
lying principle of modern graded schools." (Dreeben, 1971:102)

Perhaps the most commonly accepted explanation among educators today is a logical extension of the theory of Jean Piaget regarding the developmental learning process of the child.(1972) According to Piaget, learning by children can be conceptualized as a developmental process wherein

> each stage of development /is/ characterized
> much less by a fixed thought content than
> by a certain power, a certain potential acti-
> vity, capable of achieving such and such a
> result according to the environment in which
> the child lives. (1972:171-2)

Piaget's research suggests that, until a child reaches a certain stage of cognitive maturation, there is a definite limitation in his ability to understand and internalize certain kinds of knowledge. Thus, to attempt to teach a five year old about conservation of energy is generally unsuccessful, while an eight year old has cognitively matured to the point where such learning is possible.(1972: 32-4) At the same time, the eight year old will probably have great difficulty in conceptualizing an even more abstract concept such as "egalitarian justice".(1972:42) This does not mean that each child develops at the same rate and learns the meaning of certain concepts at exactly the same time. Piaget takes pains to point out that his developmental model gives the average age at which this understanding occurs and individual students may vary from this average by a year or two. By logical extension, such a theory both explains and rationalizes the presence of an

age/grade continuum in modern education.

A sociological theory somewhat different from the psychological approach of Piaget which also can be used to explain the presence of the age/grade continuum in modern education is that of S.N. Eisenstadt. (1956) Given the adult role and knowledge demands of modern life, Eisenstadt suggests that age-homogeneous groups in the school provide a milieu for a kind of learning that cannot occur in the family, extended kin group, or community. Specifically, Eisenstadt argues that peer and formal authority relationships in the classroom are effective in developing attitudes, beliefs, and values consistent with the complex, impersonal, but highly interdepedent adult life required in modern industrial society. (1956:160-63) In effect, according to Eisenstadt, the educational system of modern states is a mechanism to insure the "smooth and continuous transmission of knowledge and role dispositions" (1956:163), and the age/grade continuum is an important feature for the accomplishment of that end.

Both Piaget and Eisenstadt provide reasonable and complementary explanations of "why" the age/grade continuum is important for the educational institution. However, the implications of this structural arrangement for either the learning experience of students or the organizational nature of schools is not attended to by either theory and

has not been systematically explored in an empirical fashion.
Accordingly, in this study we intend to consider in theoretical terms the possible effects of the age/grade continuum
upon one aspect of the organization of the school -- its
compliance structure. The perspective adopted in this consideration follows from the works of Amatai Etzioni (1961),
and more recently from the study of Hodgkins and Herriott
on the compliance structure of schools as formal complex
organizations. (1970)

The term "compliance", as developed by Etzioni is
defined as

> a relationship consisting of the power employed by superiors to control subordinates
> and the orientation of the subordinates to
> this power. (1961:xv)

From this definition Etzioni goes on to define the "compliance structure" of an organization as the pattern of
"asymmetric (or vertical)" authority relationships characteristic of that organization wherein

> ...those who have power manipulate means
> which they command in such a manner that
> certain other actors find following the
> directive rewarding, while not following
> it incurs deprivations. (1961:3-4)

Basically, Etzioni develops a taxonomic schema from this
definition fro the comparative study of organizations.
He postulates three kinds of power: coercive, remunerative,
and normative which can be used by superordinates to gain
subordinate compliance. Parallel to this distinction, in-

volvement of subordinates is seen by Etzioni as being predominantly alienative, calculative, or moral. (1961:3-22) From this taxonomic model, Etzioni generates an extensive comparative analysis of organizational dynamics.

Hodgkins and Herriott, drawing from the work of Etzioni, applied his reasoning to the nature of the compliance system of schools within the educational institution. (1970) Theorizing that the institutional role of educational organizations varies by the age/grade level taught, they were able to demonstrate, using a national sample of teachers, the existence of a systematic change in the nature of the compliance relationship between teachers and principals from the elementary level through the high school level. (1970:98-102) Although they also theorized about teacher/pupil relationships, no empirical test of their reasoning was reported.

In this study the author proposes to develop further the reasoning of Etzioni, and Hodgkins and Herriott in exploring the nature of teacher/pupil compliance within the school. Accordingly, the specific problem to which this study addresses itself is as follows: is the nature of the compliance structure of the school, as manifest in teacher/pupil relationships, systematically related to the age/grade level of the pupils in the classroom.

To consider this problem in Chapter Two, we shall consider previous research on the subject and attempt to

integrate it into an analytical model drawing from the works

cited above. Hypotheses derived from that model will be

set forth. In Chapter Three a research design will be

discussed by which the hypotheses generated in Chapter Two

can be tested. In Chapter Four, the results of that analysis

are reported. And finally, in Chapter Five a summary of

the study and conclusions are reported as they relate to

the above problem as well as implications of the results

for future research.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter will briefly summarize past relevant research findings on the subject. Subsequently, a theoretical discussion of the nature of the institutional role of education and its compliance structure will be set forth. In the last segment of the chapter a theoretical framework will be developed from which hypotheses are deduced.

Review of the Literature

Although a great deal has been written about classroom activities, the vast majority of writings have been of a proscriptive nature.[2] Relatively little empirical research on teacher/pupil relationships, particularly as it relates to patterns of compliance has been reported. Most of the evidence on the subject must be adduced from either case studies on single classrooms or schools, or inferred from studies only indirectly related to the problem set forth in Chapter One.

The baseline for many of the studies relevant to the concern in this study is a series of analyses reported by H.H. Anderson and his associates dealing with the effect of teachers' actions on the attitudes of students in

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[2] See for example Gnagey, 1968; Henry, 1959; Holt, 1969; Sorenson et al., 1968; Stebbins, 1971.

the classroom. (1939, 1945, 1946) Anderson et al. observed the classroom activities of a number of pre-school and primary teachers and classified their activities as being either "dominative contacts" (ordering and controlling statements) or "integrative contacts" (statements of approval and invitations for participation). Anderson reported that the teacher's activities appeared to stimulate more of the same type of activity by students in the classroom. Thus, students in a classroom in which the teacher displays predominantly integrative contacts will in turn react this way with each other. In a discussion of the work of Anderson et al., Flanders concluded that the findings revealed

> a direct relationship between teacher influence that encourages student participation and constructive pupil attitudes toward the teacher, school work and class activities. (Flanders, 1964:206)

Hughes et al. (1959) in a subsequent effort, pursued the concept of teacher dominative and integrative behavior in the classroom. Developing a Dominative Behavior Index, Hughes analyzed the records of 35 elementary school teachers. He found that between 48% and 75% of the time in the classroom, teachers did employ dominative contacts. The question Hughes raised was: why were none of these teachers able to limit dominative social behavior significantly under 50%? What precluded the use of a sig-

nificant amount of student participation in the classroom?
Hughes concluded that the milieu of the classroom was re-
sponsible for the level of dominative behavior. In ef-
fect,

> the nature of the settings themselves
> may coerce social interaction patterns as
> much as teacher personality variables.
> (Hughes cited in Gump, 1964:177)

In discussing this same study, Gump concluded that
the

> study points up the predominant con-
> trolling aspects of the teacher's behav-
> ior in ordinary American classrooms ...
> The general tenor of the findings is
> that "something" is holding up the gen-
> eral level of the teacher's dominance
> in social relationships with children.
> (Gump, 1964:178)

Gump found in his own research that there were a number of
other factors besides the teacher's personality which
affect the classroom environment. Interviewing 196
junior-year students from five high schools in Kansas,
Gump found that they rated a number of features as being
influential in determining their attitude toward a spe-
cific class. These included the student's attitude to-
ward the subject matter, his assessment of the teacher's
pedagogical ability, his perception of the utility of
the subject matter, and the characteristics of his class-
mates. As Gump summarizes:

> these rankings again indicate the rela-
> tive importance of variables of class-
> room environment that are not centered

> on the teacher's social behavior ... stu-
> dents do not see the teacher's personal
> and social qualities as the most prominent
> factors in their classroom environment.
> (Gump, 1964:182)

Thus, according to Gump, emphasis should not be placed on
the teacher's personality traits but rather, on the teach-
er's ability to develop an appropriate classroom environ-
ment.

A number of studies were done by Kounin and Gump
to investigate various ways in which the teacher was able
to influence the classroom environment. For instance, in
one study they compared students of first grade teachers
who were rated as punitive (relying mostly on threats and
reproofs) and those rated as non-punitive (relying mostly
on persuasion) in gaining classroom cooperation. (1961)
Students in the first grade who had punitive teachers mani-
fested

> more aggression in their misconduct pro-
> jections and are more unsettled and conflicted
> /sic/ about misconduct in school and less
> concerned with learning and school-unique
> values. (1961:48)

Kounin and Gump also found that pupils with non-punitive
teachers were more likely to use a reflexive justifica-
tion ("it's bad because they say so") in connection with
rule violations that were "milieu inconvenient" (talking,
running in the halls, not taking a seat). They suggest
that this "expresses a sort of naive faith and trust in

the rightness of what the teacher says." (1961:49)

In a series of related studies using students from kindergarten, high school and the college level as subjects, Kounin and Gump found that the teacher's influence on the classroom was felt even by students not in direct inter- action with the teacher. The term "ripple effect" was used to describe the reactions of classmates to "desists" directed toward one student in the classroom. Kounin and Gump found that the classmate's reaction, e.g. whether he, too, desisted from deviant activities simultaneously de- pended upon the student's motivation to learn and his atti- tude toward the teacher. (1958)

This suggests, as the Anderson studies have, that the teacher is able to generate a certain type of classroom atmosphere through his relationships with the students. A later study by Kounin (1970) of 50 first and second grade classes indicated that the actual nature of the "de- sist" (punitive or non-punitive) determined neither the effectiveness nor the extensiveness of the ripple effect that followed. Instead, Kounin found different dimensions of classroom management (maintaining classroom focus, man- aging activity movement, demonstrating knowledgeability about student behavior, etc.) to have a greater effect on the learning environment than any single response of the teacher to classroom misconduct.[3]

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[3] The term "classroom management" was first used by Waller

This finding was reiterated by Gordon and Adler (1963) who questioned grade school students in order to determine the amount of emphasis that the teacher placed upon authority, performance, and expressive behavior in the classroom. They found that

> the teachers whose pupils showed the most favorable gains in learning, compliance and classroom order were those who were perceived by their pupils as stressing performance, seldom relying upon authority and placing average stress upon expressivity. (1963:463)

The preceding studies are, in large measure, <u>supportive of the generalization that teacher/pupil relationships are important in the learning process</u>. An important dimension of this relationship, of course, is the teacher's perception of the pupil's ability. In a rather controversial study by Rosenthal and Jacobson (1968) teachers of selected elementary school classes were informed that there were students in the class who had been diagnosed as "late-bloomers" and that the teacher should anticipate a marked improvement in their work. Actually, these students had been selected at random. At the end of eight months, all of the students were retested and it was found that the students who had been singled out as "late-

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as "all means of getting the teacher's definition of the situation accepted and the teacher's wishes carried out without a direct clash of wills between teachers and students. (1932:203)

bloomers" had indeed progressed at an accelerated pace. The development was most pronounced in the primary grades with the largest gain occurring for the experimental students who had gained 24.8 I.Q. points in excess of the gain (+16.2) shown by the control group of students in the same classroom. (1968:252) In support of these findings, a study by Brophy and Good found that "teacher-expectation effects" could be observed in the classroom and that teachers

> were more likely to accept poor performance from students for whom they held low expectations and were less likely to praise good performance from these students when it occurred... (1971:478)

While academic learning is evidently influenced by teacher perception of student ability as it is interpreted in the behavioral context of the classroom, an early study by Corey and Froehlich points to the significance of teacher values and attitudes in learning the norms of appropriate classroom behavior. (1942) In this instance, students and teachers in a Chicago high school were questioned as to the relative importance of various student responsibilities. These items did not deal with classroom work per se, but rather, standards of behavior such as: students ridiculing or laughing at the mistakes of their classmates, playing fairly, and not cheating. Of the 42 responsibilities ennumerated, the five which the faculty listed as most important (i.e. rated as "very important"

by 85% or more of the faculty), dealt with aspects of what
might be called an instrumental orientation. (1942:571).
The students' response was less consistent and there were
only a few items on which both faculty and students con-
curred (i.e. rated as "very important" by both groups).
(1942:573) However, the study does seem to indicate that
getting students to learn to "accept principles of conduct
or social norms, and to act according to them" (Dreeben,
1968:44), is a real goal in terms of the teacher's actions
and attitudes.

Although limited in number, the above studies are
either directly or indirectly supportive of the idea of
the importance of the teacher/pupil relationship in deter-
mining the social milieu of the classroom and the nature
and the extent of academic and social learning occurring
within it. They are less instructive, however, in regard
to the nature of the compliance structure within the class-
room. More germaine in this respect is the case study of
a small town elementary school reported by McPherson. (1972)
Relying upon her observations as a participant observer
teacher in the school studied, McPherson stated that,

> the teacher must do more than just instruct
> them in skills, she must ensure their ap-
> propriate behavior in pursuing and acquiring
> these skills. (1972:84)

As McPherson observed, students in the classroom were ex-

pected to conform to the standards and expectations of the
teacher both in terms of academic work and behavior. These
were inextricably linked for the

> teacher believed that when the teacher
> failed to achieve discipline, that when
> confusion, noise, and rudeness abounded,
> no learning occurred. (1972:33)

In order to achieve discipline, McPherson reports
that it was necessary for the teacher to remain in unques-
tionable command of the class. In terms of the student's
behavior, this meant that the requirement for order in the
classroom was simultaneously a "requirement for docility".
(1972:90) Students who combined docility with effort in
the classroom activities were defined as good students.
Those who lacked either quality and failed to conform to
the class standards were the troublemakers who had to be
forced by the teacher to demonstrate at least an outward
show of conformity to the teacher's authority. In such
cases, according to McPherson,

> the teacher attempted to instill a sense
> of shame and guilt and whether or not the
> pupil acquired these proper feelings, he
> did learn quickly to display the approp-
> riate response. (1972:90)

In this manner, student compliance becomes an important
aspect of the many values which the teacher instills in
the students.

In a study of student compliance and rebellion on
the high school level, Stinchcombe conducted a survey of

some 1500 students in a high school in California. He
sought to isolate factors which could account for the fail-
ure of students to comply with the directions of teaches.
Among other factors, he identified the system's reliance
upon cultural norms of age deference patterns for authority
over the students as one of the factors contributing to
the strain toward non-compliance (or rebellion). To the
extent that students defined themselves as "adult", they
tended to reject the authority of the school. While other
factors were important as well, amost half of the variance
(49%) in the self-reported rebellious tendencies of students
was explained by this variable. This suggests, of course,
that the success of any teacher/student compliance struc-
ture in education is dependent not only upon the require-
ments of the school's institutional role, but upon the
sociocultural context of the school's environment from
which the legitimacy of the type of power and the nature of
involvement is derived.

In summary, a review of the relevant research find-
ings underscores the importance of the teacher/student re-
lationship for creating the "appropriate environment" for
learning and instilling what is viewed to be the approp-
riate behavior for the student. However, little direct
evidence can be gleaned from these studies as to the na-
ture of the compliance structure of the educational system.

While the research indicates the importance of maintaining control in the classroom, the underlying principles upon which that control rests, and its consequences for what is being learned by the students can only be inferred from the research cited.[4] Furthermore, there is little to suggest that the relationship of the teacher/pupil compliance structure to the age/grade continuum has been systematically explored. We turn, therefore, to a discussion of the theoretical linkage between these two factors.

Institutional Role of Education

Prior to the examination of any of the structural characteristics contained within schools, it is necessary to look at education's institutional role in the larger social context. In a general sense, education's goal[5]

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[4] It is possible that research exists which was not uncovered by the present author on the relationship of the compliance structure to the age/grade continuum. For example, Etzioni (1961:44-46) cites two rather old studies dealing with classroom control -- N. Campbell's "The Elementary School Teacher's Treatment of Classroom Behavior Problems (1935) and E.H. Garinger's "The Administration of the Discipline in the High School" (1936). Both studies are unavailable and the section of the data presented in Etzioni does not appear to be an accurate reflection of the distribution of misconduct in school.

[5] Parsons defines "goal" as an image of a future state which may or may not be brought about. (Etzioni, 1961:71)

is to socialize the individual in ways to cope with his future roles and responsibilities as an adult. However, since the educational system is not the sole socializing agency in society, it is necessary to clarify how the institution performs a "distinct socializing function" (Herriott and Hodgkins, 1973:83) which justifies its continuing existence in modern society.[6]

The educational system provides an intensive exposure to a variety of skills and knowledge which is not readily accessible from other socializing agents such as family and peers. Equally important to providing the knowledge and skills necessary for an individual to actively participate in an industrial society, formal education also provides the student with an appropriate orientation to accompany that knowledge. The concept of orientation as used here, refers to an underlying theme which is expressed through the various social roles which the individual assumes. (Herriott and Hodgkins, 1973:84) The type of orientation which formal education inculcates is "based upon a perception of others as means to an end rather than ends in themselves" (Herriott and Hodgkins, 1973:84) and

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[6] It is an assumption, of course, that any institutional arrangement must contribute to the society in some positive way in order to survive.

has been classified as an <u>instrumental orientation</u>.

Parsons indicates that relationships based on an instrumental orientation are necessary if the individual is to cope with the demands of life in an industrial society. (1959:297) In providing this type of socialization, formal education apparently plays an indispensable role in modern society since an instrumental orientation encompasses a number of values which the family cannot transmit because of its intimate emotional nature.

The orientation, according to Parsons, includes the ability to establish relationships which are <u>affectively neutral</u> and based on <u>universalistic standards</u>. Furthermore, the orientation incorporates the evaluation of the other individuals in a relationship on the basis of their <u>achieved status</u> in a <u>specific context</u>. (Parsons, 1951:58-67) The transmission of this instrumental orientation, coupled with the knowledge and skills which are imparted in the school, provides the basis for the successful socialization of the individual in modern industrial society, and is viewed herein as the institutional role of the educational system. Schools, as concrete organizational manifestations of that system are seen to be directed toward that institutional end.

Since the dynamics of this institutional process of socialization are important to a conceptualization of the

nature of the educational system's compliance structure, a brief theoretical discussion of that process seems warranted. In particular, stress in this discussion will be placed upon the manner in which an instrumental orientation is transmitted to the students.

In emphasizing the institutional role of the school as a link between the family life of children and the public life of adults,[7] Robert Dreeben accentuates the importance of providing "experiences conducive to learning the principles of conduct and patterns of behavior appropriate to adulthood." (1968:4-6) According to Dreeben, this is normally accomplished by the time that the student graduates from high school so that he will have not only a mastery of basic cognitive and social skills but also the appropriate values and norms "necessary for the attainment of full social status." (Eisenstadt, 1956:163) Yet while the instrumental orientation is essential to prepare the individual for the future, it is not a formal part of the school curriculum. (Bidwell, 1965; Dreeben, 1968; Parsons, 1959) Nor for the most part, is this orientation

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[7] In a parallel discussion, Fred Katz notes that the school must lift the child out of his limited familial setting and place him in a larger context for action: "the school, must, somehow, provide continuity with early family training demonstrating that its efforts have usefulness for higher education and adult occupational requirements." (1968:435)

intentionally taught. In effect, much of what makes up
the instrumental orientation is learned as an unplanned
by-product of the classroom situation. As Robert Dreeben
put it, "learning is not limited to what is taught, or at
least, that which is teachable pedagogically." (1968:5)

The manner in which this "incidental" learning oc-
curs is relevant to an understanding of both the instru-
mental orientation and the compliance structure of the
school. Thus, as previously noted, an important aspect
of the instrumental orientation is affective neutrality.
The child learns how to operate in relationships with this
characteristic for the first time when he enters school.
(Dreeben, 1968) The organizational structure fosters limited
contact between pupil and teacher, as well as sustaining
the social distance between them. Furthermore, an affective
relationship with the teacher tends not to develop since
teachers generally have contact with pupils for only one
year -- and in high school, for only an hour a day for that
year. Also, each student is competing, more or less actively,
with perhaps 25 or 30 other students for the attention
and "expressive gratification" from that one teacher. In
addition, there are various structural restriction in the
classroom which discourage emotional ties from developing;
such as seating arrangements, limited talking in the class-
room, restricted movement around the room, and in the

high school, limited contact because of short class periods.

Thus, the very structure of the educational experience

mitigates against the development of emotional and express-

ive relationships in favor of an affective neutrality in

relationships with teachers and fellow pupils.

Just as the encouragement of affective neutral rela-

tionships is structured into the educational system, so

also is specificity. While familial relationships tend

to be diffuse, within the classroom the teacher specifies

the type and scope of roles available to the student. In

the primary grades, the philosophy of working with the

"whole child" requires, to some extent, that the teacher

take on a more diffuse role vis a vis the child (such as

checking that students finish lunch and that they button

their coats before leaving), but as the student progresses

through the school system, the relationship becomes increas-

ingly specific as the teacher deals with larger numbers

of students and an increasingly specialized area of know-

ledge. Furthermore, much of classroom interaction consists

of answering questions, reciting, and reporting. In such

cases, the teacher directs the pupils toward the types of

actions and responses wanted -- making them as specific and

as goal-directed as the teacher desires. It has been sug-

gested that this is one reason for the extensive use of reci-

tation since it combines information and management tech-

niques simultaneously.[8] Eventually, with the aid of these classroom activities, the pupil learns to respond in public situations, limit his frame of reference, and follow directions as a member of the group. These are exactly the type of instrumental qualities which are difficult to learn within the family setting, yet which the pupil needs to learn before acquiring responsibilities as an adult.

Somewhat in contrast to the relative subtleness of promoting affective neutrality and specificity in role relationships, the stress upon individual achievement is readily apparent. The competition for grades and the emphasis upon individual assignments and personal responsibility for performance all lend themselves to a stress upon individual achievement. Less obvious inducements are structured into the classroom as well as in the form of sanctions against cooperative efforts (frequently viewed as cheating by teachers), individualized rewards or punishments, and so forth.

Underlying much of this learning, of course, and of primary importance to the development of an instrumental orientation, is the emphasis placed upon universalistic

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[8] Dreeben noted that "the recitation ... becomes a substitute for motivation, given the fact that the teacher's task is to establish and maintain motivation. (1973:466)

standards. Uniform standards of academic achievement and of classroom behavior are laid out in the form of school regulations, standardized texts, tests, and report cards; these all aid the teacher in establishing uniform standards. In the process of treating and judging students by equivalent standards, the teacher, in a sense, de-personalizes the relationship and creates an affectively-neutral situation. He is also assuring the student an egalitarian treatment. The importance of this feature as part of the student's socialization is noted by William Goode.

> The prime social characteristic of modern
> industrial enterprise is that the indiv-
> idual is really given a job on the basis
> of his ability to fulfill its demands and
> that this achievement is evaluated uni-
> versalistically; the same standards ap-
> plying to all who hold the same job.
> (cited in Dreeben, 1968:145)

By using universalistic standards, the teacher not only encourages achievement, but competition as well. Again, because the attention of the teacher is a scarce resource, being first in the class is a means of maximizing attention and rewards. Over the years, the symbolic rewards of grades and honors take on an intrinsic value and become an independent incentive for achievement.[9]

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[9] Often students accept the symbolic value of grades before they perceive the purpose of the measurement. Thus, teachers are often annoyed by seemingly innane questions such as "does spelling count?" In such instances, the student

The classroom becomes increasingly competitive with each
grade level. In the early grades, anyone who achieves
a certain proficiency, e.g. spelling 20 words correctly,
recives the appropriate rewards. By the time that the
student is in high school, rewards are scarcer. No matter
how well the individual performs in an absolute sense,
he will still be measured against the ability of his peers.
So one is competing with the rest of the class to be in
the top 5% and this serves to prepare the student for the
"rat race" of the adult world where he will be expected
to compete and have a drive to achieve.

In summary, then, the institutional process of so-
cialization occuring within the educational system provides
not only the basic knowledge and skills thought to be
important for an adult role in modern life, but tends to
develop in the student an orientation toward life as well.
Such an instrumental orientation is not learned, by and
large, in a deliberate fashion, but is a product of both
the structural arrangements and contextual emphasis common-
place within the educational system. Following a discus-
sion of the conceptualization of the compliance structure
as advanced by Etzioni, we will return to the significance

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has accepted the sanction of the grade as a powerful con-
trol over his behavior, but he has not yet internalized
the value of the grade as an individual assessment.

of this process of socialization as it influences the development of the compliance structure within the school.

The Nature of Compliance Structures

As previously mentioned in Chapter One, Etzioni created a taxonomy of organizations according to their compliance structure, examining not only who does and who does not have power and authority, but also the relationship between the former and the latter.[10] This according to Etzioni, has the advantage of combining the structural and the motivational aspects of organizational authority:

> structural since we are concerned with the kinds and distribution of power in organizations; motivational since we are concerned with the differential commitments of actors to organizations. (Etzioni, 1961:xv)

In combining these two aspects, Etzioni is uniting the diverging approaches to the study of organization: the Weberian approach with an emphasis on the structural elements and the Barnardian approach which concentrates more on the motivation of individuals involved in the organiza-

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[10] While these compliance structures do not exist in pure forms, according to Etzioni, there is a tendency for organizations to emphasize only one type of compliance at a time. John French and Bertram Raven (1968:259-69) developed a similar taxonomy of organizations based on the relationship between the holder and recipient of power. It, too suggests that there is a tendency for organizations to have only one basis of compliance, e.g. on the basis of rewards, coercion, or the desire to emulate the superior.

tion. (Hopkins, 1961:83-84)

The core concept for Etzioni's typology is compliance which may be achieved through the exertion of power though this need not imply force. Etzioni defines power as the ability to induce or influence another actor to carry out his directives or any other norms he supports." (Etzioni, 1961:4) Weber had distinguished between class, status, and power (1958:180-95); however for Etzioni the concept which Weber called power is only one of the three possible forms -- that involving force or the threat of it -- which Etzioni refers to as coercive power. In addition, class is an expression of economic or remunerative power involving the use of material goods; status, as the third form of power, is expressed in normative terms. It is dependent upon symbolic concepts or objects for its effectiveness. (Etzioni, 1961:xvii) Etzioni postulates that these three forms of power are exhaustive and that all organizations can be characterized by a power structure resting predominantly (if not entirely) on a)physical, b)material or c)symbolic control.

The compliance relationship involves two parties -- one with power and one responding to that power. The possible forms that the power structure may take have been suggested above. The subordinated actor can have a varying response to the application of power. Organizationally,

this is termed the "involvement" structure and can range
from a very positive response (committed) to a very nega-
tive response (alienated) to the power imposed by the super-
ordinate. It is the combination of power and involvement
that provides a compliance structure profile of an organi-
zation. Certain combinations of power and involvement are
more likly to occur than others and a summary of these com-
binations is included below.

Organizations relying on physical means for compliance
are classified as having a coercive compliance structure.
A relatively pure example of this type of institution would
be a maximum security prison. Obviously, no prisoner
would remain there if there were not physical constraints,
e.g. guards, prison cells, punishments for escaping, that
prevent individuals from leaving of their own volition.
But while physical force is very obviously present in this
example, in other institutions which are predominantly
characterized by coercive power, physical force is not so
obvious; the mere presence of authority figures may be
sufficient to compel compliance.

By its very nature, an organization relying heavily
on coercive power tends to result in an alienative involve-
ment on the part of subordinates who are affected by its
coercive techniques. Force is never the most efficient
means of operating any organization, and it is assumed that

force or the threat of force will be used only in those instances when all other means fail. In the extreme, it implies a total lack of cooperation between the subordinate actors and the superordinates, with the primary organizational goal being to maintain the existing order at all costs. (1961:72) As Etzioni observes regarding the goal of "order",

> This is a negative goal in the sense that
> such organizations prevent the occurrence
> of certain events rather than producing
> an object or service. (1961:73)

Hence it can be assumed that the subordinated actors are negatively involved. It also implies the least degree of communication possible between the upper and the lower echelons of the organization. (1961:139)

Normative compliance, requiring moral involvement of the subordinates, is generally found in organizations with cultural goals. (1961:73) This compliance structure operates on the assumption that authority rests upon a shared set of values. Compliance is maintained, accordingly, through the manipulation of esteem, prestige, and symbols associated with those values.

> Dissensus in any area, in particular
> with respect to values, goals, and
> means, is dysfunctional for the achieve-
> ment of the organizational goals. (1961:136)

Were they not to agree on the value to be given to these

symbols and norms, the power of the superior would be
illusory. In other words, in its hypothetically pure form,
the exercise of normative power must be acceptable to the
subordinate as appropriate in terms of shared normative
ends.

This view of normative power was not original with
Etzioni. The same view has been noted by a number of
theorists. Much earlier, Barnard (1938) had discarded
"the fiction of the superior authority", claiming that
authority rose from the bottom ranks. Superiors were there
almost solely for moral guidance, not to give orders. As
Barnard put it:

> the army is the "greatest of all demo-
> cracies" because when the order to move
> forward is given, it is the enlisted man
> on his own who has decided to accept the
> order. (1938:49)

The individual accedes to the authority of officials in the
organization because he wishes to further the common goals.
This assumes that the request made by the authority is with-
in what Barnard terms the "zone of indifference" of the
individual. That is, because of his position within the
organization "he both expects to accept and is expected by
others to accept" orders. (Hopkins, 1961:88) Similarly
Weber had stated that line of control in bureaucracies was
maintained because the participants considered the organi-
zational hierarchy legitimate, and therefore, felt obligated

to fulfill their responsibilities. (Weber, 1958:79)

There are two kinds of normative power according to Etzioni. The one discussed so far is referred to as "pure normative power" (1961:6), and is generally found in vertical relationships with individuals of different rankings. Relationships among peers of equal rank, however, are the basis for a "social power" that involves an "allocation and manipulation of acceptance and positive response." (1961:6) Social power can be considered as a form of organizational power "only when the organization can influence the group's power; /for example, when/ a teacher uses the class climate to control a deviant child." (1961:6)

The third type of compliance structure also assumes some common elements of understanding but is much more limited in that the superordinate's power rests upon his ability to grant or withhold material rewards. Involvement of subordinates, then, is of a calculative nature. Thus, the term "utilitarian" is used in describing this structure. This is, of course, descriptive of the fundamental compliance structure of business organizations. People work for a company in order to receive a salary. As Etzioni notes, this compliance pattern requires,

> a high degree of consensus for effective
> operation mainly in spheres concerning in-
> strumental activities. The basic reason
> for this is that production is a rela-

tively rational process and hence can
rest on contractual relationships of com-
plementary interest...   (1961:136)

Etzioni assumes that this type of organizational com-

pliance structure involves constraints and inducements on

the part of the subordinate. He will continue to comply

with his superiors in the organization as long as the costs

are not too great in terms of the remuneration he receives.

In summary, Etzioni posits the existence of three

ideal compliance structures: coercive, normative, and util-

itarian. Although they rarely are found as pure types in

actual situations, there is a tendency for one type of com-

pliance to dominate the superordinate/subordinate rela-

tionship. Since each of these three compliance patterns

involves a set of assumptions concerning the attitudes of

the authorities and of the subordinate actors, an indis-

criminate matching of these is seen to be quite ineffective

for the organization. (1961:82-83)

Not only does Etzioni suggest that one type of com-

pliance structure will predominate in each organization,

but he also suggests that each of the three compliance struc-

tures is related to a certain type of goal orientation. As

has been suggested, organizations orient themselves to

order, economic, or cultural goals. (1961:72-73) While

it is possible for an organization to have any of the three

goal orientations (i.e. any of nine possible combinations),
there is a tendency for the three most effective combina-
tions of goals and compliance to be used: order goals and
coercive compliance, economic goals and utilitarian com-
pliance, and cultural goals and normative compliance. (1961:
87)

> In the six ineffective types we would ex-
> pect to find not only wasted means, psycho-
> logical and social tension, lack of coordi-
> nation, and other signs of ineffective-
> ness, but also a strain toward an effect-
> ive type. (1961:87)

The strain for effectiveness generally involves an altera-
tion in the compliance structure rather than the goals
since organizations are by definition: social units oriented
toward the realization of specific goals. (Etzioni, 1961:79;
Hall, 1972:9; Blau and Scott, 1962:4; Perrow, 1972:13)

A Conceptual Framework

In the preceeding discussion a review of relevant
research on the problem of the relationship of the age/grade
continuum to the compliance structure of education was con-
sidered. Only indirect evidence regarding the nature of
the student/teacher relationship generally was found. Sub-
sequently, an analytical discussion of the nature of educa-
tion's institutional role was developed, with particular
emphasis given to the manner in which students developed

relationships based on an instrumental orientation. Finally, the nature of the compliance structure, as developed by Etzioni, was briefly set forth. From this background and from the work of Hodgkins and Herriott, the following conceptual framework has been developed.

The original thrust of Etzioni's work was of such a nature that relatively little time was given to any elaboration of how his theory would apply to educational organizations. He states that schools are characterized, for the most part, by normative compliance and cultural goals. In concurrence with Parsons, Etzioni defined the goal of educational organizations to be that of socializing students for adult roles. To the extent that the school is successful in maintaining a moral commitment on the part of the students, compliance is maintained through the manipulation of esteem, prestige, and symbols held to be important to the student and his peers. (1961:45) Etzioni notes, further, that the school's compliance patterns involve not only control through the vertical teacher/pupil relationship, but also through the horizontal pupil/pupil relationship. The latter is incorporated through the manipulations by the teachers

> based on appeals to the student's moral com-
> mitments and on manipulation of the class
> or peer group's climate of opinion. (1961:45)

Aside from this brief theoretical sketch of the school structure, Etzioni did not elaborate on his concep-

tion of the compliance structure of schools. Hodgkins

and Herriott, however, did elaborate upon the educational

compliance structure using Etzioni's basic theoretical

framework. They concurred with Etzioni that schools are

predominantly normative, but pointed to the strong coer-

cive nature of the system as well.

> Efforts in the last 30 or 40 years to make
> such coercion palatable, successful though
> they may be in masking the obligatory na-
> ture of elementary and secondary educa-
> tion, still do not change the fundamental
> basis for student compliance. (1970:95)

According to Hodgkins and Herriott, to the extent that

coercive compliance is a factor in the school's organiza-

tion, it serves to sustain order and discipline within the

school and force compliance with attendence requirements.

Consistent with the earlier discussion in this

chapter, Hodgkins and Herriott accept the idea of the school's

goal as being that of socializing the pupils in terms of

academic skills and an instrumental orientation. Following

Etzioni's view that goals and compliance structures tend

to be congruent, they suggest that the predominant compli-

ance structure, as it relates to teacher/pupil relation-

ships in a given school, will be determined by the age

level of the pupils. They argue, therefore, that, if viewed

along the age/grade continuum, the predominant compliance

structure in education will shift gradually from a relative

emphasis upon coercion in the elementary grades to a relative emphasis upon normative compliance in the later grades.[11] In effect, when students enter school for the first time they "have not yet internalized the norms of the organization and therefore, are coerced into compliance." (1970:95) Gradually, the students internalize the appropriate norms, so the school can begin to rely less on coercive control and use an increasingly normative compliance structure in which "prestige, esteem, and symbolic rewards can be manipulated by the organization." (1970:95)

By the time the student finishes elementary school, he understands what is involved in the role of being a student and what to expect from a teacher. By the time he reaches high school, these behavioral expectations have been internalized in the form of an orientation toward school, and high school teachers need not expend the energy introducing these behavioral expectations. Thus, the high school teachers need not be concerned with the "whole child"

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[11] A number of other factors in addition to the age/grade structure affect this theoretical shift in compliance. For example, Herriott and Hodgkins suggest that the rate at which the compliance strucure changes in relation to the age/grade continuum depends, in part, on the sociocultural environment in which learning takes place. Thus, they suggest that in schools with an upper-middle social class context, the shift in compliance structures will occur at an earlier age/grade level than will the shift for schools with a lower social class context. (1970:103)

(as is true of elementary school) and can devote more of
their time to teaching specific skills and knowledge. As
Corwin found:

> /High school/ teachers are often accused
> by administration of being too subject mat-
> ter minded. Teachers quite often do frankly
> admit that they prefer to teach only the
> bright students. (1970:130)

This move from a conscious emphasis on normative goals to a
situation in which it can be safely assumed that these
goals have been internalized by the students means that
the teacher can expect a different type of involvement --
an increasing consensus as to what constitutes proper be-
havior. This does not imply that students misbehave less
or break fewer rules in high school than they did in elem-
entary school, but it does mean that even when the rules
are broken, e.g. copying in class, both the teacher and
the students involved are cognizant of what rule has been
violated. That is, they have the same framework for com-
munication and even when the behavioral expectations are
not met, there is at least an agreement as to what those
expectations are.

So, also, this shift in emphasis obviously entails a
shift in the type of sanctions that the teacher will use to
gain compliance. As noted in the literature, the teacher
has at his disposal a wide variety of positive sanctions
(rewards) and negative sanctions (punishments). To a great

extent, the teacher's success in instilling values and
norms is developed over the years through the ability to
make symbolic rewards and punishments "real" for the students.

> There is nothing inherently rewarding or
> punishing in the letters, numbers and
> words conventionally assigned as grades
> ...one central problem of early elemen-
> tary schooling, then, is for teachers to
> establish grades as sanctions, that is,
> to get pupils to regard high grades as
> rewarding, low grades as punishing.
> (Dreeben, 1968:35)

If the socialization process is successful, the student
will not only conceive of a low grade as punishment and
as a stigma, but also consider it to be as powerful a form
of control as directly coercive measures.[12]

As the compliance structure becomes increasingly
normative in orientation, the teacher relies more upon sym-
bolic rewards and punishments and the manipulation of the
student's esteem rather than the use of directly coercive
measures. For example, in the primary grades, the student
who talks too much might be separated from the rest of the
class. (This is coercive in the sense that it requires the
teacher's presence to enforce.) In high school, the same
sort of misbehavior, of talking in class, might be met

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[12] As Dreeben notes, efforts to make grades meaningful
sanctions are generally more successful with students from
a middle and upper-class environment than with students in
a lower class environment, although teachers attempt to
inculcate these values to all students.

with reprimands from the teacher or the students. Another
example is the monitor who minds the classroom when the
teacher leaves the room. In high school, this type of coer-
cive control is unnecessary and the teacher may leave the
room "unguarded", depending upon the students to demonstrate
maturity and behave properly.

Thus, to summarize, Hodgkins and Herriott have pre-
sented a coherent model of the school's organization. They
suggest that the classroom orientation, expressed in terms
of teacher/pupil relationships, changes with the age/grade
level. The organization shifts from an emphasis on the
learning of an instrumental orientation to an emphasis on
the acquisition of knowledge and skills. As the emphasis
is altered, there is a concomitant change in the type of
compliance structure which is used -- going from a predom-
inantly coercive compliance to a normative compliance pat-
tern.

Hypotheses

If the above reasoning is correct, then it would be
expected that an answer to the problem as stated in Chapter
One would be that the nature of the compliance structure
of the school, as manifested in teacher/pupil relations,
is related to the age/grade level of the pupils in the

classroom. Restated in general hypothesis form, this may
be expressed as follows: <u>there is a relationship between</u>
<u>the nature of the compliance structure in education and</u>
<u>the age/grade level of pupils in the classroom.</u>

Since the nature of the data, to be reported subse-
quently in Chapter Three, will not permit a direct test
of this general hypothesis, three specific hypotheses are
set forth below. These hypotheses are adduced from the
general hypothesis and, therefore, their confirmation or
refutation will indirectly provide a test of the general
hypothesis. They are:

1) There is a negative relationship between the age/grade
level taught and the perceived importance of instrumental
learning.

2) There is a positive relationship between the age/grade
level taught and the use of normative sanctions by teachers.

3) There is a negative relationship between the age/grade
level tuaght and the use of coercive sanctions by teachers.

Rationale: If the theoretical framework presented earlier
is correct, it would be expected that teachers would stress
the importance of "correct" classroom behavior in the elem-

entary grades and, because elementary students have yet
to be successfully socialized into the system, be more
likely to use (or threaten to use) coercive means of con-
trol. (Hypotheses one and three). So also, the successful
socialization of the children into "appropriate" attitudes
and value will permit the increased use of normative con-
trols in the later grade levels and a decreased stress by
teachers upon the learning of "correct" classroom behavior
(Hypothesis two).

Summary

In this chapter consideration was given to previous
research efforts related to the problem of the nature of
the compliance structure in the school. Subsequently, a
theoretical discussion on the nature of the institutional
role of education was given, as well as a general discus-
sion on the nature of compliance structures. Finally, a
conceptual framework was presented and hypotheses derived
from that framework stated. In Chapter Three the method-
ology used to test the hypotheses will be discussed.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

In this chapter the research design used to test the hypotheses presented in Chapter II will be described. Beginning with a description of the population sample used in the study, the discussion will subsequently set forth the techniques and instrumentation used. Finally, an explanation of how the hypotheses to be tested are operationalized will be advanced, followed by the method of data analysis to be performed.

Research Design

Sample:

The sample consisted of all teachers actively employed full time in the St. Boniface School District, which is located in a suburb of Winnipeg with a largely middle-class clientele and a population which is 40% French-Canadian. Since the purpose of the study was analytical in nature and was not intended for purposes of generalizing any results obtained to a larger universe, the non-random nature of the sample is not seen as problematic. There are 16 schools in the St. Boniface School District for grades K through 12. Out of a total of 432 teachers in the District, 351 (or 79%) voluntarily participated in the

study. The percentage of teachers participating varied from school to school, with several schools having 100% response participation. However, one high school had only 17% response which reduced the number of participants in the sample from the higher grades and might have biased the results to be reported.

Instrumentation:

Data used to test the hypotheses were taken from a questionnaire administered to the sample as a part of a larger study conducted by B.J. Hodgkins in March of 1974. The questionnaire was distributed through the district superintendent's office to the various schools, along with cover letters by the superintendent and Professor Hodgkins (see Appendix A). These letters urged cooperation in the study and specified the confidential nature of the answers provided. No identifying information was requested. The questionnaires were returned through the superintendent's office in sealed envelopes. While there is no reason to suspect that this method of data gathering necessarily led to biases in the responses to various questions or in the types of teachers who chose to respond, the possibility must be recognized in the interpretation of the results to be subsequently reported.

Operationalization:

As stated in Chapter II, the hypotheses being ex-

plored all concern theoretical relationships between the age/grade level taught by the teacher and theoretical concomitants of the compliance structure. The independent variable to be used in all three hypotheses is the grade level taught by the teacher.

Looking at the first hypothesis, it will be recalled from Chapter II that there are certain values and behavioral expectations accompanying academic learning. These have been referred to as an instrumental orientation. Mention of specific aspects of the instrumental orientation are found throughout the literature (Dahlke, 1958; Dreeben, 1968, 1973; McPherson, 1972), ennumerated by the Educational Policies Commission of the National Educational Association (cited in Brown and Phelps, 1961:70-76) and explicitly mentioned in elementary school report cards. Loosely summarized, these include:

      a. learn to follow orders
      b. maintain self control
      c. respect the rights of others
      d. value neatness
      e. respect authority
      f. learn self reliance
      g. conform with other students in the class
      h. learn a sense of time and scheduling
      i. maintain boundaries for activities
      j. acquire an achievement motivation

This list embodies many of the important aspects of an instrumental orientation and from this list, 33 specific standards of classroom behavior were derived which are suggestive of an instrumental orientation. It should be evi-

dent from the earlier discussion of the nature of the orientation that it would be impossible to develop an exhaustive listing of standards and expectations entailed in the instrumental orientation. Therefore, the classroom standards which were derived from the literature appeared to be sufficient for operational purposes.

The next two hypotheses, based on the reasoning noted earlier in Chapter II, classify classroom compliance in terms of the use of normative and coercive sanctions. As noted before, normative sanctions have been classified as those relying on the manipulation of symbols of esteem and self-worth and therefore would include any sanctions entailing the rewards of **praise** and recognition. Coercive sanctions refer to those methods of control which require the presence of an authority figure such as the teacher to be enforced. Relying on items mentioned in the literature (Dahlke, 1958:231-35; Etzioni, 1961:45-46; Gnagey, 1968:30-46; McPherson, 1972:80-85) it was possible to derive a list of commonly used sanctions which could be classified as representative of the categories of normative and coercive sanctions. The literature (Flanders, 1964; Gnagey, 1968; Gump, 1964; Hughes, 1959) suggests that any teacher would, as a matter of course, have to utilize a number of these sanctions in order to keep class running smoothly. However, no assumption is made that this list

is exhaustive nor that any teacher would use all of the sanctions included on the list.

In addition to information about the educational attainment, experience, and sex of the teacher which was taken from the questionnaire, two questions were developed by the present author (the procedure of which will be described below) and included in the larger study (see Appendix A). One question consisted of a set of 33 items that were drawn from the literature and which were designed to tap what was considered to be various aspects of an instrumental orientation which the teacher might emphasize in the classroom. The respondent was asked how important each aspect was, with response alternatives ranging from "a great deal" to "never". The second question contained a list of 22 items, eleven of which were considered indicative of coercive sanctions, and eleven of which were seen to be of a positive normative variety. Respondents were asked the frequency with which they used these sanctions in the classroom with alternative ranging from "very frequently" to "never". They were also asked how effective they thought such sanctions were, with alternatives ranging from "very effective" to "not effective at all".

Method of Analysis

To develop indices from the questions described

above which would be appropriate to test the hypotheses, factor analysis using varimax rotations was run on the responses given by the subjects. (Nie, et al., 1970:221-25) The following indices were derived from that analysis for testing the hypotheses which deal with an instrumental orientation. In answer to the question: "how important are these aspects of behavior?", the following clusters of items held together as distinct factors. (see Appendix B)

Index	Items Included in the Index
	Students learn:
1. Teacher Control	A. respect the teacher B. obey the teacher C. do not talk back to the teacher
2. Student Autonomy	A. use washroom between classes B. use drinking fountain between classes
3. Neat Work	A. turn in neat assignments B. accept the necessity of recopying sloppy work
4. Achievement Orientation	A. strive to do well in classroom work B. work on individual assignments by themselves

Operationally, then, the hypotheses were restated in terms of indices scores with each index score expressing the sum of the responses on the items composing that index. The factor analyses were used only for purposes of identi-

fying response patterns. Raw numbers rather than factor
weights were employed in computing index scores. Thus, res-
pondents answering "very important" were scored 5, "impor-
tant" were scored 4, and so on. Specifically, it was hy-
pothesized that the scores on the instrumental orientation
indices would be negatively related to the age/grade level
taught. Thus, the responding teachers from the higher
grades are hypothesized to score lower on the indices than
teachers from the lower grades.

To measure the extent to which normative and coer-
cive sanctions were used in the classroom, teachers were
asked, "How frequently in a typical week do you use this
method?" The factor analysis of the 22 sanctions on the
questionnaire revealed two clusters of items which were
developed as the following indices.

Index	Items Included in the Index
1. Normative Index	A. praise students in presence of peers B. praise students in private C. give recognition to students in class who do exemplary work D. give recognition to students in front of peers for taking part in constructive discussions E. use facial expressions to demonstrate approval
2. Coercive Index	Threaten to: A. send disruptive students outside the classroom B. arrange conferences with the parents C. send students to the principal's office

Coercive Index   D. send a note to the parents
(cont.)   E. detain students after class
                           F. assign extra work

Operationally, the hypothesis dealing with the type of sanc-
tions used in different grade levels can be re-cast in
terms amenable to empirical testing. Thus, it was hypo-
thesized that teachers in the higher grades will have a
higher score on the coercive sanctions index than will
teachers in the lower grades.

To test the hypotheses, mean scores for all of the
indices were computed controlling for grade level. Since
many teachers, particularly in high school, teach more
than one grade, the grade levels will be collapsed into
the standard categories used in school systems, i.e. grades
1-3, 4-6, 7-9, 10-12. Since kindergarten classes are not
mandatory for students in the St. Boniface School District,
it is theorized that the self-selection of students might
effect the nature of the compliance relationship. There-
fore, kindergarten was not included in the analysis.

The basic test of the hypotheses was that we would
expect a monotonic increase in the mean scores of the res-
pondents by grade level. Additionally, to determine the
strength of the hypothesized relationships, the zero order
correlation between grade levels and index scores was

computed in every instance. Subsequently, on the premise
that any relationship found is not an artifact of extra-
neous factors, the effects of the teacher's sex, amount
of formal education, and experience were partialed out
of the zero order relationship.

Summary

In this chapter, the operational means of measuring
the hypotheses were presented. A description of the sample
and the means of data collection were set forth as well as
the method of analysis used on the data. In Chapter IV
the results of the analysis will be described.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

This chapter will present the results of the statistical analysis performed. Subsequently, these results will be evaluated in light of the hypotheses advanced in Chapter II.

> Hypothesis I: There is a negative relationship between the age/grade level taught and the perceived importance of instrumental learning.

The dependent variable (importance of instrumental learning) for this hypothesis was operationalized in terms of the scores obtained on several indices, described in Chapter III, believed to be indicative of such a teacher orientation. It was anticipated that scores on these indices would decrease in a monotonic fashion as the grade level taught increased. The results of this analysis are reported in Table I.

By inspection of the data it is apparent that the first hypothesis is supported. On all four indices, the trend is one of decreasing emphasis upon an instrumental orientation by teachers as the grade level taught increases. In only one case (Student Autonomy Index) the mean score does not decrease in a monotonic fashion, although the over-

TABLE I

Mean Scores on "Instrumental Orientation"
Indices by Grade Level

Indices	Grade Level				Max. diff. between grades	Zero Order Correlation
	1-3	4-6	7-9	10-12		
Teacher Control *	13.58 n=66	13.29 n=94	13.10 n=60	12.30 n=64	1.28	-.27 (.001)
Student Autonomy **	6.38 n=66	5.80 n=92	4.91[a] n=59	5.17 n=64	1.21	-.21 (.001)
Neat work **	8.39 n=36	8.30 n=92	8.20 n=59	7.48 n=64	.91	-.18 (.001)
Achievement** Orientation	9.21	9.11	8.96	8.93	.30	-.10 (.046)

* of a possible index score ranging from 0 to 15
** of a possible index score ranging from 0 to 10
a contrary to monotonic trend predicted

all pattern is as predicted.

The strength of the association as measured by a Pearson coefficient, between age/grade level and the four separate indices varies from a high of -.27 for Teacher Control to a low of -.10 for Achievement Orientation. In all cases, the association is statistically significant at the .05 level or better.

> Hypothesis II: There is a positive relation-
> ship between the age/grade level taught
> and the use of normative sanctions by teachers.

The dependent variable (use of normative sanctions) for the hypothesis was operationalized in terms of the score obtained from a single index, described in Chapter III, believed to be indicative of the teacher's use of norma- tive sanctions. It was anticipated, consistent with the hypothesis, that scores on the index would rise as the grade level of the teachers increased. The results of this analysis are reported in Table II.

By inspection of the data in Table II it is apparent that contrary to the hypothesis, the mean response score by grade level decreases. Furthermore, the strength of the negative association (-.30) is highly statistically significant at the .001 level.

> Hypothesis III: There is a negative relation-
> ship between the age/grade level taught and
> the use of coercive sanctions by teachers.

TABLE II

Mean Scores on "Normative Sanctions"
and "Coercive Sanctions" Indices by

Grade Level

| Indices | Grade Level | | | | Max. diff. between grades | Zero Order Correlation |
	1-3	4-6	7-9	10-12		
Normative *	21.23 n=66	19.55 n=93	18.86 n=57	18.43 n=63	2.80	-.30 (.001)
Coercive **	13.11 n=66	13.33 n=93	13.43[a] n=58	10.76 n=63	2.35	-.10 (.038)

* of a possible index score ranging from 0 to 25

** of a possible index score ranging from 0 to 30

a contrary to monotonic trend predicted

The dependent variable (the use of coercive sanctions) in
this hypothesis was operationalized in terms of the scores
obtained on a single index, described in Chapter III, be-
lieved to be indicative of the use of coercive sanctions
by teachers. It was anticipated that, consistent with the
hypothesis, scores on the index would decrease as the grade
level taught increased. Table III indicates the results
obtained.

Inspection of the data in Table II indicates that,
consistent with the hypothesis, the mean scores for the
frequency of use of coercive sanctions decreases as the
age/grade level taught increases, although not in the mono-
tonic fashion expected. While not strong, (-.10) the as-
sociation between grade level and index scores is statis-
tically significant (.033).

To this point the results of data analysis are
mixed. Hypothesis I is strongly supported, while Hypothesis
III is only partially supported, i.e. the general trend was
as predicted but not in a monotonic fashion. Hypothesis II,
on the other hand, is rejected. Before these results are
evaluated in terms of the general hypothesis, however, the
results of a further analysis to test out the possibility
of a spurious or masking effect by other variables will be
reported. The variables considered will be those which pre-
vious studies have suggested as being important in deter-

mining the nature of classroom relationships (deGroat and Thompson, 1968; Buswell, 1968; Gnagey, 1968b; Gump, 1964). As noted in the literature, many dimensions of the teacher's personality and many individual characteristics have been studied. From a review of the literature, the following variables were selected: the sex of the respondent, the teaching experience of the respondent, and the educational level of the respondent. While other variables may be important as well, these three in particular may be responsible for the zero order associations reported above. Table IV summarizes the consequences of "partialing out" the effects of each of these variables upon the zero order correlations previously reported.

When the effects of the sex of the teacher are removed from the associations, in all but one instance (Coercive Sanction Index), the strength of the association between the grade level and the mean score of the index is reduced somewhat. With the exception of the Achievement Orientation Index, however, the association remains statistically significant. So, also, removing the effects of the amount of teaching experience, there is little change in the associations; three values went up slightly, one went down slightly, and two stayed the same. So, in effect, teaching experience is apparently not an important factor in relationship between age/grade level and the compliance

structure of the educational system as manifested in the teacher/pupil relationship.

The most consistent and important variable affecting the associations between the grade level and the mean scores on the various indices appears to be the educational level attained by the teachers. As shown in Table IV, removing the effects of the teacher's educational level, in all cases, significantly reduces the strength of association for the indices. In two instances (Achievement Orientation Index and Coercive Sanction Index), the correlation fell below the .05 level of statistical significance.

Evaluation of Results:

While the monotonic progression of mean scores generally supports Hypothesis I and III, the index used for testing Hypothesis II is directly opposite to the pattern predicted and therefore demands a reconsideration of the rationale which led to its creations. The theoretical framework employed in Chapter II led to the hypothesis that there is a positive relationship between the use of normative sanctions by the teachers and the age/grade level taught. This was based on the theoretical deduction that as students internalize values and behavioral expectations, coercive sanctions will be replaced with more normative sanctions. However, if the student has truly internalized the values, perhaps sanctions of any type, including norma-

Table III

Summary of the Association between Indices
and Grade Level, with the Effects of Sex,
Teaching Experience, and Educational Back-
ground Removed (First Order Partial Cor-
relation)

Association between grade level and...	Controlling For:		
	Sex	Teaching Experience	Education
Teacher Control Index	-.24 (.001)	-.28 (.001)	-.18 (.001)
Student Autonomy Index	-.15 (.004)	-.23 (.001)	-.14 (.007)
Neat Work Index	-.12 (.016)	-.19 (.001)	-.08 (.088)
Achievement Orientation Index	-.07 (.117)	-.10 (.039)	-.05 (.172)
Normative Sanctions Index	-.25 (.001)	-.30 (.001)	-.21 (.001)
Coercive Sanctions Index	-.15 (.005)	-.09 (.056)	-.05 (.174)

tive sanctions, are of decreasing necessity at the upper grade levels. This interpretation is supported by the data. Looking at the Normative Sanction Index in Table III, it may be noted that while both forms of sanctions decrease with the grade level, the coercive sanctions decrease much more abruptly than the normative sanctions do. Thus it seems that in the higher grades the coercive sanctions decrease much more in importance than do the normative sanctions. If this interpretations is taken, the monotonic decrease of both the coercive and normative sanctions indices makes sense within the theory. There _is_ a relationship between the age/grade level and the compliance structure of the educational system as Herriott and Hodgkins suggest (1973). In a monotonic fashions, students rely less and less upon all sanctions (normative and coercive) as they internalize values and behavioral expectations.

At the same time that it is possible to reinterpret the findings in a manner consistent with the theoretical framework developed in Chapter II, it is also necessary to consider the relative stength of the association between the grade level and the measures used, as well as the consequences of removing the effects of the antecedent variables considered above. It seems reasonable to claim, in the cases of two of the four indices on Instrumental Orientation, that the strength of the association is both fairly

strong and persistent in the face of competing explanations. On the other hand the remaining two associations of the other two indices (Neat Work and Achievement Orientation) to the age/grade level continuum can be fairly well explained when the level of the teacher's education is taken into account. So, also, the frequency of the use of coercive sanctions decreasing by grade level appears to be explained by the educational level of the teachers in the different grades taught.

One possible explanation for the above anomaly is that the compliance structure of the school, as a product of its organizational requirements (institutional role), operates in only a limited fashion. That is, the institutional and organizational logic associated with the school system on the theoretical basis is only effective when the sociocultural environment is conducive to its development and maintenance. Or conversely, it is possible to suggest that,while the pattern of compliance does operate, its effect upon teacher/pupil relationships and learning is restricted to only a limited range of behavior and normative patterns. Whatever the explanation, it seems quite evident that the relationship between the age/grade structure of the educational system and its compliance structure is considerably more complex than originally theorized in Chapter II; at least for the teachers and

schools used in this study.

In summary, then, the findings reported above offer only a limited measure of support for the general hypothesis. While the specific hypotheses were supported in two out of three instances, controlling for the educational level of the teacher reduced the significance of the association in several of the indices used. In Chapter V a summary of the study will be given, its limitations noted, and the conclusion set forth. These, in turn, will be discussed in terms of their implications for both the theory of compliance and education.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This chapter will briefly summarize the material covered in the preceding four chapters. Taking into consideration limitations of the study, conclusions based upon the results will be drawn. Both substantive and theoretical implications of this research will be elaborated, and several suggestions will be made for research along these lines.

Summary

The general problem to which this thesis addressed itself was stated in Chapter I as the relationship of one of the common institutional characteristics of education, the age/grade continuum, to schooling; more specifically it askes: is the nature of the compliance structure of the school, as manifest in the teacher/pupil relationship, systematically related to the age/grade level of the pupils in the classroom.

To provide a background for the investigation of the problem, the relevant literature was reviewed in Chapter II. There was little in the literature which could provide insight into the nature of teacher/student compliance. However, the review did point to a number of studies emphasizing the teacher's ability to create a certain

type of classroom atmosphere seen to be conducive to learning. The studies suggested that the milieu of the classroom influences the success of the student in acquiring what has been referred to in the literature as an instrumental orientation. A few case studies also pointed to the importance of control in the classroom, but dealt only peripherally with how such classroom control is acquired and maintained, or the question of the effect of classroom control upon teacher/student relations. Thus, the literature pointed to the importance of the teacher/pupil relationship but said little of the nature of student compliance in the classroom. To the author's knowledge, the only study dealing with the problem of this thesis: the relation of the teacher/student compliance structure to the age/grade continuum, was an article written by Hodgkins and Herriott (1970). However, their study provided empirical information for only the teacher/principal relationship within the compliance structure. It also presented a theoretical model of how the teacher/pupil relationship might be affected by the age/grade continuum.

The review of the literature was followed by a discussion of the institutional role of education. As part of that role, the educational system was conceptualized as providing the student with appropriate attitudes, values, and beliefs which were seen as the basis from which an

instrumental orientation developed over time. Such an orientation was not assumed to be formally taught by the teacher. Rather, the orientation was seen to be a byproduct of the teacher/pupil relationship in the classroom. The significance of this aspect of socialization was related to the compliance structure of the educational system in that the need for socialization was seen to shape the underlying rationale of the structure.

To develop the preceding point more clearly, the theoretical discussion drew upon Etzioni's taxonomy of organizations (1961). The taxonomy classified organizational compliance structures on the basis of the superordinate's type of power and the subordinate's type of involvement. Because Etzioni had not discussed the application of his taxonomic model of compliance to educational systems in much detail, the subsequent work of Hodgkins and Herriott (1970), which did apply Etzioni's model to education, was considered at length.

Hodgkins and Herriott theorized that two types of compliance were important in the teacher-pupil relationship. They suggested that the extent to which normative compliance or coercive compliance is emphasized in the classroom is related to the age/grade continuum in the school system. As students progress from grade to grade, there is a decreasing emphasis on the instrumental orientation and an in-

creasing emphasis on the acquisition of academic knowledge
and skills. Concomitant with the shift in emphasis, Hodg-
kins and Herriott suggest that there is a shift in the com-
pliance structure which predominates in the classroom;
changing from a pattern of predominantly coercive compliance
to a pattern of predominantly normative compliance.

Using primarily the conceptual framework provided
by Etzioni and Hodgkins and Herriott, a specific analytical
model was set forth. From this discussion, the general
hypothesis was derived that there existed a relationship
between the age/grade level of pupils in the classroom and
the nature of the compliance structure in education. In
turn, three specific hypotheses had been adduced from the
general hypothesis and were as follows:

1. There is a negative relationship be-
   tween the age/grade level taught and
   the perceived importance of instru-
   mental learning.

2. There is a positive relationship be-
   tween the age/grade level taught and
   the use of normative sanctions by
   teachers.

3. There is a negative relationship be-
   tween the age/grade level taught and
   the use of coercive sanctions by
   teachers.

In Chapter III, the methodology employed in testing
the three hypotheses was presented. The nature of the

sample was described as being non-random. Participating
in the study were 351 of the 432 teachers in the St. Boni-
face School District. This represented 79% of the teach-
ers in the district although the percentage participating
varied from school to school. Each teacher in the sample
was asked to complete an anonymous questionnaire. In addi-
tion to information about the educational attainment, ex-
perience and sex of the respondent, two questions were de-
veloped by the author. One question was designed to tap
aspects of the instrumental orientation that were stressed
in the classroom. The other question was concerned with
the teacher's use of sanctions in the classroom. Because
the hypotheses could not be tested in their original form,
the manner in which they were "operationalized" was ex-
plained. Essentially, this entailed the development of
indices, as measures of the dependent variables. The
basic test for the hypotheses was to compute the mean scores
for all indices with each grade level. According to the
hypotheses the index scores should show a monotonic increase
(or decrease) by grade level.

Chapter IV presented the results of the study which
were mixed. There was support for Hypothesis I which pre -
dicted a negative relation between the grade level and in-
strumental learning. The Pearson coefficient was used to
measure the strength of the association between grade level

and the four indices which were devised to "operation-
alize" Hypothesis I. In all four cases, the level of
significance was .05 or better. Hypothesis III, predict-
ing a negative relationship between grade level and coer-
cive sanctions was also supported. Although the Pearson
Coefficient which measured the strength of the association
was -.10, the association between grade level and the in-
dex score was statistically significant (.038). However,
Hypothesis II, which predicted a positive relation between
grade level and normative sanctions, was not supported. In-
deed, the inverse was true, i.e. instead of a positive
relation, there existed a negative relation between grade
level and normative sanctions. The Pearson Coefficient
was -.30 for this association and statistically signifi-
cant at the .001 level. Subsequent discussion in Chapter
IV suggested some possible reinterpretations of the theo-
retical framework in light of this information.

As antecedent, and possibly confounding elements in
the relationships originally discovered, the variables of
sex, educational background, and teaching experience were
partialed out of the zero order correlation between grade
level and the dependent variable. When the effects of the
respondent's sex were removed from the association, the
strength of the association between grade level and index

scores was reduced somewhat. Controlling for teaching experience made no substantial difference in the strength of the associations. The most consistent and important variable affecting the association between grade level and the mean scores of the various indices was the educational level attained by the teacher. Removing the effects of the teacher's educational level significantly reduced the strength of association of the indices. Thus, the findings offer only limited support to the general hypothesis that the age/grade continuum is related to the compliance structure.

Limitations

There are a number of limitations, both methodological and theoretical which must be taken into account in assessing the findings of this study. Methodologically, the sample itself precludes generalization to any larger population universe. Since the test of the hypothesis was strictly for analytical purposes, no attempt was made to create a random sample. Furthermore, the sample which was selected is non-representative in a number of ways. As a suburban school district with a large French-Canadian population (40%), St. Boniface School District is not representative of most school districts in Manitoba or in Canada as a whole.

A second methodological limitation of the study is that only the teachers' views and opinions regarding the compliance structure were solicited. Perhaps an inclusion of the students' perceptions of the compliance structure as it appears in the classroom would alter the findings. There are also limitations in soliciting opinions in a questionnaire, when some of the values being questioned have, in all likelihood, been accepted by most teachers as virtues. Some measurement using observational procedures might have reached different conclusions about the hypotheses.

Directly related to the above limitation is the methodological weakness of the measures. They are, at best, crude measures of an orientation and a compliance structure -- both analytically rather abstract concepts. Additionally, while they have a measure of structural and face validity they are, at best, only partial indicators of either concept. Finally, of course, there is no internal or external measure of reliability on the indices, raising the question of their dependability.

There are also a number of theoretical limitations. The basic theoretical framework does not account for a number of intervening variables which might be very important in assessing the nature of the compliance structure

For example, it has been demonstrated that the socio-cultural environment of the school does affect the success of the educational system in meeting its goals.(Herriott and Hodgkins, 1973) The theoretical framework as presented in Chapter II did not take the sociocultural environment into account. Thus, the fact that the sample was taken from an area which is largely middle class and suburban with a rather stable population, could influence the nature of the compliance structure, as could other structural factors within the school district itself, such as the tenure system, or the standards for hiring teachers. There are also factors beyond the school district, such as teacher's social background, experience in teacher training colleges, and the influence of professional organizations. These are all, in effect, antecedent variables which could influence the compliance structure but which were not adequately considered in the theory.

A second major theoretical limitation has to do with the inability of the theory to allow for the differential backgrounds of education and experience which teachers bring into any school system. In effect, it assumes that all teachers who fill roles at particular grade levels will tend to pattern their compliance relationships with students in a similar fashion. At the institutional level,

of course, this is a reasonable assumption. However, at
the theoretical level of the school, this would seem to
be far too rigid a theoretical posture to maintain. Certainly it places constraints upon any attempt to interpret
contradictory evidence.

Conclusions

Despite the various limitations and shortcomings
noted above, several general conclusions can be made. In
terms of the educational process, the data does strongly
suggest that the age/grade continuum is related to the
compliance structure. There appears to be a strong negative relationship between the age/grade continuum and
the strength of the emphasis placed upon the instrumental
orientation within the classroom. It was found that
teachers instructing the lower grades emphasize aspects of
the instrumental orientation more than teachers of the
higher grades do. As predicted in Hypothesis I, the negative relationship between the age/grade level taught by
the teacher and the emphasis of the instrumental orientation progressed in a monotonic fashion by grade levels.
It was also shown that some support exists for the conclusion that the age/grade level taught by the teacher is
negatively related to the use of coercive sanctions.

In a monotonic fashion, as predicted in Hypothesis III, the use of coercive sanctions decreased by grade level.

Although the data did not support Hypothesis II, it did help confirm the relationship between the age/grade continuum and the compliance structure. Hypothesis II had stated that a positive relationship existed between the age/grade level taught and the use of normative sanctions, however, the data showed the inverse to be true, i.e., a negative relationship existed.

Thus, a testing of all three hypotheses disclosed a general relationship between the age/grade continuum and the compliance structure as it has been "operationalized" in this study. It can be concluded that in spite of the limitations of the data and the negative findings for Hypothesis II, there is definitely a relationship between the age/grade level and the type of sanctions which the teacher will use with the class and a relationship between the age/grade level and the extent to which the instrumental orientation is emphasized in the classroom.

However, it is readily apparent that on the theoretical level, the compliance theory as it has been applied to education does need further development and many of its aspects need more thorough testing . As the theory now stands, it is much too simplistic and does not account for

a multiplicity of factors which influence the compliance
structure. There are a number of antecedent characteris-
tics in the teacher's background which have not been ac-
counted for within the theoretical framework. These theo-
retical limitations have been noted above. The response
of students to the teacher and their subsequent interaction
is another factor which might seriously alter the nature
of the compliance structure in the classroom. These fac-
tors have not been taken into account in the theory as it
has been developed in this study. Despite these theore-
tical failings, it can still be concluded that compliance
theory is applicable to the educational system and that
the age/grade continuum is an institutional characteristic
which does affect the pattern of contemporary education.

Implications

Although the present study has sought to explain
only a small segment of the educational system, it does
help point the way toward a fuller understanding of the
structural logic of modern education and the consequences
of that structure for the learning process of students.
"Institutional analysis" seeks to identify major structural
underpinnings of contemporary systems of education. The

present study has focused on the relation of one common
institutional characteristic -- the age/grade continuum
of schools, with the compliance structure of the teacher/
pupil relationship. The results have shown a link between
these two characteristics and suggest that further research
along these lines will lead to a more complete conceptual-
ization of the nature of the compliance structure of educa-
tion.

There are a number of implications to be drawn from
this study which could lead to a better understanding of
the nature of education. According to the theory, there
exists a predominant type of compliance pattern that will
tend to occur at a specific grade level in spite of the
individual teacher's inclination to alter it in various
ways. Knowing this, it might be possible to so inform
future teachers and assist them in a grade placement that
best meshes with their personal teaching style. The theory
implies that the same style of rapport is not easy to esta-
blish with pupils of all grade levels since the nature of
compliance is altered by the age of the students. By
making teachers conscious of the difference, a more satis-
factory grade placement might be made.

As was discussed in the review of the literature,
since Waller's classic in 1932, the question of classroom

management has been of continuing interest. The present study can be added to that body of literature. Much of the classroom management literature discusses the need for the teacher to understand the individual students. The implication of the data presented above is that there are some aspects of classroom management which are dependent upon group characteristics, i.e., the grade level, rather than upon individual personalities. A better understanding of the consequences of such group characteristics would be beneficial for both teachers and students.

Other related organizational problems linked to the age/grade continuum might be better dealt with in a framework of compliance theory. Questions of the introduction of innovative curriculum and teaching methods need to incorporate the structural logic of the educational system. Common institutional characteristics, such as the age/grade continuum, must be reckoned with in order to make effective and deep-rooted innovations in education.

Looking away from the implications for the future study of education, theoretical implications center upon the nature of organizations in general. Most of the empirical work done by Etzioni and his students have involved industrial and governmental organizations. Little amplification of the theory has been made in regard to organiza-

tions with cultural goals. The data which was presented
here suggests that organizations with cultural goals, such
as schools, may have more complex compliance structures
than Etzioni's basic theory suggests. In other words, or-
ganizations with a compliance profile of normative power
and moral involvement may require further theoretical ela-
boration to account for the various behavioral, social psych-
ological and environmental factors which impinge upon or-
ganizational activity.

Suggestions for Future Research

The findings of this present study point to the need
for future research on the application of the compliance
theory toward education. In light of the data collected,
a reinterpretation of the theory was made in Chapter IV
stating that there existed a negative relationship between
the age/grade level taught and the use of normative sanc-
tions by teachers. This theoretical deduction from the
work of Herriott and Hodgkins (1970) poses an obvious need
for a testing of this new interpretation.

As an analytic tool, the model of the compliance
structure as presented within this study has, of necessity,
been simplistic. In simplifying reality in this manner,

some degree of accuaracy has been lost. A number of behavioral, social psychological and environmental factors exist which undoubtedly influence the nature of the compliance structure in the classroom and these need to be incorporated into a more comprehensive theory of the compliance structure in the educational system. For example, since girls appear to emmulate teachers more quickly than boys do, it is possible that the sex of the students might affect the rate at which sanctions are internalized. Hodgkins and Herriott (1970:103) had suggested that the social class level of the students might also be a significant factor. Further research needs to be done to see how these and other characteristics of the students affect the relationship that exists between the age/grade level and the compliance structure.

A social psychological aspect also requires further study. The relationship between teacher and students is expressed in a series of daily encounters over a year's duration. For purposes of the present analytic study, it was useful to think of all of the individual teacher-pupil encounters as an aggregate response, yet it would be interesting to examine the teacher-pupil relationship in a social-psychological context as well and note the alterations in the relationship and the variation in compliance between the same individuals for a given time span.

Another aspect of the compliance relationship which has yet to be incorporated into the theoretical framework will need to be developed. From the earlier discussion of the student's needs to be socialized, it was apparent that the early years of school are the formative ones during which the student begins to internalize the values and norms of the educational system. However, in the analytic model which was used, this factor was not fully considered. The extent to which the socialization processes must be emphasized for the student fluctuates during the student's life cycle and consequently, it might be anticipated that the compliance structure would reflect a similar fluctuation. This patterned variance needs to be incorporated into the compliance theory and eventually tested.

Some preliminary research by Kounin (1970) suggests that the environment of the classroom influences student behavior. Further research is needed to relate his findings concerning class environment to the compliance structure. Related investigation would also be useful for the teacher. For example, many elementary schools use mothers of the students as teacher's aides in the classroom. It would be interesting to determine if that alteration in the typical classroom environment significantly alters the

nature of the classroom compliance structure.

One of the limitations noted above was that the current study relied upon the teachers' observations of the classrooms. Methods of either direct questioning of students or observation of the classroom situation might provide further insight into the nature of the compliance structure and does present a need for further research. Another methodological limitation of this study which merits more intense research in the future has to do with the problem of measurement. As was discussed earlier, it is difficult in this case to validate the measurements of the dependent variable. Further efforts to do so would clarify the actual impact of the compliance structure on education.

A final area of research to be considered involves the investigation of the compliance structure at other levels in the education system. Looking outside of the classroom, there is a need to clarify the nature of the compliance structure between teachers and department heads, principals and superintendents, and superintendents and school boards. Analysis in these areas coupled with the conclusions of Hodgkins and Herriott (1970) concerning teacher/principal relationships, would provide a comprehensive view of the compliance structure at all levels of the educational system.

Hopefully this study will be the first of many to explore the nature of the compliance structure in the educational system. Much more work needs to be done in order to have a comprehensive picture of the nature of the teacher/pupil relationship. Although much has been written about this particular subject, little of it has addressed the structural logic of classroom organization and the implications of that structure for the teacher/pupil relationship. It is hoped that the present study is a step toward that understanding.

APPENDIX A

Dear Educator:

Your cooperation is requested in filling out the attached questionnaire. The questions included on the form deal with a variety of topics concerning your educational beliefs, attitudes, and practices, as they are related to your perceptions of your school and school division. If an exact answer to any of the questions is not possible, please give us your best estimate.

Please be assured that your answers to all questions will be confidential. Furthermore, the analysis of the data will only deal with aggregate responses to any one question, not with an individual response. When you have completed the questionnaire, please return it, sealed, in the envelope provided to the St. Boniface School Division Office for forwarding to me.

Thank you.

Benjamin J. Hodgkins

Department of Sociology
University of Manitoba

**PLEASE REMEMBER THAT THIS QUESTIONNAIRE IS ANONYMOUS.
DO NOT SIGN YOUR NAME ANYWHERE IN THIS BOOKLET.**

1. WHAT IS THE HIGHEST LEVEL OF EDUCATION WHICH YOU HAVE COMPLETED?

    Less than a bachelor's degree 1
    Bachelor's degree 2
    Master's degree 3
    Master's degree plus 30 hours 4
    Doctorate 5

2. WHAT IS YOUR SEX?

    Male 1
    Female 2

3. WHAT IS YOUR ETHNIC BACKGROUND?

    Ethnic Background: _____

4. PRIOR TO THIS YEAR, HOW MANY YEARS OF EXPERIENCE HAVE YOU HAD AS A:

	In this Division	In other Division
a. Full-time teacher	_____ years. . . .	_____ years.
b. Part-time teacher	_____ years. . . .	_____ years.
c. Full-time administrator	_____ years. . . .	_____ years.
d. Part-time administrator	_____ years. . . .	_____ years.

5. PRIOR TO THIS YEAR, HOW MANY YEARS OF EXPERIENCE HAD YOU HAD IN THIS SCHOOL AS A:

    a. Full-time teacher . . . . _____ years.
    b. Part-time teacher . . . . _____ years.
    c. Full-time administrator . . . . _____ years.
    d. Part-time administrator . . . . _____ years.

6. WHAT IS THE NAME OF THE SCHOOL IN WHICH YOU ARE CURRENTLY EMPLOYED?

    Name of School: _____

7. PLEASE INDICATE THE GRADE LEVEL (OR LEVELS) WHICH YOU ARE PRESENTLY TEACHING BY CIRCLING THE APPROPRIATE NUMBERS BELOW.

    (Grade), K 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

15. IT IS GENERALLY AGREED THAT THERE ARE MANY ASPECTS OF STUDENT LEARNING THAT ARE
STRESSED IN THE CLASSROOMS IN ADDITION TO THE FORMAL LEARNING OF SUBJECT MATTER.
DIFFERENT TEACHERS STRESS DIFFERENT ASPECTS OF THIS "INFORMAL" LEARNING. BELOW
ARE SEVERAL DIMENSIONS OF "INFORMAL" LEARNING WHICH MAY BE STRESSED TO A GREATER
OR LESSER EXTENT BY DIFFERENT TEACHERS. PLEASE INDICATE A) HOW IMPORTANT YOU
THINK IT IS THAT STUDENTS LEARN EACH OF THESE ASPECTS OF BEHAVIOR AND B) THE
EXTENT TO WHICH YOU EMPHASIZE THIS KIND OF LEARNING IN YOUR CLASSROOMS.

   (IN ANSWERING THESE QUESTIONS, PLEASE INSERT THE APPROPRIATE NUMBER IN EACH BOX).

It is important that:	How important are these aspects? 4 = Very Important 3 = Moderately Important 2 = Somewhat Important 1 = Not Very Important 0 = Not Important At All	To what extent do you emphasize this behavior? 4 = A Great Deal 3 = Some 2 = Very Little 1 = Almost Never 0 = Never
1. Students learn to listen effectively.	☐	☐
2. Students learn not to tease or ridicule fellow students.	☐	☐
3. Students learn the desirability of participating in activities outside the classroom.	☐	☐
4. Students learn not to "mill around" the classroom.	☐	☐
5. Students learn to be in their seats on time.	☐	☐
6. Students learn to maintain classroom decorum when the teacher leaves the room.	☐	☐
7. Students learn to value superior academic performance.	☐	☐
8. Students learn to finish incomplete assignments on their own time when given the opportunity.	☐	☐
9. Students learn that "horseplay" is inappropriate in the classroom.	☐	☐
10. Students learn to respect the authority of the teacher.	☐	☐

It is important that:	How important are these concepts? 4 = Very Important 3 = Somewhat Important 2 = Moderately Important 1 = Not Very Important 0 = Not Important At All	To what extent do you emphasize this behavior? 4 = A Great Deal 3 = Some 2 = Very Little 1 = Almost Never 0 = Never
11. Students learn to accept the will of the majority in issues where the class votes.	☐	☐
12. Students learn to follow instructions correctly the first time.	☐	☐
13. Students remain in assigned seats in the classroom.	☐	☐
14. Students learn not to interrupt fellow students during class presentations.	☐	☐
15. Students learn to turn in neat assignments.	☐	☐
16. Students learn to respect the privacy of the teacher's desk.	☐	☐
17. Students learn not to cheat in testing situations.	☐	☐
18. Students learn not to exclude classmates from classroom activities.	☐	☐
19. Students learn to finish assignments on time.	☐	☐
20. Students learn to keep noise at a minimal level in the classroom.	☐	☐
21. Students learn to strive to do well in their classroom work.	☐	☐
22. Students learn to obey the teacher.	☐	☐
23. Students learn to use washroom facilities between class periods.	☐	☐

It is important that:	How important are these concepts? 4 = Very Important 3 = Somewhat Important 2 = Moderately Important 1 = Not very Important 0 = Not Important at All	To what extent do you emphasize this behavior? 4 = A Great Deal 3 = Some 2 = Very Little 1 = Almost Never 0 = Never
24. Students learn to get recognition from the teacher before speaking.	☐	☐
25. Students learn to accept the necessity of re-copying sloppy work.	☐	☐
26. Students learn not to talk back to the teacher or other authority figures in the school.	☐	☐
27. Students learn to work on individual assignments by themselves.	☐	☐
28. Students learn to conform to dress standards of the rest of the class.	☐	☐
29. Students learn to "pace" themselves when taking tests or other types of assignments with a time limit.	☐	☐
30. Students learn to use the drinking fountain between class periods.	☐	☐
31. Students learn to take care of school property such as textbooks.	☐	☐
32. Students learn not to come to the teacher or the teacher's aid unless they have a "legitimate" problem.	☐	☐
33. Students learn the desirability of classroom participation.	☐	☐

16. THERE ARE MANY WAYS, BOTH POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE, FOR A TEACHER TO MAINTAIN CONTROL IN THE CLASSROOM AND KEEP THINGS RUNNING SMOOTHLY. BELOW ARE SEVERAL METHODS EMPLOYED TO A GREATER OR LESSER EXTENT BY DIFFERENT TEACHERS. PLEASE INDICATE A) HOW FREQUENTLY IN A TYPICAL WEEK YOU EMPLOY THIS METHOD AND B) HOW EFFECTIVE YOU BELIEVE THIS TECHNIQUE TO BE.

(IN ANSWERING THESE QUESTIONS, PLEASE INDICATE THE APPROPRIATE ANSWER IN EACH BOX).

	How frequently in a typical week do you use this method? 4 = Very Frequently 3 = Frequently 2 = Occasionally 1 = Rarely 0 = Never	How effective is this method in controlling students? 4 = Very Effective 3 = Moderately Effective 2 = Not Very Effective 1 = Not Effective At All ? = I Don't Know
1. Encourage student(s) to behave well in order to receive specific privileges within the classroom.		
a) Reward student(s) who behave well with specific privileges within the classroom.		
2. Threaten to send disruptive student(s) outside the classroom.		
a) Send disruptive student(s) outside the classroom.		
3. Threaten to arrange a conference with the parents of a student demonstrating deviant behavior in the classroom.		
a) Arrange a conference with the parents of a student demonstrating deviant behavior in the classroom.		
4. Encourage student(s) to behave well in order to receive specific privileges or honors outside the classroom.		

	How frequently in a typical week do you use this method? 4 = Very Frequently 3 = Frequently 2 = Occasionally 1 = Rarely 0 = Never	How effective is this method in controlling students? 4 = Very Effective 3 = Moderately Effective 2 = Not Very Effective 1 = Not Effective At All ? = I Don't Know
a) Reward student(s) who behave well with specific privileges outside the classroom.	☐	☐
5. Threaten to send student(s) to the principal's office.	☐	☐
a) Send student(s) to the principal's office.	☐	☐
6. Threaten to separate disruptive students from the rest of the class by seating them in a special area of the classroom.	☐	☐
a) Separate disruptive students from the rest of the class.	☐	☐
7. Encourage student(s) to behave well by suggesting the possibility of exemption from specific assignments in the future.	☐	☐
a) Reward student(s) who behave well by exempting them from specific assignments.	☐	☐
8. Threaten to send a note to the parents of a student demonstrating deviant behavior in the classroom.	☐	☐
a) Send a note to the parents of a student demonstrating deviant behavior in the classroom.	☐	☐

	How frequently in a typical week do you use this method? 4 = Very Frequently 3 = Frequently 2 = Occasionally 1 = Rarely 0 = Never	How effective is this method in controlling students? 4 = Very Effective 3 = Moderately Effective 2 = Not Very Effective 1 = Not Effective At All ? = I don't Know
9. Threaten to detain student(s) after class.	☐	☐
a) Detain student(s) after class.	☐	☐
10. Threaten to use corporal punishment.	☐	☐
a) Use corporal punishment.	☐	☐
11. Praise student(s) in the presence of peers for good work or good behavior.	☐	☐
12. Praise student(s) in private for good work or good behavior.	☐	☐
13. Threaten to give unsatisfactory conduct grades to disruptive student(s).	☐	☐
a) Give unsatisfactory conduct grades to disruptive student(s).	☐	☐
14. Threaten to assign extra work to student(s) disrupting classroom activities.	☐	☐
a) Assign extra work to student(s) disrupting classroom activities.	☐	☐
15. Recommend students who behave well for special assignments or duties.	☐	☐
16. Discuss disruptive behavior with the entire class as such incidences occur.	☐	☐

	How frequently in a typical week do you use this method? 4 = Very Frequently 3 = Frequently 2 = Occasionally 1 = Rarely 0 = Never	How effective is this method in controlling students? 4 = Very Effective 3 = Moderately Effective 2 = Not Very Effective 1 = Not Effective At All ? = I Don't Know
17. Give recognition to student(s) in class who demonstrate exemplary work.	☐	☐
18. Use facial expressions to demonstrate dis-approval of student behavior.	☐	☐
19. Discuss disruptive behavior with the student(s) out-side the class-room.	☐	☐
20. Give recognition to student(s) in front of peers for his constructive dis-cussions in class.	☐	☐
21. Use facial expressions to demonstrate approval of student(s) behavior.	☐	☐
22. Selectively enforce sanctions against students who are "problems" in class.	☐	☐

APPENDIX B

In answer to the question "how important are these aspects
of behavior?", the following clusters of items held to-
gether as distinct factors, when a varimax rotation was used.

Factor 1 (Teacher Control Index):
    0.65077   respect the teacher
    0.65483   obey the teacher
    0.53625   do not talk back to the teacher

Factor 2 (Student Autonomy Index):
    0.72653   use washroom between class periods
    0.73218   use drinking fountain between classes

Factor 3 (Neat Work Index):
    0.57973   turn in neat assignments
    0.52000   accept the necessity of recopying
                sloppy work

Factor 4 (Achievement Orientation Index):
    0.33177   strive to do well in classroom work
    0.57996   work on individual assignments by
                themselves

In answer to the question "how frequently in a typical
week do you use this method?", the following clusters
of items held together as distinct factors when a vari-
max rotation was used.

Factor 1 (Coercive Index):
    0.54886   send disruptive students outside the class-
                room
    0.52725   arrange conference with the parents

Factor 1 (cont.)

0.52259	send students to the principal's office
0.59821	send a note to the parents
0.63352	detain students after class
0.56030	assign extra work

Factor 2 (Normative Index):

0.57223	praise students in presence of peers
0.54980	praise students in private
0.47974	give recognition to students in class who do exemplary work
0.60525	give recognition to students in front of peers for constructive discussions
0.65495	use facial expressions to demonstrate approval

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