INVOLVEMENT AS A BASIS FOR STRESS ANALYSIS: A STUDY OF HIGH SCHOOL TEACHERS

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THESIS

INVOLVEMENT AS A BASIS FOR STRESS ANALYSIS: A STUDY OF HIGH SCHOOL TEACHERS

Ву

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A THESIS

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ABSTRACT

The primary purposes of this study were to develop a theoretical scheme suitable for the study of stress in occupational life, second, to discover possible hypotheses in this area, and third, to reveal some substantive findings about the nature of the occupational life of teachers (from the viewpoint of stress).

The theoretical approach to stress was treated as an intervening variable when an individual is blocked from reaching an important
goal. The goals which are dealt with here are common culturally given
ones which actors come to accept. These goals can be blocked in a
variety of ways especially when contradictory goals are held by an
individual. This is a very likely possibility when a variety of social
structures are attempting to control the goals and actions of teachers.
This produces a conflict of "legitimate orders" which can lead to
structural or stressful personality conflicts. The psychological
literature indicates that the most difficult problems for individuals
arise when the blockage stems from internal conflicts. The position
of teacher tends to be unclearly and ambiguously determined.

As the study was exploratory a depth interview method was used upon a restricted sample. A method of analysis was devised which was neither statistical in the sense of predicting probable percentages,

of certain indices in a universe on the basis of a sample from it nor was it at the other extreme an analysis of a series of cases in
all their individual uniqueness. Rather it was concerned with the
development of types of involvement useful in stress analysis.

The substantive aspect of the study was concerned with the operation of actual stress factors in the occupational position. The use of the method, as it was developed, uncovered data about the nature of stress in the position, at the same time that the method was being more fully conceptualized.

Previous research had revealed the difficulty of using a methodological approach which viewed stress as inherent in the station (position), or on the other hand, as directly and simply measured in a specific type of response made by actors. Thus, a method based on the relationship between the actor and station was developed, and conceptualized as involvement.

The actor's involvement with the station was found not to be unidimensional, and therefore a typology of kinds of involvement was developed. Each type would vary independently in degree. It was premised that the most highly involved areas would be the ones where the important stresses would arise, through the operation of factors which blocked the actor in these areas.

In the substantive findings four such uni-dimensional areas were developed. These areas were isolated on the basis of their importance in the station of high school teacher, and because they would be relevant to a wide range of occupational stations. The four areas were:

Economic and Security, Status, Authority and Profession.

A variety of simple indices for each area were developed indicating kind and degree of involvement. This allowed a ranking of cases in the areas. Various stress experiences were related to these indices. The pattern of involvement appeared to be predictive of the area in which stress would occur and predicted something of the response that would be made to it.

In conclusion, the involvement method of stress analysis seems to be justified and worth further exploration, on the basis of the fruitfulness of its application in this study. Secondly, the station of high school teacher is characterized by a number of basic dilemmas and contradictions, which makes clearcut and unstressful role performance difficult for teachers with a wide variety of different kinds and degrees of involvement.

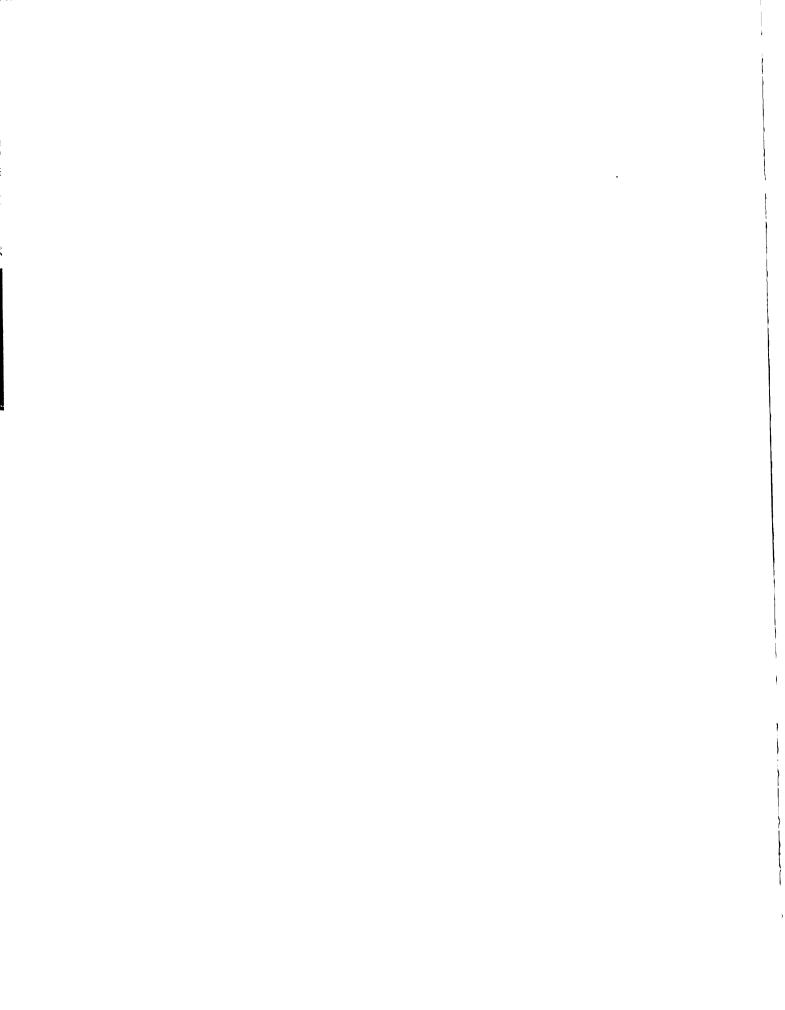
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I

INTRODUCTION

ed to mental health in modern urban American society. A natural focus for the sociologist is upon stresses arising in the relation of the individual to society, not from the relatively unique relations developed by the individual, but those of general social relevance. Thus the concept of the station (essentially the "status" of Linton) and the associated concept of role-playing were of central importance.

One of the ways which one can start to study stress is by turning to a station in the society which is commonly thought of as stressful, and then trying to find out something about the character of the stresses that are found there.

The station of teacher is often referred to as one which places stresses upon the mental health of individuals in it. A survey of educational journals and some of the literature in educational sociology tended to confirm this impression. The literature suggested three vaguely defined areas of stress which seemed relatively important and widespread: (1) status - there seemed considerable concern over the standing of the teacher in the society; (2) economic - there was a good deal of stress expressed over the economic condition of the teacher, and confusion over how one should feel and what one should do about it:

Ralph Linton, The Study of Man, (New York., 1936).

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(3) professional - there was both stress and confusion concerning the professional standing of teachers. The issues were not clearly defined here and solutions to the problems of achieving these goals were even more vague. These areas are not always clearly distinguishable from each other and their relation depends upon how the actor views them; some actors might see status as directly related to professional standing. When we deal with these as areas of involvement they should become clearer.

With these three areas in mind, about ten preliminary pilot interviews were conducted. By this means the areas to be investigated were more clearly delimited than they had been through the analysis of the literature alone. The content and the order for a schedule were also developed at this time.

lA large number of articles from educational journals were investigated; however, most of these articles were in the nature of personal documents or involved very little theoretical formulation relevant to this problem. There is little point in reviewing this material here as it cannot be treated as theory and must be treated primarily as empirical data. A review of this data would amount to another empirical study. This literature has been used primarily to direct the study toward the most profitable areas of investigation. The sociological and psychological source material has not been reviewed here at it dealt with fundamental problems and basic theory rather than anything specifically related to the study in hand. Reference is made to relevant sources throughout the dissertation.

This whole process eventually resulted in a manageable problem and a schedule suitable for collecting data on this problem. The problem had two parts: (1) Can a method of stress analysis be developed using the two central concepts of station and self-involvement? (This method would also include techniques related to indexing and interpretation, as well as a variety of secondary concepts). (2) If such a method could be developed, what would be the results in its application to the station of high school teacher? (This second part would serve two functions; that of testing the usefulness of the method and producing some substantive theoretical findings concerning stress in this station).

It was not expected that the method would be completely developed and then held rigid in the analysis of this station; but rather that both problems would be worked out together, in the words of the current cliche "with an interplay between theory and research". One reason for such a large amount of interplay is that in many cases, we do not know enough about the variables involved to develop a rigid methodological approach which would work out without being continually modified. This proved to be the case in this study. Others have evaluated this area in similar manner:

Research efficiency requires that one realizes which type of study is most pertinent to the problem that has instigated the research.

Suppose for example, that one is interested in obtaining insight into the process by which social environment influences mental health...the research worker entering this area is not in a position to advance any precise hypothesis for investigation. Indeed, it would be foolhardy for

¹ See Appendix A.

for him to try to do so. Without some knowledge of the scope of the area, of the major social variables influencing mental health, of the settings in which these variables occur, any hypothesis that is set forth is likely to be trivial. Moreover, the precise testing of a hypothesis generally presumes that one knows the relevant variables in the area of investigation, since without this knowledge it becomes difficult to establish adequate experimental controls. In such a case, an exploratory or formulative study is more likely to be fruitful than an experimental study.

The "findings" of this study were not only to be concerned with the station of teacher, but also, with the <u>method</u> of studying such a station from the viewpoint of stress.

Throughout the study suggestions are made concerring changes in methods or possibilities for future research. The whole study was designed not as an entirely separate unit, but as part of the ongoing research in mental health. This function can be achieved either by its general implications for the study of stress or the particular findings concerning factors bearing on the mental health of teachers. It will have served its purpose if some fruitful substantive or methodological possibilities are revealed. This work offers a basic scheme for the study of stress in any occupation, and some rather concrete and complete analyses of primary stresses in the station of teacher, which could form the basis for a study predicting the stresses that would be experienced by various kinds of actors. In its present state this material could be used to clarify for teachers the nature of some of their problems and thus further the rational solution of these problems. The study thus serves as a starting point for two kinds of action: the development and refinement of stress research; an analysis of concrete stresses in teaching.

Marie Jahcda, Morton Deutsch and Stuart Cock, Research Methods in Social Relations (New York., 1952), p. 29.

II

SOME THEORETICAL PROFILES IN STELLES ANALYSIS

The theory used in this study is related to that developed in the departmental project at Michigan State College: A Study of Social Strengths in Kental Health. The Kental Health Project utilized certain basic concepts. First, there was the concept of the social system as a series of functionally inter-related stations. The station is a locus of normative expectancies (rights, duties, etc.) in a social system. The actor is the individual seen from the viewpoint of his occupany of a single station. Role is the behavior of an individual as an actor in a given station. Self-involvement is the same as ego-involvement and implies a relationship between the situation and the actor in which the actor's self-esteem is at stake (and can be raised or lowered). Selfesteem is the actor's appraisal of himself. Position-segment refers to a portion of the total position of the individual looked at from the viewpoint of being involved in several stations. Stress as a condition of the individual is considered to appear as a consequence of any interference with satisfaction - and/or security-seeking functions of the selfsystem. 2 This concept of stress is related to self-involvement in that

Sponsored by: National Institute of Mental Health, U. S. Public Health Service.

The development of "self-system" and related concepts is extremely complex and need not be developed here. For a thorough and critical examination of this concept see H. S. Sullivan, Conceptions of Modern Psychiatry. (Washington, D. C., 1947).

self-involvement indicates that the individual is seeking satisfaction or security in the situation in some way. The individual remains in the situation and acts because doing so contributes to the attainment of these goals.

A station has been selected which has certain characteristics (makes certain demands) which are generally considered to be stressproducing. The purpose is to determine whether this assumption is correct, and if so, what the features of these stresses are, and recogmizing the important element of involvement, to determine the range and type of "orientation to station" (or involvement) which people have who enter into this position. The results of some of the earlier pilot studies in the Mental Health Project indicated that to approach stress from the viewpoint that certain things are inherently stressful and others are not, might well lead to inconclusive results except in extreme cases. This analysis was made from a relativistic position which started with the view that some things are stressful to one person and not to another, and that a station is not stressful per se but only to certain actors and then only in certain ways. The question then is: what makes certain situations stressful to the actor and others not? It is obviously something occurring in the relation between the actor and the station. For one thing, the actor will be responding only to what he perceives (on whatever level of consciousness). Out of what is perceived only those things that interfere with the aims of the self or endanger it in some way are likely to be stressful. This would include a variety of situations from those directly interfering with goal-oriented behavior to incompatibilities and ambiguities.

¹Stress usuage here similar to: Richard S. Lazarus, et. al.,

If we attempt to find those aspects of the actor-station relationship which are stressful. we must first find out what the actor perceives and what he is trying to achieve as an occupant of the station. The approach was: that the greater the self-involvement, the greater the possibility for stress; following the principle that stress occurs only where there is self-involvement (motivation). Self-involvement was not treated in terms of the whole station as to do so would not give an adequate basis for a contrasting of cases as an equal total involvement can be distributed differently in sub-areas. That is, involvement could not be treated as uni-dimensional variable (i. e., involved to not involved in a station), but only as a qualitative variation in types of involvement; each type perhaps showing quantitative variations in different cases. It is thus regarded here a multi-dimensional variable. Even less would a treatment of the station as a whole lead to a comparison of stations. a breakdown into "areas of self-involvement" was made, keeping in mind the usefulness of the areas to an analysis of stations in general.

The breakdown led to four areas (based on survey of literature, interviews and theoretical considerations) that were felt to be suitable for research in that they covered the major stresses: (1) economic (both gain and security); (2) status (prestige and respect); (3) authority (involvement with different types of legitimate orders 1; (4) professional (orientation towards teaching as a profession). More detailed

A legitimate order is a single order or a system of orders which are considered "binding" upon the individual. Some individuals may not accept an order regarded as legitimate and binding upon him by others. This will be discussed further in the chapter on authority.

descriptions follow below. These areas are not all on the same level of analysis, especially the area of authority (which tends to cut across several areas); but in all areas the kind or degree of involvement should give a better basis for prediction of the kind and amount of stress.1 Very simply put, we would expect those highly involved in the economic area to experience more stress over the economic position of the teacher than those with low involvement; the stress might be resolved by leaving the station. In fact, one such case was found in the sample studied. In a case with relatively high economic and high professional involvement, the actor may be faced with various dilemmas. The status area for the teacher seems relatively ambiguous as far as the society is concerned, and the actors tend to reflect this in their perception of this area. The status area seems to have at least two kinds of involvements, one related to economic factors or to various contacts outside of the social system in which the station of teachers is found. Those high in the professional area may see status as directly related to advancing the level of the profession through training and selection. It was felt that these factors might vary in relation to the actor major classified as either "administration" or non-administration.

The schedule was made up in line with the above suggestions and was administered along with the Allport-Vernon "Study of Values". The testing and interviewing time amounted to approximately four hours. This was an exploratory study, and the questions were open-ended as the categories of response could not be anticipated. The schedule utilized a social-psychological technique in that the questions were relatively unstructured,

When involved goal is blocked, stress is produced.

²Random of male High School teacher in graduate school at M.S.C.

in order to elicit a projective type of response. For example, the teachers were asked: "Do teachers make enough money?" The usual categorical, pre-coded approach might be to find that, say, thirty percent said "yes", sixty percent said "no", and ten percent gave other responses, the conclusion being that teachers felt they were being underpaid. In this study the responses were examined in relation to other expressions from the actor to find out the kind and degree of involvement in the economic area and to see how this was related to the actor's involvement in other areas. A related example (more fully analyzed later) occurs when we study the amount of "restriction" (i. e., feeling that occupying a given station limits desired behavior or self-expression) which the actor feels in being a teacher. A series of responses related to feelings of restriction were used to produce a ranking of the cases in regard to this factor. This was compared to the Allport-Vernon scores on religion. It was felt that restriction feelings would be related to the way individuals felt about social pressures in regard to their personal life and their subjectively or objectively oriented view of the world around them. approach proved to be revealing as will be seen in a later chapter. emphasis in this study, then, is not only upon substantive findings concerning teachers, but upon methodological approaches to the analysis of stress.

l"We have to learn to treat questionnaires as we are accustomed to treat a projective technique". Kurt Lewin, Field Theory in Social Science. (New York, 1951), p. 163.

While this study does not proceed as far as a complete analysis of stress, a model has been developed which indicates something of the types and amounts of stress and demonstrates an approach that could be used. As the study stands it is a logical beginning for this kind of an analysis of stress.

is related to such concepts as the Ego-Ideal which may be defined as "the totality of those more or less consistent and organized more or less conscious principles according to which self-esteem is increased or decreased. [It is] a conception of the ideally successful self, it defines the conditions under which the person would feel maximum self-esteem. It may, those things having to do with the realization of the ideal self image or ego ideal would be things with which there would be considerable involvement. Involvement would be a measure of their importance to the realization of the self image as well as the importance of a particular self image to the individual. Criteria for determining involvement would be such things as: (1) intensity of an attitude, (2) frustration, deprivation, or violation of systems of legitimate expectation, (3) encouragement, (h) competitiveness. As we

Robert R. Holt, "Effects of Ego-Involvement Upon Levels of Aspiration", Psychiatry. Volume 8, p. 304

21bid., p. 303

discovered the various areas of high involvement for an individual one gains an understanding of his self-image. In this study a notion of the self-image of actors is had by looking at the pattern of highs and lows in his involvement.

Given an individual in an occupational station what is his selfimage in connection with this station, or with what aspects is he highly involved? There are two inter-related parts to this involvement. In realizing the self-image the actor is concerned with factors blocking this, and with factors which further realization of the self. In the actor's words the bad things and the good things.

Among male graduate students who are teachers we can expedt a limited variety of self-images (in relation to the occupation) and these should be fairly clear, in that graduate training is undertaken attempting to realize some self-image at a fairly conscious level. In a number of cases (as was expected) the training was a way of escaping from blockages (in the realization of their self-image) which they experienced while high school teachers. Those that leave a given field are always interesting to study, and they will reveal more clearly than other actors certain factors, but they are not to be considered typical of the actors who remain. The stress of those who leave is reduced when they leave and the realization that they have a way out may reduce the stress. However, it may lead them to hold more closely to their self-image and be less accommodating to the environment.

In the study of the self-image attention has been given to the factors blocking its realization or at least which fail to help in the realization. This is the stress side of the picture - where there is involvement and blockage. The more positive aspects or self realization in teaching are not central to this study.

The following points need to be established in order to convey some notion of the assumptions and considerations involved in this study of involvement and stress:

- 1. Total stress in an individual is not a manageable research topic. There is no one or even multiple index that will yield a measure comparable to other cases.
- 2. Stress cannot be simply measured by some response, such as suicide, alcoholism, insanity, turnover, etc. These are the responses of certain types of individuals to certain types of stress. The rates will include the results from a wide variety of factors.
- 3. Situations in and of themselves are not stressful. In certain extreme cases a large number of individuals will experience stress. But in almost no case is it necessary that all experience stress.
- 4. Stress arises in the relationship of the individual to the situation.
- 5. This relationship can be conceptualized in terms of involvement.
- 6. Involvement is expressed in terms of degree, or quantitatively.
- 7. It is also the degree of involvement with something qualitative, self-image, goal, or area, which is to be realized in a given situation.
- 8. In a given situation the character and degree of involvement, in part, determines action.

- 9. The analysis of stress here deals only with stress arising when the realization of goals, with which the actor is involved, is blocked.
- 10. Involvement is a necessary preliminary to any stress experience. Stress need not appear with involvement. But only when the actor is blocked from moving toward things with which he is involved.
- 11. Success and failure are only felt in regard to things with which there is involvement.
- 12. The complete stress equation is:

St = I x B x R

St = Stress

I = Involvement, degree of

B = Blockage, degree of

R = Reference, level of (by which success or failure is judged)

R and I tend to react upon each other and are difficult to separate, thus the shortened equation:

 $St = I \times B$

This is the tasic conception of stress used in this study, as Reference is not used to any extent.

- 13. The main emphasis is upon involvement. Psychologists have made unitary experiments with particular involvements (in the study of stress), but the application to occupations has not been fully made.
- 14. The total involvement with a station should be recognized as not unidimensional.
- 15. Each area (a) can be analyzed in terms of the possible relation to other areas of the station, (b) and individual cases can be ranked in regard to it.

- 16. No detailed relationship will be developed between stress experiences and blocked involvement. This is a complex problem awaiting a great deal more analysis, the study of involvement should come first.
- 17. The study is sociologically not psychologically oriented in that, involvement is studied not from an individualistic viewpoint but from the cultural and structural, common cultural involvements and structural blockages, etc.
- 18. The study of involvement has seemed the logical first step in the study of stress. An excellent article came out after this study was almost finished, and it was most gratifying to find the authors expressing the same general conclusions about stress that are maintained here. They based their conclusions upon an extensive review of psychological literature and upon research. They have this to say about stress:

The Concept of Stress: It is not possible to discuss intelligently the work on psychological stress without dealing with the problem of the concept of stress. The definitions of stress that have been given from time to time are inadequate for several reasons. It is possible to think of stress in terms of situations. For example, we say that a crucial examination is stressful to the participants, or that combat is stressful to soldiers. One difficulty with this approach is that these situations are not reacted to uniformly by all people. We cannot predict the behavior of individuals by simply describing the situation. One person may tremble. sweat, experience discomfort, and show signs of behavioral disorganization. Another may show an impairment in performance with no other subjective concomitants. Still others may show no measurable effects from the situation.

In most of the research on stress, the experimenter selects a situation which, from past experience, seems to be threatening to most people. Implicit in this selection is the necessity of identifying stress with the motivations of the people who are being tested. However, because people differ in motivations and in the ways they deal with them, it is never really possible to

define a general stress situation. The situation will be more or less stressful for the individual members of the group, and it is likely that these differences in the meaning of the situation will appear in terms of performance.

It is also possible to define stress by emphasizing the reactions or responses of an individual rather than the situation. The trouble with this approach is similar to that encountered when we emphasize the situation. What kinds of reactions should we measure? Are we to consider changes in skilled performance as the" measure" of stress, or are we to consider changes in subjective report? It is apparent that these things may change independently of one another. Moreover, these changes are a function of many unrelated variables. For example, skilled performance may be affected by a change in approach to the task. It would be meaningless to identify these changes as the effects of stress.

Since stress cannot be defined in terms of stimulus or response operations alone, it is necessary to think of it in terms of an intervening variable. The additional concept that is necessary is that of motivation. Stress, therefore, is really a scondary concept, built upon the relationship between a primary concept, motivation, and the situation in which motivated behavior appears. We would then think that stress occurs when a particular situation threatens the attainment of some goal. The actual responses that the individual may show will depend partly upon the kinds of mechanisms that have been previously established.

This viewpoint demands that the concept of motivation itself be explored. The psychologist who is

interested in problems of human behavior finds it very difficult to estimate from measures of behavior the kind and degree of notivation involved in a particular situation. There is general agreement among psychologists that it is ultimately essential to do this in order to account for the enormous individual differences that are found in behavior. In studies of psychological stress individual differences tend to be one of the main findings.

The use of the involvement concept, as it is related to this definition of stress, is best described by Holti² He has an excellent review of the psychological literature, and clarification of the basic concepts.

Nelson Foote has written an article³ which deals with the basic factors which are under analysis in this study. In understanding role performance one must provide some means of relating the individual actor to the station calling for the role performance. Foote uses the concept of "Identification" as a basis for a theory of notivation in role performance. When one is identified with something this produces an involvement which makes certain actions and their results important, and the failure to realize certain things becomes stressful. Identification and self-image would seem to be related terms.

Richard S. Lazarus, et al., "The Effects of Psychological Stress Upon Performance", Pyschological Eulletin., vol. 49, no. 4, part 1.

Robert R. Holt, "Effects of Ego Involvement Upon Levels of Aspiration" Pyschiatry, vol. 8, pp. 299-317.

³Nelson N. Foote, "Identification as the Easis for a Theory of Motivation," American Sociological Review, v. 16, pp. 14-21.

In this chapter some of the concepts and problems arising in stress analysis have been discussed. A basic approach to the concept of stress had been laid down and explained. A series of guiding points have been developed which set certain necessary limits upon the analysis.

III

PROBLEMS CONCERNING THE SELECTION OF CASES

In keeping with the interest in different areas of involvement a design for the selection of a group of cases was made. The intent was to draw a sample from a universe of relatively young teachers doing graduate work, who would probably not have resolved their stresses, or utilized their resources which would conceal them. Also it should be a universe relatively highly involved in seeking a variety of goals in occupational life, a group with a relatively high potential for accomplishment. The station was seen as only one possible station which might be studied in an analysis of stress within the limits of the method. The development of the method was one aim, while the other was to get a selection of teachers which would display a variety of types. At this stage of research it was considered more important to ascertain the kinds of involvement possible than to attempt to estimate with high accuracy their frequency in a given universe. The original basis for selection was of the character described below.

An attempt was made to select fifteen to thirty-five male high school teachers (twenty were actually fully interviewed) who were engaged in graduate work in the field of education at Michigan State College. These teachers were ones holding a teaching position at the time of the interviewing, or who had held one in the past. It was expected that through this procedure some better understanding would be obtained of what factors go to form a given pattern of involvement, which we may call an actor image of self in a given position. It was anticipated that the type of actor image held

Marie Jahoda, Morton Deutsch and Stuart Cook, Research Methods in Social Relations. (New York, 1952), p. 29.

would be a determinant in the formation of stress for a given individual.

All possible orientations with ways in which an actor could enter into a station in a social structure such as the school could not conveniently be sampled. In this study the attempt was made to sample for two such images. We were not interested in idiosyncratic images but rather in those which were commonly held and socially given. A sample of teachers was drawn which, it was anticipated, would tend to select two somewhat contradting images. By controlling, so that we got one group of teachers majoring in school administration, we hoped to find an orientation more in terms of the actor as a bureaucrat who was using his position as a teacher as a point from which he could move into other positions in the hierarchy. The other group in the sample were those not majoring in and not anticipating moving into administration. We expected a group here which was sufficiently interested in teaching itself so that it would continue its study in education per se, and would not regard the position purely in terms of heirarchical advancement. We expected an actor image which we might call professional.1

The initial group from which the selection was made consisted of about a thousand graduate students. During the spring term of 1952, approximately three hundred of these were readily available because they were currently taking graduate work. Controlling for (1) males, (2) high school teaching, (3) administration and non-administration reduced the group further. A randomizing process was used in the final selection.

The bureaucrat can be a professional administrator, but this may pull him away from the professional teaching group.

It was expected that the use of a sample of teachers who were taking graduate work would reveal actors with a higher degree of ambition and involvement and with a fairly stronly developed image of themselves in relation to their station. There was also a greater probability that they were in some ways dissatisfied with their present state and experienced a higher degree of stress. The controls for males and high school teachers were used because the problems that women face are quite different from those of men, and the situation and recruitment of high school teachers is different from that found in elementary schools.

A sample was selected which came from a relatively definate station where the expectancies were not extremely diverse yet the sample was expected to contain some variety of types of involvement.

Throughout this study the distinction must be made between substantive quantitative findings which apply only to the universe from which this sample is drawn, and the methodological developments and structural analyses which are of general relevance and not strictly dependent upon sampling.

IV

METHODS OF ANALYSIS

Before it is appropriate to go into an analysis of the cases we should present some statement of (1) the kind of information gathered by this technique and the uses to which it can be put, and (2) the nature of the relatively nonstatistical approach that has been used in the analysis of the areas of involvement.

This study was undertaken with attention to the importance of the establishment of specific limitations on the universe to be studied. It was limited to (1) male, (2) high school teachers, (3) currently engaged in some graduate work with the Division of Education at Michigan State College, and furthermore, the cases were divided between administration and non-administration majors.

What is the function of limitations? When we control we cannot hope to control all possible variables, but only those which are significantly related to the results which we hope to obtain. The basis for selecting controls lies in a priori predictions from the theory we are working with, past experience - or often habit, and perhaps lucky guesses. If we do not exert many limitations it does not necessarily mean that our data are invalid. It means generally that the data will be much more scattered and that interpretations will be much more difficult.

We have as our data the several hours of interview data the actor has given us. These responses all arise out of all his past experiences up to the present moment. We need not predicate that when he responds that he needs more security that this is due to the immediate school situation, such as his lack of tenure, nor need we predicate a reason in an unloving mother in childhood. Either or both factors may be leading to the response. Now we could control for school situation or for nothers but there would undoubtedly be other factors appearing as we went along. The more one knows about the area under investigation the better this type of control method works. In areas where one doesn't know most of the significant variables so that it is possible to control them, assuming you have knowledge of relevant variables may give a false sense of security and lead to oversights in the collection of data.

Another method of procedure suggests itself, that is to exert a few basic limitations so that we deal with a class of actors and can develop a schedule directed toward the situation they are in. Outside of this the method is pretty much of a reversal of the first method. It involves an attempt to develop the inter-relation between responses which explore certain aspects of the actor's relationship to a given station. The response classes which are developed can then be related to each other and to various explanatory factors.

A relatively non-statistical type of approach is required in this situation. When necessary, we attempt to develop edeal types or categories which accentuate a factor under analysis. The relationships between factors as developed within the schedule will be studied.

Often, the attention in schedule and questionnaire development is directed toward precise question wording with the goal of conveying the same meaning to all respondents, the meaning that the investigator has in mind. In the schedule used in this study questions are often utilized in a manner approximating what has come to be referred to as "projective". It should of course be pointed out that whether we want to or not, all questions, even the most clear and simple, draw responses in some degree projective. That is, the respondent is interpreting and reading into them in terms of his own personality, and responding accordingly. For some purposes, one may try to limit this as much as possible; in other cases the stimulus, or question, is worded so as to generate this "projective" response. The hope is not to find unique projections of individual personalities, but to ascertain common social patterning in the actor-station relationship. The schedule is not directed towards understanding the total personality, but rather that area of

It should be noted that there is a strong trend toward combining this approach with the more intensive interview method. This makes an excellent research design for many areas. Such a two-phased study with intensive interviews followed by pre-classified questionnaires was used by Robert Merton in Mass Persuasion (New York), 1946., also in the Authoritarian Personality (New York, 1950)., by T. W. Adorno, et. al.

the personality one may call the actor, or, the actor-station relationship.

In a common statistical approach, an attempt is made to control some variables by using a sufficient number of cases so that the effects of the different variables tend to cancel out in the final results. Thus, it is hoped that differences in the percentages of, for instance, X, will be revealed in two different classes of actors: unless all cases in one class reveal factor X, we can assume that some other uncontrolled variable is operating so as to affect the percentage of X. Ideally, we would like statements in the form: all class A exhibits factor X. The attempt to reach this kind of predictive statement forms the basis for one methodological approach. This is the approach used by Durkheim in his Suicide. 1 He starts with the rates of suicide for a certain class of people. He then - in the light of his theory - breaks these classes down into subclasses which manifest rates either above or below the rates in the total class. He can follow this process as long as he can get a rate changing in either direction. The significance of each further control is justified by a rate increase or decrease in a sample large enough to assume a random cancellation of other variables.

Somewhat the same method would apply in the American soldier studies, where instead of a suicide rate we have scalogram scores in which we can break down soldiers into sub-classes manifesting tendencies towards higher or

¹Emile Durkheim, Suicide. (Glenco, III., 1951).

lower scores. This forms a basis for the postulation of intervening interpretive variables. Variations of this variable explain variation in scores.

while this study has certain methodological similarities to the American soldier studies, in that we are looking for relationships between responses, as they were in the scalogram, and hope to make some use of interpretive variables, it varies in some respects. To mention one, they were studying thousands and we are studying twenty people. The approach in this study is through the use of relatively few cases with relatively extensive information. Ideally, we should provide not a percentage, but an explanation for each case. That is, if all cases in a given class do not possess the expected factor, an explanation should be made possible. It will be a study, then, of areas of involvement as they are related to eachother and to reference factors. It is a study of the way twenty men related themselves to a position in society which is called "high-school teacher". It attempts to divide the actor's relationship to a station into parts or areas and then see: (1) the general kind or degree of self involvement in these areas, (2) the relationship of the areas to eachother, (3) the relationship of the areas or whele involvement to

An interesting variation on this method, which might be viewed as an increasing rates method (applied to items, not people), is utilized in their scale construction related to their concept of the coefficient of reproducibility. Samuel Stouffer, et al., Measurement and Prediction. (Princeton, 1950).

references by which achievement is judged. 1

The selection of the significant areas (for the study of stress) of actor relationship to the station is impossible to determine completely a priori, if you wish to select areas that will be significantly related to stress. The significant areas will vary from case to case, but it is hoped that there is some core of areas commonly held significant. The study of male high school teachers was undertaken with certain ideas in mind concerning likely areas. A schedule was constructed which was specifically directed toward those areas which were anticipated as being ones where a high degree of self-involvement was likely to occur. This is a necessary factor before there is a possibility of stress (as it is conceived here).

If these areas are to be of relevance to more than the analysis of the station at hand, they will have to be conceptualized in a manner applicable to a wide variety of occupational stations. If we bear this in mind, we look for those areas in occupations which are of two main kinds: (1) areas related to what actors generally wish to achieve in an occupational situation, (2) areas which are likely to be present and unavoidable for the actor due to the nature of most work situations. These two kinds of areas are likely to be ones of: (1) significant self-involvement, and (2) of general relevance to occupational analysis.

There is some relation between this approach which is not statistical, nor the case method, and the method in Mirra Komarovsky's, The Unemployed Man and His Family, (New York, 1940).

The criteria for an area are, then:

- (1) It must be a relatively internally integrated, separable part of the relationship of the actor to the station where there is likely to be significant self-involvement.
- (2) Ideally the area would be broken down into several unidimensional aspects. These dimensions could then be measured by something approaching a scalogram. In this study the areas have been broken down in the direction of uni-dimensionality.
- (3) An area is something judged by the actor in terms of his own reference. If one were to undertake the explanation of stress in any area some indication of this reference would be necessary.

One further point is that, in setting up the responses as indices for the various areas of the actor-station relationship, we will utilize, at times, certain of the following aspects of the "ideal type" method! The indices will be selected on the basis of a priori notions or logical grounds. This does not mean that no thought is given to empirical materials in their construction, but rather that they are not constructed so as to encompass and explain all empirical findings. They are patterns or models which accentuate certain characteristics and against which one compares and contrasts empirical materials. It is often a presentation of extremes, but this does not mean that it should not be based upon the dynamic factors operating in the empirical realm. This kind of construction will hold true here for the areas as well as the categories within the areas. They will often be merely rough ideal types which the cases will fall into with varying degrees of success.

lSee: John C. McKinney, "The Role of Constructive Typology in Scientific Sociological Analysis" Social Forces, v.28, pp.235-240.

Following the above ideas, we are led to the first area. Nost actors wish to achieve an economic return for their occupational station performance. A second more or less unavoidable area in a formal social structure is that pertaining to the usual necessary authority relationships involved in occupations. The actor's occupation has generally great relevance to his social status (meaning here, social esteem, prestige, or respect), and this again offers an area of likely self-involvement where we can relate the actor's reference to the actor-perceived situation. Closely connected to the prestige factor is the social mobility area of the actor-station relationship.

An extremely important area in this case is one which might be called the professional. This would not be applicable to all occupational stations, but to a wide variety, at least. The area is probably better treated as several sub-areas which would have a greater degree of uni-dimensionality. These might be such areas as: self versus service, achievement in the field, ideal versus status quo, recognition reference. Areas more particularly related to the profession of teaching are: relationships of the teacher to the student in terms of what service he renders, personality development, conformity and adjustment, subject matter, or service to the community and the type of organization of the profession.

Leverett Hughes has indicated in his studies a fairly wide use of various forms of this profession concept in occupational analysis.

Everett C. Hughes, "Mistakes at Work", The Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, v. XVII (1951) pp. 320-27.

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For each of the areas of anticipated involvement, an attempt will be made to determine:

- (1) whether any involvement is present
- (2) degree of involvement, etc.
- (3) the way in which this area is related to other aspects of the station.

In order to avoid confusion, some comment needs to be made concerning the difference between methods and methodological theory, as these concepts are used here. Particular methods are seen as an implementation of methodological theory. The contribution of this study is not expected to be one which will offer particular instruments and highly reliable and precise tools for analysis of very clearly defined factors. The interest is in the approach to the whole concept of stress through a general method of involvement analysis. (Does involvement analysis lend itself to the study of stress in occupations? If so, what are some of the general areas that might profitably be separated out for study? How might one deal with them?) The study revealed that the involvement approach could be used. The implication of this, in terms of method, was that methods to distinguish different degress of involvement must be developed. Thus, this data was analyzed with an eye not to the separation of actors into qualitatively different categories. but rather with an eye to quantitative distribution of actors within a given area of involvement. This proved to be effective, and in a later study Guttman Scales were developed. These scales are most

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appropriate as they offer a true ranking of cases upon a uni-dimensional continuum. Not only that, they offer an "internal validity" check. The results from a series of these, which were given to teachers, are analyzed in a later chapter.

In the classification of data there are two problems which one faces. One is the problem of placing a given datum in a given class. The second is to relate the class to a concept. Both problems must be dealt with in this study.

If one wished to compare one actor with another one has the problem of putting the responses into classes for each question. This problem is not avoided by using the pre-coded question. While this looks neat, one still does not know if an individual who selects a given response interprets the response in the same way as others selecting it. The pre-coded and the open-ended question have a similar problem. Responses to broadly worded questions were used not merely to determine the distribution of peoples replies to that question alone, but each response was carefully examined to see if it revealed something about the informants orientation to the four areas of involvement.

In this study the responses of all actors to all questions were put on separate cards, one response to a card (between 2000 to 3000 cards). Then the cards for each question were analyzed (without regard to case number which might have a biasing effect). The responses were placed in piles, one pile for each class of response. In general, four or five

classes appeared to be enough to provide a class for each actor's response which would be fairly homogeneous.

The placing of responses in classes always involves judgements. These judgements should be made by one with a wide knowledge of the subject and trained in objective analysis. In many cases the division is extremely clear; in others it involves some sensitivity. The judgement, in this case, cannot be made by someone without considerable knowledge of the theory and the subject matter, the complete basis for a judgement probably be fully described. The use of a panel of judges (if sufficiently trained and willing ones could be found) would not make the process more describable. The Guttman scale and external validity tests can help test ones classification, but classification still remains one of the most difficult problems in sociology.

After the initial classification had been accomplished as objectively as possible there was still the problem of relating these classes
to concepts used in the study, which classes indicated Wertrational
involvement or which indicated status involvement.

In order not to get involved in too complex judgements it was decided not to try to judge degree of involvement expressed in any given response. Yet one of the aims of the study was to rank actors in terms of degree of involvement. Thus, a method (in almost all cases) as relevant or not relevant to some particular concept. The rating of an actor in regard to a given concept was thus the product of a series of responses.

It was not generally based on one response which might be subject to errors in judgement both as to intensity and relevance to a concept. Thus, the most difficult problem of intensity was avoided as much as possible (not without other lesser dangers, however).

The remaining problem of relation between a class of responses and a concept still involved judgements, judgements which cannot be completely objectified. For each concept there must be certain general criteria used as indices in discriminating among the responses.

For the selection of responses relevant to economic involvement the criteria were concerned with whether the responses indicated interest or concern with the money paid in return for station performance. This area could be broken down into two parts. The economic gain aspect could be distinguished roughly by interest in increased economic return, improved standard of living, and relatively unlimited economic desires. The security aspect could not be dealt with in a fully satisfactory way as it was sometimes difficult to distinguish it from some gain responses, and security contains more than one dimension. It was revealed in the analysis of responses in this study, and more clearly discerned at the Study of Social Strengths in Mental Health, that there are at least three dimensions. Security involves responses concerned with a sufficient amount of income, with regularity of income, and permanence of income.

Status was used in this study to refer to the involvement with respect of others or social esteem. Responses concerned with how others evaluate their work, and the station were relevant.

In studying the authority area several measures were developed for such things as restriction and internal authority. The restriction responses were selected on the basis of indication of feeling of restraint or inhibition in their behavior which the actors mention as arising due to the occupancy of the station. Internal authority responses were selected with an eye to expressed feelings of a desire to perform actions in connection with the station voluntarily and without regard to the external authority or reward. These actions were ones perceived by the actor as duties falling upon him as an incumbent of the station.

Wertrational responses were judged by indication of a primary goal, associated with being a teacher, whose realization took precedence over other possible goals without too much regard to the cost. The main choice for actors high in this is between means rather than goals. Responses were considered "ideal" relevant when actors expressed interest and concern over the realization of ideals in connection with teachers, over the discrepancy between what they wished to achieve professionally by teaching and reality. It was an indication of involvement with certain of the aspirations of the profession. The contrast was with those accepting the situation, the status quo, and not actively concerned with things not yet realized.

In this chapter some of the methods and assumptions used in the analysis of the data have been developed. This has led to a consideration of areas of involvement, methods of ranking, and problems involved in classification.

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THE ECONOMIC AREA OF INVOLVEMENT

Let us turn to that area of the actor-station relationship which we may call economic. This area is concerned with the actor's involvements with (1) the degree of the economic reward and (2) the economic security. The supposition is that this area is a significant one in terms of self-involvement and that varying references are used in judging it.

One method utilized in the analysis of the cases is based upon the projective character of the responses. As the respondents have considerable freedom in their number of responses relevant to a particular area it provided some basis for a comparison of cases in terms of the degree of involvement. This is similar to what might be done in content analysis, where such a count would reveal the themes that are being stressed. The following series of questions will be treated in this manner and developed into a table (Table I) ranking the cases:

To question 74, which asks, *Do teachers get paid enough money?*, a negative response is given in many cases (1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 12, 13, 18, 20).

When asked, "On what things do teachers stick together?" (question 57), salary was almost the only thing mentioned (c. 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 9, 12, 13, 15, 17, 19).

Question 127 ("What are the things you would like to get out of life?") brought forth many responses in terms of security (5, 7, 8, 10, 13, 14, 15, 17, 20), or, a comfortable standard of living. To question 104 ("In what ways does being a teacher

Refer to appendix where schedule may be seen.

Numbers refer to informants in order of interview.

interfere with getting what you want out of life?"), there are many responses in terms of the financial or economic aspects (c. 5, 6, 9, 10, 12, 13, 18, 20). In question 123 ("What do you do during summer vacations?") a good many say they work, for economic reasons, (c. 4, 7, 9, 10, 11, 13, 15, 18, 20). Question 75, which asks if teachers have enough security, elicited the answer of "Not enough tenure," in many cases (3, 7, 9, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20).

In question 13 ("What would cause you to give up teaching?") one finds that six actors would leave teaching when they felt that the economic situation warranted it (c. 2, 5, 9, 12, 18, and 20). Question 24 ("In what ways has the recent demand for teachers affected their position and standing with the school system and the community?") gave us half-a-dozen cases who responded in terms of economic increases (c. 3, 5, 8, 9, 10, 16).

In question 8 ("What did you wish to achieve in your career and life in college?") one quarter of the responses mention money or security as being of special importance (c. 9, 13, 15, 18, 19). When asked: "What do you think other people think when you first tell them you are a teacher?" (q. 23) one quarter (c. 2, 4, 8, 10, 18) think they are regarded as "economic fools". In question 30, concerning jobs held besides that of teaching, we find that several held jobs during the school year for economic reasons (c. 2, 6, 8, 9, 13). To question 103 ("What things do you lack in your present position?"), financial reward is a response mentioned (c. 12, 20) and security (c. 7, 9). In question 110 ("Would you like to become a school administrator, and why?"), we find that several cases mention money as one of the main reasons (c. 4, 9, 10 18). Question 83, which asks if teachers should have stronger organizations, gave us several cases who said, "Yes -- increased security." (c. 17, 18, 20). Question 12 ("Did you have any desire to give up teaching the first year?") indicates that some cases (c. 13, 15) were only kept from leaving teaching by lack of an economic alternative. Question 76 ("What really ought to be changed in the life or work of teachers?") drew a security response in two cases (3, 18). In question 131, ("What kinds of things related to your position make you angry?"), economic factors appear in some cases (18, 19). In question 14 ("Have you ever regretted taking up teaching?") we find (9) one case who specifies salary in his "yes" answer. To question 19, one case (2) considers the field of teaching as not fully professional due to economic factors. When asked concerning the most difficult situations they have faced as a teacher (q. 91), one case responds in terms of economic factors (c.6).

In the accompanying table (Table I), we have graphically presented the above material. Several things become apparent as one looks at the table. First, that the crude total of economically oriented responses

Throughout the study, the letter c. refers to case; q. refers to question.

TABLE I

ECONOMIC AREA OF ACTOR INVOLVEMENT

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varies considerably from two persons with highs of thirteen to three with lows of one (See the column in Table I). If we add to the top the next closest grouping, we have a total group of three sevens, two eights and two thirteens (c. 2, 7, 9, 10, 13, 18, 20). At the other end of the distribution, we find a break after the total two, and can form a low group of three one's and a two (c. 1, 11, 14, 16). We are then left with a middle group of five fours, one five and three sixes. We thus have three groups!

The question now arised as to what this series of questions and responses demonstrates. There are at least four factors here which could be methodologically distinguished. The first two lie in the differentiation between economic gain and economic security. The second distinction is between "involvement" and "reference". 2

The present schodule is not sufficiently developed to give a good indication of the existing differences. However, some attempt is made below to indicate what differences can be detected.

In the above material we have treated economic gain or return together with economic security. Now one may select some of the above questions and responses in terms of economic security alone:

75, which asks whether teachers have enough security, gives us a large number of "no" responses (c. 3, 7, 9, 16, 18, 19, 20).

127, ("What are the things you would like to get out of life?") elicits a large number of security responses (c. 5, 7, 8, 10, 13, 14, 15, 17, 20).

These groups will be utilized in a later analysis.

²Economic and Security responses were treated together in the first analysis.

- To q. 7 and 8 (as to aims in life), a security response is given in two cases (15, 19).
- To q. 103 ("What things do you lack in your present position?") two cases mention security (c. 7, 9).
- 76 ("What things really ought to be changed in the life or work of teachers?") gives one response indicating security (c. 18) (as well as money).
- 83 ("Should teachers have stronger organizations?") gives us one case that unequivocally singles out security (c. 17).
- 104 ("In what ways does teaching interfere with getting the things you want out of life?") draws one response (c. 7) in terms of security.

In Table II we indicate the pattern of the responses and the totals. The schedule should, perhaps, have provided several much more critical questions. The meaning of security to the respondents is not clear in many cases, whether it means sufficient income, or tenure, etc.

We have brought the totals from Table I alongside the totals from Table II. If we glance at the relationship between them, we see that several categories of relationship are indicated, as might be expected.

"Ideally," we would have: (1) those who are highly involved in security aspects of the actor-station relationship with relatively low involvement in the economic gain aspects; (2) those who were low in security, high in economic gain involvement; (3) those high in both areas; (4) those low in both areas.

The distinction between involvement with economic security and gain is indicated in: Christopher Sower, et al, Youth and the World of Work (East Lansing, Mich., 1949), p. 61. The two aspects are related to the father's occupation in this case. Questions of the same kind used there might prove useful for the analysis of this distinction as related to stress. Only responses definately mentioning security were separated out from economic ones. There are probably still security responses in with the economic ones, that is why this was primarily treated as one area.

TABLE II SECURITY SUB-AREA OF ACTOR INVOLVEMENT

	Que	stio	ns:					S	E	E-S
Cases:	<u>75</u>	127	7-8	103	76	83	104	Totals	Totals	Totals
7	x	x		x			x	4	7	3
17	x	x				x		3	4	1
9	x			x				2	13	11
18	x				x			2	13	11
19	x		x					2	4	2
20	x	x						2	8	6
3	x							1	4	3
5		x						1	6	5
8		x						1	4	3
10		x						1	7	6
13		x						1	8	7
14		x						1	1	0
15			x					1	5	4
16	x							ı	1	0
1								0	2	2
2								0	7	7
4								0	4	4
6								0	6	6
11								0	1	1
12								0	6	6

S = Security
E = Economic (Table I)
E - S = Economic minus Security or Economic Gain

We have graphically presented this material below indicating those of our cases which come closest to fitting in these categories.

1	2	3	4
high S ! low E ! ! (7, 17) !	low S i high E i i (13)	high S high E (91,18?)	low S

Perhaps a purer measure of the economic gain aspect is to be had by subtracting security totals in Table II from the totals in Table I, which gives us what we have called E-S total. This has its weakness, however, in that the present security can not be clearly separated from gain.

As an attempt to get a further cross-check, we can use the economic scale from the Allport-Vernon scale of values, which we were able to obtain for about three-quarters of the cases. A score of 40 is average for college-trained people, anything falling outside of the range 34 to 46 is definitely low or high. There seems to be a fairly good correspondence (See Table III for the following analysis). The higher Allport-Vernon scores are in five cases (6, 7, 10, 18, 20) associated with high general economic scores from the interviewing data. The lower Allport-Vernon scores are associated with lower general economic scores, in three cases (8, 14, 16). The relationship of the security area and the E-S area to the Allport-Vernon economic scale is not definite; that is, a high Allport-Vernon economic scale score can be related to a high security score (17), or high E-S score (10). This kind of situation (being high in one of the two areas) could account for the relationship of the

TABLE III

THE RELATIONSTIP OF ALLPORT-VERNON ECONOMIC SCALE TO ECONOMIC AND SECURITY SCORES FROM INTERVIEWS

Cases:	Scores: A - V Econ.	E Total	S Total	E - S Total
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20	73 27 27 27 31 31 31 49 42 36 36 37 49	27446674371681514348	00101041210011013222	27345633161670501126

A - V = Allport - Vernon

E = General Economic (Table I)

S = Security (Table II)

E - S = Gen. Economic minus Security

lusing a 4-fold table comparing Economic score with A-V score we get a 315 arrangement which is in the direction of a direct relationship 412

between the two scores but the cases are too few to give a significant X^2 result. However a rank correlation method $r = 1 - \frac{6ED^2}{N(N^2-1)}$ applied

here resulted in r = .23. It is primarily the inverted cases nine and eleven which prevented a far higher r. These are explained on p. 50.

middle-range cases to the Allport-Vernon scale. Two cases, however, show interesting inversions. In case 9 we have a very low Allport-Vernon score and one of the highest General Economic scores, while in case 11, we have a very high Allport-Vernon, and a very low General Economic score. Case 9 showed an undeniable involvement in the economic area. When he answers question 14 ("Have you ever regretted taking up teaching?"), he says: "Yes, the salary factor - this is the reason I teach (band) in four schools." On question III ("Do you expect to become an administrator?"), he answers: "Yes, to make more money is the only reason. The indication here is that this happened because of the the Allport-Vernon scale is constructed, in terms of ranking, so that as one factor goes up another goes down. In case 9, this may have occurred due to his high esthetic score (50) and high social score (45). In any case there seems no doubt about his relatively high economic involvement, and this factor was brought out much more clearly by the interview data than the A-V scale was able to do. In case 11, it is difficult to explain the high Allport-Vernon score. He makes such statements as: "Money is not important to a teacher" or, when asked "Should teachers have stronger organizations?", he answered: "No ... not to improve their own position." His lack of strong economic in-Volvement seems assured, in fact, the opposite seems indicated in his General Economic score as well as by the impression one gets from the total schedule. It is possible that his low theoretical score (21) and

The Allport-Vernon economic scale is modelled after the idea of the "economic man" and does not distinguish between this and the security aspect, yet this seems a significant distinction to be made in the stress analysis of actor relationships to occupational stations.

low esthetic score (37, on the Allport-Vernon scale) have "pushed up" the economic score; but, in both cases 9 and 11, a review of the schedule, in each case, leads to a belief in the relative accuracy of the General Economic scores as an index of involvement in the economic area. A larger number of cases would provide a basis for analytical criticism of the Allport-Vernon scale in its applications to station involvement; we are limited merely to illustration here.

We now turn to another aspect of this area of involvement. On page 15 we started to list the four factors in Table I that could be distinguished. We have made the distinction between economic gain and security above. Let us now make the distinction between involvement and the reference by which the perceived situation in an area of involvement is judged. Actors may have equal involvement in an area but use different references to judge success or failure, and have varying stress in the same situation. This distinction has become clearer in its application during the course of the study.

Several procedures suggest themselves, however, that can be used with the present schedule. We can compare General Economic totals (See Table I) with other areas as we develop them to see variations in relative degrees of involvement, but that can only indicate possible references. One immediate procedure is to see if there is satisfaction or dissatisfaction in the economic area, and its relation to high and low involvement, and to possible references.

The use of reference is much as "reference group" in: Samuel Stouffer, et al., Measurement and Prediction, (Princeton, 1950).

The following data attempt to demonstrate that low involvement seems to be associated with the use of different references.

Question 74 ("Do teachers get paid enough money?") gives us seven 'yes' responses, (8, 11, 14, 15, 16, 17, 19), while the remaining cases give 'no' responses (1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 12, 13, 18, 20). (See Table IV). Question 103 ("What things do you lack in your present position?") gives us two economic (12, 20), two security (7, 9) and two 'nothing' (8, 14) responses. In question 104 ("In what ways does teaching interfere with getting what you want out of life?"), we have seven 'No, it doesn't' (interfere) responses (4, 8, 11, 14, 15, 16, 19), eight economic responses (5, 6, 9, 10, 12, 13, 18, 20) and one security response (7).

We find that, in all cases, those who say teachers make enough money do not feel (a) that they lack anything in their present position, or (b) that being a teacher interferes with getting the things they want out of life, and further, (c) none of them have an economic (Table I) score of over four (8, 11, 14, 15, 16, 17, 19). In only one case (4) is there a negative or "none" response to question 104 ("In what ways does teaching interfere with getting what you want out of life?") not associated with a 'yes' response to question 74 ("Do teachers get paid enough money?"). In looking at the specific response of this case to question 104, we find that it is conditional: "No, not at present." He is anticipating moving into administration, where he will make "more money."

The significance of the close association of responses in the above cases would seem quite important. It indicates that those who feel no economic lack themselves in their relationship to this area of the station consider teachers in general to be sufficiently well rewarded, economically. Among these cases, none have a higher General Economic score than five. We are led to the probable conclusion that they represent a

TABLE IV ECONOMIC SATISFACTION AND INVOLVEMENT

Cases:	q. 74	Table I Scores	q. 104	q. 103	Table II Scores	Table III Scores
11	Yes	1	No		0	1
14	Yes	1	No	Νo	1	0
1 6	Yes	1	No		1	0
8	Yes	4	No	МО	1	3 2
19	Yes	4	No		2	2
17	Yes	4	X		3	1 5
15	Yes	5	No		0	
1	No	2	X		0	2
1 3 4 5 6	No	4	X		1	3
4	No	4	No		0	4
5	No	6	E		1	4 5 6
6	No	6	E		0	
12	No	6	E	E	0	6
2	No	7	X		0	7
7	No	7	S	S	4	3
10	No	7	E		1	6
13	No	8	E		1	7
20	No	8	E	E	2	6
9	No	13	E	S	2	11
18	No	13	E		2	11

E - Economic

S - Security
X - No Response

T. I - Economic

T. II - Security

T. III - Econ. - Sec.

group with a lower level of involvement in the economic area. It indicates that those who themselves feel satisfied, feel that others should also be satisfied; or that this is associated with relatively low involvement in this area. This group is apparently judging the field of teaching using different references from the other cases. (It is not purely their own unique economic situation that gives us this series of associated responses, at least the reference that they use for their own situation is applied to teachers in general.)

faction (or less feeling of economic lack), indicates two possibilities:

(a) either the lower involvement is related to a reference which leads
the actor to finding this area non-deprivational, or (b) lower involvement means that achievement in this area is relatively unimportant compared to other areas, and low economic standing is less highly significant. It seems likely that both might very well exist simultaneously.

This point will be explored further after other areas have been developed.

Before turning to other areas of involvement, let us look at several more comparisons which are directed at uncovering references through objective indices. We will take the father's occupation, and the graduate major within education in terms of administration or non-administration. It is recognized, of course, that these objective indices are not necessarily associated with any particular subjective actor reference. There is

Of course, the crude nature of the instruments must be taken into account here. The indices of reference have not been sufficiently distinguished from indices of involvement. The "reference" is the standard against which achievement of a goal is measured.

some possibility, however, of different references being associated with these indices. We have compared these indices with the security area and the E-S area. The "yes" and "no" answers to question 74 ("Do teachers get paid enough money?") give us a good summary indication of the distinctions developed in Table IV (c. 11, 15, 16, 17).

The results of Table V indicate one thing: that the use of these simple objective indices does not work out well as an indication of either involvement or reference.

The distinction made on the basis of administration and non-administration did not produce results which were significant using the present type of analysis. Looking at the data, it appears likely that a statistical treatment might reveal percentage differences between the two types, but the data do not permit that type of analysis (larger numbers in each group would be needed). The selection of the cases didn't afford a sufficiently diverse group for the analysis.

The concept of the bureaucratic type of involvement did not work out too well; however, the "professional" involvement was used and seemed to be a fruitful concept. The exact nature of what was developed will be discussed in the following chapters.

There is no clear relationship between the economic measures and either major or father's occupation (from a class viewpoint). The method used in this study, which is oriented towards the systematic exploration of an area (with emphasis on individual cases), finds the deviations so numerous that it does not form a suitable starting point for analysis. (These indices may, nevertheless, be useful in other areas.)

TABLE V

RELATION OF FATHER'S OCCUPATION AND GRADUATE MAJOR TO ECONOMIC INVOLVEMENT

Graduate Major	Cases:1	Table II Score	Table III Score	4p	Father's Occupation
Non-Administration:	×	0	2	S N	Paint Supervisor
	×	0	7	N _o	Machinist
	×	Н	m	No	Tailor
	×	٦	ſΛ	No	Jeweler
	×	7	Μ	o N	Farmer
	×	-4	Μ	Yes	Real Estate Broker
	×	0	7	Yes	Banke r
	×	0	9	No	Funeral Director
	: ×	0	寸	Yes	Salesman
	×	7	2	Yes	Carpenter
**************************************	×	0	7	No	Salesman
Administra of the	; ×	0	9	No No	Decorator
	: :	2	11	No	Hotel Manager
	: ×	٦	9	No	Rural Mail Carrier
	; ×	٦	7	No	Airport Manager
	: ×	Н	0	Yes	Farmer
	: ×	Н	0	Yes	Osteopathic Physician
	: ×	Μ	-1	Yes	Carpenter
	: >	8	11	No	Auto Mechanic
	: ×	2	9	No	Saw Filer, Wood Mill
	-				

Table II = Economic Table III = Economic minus Security

1 Case numbers have been omitted here in order to prevent the identification of individuals.

In summary of this chapter, let us review the various points that have been made. First, the whole chapter deals with the economic area of the actor-station relationship. A selection of questions and responses was made. This was developed into a table (Table I). It became apparent in the working out of the table that two sub-areas, economic gain and economic security, could be distinguished. However, insufficient data had been collected on this aspect. The further step was the development of the sub-areas (Table II) of the security total and the E-S total. This was followed by the development of the four possible categories of economic gain and security relationships. A comparison was made of the General Economic and Security scores with the Allport-Vernon economic scores. These were quite well related, except for two inverted relationships. In these cases, our information led us to doubt how well the Allport-Vernon scale portrayed this area, at least for our purposes. It was noted that the Allport-Vermon does not distingwish between the two factors which we have noted above. The economic scale appears to be related to either one, but this is something that awaits the use of considerably finer measures. The next step was the attempt to determine economic satisfaction and dissatisfaction. It was found that relative satisfaction was always connected with low (below five) General Economic scores, and that they regarded teachers in general as receiving sufficient economic return. Two possible eauses were seen for these relationships: (a) low reference, (b) relative lack of importance of the area. Table V compared General Economic and Security scores with two indices - administration or non-administration, major and father's occupation. It was thought that this comparison might

indicate possible actor references for this area. Results were scattered and not conclusive. Further interrelations will be developed in later sections.

This subject has been considered by many other authors. Harris, in a study of college students' expectations about teaching, shows that they expect better salary arrangements than most communities offer. Kvaraceus in talking of mental health hazards cites his study of sixty-seven graduate students of which thirty-nine feel the negative effects of teachers being paid less that the custodian. 2

In dealing with the causes of maladjustment among teachers a research article on school influences considered financial difficulties as one that should be considered important. The N. E. A. in a survey of teacher worries in order of frequency found that "financial difficulties" was first, and "present economic situation" second.

The fact that teachers worry over this would indicate involvement.

The fact that it ranks highest is due in part to the generalness of

R. P. Harris, "Students Reaction to the Educational Profession", Ed. Adm. and Supervision, v. 32, p. 515.

W. C. Kvaraceus, Mental Health Hazards Facing Teachers, Phi Delta Kappan, v. 32, p. 349.

^{, &}quot;School Influences", Review of Educational Research, v. 6, p. 271-77.

Leo Alilunas, "Needed Research in the Teaching of Mental Hygiene", Journal of Educational Research, v. 38, p. 661.

category, while worries concerning the profession may take a variety of forms and fall under a variety of categories. A strong involvement with economic factors is indicated, however. The fact that professional involvements may take a variety of forms and often work at cross purposes means that organization is not likely to be strong there. The economic area offers a common involvement about which a powerful organization can be built. At present the main disagreement seems to be over means to accomplish economic ends. This situation was indicated in the cases of the present study when these teachers indicated that the only things teachers stuck together on were economic and tenure. The conflict over means was mainly between teachers! clubs and teachers! unions. As the organizations become more crystalized and teachers more aware of their power one can expect them to move in the direction of a rational and full use of power in their pursuit of economic ends, and a decrease in the restraining professional ethics. This is demonstrated in the use of the strike by teachers in many of the major American cities in the years 1945-53. The accession to power of teachers is bound to change the character of their involvement not only in the economic area, but for the whole station.

The solution of the economic problem for the individual will probably (and this is indicated in large cities) be the solution of a great deal of the status problem. It is common knowledge that in no other country are economic and status factors so closely related as in the United States. The individual able to enforce his economic demands is esteemed. The teacher will be seen as a "practical man". As a person

occupying a station in an organization that is not to be trampled under foot economically, he is esteemed and his opinions are taken into account. He is also able to use such an organization to resist station demands of any kind, or at least to bargain on a contractual basis, rather than being subjected to pressure against which he has little defense except to resign.

The economic problem is apt to be intensified for the male teacher in that "the male student teacher has to face the problem of marriage on an adequate salary". Thus we would expect greater involvement and stress in male teachers in this area. The entrance of more males into the profession is likely to generate pressure to change the situation to reduce the stress.

The economic area of involvement has been presented in its general structural setting, and the individual cases have been ranked and studied in regard to it. An area closely related to the economic one in American society is that of status which is taken up in the next chapter.

Caroline Zachary, Personality Adjustment of the School Teacher, (Wash., 1934), p. 135.

VI

STATUS AS AN AREA OF INVOLVEMENT

In this chapter the data from the schedule were used to find out something about the actor's involvement with status - status being used in the sense of prestige or feeling of being respected. Most of the questions used are ones that would not appear directly to elicit a status-relevant response. The response is a reflection of the actor's interpretation of the question and of himself. Therefore the number of responses as well as the character of the question and response is of possible value as an indication of involvement.

The first approach to this area is a relatively crude addition of status-relevant responses to the following series of questions:

- (85) "How do you feel about teacher's unions?" Several responses (5, 7, 16, 17) state that the unions would lower the prestige of teachers.
- (24) "In what ways has the recent demand for teachers affected their position and standing with the school system and the community?" In three cases (12, 14, 18) the answer was put in terms of respect.
- (125) "Tell me in three sentences who you are?" Three cases (7, 13, 15) gave status relevant responses.
- (127) "What are the things you would like to get out of life?"

 Three responses (6, 8, 9) were concerned with respect and recognition.
 - (88) "If you heard it said that someone was a successful teacher, what would that imply to you?" There were two responses, (2, 8) concerned with respect from the community.
- (110) "Would you like to become a school administrator? Why?"
 Two cases responded in terms of prestige (7, 13).

Those responses were used which indicated a taking into account the esteem given to teachers by others. Such words generally were "respect" or "prestige", etc.

- (118) "Do people act toward you in ways that you would prefer they didn't?" Two cases (8, 13) bring up respect.
- (6) "What has happened to this (feeling of esprit de corps) in the years since?" One case (19) mentions the "prestige value of identification."
- (7) What did you wish to achieve in your life and career when in college?" One case (19) mentions prestige.
- (9) "Did you feel then (in college) that you could accomplish more by teaching than you feel you can now?" One case (13) mentions difficulty of achieving prestige and status.
- (16) "Do you consider teaching as you would any job?" One case (20) mentions, "No, it has more respect."
- (19) "What makes a professional person?" One case (15) says in answering this question that teaching is lacking in prestige.
- (58) *On what things should teachers stick together? *One response (13) was, *Organizing to attain community respect. *
- (76) "What things really ought to be changed in the life and work of teachers?" One case (10) indicates need for respect from the community.
- (105) Mare good teachers rewarded? Respect-oriented answers occur in two cases (7, 16).

In totaling the results, we get a range from zero to five. Thus, we have created a rough distribution of actors according to these indices of their involvement. The measure is certainly far from stable but the ends of the distribution would seem to be markedly different.

However, there are other aspects of the schedule which can be used to give us a clear picture of involvement in this area. Table VI was developed by merely recording the number of relevant responses. The total distribution of responses to each question was not treated, because as has already been indicated responses to a given question are not presented unless they are relevant to some concept.

TABLE VI

STATUS INVOLVEMENT

76 105 Total:	<i>ا</i>	7	m,	m (N (N 1	→ .	٦,	٦,	,	⊣ ,	٦,	-1 -	-1 r	- C) C	0	0	0	
105		×				×														
											×									~
5 8	×																			-
19					×															~
9 16 19 58				×																1
6	×																			7
7				×																H
15 125 127 88 110 118 6				×																T
118	×		×																	2
110	×	×																		2
88			×				×													2
127			×						×	×										m
n: 125	×	×			×															5
Question: 85 2h 12												ĸ	×		×					m
85 85		×				×		ĸ						×						1
Cases	11	2	œ	19	15	16	N	ν.	9	6	10	12	7	17	18	-	m~	‡ [18	Total:

There are several questions concerning this area which it is profitable to treat in terms of the total response rather than by selecting responses. Question 22 ("Do teachers receive as much respect in the community as other professionals?") draws the following responses:

(a) No (1, 3, 5, 8, 10, 12, 13, 15, 17, 18); (b) No, but some respect (h, 6, 9, 19); Yes, (2, 7, 11, 1h, 16, 20). This question should give some indication of how teachers think they are generally regarded. A question producing somewhat similar results, but more unstructured is "What do you think other people think when you first tell them you are a teacher?" (q. 23). This question gave us a wide array of responses:

(a) Respect, (1, 20); (b) Neutral (11, 17); (c) "Economic fool" (2, h, 8, 10, 18); (d) Ambivalent-reserve, respect and scorn (6, 7, 12, 15, 16, 19); (e) Scorn (3, 13); (f) Don't know (h, 9, 1h).

Inexplaining the results of these two questions, one must turn to the larger social setting. In looking over the educational journals and other materials concerning the position of a teacher in American society (See Bibliography), certain aspects of the station appear to be problem or stress areas because of their ambiguity. (There is no clear and consistent response to actors in station.) The economic area showed signs of ambiguity, as does the area with which we are now dealing.

The basic idea is that where the society at large is confused, ambivalent or ambiguous about a position, it is likely that the actors will reflect this. The responses which the actors receive from society will be somewhat unclear and confusing. In regard to the public school

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teacher this has been the case. There has been a tendency to look up to them and down on them. They are, at one and the same time, professionals and public servants. It is an occupation which has been dominated for years by women, into which men have recently been recruited in large numbers. The field, therefore, has not been regarded with as high esteem as a male-dominated profession. The fact that men are entering the field means that probably, in some respects, the esteem of the field is rising; and their entrance itself will tend to raise it further. This whole problem is tied in with the way teachers and community regard the profession. its aims and organizations, etc. (This is dealt with more fully in the chapter on the professional area.) One might expect, then, that there would be a good deal of ambivalence on the part of teachers concerning the status they receive in society. Ambivalence is a reflection of the ambiguity of the situation and is regarded here as a basis for stress. depending upon the degree of self-involvement in the area. Question 23 provides us with information illustrating the ambiguous nature of the teacher status. The responses run all the way from respect to scorn. If the hypothesis is correct that society is ambiguous about the status of this position, the extreme responses would represent a focusing of the actor's perceptions on certain aspects of the responses which he is receiving from society, or judgment of these responses using different references. Almost half the responses directly manifest the ambiguous

luLack of a cognitively clear structure is likely to make every action a conflicting one ... Kurt Lewin, Field Theory in Social Science. (New York, 1951). p. 138.

See Willard Waller, The Sociology of Teaching. (New York, 1932). Or see bibliography below for relevant papers.

status position of the teacher, for they note the mixture of respect and scorn or they (the "Don't Know's") do not have a clear perception of how it is regarded. One would certainly not expect such a confused and uncertain group of responses to a question that referred to other, more firmly established professions, such as the one frequently mentioned by the actors - that of the doctor.

When teachers were asked the question: "Do teachers receive as much respect from the community as other professionals?" (q. 22, see Table VII); we get a division of response, with fourteen "no" and six "yes" answers, with but one exception (2), these who feel that they are regarded as "economic fools" (q. 23) feel that they do not receive as much respect as other professionals. While those (except c.2) who answer "yes" (q. 22) range from neutral up to respect responses (q. 23) on how they think others respond to them as a teacher. This relationship tends to confirm what other comparisons within the schedule have revealed, that status stress may be related more to economic factors than to what may be called professional factors.

Question 80 ("How do teachers increase their status or position in the community?") gives us more understanding of the different ways in which status can be regarded by the actors. Some think in terms of self-improvement, harder work, greater moral responsibility and service as forming the basis for increase in status. The belief is that virtue will be rewarded. As one actor states it: "Be the kind of a person the community respects and everything else will come." (c. 11). At the other end of the scale, we have those who telieve that status is increased by a more political type of maneuvering and economic achievement. An actor

Involvement with Status is given, for another sample, in the chapter: Scales as a Methodological Improvement.

TABLE VII STATUS INVOLVEMENT IN RELATION

TO PROJECTED ATTITUDES OF OTHERS

Cases:	q• 22	q. 23	T. VI
20	Yes	R	0
16	Yes	A	2
7	Yes	Α	4
11	Yes	N	0
14	Yes	DK	l
2	Yes	EF	1
2 1 6	No	R	0
6	No	A	1
12	No.	A	1
15	No	A	2
19	No	A	3
17	No	N	0
9	No	DK	l
9 5 4	No	?	1
	No	EF	0
10	No	EF	1
18	No	EF	1
8	No	$\mathbf{E}\mathbf{F}$	3
3	No	S	5
3 13	No	S	1 3 5

q. 23:

R = Respect

A = Ambivalent

N = Neutral

EF = Economic Fool

S = Scorn
DK = Don't Know

. of this type says: "...Entering and becoming known - I have increased my status especially on the golf course."

A difficulty encountered in the analysis of responses (q. 80) lies in that the division into service and political types was not fully anticipated, and a response like "Become active in community organizations," could be of either type. However, there was some indication, in a number of cases, as to the type of orientation. This has been indicated in Table VIII. A division of this type seems important in most of the areas of actor involvement. (It appears in the way the economic area is viewed or in the actor's involvement with authority or with the professional area.)

There is one further use that can be made of Question 22 ("Do teachers receive as much respect from the community as other professionals?"). With one exception (c. 2, again), those who feel that they do receive as much respect as other professionals believe that increased status is brought about by the teacher trying harder to serve and leading a better life. (c. 7, ll, ll, 16, 20). The idea is that it is those who view status as a product of service who feel that they are given full professional status.

Two cases (3 and 13), with "service" responses on question 80, evidence projected attitudes in response to 22 and 23. Their responses to q. 80 were: "If teachers went in for the love of teaching and were willing to get out and understand the community ... it is not just a job." (c. 3), "Teachers should adopt a set of ethics and have professional attitudes ... not just a job." (c. 13). To q. 22 they answer, "No, they do not receive as much respect as other professionals," and when a sked

TABLE VIII

PERCEIVED SOURCE OF STATUS IN RELATION TO PROJECTED ATTITUDE OF OTHERS

Questions

Questions	80 (Summary of responses)	×	One should belong to clubs and organizations but restricted by finances.	i If they went in for the love of teaching and will get out and understand the community - it is not just a job.	×	Membership in local organizations.	Active in community organizations.	become a real member of the community and give them something.	Active participation in community affairs.	Active in community and civic events, and act ethical and moral.	Entering and becoming known, I have increased status especially on golf	course.	Be the kind of person the community respects and everything else will come.	Being active in the community.	Adopt a set of ethics and have a professional attitude, it is not just a job.	Prove to the community you are important and you will be rewarded.	I don't know.	By my actions socially and professionally.	Joining organizations, and getting acquainted with merchants.	Trying to be a better teacher, continuing my education, public relations.	Successfully contributing leadership, and making self heard.	Doing a better job of teaching, raising the way in which they (community)	live.
	23	ద	EF	တ	迼	×	4	¥	扭	DK	मंच		Z	4	ß	걾	4	4	Z	EF	4	ద	
	22	No	Yes	No	No	No	No	Yes	No	No	No		Yes	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	No	Yes	
Cases		Н	0	٣	-7	t ኒሱ	ν	2	. ω	6	ឧ		11	12	13	יור דר	15	16	17	18	9 [8	

how others view them (q. 23) they feel they are viewed with "scorn." In both these cases it would seem that their own feeling that teachers are not living up to professional standards is projected onto others so that they regard themselves (as teachers) as "scorned". (This is not meant to imply that they are or are not actually scorned by others.) A source of stress, then, has been located which has the possibility of being common among teachers. By identifying yourself with a group which does not live up to your aspirations for it, the self-esteem may be lowered; and this may be perceived by the actor as due to lower social esteem. The actor's status reference may lie in the professional area, and, in such a case, he will perceive status as depending upon improvements in the professional aspects of the station. A contrasting type is seen in case 10, who says he has "increased his status on the golf course." Here the actor does not perceive his status as being tied in directly with the professional aspects of the station.

In summary of the above, we have pointed out three main types of involvement in the status area: (a) those who feel they receive full professional status and perceive status as being an almost automatic consequence of service and ethical behavior, (b) those who feel they are low in status and that this is due to a non-professional orientation (from these actors' viewpoints) on the part of other teachers, (c) those who view status as a relatively individual thing, not particularly connected with the station and its professional aspects.

If one is to distinguish between the cases on this kind of basis, two cases (3 and 13) appear to be fairly strongly professionally oriented in regard to status (Station Status). Seven other cases (7, 9, 11,

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14, 16, 18, 20) have a professional orientation in regard to status which involves primarily individual behavior (Ethical Status). Two cases (10, 17) appear to view status as not particularly connected with the professional aspect of the station (Individual Status). This distinction will be related later to those made in other sections.

Several more direct questions might well have been asked. There would also be some advantage in using more structured questions with response categories based upon the knowledge gained through this schedule. The accompanying disadvantage is that the respondent may have his thinking directed by the categories provided. When using unstructured questions we must utilize appropriate responses wherever they appear. Thus any one question may provide us with responses appropriate to several areas of involvement. This method depends on the actor's bringing out what is significant to him in the course of the interview through the influence of a wide variety of stimuli. This is the same method which was used with fairly good results in the analysis of the economic area.

Any further development of these indices of involvement into scales should probably proceed by directing the responses more specifically. However, any change should not be made toward a relative ranking method such as is used in the Allport-Vernon technique of studying values. This is because the respondent is forced to make choices between the various areas. The total score does not show the difficulty the individual had in selecting the alternatives. It tends to portray, as resolved.

conflicts that may still be going on. It is mutually contradictory desires, as well as the discrepancy between desire and achievement, that can cause stress. An additional point is, lack of involvement in some areas tends to increase totals in other areas, as one drops another goes up.

There has been a great deal written on this subject of teachers' status from a wide variety of viewpoints. A typical statement was quoted in the New York Times in one of the articles in a series on teachers:

*Teachers are afraid of what staying with the system long enough will do to them. They wonder if they are really being fair to themselves by staying in school. You don't get excited in your job any more ...

Another quotation from the same series: "Almost all states show that teaching is an unwanted profession. Whereas a generation ago it was considered a mark of high respectability and some prestige to be assigned as a teacher. Today, the teacher's post is scorned".

Greenhoe in commenting on the teachers relationship to the community said: "It is no exaggeration to say that 50% of teachers failures find their direct cause in social maladjustment to the community".

One would predict that this is in large part a reflection of status troubles. There are conflicts between what teachers expect and what

l New York Times. Feb. 10, 1947, p. 20.

² <u>Ibid.</u>, p. 20.

Lloyd A. Cook, Ronald B. Almack and Florence Greenhoe, "Teacher and Community Relations", American Sociological Review, v. 3, p. 171.

- they receive. Alilumas states that the indeterminate, and therefore conflictful, status position of the teacher very well: "The status of the teacher in the community is different from that of the ordinary individual. Just what it is has not been determined."

Cook points out that teachers are expected to belong and do belong to a wide variety of organizations, religious, professional, relief, welfare, leisure, and civic. However, professional and religious membership stand out. It was found that 80% telonged to, or were regarded as members of a religious group, and it was only here that they held much office. There is tendency to perform the service role without much power or recognition.

Palmantier, in dealing with the conditions detrimental to the mental health of teachers, makes the point that, "the teacher is in the community, but not of the community".

The status of the teacher is illustrated by Erinkman who says:

"Teachers, however, are restricted on the one hand by the community

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tabus and by limited income on the other".

Leo Alilunas, "Needed Research in the Teaching of Mental Hygiene", Journal of Ed. Research v. 38, p. 663.

Lloyd Cook, "Community Contacts of 9122 Teachers", Social Forces, v. 19, p. 68.

P. C. Pelmantier, "Why Teachers Co Crazy", Journal of Education, vol. 130, p. 290.

^{4.} R. Brinkman, "Why I May Not Return to Teaching", Educational Digest, v. 11, p. 47.

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• • • • Probably one of the stressful factors in the station of teacher is the social inconspicuousness of the teachers. This was not analyzed in the present study but it was strongly indicated in several of the interviews. Dreyfuss points up this factor, saying: "A position which enables the employee to shine in the outside world is the most desirable of all". The teacher performs for an audience which cannot give him social esteem in the world at large. The same thing is illustrated in college teaching where very often classroom teaching is ignored, for the same reasons as above, and research is most important for it will bring esteem from colleagues and society.

The problem of analyzing the stressful aspects of the teachers' status position has only been touched on in this chapter. It has been revealed that there is a good deal of confusion about what they feel their status position to be. This is related to at least three factors: a confusion on the part of society in how it regards teachers; the original status position, or aspirations, of the actor; the manner of viewing status, as individual, or in terms of an identification with the station.

¹ Carl Dreyfuss, Occupation and Ideology of the Salaried Employee (New York, 1938), p. 7.

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VII

AUTHORITY AS AN AREA OF INVOLVEMENT

In this chapter, two kinds of analysis are developed: one theoretical, one more empirical. First, the more general theoretical framework of authority is worked out. It is not a complete or fully developed scheme, but rather, a highlighting of certain aspects of actor involvement with the station. The interest is in the social basis underlying the actor's action as a station occupant. This is seen as involving various systems of legitimate order, 1 following the ideas worked out by Weber. 2 These systems are both different in type (type depending upon the basis for the actor's acceptance of the order as legitimate) and content. (The type in Weber's scheme does not depend on the particular content of the order, but rather why the order is accepted.) These several systems can involve the actor in dilemmas and contradictions in his involvement. The implications of this approach are illustrated by reference to the empiric data. Various indices of authority involvement are used, such as source of recognition, punishment and reward and the nature of responsibility.

The second part of this section deals with a more systematic development of the data from the viewpoint of the theory, in an attempt to

Legitimate order can be used to refer to a system of order or to a single order.

Max Weber, Theory of Social and Economic Organization. (New York, 1947).

isolate the relationship existing in individual cases among the different indices.

A

As indicated a bove, the study of the authority area requires certain relevant conceptualization. One cannot proceed to talk about authority and concepts related to it until one sees what problems lie in this area for teachers: with what aspects of authority they are involved. It may be expected that the important involvements will appear if relatively unstructured questions are given, which allow the actors to respond in terms of their self-involvement with the station. The schedule was designed to provide such an opportunity.

Before the relevant material can be extracted from the schedule, however, some minimum notion of what authority will mean here is needed, in order to make the distinctions between what is or is not important.

The actor feels that he must or should perform certain actions related to his holding a given station. This is a type of phenomenon which is covered in the concept of legitimacy. "Action, especially social action which involves social relationships, may be oriented by the actor to a belief in the existence of a 'legitimate order.' "So far as it is derived merely from fear or from motives of expediency, a willingness to submit to an order imposed by one man or a small group, always in some sense implies a belief in the legitimate authority of the source imposing it". An order will only be called 'valid' if the orientations to such

Max Weber, Theory of Social and Economic Organization, (New York., 1947) p. 124.

²Tbid., p. 132.

maxims includes, no matter to what extent, the recognition that they are binding on the actor or the corresponding action constitutes a desirable model for him to imitate.

The concept of legitimacy as applied to the station means that the actor regards certain actions (overt or covert) as morally binding upon him. He "should" act in certain ways. There is the possibility that the actor may know what others feel he "should" do, and do this, yet not feel morally that he should, but only that it is expedient. Weber has treated this in his analysis of the reasons for supporting a legitimate order, which are of a different character from the reasons for ascribing legitimacy to an order. Three of the ways in which "legitimacy may be ascribed to an order by those acting subject to it (are) ... (a) By tradition; a belief in the legitimacy of what has always existed; ... (c) by virtue of a rational belief in its absolute value, thus lending it the validity of an absolute and final commitment; (d) because it has been established in a manner which is recognized to be legal. It is possible that the actor may relate his behavior in the station to more than one of these legitimate orders simultaneously.

<u>Ibid.</u>, p. 124.

Ibid., p. 126-27.

Ibid., p. 130. The charismatic type of legitimation has been omitted here as it will not be used in the analysis.

⁴ <u>Ibid.,</u> p. 125.

B

The concepts above contain several implications for the study of the station of teacher. First, the actor may be orienting his behavior to any or all three types (a, c, d) of legitimate order listed above. The locus of the station in the community involves traditional order (type "a"). The teacher-training institution tends to validate legitimate order of the type c, a belief in certain absolute values such as the "moral obligations" of teachers to students, community or society. The station is found in a typical rational-legal structure, the bureaucracy, and involves a legally established order. The data seem to meveal what may be interpreted as a tendency for actors to orient themselves to some one of the three systems of order which may lead them to opposition to the other orders.

Probably the clearest distinction lies between those more oriented to an absolute value commitment of type c, which we can call an orientation to the professional order and, on the other hand, an orientation to the legal order of the bureaucracy (type "d").

The professional involvement (this involvement includes a large number of aspects which will be dealt with in a separate chapter) is stimulated and structured in large part by teacher-training institutions. There ideal models of behavior are set up for the teacher's future relationship to the station. He is imbued with the idea that these form a legitimate order which should claim his allegiance in principle even if he is forced to behave differently when he is actually occupying the

The professional involvement may be related to traditional or legally based orders, but generally involves an "absolute value" (type c) aspect.

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station. He should struggle to realize and validate this order and conformity to conflicting orders should, at most, be due to expediency. This would be the "ideal type" case, of course.

This professional legitimate order is not necessarily, and, in fact, generally isn't, upheld either by the traditional order or by the legal order (as they are mediated by various social systems). It often lies in opposition to the other types of order, by attempting to overcome traditional aspects (through the behavior of those committed to the professional order) or by attempting to change or oppose the legal order. The professionally involved actor frequently goes into a station in a social system where the legitimate order to which he is committed is not backed up by this system. He faces strongly backed traditional and legal orders which impel him, at least in terms of expediency, to orient his behavior to these orders. In time he may come to accept these orders as legitimate. 1 This kind of process may very well be the basis for the complaints of educators in colleges who send out a new crop of teachers each year who "drop out of sight" (appear to have little effect upon) in the schools. The teacher comes into the school with his concept of what "should be": a concept of a legitimate order. The school system is going along in its traditional or legal way. The new teacher experiments and finds blocks

A study of several thousand teachers revealed a difference between the perspective of new teachers and those who had been in the system for some time. Cook, Lloyd, "Community Contacts of 9, 122 Teachers", Social Forces, v. XIX, p. 63.

in the way of realizing his expectations. They tend not to work out in a system operating on other principles. The actor then revises his orientation to what appears to be more reality-based principles. Or, he can take the other course of maintaining his original concept of what is legitimate, in which case he will see, as one of the "serious hazards or pitfalls which people in that position try to avoid (q. 102), the danger of "falling into a rut" (c. 3, 5, 11, 14), which means accepting the situation as it is. This same type of struggle is perhaps expressed in the answer to: "What seem to be the conflicting interests in a school which keep people from working together?" (q. 70). One conflict seems to center around "new" teachers versus "old" teachers or "professional" versus "non-professional" teachers (c. 5, 12, 13, 14, 18). A good deal of hostility seems to be directed by professionally involved teachers against other teachers when they fail to orient their behavior in accord with the professional legitimate order. These actors are seen as violating the basic values that the professionally involved actor feels all persons in the station should manifest. These professional actors, when thinking of ways of realizing what they hold to be legitimate, think primarily in terms of capturing other actors, that is, increasing the number of actors who accept what they hold to be legitimate, and thereby increasing the "validity" of the order. They might be likely, in response to the question: "How can the improvement of the position of the teacher best be achieved? (q. 78), answer, "Better training and selection of teachers" (c. 5, 8, 9, 12, 13). Or again, in question 76 ("What things really ought to be changed in the life or work of teachers?"), there is a

response, "More professional opportunities and people." (c. 5, 6, 7, 8, 11, 13, 16, 19). Another illustration of the professionally involved response is found in the answer to the question ("Has there been a difference between what other teachers expected you to do and what the administration expected of you?" q. 67). An example from one group of responses (c. 5, 12, 19) is: "No, teachers are sheep for the administration." Another example from a less pessimistic group (c. 4, 9) is: "Yes, teachers expect more of each other."

Because they are often relatively alone or without structural support for their concept of legitimate order, the professional who maintains his belief is interested not only in converting other actors, but also in stronger professional organizations, whose purpose would be to support their concept of order. When asked: "Should teachers have stronger organizations?" (q. 83), the answer was generally "Yes" (1, 3, 4, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 14, 15, 19). When asked, "How do you feel about teacher's unions?" (q. 85), two responded, "Yes, if professionally oriented" (c. 9, 13). In this question we begin to run into a different type of legitimate order, in that some actors feel that the union represents a legal-rational approach of the actor to the station; and that it is based upon self-benefit more than service, this latter factor being a basic value in the professional involvement. (This factor is developed in the chapter on the professional area.)

The professional involvement "ideally" involves a <u>Wertrational</u>. Max Weber's usage of the concept is somewhat confusing, but the idea is

Professional involvement is inter-related with Authority involvement.

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Libid., p. 115.

centered in the fact that "The sole important consideration to the actor becomes the realization of the value ... there is no question either of this end against others, nor is 'counting the cost' in the sense of taking account of possible results other than the attainment of the absolute end. In the case of <u>Zweckrational</u>, on the other hand, Weber conceives action as motivated by a plurality of relatively independent ends, none of which is absolute. The <u>Wertrational</u> type of orientation is indicated in responses to questions such as: "Do you consider teaching as you would any job?" (q. 16). There were such responses as, "No. It is creative; it involves helping people; it is a twenty-four hours a day demand." (c. 1, 4, 7, 10, 11, 12, 14, 16). Another response is: "No, it is much more - professional, dynamic - a twenty-four hours a day demand and a challenge." (c. 3, 6, 9, 10). These responses indicate the unlimited nature of the commitment.

The <u>Zweckrational</u> type of orientation is "ideally" what we would expect from the actor involved with the legal-rational order which implies far more limited commitments and the weighing of ends one against the other. An example of this might be the actor who takes on a extra job for the purpose of making more money at the expense of fulfilling commitments of a professional nature.

what, then, is the source to which the professionally involved actor might look for authority? This concept of legitimate order does not commonly find expression in the social system in which he finds himself.

¹Ibid., p. 115.

Who enforces the order? To whom does he consider himself responsible? This question was put to the teachers: "As a teacher, to whom do you consider yourself responsible?" (q. 39). The responses were: (a) "Myself" (c. 1, 2, 4, 5); (b) students mentioned first, parents second (c. 8, 10, 11, 14); (c) students mentioned first, administration second (c. 3, 6, 9, 12); (d) community mentioned first, administration second (c. 7, 17, 18); (e) "Administration" (15, 16, 19, 20). These responses are arranged in an order which, more or less, moves away from self-responsibility. The idea of self-responsibility seems to be a primary aspect of the professional involvement. There is often no strong social system re-enforcing the professional order to which the actor can feel responsible.

In a more clearly cut case of legal-rational bureaucracy, there would be less of a conflict of systems of legitimate order between which the actors had to choose. In such a bureaucracy one would expect a much more definite agreement on the orientation of a response to a given order. The actor "ideally" would feel responsible to some hierarchically superior "office" and be responsible to it only in certain legally defined ways. Two questions were asked to try to find out to what extent the actor saw himself involved with the legal order; one of them - "Would you say that you are subject to the authority of the school, only with respect to the impersonal and official obligations of your position?" (q. \(\beta\)). The result was an array of responses: (a) "Yes, one's personal life is one's own." (c. 2, \(\beta\), 7, 13, \(\beta\), \(\beta\)); (b) "Yes, but influence extends beyond." (c. \(\beta\), 16); (c) "No, but on a cooperative basis it does." (c. 10, 11, 12); (d) "No, it determines one's life." (c. 5, 6, 9, 15, 19); (e) "No, they

try to run your life." (c. 3, 17, 18, 20). It is difficult to determine in each case whether the actor is rejecting traditionally legitimate demands in favor of professional or legally limited forms or even rejecting legal-rational demands in favor of professional. However, the group of responses as a whole is not clearly related to a simple legal-rational order expressed in a bureaucracy. This distinction between "office" and personal life has not been clearly demarcated. To put it somewhat mataphorically, one might say that there is a struggle going on to capture the actor within a system of order. Traditionally, it may be felt that he "should" do certain things which he may or may not feel he should do. The same relationship may hold for the legal and professional orders.

The lack of a clearly established and predominant legitimate order is indicated in the second question, where teachers were asked: "Are the various rights and duties of your position clearly spelled out in a formal, legal manner, or are they sometimes vague and determined in a personal manner, so that not all teachers would be treated alike in similar circumstances?" (q. h?). This question was an attempt to check the formal control of behavior by law and rule (as the actor perceives it).

The responses were: (a) sufficiently formal and legal (c. 1, 7, 8, 16); (b) individualized (c. 2, 5, 6, 7, 17, 18, 19, 20); (c) vague and personal (c. 11, 12, 1h, 15); (d) vague, personal, and subjective (c. 9, 10, 13); (e) vague and personal, leading to insecurity (c. 3, h). Even the extreme cases in a do not see the duties as fully formal and legal. The bulk of the responses indicate an actor-station relationship which is not spelled out very fully by a legitimate order of the legal type.

The responses range from what appears to be a faworable view of the situation, b, where "individualized" is used, to the "insecurity" responses of e. The word "individualized" seems to have a positive value: typical responses are: "It can't be a cut-and-dried procedure, we are all individuals," (c. 18); "You have to be individual and personal; each case must be judged on its own merits," (c. 6). The responses in e are made by actors who regard the situation as overly unstructured, and it is unpleasant for them. This question, is again, one which shows the lack of unanimity, on the part of the actors and their perception of the authority area of involvement. They are agreed that it does not represent a highly formal and legal type of authority, but whether this is regarded as a necessity or an advantage varies from actor to actor.

The expectation is that the professional will tend to find the legal or traditional orders inadequate. "Ideally," he believes that the demands of the professional order, including their <u>Wertrational</u> character, cannot be handled by a system of the legal type, as indicated in question 47. This type of actor does not think that his relationship to the station can be incorporated under rules: it must be individualized.

A further aspect of this orientation to the professional order is the notion that being a teacher is "something we live - twenty four hours a day." It is a whole, rather than a segmental relationship. "Ideally"

The word "ideally" is used to imply the "ideal type," that is used without value. This is its meaning throughout the thesis. This relationship holds when by professional we imply a Wertrational type of relation to the station among other factors.

this type of actor opposes trends towards the quantification of the relationship either in terms of time demands or extra money demands. This will be dealt with in the chapter on the professional area.

A willingness to accept the legal order as an adequate expression of the actor's relationship to the station is tied in with the concept of <u>Zweckrational</u>. This was indicated in q. 85 on teacher's unions. Some actors were opposed to them because it was felt that unions were seeking the immediate personal good of the teachers, rather than the absolute values of the profession. The use of the strike appears to them a violation of their duty.

In looking for the locus of authority for those involved with the professional order, one finds a relatively clear pattern. Merton has pointed up in his work that conformity to an order is reduced as its achievement becomes more difficult. In Weber's terms, the "validity" of a legitimate order is reduced. In the long run, if actors are to continue to accept an order as legitimate, conformity to its prescriptions must be rewarded and/or deviations punished. In the case of college level teaching, conformity to the legitimate order, which may be called professional or academic, is rewarded and deviation punished, as a rule. The various disciplines are organized and there are professional organizations set up which cut across the disciplines. Conformity to the prevailing standards and achievement of the favored goal brings social

Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure. (Glencoe, Ill., 1949), p. 128.

esteem to the actor from these groups. This esteem is a reward in itself, but it goes further than this. The actor receiving this esteem is recommended for more advantageous positions in the bureaucracies in which these disciplines function. The recommendations of these groups are often accepted by the administration and, thus, a working relationship is established between conformity to the professional legitimate order on the one hand, and the achievement of social position, social esteem and economic return on the other hand. Correct performance is rewarded. This kind of relationship tends to uphold and increase the validity of an order. Of course, even in the college teaching system. acceptance of and conformity to other legitimate orders may also be rewarded. This might be the case with actors who are more highly involved with a particular legitimate order existing in a particular bureaucracy. In the case of the professional, the actor may violate what is a legitimate order in a given bureaucracy if it conflicts with his concept of the professional order. In doing this, he may be punished by this bureaucracy, but not by the professional group. These groups tend to operate on a national level and are not restricted to one bureaucracy.

There is no necessary guarantee that the various orders will be in conformity with each other. Stressful situations can arise when the actor is caught between contradictory elements existing between the orders.

The case of the high school teacher is quite different from that which is found on the college level. The relationship of the professional organiza-

tions are far less developed. (This does not mean that there are not many nominally large teacher organizations.) Several reasons can be given. (There are many others not relevant to the analysis at hand.) (1) High school teachers are less highly trained and the standards for admittance to the station are less tightly controlled. There is no rigid control of membership such as the college level has been able to maintain in graduate programs, etc.; (2) the separation into disciplines is not clear enough to provide a basis for evaluating members and mutual interests: (3) a major factor underlying the problem is that professional organizations (and those wishing to validate the professional order) exert relatively little control over either the job or the labor market. Conformity to the professional legitimate order is not rewarded. dividual bureaucracies are free to select, to advance or reward, more or less at their own discretion. Many actors perceive this as one of the main problems. They may feel that they are not fully professional (q. 19) because of the lack of professional attitudes and training on the part of other teachers (c. 4, 9, 13, 15). Teachers were asked: what ways has the recent demand for teachers affected their position and standing with the school system and the community?" (q. 24). One type of response was that it has "brought non-professionals into the field. (c. 2, 6, 7, 9, 17, 20). Teachers were also asked, "What things really ought to be changed in the life and work of teachers?" (q. 76). The main response was "more professional opportunities and/or people" (c. 5, 6, 8, 11, 16, 19). The question (q. 78) asking, "How can improvements in the position of the teacher best be achieved?" drew responses of "better training and selection" (c. 5, 8, 9, 12, 13) or

Ph.D. practically required now for college teaching.

"more organization" (c. 3, 4, 6, 15, 15, 19). Thus, one is led to one of the unsolved and stressful dilemnas which high school teachers can face. On the one hand, they may vish to validate the professional order (All cases but c. 11 wanted stronger professional organizations.) yet, when asked from whom or what group they would like to receive recognition (q. 109), the following responses were given as first choices: (a) administration (2, 5, 6, 14, 15), (b) community (3, 7, 8, 10, 16, 17, 18), (c) students (11, 12), (e) professional groups (4, 9, 13, 19, 20). In many cases the decision, as verbalized by the actor, involved a choice as to which type of recognition would bring rewards of various sorts, some making the distinction between economic rewards and those involving self-satisfaction. One can assume that actors crient their behavior to expectancies which stem from the same source from which they seek recognition.

One would anticipate that this situation would charge as professional organizations become stronger and conformity to the professional order is rewarded by things in addition to self-satisfaction. The actors would then look to professional organizations for recognition.

However, we have not reckoned with one factor. One aspect of the professional order is that the teacher should "look to the community" - should fintegrate himself and seek recognition there. He should bring the school into the closest possible relationship with the community, "serve the community," "move with the community". Some indication of this feeling was obtained when teachers were asked, 2"Is the school more

Subject matter professional group, see schedule.

²The particular cases involved below are not important, at this point, only the general implication is stressed.

a part of the community or of a larger educational system?" (q. 108). The responses were: (a) the community - and it should be (c. 2, 10, 20); (b) community (Here we failed to obtain an indication of whether they felt it should or should not be.)(c. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 16, 17); (c) larger educational system and it should be part of the community (c. 11, 18); (d) the larger educational system (c. 12, 13, 15, 19). A further indication was secured when teachers were asked: "Can the various teacher problems be handled best locally?" (q. 87). The responses were: (a) no, national or state (c. 13, 15, 20); (b) no, a mixture of levels is necessary (c. 2, 12, 14, 18, 19); (c) yes, with some minor outside influences (c. 5, 8, 9, 10); (d) yes (c. 1, 3, 4, 6, 7, 11, 16, 17). Those who want stronger professional organizations at the same time believe that teachers problems can be handled on the local level. Additional indications are gained through the following questions: "Do many parents think that they know what should or shouldn't be taught their children?" (q. 114). Response: "Yes, and they should." (c. 6, 7, 8, 9, 13, 18). "Is the school regarded by the community as an extension of the home?" (q. 115). Response: "No, but it should be." (c. 9, 10, 18, 20).

In solving this dilemma caused by desire for greater professional orientation on the part of the teachers, while at the same time believing that they should be closely related to the community and look to the community for recognition, several types of social organizations have arisen. The first type is the teachers' union. As has been previously stated, the union may be regarded by the professionally involved actor as a violation of the professional order, but it can be regarded by

some as a possibility if it is professionally criented. The union poses several types of problems to the professionally involved teacher. To mention only a few: (1) It is generally centered on hours, wages, and conditions of labor and it is not generally concerned with professional issues. (2) It goes beyond the local community. (3) It is a product of capitalistic economy, and based upon the premise of a division of interests between labor and management. The professional does not accept this division, believing more in an organization based upon a guild type of structure such as the N. E. A., which includes labor and management. This introduces the whole area of stress which arises as administration assumes the role of management while teachers are not willing to accept the role of workers and expect a "democratic" relationship to exist between teachers and administration.

The second type of organization that has arisen is the "teacher's club". This club meets the teacher's desire for remaining within the community. It is not closely associated with the division between labor and management. Further, it is not so closely restricted to wages, hours and conditions of labor; although in practice, the respondents feel that it does not go much beyond these aims. They were asked: "On what things concerning the local school do teachers stick together?" (q. 57). Response: (a) nothing (c. 4, 10, 16, 18); (b) salary (c. 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 9, 12, 13, 15, 17, 19); (c) petty things (c. 20); (d) educational matters (8, 11). The feelings of actors is generally that teachers operate as a group toward only one goal - economic. They were also asked: "On what things should they stick together?" (q. 58). Response: (a) philo-

Tendency to reject unions based on a division of interest. The A.A.U.P. does accept this distinction, which gives it power to deal with

sophy, methods and policy (c. 3, 4, 5, 6, 9, 18); (b) personal and professional freedom (c. 13, 15, 19). These questions indicate that the actors were experiencing a lack of organization which could be used to achieve desired goals related to the professional order.

The teacher's club with its community locus is not in a strong position to develop and "validate" a professional legitimate order. Deviations of actors from it are not necessarily punished by the bureaucracy in which it exists; in fact, they may be encouraged and rewarded. The influence of the club does not extend much beyond the community. The club is no position to control training and selection of teachers. The conclusion is that both the union and the teachers' club cannot be satisfying organizations for the development and validation of a professional order. Both can be used for the achievement of economic ends, but the teacher's club is less clearly identified with values contradictory to the professional order.

C

Reward and punishment, which have been mentioned previously, offer an index to this area. The involvement of the actor in the area of authority is, in the long run, related to the source and the kind of punishment and reward. Reward and punishment are closely tied in with the degree of validity of a legitimate order. The way in which this operates, in terms of actors, has been clearly established in various self-psychologies. The principle is that a given type of behavior is developed

One such theory is found in the book by Harry S. Sullivan, Conceptions of Modern Psychiatry, (Wash., D. C., 1947).

and strengthened by reward, and is weakened or disappears under punishment or the lack or reward. A legitimate order would be expected to increase its "validity" - that is, secure the allegiance of more actors or of more of a given actor's behavior - when actors find conforming behavior is rewarded and/or deviating behavior is punished.

In the schedule, a series of three questions can be used to give us an indication of what occurs in the station of teacher. They were asked first: "If you heard it said that some one was a successful teacher, what would that imply to you?" (q. 88). Many of the responses centered around the professional obligation to the client. In addition they were asked, "Are good teachers rewarded?" (q. 105). This meant "Are teachers of the kind you regard as successful rewarded? (q. 88). The responses indicate the source of reward as well as the presence or absence of it: (a) no (c. 12, 13, 15); (b) not enough (c. 4, 17); (c) no - only self-satisfaction (c. 2); (d) I think so (c. 3); (e) yes, self-satisfaction, and often financially (c. 14, 19); (f) yes, self-satisfaction (c. 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 16, 18, 20); (g) yes, esteem of fellows and up-grading (c. 7). The responses indicate at least two things: (a) most of the respondents perceived no other reward than self-satisfaction for the good teacher; (b) that some actors consider self-satisfaction as a real reward and other don't. These responses should have some relevance to the actor's involvement with various legitimate orders. A professionally oriented actor is responsible to himself or to those not in any organized authority relationship to him. Therefore, he cannot really expect any reward except self-satisfaction.

An actor (c. 2, 4, 12, 13, 15, 17) could answer that he receives no reward (q. 105), for at least two reasons: first, he does not conceive of self-satisfaction as a reward because he has no strong sense of selfresponsibility to a professional order; second, he may be divided in his feeling of responsibility and the lack of reward from the surrounding social systems for conformity to what they consider legitimate may be felt more strongly than the feeling of self-satisfaction they experience and take for granted. A negative answer here seems to indicate at least an acceptance of a legitimate order other than the professional, or a mixed belief in the legitimacy of two or more types of orders. One should expect to be rewarded by the social structure which is backing the legitimate order toward which one's behavior is oriented. The teachers in this study seem to be somewhat confused on this point. Their concept of a good or successful teacher appears to stem from another legitimate order than that backed by the school system to which they belong; and therefore, behavior conforming to their concept is not rewarded by the system. Thus, their concept of the successful teacher would appear to stem from the professional type of order, which lacks any strong organization able to reward conformity. The actor who seeks to conform to this order will be primarily rewarded through self-satisfaction. There is no intent to imply here that self-satisfaction is considered a reward by these actors only in the absence of other rewards. It is undoubtedly an enduring part of the professional order, in fact, it seems closely related to the legitimate orders of the absolute commitment type, which involve wertrational.

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This kind of feeling may be the basis for the ability of these actors to struggle to achieve ideals in the face of opposing social systems. If we ask the actors in this study, "Are good doctors rewarded?", I think we might anticipate a response which included something more than self-satisfaction.

Another question that provides some test of the ideas developed above is the reverse of the previous question (q. 105). It is: "Are poor teachers punished?" (q. 106). Response: (a) no (c. 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 15, 17, 18); (b) sometimes (c. 4, 11, 19); (c) yes, by students (c. 14, 16); (d) yes, released (c. 20). This question means "Are teachers who fail to live up to your idea of a good or successful teacher punished?" (q. 88). In some cases the respondents tried to reverse their answers to q. 105. Where they answer self-satisfaction there, they tried to use dissatisfaction here. They saw that this would not work, as the dissatisfaction would apply to essentially "good" teachers who felt they were not doing as well as they might. This left punishment primarily up to the legal administrative system of the school, or to the students. Most cases, however, felt that poor teachers were not punished at all. This indicates that they felt their ideas extending from the professional order were not enforced in the school. In two cases, a way around was found in the belief that poor teachers would have greater difficulty with the students. The evidence seems to favor the idea that the organizations backing the legal or traditional orders are not regarded by these actors as being particularly concerned with the professional order. At least conformity to this order tends not to

be rewarded, nor deviation punished.

We can also look for the factors which the actors perceive as being relevant to the traditional or legal orders, and which are backed by punishment and reward. Teachers were asked: "What sort of things get a teacher reprimended, transferred, or fired?" (q. 15). This question should reveal what is regarded as important by organizations in a position to punish. The responses were: (a) not obeying school regulations and neglect (c. 2, 7, 12, 15, 16); (b) immoral conduct (c. 8, 10, 17; second choice c. 1, 4, 5, 6, 9, 12, 18); (c) poor teaching and incompetence (c. 9, 14, 18); (d) discipline (c. 1, 4, 5, 6; second choice, 7, 13, 14, 15, 17, 20); (e) drinking (c. 13, 19, 20); (f) moving ahead of the community or administration (c. 11); (g) becoming more popular than the administrators (c. 3). The listing above implies that some different views are believed by teachers to be held of what is a good or successful teacher by those in a position to reprimand or fire from those held by the teachers themselves. Their image if professionally oriented of a good or successful teacher is neither punished nor rewarded while it is other, quite different, factors which receive the attention of the system. In fact, conformity to the professional order may be punished as is indicated by one actor (q. 49, c. 3) who says: "It is dangerous to go beyond routine duties."

The conclusion is that there are several more or less explicit views as to what a teacher is, and they are rewarded and punished in varying degrees. These views stem from different legitimate orders and the actors may or may not accept any one of them as legitimate. The actors may be

faced with the dilemma here, in that aspects of the relationship of their involvement with the station which they regard as legitimate and important (e. g., being a good teacher) are not recognized by the system which controls the rewards and punishments. They may recognize this fact by directing their feeling of responsibility to themselves or to their students (q. 39), but then they turn around and wish recognition from these systems (q. 105, 106, 107, 109).

This whole problem is certainly not clear in the minds of many of them. Some of the more acute actors mentioned that they were contradicting themselves. In many cases, there was a feeling that doing what one thought was right was not rewarded and might even be punished. (c. 12, q. 106: "Are poor teachers punished?" "More apt to be rewarded, Keep your mouth shut, teach the same way for twenty years, and you get to be principal.") The actors seemed not to be clear about the problem itself, and confused as to what to do about it.

It is possible that the professional order may be accepted as legitimate and binding by a whole school system and these systems may utilize their authority to back the professional order with punishment and reward. This can serve to increase the validity of the professional order, and reduce the stressful conflict that professionally involved actors can face in other systems. There were two cases (c. 8, 11) who were in a situation approaching this. However, it is difficult for a situation of this character to obtain. The small school system tends to be captured by a traditional order, and the large school system by a rational-legal order involving bureaucracy and formalism. Both cases offer elements of conflict

to the professional order.

D

In attempting to obtain some distinctions between the cases in the area of authority, two measures have been developed. One is a measure of actor-perceived restrictions and the other of the actor's perception of authority as external or internal. This division was made because of the nature of the empirical data as well as for the theoretical reasons. The questions used drew responses which can be meaningfully used in these two methods of analysis. Thus, these approaches represent an analysis of authority in somewhat the same manner as it appears as a problem to the actor.

The nature of the actor involvement with the area of authority is particularly revealed by finding out how and in what ways being in the station is restrictive to the actor. (in the sense that the actor feels his personal or professional behavior is curtailed in ways undesired by him). Actors vary in what they feel and how they regard the demands of the station. Some actors find that being a teacher leads them to feel that restrictions are placed upon their overt or covert behavior. While this sense of restriction should vary, depending upon outside circumstances, it should also vary according to the kind or degree of involvement he has with the station. A feeling of restrictedness is individual and relative.

These following quantitative findings are dependent upon the sample and apply only to the universe from which it is drawn. The general structural implications and methodological findings do not involve the same sampling problem.

Restrictedness which arises in holding a given station is an index to certain actor-perceived relations to authority (or legitimate order). The feeling of being restricted can arise when one is compelled (or feels one is compelled) to behave in a manner not completely acceptable to one-self. This would also include what he perceives as undesirable types of interpersonal relations with the community or larger society. Restrictedness can be a measure of the stress involved for the actor in adjusting himself to what he perceives as the demands of the station upon him. Those actors high in a feeling of restrictedness are experiencing more stress in occupying the station, while those low in this feeling find it to be relatively unstressful for them. Thus, while restrictedness may be viewed as a measure of present stress, it is a product of two factors: the situation as the actor perceives it, and the reference by which he judges it.

No situation, as we have stated previously, is either stressful or restrictive per se, and is only so when judged with reference to what the actor perceives himself as being or needing.

We are not holding the restrictive character of the actor's environment constant. This would be impossible, because what may be perceived by the actor as restrictive is almost without limits. The approach here is to see if restrictedness is an index of different views of authority and the use of different references.

The responses in the schedule have been analyzed in an attempt to find those which indicate in some way a restrictive feeling associated with occupying the station. Little account was taken of the degree of

restrictedness indicated in a given question. Responses were merely added up to obtain the total for each case. Theoretically there is some justification for this simple procedure, in that one can expect those with the lowest total scores to give generally responses indicating less restrictedness; while those with higher scores should more often give answers which indicate a higher degree of restrictedness. Thus, the ranking of the cases would be expected to be the same, whether the individual responses were weighted or not, although the total range of the distribution would be increased if the responses were weighted.

The questions have been arranged in rank order according to the number of relevant responses that they drew. The cases have also been arranged in descending order (in the table) according to the total number of responses made. It should be noted in looking at the table that the pattern of responses tends to approach a true ranking pattern.

For the purposes of describing what has been done, the questions have been divided into three groups according to the number of relevant responses they receive. Group I runs from seven to fourteen, II from two to four and III from those questions which drew only one response.

Group I:

- q. 25 "Do you think that high school teachers have the kind of freedom, say, that college professors have?"
- q. 47 "Would you say that you are subject to the authority of the school only with respect to the impersonal and official obligations of your position?"
- q. 81 "Should teachers have definite hours of work and be free of work in their off hours?"

The restriction score is one measure of stress.

- q. 21 "Are there any ways in which you don't have as much freedom as other professionals in the community?"
- q. 160 "Do you feel that you can really participate in the activities of the various social groups without carrying over your position as teacher; without people reacting to you as a teacher?"
- q. 18 "Do you look at teaching as a way of life?"
- q. 26 *Are you more or less of a different person at school from what you are out of school?*
- q. 9 "Did you feel then (when you first graduated) that you could accomplish more teaching than you do now?"

Question \gtrsim provides its own reference and is relatively structured. It is useful not so much as a sign of a feeling of restrictedness but as an indicator of a high level of satisfaction for those who respond, "yes". This proves to be true of at least two (c. 7 and 8) of the four cases (c. 7, 8, 17, 18) who respond in this manner. Question 17 explores the extent to which they think the authority of the school reaches beyond it. This question shows to what degree the station is regarded as an "office" and legally limited. Question 81 is an index for the same factor in regard to time limitations. Question 21 is again a structured question with a particular reference provided. Question 160 is a measure of the feelings of restrictedness in interpersonal relations. Question 18 drew responses concerned with the restrictive "way of life". Question 26 is directed at determining whether their behavior in school is restrictive or

^{**}Office* is used in the sense in which Max Weber uses it in The Theory of Social and Economic Organization (New York., 1947).

natural to them. Question 9 drew responses related to the restriction that actors felt in attempting to achieve what they wanted.

Group II:

- q. 24 "In what ways has the recent demand for teachers affected their position and standing with the school and community?"
- q. 28 "If you were given unfair treatment by the school system, do you think anyone in the community would support you?"
- q. 55 "In what general ways would you say you have been influenced by other teachers?"
- q. 117 "How frank can a teacher be in his relations with parents, administrators and teachers?"
- q. 58 "On what things should teachers stick together?"
- q. 64 "When do teachers find themselves in opposition to the administration?"
- q. 97 "In what ways does teaching make excessive demands upon a person?"
- q. 6 "What has happened to this feeling of esprit de corps in the years since (you graduated)?"
- q. 104 "In what ways does being a teacher interfere with getting the things you want out of life?"

In this group there are only a few questions that necessarily call for a restrictive relevant response. The responses are brought up by the actor due to some factor of a restrictive nature being perceived by them in the area of the question.

Group III:

q. hh "In your position, do you ever feel it necessary to do things which you do not consider an official part of your job?"

- q. 49 "Are your duties routinized?"
- q. 131 What kind of things related to your position make you angry?"

This group of questions is the one least likely to draw responses related to restrictedness, as each question drew only one such response.

The total number of responses for this group is only three.

The results of the addition of responses for all three groups is a distribution of totals with a range from thirteen and one-half to one-half (in a very few cases half points were used for very minor responses). Thus, the cases can be ranked, and are so ranked in descending order in Table IX.

What does ranking demonstrate? As it stands, it is simply a distribution of cases according to the number of responses which are relevant to restriction or imply some imposition of behavior upon the actor due to his occupancy of the station. The question arises as to what the relation of these scores is to various types of legitimate order. Several combinations are possible: (a) A low rank may indicate a high degree of acceptance of the legal and traditional orders, to which conformity may be demanded. (b) A low score may also indicate a lack of involvement on the part of the actor in the area (as it has been tested). (c) A low score can also mean that the legally or traditionally oriented systems are not in a position to enforce conformity to their orders. (d) A high score can indicate little belief in the legitimacy of an order combined with some feeling of coercion to follow it, or inability to overcome or escape its consequences. (e) a high score may also indicate not so much a lack of belief in the legitimacy of the traditional and legal order,

TABLE IX

AN INDEX TO FEELINGS OF RESTRICTION IN THE STATION

	Total:	$13\frac{1}{2}$	$11\frac{1}{2}$	11,	10½	6	2	ر ا	ار نادة ر	īV.	w.	43	10-	175 175	7,	₹ 2 2 2	8	5	∾ົ	103	
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suc:	81	×	×	×	×	×	×	×				×				×	×		×		1
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but a feeling that one does not wish to be in the category of individuals upon whom these orders impinge. These actors may desire a greater degree of personal and professional freedom and prestige than they feel being a teacher offers them.

There are several means that can be used in checking on the interpretation that a high restriction total indicates less acceptance of the traditional or legal legitimate orders as binding, while a low score indicates a high degree of acceptance. One check is to compare the restriction totals with the Allport-Vernon Study of Values. The religious scale is compared with the restriction totals in Table X. (There were reasons for making this comparison. One was the hypothesis that a high religious score was likely to indicate an acceptance of traditional mores in the community and a willingness to submit to them.) The two highest ranking scores on restriction have the two lowest scores on religious values, while the two lowest in restriction have the highest scores on religion. To test the extent of the association between religious scores and restriction scores, a correlation analysis was made using Pearson's reformula: re-69

Margaret J. Hagood, Statistics For Sociologists (New York, 1947), p. 603.

The probability of this occurring by chance is less than one in a hundred according to Thomas C. McCormick, Elementary Social Statistics (New York, 1941), p. 306.

THE RELATION OF RESTRICTION FEELINGS TO RELIGIOUS SCORE ON ALLPORT - VERNON STUDY OF VALUES

TABLE X

Cases	Table IX (Restriction)	Allport - Vernon Religious Score
15 19 3 12 13 17 20 18 1 10 2 5 9 4 16 6 7 11 14 8	13 1 1 2 1 1 2 9 7 7 5 5 5 1 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2	21 27 X 49 X 35 38 43 X 43 X 44 47 40 44 47 57
	2	

While the result was a correlation of -.69, if the one consistently deviant case (c. 12) is left out, the correlation rises to -.85.

The indication is that a feeling of restriction is inversely related to the degree of religious value. One explanation is that a higher religious score indicates a high degree of acceptance of traditional and legal orders as legitimate and binding upon the actor. Therefore, the actor experiences less feeling of restriction in occupying the station. The feeling of restriction thus seems related to the kind of values that the actor holds.

Much research has been done in the educational field in the area of restriction, but this has been done in relation to the objective situation in which teachers are placed. As is indicated above, some aspects of the actor should be taken into account, as well as the situation, if conclusive statements about the restrictiveness of teaching are to be made.

The restriction scores were also compared to the theoretical scores from the Allport-Vernon study. This produced a direct relationship between high theoretical scores and high restriction scores. Chi-square tests were run on both the religious and theoretical scores in relation to restriction scores with the following results shown in Tables II and III. The results of these tests (religion and restriction = .05> P_e > .025, also theoretical and restriction the same), as well as the previous correlation, indicate that a feeling of restriction may well be related to theoretical scores and inversely related to religious scores.

These correlations hold only for the universe from which this sample comes. It does offer a hypothesis concerning teachers in general.

TABLE XI

A TEST OF THE RELATION OF RELIGION (ALLPORT - VERNON SCORE) TO RESTRICTION

	- 1	Λ	I	,
	7	7	14	
High Restriction 4 <mark>章 - 13</mark> 호	6	1	7	(
Low Restriction $1 - 4\frac{1}{2}$	1	6	7	В
	Low Religion 21 - $43\frac{1}{2}$	High Religion 43½ - 57		

χ² = 4.568 ¹ .05>P_o>.025

¹ Yates' correction (see M. Hagood, Statistics for Sociologists, p. 113) reduces the values (AB), (AC), (AC), (AB) each by 0.5.

TABLE XII

A TEST OF THE RELATION OF THEORETICAL SCORES (ALLPORT - VEFNOM) TO RESTRICTION

	Low Theoretical Scores 21 - 45	High Theoretical Scores 45 - 60	
Low Restriction 1 - 4½	6	1	7
High Restriction $4\frac{1}{2} - 13\frac{1}{2}$	1	6	7
	7	7	14

The distribution here is the same as in Table XI and the results are the same.

One case (c. 12) accounts for half the deviations found in the two Chisquare tests. If he were given a low restriction score, he would fall in to proper categories in both these tests. A review of the case reveals that, while he may have a strong religious value, it is not related to the acceptance of things as they are. He tends to place the problem of the lack of professional advancement on the administration:

"The administration helds back the wheels of progress." He feels that teachers should attempt to limit the demands made upon them, and is definitely in favor of unions. Personal restriction and better opportunities elsewhere are causing him to leave the field.

The results of the above relationships might be put as an hypothesis: higher feelings of restriction will arise in teachers who hold low religious values and high theoretical values (as measured by the Allport-Vernon test). The results indicate that further refinement and a more precise method should and could be used fruitfully on a larger sample. This finding tends to bear out one of the major underlying ideas in this study, that it is not the occupation which is stressful in itself but the relation of the individual to it. This fact has not been emphasized enough in past research concerned with teachers.

One other indication of the actor's involvement with authority may also be developed. This measure is an attempt to determine whether the actor feels that the authority which demands the performance of the duties of the station is external or internal. This distinction is related to Weber's idea of the difference between the reasons for maintaining

a legitimate order in force and the basis for "attributing legitimacy to the order".1

One would expect those who attribute legitimacy to the professional order to exhibit a greater internal sense of obligation in the performance of the duties of the station. When this is measured by the addition of a series of responses, the degree of self-involvement enters in as a factor. Table XIII presents an index to the actor's involvement with the station, as revealed in his sense of internal authority. The higher the total, the greater the expression of the feeling of internal authority on the part of the actor.

In Table XIII, both the questions and the cases have been ranked in descending order. The table was filled in on the basis of the kind of responses given to the following questions: (q. 44) "In your position, do you ever feel it necessary to do things which you do not consider an official part of your job? Why?" Response: (a) Yes, there is an obligation to the student, (b) Yes, there should be a personal acceptance of responsibility. The rest of the questions are listed in rank order according to number of relevant responses they received:

- q. 39 MAS a teacher, to whom do you consider yourself responsible?
- q. 105 "Are good teachers rewarded?"
- q. 78 *How can the improvement of the position of the teacher best be achieved?
- q. 18 "Do you look at teaching as a 'way of life'?"

Max Weber, The Theory of Social and Economic Organization (New York., 1947), p. 127.

TABLE XIII

AN INDEX TO FEELINGS OF INTERNAL AUTHORITY

	80 104 131 Total:	F	30	N 0	Να	o 6	- r	- 7	οı	ጥ ኒ	ላ፣	ላ ፓ	ላ ኦ	Λ-	- t	- t	=	ታ ሎ	ን ና	1 ^	ı —	1
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	12	×	×	×	×				×				×			×	!					6
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	112	×		×				×		×	×	×			×					×		æ
·	18	×	×	×	×	×	×		×			×										8
(78	×	×	×	×		×			×	×			×		×	×					10
_	!	×	×	×	×	×	×	×				×	×	×			×		×			12
Questions:	8	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×					×		×	×				15
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		×	×		×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×		×	×		⊣
	Cases	77	2	6	H	9	∞	M	٦	12	ដ	16	19	18	4	2	10	α,	20	Ц Д	<u>ا</u> ۲	Total: 17

- q. 112 "Do you ever find that what you feel to be your professional obligations conflict with, or cannot find expression in, the school system?"
- q. 76 "What things really ought to be changed in the life and work of teachers?"
- q. 91 "What are the most difficult situations you have faced?"
- q. 24 "In what ways has the recent demand for teachers affected their position and standing with the school and community?"
- q. 96 "What kinds of conflict does a teacher face?"
- q. 102 "Almost any job has its hazards or pitfalls which people in that position try to avoid. What are the three most serious things that could happen to you in your position?"
- q. 2 "What sort of things do you think the teacher training program that you went through was aimed at?"
- q. 67 "When has there been a difference between what other teachers expected you to do and what the administration expected of you?"
- q. 80 "How do teachers increase their status and position in the community?"
- q. 104 "In what ways does being a teacher interfere with getting the things you want out of life?"
- q. 131 "What kinds of things related to your position make you angry, and what do you do about it?"

The responses to the questions were totaled, and a distribution was produced with a range of from one to ten. A low rank indicates that few responses relevant to an internal feeling of authority were made, and a high rank that many were made. It seemed possible that this feeling of internal authority might be related to a feeling of altruism. The All-port-Vernon social scale is a measure of altruism. The relationship was

Relevant when it is indicated that there is moral obligation or a sense of accepted responsibility for action.

-11h-

checked using the Chi-square test, with the following results:

The Relation of Social Scores (Allport-Vernon)
to Internal Authority Scores

	Low Social 29 - 40‡	High Social 40+ - 51	Tot al
Low Internal 1 - $l_{1}^{\frac{1}{2}}$	5	1	6
High Internal	2	6	8
Total	7	7	14

$$x^{2} = \frac{(4.5) (5.5) - (2.5) (1.5) 14}{(7^{2}) (6) (8)}$$

$$x^{2} = \frac{6174}{2352} = 2.625$$

$$.10 > P_{0} > .05$$

The results tend to confirm the opinion that the responses in Table XIII are directed at some one factor, although the \mathbf{X}^2 test shows that the data do not quite reach the 5% level of probability.

Utilizing the distinctions that have been made so far, an analytical model or a paradigm can be constructed. In this the differently based systems of legitimate order are compared with the different actor involvements. The results are six major categories. See Table XIV). In the complete description of any given actor's involvement with the authority area, it is necessary to place the actor in one of the four categories under each of the different legitimate orders. An over-simplified and unqualified statement of what the three orders mean would be: traditional - the teacher as a member of the community; legal - the teacher as officeholder in a bureaucracy; professional - the teacher as a member of a profession. The individual as an actor will have some kind of involvement with each of the three orders. The involvement has been categorized into two main types: (1) the actor accepts the order as legitimate from his own point of view and morally binding upon him. (2) he doesn't accept it. The first is what we call internal authority in Table XIII. In either type the actor's behavior may or may not conform to the order. Thus, the actor may not conform to what he believes to be morally binding because he feels compelled to conform to some incompatible external order.

By occupying the station, the individual consciously or unconsciously makes decisions relating to these orders. Certain social systems are involved in backing the various orders and tend to punish deviations or reward conformity to a given order (an indication of these is made at the bottom of Table XIV). It is possible for the various orders to be compatible or re-enforcing, and the supporting systems may well back

TABLE XIV

ACTOR INVOLVEMENT IN LEGITIMATE ORDERS

Actor Involvement	olvement	Legi	Legitimate Orders	
		Traditional	Legal	Professional
Internal	Conformity	Н	II	III
(morally binding)	 			
	Non- Conformity	IV	Λ	VI c• 15 c• 3
External	Conformity	VII c. 15	VIII c. 15 c. 3	Ħ
	Non- Conformity		IX	IIX
Some Social Organiza- tion Backing Legiti- mate Orders.	l Organiza- 1g Legiti- 3.	Community Administration	Bureaucracy Teacher Train (Administration Institutions, especially) Professional Organizations (N. E. A., et	Teacher Training Institutions, Professional Organizations (N. E. A., etc.)

several orders. Thus, the legal bureaucracy may attempt to enforce the professional order.

Various combinations of relationships produce different types of stressful situations. A typical case as seen in Table XIV might be an actor falling into squares VII, VIII, and VI. This would be the actor who believes the professional order to be legitimate and binding upon him, yet he does not conform to it because his expedient conformity to orders which he considers external to him prevents it; c. 15 is of this character. The result is a desire on the part of this actor to leave the station. Case 3 probably falls in squares X, or VIII and VI. He is a non-conformist to the traditional order, and feels compelled to conform to the legal order, but considers the professional order to be the most legitimate one.

In one case, we were able to obtain a clear-cut statement from the actor, which demonstrates in part that the distinction between the three systems of order is a naturally occurring and empirical one. The distinction was a meaningful one to the actor. The question was asked:

"What kinds of conflicts does a teacher face?" (q. 96). The actor (c. 12) responded: The teacher's "own conception of his role, the administration's conception and the community's conception".

E

In this chapter there has been an attempt to demonstrate the three types of legitimate order relevant to the station. It has been shown how conformity to and deviation from them is differentially punished and re-

warded. Problems of validating an order have been dealt with, the actor's experience of restriction in relation to an order has been developed, and this factor has been related to religious and theoretical
scores on the Allport-Vermon Study of Values. An analysis has been made
of the actor's involvement with an order in terms of its authority being
internalized or externalized. And, finally, a paradigm has been developed which relates to the actor's involvement to the various systems of
order.

It was found that the actors studied differed quite widely in the way in which they related themselves to authority - that some were oriented to one system and to another. They seemed to be unclear about the various alternatives and this led to contradictions in their attitudes. It kept them from fully working for the attainment of goals they wanted. It caused a good deal of stress in such things as the discrepancy between what the actors felt they should receive as rewards and what they did receive, between how they wanted others to respond to them and how others did respond. He is caught in the center of a confused mixture of orders which place conflicting demands on him. Stated oversimply: He is caught between the structural demands of bureaucratic organization, the traditional demands of the community, and a series of *ideal" demands associated with the profession. This kind of confusing situation, "Mack of a cognitively clear structure", can have at least four consequences: (1) random behavior, (2) rigid or routine behavior. (3) withdrawal from the situation physically or psychologically, (4) a wide discrepancy between verbal expression and action. A fifth response is to concentrate upon those things that are clear. Wages, hours, and conditions of labor are goals which are becoming clearer to teachers as are the means of achieving them. They are increasingly mobilizing power to reach these goals and to clarify their position in this area.

Authority relationships are not clearly dealt with as such, too often, but a good deal of material is relevant to this area. As a demonstration of teacher relation to authority let us use the responses of 920 teachers who were asked this question: The standards of behavior expected of teachers by administration should not be stricter than those expected by society of any average citizen. A full 52.6% agreed with this while only 26.1% felt that the school systems they taught in agreed with this.

In analyzing the policy of recruitment, Alilunas comes to the conclusion that there is a "widespread demand for teachers who (1) are cheap, (2) maintain discipline, (3) are submissive, (h) who are socially dull."

This tends to support the hypothesis in this chapter that the bureaucracy may very often demand and reward a different kind of station holder with different involvements that might be considered ideal by others. No one would claim the above description was of the ideal professionally involved teacher. Kimball Young tends to support this with his characterization of teachers "as docile, timid, and conservative."

M.L. Story, "Public Attitude is Changing Toward the Teacher's Personal Freedom", Nation's Schools. v. 45, pp. 69-70.

Leo Alilunas, "Needed Research in the Teaching of Mental Hygiene", Journal of Ed. Research. v. 38, p. 356.

Teachers feel inferior because too many weak personalities enter teaching.

They submit themselves to a domination composed of a hangover of the theological tradition of an earlier America and of an entrenched power of economic-political cliques which run the community.

Cook, in his article dealing with a tremendous number of teachers, has an excellent chart dealing with differences in expectancies between school boards, teachers and students. This emphasizes the different aspects of the station which are perceived as legitimate by teachers and ty those running the school. This supports the hypothesis of different legitimate orders backed by different social system all impinging upon the station of the teacher and causing the actor often to be faced with stressful conflicts or with lack of reward or punishment. Cook also points out that "disapproval reaction decrease with community size". This tends to support the hypothesis that the increasing community size means larger bureaucracies, more depersonalization of the relationship, a novement toward a contractual basis, and the great anonymity of the city.

Cook indicates some of the reactions that male high school teachers had to community control of non-school conduct: 42.4% accepted, 9.8% rebeled, 1.0% protested, 4.7% evaded, 20.9% felt that education of the community was the method they would use, miscellaneous, 19.9%.

Ibid., p. 349-52.

Lloyd Cook, "Community Contacts of 9,122 Teachers", Social Forces. v. 19, p. 70,

^{3&}lt;sub>Ibid., p. 71</sub>.

¹bid., p. 71.

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This indicates a large percentage of the teachers notice and react to discrepancies between what the community expects from them as teachers and what they themselves as teachers consider legitimate expectations. The percentage of stronger reactions is brought down by the continual turnover of teachers who feel most strongly about this and leave the field. This would seem to indicate a wide conformity to the demands which are part of the legitimate order of the community, while these are not fully regarded as legitimate by the teacher - a system of expedient conformity to an order.

Polmantier notices that one of the stresses for teachers is the failure of administrators to "back teachers" and this is part of the separation of administration into an almost separate profession. The position of the administrator is unclear as to whether he is with teachers or over them representing the community. The bureaucratic, and management labor type of division to be separating him from the teachers. Several of the interviewees felt they would not want to be administrators for this very reason - that they would be caught in the middle between teachers and community.

Kvaraceus in a study of mental health hazards tested sixty-seven graduate students and found that thirty-seven experienced the hazard of conflicts with administration policy, and thirty-six had personality

P. C. Polmantier, "Why Teachers Go Crazy", Journal of Education, v. 130, p. 290.

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conflicts with administration. Over half of these actors had come into conflict with the administration over what they thought was legitimate. The administration is seen not as the sole source of authority. The teacher's conception of his legitimate duties stems from other sources including the professional order. Further, forty of these teachers, well over half, felt the danger of expressing an honest opinion of the schools. This is related to the conceptions of punishment and reward we have dealt with.

Spears in talking about the things that disturb beginning teachers finds that lack of cooperation between teachers, or between teachers and administrators is important.

One indication of the difference in status expectancies between the actor and those in authority is the statistic: 20% (of 2, 055 classroom teachers) felt they were "subjected to detrimental supervision."

The authority area is one of tremendous importance in the study of any station. In modern society, with many dis-functional relationships between orders, there is a complex situation with many possible stresses. Only a few of the relationships have been touched on in this chapter.

Kvaraceus, W. D., Mental Health Hazards Facing Teachers", Ehi Delta Kappan, v. 32, p. 349.

²H. Spears, What Disturbs the Beginning Teacher, School Review, v. 53, p. 458-63.

Leo Alilunas, "Needed Research in the Teaching of Mental Hygiene", Journal of Educational Research, v. 38, p. 661.

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IIIV

THE AREA OF PROFESSIONAL INVOLVEMENT

In the preceding section dealing with authority, certain aspects of the professional area were also developed. In this section some of the various aspects of what it means to be a professional, and the implications that this holds for action and for stress, are analyzed. There will be no attempt to develop a complete analysis of this extremely complex area. A few indications will be drawn from the schedules in the hope that they will lead to certain conclusions pertaining to actor perceptions in this area.

The initial viewpoint used in the analysis of this area was that the "ideal type" of professional involvement would center on the fact that the actor had a "calling," and was one who displayed a wertrational type of involvement.

Related to these is the concept of service. In distinguishing between the cases on the basis of service, an empirical dichotomy appears in responses to the schedule. The distinction is between those involving themselves with the station in terms of service versus those involved in terms of self-interest. In many individual cases, the distinction is not clear-cut, but some rather extreme cases do appear. This distinction is made explicitly (although not using these exact terms) by some

^{1&}quot;A devotion to a task without ulterior motives." More can be found on this concept in: Max Weber, Theory of Social and Economic Organization (New York, 1947), p. 33.

of the more service-involved teachers. They note the distinction between what they regard as the "right" involvement with the station and the kind that is "all too often" displayed. "That is one of my gripestoo many lunk-heads in it, which keeps it from being a profession, as it should be." (c. 9). In this section then, several things will be attempted: (1) The variety of perceptions of teachers concerning what being a professional means will be analyzed; (2) the cases will be distinguished on the bases of at least two criteria, (a) "calling" and Wertrational and (b) service; (3) several extreme cases at either end, for both high and low professional involvement, will be described.

The distinction between self-interest and service appears in responses to several questions. Probably the most important place is in the response to the question (q. 125): "What kind of a person are you? Tell me in three sentences who you are?" This question is directed at discovering the major self-perceptions of the actor. If a service-related response occurs in answer to this question, one can presume that it is relatively significant to the actor. The answers tended to be of two types. The first can be called the restricted or limited response type. In these cases the actors often had difficulty in thinking of three statements to make about themselves. They gave such things as: name, teacher, location, doing graduate work, married (c. 2, 5, 10, 14, 16, 17, 18, 20). A typical response would be: "My name is ______. I teach botany and math at Blank High School. I am married and have a family of one boy" (c. 18). The second type involves a service-relevant response: "I am a person deeply interested in influencing our ed-

ucational system to change in the direction of bettering human relations ... (c. 12). (Service responses: c. 3, 6, 9, 11, 12, 15) The meaning of the limited response is not completely clear in terms of service because the response that one is a teacher may imply service to the actor making it. However, it is strongly indicated that those making the service responses have a greater degree of involvement with service than those making the limited responses. One method of determining this is to use a Chi-square test comparing these responses with the Allport-Vernon social scores (a measure of altruism) shows a significant association with the probability: $.025 > P_0 > .01$.

	Service Response	Limited Response	Total
Low A-V Social 40-	0	6	6
High A-V Social 41+	5	1	6
Total	5	7	12

In continuing the analysis of the service versus self-interest distinction, the actor's perception of what it means to be professional is important. They were asked: "What does it mean to be a professional?" (used in connection with q. 19). The responses were: (a) service (c. 7, 12, 19, 20); (b) training (c. 1, 2, 9, 10, 14, 16, 20); (c) entire life's work (c. 8, 11, 18); (e) requires certain personal qualities (c. 8, 9, 13, 19, 20); ethical, professional and moral obligations (c. 2, 4, 6, 7, 9,

13, 15); (g) organization (c. 9, 13); (h) teaching lacks the prestige and economic factors necessary to be a profession (c. 1, 2, 15). This question is not as close an indication of the actor's involvement with the station as the previous one as it is more structured and is apt to draw a more stereotyped and less spontaneous response. However, using the total response, one does get a picture of the profession as viewed by the actors. This picture shows that being a professional involves a moral obligation to serve. It demands special training and attributes on the part of the actor; it should involve the total working capacity of the actor, and he should contribute to the development of the field. It should be organized as a profession and receive appropriate prestige and economic return.

One relationship which appears is that all those who concentrate their response on training (q. 19) also give limited responses to q. 125. Their perception would seem to be that a professional is one who is primarily trained, rather than someone who serves, and that this view appears in their self-image.

The teachers were also asked the question (q. 88): "If you heard it said someone was a successful teacher, what would that imply to you?".

The responses can be compared with those to q. 19 above. Responses: (a) helps and is respected by community and children (c. 2, 3, 6, 8, 12, 14); (b) teaches students their role or position in life (c. 9, 10); (c) professional achievement (c. 4, 7); (d) continued growth of the teacher (c. 18); (e) prepares students to meet needs and enjoy themselves (c. 16); (f) furthers individual growth and development (c. 15, 19); (g) knows

material and handles discipline (c. 13); (h) has the confidence of the administration (c. 5); (i) has love, faith and conviction (c. 11); (j) gets the most out of the child (c. 20); (k) gets students to solve problems (c. 17). In these responses, the emphasis again falls upon service. However, there is an interest in the local community and a desire for respect from it. This indicates an involvement with more than one legitimate order. No mention is made of recognition from fellow professionals (unless "professional achievement" can be counted). The same seems to hold true in relation to the legal order, in that only one case mentions the "confidence of the administration". Many of the elements involved in the description of the professional do not appear in that of the "successful teacher". The three main elements which do appear in connection with a "successful teacher" are: (1) service, (2) respect of students and community, (3) guiding methods or aims in the student-teach er relationship.

When a more structured question (q. 78) is presented, involving the courses of action, there is a more clear-cut division between the cases. Teachers were asked: "How can the improvements in the position of the teacher best be achieved?" Response: (a) being the kind of people the community respects (c. 11); (b) educating the public (c. 7, 10, 14, 18); (c) better training and selection (c. 5, 8, 9, 12, 13); (d) more organization (c. 3, 4, 6, 15, 16, 19); (e) change relations to administration (c. 1, 2, 3); (f) federal control (c. 20). The main response is "organization", yet this is something which is relatively unimportant in the actor definition of professional or teacher. When asked directly if

teachers should have stronger organizations, all actors but one (c. 11) answer 'yes'.

The belief in organization thus appears not to be strongly tied in with any of the legitimate orders discussed in the previous chapters. yet it is recognized by almost all of them as being of importance. The professional order incorporates some concept of organization for teachers, and, even here, this is opposed by contradictory beliefs contained in the order, especially that of individualism and an orientation towards the local community. One case (c. 11) manifests this latter point rather clearly. He believes that the position of teacher can best be improved by "being the kind of person the community respects"; that teachers should not have stronger organizations; that the N. E. A. does too much for teachers; that teacher problems can be best handled locally; that there should be no teachers' unions; that the school should be a part of the community and an extension of the home. A successful teacher, to him, is one who has "love, faith and conviction". As to whom teachers have to convince in order to get what they want, he answers. "Themselves". (This case manifests a consistency which the others are not able to maintain. He apparently experiences a low degree of stress due not only to the content of his belief, but to its consistency.)

The concept of a "calling" was introduced previously as one to be used, as well as "service" in analyzing this area. Several questions can be used as indices for this concept. Teachers were asked (q. 16):

"Do you consider teaching as you would any job?". Many responses were such as follows: "No, it is creative - helping people. A twenty-four

No indication of blockage given in entire interview as far as can be determined.

hour-a-day commitment and a challenge." (c. 1, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 14, 16, 20). These two questions begin to select those actors who view teaching as a "calling". Additional questions could provide a more restricted selection of cases with higher involvement. These cases will be compared below with other factors indicating professional involvement. An element related to the idea of the "calling" is the concept of Wert-rational. That is, does the actor guide his behavior in this manner:

The sole important consideration to the actor becomes the realization of the value. Insofar as it involves ends, rational considerations, such as those of efficiency, are involved in the choice of means. But there is no question either of rational weighing of this end against others, nor is there any question of 'counting the cost' in the sense of taking account of possible results other than the attainment of the absolute end. In the case of Zweckrational on the other hand, Weber conceives action as motivated by a plurality of relatively independent ends, none of which is absolute. Hence, rationality involves on the one hand, the weighing of the relative importance of their realization, on the other hand, a consideration of whether undesirable consequences would outweigh the benefits to be derived from the projected course of action.

The implications of these two types for the present analysis would seem clear, although not easy to test. However, some actors may be strongly involved in the realization of the professional goals in teaching and have relatively little involvement with other goals, such as money or prestige. This type seems best illustrated by case 11 which has been discussed above.

This case exhibits a high degree of unity in his responses, indicating a clear cut direction of purpose limited to the professional area.

Max Weber, Theory of Social and Economic Organization (N. Y., 1947)
p. 115.

Other cases such as 13 seem to manifest more of a <u>Zweckrational</u> type of approach to the station in his interest in achieving several types of ends.

The kinds of stress experienced by the two types would be quite different in some respects. In the <u>Westrational</u> type little stress should be felt under personal restriction or a lack of money, because these ends do not weigh heavily against the absolute one. Stress is likely to be experienced primarily when the achievement of the absolute end is interfered with. In the other type stress may be felt when any one of the various ends is interfered with: realization of these various ends may require contradictory courses of action and present stressful dilemmas to the actor. The actor of this type has certain stress-relieving possibilities in that, when one end is interfered with, others may still be realized.

The series of questions and responses from the schedule was analyzed in an attempt to get a rough ranking of the cases in regard to their <u>Wert-rational</u> approach. As no one comes out and says "I have a <u>Wertrational</u> type of integration with the station," therefore responses were selected which indicate a singleness of ends or a strong predominance of ends in the professional area over those in other areas.

The following questions were used. (They are listed in rank order according to the number of relevant responses, and an illustrative response is given for each question.)

- q. 38 "Do your duties extend beyond the school day? Should they?" (Response: "Yes, and they should.")
- q. 16 "Do you consider teaching as you would any job?"

 (Response: Indicates a twenty four hour day or total commitment.)

- q. 81 "Should teachers have definite hours of work and be free in their off hours?" (Response: No)
- q. 104 "In what ways does being a teacher interfere with getting the things you want out of life?"

 (Response: "In no ways ...")
- q. 76 "What things really ought to be changed in the life or work of teachers?"

 (Response: More professional opportunities ...)
- q. 82 "Should teachers be paid extra for work that extends
 beyond the school day?"
 (Response: No ...)
- q. 102 "What are the most serious things that could happen to you in your position?"

 (Response: "Falling into a rut ...")
- q. 97 "In what ways does teaching make excessive demands upon a person?"

 (Response: "It doesn't. We are all capable of more.")
- q. 19 "Do you consider yourself to be a professional person?"
 (Response: "Yes, it is my entire life's work.")

The results are presented in Table IV. The cases are ranked upon scores which range from zero to ten. The extreme cases should indicate fairly clear-cut differences between each other. These differences should be related to other aspects of the professional involvement. Before it can be related, however, other indices will have to be developed.

An element in the professional area which developed out of the empirical data was the difference between what one may call an "ideal" and a status quo orientation. The professionally involved actor is one attempting to achieve something not completely realized at present; he is

This is related to "Ideals" not "ideal type".

AN INDEX OF WERTRATIONAL INTEGRATIONS WITH STATION

TABLE XV

Cases: 38 16 81 104 76 82 102 97 19 11 X X XX X X X X X X X X X X X X X	10 7
11 X X XX X X X X X X X X X X X X X X X	7
8	7
	7
18	
3 XX X X X X	6
5 x xx x x x	6
114 X X X X X X	6
6 x x x x x	5
9 XX X XX	5
16	5
4	6665554
19 X X X X	
1 XX X	3
7 XX X	3
10 X X X	3
12 X X X	3
20 X X	2
13 X	1
13 X 15 X	4 3 3 3 3 2 1 1
17 X	1
2	0

attempting to create a world patterned after his ideals. Other actors with a low degree of professional involvement are more content with the status quo, with things as they are in the field of education. This was a source of stress for some actors who found that their ideals could not be realized in the situation in which they found themselves. (e. g., c. 3: "Did the feeling that you couldn't accomplish as much as you wanted to ever bother you?" "Yes, it drove me out of education at one time.")

Those oriented more toward the traditional or legal systems of order are less likely to experience stress as a result of this discrepancy between "ideal" and the status quo.

The field of education is apparently one where a rather wide discrepancy can arise, as there is a strong idealistic orientation yet many of the school systems are generally firmly lodged in the traditional order of the community. This discrepancy could be analyzed using Benedict's concept of "cultural discontinuities". The actor is expected to pass from one station to another, yet the training and conditioning he receives in the first station is in part inadequate or disfunctional when he occupies the next station.

A small group of questions has been selected which drew responses indicating a feeling of discrepancy between the "ideal" and the status quo. Four questions were used:

- q. 11 "Was your first year of teaching difficult?"
- q. 10 "Did the feeling that you couldn't accomplish as much as you wanted ever bother you?"

- q. 112 "Do you ever find that what you feel as your professional obligations conflict with or cannot find expression in the school system?"
- q. 116 "Does the community keep the school from doing the best modern scientific job of teaching?"

The results (see Table XVI) show a ranking of cases with a range from three to zero. The three's and two's in the top half express a greater interest in the realization of professional ideals, while the one's and two's in the lower half are apparently more content with the status quo. This index seems to measure not only professional ideals but a general desire for achievement as well. This is indicated when we compare the above rankings with responses to the following question (q. 127): "What are the things you would like to get out of life?" One category of response was, "Achievement". All cases in this category fell in the top half (c. 13 is at rank ll just below the middle) of the ranking and four out of the five cases were in the top rank with a score of three (see Table XVI).

The distinction between "ideal" and status quo arose from the data, and appears more distinctly when the whole case is read. The table gives some indication of this distinction, but more directed questions could be developed. It was indicated above that this kind of analysis may be directly related to the level of aspiration and achievement. The problems in this area would also seem to have direct bearing on the kind and amount of stress. This kind of stress should occur in a large number of different stations and be suitable for general theoretical development. The response to this kind of stress in the case of some teachers would seem to be to leave the station: "It drove me out of education at one time" (c. 3); "Not accomplishing; I wonder if I'm in the right field".

TABLE XVI

IDEAL AND STATUS QUO RELATIONSHIPS

Quest	7TO119	3 •			
Cases: 11	10	112	116	Total	127
3	X	Х	X	3	
14 9 X	X	X	X	3	A
9 X		X	X	3	A
12 X	X	X		3	
12 X 14 X 15 X 19 X	X	X		3 3 3 3 3 3 2 2	A
15 X		X	X	3	A
19 X	X		X	3	
8 x	X			2	
10 X			X	2	
10 X 11 X 13 X	X			2 2	
13 X		X		2	A
1	X			1	
2 X				1	
5			X	1	
16		X		1	
18 X				1	
20 X				1	
				Ò	
7				1 1 1 1 0 0	
17				0	

A = Achievement

Another type of reaction, as far as can be noted from the schedule, is the simple stress experience itself: "The frustration of being unable to bring about the situation that I saw as right ..." (c. 12) "You want to do so much, but you are limited by finance, facilities and personnel." (c. 14) "It was the most difficult year I ever put in ... I didn't know what to do. I expected too much of students. I felt almost completely isolated; I was frustrated at not being able to reach goals." (c. 15) "It was more difficult than I had thought to alter the existing structure." (c. 19). A third type of response indicates resignation to the status quo: "It was depressing when I was all fired up, and had no way to get rid of the steam. Now I just do what I have to." (c. 13).

Another aspect of the professional area which should be closely related to the ideal, status quo distinction is that of routine. Does the actor see teaching as a routine job or not? This again looks like a question concerning fact, but in reality it is revealing of the kind of involvement that the actor has with the station.

The question (q. 49) asked was, "Are your duties routinized?". The responses were: (a) "Yes." (c. 2, 5, 13, 17, 20); (b) "Yes, but not too rigid." (c. 10, 15); (c) "Yes, it is dangerous to go beyond that." (c. 3); (d) "No." (c. 1, 4, 6, 9, 12, 16); (e) "No, varied." (c. 7, 8, 11, 18, 19). Here is a wide distribution of response, which indicates that, although the station is not routinized per se, it can be approached by the actor in a variety of ways. The question seems to be a highly discriminating one in that the cases one would judge (by review of the

total case) to be least professionally involved fall into the <u>a</u> category; those of high involvement fall into the <u>e</u> category; and those of intermediate involvement in the middle category. Even the distinction between the "No" and the "No, varied" responses appears important. Those actors who give the "No, varied" response all rank higher in the other indices of the professional area which have been developed above. The professionally oriented actor would be expected to feel that the station was not routinized, but, rather, "creative" and "dynamic". This would be instilled through the concepts which are used in the training institution, such as: individual differences, democracy, individualism, growth and development, and other concepts of a non-static viewpoint.

A variety of aspects of the professional area have been developed in this chapter. They were used to analyze parts of a larger pattern of involvement that the actor might manifest within the professional area. the analysis was to be made in terms of high or low involvement with the professional area. The best method of presenting some picture of the way the different aspects are related in this area is to analyze two cases typifying high involvement and two cases typical of low involvement.

of their responses to the questions which have been used so far in this chapter. In response to (q. 125): "Tell me in three sentences who you are" - one gave service and the other gave personal characteristics, as, being friendly, etc. Their A-V Social scores were 41 and 44. In regard to teaching as a profession, they both regard it as fully professional, and this means that it is something that the actor has to live completely.

Their idea of the successful teacher (q. 88) was: (1) "That he was respected by children, parents, and community, and enjoys his work." (c. 8); (2) *A good teacher loves boys and girls, people, his job ... his faith and conviction are assured and do not depend on the immediate environment (c. 11). When asked how improvements in the position of the teacher could best be obtained (q. 78), they answered: "Through the certification of teachers ... making sure they are adequately trained". (c. 8). "Feeling strongly enough, being the kind of person the community respects - then everything else will come." (c. 11). When asked if teachers should have stronger organizations (q. 83), they answered: "Yes, if a professional group. " (c. 8) "No, if you mean a stronger voice in the legislature. Improvement depends on the individual. Teachers might organize for the good of the profession, but not to improve their own position." (c. 11). The response as to whether teaching is like any job (q. 16) was: "I'm a stickler on that. I don't regard it as a job. but purely as a profession. One is trained in child growth, etc., and competent. It is as much a profession as law or medicine. Many teachers don't however; to them it is just a job. I don't know if my work ever ends." (c. 8) "No, regardless of the job you are doing, you can make it worthwhile - a better job. Teaching offers more opportunities to make it that sort of job. /It requires dealing with people, etc., it is not routine. " (c. 11). When asked if teaching was to be their career, they both answered, "Yes".

The analysis of the wertrational factor gave these two cases the highest rankings. The study of the "ideal" and status quo distinction

puts both cases in the second rank. It is not felt that this is an exact reflection of their orientation due to the way this table was developed. In trying to explain these two cases (it was expected that they would be in the highest rank) it was seen that the table is more of an index for an awareness and concern over the relation of ideals to reality due to a blockage in their achievement. These cases see so much to be done, and its achievement is perceived as depending upon the individual. They are much less likely to place inhibiting factors in the achievement of ideals in the social structure. For example, when asked if the community kept the school from doing the best job of educating (q. 116), one case (c. 11) answered: "No - teachers do, if anybody." Another example would be the response to (q. 77): "Whom do teachers have to convince in order to get what they want?" Response: "Themselves. The only thing they have to be afraid of is themselves" (c. 11). In the other case (c. 8) the feeling is somewhat the same: "Education offers an opportunity to teach the whole community."

Neither of these cases brought up "achievement" in response to the question (q. 127): "What are the things you would like to get out of life?", yet, 'achievement' is the response given by over half of the highest ranking cases. (See Table XVI.) The involvement of these two cases seems best expressed in response to the questions (q. 7, 8) concerning what they wish to achieve in their life and career. Response:

(a) "I enjoy working with kids: it is one of the most satisfying things"

(c. 8). (b) "I wanted very much to be as good a teacher as my potent—ialities would allow. Teaching offers an opportunity to share with

others, to give what you have gained ... opportunities (to accomplish things in teaching) are unlimited (c. 11). The question which asks whether their duties are routinized (q. 47) drew very definite responses:

"No, very varied." (c. 11) "Not at all ..." (c. 8).

The above material certainly gives a clearly-defined picture of the actor with relatively high professional involvement. However, it can be further highlighted by a presentation of two low-involvement cases for the purposes of contrast. Two cases (c. 17, 20) have been selected for a brief resume of factors regarding the professional area.

Both cases gave "limited responses" to the question (q. 125): "In three sentences, tell me who you are." Response: (a) "I am a teacher. I am working on an M. A. in ... (major field) ... I was born in ..., Michigan" (c. 17). (b) " ... is my name. I am a schoolteacher in ... It is a small rural community" (c. 20). The social scores (Allport-Vernon) for these cases were fairly low 29 (c. 17), 36 (c. 20).

The definition of what it meant to be a professional were as follows: (a) "Trying to do the best job you can, reading journals, etc. Using good ethics: not underselling another guy in getting a position, etc." (c. 17). (b) "A certain amount of education. A field where one has to use intelligence; entails some community function and service that others can't perform" (c. 20). In none of the responses so far, concerning who the actor was or what a professional was, has a clear statement of "service" appeared. The response to the question on the nature of a professional revealed a limited notion of professional ethics (c. 17) and an emphasis on training (c. 20).

Their notion of a "successful teacher" was more closely related to those high in professional involvement than some of their other ideas.

"They did a good job of getting students to solve problems. They have the interests of students at heart. There is a noticeable growth in students" (c. 17). "A person who somehow had the ability to meet the kids and get the most out of the children."

Improvement in the position of the teacher, it was felt, could best be obtained (q. 78) by: "Have a federal program to take money out of the hands of the school board. Wages should be equalized for equal jobs" (c. 20. Case 17 did not understand the question.) The answer as to whether or not teachers should have stronger organizations (q. 83) was: "Yes, to give teachers more security" (c. 17). "Yes, they need to organize more to get better positions; to set standards which the superintendent could not over-rule, some minimum standard of employment" (c. 20).

They were asked, "Do you consider teaching as you would any job?"

(q. 16). Response: "Oh, no! There is respect given to teachers which is satisfying. Your efforts are worth more, developing children" (c. 20). "It's a job, probably more than a job. Dealing with kids who are important to parents ... a lot more on your own than on a regular job" (c. 17). One case (c. 20) considered teaching as a career, the other said: "I am thinking of saving money and investing in a motel. I am not too satisfied with teaching" (c. 17). In the table dealing with Wartrational (Table IV), both cases rank in the lower half with a one and a two (c. 17, 20). Both are again in the bottom ranks in the table dealing with the "ideal" and the status quo (Table IVI). When questioned

as to whether their duties were routinized (q. 49), they responded: "Now they are, I have pretty much of a routine that I follow" (c. 17). "Yes" (c. 20).

The contrast with the high involvement cases in response as to the "hazards of the position" is noticeable: "To use too strict discipline and the parents might get down on you" (c. 17). "Doing something whereby the public might get down on me, and the school board would not renew my contract" (c. 20). Compared with these responses are those of the high involvement cases: "The hazard, if you are not alert, is that you may fall into a rut, repeating experiences year after year after year" (c. 11). "One must watch one's physical and mental health, with the continuous physical and mental strain of teaching" (c. 8).

Note that in the responses of c. 17, 20, and 11, the major hazard is looked upon as some violation of the duties of the station as prescribed by authority. However, c. 17 and 20 look to the public and administration as the source of authority, while c. 11 looks to himself. This is related to the kind of distinction that is made in Table XIII contrasting internal and external authority. The answer of c. 11 is also related to the question on the routinization of the job (q. 19). This he apparently perceives as one of the major failings one can make.

These four cases have been presented in an attempt to demonstrate the different patterns of response and to indicate the kinds and degrees of involvement within the professional area. A variety of indices have been introduced in this chapter and two tables have been developed, one dealing with Wertrational and the other with the distinction between the

"ideal" and the status quo.

Aspects of the professional area have been studied by a large number of authors. Reissman in his study of different role conceptions which is somewhat similar to different involvements, analyzed a variety of areas. One of these was the area involving intellectual dilemmas especially those between the job and professional ethics. In the chapter on the interrelation of areas we arrive at four possible types (and there are others) of patterns of involvement. Reissman has four types of bureaucrats: functional, specialist, service and job.

Alilunas discusses the variety of "taboos" that impinge on teachers:
"Social relations, personal dress and manners, personal habits, marriage,
political and religious activities, teacher's union membership, academic
freedom". All these factors bear on the individual in terms of restriction status and professional standing.

In his study of things that disturb beginning teachers Spears points up several factors reflecting on the professional area: "professional jealousy, teachers who don't seem to have any reason except habit for continuing in the profession. 'They're so far in a rut they'll never get out. Their whole world is made up of students, classroom and school.'" This illustrates the type of adjustment that individuals

L. Reissman, "A Study of Role Conception in A Bureaucracy", Social Forces, V. 27, p. 305.

can make to an initially stressful situation, when there is a conflict between what they are involved with and the environment, and when this environment tlocks realization. This kind of rigid habitual pattern prevents further stress. The stress for the new person still having high involvement lies in the realization that he may follow the same path as others: "You will find out differently after you've taught a while"; "That's what I thought too when I was your age." This illustrates the type of differences dealt with in the distinction between the Ideal and the Status Quo.

One of the problems facing teachers, which originates in their own professional concepts, and the status they are accorded in the community, is that of station-closure. There is a tendency on the part of some teachers to be involved with the station of teacher to the exclusion of other stations. This may be perceived by them as true professional involvement. At the same time the community attempt to prevent teachers from playing roles much different from teaching. They are expected to participate in the community in a service-teaching way in clubs, civic affairs, etc. However, the Review of Research in Mental and Physical Health points up studies that show that the best adjusted teachers participated in active outdoor and social hobbies, poorly adjusted more

luBut if the frustration becomes too intense, then adaptiveness may be lost, and stereotypes in behavior results. P. M. Symonds, Dynamics of Human Adjustment, (N. Y. 1946) p. 57-8.

²H. Spears, "What Disturbs Beginning Teachers", School Review, v. 53 p. 38-9.

frequently in work-type activities. Thus, certain types of professional involvement alone or combined with community pressures would appear to affect individual adjustment. (In this study we do not know the direction of the relationship.)

Hughes has mentioned one of the stressful conflicts felt by many teachers, and which is typical of professions. The conflict between the expectation of public confidence as a professional, yet interests which are opposed to the public. This is what seems to underlie the stresses involved in the conflict between economic involvement and professional ethics preventing a simple use of power to realize economic ends.

The general cultural characteristics of the sub-culture from which a large number of teachers come (upper-lower or lower-middle) is excellently portrayed by Birdwhistell. This type of cultural background strongly effects the character of the involvement of teachers just as it did the nurses he was studying. This is particularly true of the area of professional involvement. His treatment of this subject is lengthy and cannot be discussed here, but it should be referred to if one is interested in how cultural backgrounds affect, and creates stress in, actors when they move into occupational life. The nurses seem to be faced with

^{1 , &}quot;Mental and Physical Health", Review of Educational Research, v. 10, p. 225.

²E. C. Hughes, "Work and the Self" M. Sherif, <u>Social Psychology at</u>
the <u>Crossroads</u>, (N.Y., 1951).

³R. L. Birdwhistell, "Social Science and Nursing Education: Some Tentative Suggestions", University of Louisville, Lecture, mimeo.

dilemmas similar to the teacher. However, this is more striking when one relates this to the woman teacher.

The lack of control of the occupation by the professional group has been discussed in this chapter, it can be compared with the opposite type of situation in Hall's work dealing with the medical profession.

The professional area is one of great complexity, only a few of its more salient features have been studied in this chapter. The very meaning of profession is still unclear. This cannot be blamed on sociologists in that their meaning cannot be clearer than that which exists in reality. Now is a time when many groups are claiming professional status and they are using a variety of bases. Even the teachers are not agreed about the basis for their claim to professional status.

Oswald Hall, "The Stages of a Medical Career", American Journal of Sociology, v. 53, pp. 327-36. Also by Hall, "Sociological Research in the Field of Medicine: Progress and Prospects" (Paper read at the annual meeting of the Eastern Sociological Society, held in New Haven, March 31, 1951.)

IX

THE INTERRELATION OF AREAS OF INVOLVEMENT

This chapter attempts to study the interrelationships among a few of the indices from each area that has been discussed. It is expected that some degree of relationship exists between the various areas and that the total picture of involverent presented by combining all four areas makes a meaningful whole. It is possible that different types could be distinguished on the basis of different patterns of involvement between the four areas. This kind of analysis is not thought to be of central importance in an approach to an analysis of stress at this point, as stress has been studied as being a product of actor involvement in a given area rather than as a product of his total involvement with a station. Therefore, only a few simple relationships will be pointed out.

The analysis of the interrelationships of areas will be made through a brief outlining of four ideal types. These types will be illustrated from the case material. These will be "ideal" types into which the cases will fit with varying degrees of success. These types have been called:

(1) professional-religious; (2) professional-theoretical; (3) professional-economic; (4) non-professional economic. The various types will be analyzed through a selection of the indices from the previous chapters.

The first type, professional-religious, is conceived of as a type highly involved in the professional area. This involvement entails a strong moral commitment and responsibility, and it is of a Wertrational

or total character. The responsibility is to the actor himself or students and community; it is primarily of moral, not legal character. Thus, the involvement with the station is one based upon internal demands made by the actor upon himself, rather than by external demands imposed by other individuals or systems. He is not likely to feel restriction due to an internal commitment to what might be conceived of by others as restrictive. He places high emphasis on religion, especially in two aspects, that of service to others and acceptance of traditional ethics. Part of the actor's moral responsibility is this involvement with service and altruism and it is expressed in statements about who he is, as well as the social score from the Allport-Vernon study. This type is less likely than others to evaluate things analytically (theoretical Allport-Vernon Study of Values). He approaches things more from the socio-religious viewpoint. Due to the Wartrational type of involvement, the economic and status areas are of relatively low importance. If there is an interest in status, it is in the sense of raising the social esteem of the whole profession and not of himself as an individual. This type of actor will have a higher awareness of "ideals" for the profession as contrasted with the status quo. This may not be clearly represented in the scale developed, as this type of actor tends to perceive the achievement of ideals as a purely individual problem rather than as one involving other individuals and systems. This kind of individualization is in keeping with Christian religious concepts of individual salvation and individual responsibility. It is also in keeping with basic American democratic values and laissez-faire philosophy. Again this value is developed in professional training. One actor expresses a related idea in the following manner: "We are all capable of more." The locus of the problem is in the individual. They resist collective action; at most problems should not go beyond the community, which is thought to have its own "unique" and "individual" problems.

Several cases manifest a total pattern of involvement similar to the ideal type described above. Table XVII graphically presents for comparison a selected series of indices related to the above analysis. The responses of c. 11 are as follows: low economic involvement (T. I = 1); low security involvement (T. II = 0); medium Allport-Vernon economic score (41); low Allport-Vernon theoretical score (21); high Allport-Vernon social and religious scores (44 and 47); low status involvement (T. VI = 0); he feels that teachers receive as much respect as other professionals (q. 22); he connects status with the development of the profession, and this depends primarily on the individual; he feels he is responsible to students and parents (q. 39); his personal restriction score is very low (2); internal authority score is very high (T. XIII = 8); his image as to who he is involves a concept of service; the Wertrational score was the highest (T. XV = 10); the "ideal" versus status quo score was medium (T. XVI = 2). Much the same pattern can be observed in the response of c. 8 and c. 14. These two cases can be compared with c. 11 in the table.

In the description of these four types, a great deal of the professional area is omitted, as it was fully covered in the description of cases in the previous chapter. The two high involvement cases there were of the professional-religious type here.

INTERRELATION OF AREAS

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Indiv. or Prof.	Status P X	×××	Нац	НЧ	*****
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Table XV	10 7 6	M T T N	мчл	40	400405907
Table XIII	3 7 10	NNN	るなた	٦ ٣	ト ルト イクト クラ グ
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Table VI	0 6 1	0 W H	чич	Н0	してのこれをこのこの
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es Soc.	119	35	EX W	29 36	96F8Fxxxxx
- V Scores	21 153 38	149 60 37	77 X 77	146 52	25EEBXXXXX
A - TECO.	484	38	52 X 27	746 748	53£5xxxxx
Ø	H & 7	15	955	17	10077000 1007000
ට a se s	Prof. Rel.	Frof. Theo.	Prof. Eco.	Non- Prof.	Un- class.

Code for question 9: M = Myself, SP = Students and Parents, SA = Students and Administration, CA =
Community and Administration, A = Administration.
Code for question 125: S = Social, LR = Limited Response.
Code for major: NA = Non-Administration, A = Administration.
X = Undetermined.

A second pattern of involvement is that called the professionaltheoretical. The ideal type is much as follows: there will be a strong desire to be a professional person, accompanied by the feeling that many of the other actors are not, and that the systems in which the station is located are limiting that possibility. He feels restricted in his personal behavior due to traditional or bureaucratic limitations; he will manifest a moderate economic and security involvement; this is related to the low or medium wertrational score as the actor is less totally committed to the station. There is a relatively high service involvement, but service is given a more abstract and theoretical character, more removed from the particular community, and seen in terms of the society at large. It does not need to find its outlet in direct personal relations with others. This concept of service contrasts strongly with that found in the first type. This type manifests a relatively high "ideal" over status quo interest. He feels that his ideals are not being realized in the station and that is primarily due to factors existing in the social There is a strong theoretical approach to the station and to life in general. This is evidenced by factors some of which have been mentioned above and in the high theoretical score on the Allport-Vernon. There is a relatively low feeling of internal authority. This is reflect ed not only in a low wertrational score and the feeling of responsibility to the administration rather than to self or students, but primarily in the low internal authority score. He is more apt to feel lacking in full professional status and seek an answer in organizations which would raise the status of the profession.

The best illustration of this type is seen in the responses of c.

15: there is a moderate economic involvement (T. I = 5); a low security involvement (T. II = 1); a medium Allport-Vernon economic score (41); the Allport-Vernon scores for both theoretical and social values are high (49 and 50); the Allport-Vernon religious score is low (21); there is a moderate status interest; he feels that teachers do not receive as much respect as other professionals (q. 22); his responsibility is to the administration (q. 39); he gives the highest indications of restriction (T. I = $13\frac{1}{2}$). The question (q. 15) draws a service response; the Wartrational score is low (T. XV = 1); the "ideal" versus status quo score is high (T. XVI = 3). Cases 12 and 19 (and 3?) evidence much the same pattern and can be compared with the above cases in Table XVII.

A third type of pattern is the professional-economic. In this case the actor has a strong professional involvement coupled with strong economic and status involvements. The first type was relatively low in stress. The second type may have high economic involvement, but the essential conflict is located between theoretical and ideal factors and the demands of the station. In this, the third type, the conflict is centered upon the discrepancy between what exists in the station and the actor's economic and status involvements. It is interesting to note that the three cases illustrating the professional-theoretical type all were non-administration majors aspiring to move into a less conflictive position away from high school teaching, while the professional-economic type can solve their major problems by moving into the higher economic and status levels of administration, and all three illustrative cases are doing this (c. 9,

10, 13). The self-image should involve a moderate concept of service; religious value should be moderate; as well as most of the remaining factors. Responsibility would be to both student and administration; there would be a feeling that teachers do not receive full professional respect; there would be some willingness to organize to gain economic status and professional ends.

case 10 in part illustrates the above type: economic score is moderate (T. I = 7); the security score is low (T. II = 1); The Allport-Vernon economic score is the highest (52); the Allport-Vernon theoretical score is high (47); the Allport-Vernon social and religious scores are moderate (36 and 43); involvement in status is low (T. VI = 1); he feels that teachers do not receive as much respect as other professionals (q. 22); his responsibility is to students and parents (q. 39); the expression of restriction is moderate (T. XI = 5) as is that of internal authority (T. XIII = 4); the self-image answer is of the limited response type, not mentioning service (q. 125); the Mertrational and "ideal" versus status quo scores are moderate (T. XV = 3, T. XVI = 2). Cases 9 and 13 both approach this type of involvement and can be compared with the above case in Table XVII.

The fourth pattern of involvement is the non-professional economic type. This type shows very little involvement with the professional area. The service involvement is low: this is revealed by the Allport-Vernon social scale or the self-image question. The involvement is high with the economic and the status area. The interest in status is not centered about the advancement of the professional status of teachers, but is con-

cerned more with the status of the individual himself. One would espect low scores on religious and social values (Allport-Vernon). There should be a fairly high restrictive feeling due not to conflict of reality with ideals of a professional nature, but with the desire to lead an unhampered life. Thus, actors of this type would display high restrictive scores and low status quo scores. The feeling of internal authority would be low, as well as the Wertrational aspect. This would be a reflection of his lack of total commitment to the station, in a view which looks upon it more as a job than as a profession. He would see his responsibility as related to the rational-legal authority of the administration, rather than to himself, students and professional legitimate order. The stress this type of actor experiences is more related to immediate personal life than to identification with groups or ideals which are in conflict with certain aspects of the station. His dilenma can be solved by going into administration (not to achieve professional ideals but for economic and status advantages) or into other occupations. (The third type, professional-economic, could realize both aspirations by moving into administration.) This type of actor is willing to organize to achieve economic and related ends. The use of unions and the strike poses no particular problem to him (For type one their use was forbidden, for types two and three the feeling is ambivalent, while type four can use either.): this type will regard the duties of the station as "routinized" rather than as "dynamic" and "creative". This type seeks a limitation of duties and a segmentalized relationship to the station, rather than seeing it as a twenty-four hour

a day commitment.

A case which approximates this type is c. 17. This case has a moderate economic score (T. I = 4); a high security score (T. II = 3); the Allport-Vernon economic and theoretical scores are high (49 and 46); the Allport-Vernon social and religious scores are low (29 and 35); the status score is low (T. VI = 1); he does not feel that teachers receive as much respect as other professionals (q. 22); status is seen as individually centered, not professionally; his feeling of responsibility is to the community and administration (q. 39); the feeling of restriction is fairly high (T. X = 7); internal authority is low (T. XIII = 1); the self-image does not involve a service concept and is of the limited response type (q. 125); the Wertrational and "ideal" versus status quo scores are low (T. XV = 1, T. XVI = 0). Another case approaching this type is c. 20.

For the cases used to illustrate the types, more information is available throughout the entire analysis. The most concise description of some of the cases (c. 8, 11, 17, 20) occurs at the end of the professional chapter, where these cases are analyzed in detail in regard to that area.

This chapter has presented types of involvement with the station based upon the inter-relation of the four areas under analysis. They are "ideal types", based on the accentuation of certain qualities and their meaningful relation. Individual cases can only be compared and contrasted with them. The selection of these four types does not mean that other types could not be found in the station or that other types could not be

found in these data or even that entirely different types could not be developed. The construction of types would seem to be of use in the analysis of stress in that it focuses attention on the areas of involvement and the conflicts of involvement. It should be noted that the name of each type incorporates the two major factors which can be the primary source of conflict and stress. While the study has not been carried as far as a complete analysis of stress, it is apparent that quite different things are stressful to the different types and that the solutions which they seek are also different.

Additional types would undoubtedly have been found if a different sample from another universe had been selected. The sample is important primarily for the substantive quantitative aspects, of some importance in determining constructed types and of less importance to problems of methodology.

SCALES AS A METHODOLOGICAL IMPROVEMENT

In this chapter, additional data from a related study has been analyzed for two purposes. First, is to demonstrate a further working out of the general approach similar to that which has been developed in this study. The second, is to present some of the substantive findings which relate to the data which has already been presented on teachers. This chapter has three sections: (1) a brief description of the instruments in relation to the theory; (2) an analysis of mean scores (on various scales) of teachers compared with those of engineers, (these scales are related to the various areas of involvement); (3) a comparison of blockage and involvement scores for teachers and engineers.

During the period of time it has taken to complete this study, the project called "A Study of Social Strengths in Mental Health" has made some methodological improvements and gathered some substantive data. The direction of development has been much the same and this is due in part to the incorporation of some of the findings of this earlier study of teachers into the larger incompleted project.

The concentration throughout this study has been upon involvement with various areas of occupational life; seeing these as a key to the analysis of stress. Further, the importance of relatively uni-dimensional areas was studied. These two factors are dealt with in the "Social"

Strengths study.

Out of a large mass of data resulting from intensive interviews and tests (including some of the findings of this teacher study) certain areas were conceived as important to occupational life (their importance varies greatly with any given individual). The areas include many of those used in the teacher study. Some are broken down further and some entirely new areas are included.

The methodological improvement comes not only in the more complete analysis of areas, but in the attempt to develop scales for each area which will be <u>uni-dimensional</u> in character. With about twenty-five separate and uni-dimensional measures upon the individual's involvement a rather complete profile can be made.

This work has not been completed at this moment. The scales have been constructed and final testing for uni-dimensionality is underway.

They have been made along the lines of the Guttman type of scale, and scalogram tests of uni-dimensionality are being made.

In the teacher study the concentration was upon Involvement. It was pointed out that this was only part of the stress equation; a second part being <u>Blockage</u>. The "Social Strengths" study has been developing uni-dimensional scales for both factors. Blockage and Involvement have

See Bibliography for a listing.

²See Bibliography.

Samuel Stouffer, et al., Measurement and Prediction, (Princeton, 1950).

A complete volume dealing with such scales and their theory.

been wedded to each other, as in this sample question:

3. (a) Is advancement (that is, moving up to higher jobs) difficult or easy in your kind of work?

1	Very difficult.
2	Quite difficult.
3	Not too difficult.
4	Fairly easy.
5	Very easy.

(b) How do you feel about jobs where advancement is difficult?

1	I dislike them very much.	
2	I would prefer not to have such a job.	
3	Not a particularly important consideration to	ne.
4_	Such a job would be a challenge to me.	

A scale is formed from a series of a questions on Blockage and another scale from b questions on Involvement. One would expect the stress cases to be those with a high Blockage and a high Involvement.

In addition to demonstrating the methodological improvements which are underway in stress analysis, some of the substantive findings with these instruments are relevant.

Among the groups tested were two groups of teachers. All the male teachers in the Jackson Public Schools and the Owosso Public Schools were given some of the scales to fill out. About 50% returned them. However, for any one scale we do not have this number as five different sets of scales were used.

The information used, at this point, will only be with the Involvement data, which can bear directly upon the teacher study. The scales have been related to the areas dealt with in the teacher study and they will be treated in the order found there.

As the scales are not in final form only the crude total scores have been used rather than scale scores. The teachers will be compared with a group consisting primarily of engineers from a large contract engineering firm.

The Economic area of involvement can be related to the scales called Financial success (Desire to increase one's financial position); Financial security (Desire for an assured income sufficient to maintain present level of living); Job Security (the desire for a job which is not easily taken from one). The teacher scores in the financial success can be compared with the results in Table I or with the economic score in the All-port-Vernon Study of Values.

The first scale, 7B, is one which deals with the involvement in economic success. This was conceived as the desire to get ahead economically.

The teacher group came out with a mean group score of 20.1 out of a possible 28. The engineering group had a mean group score of 18.5. In test conducted on the means showed the differences to be significant at better than the 5% level.

As the lower the score the higher the involvement it would seem that teachers are somewhat less involved in advancing financially than the

1
$$\overline{Up} = \sqrt{\overline{V_{x_i}^2} + \overline{V_{x_2}^2}}$$

$$t = \overline{X_1 - \overline{X}_2}$$

$$\overline{Up} = \sqrt{\overline{V_{x_i}^2} + \overline{V_{x_2}^2}}$$

engineering group. The engineering group is a highly paid one compared with teachers and there is probably a greater possibility of advancing.

Scale 7A is one on involvement with financial security, with the desire for an assured income sufficient to maintain present level of living. Here the means were reversed, teachers had a group mean of 4.6 and engineers 5.2 out of 8. The t test showed this to be significant at better than the 5% level. The teachers were more involved in financial security than engineers. This is in line with an expectation that degree of involvement, as expressed, will vary as the need is satisfied or frustrated. This is something that is being explored by the Social Strengths study in blockage-involvement relationships. (Two such correlations are presented below.)

The third area was that of job security. Teachers as a group had a mean of 3.9 and engineers 4.1. This shows that this is not at the 5% level of significance. Both groups are relatively secure if not in the given position, in the field, because of the great demand for their skilled services.

The status area was tested here with three scales. The first was involvement with social worth. Do other people recognize the value to society of what you do? Here the teachers have a mean of 25 and the engineers a mean of 29.3. The teachers appear to be more involved with this aspect but a large standard deviation prevents a significant to value.

¹The involvement aspect would be: How important is this to you?

In regard to "cultural social esteem", or acceptance of the individual, with regard to his background (126), there is little difference in group means. Teachers have a mean of 8.4 and engineers a value of 8.0. This is a factor which one would expect to vary not by groups but among individuals. Scale 12E deals with involvement with social acceptance as an individual. Again there is a difference of mean with teachers having a mean of 29.7 and engineers 28.0 out of 48. But a wide standard deviation as well as a priori expectations suggest that this is a more individual matter.

In the authority area three scales have been selected. Scale LC deals with involvement in "Self direction". "The desire to make one's own decisions and control own actions." Teachers have a mean of 39.2 and engineers a mean of 41.9 out of 56. While due to deviation this is not significant on the <u>t</u> test the direction seems right if teachers have a sense of responsibility to themselves and to the professional order.

Scale 5 tests involvement with occupational mobility. Teachers had a group mean of 16.3 and engineers one of 12.7. This was significant with a t test at better than the 5% level. Teachers are less involved with advancement. The possibilities would seem far less for them than the very fluid structure in which the engineers worked, where advancement was very real.

Scale 44 "freedom to express emotions and attitudes" gave a mean for teachers of 41.3 and for engineers 45.7. Again a wide standard

deviation prevented a significant \underline{t} test. But the indication is that teachers have a greater concern with expressing their attitudes and emotions.

In the professional area two scales have been selected. Scale 12D deals with involvement with "professional respect". The means were close to being significantly different (teachers 17.6 and engineers 20.9). Again teachers were more involved, one suspects because it is a problem for them.

Scale 8, involvement with the "realization of ethical moral principles", finds teachers significantly (<u>t</u> test 5% level) more involved (teachers - 10.8, engineers - 12.2).

A comparison of the relation between blockage and involvement was worked out as a correlation in several cases to give here some notion of the relationship between the two factors.

In the case of scale 7B blockage and involvement there is a positive correlation of .65. As involvement increases so does blockage (This is true for the combined teacher and engineering groups.). The correlation between blockage and involvement for scale 12D "Professional respect" is a negative -.38. As blockage increases involvement decreases.

Apparently the relation between these two kinds of factors will involve a good deal of analysis. From an inspection of the various plots there seems to be a tendency toward a positive and negative correlation at the same time. Perhaps these are different types of individuals. These are only crude scores that have been presented here and a great deal of clarification should come by complete scaling.

The analysis of this data has just begun, but it offers very promising results for the study of occupations from the viewpoint of stress. Individual scales can be developed, common factors may be isolated, relations between involvement and blockage can be studied, reaction types may be isolated. A tremendous area is open to analysis when suitable instruments are available.

 \mathbf{II}

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

There will be no attempt to go into a complete review of all the detailed conclusions arrived at in the course of this study, as many of them are enumerated in summaries to previous chapters. Instead, the general findings and conclusions will be indicated in two areas: methodological and substantive.

Few studies in the social sciences offer conclusive proofs or crucial experiments. The social scientist must generally resign himself to a development of theory based upon a gradual piling up of evidence. The numerous significant variables and the great difficulties in classification make the application of the results of one study to another difficult and thus the statement of theory in a general and abstract form is extremely complex, and something which is only achieved by the winnowing out of variables and theoretical modification in repeated studies.

All of this is a prologue to the fact that the results of this study are of modest proportions and that any real verification of them with reference to general theory awaits further tests. The results, in terms of the study at hand, may be relatively well established, but the relevance of the findings to theory can not be assayed so easily. Methodological results, especially, are only slowly established by pragmatic tests of fruitfulness.

The major methodological finding lies not in a discovery, but in the development of a method of station analysis directed toward a better understanding of mental health in modern urban society. This method was developed around the analysis of the relationship of the actor to the station, utilizing the concept of involvement (self or actor involvement). This was seen as a first step toward uncovering social stresses existing in the relationship.

The method involved in the treatment of the relationship divided the actor's involvement into several areas. This was based upon the realization that actors utilize their relationship to the station to achieve a variety of goals, or that, inversely, the occupancy of the station might block the achievement of goals held by the actor. It was hoped that this method would lead to the eventual development of uni-dimensional areas of involvement so that a true ranking of actors might be obtained. This method is made more explicit in the chapter on theory, and in the empirical analysis.

of the "projective" approach. There is a growing recognition among social scientists that all questions will draw responses which are, to a degree, a reflection of the personality of the actor and that the meaning of the question to the actor must be considered in interpreting the response. This factor can be controlled using such techniques as the Guttman scalogram method, or it can be used positively in the schedule-

interview method to understand differences in personality or involvement in actors.

Several methods were developed for use in the analysis of this semi-projective approach. One was the selection of responses relevant to a particular factor wherever they occur. This has some similarity to a method used in content analysis where the reoccurrence and amount of space occupied by a given theme are noted and analyzed. A typical method of analysis is to study all the responses to a given question. When the total response to a question has been used here, it was not done for the purpose of finding the percentages in each category of response; rather, the answers were used to give a better picture of what can occur in the station and the variety of actor-responses to that. Thus, the analysis throughout has involved two approaches to the data. The first was a study of some of the basic dilemmas and conflicts in the station of teacher. The second attempted to determine the individual actor's perception of and response to these situations.

Responses were not dealt with primarily in relation to objective indices, such as age, marital status, etc. This is related to the fact that this study was not an attempt to find the distribution of responses in the universe of teachers. No statements were to be made such as:

"Sixty per cent of teachers do ...", or, "twenty percent of the married administration majors feel ...". The attempt was, rather, to find patterns of relationship existing between responses. The number of teachers

¹ We have to learn to treat questionnaires as we are accustomed to treat a projective technique. Kurt Lewin, Field Theory in Social Sciences (New York., 1951), p. 163.

manifesting these patterns remains unknown. The problem in future research would be to find simple indices of certain basic patterns and apply them to a representative sample. At the same time, refinements could be worked out in the patterns themselves.

One of the negative methodological findings was that the study of stress without regard to the involvements of the actor tends to lead to low and inconclusive relationships between a given situation and actor stress. The use of objective indices (such as major field or father's occupation) in this study was not highly predictive of involvements, and, therefore, stress. With larger groups, significant percentages might be achieved, but in any individual case, these limited objective indices would not be particularly useful.

The main substantive results are as follows:

It was found that dilemmas and contradictions exist in all the areas of involvement. These dilemmas appear to be the result of an unclear social definition of the station of teacher on the part of society. This state is reflected in comfusion, ambivalence and stress on the part of actors. They are unclear about the character and legitimacy of their economic involvement. Their involvement with status is divided between the individual approach to status and the professional. In both cases, the actors can be confused over the character of the means and the legitimacy of the means to be used. The situation is unclear as to whom they are responsible. Some actors draw two lines of responsibility, one moral and one legal. The actors relate themselves to three different legitimate orders, and various kind of conflicts can arise in trying to do

Documented in Richard Lazarus, et al., "The Effects of Psychological Stress Upon Performance", Psychological Bulletin, v. 49.

this. Conformity to and deviation from an order is differentially rewarded and punished. The actor may be faced with situations where, in doing what he thinks he should do, he is either unrewarded or punished. This is especially true of behavior in conformity with the professional order. The professional area involves certain dilemmas. One is that, while the actors may wish full professional standing, they are instilled with the values which lead to their being captured by the community and held to the traditional or legal demands rather than attempting to validate the professional order.

One idea which was employed and which proved to be useful was the division of the actor's relationship to the station into four areas of involvement. As was noted in the last paragraph, each one of these areas - economic, status, authority and professional - evidenced major ambiguities and dilemmas. In addition, the actors often face conflicts in the relationship between the areas. The conceptualization of the actor's relationship into these four areas revealed relatively homogeneous and major facets of the actor's relationship.

A series of crude scales was developed to help in the analysis of these areas. These scales more fully approximate unidimensionality than do the areas. These scales cannot be easily removed from the schedule, as they are based on relevant responses regardless of their place of occurrence. However, scales involving a few questions and categorized responses could be developed from these.

Some of these scales attempted to relate the concepts of Weber to a study of the station. This can be seen in the use of such concepts

as wertrational and legitimate order. The use of these and others of his concepts proved useful in making distinctions between various types of actor-station relationships. One of the most basic viewpoints in this study has remained in large part implicit throughout the analysis. This is because it is of such large scope that it is not suitable for analytical treatment in such a restricted study. This basic idea is taken from the works of Weber. Briefly, the analysis we can make using his theory is this: increasingly the social structure in the West is becoming rationalized and based upon rational-legal authority, of which the bureaucracy is the tool. This process is spreading slowly into most areas of life. As it spreads, it creates conflict with other bases for social organization. This kind of process is in some ways related to the distinction made by Tonnies between gemeinschaft and gezellschaft. As this process spreads into new areas, it produces a certain amount of confusion in the social relationships of the people involved in this The values, the basic goals, the means of achieving them, the relation between stations, the normative expectancies, the relation between the performance of duties and reward and punishment are all apt to become unclear until a new stabilization is reached. This kind of situation is now occurring in the field of education. The one-room school is gone and with it the relationship that the teacher had to students, parents, community, to other teachers and to the profession. Increasingly one finds the bureaucracy, which can be viewed as being in the business of education. In part the relations within this system are those between management and labor. Adding to this confusion caused

¹ Charles P. Loomis, J. Allan Beegle, Rural Social Systems. (New York, 1950).

²The bulk of teaching is done in the growing urban and consolidated schools.

by the rise of the bureaucracy is the attempt to increase the professional character of the field. Thus the individual actor is caught in a situation involving ambiguity or conflict.

One small example would be his relation to the administration. Is he to regard the administration as management, or as colleagues? Is he to belong to a guild type of organization such as the N. E. A., which includes teachers and administrators, or to a union based upon the division between management and labor?

The difficulty is not only in his mind, but in actuality as well.

He is involved in a variety of incompatible relations: in one sense he is becoming proletarianized and at the same time he is becoming more professional. (This applies to the station and the actors who occupy it, regardless of how they feel.) Thus, the utilization of Weber's theories provides great help in discovering the basic factors underlying this situation.

A scale was developed to indicate the feeling of personal restriction that the actor felt due to occupying the station. It was found that scores on this scale were inversely correlated to the religious scores on the Allport-Vernon Study of Values, and directly associated with the theoretical scores. It would seem that a high religious values indicates a willingness to accept the traditional mores; and consequently, these actors do not experience a sense of restriction. It is possible that actor stress in relation to restriction could be predicted, utilizing these two measures. Such a prediction could be of use in placing teachers.

The involvement with different types of legitimate order was analyzed and a paradigm of possible combinations and resulting areas of stress was developed (see Table XIV).

The interrelationships which existed between areas were treated in terms of four "ideal types": professional-religious, professional-theoretical, professional-economic and non-professional-economic.

These types not only indicate the total pattern of relationships, but also the likely areas of stress.

These are some of the findings, briefly summarized, here in the conclusion. It is hoped, however, that this study will be of some value in a sociological approach to mental health, as well as contributing to an understanding of certain basic problems facing the actor in the station of high school teacher. The small sample size has led to modest but indicative conclusions, and it remains for future research, which is even now being carried on in the larger project, to see if the conclusions hold for larger and more heterogeneous universes.

APPENDIX A: SCHEDULE

Selection.

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of the street and difficulties interest in verteen compations. It is a compatible with extend over several years and into various occupation. It can be entirely with such things as human relations in the occupation, but with the effects upon

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other aspects of a persons life.

I have been given part of the job of finding out screething about the field of high school teaching, and I am attempting to interview a number of teachers in several communities. We are especially interested in the position of the male high school teacher in urban areas. Your cooperation in this interview will be of the greatest help to us in the completion of this project.

This whole research project-as part of an even larger program - has been sponsored by the federal government in the hopes that some practical findings will eventaually result, which will be useful in such things as placement, counceling, or attempts to introduce changes in social systems which will make work and life less stressful and difficult for people.

Of course, all the reterial we gather is completely confidential and whatever we report is not treated from the viewpoint of the specific individuels, as our interes lie in general theoretical findings.

Are there any questions you would like to ask?

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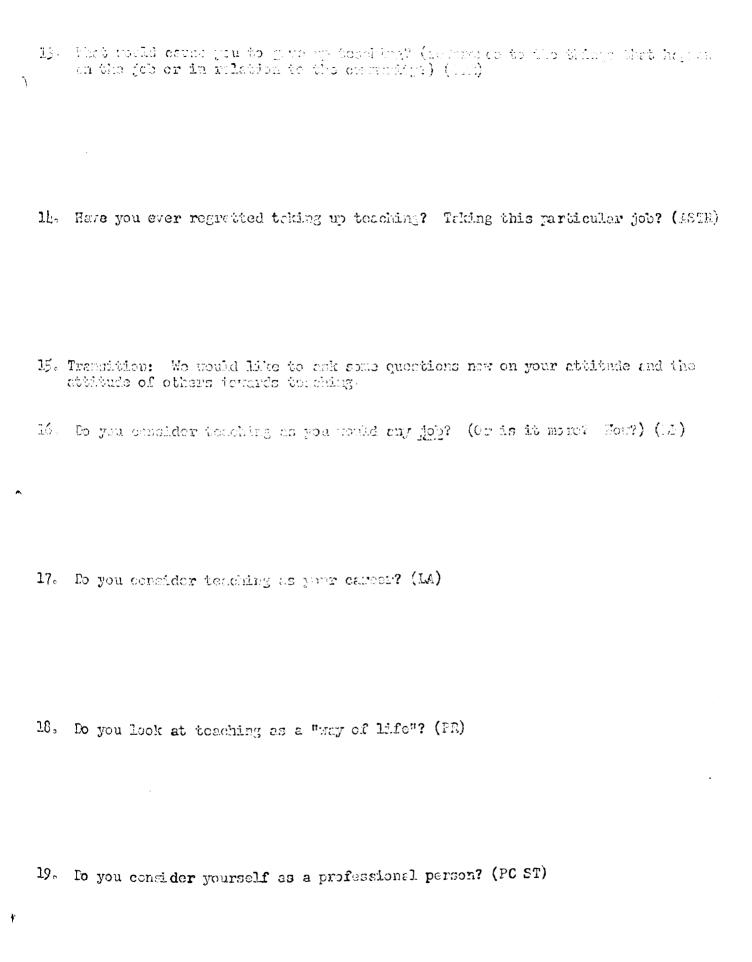
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6. That we happened to this feeling in the poets ciase? (5.)

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8	o West now? (PA)
9°	Did you feel then that you could accomplish rore togething then you feel you can now? (TO)
20.	Did the Cooling that you couldn't accomplish is much an fin numbed to ever bother you? Show? (I'C)
li.	In what ways was jour first year of toaching Wilkloude? (SII)
12,	Mid you have any desire to give up tonching the first year? Finant (181) this did you stop residing this may?

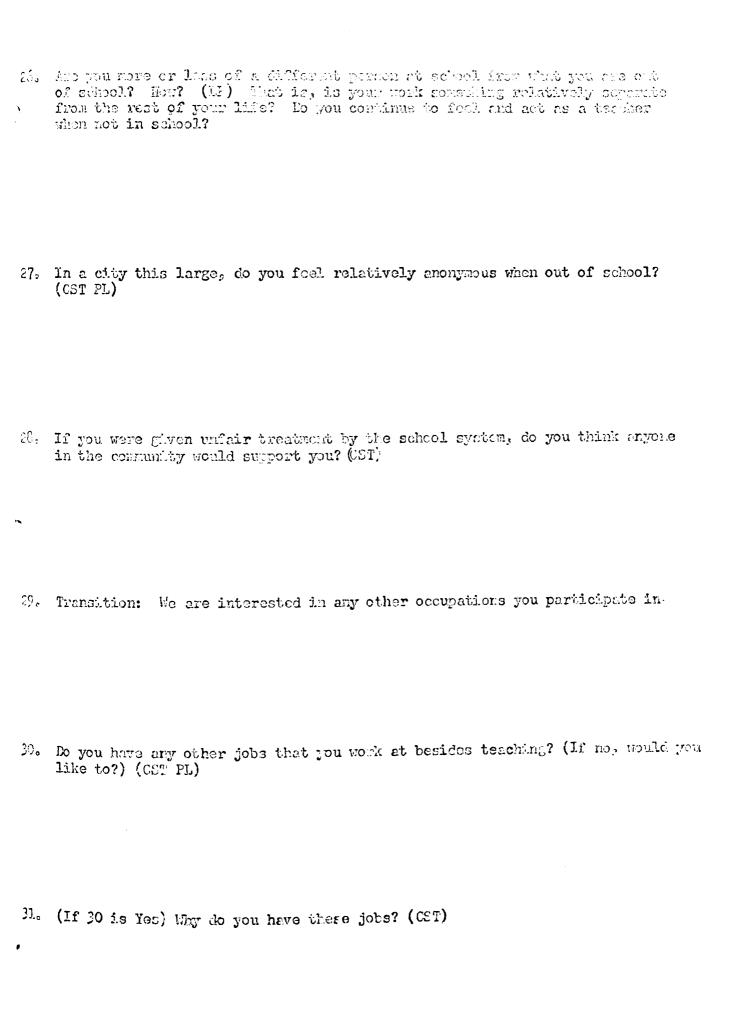
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23.0	Are there any ways in which you don't have as much fivedom as other professions he in the corrections of
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<u>3</u> 9.	(10 30 is Rea) to year enjoys throat point (10 i)
33 -	(If 30 is Tes) Is this job a good charge from teaching? (CST)
3lija	(If 30 is yes) Have you ever thought of going into this work full-time? (CST) (FL)
3 5 •	In what were do you think you apand your manny differently from people who are not beachers? (USI)
36,	Transition: Let up turn now to some of the more specific aspects of the position
37.	Which of your deties do you feel and most important? (SN)
38°	Do your duties extend beyond the school day? (PR) (Should they?)

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39	e As a teneber to alway do you commider yourself remponsible? (20)
L;O	. Are there any problems that arise in your relations to these people? (SN SPR)
la.	Eo you feel that on your job you have too many responsibilities? (SN STR)
· 42.	Are you given enough subharity to handle these various responsibilities? (SH SYR)
цз.	Do you find it necessary to take into account the reactions of other teachers when doing certain parts of your work? Which? (CA GP)
440	In your position, do you ever feel it necessary to do things which you do not consider an official part of your job? Why do you feel that you should do these things? (TR)

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1:6	Would you so respect to to demands, dro	y that you are ho impersonal a ss, drink, etc.	subject to t and official) (PR AL)	ha authorit obligations	y of the scho of your posi	ol only w	ith ime
17.	Are the various legal manner, that not all	ous rights and , or are they s toachers would	dubies of you omobians vage be impabad s	w position 12 and deter Like in sir	felly spolled Mod in a po Mar ofbugbio	lout in a ermonal ma enc?	a formed. Omer, oc
L8.	Do you have m	ony duvies of a	clerical so	rt? (Pepor	tork, peport	s, etc.)	(FR)
L9.	Are your dutie	s routinised?	(PR)				
50.	Do these dutic	s take up much	time? Are t	hey necessar	y ? (PD)		

51. Are the reports that you have to make to admirable and promis relatively formal? (that is, consermed with measurement, forms, etc.?) (PA)

il. This curbs of on su isolikess to you resolve from above:

a) are they chere enough

b) are they suifficient or too much

c) are they in teach with white is going on (Coll III)

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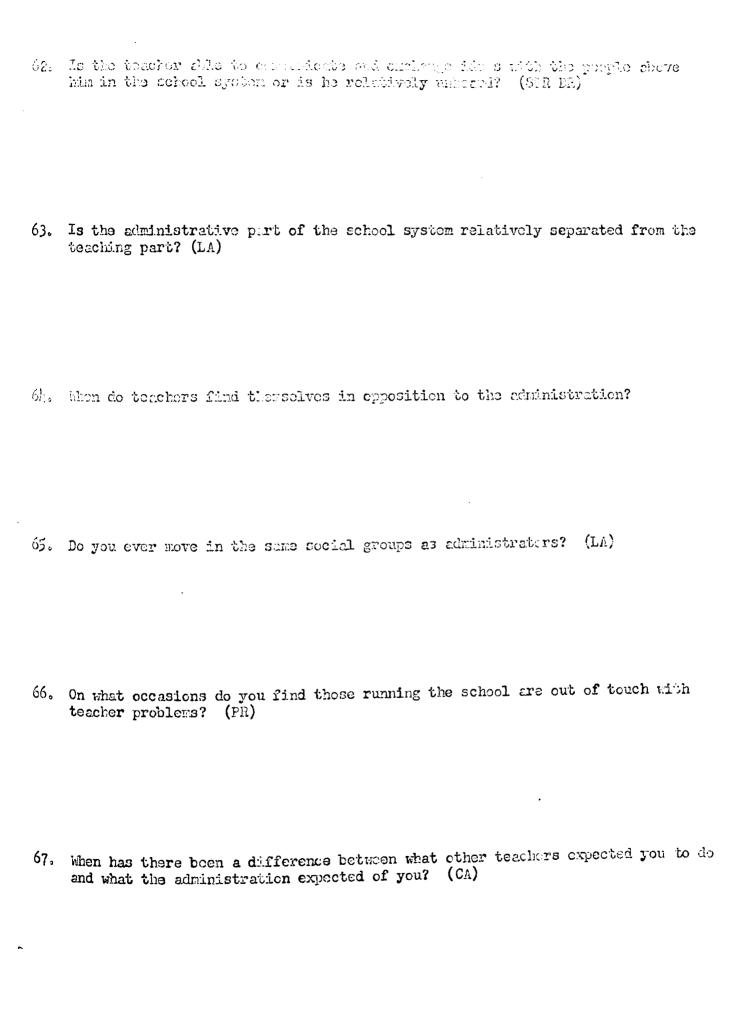
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* 35. In this granuel why wald you say you have been indicarreed by other templar?

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56.	Should teachers get tegether more?
57.	On what things concerning the local school do teachers stick together? (CA)
58.	On what things should they stick togethem? (CA)
59.	On what occasions do small teacher groups come in contact with the coldinateablem? (CA) (Principal, superintendent, etc.)
ဴ၀.	then do these small teacher groups influence action taken by the school or the administration? (CA)
61.	Should teachers seek friends outside of the teaching group? Phy? (ST STD)

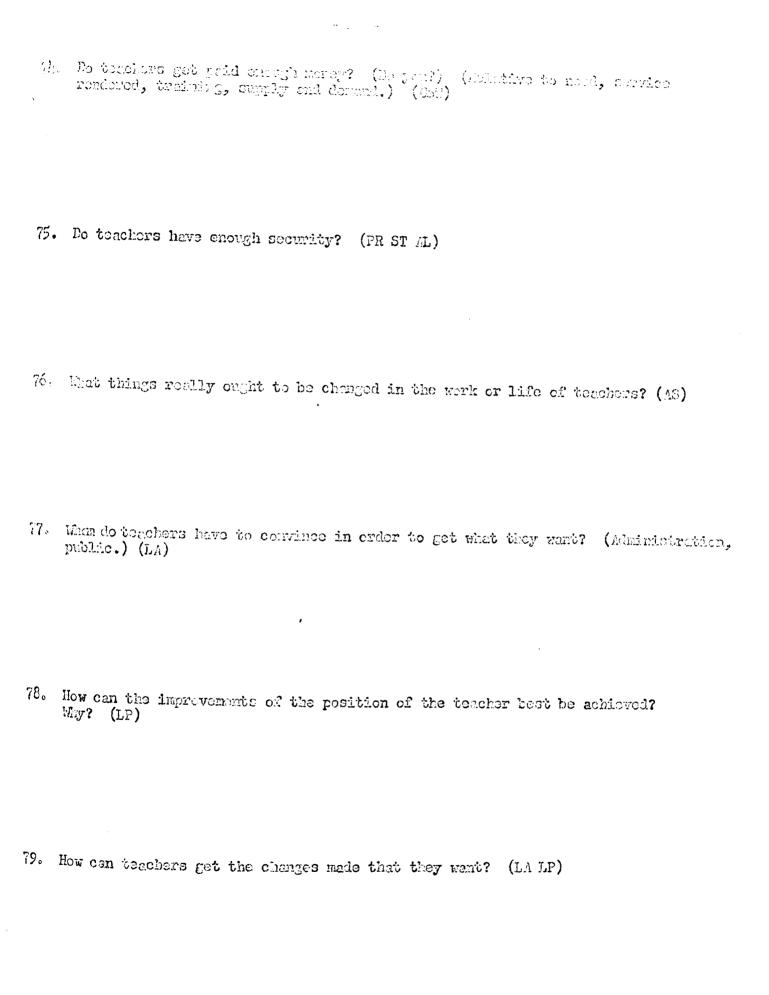
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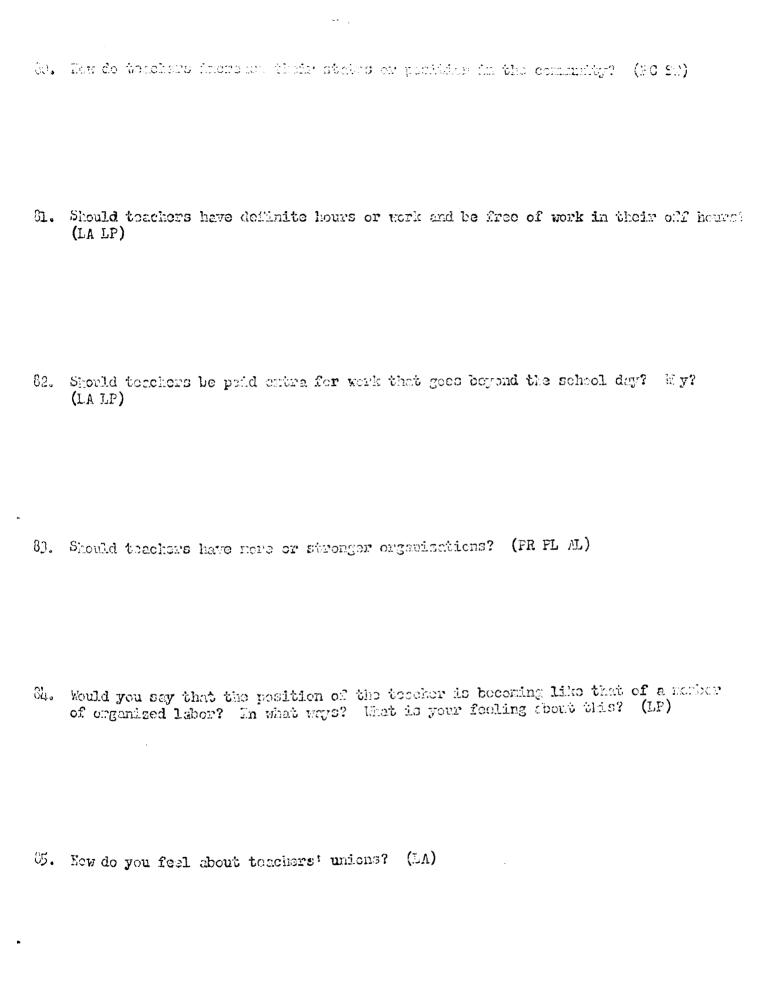


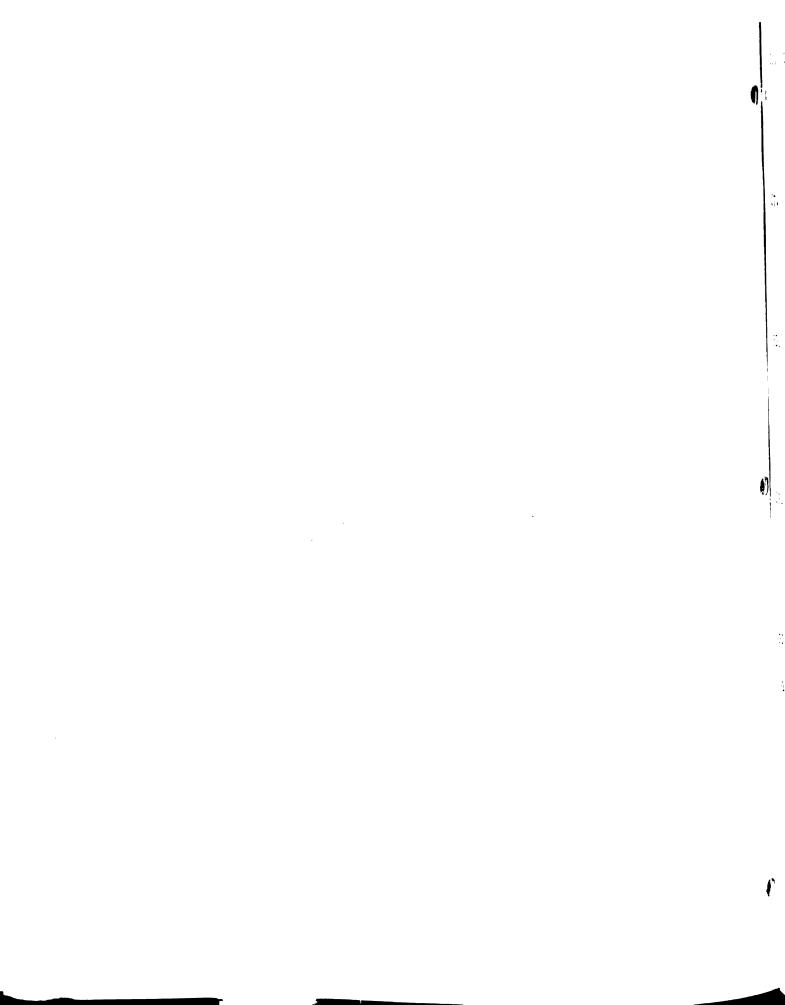
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60.	Do you participate in urling the important Coefficiens cohemning the running of the school? (DR FL)
69.	In what ways would you say the school system is not dencemble? (ER)
70.	What seem to be the conflicting interpote in the school which keep people from working together? (DR AL Pa)
<u>71.</u>	In what ways are people not equal in the school ayatom? (DE)
72.	Whon do you wows concerning affairs of the colorl? (PB)
73.	When should you be able to vete? (DE)

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.23	. Is the NEA doing all that is should for toachars?
67.	Can the various teacher problems be handled locally? (PL)
88.	If you heard it said that someone was a successful teacher, what would that imply to you? (PR PL SN)
89.	Do most teachers seem to have the proper regard for teaching? (PR)
90. 91.	Transition: In these next questions we are interested in finding out about some of the things that might make being a teacher difficult. What are the most difficult situations you have faced? (Concral and as a teacher) (AS)

92.	Can you remember the three main erises in your teaching eareer (then you had to make an important decision or a turning point?) (SLH)	
93.	what are the important changes that have taken place in your teaching career: a) changes to new school systems b) changes in administration c) changes in what taught d) changes in how taught e) integration in the community f) relations with other teachers g) changes in attitude about the profession (SLH)	?
94.	what are the three most unpleasant things you have to do in your position?	(AS)
95.	what are the chief problems and difficulties you have on the job? (STR)	

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) ;	. That kinds of conflicts does a teacher face? (SWA)
97	. In what ways does teaching make excessive domands upon a person? (STR)
98,	Fow often are teachers empected to do things on the jeb that are simply impossible? (time and kind) (STR)
, 99.	On what occasions have you been unsure about what is expected of you as a teacher? (Has your job some embiguous aspects?) (STR)
100.	What sorts of things are you blamed for that aren't your fault? (STR SN)
101.	How do people in general misunderstand you? (A STR)

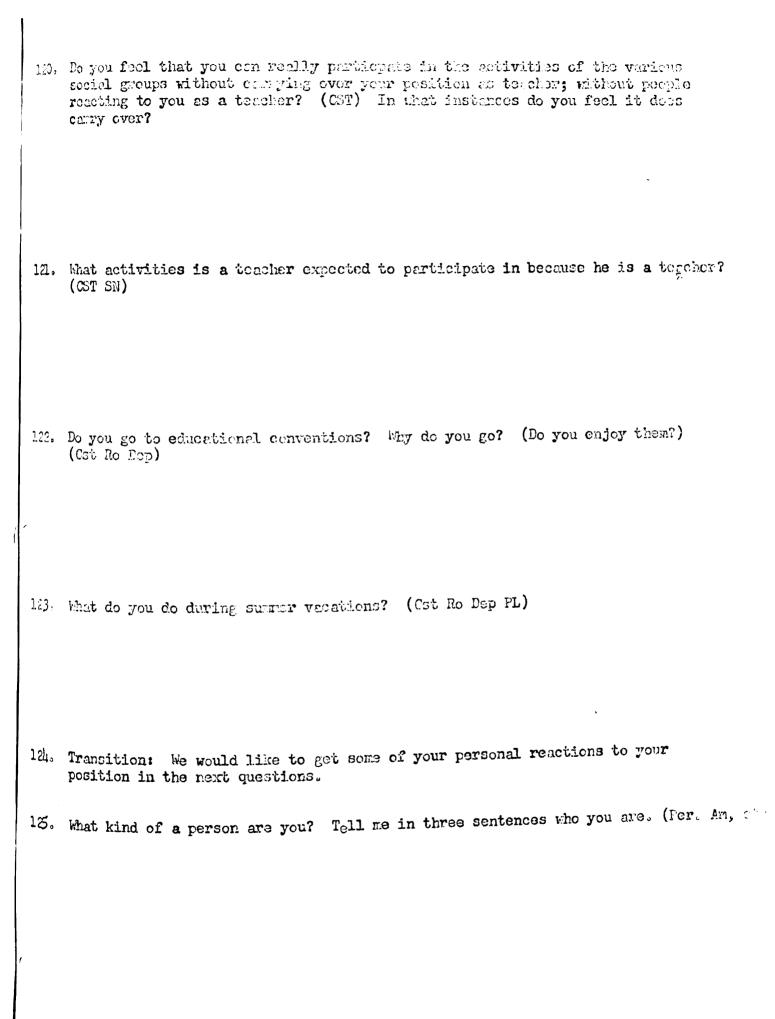
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302.	Almost any job has somices headeds or pithells that people in that position try to avoid. What ame the three meet semious things that could happen to you in your position? (60R ASER)
103.	What things do you lack in your present position? (PA)
10h.	In what ways does being a beacher interfere with gotting the things you went cut of life? (PA)
105.	Are good toacher rewarded? How? (STR PR)
106.	Are poor toachers punished? How? (STR PE)
.07 .	Which is noticed more - a good job or a poor job? (STR PR)

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108.	Is the school more a part of the community or of larger electional systems? (FC)
109.	Which would you rather be recognized by: the administration, some subject matter professional group, the NEA, some other group? (PR)
110,	Would you like to become a school administrator? Thy? (LA) Is it expected that you should want to?
111.	Do you empect to become an administrator? (LA)
112.	Do you ever find that what you feel as your professional obligations conflict with or cannot find expression in the school system? (FR)
113.	Transition: There are a few questions about the relation of teaching to the community.

131	Do many percents think that they know what should or cheald not be taught their children, and does this lead them to interfere? What do you do if they interfere? (PC) Does this bether you? (PC)
115.	Is the school regarded by the community as an extension of the home? (PC)
116,	When does the community keep the school from doing the best modern and scientific job of educating? (PO)
117,	How frank can a teacher be in his (professional) relations with: provents, administration, teachers? (MES)
118.	When do people in the community act toward you in ways you would prefer they didn't? (LP) How would you like them to act?
17.9.	In what situations on the job do you have to act toward people in ways that you den't particularly wint to? (SN)



. . .

In that ways are you soldedied or dispositive and the yourself? (Afte)
What are the things that you would like to get out of life? (Per Am Sn)
Do you think that your present job will help you to realize these things? (Per Am Sa
What things do you worry about? (AStr)
What things do and bother you that may bother other people? (AStr)
What kinds of things related to your position make you angry and what do you do about it?

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	Then has building a somewhat of a set granter house shoulding out a marshe pro to two with way to assume the content of the co
133:	What things that you would especially like to do are you kept from doing by money considerations? (CSt FL)
boon 1	Is there anything you would like to add which seems important and has not mentioned?

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APPENDIX B: SCALES

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OCCUPATIONAL AND SOCIAL RELATIONS STUDY

This is a request for information.

The Social Research Service of Michigan State College is conducting an extensive study of how people look upon their jobs in relation to themselves, their families and friends, and the larger community. Our research to date has shown that there are wide variations among people in this respect and your cooperation will help us greatly in learning more about this important subject.

Many people today feel increasingly the need to know more about the patterns of human relations among representative American men who fill responsible positions. Eventually the results of this study can provide knowledge which will be particularly useful to those who guide the younger generation.

As part of this research, we are asking a number of people in different occupations to fill out this questionnaire. It is not a test in any sense. There are no "right" or "wrong" answers, and you need not sign your name. We just want you to answer each question in terms of your own experiences and feelings. Please do not discuss the questions with others until you are finished.

Read each question carefully, then make an \underline{x} on the line in front of the one answer that best describes you or your situation. Even though some of the questions may sound very much alike, there are differences between them. It is important that you answer all of the questions.

Thank you for your cooperation.

All information obtained will be considered strictly confidential and will be under the exclusive control of the Social Research Scrvice of Michigan State College. All data will be treated statistically and no attempt will be made to identify specific individuals.

MICHIGAN STATE COLLEGE SOCIAL RESEARCH SERVICE Note to respondents:

In order to save you time, we are only asking you questions about a few of the important aspects of a job. Other people are filling out different questionnaires which will give us information on other important features of occupations which are not included here.

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1.	What is your age?
	1 25 or under 2 26 - 35 3 36 - 45 4 46 - 55 5 56 - 65 6 Over 65
2.	What type of business or profession are you in? (If manufacturing, please state what your firm makes. If sales, please indicate what your firm sells. If professional or other kind of service, please state the nature of the service. In other words, be as specific as you can.)
3•	What is the full name or title of your position?
4.	What would you say are the three most important duties or responsibilities of your position?
	2
	3
,	How long have you held this position?
	less than 1 year. 2 1 - 2 years. 3 - 5 years. 4 6 - 10 years. 5 more than 10 years.
•	Are you married at the present time?
	1Yes. 2No.
•	How many dependents do you have (including wife, children, parents, others)?

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3.	Do your wife or children contribute financially to the support of your family?	
	1 Yes. 2 No. 3 I have no family.	
	What is your approximate annual family income?	
	1 Less than \$3000, 2 \$3000 - \$4999. 3 \$5000 - \$7499.	
	4 \$7500 - \$9999. 5 \$10,000 - \$14,999. 6 \$15,000 or over.	

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Do you hold the kind of position that is generally considered to be a good steppistone for advancement?
It is an excellent stepping-stone. It is a better than average stepping-stone. My job has about the same advancement opportunities as other jobs. Advancement opportunities are poorer in my job than in others.
How important do you consider it to be to have a job which is a stepping-stone for advancement?
Extremely important. Quite important. Of some importance. Relatively unimportant.
Are the people who get promoted in your organization likely to be selected from among the people in your kind of position?
Yes, almost entirely. Often. Sometimes. Seldom or never.
How much does it mean to you to be in the kind of position from which promotions are usually made?
I feel it is very important to be in that kind of position. It means a great deal to me. It is a relatively minor concern. It is not important compared to other things about a job.
In advancement (that is, moving up to higher jobs) difficult or easy in your kind of work?
lVery difficult. 2Quite difficult. 3Not too difficult. 4Fairly easy. 5Very easy.
How do you feel about jobs where advancement is difficult?
I dislike them very much. I would prefer not to have such a job. Not a particularly important consideration to me. Such a job would be a challenge to me.
Is your present job pretty much of a stopping point as far as promotion goes?
Practically everybody in my job stops at this level. Some people im my job get beyond it but most do not. Many people advance beyond this job. Most people advance beyond this job.

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10	2)
	(b) How much would it bother you to be in a position which was a stopping point as far as promotion goes?
	I would get very upset by it. It would bother me quite a bit. It would be somewhat disturbing. It would hardly bother me at all.
5.	Do you ever feel you should leave your present position and get a better one?
	Yes, very frequently. I often do. I sometimes do.
	I seldom do. 5I never do.
6.	How outstanding does a man have to be to get a promotion or move up in your kind of work?
	<pre>1Exceptionally outstanding. 2Very outstanding.</pre>
	Above average. This does not seem to be a major consideration for promotion in my job.
•	Do you feel that you might have moved up further if you had gone into another organization or company in your kind of work?
	1Yes, I very much feel this way.
	I feel this way to some extent. My organization is about the same as any other in this. My chances are better here than they would be elsewhere.
,	Do you feel that it is likely you would have gone higher if you had entered another line of work?
	lI very much feel this way. 2I feel this way to some extent.
	I do not feel this way. I have never considered any other kind of work.
	One man says of his job, "They paint a rosy picture for a young man here, but real chances for promotion are very dismal." How true is this of your work?
	1 Extremely true.
	2 Quite true. 3 Somewhat true.
	Not true at all.

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(1)	
10. (a)	Do you work for the kind of organization where anyone who really tries can be promoted?
	This describes the organization I work for very well. This describes the organization I work for fairly well. This is hardly true of the organization I work for. This is not at all true of the organization I work for.
(b)	Would you give up other good things in a job in order to get into another job where promotion would be faster?
	Yes, because promotion is the most important thing. I might be willing to change jobs. No, I wouldn't. Promotion isn't that important.
ll. (a)	Is yours the kind of work which is thought of as offering a future?
	Yes, very much so. To a great extent. To some extent. It's hardly that kind of job at all.
(b)	How important is it to you to have a job which offers a future?
	It's the most important aspect of any job. It's a fairly important aspect of a job. It's not too important. Other things are much more important.
12.	Do men in such a position as yours leave or feel like leaving because there is little opportunity to get ahead?
	Yes, very frequently. Quite often. Sometimes. Seldom or never.
13. (a)	Does your job provide you with enough income?
	1 Yes, very much so. 2 Fairly well. 3 Almost enough. 4 No, it doesn't.
(b)	How important is income to you in deciding whether a job is a good one or not?
	All important. Extremely important. Of some importance. Under the importance of t

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14.	When you went into this work did you think that you would make more money than you seem likely to make now?
	Yes, much more. Some more. About the same Less
15.	Some men say they have given up the idea of becoming a big shot financially and are satisfied just to get along with a moderate income. How would you say you stand on this?
	I strongly agree with this view. I am pretty much in agreement with this view. I disagree with this view. I strongly disagree with this view.
16. (a)	Are you now as well off: financially as you hoped you would be?
	Much better off. Better off. As well off as I ever hoped to be. Worse off. Much worse off.
(b)	How much do you worry about the financial aspect of you job?
	It rarely bothers me at all. Sometimes I worry about it. I find it pretty frustrating. I worry a great deal about it.
17. (a)	In some kinds of work, the only way you can make more money is to strain yourself an exert extra effort. Is this true of your work?
	This is very true of my work. This is quite true of my work. This is somewhat true of my work. This is not true of my work at all.
(b)	Do you think it's worth while to strain yourself and exert extra effort to make more money?
	Yes, I feel it's very much worth while. It's asually worth the extra effort. It's sometimes worthwhile. It's not worthwhile at all.
18. (a)	Have you failed to achieve as much financially as you once hoped?
	I haven't approached the financial success I once hoped for. I haven't done quite as well as I expected to. I've done about as well as I've expected.

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18. (b)) How important do you consider it to be to do well financially?
	Very important. Of considerable importance. of some importance. Of minor importance.
19. (a)	How many things are there in the way of material possessions and property, which you would like to have that you cannot have with your present income?
	l Very many. Some. Almost none.
(b)	How much does it bother you when you can't purchase the things you'd like to have?
	It bothers me very much. It bothers me quite a bit. It bothers me some. It bothers me little or none at all.
20.	Have you ever felt that you should have gotten into another type of work in order to achieve the sort of financial success you hope for?
	Yes, I very often feel this way. I frequently feel this way. I sometimes feel this way. I seldom or never feel this way.
a. (a)	Anybody who wants to be really successful financially should keep out of the sort of job which I hold.
	This is very true. This is fairly true. This is true to a limited extent. This is not true at all.
(b)	If you found yourself in a position where you could not be really financially successful, how much would it bother you?
	l Very much. Considerably. Somewhat. Hardly, if at all.
2.	Are people in your kind of job faced with living expenses which are high in relation to their wages?
	Yes, this is very much the case. This is frequently true. This is a minor problem. This is not the case at all.

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 $(\mathcal{A}_{i,j}) = (\mathcal{A}_{i,j})^{-1} \cdot (\mathcal{A}_{i,$

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Not very important.

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	27. (a)	In general, what is the likelihood of your losing your job?
		<pre>1 It's almost impossible. 2 It's very unlikely. 3 It's possible. 4 It's likely that I will lose it.</pre>
	<u>(</u> b)	Are you concerned with the possibility of losing your job?
		Not at all. Very little. Somewhat concerned. Quite a lot. Very concerned.
	28.	If you were to lose your job suddenly, could you readily get another one equally as good?
		Yes, very easily. Yes, without too much trouble. I probably could. It would be pretty hard to. It would be very difficult to.
2	9•	Are you adequately protected from the likelihood of being dismissed without cause?
		Dismissal without cause is impossible. Dismissal is very unlikely. Dismissal is possible. Dismissal is a real danger.
30)•	If you made a big mistake on the job, would you still be in a secure position in terms of keeping your job?
		Yes, I am certain of this security. I think so unless it was very extraordinary. My position would be weakened considerably. One big mistake and I'm afraid I would go.
31	•	If you continually made small mistakes in doing your job, would you be likely to lose your job?
		I would certainly lose my job. I would probably lose my job. I might lose my job. I would probably not lose it. I certainly would not lose it.

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32.	Would you be able to keep your job even though there was much criticism of the way you handled it?
	I m certain I could. I think I could. I might be able to. I probably could not. I almost certainly could not.
33•	Do you feel that your job would be kept for you if you had to leave it for some period of time due to emergency?
	In an emergency, it would be held for me indefinitely. It would be held for me for a considerable time - several months. It would be held for me for a short time. It would not be held for me beyond a few days, it at all.
34.	Are there means whereby others could force you out of your jeb?
	I feel that there are. Probably, but I'm not sure. Possibly, but I doubt it. No, this could not happen.
35.	Are you dependent on the good will of others to keep your job?
	The good will of others is extremely important in keeping my job. The good will of others is of considerable importance. The good will of others is of some importance.
	The good will of others is of minor importance in keeping my job.

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OCCUPATIONAL AND SOCIAL RELATIONS STUDY

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As part of this research, we are asking a number of people in different occupations to fill out this questionnaire. It is not a test in any sense. There are no "right" or "wrong" answers, and you need not sign your name. We just want you to answer each question in terms of your own experiences and feelings. Please do not discuss the questions with others until you are finished.

Read each question carefully, then make an \underline{x} on the line in front of the one answer that best describes you or your situation. Even though some of the questions may sound very much alike, there are differences between them. It is important that you answer all of the questions.

Thank you for your cooperation.

All information obtained will be considered strictly confidential and will be under the exclusive control of the Social Research Service of Michigan State College. All data will be treated statistically and no attempt will be made to identify specific individuals.

MICHIGAN STATE COLLEGE SOCIAL RESEARCH SERVICE

Note to respondents:

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1.	What is your age?
	125 or under 226 - 35 336 - 45 446 - 55 556 - 65 6over 65
2.	What type of business or profession are you in? (If manufacturing, please state what your firm makes. If sales, please indicate what your firm sells. If professional or other kind of service, please state the nature of the service. In other words, be as specific as you can.)
3.	What is the full name or title of your position?
4.	What would you say are the three most important duties or responsibilities of your position?
	2
	3
5.	How long have you held this position?
	less than 1 year. 2 1,-2 years. 3 -3 -5 years. 4 6 - 10 years. 5 more than 10 years.
.	Are you married at the present time?
	1Yes. 2No.
•	How many dependents do you have (including wife, children, parents, others)?

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. Do you	r wife or chi	ildren contri	bute fina	ncially to	the supp	ort of you	r family?
1 2 3	Yes. No. I have r	no family.					
. What is	your approx	rimate annual	family i	ncome?			
1_		an \$3000,	•				
2	\$3000 -						
_ر -اا	7500 -						
5-		- \$14,999.					

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1	. (a)	Do people in general think well of the kind of job you hold?
		Yes, I telieve they think very well of it. Yes, I think so, but I'm not sure how well. No, I don't believe they think much of it.
	(b)	How important is it to you that people in general think well of your kind of job?
		Extremely important. Of considerable importance. Of some importance. Of little or no importance.
2.	(a)	Do some people look down on your job?
		Yes, I'm sure they do. Yes, I think they do but I'm not sure. No, I don't think so.
	(b)	If some people look down on your job does this disturb you?
		1 A great deal.
i		2Considerably. 3Somewhat.
I		Not at all.
7	(_{7.})	no other people recognize the value to society of the work you do?
		1 Most people do. 2 Many do. 3 Some do. 4 Very few do.
	(b)	How important is such recognition to you?
		l It is of tremendous importance.
		2 It is very important.
		It is of some importance. It is of little importance.
١•	(a)	Some people in your kind of work find that their jobs are not particularly respected by the very persons whom they would like to have think well of their jobs. To what extent do you find this to be true?
		1This is very true in my case.
		2This is generally true. 3 This is somewhat true.
		This is not at all true in my case.
	(p)	How strongly do you feel the need to have certain persons think well of your job?
		lVery strongly.
		Fairly strongly. Not so strongly.
		Not so strongly. Not strongly at all.

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ŀ		(a)	Do people outside your organization appreciate the value of the work that you do?
			They always do. They generally do. They seldom do. They almost never do.
	((b)	How important is such appreciation to you?
			<pre>lVery important. 2 Quite important. 3 Of some importance. 4 Of little or no importance.</pre>
6	. (;	a)	ire there parts of your job that are looked down on by others?
			<pre>Most of it is. Most of it is. Nome of it is. Nome of it is.</pre>
	(t	6)	When you have to do things that are looked down on are you embarassed or disturbed?
			Yes, very much. A good deal. Somewhat. Littleser not at all.
7.	(a	1)	Is your job considered to be one which is beneficial to humanity?
			1 Yes, very much so. 2 To a considerable extent. 3 To some extent. 4 Not to any degree.
	(Ъ)	How important is it to you that your job be thought of as one which benefits humanity?
			<pre>1 It is of extreme importance. 2 It is of considerable importance. 3 It is somewhat important. 4 It really doesn't matter.</pre>
8.	(a	e)	Some positions are respected because they provide important and worthwhile services for people. Is your position one which others might like to have for this reason?
			Yes, it is very much this kind of job. It is largely this kind of job. To some extent it is this kind of job. No, it's not that kind of job.

(3)	
	How important is it to you to have a job which is respected because of the important and worthwhile services it provides for people?
	Very important. Of considerable importance. It is a series of almost no importance.
9. (a)	Do you feel that people look down on your kind of job because of some of the things you have to do?
	1 Many people do. 2 Some people do. 3 Perhaps a few do. 4 I feel certain no one does.
(b)	When you do (would) such attitudes toward your job affect you?
	1 Greatly disturbing. 2 Considerably disturbing. 3 Somewhat disturbing. 4 Not at all disturbing.
10. (a)	Is your job considered an important one by other people?
	Yes, I believe people consider it very important. Yes, I think people feel it is rather important. I suppose they think it is as important as most jobs. No, I don't think people consider it important.
(b)	Do you like to have people feel that your job is important?
	Yes, I care very much. Yes, I care considerably. Yes, but it doesn't matter too much. No, I don't care how they feel.
l. (a)	Do people feel that your kind of work is done mainly for selfish or personal reasons?
	Yes, this is a widespread feeling. This is fairly common. This is seldom so. It almost never happens.
(b)	How important is it to you that people not think of your job as a selfish one?
	Very important. Of considerable importance. Of some importance. Of no importance.

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12. (e)	In your contacts with others generally, how are your ideas and suggestions received?
	My ideas are seriously considered. My ideas are given some consideration. My ideas are given little consideration. My ideas are disregarded.
(b)	How important is it to you to have your ideas and suggestions considered seriously?
	Extremely important. Quite important. Of some importance. Light of little importance.
13. (a)	Do other people seek your advice?
	They continually do. They often do. They sometimes do. They seldom do.
(b)	In general, do you like to have other people seek your advice?
	Yes, very much. I rather like being consulted. I neither like nor dislike it particularly. I prefer not to be consulted. I'm very much annoyed by it.
14.	Do other people reject you because of your background?
	Many people do. Some people do. A few people do. No one does.
.5.	Some men report that their relationships with other people would be better if they had had more education. Is this true in your case?
	<pre>lVery true. 2True to a considerable extent. 3Somewhat true. 4Not at all true.</pre>
6. (a)	Do you think other people look upon you as a person of culture and refinement?
	I'm looked upon as rather unrefined. I'm looked on as just average in culture and refinement. I'm looked on as above the average in culture and refinement. I'm looked on as a well cultured and refined person. I'm sometimes considered to be too cultured and refined.

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16. (b)	Do you feel that it is important to be considered cultured and refined?
	<pre>Very important. Quite important. Somewhat important. Of little importance.</pre>
17. (a)	Are you considered to be a generally well-informed person?
	I am considered to be very well-informed. I am thought to be better informed than average. People look upon me as being about average in this respect. People look upon me as being below average in this respect. I am considered to be very poorly informed.
(b)	Is it important to you to have others consider you as well-informed?
	It is absolutely necessary. It is of considerable importance. It is of some importance. It isn't particularly important.
18. (a)	Is your job considered to be one of the professions?
	Yes, everybody recognizes it as a profession. Nost people consider it a profession. Some people consider it a profession, some do not. Most people do not consider it a profession. Nobody considers it a profession.
(b)	Is it important to you that your job be considered a profession?
	It is very important to me. I feel this is quite important. It isn't very important. This means nothing to me.
9. (a)	Do other people respect your job position as much as it should be respected?
	The position is highly respected. The position is quite well respected. The position is respected enough. The position is not respected enough. The position is disrespected.
(b)	How do you feel about your job being given the proper amount of respect?
	This is very important to me. This is of considerable importance. This is somewhat important. This is unimportant to me.

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20.	Some people are disappointed to find that their jobs don't command the degree of respect from other people that they had expected. Is this true in you case?
	I'm very much disappointed with the lack of respect. I'm a little disappointed with the lack of respect. I'm satisfied with the amount of respect. I'm quite pleased with the amount of respect.
2. (a)	Is your position one of prestige and respect in comparison with the other positions in the organization?
	It has much less prestige and respect than most. It has somewhat less prestige and respect than most. It has as much prestige and respect as most. It has more prestige and respect than most. It has much more prestige and respect than most.
(b)	How important is it to you for your job to be among those in the organization with respect and prestige?
	This is very important to me. It is of considerable importance. It is somewhat important. It makes little or no difference.
22. (a)	Some people are looked upon with a great deal of respect and esteem just by virtue of the kind of job they hold. To what extent is this true in your case?
	<pre>Very true. Quite true. Somewhat brue. Not brue at all.</pre>
(b)	How important is it that your job provide you with respect and esteem?
	<pre>Very important. Quite important. Somewhat important. This is not important.</pre>
3.	Is it easy to find qualified people for your kind of job?
	lVery easy. 2Fairly easy. 3Not too easy. 4It's pretty hard.
4. (a)	Is you job a run of the mill type job?
	It's far above the run of the mill job. It's somewhat above the run of the mill job. It's just about a run of the mill job. It's just below the run of the mill job.

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24. (b)	Is it desirable to have a job which is above the run of the mill?
	<pre>1 I consider it very desirable. 2 I consider it quite desirable.</pre>
	3 I consider it somewhat desirable.
	I consider it of little or no importance.
క. (a)	There is a tendency today for many occupations to require specialized training for persons entering into them. How is your occupation in this respect?
ĺ	1 Only very specialized persons are being accepted.
İ	2 A considerable amount of training is required.
	Persons with little training are accepted.
	It's a job which almost anyone, irrespective of training, can get into.
4. 3	
(b)	Do you prefer the kinds of jobs that require specialized training?
	Yes, I prefer jobs that require very specialized training. I prefer those that require a somewhat specialized training. It doesn't matter much to me.
	I prefer jobs that don't require specialized training.
	The state of the s
%. (a)	Do you have the kinds of friends and associates appropriate to a man in your position?
	1Yes. 2No.
(b)	Do you feel that a man should have friends and associates in keeping with his position?
	<pre>1 I feel this is extremely important.</pre>
	2 It's quite important.
	3 It's of some importance.
	This doesn't really matter.
7. (a)	Are the people attracted to your type of job the kind that are looked up to by the community?
	a manufacture to the to-
	1 They are very much looked up to.
	They are looked up to more than most. They are about the same as others in this respect.
	They are considered to be below others in this respect.
(b)	How important is it to you to have the community respect the sort of people attracted
	to your line of work?
	1 This means a great deal to me.
	This means quite a lot to me.
	This doesn't mean too much to me.
	This doesn't mean a thing to me.
}. (a)	How does the level of your job compare with those of your friends?
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	At a higher level than most of them. 2About the same level as most of them.
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28. (b)	How concerned are you about the way your job compares with the jobs of your friends?
	1 Greatly concerned. 2 Quite concerned. 3 Somewhat concerned. 4 Not at all concerned.
29.	In some cases, people seem to be <u>locked</u> down on, more or less, just because of the kind of job they hold. Is this true in your case?
	This is very true in my case. This is quite true in my case. This is somewhat true in my case. This is not true at all in my case.
30. (a)	Is your companionship sought by others?
	Yes, I'm very much in demand. I'm sought out by a good many people. I'm sought out by some people. I'm sought out by only a few people.
(b)	How important is it to you to be sought out for companionship by others?
	It is the greatest source of personal happiness to me. It is quite important to me. It is of some importance to me. It makes little difference to me one way or the other.
l. (a)	There is always some difficulty in being accepted by others with whom you work. What has been your experience?
	I have had a great deal of difficulty being accepted. I have had some difficulty. I have had little or no difficulty. I have been readily accepted by those I work with.
(b)	When you run into such a difficulty, how do you reaet?
	It bothers me a great deal. It bothers me considerably. It bothers me some, but not too much. It doesn't bother me at all.
?• (a)	Do people accept you for what you are?
	<pre>Most or all people do. Quite a few people do. Some people do. Few or no people do.</pre>

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32. (b) How important is it to you to have people accept you for what you are?
This is extremely important to me. It is quite important to me. It is of some importance. It is of little or no importance to me.
3. (a) Do others treat you as an equal?
lYes, always. 2 Generally. 3 Only sometimes. 4 Hardly ever.
(b) How important is it to you to have others treat you as an equal?
Extremely important. Quite important. Of some importance. Under the contract of the contrac
(a) Are you considered to be one of the gang by the persons in your organization?
Yes, very much so. For the most part. Only to some extent. Hardly at all.
(b) How much do you want to be one of the gang?
l Very much. 2 Quite a bit. 3 Somewhat. 4 I don't.
(a) Do people extend to you the courtesy that you should receive?
1 Almost all people do. 2 The majority of people do. 3 Some people do. 4 Almost nobody does.
(b) How important is it to you to receive courteous treatment?
of very great importance. Considerable importance. Considerable importance. Considerable importance. Considerable importance. Considerable importance.

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36. (a)	In general, are other people aware of the privileges to which you as a person are entitled?
·	They seem to be fully aware of them. They sometimes aren't aware of them. They often aren't aware of them. They almost never seem to be aware of them.
(b)	Does it bother you when other people seem to be unaware of the privileges to which you are entitled?
	Yes, very much. Considerably. Somewhat. Little or not at all.
37. (a)	Have you found ready acceptance into the groups in which you were interested?
	I have always been accepted into groups. I have usually been accepted into any group in which I was interested. I have sometimes been accepted in the groups which most interested me. I have seldom or never been accepted in the groups which most interested me.
(b)	If you don't find ready acceptance into a group, how much does it bother you?
	lVery greatly. 2
8. (a)	Do other people respect you as a person?
	Yes, completely. Cenerally. Sometimes. Seldom.
(p)	How important is it to you to have others respect you as a person?
	Extremely important. Of considerable importance. Of some importance. Of minor importance.
). (a)	To what extent are you subjected to personal criticism?
	Very often. Frequently. Sometimes. Seldom.

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39. (b)	How much does personal criticism annoy you?
	l Very much. 2 A good deal. 3 Somewhat. 4 Little.
10. (a)	People are not likely to accept others until they have known them for a very long time.
	This is very true. This is generally the case. This is seldom the way it is. Most people are usually quick to accept others.
(b)	How important is it to you to find ready acceptance?
	I find it very important. It is quite important. It is of some importance. It is not important.
4. (a)	In your contacts with people, how often are you accepted for what you are?
	Hardly ever. Some of the time. Most of the time. Lambdays.
(b)	How often do you think about the way others accept you?
	I frequently think about it. I sometimes think about it. I rarely think about it. I never think about it.

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1.	What is your age?
	1 25 or under 2 26 - 35 3 36 - 45 4 46 - 55 5 56 - 65 6 0ver 65
2.	What type of business or profession are you in? (If manufacturing, please state what your firm makes. If sales, please indicate what your firm sells. If professional or other kind of service, please state the nature of the service. In other words, be as specific as you can.)
3.	What is the full name or title of your position?
4.	What would you say are the three most important duties or responsibilities of your position?
	T
	2
	3
5.	How long have you held this position?
	less than 1 year. 2 1 - 2 years. 3 - 5 years. 4 6 - 10 years. 5more than 10 years.
6.	Are you married at the present time?
	1Yes. 2No.
7.	How many dependents do you have (including wife, children, parents, others)?

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,	Do your wife or children contribute financially to the support of your family?	
	1Yes. 2No. 3I have no family.	
	What is your approximate annual family income?	
	1 Less than \$3000, 2 \$3000 - \$4999.	
	3 \$5000 - \$7499. 4 \$7500 - \$9999.	
	5 \$10,000 - \$14,999. 6 \$15,000 or over.	

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i. (a)	Do people in general think well of the kind of job you hold?
	7 You Thelders they think rows and a fit
	<pre>1 Yes, I believe they think very well of it. 2 Yes, I think so, but I'm not sure how well.</pre>
	No, I don't believe they think much of it.
	Mo, I don't ballave they think much of it.
(b)	How important is it to you that people in general think well of your kind of job?
	1 Extremely important.
	2 Of considerable importance.
	3 Of some importance.
	4Of little or no importance.
	•
. (a)	Do some people look down on your job?
	1Yes, I'm sure they do.
	Yes, I think they do but I'm not sure.
	No, I don't think so.
<i>(</i> ,)	
(b)	If some people look down on your job does this disturb you?
	1A great deal.
	2 Considerably.
	3 Somewhat.
	4Not at all.
	The same and the same well do?
(a)	Do other people recognize the value to society of the work you do?
	1 Most people do.
	2 Many do.
	Some do.
	4Very few do_
(h)	How important is such recognition to you?
(5)	now important is such recognituded to your
	1 It is of tremendous importance.
	2It is very important.
	3 It is of some importance.
	It is of little importance.
	4 TO IS OF THOMSO Important
(a)	Some people in your kind of work find that their jobs are not particularly
• •	respected by the very persons whom they would like to have will be the respected by the very persons whom they would like to have
	jobs. To what extent do you find this to be true?
	Design to High Oxigons to Jon Har
	lThis is very true in my case.
	This is generally true.
	This is somewhat true.
	Inis is not at all true in my case.
(p)	How strongly do you feel the need to have certain persons think well of your job?
	l Very strongly.
	2 Fairly strongly.
	Not so strongly.
	Not strongly at all.

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(2)	
5. (a)	Do people outside your organization appreciate the value of the work that you do?
	They always do. They generally do. They seldom do. They almost never do.
(b)	How important is such appreciation to you?
	Very important. Quite important. Of some importance. Of little or no importance.
6. (a)	Are there parts of your job that are looked down on by others?
	lMost of it is. 2A large part of it is. 3Some of it is. 4Notic of it is.
(b)	When you have to do things that are looked down on are you embarassed or disturbed?
	Yes, very much. I good deal. Somewhat. Little or not at all.
7. (a)	Is your job considered to be one which is beneficial to humanity?
	Yes, vory much so. To a considerable extent. To some extent. Not to any degree.
(b)	How important is it to you that your job be thought of as one which benefits humanity?
	It is of extreme importance. It is of considerable importance. It is somewhat important. It really doesn't matter.
8. (a)	Some positions are respected because they provide important and worthwhile services for people. Is your position one which others might like to have for this reason?
	Yes, it is very much this kind of job. It is largely this kind of job. To some extent it is this kind of job. No, it's not that kind of job.

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8. (b)	How important is it to you to have a job which is respected because of the important and worthwhile services it provides for people?
	<pre>1 Very important. 2 Of considerable importance. 3 Of little importance. 4 Of almost no importance.</pre>
9. (a)	Do you feel that people look down on your kind of job because of some of the things you have to do?
	1 Many people do. 2 Some people do. 3 Perhaps a few do. 4 I feel certain no one does.
(b)	When you do (would) such attitudes toward your job affect you?
	1 Greatly disturbing. 2 Considerably disturbing. 3 Somewhat disturbing. 4 Not at all disturbing.
0. (a)	Is you job considered an important one by other people?
	Yes, I believe people consider it very important. Yes, I think people feel it is rather important. I suppose they think it is as important as most jobs. No, I don't think people consider it important.
(b)	Do you like to have people feel that your job is important?
	Yes, I care very much. Yes, I care considerably. Yes, but it doesn't matter too much. No, I don't care how they feel.
. (a)	Do people feel that your kind of work is done mainly for selfish or personal reasons?
	Yes, this is a widespread feeling. This is fairly common. This is seldom so. It almost never happens.
(b)	How important is it to you that people not think of your job as a selfish one?
	Very important. Of considerable importance. Of some importance. Of no importance.

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12. (a)	In your contacts with others generally, how are your ideas and suggestions received?
	My ideas are seriously considered. My ideas are given some consideration. My ideas are given little consideration. My ideas are disregarded.
(b)	How important is it to you to have your ideas and suggestions considered seriously?
	Extremely important. Quite important. Of some importance. Light of little importance.
13. (a)	Do other people seek your advice?
	They continually do. They often do. They sometimes do. They seldom do.
(b)	In general, do you like to have other people seek your advice?
	Yes, very much. I rather like being consulted. I neither like nor dislike it particularly. I prefer not to be consulted. I'm very much annoyed by it.
14.	Do other people reject you because of your background?
	Many people do. Some people do. A few people do. No one does.
15.	Some men report that their relationships with other people would be better if they had had more education. Is this true in your case?
	<pre>l Very true. 2 True to a considerable extent. 3 Somewhat true. 4 Not at all true.</pre>
.6. (a)	Do you think other people look upon you as a person of culture and refinement?
	I'm looked upon as rather unrefined. I'm looked co as just average in culture and refinement. I'm looked on as above the average in culture and refinement. I'm looked on as a well cultured and refined person. I'm sometimes considered to be too cultured and refined.

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16. (b)	Do you feel that it is important to be considered cultured and refined?
	<pre>Very important. Quite important. Somewhat important. Uf little importance.</pre>
17. (a)	Are you considered to be a generally well-informed person?
	I am considered to be very well-informed. I am thought to be better informed than average. People look upon me as being about average in this respect. People look upon me as being below average in this respect. I am considered to be very poorly informed.
(b)	Is it important to you to have others consider you as well-informed?
	It is absolutely necessary. It is of considerable importance. It is of some importance. It isn't particularly important.
l8. (a)	Is your job considered to be one of the professions?
	Yes, everybody recognizes it as a profession. Most people consider it a profession. Some people consider it a profession, some do not. Most people do not consider it a profession. Nobody considers it a profession.
(b)	Is it important to you that your job be considered a profession?
	It is very important to me. If feel this is quite important. It isn't very important. This means nothing to me.
). (a)	Do other people respect your job position as much as it should be respected?
	The position is highly respected. The position is quite well respected. The position is respected enough. The position is not respected enough. The position is disrespected.
(b)	How do you feel about your job being given the proper amount of respect?
	This is very important to me. This is of considerable importance. This is somewhat important. This is unimportant to me.

(6)	
20.	Some people are disappointed to find that their jobs don't command the degree of respect from other people that they had expected. Is this true in you case?
	I'm very much disappointed with the lack of respect. I'm a little disappointed with the lack of respect. I'm satisfied with the amount of respect. I'm quite pleased with the amount of respect.
2. (a)	Is your position one of prestige and respect in comparison with the other positions in the organization?
	It has much less prestige and respect than most. It has somewhat less prestige and respect than most. It has as much prestige and respect as most. It has more prestige and respect than most. It has much more prestige and respect than most.
(b)	How important is it to you for your job to be among those in the organization with respect and prestige?
	This is very important to me. It is of considerable importance. It is somewhat important. It makes little or no difference.
22. (a)	Some people are looked upon with a great deal of respect and esteem just by virtue of the kind of job they hold. To what extent is this true in your case?
	<pre>Very true. Quite true. Somewhat true. Not true at all.</pre>
(b)	How important is it that your job provide you with respect and esteem?
	<pre>1 Very important. 2 Quite important. 3 Somewhat important. 4 This is not important.</pre>
3.	Is it easy to find qualified people for your kind of job?
	l Very easy. 2 Fairly easy. 3 Not too easy. 4 It's pretty hard.
. (a)	Is you job a run of the mill type job?
,	It's far above the run of the mill job. It's somewhat above the run of the mill job. It's just about a run of the mill job. It's just below the run of the mill job.

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24. (b)	Is it desirable to have a job which is above the run of the mill?
	lI consider it very desirable.
	2 I consider it quite desirable.
	3 I consider it somewhat desirable. 4 I consider it of little or no importance.
	•
భ. (a)	There is a tendency today for many occupations to require specialized training for persons entering into them. How is your occupation in this respect?
	persons entering into them. How is your occupation in this respect:
	lOnly very specialized persons are being accepted.
	2 A considerable amount of training is required. 3 Persons with little training are accepted.
	It's a job which almost anyone, irrespective of training, can get into.
(b)	Do you prefer the kinds of jobs that require specialized training?
	1 Yes, I prefer jobs that require very specialized training.
	I prefer those that require a somewhat specialized training. It doesn't matter much to me.
	4I prefer jobs that don't require specialized training.
	•
%. (a)	Do you have the kinds of friends and associates appropriate to a man in your position?
	1Yes. 2 No.
/L \	
(b)	Do you feel that a man should have friends and associates in keeping with his position?
	1 I feel this is extremely important.
	2 It's quite important. 3 It's of some importance.
	This doesn't really matter.
?. (a)	Are the people attracted to your type of job the kind that are looked up to by the
	community?
	1 They are very much looked up to.
	They are looked up to more than most.
	They are about the same as others in this respect. They are considered to be below others in this respect.
4	
(b)	How important is it to you to have the community respect the sort of people attracted
	to your line of work?
	1 This means a great deal to me.
	This means quite a lot to me. This doesn't mean too much to me.
	This doesn't mean a thing to me.
3. (a)	How does the level of your job compare with those of your friends?
	1 At a higher level than most of them.
	2 About the same level as most of them.
	3 Lower than most of them.

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28. (b)	How concerned are you about the way your job compares with the jobs of your friends?
	1 Greatly concerned.
	2 Quite concerned. 3 Somewhat concerned.
	Not at all concerned.
29•	In some cases, people seem to be locked down on, more or less, just because of the kind of job they hold. Is this true in your case?
	lThis is very true in my case.
	This is quite true in my case. This is somewhat true in my case.
	This is not true at all in my case.
30. (a)	Is your companionship sought by others?
	1Yes, I'm very much in demand.
	2 I'm sought out by a good many people. 3 I'm sought out by some people.
	I'm sought out by only a few people.
(b)	How important is it to you to be sought out for companionship by others?
	It is the greatest source of personal happiness to me.
	2 It is quite important to me. 3 It is of some importance to me.
	It makes little difference to me one way or the other.
1. (a)	There is always some difficulty in being accepted by others with whom you work. What has been your experience?
	·
	 I have had a great deal of difficulty being accepted. I have had some difficulty.
	T have had little or no difficulty.
	I have been readily accepted by those I work with.
(b)	When you run into such a difficulty, how do you react?
	1 It bothers me a great deal.
	2 It bothers me considerably. 3 It bothers me some, but not too much.
	It doesn't bother me at all.
32. (a)	Do people accept you for what you are?
:	l Most or all people do.
}	Quite a few people do.
	Some people do. Few or no people do.

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32. (b) How important is it to you to have people accept you for what you are?
This is extremely important to me. It is quite important to me. It is of some importance. It is of little or no importance to me.
33. (a) Do others treat you as an equal?
Yes, always. Generally. Only sometimes. Hardly ever.
(b) How important is it to you to have others treat you as an equal?
Extremely important. Quite important. Of some importance. Of little or no importance.
(a) Are you considered to be one of the gang by the persons in your organization?
Yes, very much so. For the most part. Only to some extent. Hardly at all.
(b) How much do you want to be one of the gang?
Very much. Quite a bit. Somewhat. I don't.
(a) Do people extend to you the courtesy that you should receive?
Almost all people do. The majority of people do. Some people do. Almost nobody does.
(b) How important is it to you to receive courteous treatment?
Of very great importance. Of considerable importance. Of some importance. Of little or no importance.

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Frequently.
Sometimes.
Seldom.

(11)	
39. (b)	How much does personal criticism annoy you?
	l Very much. 2 A good deal. 3 Somewhat. 4 Little.
10. (a)	People are not likely to accept others until they have known them for a very long time.
	This is very true. This is generally the case. This is seldom the way it is. Most people are usually quick to accept others.
(b)	How important is it to you to find ready acceptance?
	I find it very important. It is quite important. It is of some importance. It is not important.
41. (a)	In your contacts with people, how often are you accepted for what you are?
	Hardly ever. Some of the time. Most of the time. Always.
(b)	How often do you think about the way others accept you?
	I frequently think about it. I sometimes think about it. I rarely think about it. I never think about it.

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OCCUPATIONAL AND SOCIAL RELATIONS STUDY

This is a request for information.

The Social Research Service of Michigan State College is conducting an extensive study of how people look upon their jobs in relation to themselves, their families and friends, and the larger community. Our research to date has shown that there are wide variations among people in this respect and your cooperation will help us greatly in learning more about this important subject.

Many people today feel increasingly the need to know more about the patterns of human relations among representative American men who fill responsible positions. Eventually the results of this study can provide knowledge which will be particularly useful to those who guide the younger generation.

As part of this research, we are asking a number of people in different occupations to fill out this questionnaire. It is not a test in any sense. There are no "right" or "wrong" answers, and you need not sign your name. We just want you to answer each question in terms of your own experiences and feelings. Please do not discuss the questions with others until you are finished.

Read each question carefully, then make an x on the line in front of the one answer that best describes you or your situation. Even though some of the questions may sound very much alike, there are differences between them. It is important that you answer all of the questions.

Thank you for your cooperation.

All information obtained will be considered strictly confidential and will be under the exclusive control of the Social Research Service of Michigan State College. All data will be treated statistically and no attempt will be made to identify specific individuals.

MICHIGAN STATE COLLEGE SOCIAL RESEARCH SERVICE

Note to respondents:

In order to save you time, we are only asking you questions about a few of the important aspects of a job. Other people are filling out different questionnaires which will give us information on other important features of occupations which are not included here.

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1.	What is your age?
	1 25 or under 2 26 - 35 3 36 - 45 4 46 - 55 5 56 - 65 6 0ver 65
2.	What type of business or profession are you in? (If manufacturing, please state what your firm makes. If sales, please indicate what your firm sells. If professional or other kind of service, please state the nature of the service. In other words, be as specific as you can.)
<u>.</u>	
3.	What is the full name or title of your position?
4.	What would you say are the three most important duties or responsibilities of your position? 1
	2
	3
5.	How long have you held this position?
	less than 1 year. 1 - 2 years. 3 - 3 - 5 years. 4 - 6 - 10 years. 5more than 10 years.
6.	Are you married at the present time?
	Yes.
7.	How many dependents do you have (including wife, children, parents, others)?

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Do your w	ife or	children	contribut	e financiall	y to the	support	of your	family?	•
1 2 3	Yes. No. I hav	e no fam	ily.		·				
What is y	our app	roximate	annual fa	nily income?					
1 2 3 4 5	\$3000 \$5000 \$7500 \$10,0	than \$30 - \$4999 - \$7499 - \$9999 00 - \$14	999•						

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(a)	In your work, do you feel free to express your personal opinions about things?
	1 Yes, perfectly free. 2 Quite free. 3 I have to be careful what I say.
	I have to be very careful what I say.
(b)	How important is it to you to be able to excress your opinions?
	This is extremely important to me. It's quite important. It's of some importance. It's of very minor importance.
(a)	Do you find that your job permits you to show your true self?
	Yes, entirely. Under most circumstances. To some extent. No, not at all.
(b)	Does it bother you when you find it necessary to cover up your true self?
	l Very much. 2 Considerably. 3 Somewhat. 4 Very little.
(a)	In your work, do you have to soft-pedal your feelings when dealing with others?
	<pre>1 Yes, always. 2 Quite often. 3 Occasionally. 4 Very rarely, if at all.</pre>
b)	How do you react to having to do this?
	It hardly bothers me at all. It's a little annoying. I find it quite frustrating. I get very upset.
a)	Does your work orevent you from acting like a human being with feelings and emotions?
	It never does. It seldom does. It sometimes does. It frequently does.
b)	How frustrating is it when you feel prevented from acting like a human being with feelings and emotions?
	l Extremely frustrating. 2 Very frustrating. 3 Somewhat frustrating.

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). (a)	Does your job require you to work with and be friendly toward people even if you don't like them?
	1 Most of the time. 2 This is often necessary. 3 Sometimes find I have to. 4 Rarely does this happen.
(b)	When this is necessary, what is your reaction?
	It bothers me greatly. It bothers me considerably. It bothers me somewhat. It doesn't bother me.
. (a)	Do neople with whom you deal encourage you to express your personal reactions about them and the things they are doing?
	They always do. They generally do. They sometimes do. They seldom do.
(b)	Is it important to you to have others encourage you to soeak your mind?
	Yes, very important. It is quite important. It is of some importance. It is of little or no importance.
(a)	In your work, are you often in the position of having to quietly put up with actions of others that are distasteful to you?
	Yes, a great deal of the time. Yes, much of the time. Sometimes this is the case. Only rarely is this the case.
(b)	How much does it bother you to have to out up with the distasteful actions of others?
	I get very upset by it. It bothers me quite a lot. It's somewhat disturbing. It doesn't bother me at all.
(a)	In your work, can you say what you think?
	1 Always. 2 Generally. 3 Sometimes. 4 Seldom.

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(b)	How much does it bother you not to be able to say what you think?
	1 Very much. 2 A good deal. 3 Somewhat.
	4Very little.
(a)	Some jobs out people in a position where they are constantly being irritated but must always control their tempers. To what extent is this true of your job?
	This is very true of my job. This is quite true.
	This is somewhat true.
	This is not at all true of my job.
(b)	How do you feel about having to control your temper when you are irritated?
	l It disturbs me tremendously.
	2 It bothers me a great deal. 3 It bothers me a little.
	It doesn't disturb me.
(a)	Can you be frank with others in your work?
	1Yes, all the time.
	2 Generally.
	Sometimes. Seldom.
(b)	How important is it to you to be frank with others?
	lVery important.
	2 Of considerable importance.
	Of some importance. 4 Of little or no importance.
(a)	Does it endanger your position to say what you think?
	lYes, very much.
	2 To a considerable extent. 3 Somewhat.
	4 Hardly at all.
(b)	How important is it to you to be able to say what you think?
	lVery important.
	2 Of considerable importance.
	Of some importance. 4 Of little importance.

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?, (a) Do you find that in your job you must try to be "all things to all people?"
	Very true, I rarely feel I can be myself. Most of the time I must act this way. Sometimes I find this to be the case. No, this is not necessary.
(b	Does having to be "all things to all people" bother you?
	Yes, a great deal. To some extent. Not at all.
(a)	Jobs vary in the extent to which they require people to hide their true emotions and feelings. What is your job like in this respect?
	I am required to hide my feelings and emotions at all times. It is usually necessary to hide my feelings and emotions. I seldom need to hide my feelings and emotions. I never have to hide my feelings and emotions.
(b)	How much does it bother you to have to hide your emotions and feelings?
	lVery much 2Considerably. 3A little. 4None at all.
(a)	In your job is it possible to avoid working with people whom you have difficulty getting along with?
	I can always avoid working with such people. Most of the time I can avoid working with them. I sometimes can avoid working with such people. I never can avoid working with such people.
(b)	How important is it to you to be able to avoid working with certain becole on the job?
	Very important. Quite important. Of some importance. L Of little or no importance.
(a)	In your job is it necessary for you to smile and carry on when you are very angry and woset?
	Yes, this is constantly necessary. Usually, I must try to smile and carry on. Sometimes this has to be done. Rarely, if ever, is this necessary.

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(b)	How do you feel about having to act this way when you are angry and upset?
	The disturbs we smooth.
	<pre>1 It disturbs me greatly. 2 It bothers me considerably.</pre>
	It bothers me considerably. 3 It bothers me somewhat.
	It doesn't bother me.
(0)	Does your work give you a feeling of accomplishment?
. (a)	boes your work give you a feeting of accompilishment.
	lVery much so.
	To a considerable extent.
	To some extent.
	Little or not at all.
(b)	Is it important to you to gain such a feeling of accomplishment from your work?
	l It's not at all necessary for me.
	2 It helps but isn't important.
	It's of some importance.
	It's quite important to me.
	5 It's essential to me.
(a)	Do you think there are other jobs that wo ld give you more opportunity to do the
(4)	things you can do best?
	Yes, there are jobs that would give me a much greater chance to do these things.
	Thoraging take that would give me considerably more chance.
	mbana and take that would give me some more chance to do these dillings.
	There is no other job that would give me more chance to do these things.
(b)	How important is it to you that your work allow you to do thosethings you can do best?
	1 Extremely important.
	Of considerable importance.
	3 Of some importance.
	4Of little or no importance.
(a)	Do you feel that your work provides adequate opportunities for you to express iniative?
	l Entirely adequate.
	2 Fairly adequate.
	Not very adequate.
	Not adequate at all.
(b)	Is the opportunity to express initiative in your work?
	A condition you feel you must have.
	2 A condition you feel is very important.
	A condition you feel is of some importance.
	A condition you feel is of minor importance.

, (a)	Does your job allow you opportunities to do the kind of things you like to do?
	Generally. To a considerable extent, To some extent. Hardly at all.
(b)	How important is it to you in your work to be able to do the kind of things you like to do?
	It is extremely important. It is quite important. It is of some importance. It is a minor matter.
(a)	To what extent does your work give you a feeling of self-fulfillment?
	To a great extent. To a considerable extent. To some extent. Very little, if any.
(b)	How important is it to you that your work give you a feeling of self-fulfillment?
	It is very important. It is of considerable importance. It is of some importance. It is of little, if any, importance.
(a)	Jobs vary in the amount of mental energy they make use of. What is your job like in this respect?
	Far too demanding. Somewhat demanding. About right. Not quite demanding enough. Not nearly demanding enough.
(b)	In selecting a job is the amount of mental energy required an important consideration?
	Yes, very important. Of considerable importance. Of some importance. Of little or no importance.
(a)	Does your work make use of your particular abilities and capacities?
	Yes, fully. For the most part it does. Not to a great extent. It doesn't make use of them at all.

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22.	. (a)	How important is it to you to have work which makes full use of your particular abilities and capacities?
		Pery important. Quite important. Important to some extent. Not very important.
23.	(a)	How interested are you in your work?
		Very much interested. Considerably interested. A little, but not much. Not interested at all.
	(b)	How important do you consider it to have a job which interests you?
		It is of primary importance. It is quite important. It is of some importance. It is of little or no importance.
24.	(a)	One man says of his job: "I have no chance to accomplish and build - to be creative". Is this true of your $j \rightarrow ?$
		Yes, this is very true of my job also. In general it is true. To some extent it is true. My job is not like that at all.
	(b)	How important is it to you to have work which gives you a chance to be creative?
		It is an absolute necessity. It means a great deal to me. This is of some importance. I don't consider this to be very important.
25.	(a)	Are your actions controlled by others who seemingly do not understand how your job should be run?
		This is very true. This is true to a considerable extent. This is true to some extent. This is hardly true of my work at all.
	(p)	How much are you bothered by this sort of control?
		Extremely. 2 A great deal. 3 Somewhat. 4 Very little.

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26	. (a)	In some organizations, one has to accept without question the policies and methods of the company, or of one's superiors. To what extent is this true in your case?
		I have to accept everything without question. I have to accept most things without question. I have to accept some things without question. I seldom have to accept anything without question.
	(b)	How much does it bother you to have to accept such policies and methods?
		It is extremely disturbing. It bothers me a great deal. It's somewhat disturbing. It doesn't bother me at all.
27.	(a)	Wow much of the time are you able to make use of your own ideas in carrying out your work?
		Almost all the time. Generally. Sometimes. Seldom or never.
	(b)	Is it important to you in your work to be able to make use of your own ideas?
		It's of the utmost importance. It's very important to me. It's of some importance. It's cf minor importance.
28.	(a)	Is your work governed largely by your own judgments, or by those of other people?
		Almost completely by my own judgments. Very largely by my own judgments. To some extent by my own judgments. Only slightly by my own judgments.
	(b)	Do you prefer work where you are largely able to use your own judgments?
		I much orefer such work. I like such work. It's not too important to me. I prefer letting others make the judgments. I'd much rather let others make the judgments.
29.	(a)	Some people feel they are trapped in a big organization in which individual initiative is lost. Others feel they have a great deal of independence of action. How would you rank your job in this respect?
		I am almost completely independent. I have considerable independence of action. There is some degree of independence. There is practically no independence of action.

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29.	(b)	Relative to other aspects of a job, how important is independence of action? 1
30.	(a)	Are you required to render services which you feel are beyond the bounds of duty? This happens very often. This frequently happens. This sometimes happens. This seldom or never happens.
	(b)	How much does this bother you when it happens? 1 Extremely. 2 Considerably. 3 Somewhat. 4 Very little, if at all.
31.	(a)	Do you ever wish that you could throw off your responsibilities and take off for a distant island? 1 Yes, I frequently do. 2 I sometimes do. 3 I seldom do. 4 I never do.
	(b)	How strong is this feeling when you have it? 1 Very intense. 2 Quite strong. 3 Fairly strong. 4 Next to nothing.
32.		Do you have to organize your work to suit the convenience of others? 1 Almost all of it has to be organized for the convenience of others. 2 Most of it has to be organized for the convenience of others. 3 Some parts of it have to be organized for the convenience of others. 4 Very little of it has to be organized for the convenience of others.
	(b)	Do you find it annoying when you have to organize your work to suit the convenience of others? Very annoying. Quite annoying. Somewhat annoying. Not annoying at all.

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13.	(a)	Do you have to meet deadlines and other requirements over which you have no direct control?
		Yes, constantly. Most of the time. Some of the time. Left Seldom or never.
	(b)	How much does having to meet such requirements bother you?
·		l Very much. 2 Considerably. 3 Somewhat. 4 Little
34.	(a)	Do some of the policies of the organization interfere with your efforts to do your work effectively?
,		Yes, very much so. They often do. They occasionally do. They seldom or never do.
	(b)	How important is it to you to be able to work without interference from organizational policies?
		I feel this is an absolute necessity. I feel it is of major importance. I believe it is of some importance. This is actually of minor importance.
35 .	(a)	Is your job one in which there is someone always "looking over your shoulder" to see how you are doing various parts of your work?
		This is very true in my case. This is quite true. This is somewhat true. This is not true at all.
	(b)	To what extent does (would) this bother you?
		A very great deal. Considerably. Somewhat. Very little, if at all.
36.	(a)	Are you expected to go along with the decisions of others without having had a voice in these decisions?
		Yes, most of the time. Much of the time. Some of the time. Very seldom.

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36.	(b)	What is your feeling about having to carry out decisions which you have had no voice in?
		It bothers me a great deal. Considerably. It bothers me somewhat. This sort of thing doesn't bother me.
37.	(a)	Are you pressured by others to work harder?
		I'm constantly being pushed. I'm often pressured. I'm sometimes pressured. I'm seldom pressured.
	(b)	How do you feel about such pressures?
		They are a tremendous worry to me. They cause me considerable bother. They prove a minor nuisance. They don't bother me.
38.	(a)	Are you able to run your job pretty much as you alease?
		Yes, almost completely. Generally I am. Only sometimes am I able to. Seldom am I able to.
	(b)	How important is it for you to run your job pretty much as you blease?
		This is of basic importance to me. I find this to be quite important. It is of some importance. It really doesn't matter very much.
39.		Is your work in keeping with your real personality?
		To a great extent. Somewhat. A little perhaps. No, just the opposite.
40.		Some people feel the need to remake themselves in one way or another. Do you have this feeling?
		l Very frequently. 2 Often. 3 Sometimes. 4 Rarely.

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41.	Do you need recreation to re-vitalize you?
	Yes, this is very necessary. This is quite necessary.
;	This is not very necessary.
	This is unnecessary.
42.	Do you feel the need to find other things outside your work to renew your vim and vigor.
	I most certainly do.
	To a considerable extent. To some extent.
	Little or not at all.
43.	Is your work the kind that wears you down over a period of time?
	1A great deal.
	Considerably. Somewhat.
	Little or not at all.
74.	How often do you feel the need to reconsider your goals in life?
	<pre>1 Very frequently. 2 Often.</pre>
	2 Often. 3 Occasionally.
	4Seldom or never.
45.	Do you feel the need to get away from the job now and them to keep your sense of palance?
	1 Yes, very frequently.
	2 Often. 3 On occasion.
	Uery rarely.
46.	Does your job give you a zest for life?
	1 Almost always. 2 Generally.
	Generally. Often.
	4 Sometimes. 5 Very rarely, if ever.
47.	Do you ever wonder where you are going in life?
	1 I often wonder.
	2 I sometimes wonder. 3 I seldom wonder.
	No, I'm sure where I'm going.

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48•		Do you ever feel the need for a new lease on life?
		I feel this a good part of the time. Often. Now and then. Very rarely.
49.		How often do you feel the need to re-evaluate yourself?
		Very frequently. Often. Cocasionally. Seldom or never.
50.	(a)	In your work, are you required to do some things which you consider to be ethically or morally wrong?
		No, none at all. Very few things. A considerable number of things. A great many things.
	(b)	How do you react to having to do things you consider ethically or merally wrong?
		It bothers me a great deal. It bothers me considerably. It bothers me somewhat. It doesn't bother me too much.
51.	(a)	In the course of your work, do you do things that you feel conflict with your principles?
		1 Many things. 2 Some things. 3 A few things. 4 Practically none at all.
	(b)	How do you feel about doing things that conflict with your principles?
		It upsets me greatly. It upsets me tremendously. It bothers me somewhat. It doesn't bother me too much.
52.	(a)	Some men report that their work requires them to deal with people whose actions violate their own ethical or moral principles. Is this true in your work?
		I have to deal with many such people. I have to deal with some people like this. I have to deal with few such people. I have no such people to deal with.

• • 2 Fig. 1. Sec. March 12.

52.	(b)	How greatly are you disturbed by having to deal with such people?
		<pre>1 Very little. 2 Moderately.</pre>
		2 Moderately. 3 Considerably.
		4Very much.
53.	(a)	Are there common practices in your line of work that you personally don't approve of?
		1 Yes, many.
		2 Yes, some.
		Only a few. Very few or none.
	(h)	How strongly do you feel about such practices?
	(0)	
		1 I strongly disapprove. 2 I have many misgivings.
		I have some objections.
		4It is no concern of mine.
 54•		Are you able to do your work with a clear conscience?
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		No, I feel quite guilty about some of the things I de. 2 I feel some guilt at times.
		My conscience is clear for the most part.
		Yes, my conscience is entirely clear.
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55.	(a)	In your work, are you able to carry out your own ethical and moral principles?
		1 I do not have this opportunity.
		2 Occasionally I can. 3 Quite often I am able to.
		Most of the time I can.
	(b)	How do you feel about having such an opportunity in your work?
		l I feel this is very necessary for me.
		This is quite necessary. This is not too necessary.
		It isn't very important to me.

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OCCUPATIONAL AND SOCIAL RELATIONS STUDY

This is a request for information.

The Social Research Service of Michigan State College is conducting an extensive study of how people look upon their jobs in relation to themselves, their families and friends, and the larger community. Our research to date has shown that there are wide variations among people in this respect and your cooperation will help us greatly in learning more about this important subject.

Many people today feel increasingly the need to know more about the patterns of human relations among representative American men who fill responsible positions. Eventually the results of this study can provide knowledge which will be particularly useful to those who guide the younger generation.

As part of this research, we are asking a number of people in different occupations to fill out this questionnaire. It is not a test in any sense. There are no "right" or "wrong" answers, and you need not sign your name. We just want you to answer each question in terms of your own experiences and feelings. Please do not discuss the questions with others until you are finished.

Read each question carefully, then make an \underline{x} on the line in front of the one answer that best describes you or your situation. Even though some of the questions may sound very much alike, there are differences between them. It is important that you answer all of the questions.

Thank you for your cooperation.

All information obtained will be considered strictly confidential and will be under the exclusive control of the Social Research Service of Michigan State College. All data will be treated statistically and no attempt will be made to identify specific individuals.

MICHIGAN STATE COLLEGE SOCIAL RESEARCH SERVICE

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Note to respondents:

In order to save you time, we are only asking you questions about a few of the important aspects of a job. Other people are filling out different questionnaires which will give us information on other important features of occupations which are not included here.

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1.	What is your age?
	125 or under 226 - 35 336 - 45 446 - 55 556 - 65 60ver 65
2.	What type of business or profession are you in? (If manufacturing, please state what your firm makes. If sales, please indicate what your firm sells. If professional or other kind of service, please state the nature of the service. In other words, be as specific as you can.)
3.	What is the full name or title of your position?
4.	What would you say are the three most important duties or responsibilities of your position?
	1
	2
	3
5.	How long have you held this position?
	less than 1 year. 2 1,-2 years.
	33'-5 years.
	4 6 - 10 years. 5 more than 10 years.
6.	Are you married at the present time?
	1 Yes. 2 No.
7.	How many dependents do you have (including wife, children, parents, others)?

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8.	Do your wife or children contribute financially to the support of your family?
	Yes. No. I have no family.
9.	What is your approximate annual family income?
	Less than \$3000, 2 \$3000 - \$4999. 3 \$5000 - \$7499. 4 \$7500 - \$9999. 5 \$10,000 - \$14,999. 6 \$15,000 or over.

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Seldom or never.

1.	(a)	In your work, do you have the opportunity to associate with people with whom you have common interests?
		Yes, this is particularly true of my work. There is quite a bit of opportunity for this in my work. There is some opportunity for this in my work. There is very little opportunity for this in my work.
	(b)	Do you feel it is important to have common interests with the people with whom you work?
		Yes, very important. Of considerable importance. Of some importance. Of little or no importance.
2.	(a)	Do the people with whom you work get along well with each other?
		They get along extremely well. They get along quite well. They get along fairly well. They don't get along too well. They don't get along well at all.
	(b)	Is it important to you that the people with whom you work get along well with each other?
		Extremely important. Quite important. Of some importance. Not important to me.
3.	(a)	Do you find it harder to make friends now than it used to be?
		Very much harder. Somewhat harder. About the same as always. A little easier. Much easier.
	(b)	How important is it to you to be able to make friends easily?
		Extremely important. Quite important. Of some importance. Not important to me.
4.	(a)	Do you have disagreements and conflicts with the people with whom you come in contact in your work?
		lVery often. 2Frequently. 3 Sometimes.

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4.	(b)	Are such disagreements and conflicts disturbing to you?
		They disturb me tremendously. They bother me a great deal. They bother me somewhat. They don't disturb me.
5.	(a)	Do you deal with people in your job who sometimes work against your best interests?
		Yes, I deal with many people like this. There are some people like this. There are a few people like this. I deal with no people like this.
	(b)	What is your reaction when you find people working against your best interests?
		It disturbs me tremendously. It bothers me a great deal. It bothers me a little. It doesn't bother me.
6.	(a)	Are the people with whom you come in contact in your work the kind of people you would like for friends?
		To a very great extent they are. To a considerable degree they are. To a limited extent they are. They are not at all.
	(b)	Do you prefer that they be this kind of people?
		I very much prefer that they be this kind. Some what prefer this kind. It doesn't matter to me. I prefer that they not be this kind.
7•	(a)	Is a great deal of diplomacy required on your job in order to prevent hard feelings and conflicts from arising?
		Yes, this is very true of my job. This is quite true of my job. This is true of my job to some extent. This is not at all true of my job.
	(b)	Are you bothered by conflicts and hard feelings among those with whom you have contact?
		l Very much so. 2 Considerably. 3 Somewhat. 4 Little or not at all.

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8.	(a)	How would the people with whom you work act toward you when the chips are really down?
		Show true friendship and become even closer. At least make some friendly gesture. They would neither help nor hinder me. They wouldn't stand by me and might even turn against me.
	(b)	How important is it to you to have people whom you can count on under these conditions?
		It is very important to me. It is of considerable importance. It is of some importance. It is of little or no importance.
9.	(a)	Do you have an easy-going and friendly relationship with the people with whom you work?
		Yes, very much so. In large part. To some degree. Not at all.
	(b)	How much does (would) it bother you to work in situations where you don't have this relationship?
		It disturbs me tremendously. It bothers me a great deal. It bothers me a little. It doesn't bother me.
10.	(a)	Are the people with whom you work the kind of people you like to see socially outside working hours?
		To a very great extent. To some extent. To a limited extent. Not at all.
	(b)	"The best sort or job is one in which the people with whom you work are the kind you like to see socially."
		I agree very much with this statement. I agree to a considerable extent. I agree somewhat. I disagree with the above statement.
1.	(a)	Are the people that you work with difficult to get to know?
		1 Most of them are. 2 Many of them are. 3 Some of them are. 4 Very few are.

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μ.	(b)	Do you consider it important to work with people whom it is easy to get to know?
		l Very important.
		Of considerable importance.
		Of some importance.
		0f little or no importance.
2.	(a)	How close do you feel to the people with whom you work?
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		1 Extremely close.
		2 Quite close. 3 Not very close.
		We're not close at all.
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	(b)	Do you prefer a job where you can feel close to the people with whom you work?
		1 I very much prefer this kind of job.
		I somewhat prefer this kind of job.
		This makes little difference to me.
		4I prefer not having this kind of job.
13.	(a)	Do other people understand the problems you face in your work?
		lTo a great extent. 2 To a considerable extent.
		3 Somewhat.
		4 Hardly at all.
	/a \	thome understand your problems?
	(b)	Is it important to you to have others understand your problems?
		l Very important.
		2 Of considerable importance.
		of some importance.
		4Of little or no importance.
4.	(a)	How often do you take part in griping sessions?
		lFrequently. 2 Occasionally.
		3 Seldom.
		Never.
	(1.)	Some people say that the griping sessions make them feel better. Is this true
	(b)	in your case?
		in your case:
		lVery true.
		Quite true. Somewhat true.
		Somewhat true. No, this isn't true.
נ	/ \	Do you unburden yourself to other people about the problems you face in your work?
5.	(a)	Do you unburden yourself to other poor-
		1 Frequently.
		2Occasionally.
		3 Seldom.
		h Never.

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15.	(b)	How important is it to you to have people to whom you can unburden yourself about these matters?
		<pre>Very important. Of considerable importance. Of some importance. Of little or no importance.</pre>
16.		Do you find that other people are willing to listen to your problems?
		Yes, most are. Many are. A few people are. Almost nobody is.
17.	(a)	Are there people who are genuinely concerned about the difficulties you encounter in your work?
		<pre>1 Many are. 2 Some are. 3 Only a few are. 4 Nobody is.</pre>
	(b)	Is it important to you to have other people genuinely concerned about your dif- ficulties?
		<pre>Very important. Of considerable importance. Of some importance. I Of little or no importance.</pre>
18.	(a)	Are there people who try to make you feel better when you are worried or upset about your work?
		Someone always does. Usually someone does. Occasionally someone does. No one ever does.
	(b)	Is it important to you to have such people around?
		<pre>Very important. Of considerable importance. Of some importance. Of little importance.</pre>
19.	(a)	How much of the time do you feel that you have notody to talk to about the difficulties you face in your work?
		Most of the time I feel that way. A good deal of the time. Once in a while. I hardly ever feel that way.

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19.	(b)	Do you find it is worthwhile to talk to others about your difficulties?
		I find it very much worthwhile. Quite worthwhile. Somewhat worthwhile. I don't find it worthwhile.
20.	(a)	Do the people you know encourage you to talk about problems connected with your work?
		l Very often. 2 Frequently. 3 Occasionally. 4 Seldom or never.
	(b)	Do you like to be encouraged to talk about your problems?
		1 Often. 2 Sometimes. 3 Seldom. 4 Never.
2.	(a)	Are the things that bother you in your work the kind of things that can be discussed with others?
		Most of them are. Some of them are. A few of them are. Hardly any of them are.
	(b)	Does it bother you when the problems in your work are the kind which cannot be discussed with others?
		Yes, very much. It bothers me somewhat. It bothers me very little. It doesn't bother me at all.
2 2.		People vary in the extent to which they talk about the problems connected with their work. How do you compare with others on this point?
		I talk much more about my problems that others. I talk a little more about my problems that others do. I talk about my problems about the same as others do. I talk a little less about my problems than others. I talk much less about my problems than others do.
23.	(a)	Does the organization provide adequate "blue prints" and directives to serve as guides in your work?
		Yes, in almost all instances. This is generally true. At least to some extent. No. I have no such guides.

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23.	(b)	Do you think that having guides of this kind is necessary?
		Yes, very much so. They help me considerably. They may be of some help. I don't think they help much.
24.	(a)	In your work, do you find that there are persons who are unwilling to give help in situations where it is needed?
		There are many such persons. There are some such persons. There are a few such persons. There is no one like that.
	(b)	How important is it that people be willing to give help in situations where it is needed?
		l Very important. 2 Quite important. 3 Not too important. 4 Not important at all.
5 .	(a)	Do you got the "run-around" when you approach others for assistance?
		This is definitely the case. I often find this is true. Sometimes this is true. No, I always get the assistance I need.
	(b)	How much does (would) it bother you to get the run-around?
		Extremely. Quite a lot. Somewhat. Not very much.
% .		When your work load is especially heavy, are there others who are willing to pitch in and help out?
		Always. A good part of the time. Sometimes. Very rarely.
27.	(a)	When you seek the advice of others about your work, do you get conflicting opinions from different people?
		1 No, never. 2 Only occasionally. 3 Frequently. 4 Most of the time.

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27•	(b)	When faced with conflicting opinions, how do you feel?
		It bothers me a great deal. It bothers me considerably. It bothers me somewhat. It doesn't bother me.
28.		Do you feel that more could be done to assist you in meeting the difficulties in your work?
		Much more. Somewhat more. Not much more. Nothing more.
29.		When you do receive help from others, is it an effective sort of help?
		lVery effective as a rule.
		2 Fairly effective as a rule. 3 Rather uneffective as a rule.
		Very uneffective as a rule.
30.	(a)	Can you count on the co-operation of others in doing your job?
		1Usually not.
		2 Sometimes I can. 3 Usually I can.
		4I always can.
	(b)	How important is it to you to have such co-operation from others?
		lVery important.
		Quite important. 3 Fairly important.
		Not very important.
31.	(a)	Do you know to whom you can turn when you need advice or help with a problem connected with your work?
		1 Yes, always. 2 Usually I do. 3 Sometimes I do. 1 seldom do.
	(b)	Is it important to you to have someone to turn to for advice or help in your work?
		It is of great importance. 2 It is of considerable importance. 3 It is somewhat important to me. 4 It's not important to me.

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32•	(a)	Are	there times when it is impossible to get assistance?
			Yes, very frequently. Often this is the case. Sometimes this is the case. This is seldom or never the case.
	(b)	How	much are you bothered on such occasions?
			It's not very important to me. It bothers me somewhat. It bothers me quite a lot. It bothers me a great deal.

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