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AUTHOR   Edgar, Donald E.; Brod, Rodney L.
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ABSTRACT
        A study examined how new teachers become socialized
into their profession and how this socialization process affects
their attitudes toward professional autonomy. A pretest-posttest
correlation design was used to investigate the effects of both
organizational evaluators' attitudes and prevailing school-staff
climate on teacher attitudes toward professional autonomy. (Power,
resources, and affect were independent variables; attitude changes in
relation to teacher autonomy the major dependent variable.) The
38-item Autonomy Inventory developed for the study was administered
to all new teachers in a large California school district before
their teaching experience began and to all experienced teachers
(N=523) and administrators (N=89) to obtain comparative data on those
to whom the new teachers would have to adapt. Posttests were
administered in April after all had been subject to at least one
formal evaluation in their school, and all new teachers (N=115) were
interviewed to identify the significant other for each to obtain
measures of behavioral autonomy and feelings of "legitimacy" and
"satisfaction." Conclusion: New teacher attitudes toward autonomy
vary across task areas. The nature of new teacher relationships with
significant others, both organizational evaluators and school staff,
help determine the direction of change in teacher attitudes toward
professional autonomy in these task areas. (The questionnaire and
complete findings are included.) (Author/JS)

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STANFORD CENTER
FOR RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT
IN TEACHING

Technical Report No. 12

PROFESSIONAL SOCIALIZATION
AND TEACHER AUTONOMY

Donald E. Edgar and Rodney L. Brod

School of Education
Stanford University
Stanford, California

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Introductory Statement

The central mission of the Stanford Center for Research and Development in Teaching is to contribute to the improvement of teaching in American schools. Given the urgency of the times, technological developments, and advances in knowledge from the behavioral sciences about teaching and learning, the Center works on the assumption that a fundamental reformulation of the future role of the teacher will take place. The Center's mission is to specify as clearly, and on as empirical a basis as possible, the direction of the reformulation, to help shape it, to fashion and validate programs for training and retraining teachers in accordance with it, and to develop and test materials and procedures for use in these new training programs.

The Center is at work in three interrelated problem areas: (a) Heuristic Teaching, which aims at promoting self-motivated and sustained inquiry in students, emphasizes affective as well as cognitive processes, and places a high premium upon the uniqueness of each pupil, teacher, and learning situation; (b) The Environment for Teaching, which aims at making schools more flexible so that pupils, teachers, and learning materials can be brought together in ways that take account of their many differences; and (c) Teaching the Disadvantaged, which aims to determine whether more heuristically oriented teachers and more open kinds of schools can and should be developed to improve the education of those currently labeled as the poor and the disadvantaged.

How new teachers become socialized in their jobs is the subject of Technical Report No. 12, which follows. While other factors such as school context are important, the new teacher's response to the significant others in the school environment is of paramount influence in his socialization. The study is a report of the project, Professional Socialization of the Teacher, carried out as part of the Environment for Teaching program.

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Foreword

This study focuses on how the socialization experiences of the first year of teaching affect a teacher's sense of autonomy. The study reflects a general interest in examining the processes through which beginning teachers are "inducted" and experienced teachers new to a district are "resocialized." Little is known about the way teacher behavior is shaped by these processes. To some extent, of course, teacher behavior is a function of individual personality, but there is reason to believe it is also a function of the effects of certain characteristics and processes of educational organizations. We assume that success in teaching is perceived by the beginning teacher as problematic. Hence, his survival as a teacher depends to a considerable degree on the supportive and instructive value of the induction and resocialization process. We must understand better, therefore, the ways in which certain organizational elements can be manipulated to facilitate rather than obstruct teacher development.

Don Edgar received his PhD from the Stanford School of Education in 1969. He completed this study while a Research Assistant at the Stanford Center for Research and Development in Teaching and is now a member of the faculty at Monash University in Australia. Rodney Brod worked closely with Dr. Edgar and is primarily responsible for the development and analysis of the Active, Inert, and Time Autonomy Scales and for the analysis of school or contextual effects on teacher attitudes. He is presently a doctoral candidate in the School of Education and a Research Assistant at the Center. Others who have been associated with the project and whose contributions were important include Dr. Wesley K. Sowards, Dr. Mildred Jones Burns, Raj Prasad, and Peter Palches.

Richard L. Warren
Research Associate

Abstract

This study examines two connected problems: how new teachers become socialized into their profession, and how this socialization process affects their attitudes toward professional autonomy. A pretest-posttest correlational design investigates the effects of both organizational evaluators' attitudes and prevailing school-staff climate on teacher attitudes toward professional autonomy.

Pretests were given in a large California school district to all new teachers before their teaching experience began. Questionnaires were also administered to all experienced teachers and administrators in the district to obtain comparative data on those to whom the new teachers would have to adapt. Posttests were obtained during April 1968, followed by interviews with all new teachers.

New-teacher attitudes toward autonomy vary across task areas. The nature of new teacher relationships with significant others, both organizational evaluators and school staff, help determine the direction of change in teacher attitudes toward professional autonomy in these task areas.

PROFESSIONAL SOCIALIZATION AND TEACHER AUTONOMY

Donald E. Edgar and Rodney L. Brod[1]

The research reported here attempts to broaden current understanding
of teacher socialization by examining the organizational context of
teaching. Previous writers have investigated changes in attitudes which
result from teacher training (Brim, 1966; Wright & Tuska, 1968); some
have examined the problems faced by beginning teachers (Charters, 1956;
Dropkin & Taylor, 1963); others have delved into the sources of teacher
satisfaction and of different career patterns (Sharma, 1955; Moyer, 1955;
Turner, 1965); and still others have touched on the problem indirectly
in their studies of the school as a formal organization and of teaching
as a "profession" (Colombotos, 1962; Corwin, 1964; Coughlan, 1966). Few,
however, make any systematic propositions about the occupational sociali-
zation process.

This study develops and tests a theory which is verifiable and
replicable. While the results are not always as strong as was hoped, the
heuristic value of the theory can be supported, and the findings have
implications for sociological investigation of the school as a formal
organization, for general socialization theory, and for practice in edu-
cational administration.

Professional Socialization Theory

The initial problem was to develop a systematic explanation of
socialization change in new teachers. Obviously, teaching may attract
people with characteristic social backgrounds and presocialization pat-
terns. In addition, teacher training probably affects their attitudes

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and behaviors in distinctive ways. But it seemed more important to
examine on-the-job socialization experiences, since it is in the first
job that new teachers come face to face with the reality of occupational
pressures, and since the area of in-service socialization has been rela-
tively neglected. The study focused therefore on new teachers and the
organizational context in which they had to act.

Socialization involves pressures to change, to influence neophytes
in socially "desirable" directions, to drop previous patterns of behavior
and accept new norms, i.e., those held by the socializing agent or
"significant other." The significant other can be one person acting as
role model, or groups of people such as colleagues, parents, or students
whose various expectations impinge on the role of the teacher. The
teacher's interaction with those who exert pressure on him will determine
the extent and direction of socialization change. Any theory of adult
socialization thus needs to specify the socializing agents, i.e.,
(a) the significant others, (b) the organizational conditions conducive
to change, and (c) the motivational factors necessary for such conditions
to work in predictable ways.

Organizational Conditions Conducive to Change

Teaching is a heteronomous rather than an autonomous profession.
That is, teaching is carried out in a bureaucratic setting where rules
and a system of routine supervision make professional task responsibility
difficult to define. Because of this fact, it seemed vital to focus on
particular teaching tasks and attitudes toward those tasks. General
value orientations may remain the same regardless of the work setting;
but attitudes toward tasks and who should control them may have to be
modified in order to meet conflicting expectations.

Power. A critical segment of occupational socialization can be
represented as a "power" process, that is, the regulation of the balance
between control and autonomy. Who is to set tasks and goals, how these

are to be performed, and how such performance is to be evaluated are
central issues for neophytes in an organization.

Within an organization, the greatest pressure points in the
socialization of new members are those involving actions which are
subject to organizational evaluation processes. In the course of
interaction with other persons, the individual is punished for failure
to live up to the expectations of others about his performance and is
rewarded for conforming to or reaching the expectations of others.
Organizational sanctions based upon the evaluation of task performance
directly affect that performance to the extent that the evaluations or
their attendant sanctions are seen as important to the participant.
These evaluations and sanctions no doubt vary with the state of the
individual's career in an organization, and the significant others in
the occupational socialization process probably differ from stage to
stage.

Thus power is seen as a key condition in occupational socializa-
tion. It is defined as "the ability of A to sanction B;" control and
influence, then, are treated as dependent upon the ability to sanction.

Resources. There are, as has often been noted, organizational and
personal bases of power. The organizational basis of power resides essen-
tially in authority rights given to A. The rights to allocate tasks, to
set criteria, sample performance, and evaluate performance are given to
A from above, that is, authorized.

Organizational authority does not emerge from a social exchange of
resources; it is "given" by the organization. But A's ability to sanc-
tion, his power, is an attribute of the social relationship between A
and B. B's view in fact determines A's power. Since no organization can
control all sanctions, those with power are judged on personal qualities
which become an important basis of social power.

Thus B's "resources," the skills, abilities, and experience relevant
to his organizational task performance, will probably modify the impact

of A's power by altering B's view of A's ability to sanction through
evaluations. It follows then that where B, the new teacher, has high
resources which reduce A's ability to sanction, B will place less value
on A's evaluations of task performance and their attendant sanctions.
Thus, one of the key motivational factors necessary for socialization
change will be missing.

Motivation for Change

Two additional factors enter into the socialization picture.

Affect. It is held that the nature of affective relationships
between the new teacher and his evaluators is a vital motivational con-
dition in the socialization process. The term "affect" may be used to
denote either positive or negative feelings. However, it was felt that
strong positive interpersonal feeling between socializer and socializee
is more likely to bring about change than strong negative feeling. Thus
affect is used here to mean strong positive liking between A and B.[2]

The significant other. Implied in the above discussion is a defi-
nition of significant other as the person(s) whose evaluations of a new
teacher's task performance have the greatest influence on the organiza-
tion's sanctions. This definition does not require a strong identifi-
cation of the new teacher with a significant other, though affect may
help bring this about. It implies that in a setting where many sanc-
tions center around the performance of organizational tasks, it is likely
that important significant others in the adaptation of neophytes to
acceptable occupational norms will be personnel who evaluate new teacher
task performance. Thus, for the purpose of testing the theory, the

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[2]These arguments are derived in large part from Brim's comments on
child socialization and its applicability to adult socialization settings
(Brim & Wheeler, 1966). For a study which applies the power-affect vari-
ables to another adult socialization setting, see Vreeland and Bidwell (1965).

attitudes of significant organizational evaluators, i.e., colleagues and superiors, are argued to be highly important to neophytes.

In sum, the theory can be diagrammed as in Figure 1.
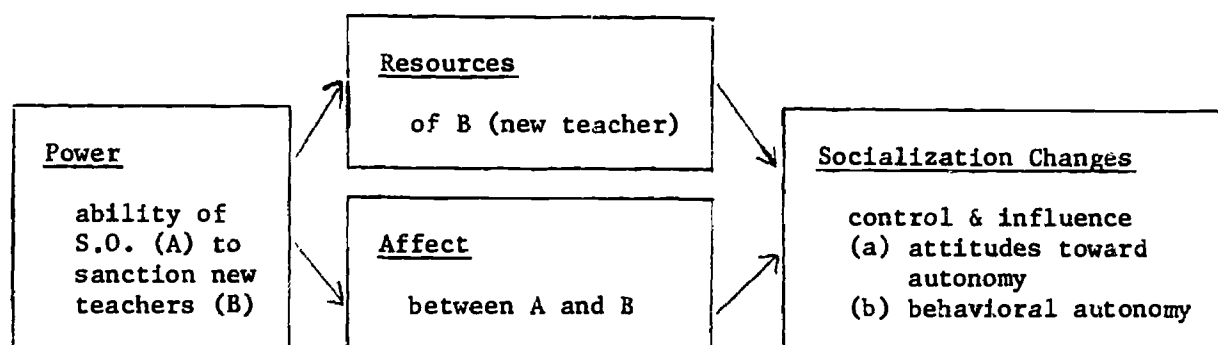
Fig. 1. Occupational socialization theory.

Hypothesis

The theory holds that new teachers' attitudes (in this case, attitudes toward autonomy) change toward the attitudes held by their significant others. This basic power/influence relation is modified by two intervening variables. It is hypothesized that resources, the relative experience and status a new teacher brings to his job, differentially affect the influence of a significant other whose own resources constitute one personal basis of influence; and that affect, the degree of personal liking between a significant other (S.O.) and a new teacher, is also related to the degree of influence a S.O. has on a new teacher's attitudes.

Teacher autonomy. The dependent variable used is a logical concomitant of the theory of socialization being tested. Since occupational socialization is viewed as a dynamic process in which power is manipulated to control the actions, and perhaps work attitudes, of organizational neophytes, it seemed necessary to focus on the nature of teacher autonomy. Rather than use broader value-orientation dichotomies such as "professional-bureau-

cratic," the investigators chose to examine closely the concept of autonomy as it is viewed by teachers at various stages of their career. Several departures from common usage of the term autonomy are made.

Previous attempts by other investigators to regard autonomy as a unitary concept characteristic of professionals were rejected. Instead, the present study focused on autonomy in relation to a variety of task areas: organizational, administrative matters; the curriculum; colleagues; parents and the community; and student-clients. In this way it was hoped to clarify Katz's (1964) contention that any organization requires both interdependence of parts and independence of those parts from one another. That is, teachers were expected to demand autonomy in those areas most central to their professional task, but to expect or want less autonomy in areas closer to what is seen as necessary coordination of organizational functions.

To make these notions about the nature of autonomy operational, the actual work tasks of teaching were used. Here the Scott, Dornbusch, Busching, and Laing (1967) distinction between "active" and "inert" tasks was helpful. They suggest that performing a task involves overcoming some kind of "resistance" in changing the values or properties of the task object or entity. Active tasks are defined as those which involve variable resistance and inert tasks as those for which resistance is less varied and hence more predictable. From the standpoint of the teacher it could well be argued that since children vary considerably, every teaching task is active and cannot be fully prescribed in advance. But the routine work of school administration may be relatively inert, and, of course, teachers may vary in the way they classify teaching tasks. Under any circumstances, active tasks require individual decision making as the (student) resistance changes from moment to moment. Thus active tasks require delegation rather than directive. But the closer an individual is to the tasks he performs, the more impressed he

is with the variability of those tasks; those who see his tasks only
from a distance, such as school board members, administrators, and parents,
may view more teaching tasks as inert than do teachers.

The investigators constructed an Autonomy Attitude Inventory (see
Appendix 1) on which each item represented an active-inert continuum in
order to indicate the extent to which a teacher desires active partici-
pation in various aspects of his work, as opposed to passive acceptance
of decisions made by others. This is not to be taken as an exact opera-
tionalization of the Scott-Dornbusch distinction between active and
inert. This study's use of the terms is an extension, on the basis that
organizational participants are likely to have different perceptions of
the degree of participation desirable in the tasks teachers perform.

It may well be that the closer one is to a task, the greater the
variability of resistance appears to be; the more remote one is from the
task, the less resistance one sees. If such is the case, it will have
direct consequences for the way one feels a task should be handled. If
an administrator sees the resistance of a task as relatively constant
(i.e., the task as inert), he may be more apt to issue directives pre-
scribing procedures for handling the task, rather than to allow for
initiative on the part of the teacher as task performer. If, on the other
hand, the administrator can see how varied the resistance is (for example,
individual student resistance to particular teaching methods or content),
he will perhaps delegate more to the teacher so he can adapt to that
resistance as it changes from pupil to pupil, from moment to moment. With
relatively inert tasks, such as filling in attendance sheets, teachers may
welcome directives and want less freedom to decide how such tasks are to
be handled.

In other words, the active-inert distinction is a way of measuring
various attitudes toward autonomy. If a teacher wants to control a certain
task area himself, make decisions about it by himself, and not be unduly
concerned about others' views, this is called a demand for active autonomy.

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If he is prepared to accept the direction of others in the school and does not want active involvement in a particular task area, this is called inert autonomy.

The theoretical definition of behavioral autonomy used is that of Katz: "Behavior not controlled by an external agency." This was operationalized in terms of (a) the number of people who allocate tasks to the new teacher and the degree of his self-control over those tasks; (b) the number of people whose evaluations of the new teacher affect his organizational sanctions; (c) the frequency with which the new teacher's performance is evaluated; and (d) the degree of directive vs. delegation used in the allocation of tasks to the new teacher.

Method

The study was done in a large, recently unified, California school district in a rapidly expanding industrial and commercial area.

Characteristics of the Sample

The sample consisted of all new teachers, both inexperienced and experienced, entering the school district. Questionnaires were distributed to all new teachers, all district administrators, and to all experienced teachers in the district. The response rate was 58% for teachers and 100% for administrators, and follow-up investigation revealed no significant variation in willingness to respond among teachers grouped on the basis of sex, teaching level, and experience.

Data were gathered on family background variables, reasons for entering teaching, educational background, and religious and political affiliations. The total N was 638 teachers and 89 administrators. Altogether, 115 new-teacher interviews were conducted, of which 106 were usable for this study. The sample is by no means a random one, but close examination of personal data in comparison with the 1966 NEA survey (The American Public School Teacher, 1965-66) revealed no variation from the national norms. Variables compared consisted primarily of sex, age, experience, and grade-level interrelationships.

In brief, the new teachers with whom this study is concerned can be characterized as predominantly young, female, and from a higher socio-educational background than the experienced teachers in the district with whom they were to work. Their career choice was made during undergraduate years of college, though males decided on teaching later than did females. The inexperienced neophytes of the system were much less committed to teaching as a career than were their experienced counterparts. This was particularly true of the predominantly male new teachers in senior high schools.

It was a reasonable expectation, then, that both groups' first-year experiences would have some impact on their attitudes toward teaching and on their decision to remain in teaching as a career.

Design

The study is a pretest-posttest correlational one in which power, resources, and affect were treated as independent variables, and attitude changes in relation to teacher autonomy were treated as the major dependent variable. The pretest on autonomy attitudes was administered to all teachers and administrators in the sample prior to the start of the school year. Posttests on the same instrument were administered six months later after all new teachers had been subject to at least one formal evaluation in their school. Interviews were conducted with new teachers after the posttest administration to identify the significant other for each new teacher and obtain measures of behavioral autonomy, and feelings of "legitimacy" and "satisfaction."

Results

The Autonomy Attitudes Inventory developed for this study has a Cronbach alpha measure of internal consistency of .58 (Cronbach, 1951). Its subscales constitute empirically separable aspects of autonomy atti-tudes which indicate that teachers desire high autonomy in some areas and low autonomy in others. Comparison of pretest with posttest means by

using the t-test for sample means revealed that differences were more
often significant for all new teachers than for experienced teachers
already in the district, thus providing evidence that new teachers are
especially subject to socialization changes in relation to autonomy atti-
tudes during their first year of teaching. Differences between pretest
and posttest means were significant for new inexperienced teachers on
the Organization Autonomy subscale (p < .002), the Colleague Autonomy
subscale (p < .05), the Curriculum Autonomy subscale (p < .002), the
the Parent Autonomy subscale (p < .002), and on the Total Scale (p < .002).
For new experienced teachers, pre-post differences were significant for the
Curriculum Autonomy subscale (p <.05), the Inert Autonomy subscale
(p < .05), and the Total Scale (p < .02). Differences were significant
for experienced teachers already in the district on the Organization
Autonomy subscale (p < .05), the Active Autonomy subscale (p < .05), the
Inert Autonomy subscale (p < .002), and the Time Autonomy subscale (p < .02).

Comparisons of teacher and administrator groups revealed significant
differences on almost every item. On the Total Autonomy Scale, men were
significantly higher than women, and senior high teachers were higher
than junior high teachers, who in turn were higher than elementary teachers.
Moreover, comparison of individual new-teacher scores with the scores of
those named as significant evaluators indicated extremely high potential
for conflict on autonomy issues. Using the pretest mean for all teachers
in the sample (54.42, SD 5.55) 32.5% of all new teachers scored more than
two standard deviations away from the score of their significant other,
and 13.2% of these new teachers had pretest scores which differed by
more than three standard deviations from the autonomy scores of their
significant others. This conflict in attitudes revealed itself strongly
in the data gathered on behavioral autonomy, rejection of the legitimacy
of authority rights, and new-teacher satisfaction with teaching.

The Evaluator as Significant Other

The organizational conditions under which socialization changes are
expected to be maximal are those in which power resides in a significant
other in terms of his perceived ability to apply organizational sanctions,
i.e., where the neophyte's resources to resist S.O.'s power are low, and
where the significant other-neophyte relationship involves high affect.

New teachers in this study were asked in interviews to name every
person in their school whose evaluations of their performance in four
separate task areas had an influence on organizational rewards and penalties.
The four task areas and examples of each were: (a) Clerical, adminis-
trative tasks such as attendance lists, late books, handling money);
(b) how they arranged course content (deciding on the books to be used,
topics to be covered, lming of content); (c) the teaching methods used
(assignments, lectures, grouping, using Teacher's Guides); (d) disci-
plining students (misbehavior, insolence, refusal to do work set, how
to handle, enforcing school rules). For each of the evaluators named,
the teachers were also asked how frequently they learned what his evalu-
ation was, and how important to them each evaluator's appraisal of their
work was. In this way the new teacher's significant other was identified
as the person whose evaluations of task performance had the greatest value
for the new teacher in relation to their effect on organizational sanctions.

Having identified the significant other, the hypothesis was tested
by tabulating the frequencies of those new teachers whose pretest attitudes
to autonomy had changed toward the attitudes held by their S.O. by the time
of the posttest against the frequencies of new teachers whose attitudes did
not change in the predicted direction.

At first sight, the results did not suggest any strong differences.
For example, the comparison of new inexperienced teachers with new experi-
enced teachers was as given in Table 1. Clearly, there were no more changes
toward the significant evaluators for very new teachers (the real neophytes

TABLE 1

Relation of Teaching Experience to
Changes in Attitudes Toward S.O.:
Total Autonomy Attitude Scale

| Type of Teacher | Toward S.O. Attitudes | | Total N |
	Change Toward	No Change Toward	
New Inexperienced	28 (53.8%)	24 (46.2%)	52 (100%)
New Experienced	29 (53.7%)	25 (46.3%)	54 (100%)
Total N	57 (53.8%)	49 (46.2%)	106 (100%)

$(X^2 = 0.00, NS)$

of the teaching profession) than for the more experienced new teachers,
who might be expected to be less susceptible to attitude change. Similar
nonsignificant figures resulted from comparisons by sex, school level,
and combinations of these with teaching experience.

However, it is not particularly meaningful to group all kinds of
attitude change together. In order to test the basic hypothesis about the
role of the evaluator in job socialization, it became necessary to control
for the type of attitude held by the new teacher and for the type of atti-
tude he found his evaluator to hold.

Pressures to change could be expected to be stronger where imbalance
and resulting dissonance were stronger. Thus, by examining and controling
for the difference between the new teacher's autonomy attitudes and those
of his significant other, it might be found that changes were more strongly
related to the S.O. as a power figure than the previous analysis indicated.
In addition, it seemed desirable to control for the direction of change,
since simple "change toward" vs. "no change toward" might conceal the

relationship of the change to the position of the S.O. When this was done, and analysis focused on the direction of change in autonomy attitude scores, some startling support for the theory emerged.

In this analysis, the new teacher's pretest score (high or low) and the significant other's autonomy attitude scores for each subscale were held constant to obtain S.O. high autonomy and S.O. low autonomy. Thus, a clearer picture emerged of the nature of changes related to the attitudes held by the new teacher's significant others.

For each of the subscales the results support the theory and are significant beyond the .001 level.

Taking the Total Autonomy Attitude Scale first (Table 2), if teachers' pretest attitudes coincided fairly closely with those of their evaluators (that is, if both S.O. and the new teacher scored high on pretest Total Autonomy Attitudes, or both scored low) the teachers found little reason to change. When they differed, however, the direction of change was as

TABLE 2

Direction of Change on Total Autonomy Attitude Scale,
Holding Constant New-Teacher Pretest Scores and S.O. Scores

New Teacher Pretest	S.O. Score	Positive Change	Negative Change	No Change	Total N
High	High	6 (33.3%)	5 (27.8%)	7 (38.9%)	18 (100%)
	Low	1 (2.8%)	17 (47.2%	18 (50.0%)	36 (100%)
Low	High	12 (100%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	12 (100%)
	Low	7 (17.5%)	9 (22.5%)	24 (60.0%)	40 (100%)
Total N		26 (24.5%)	31 (29.2%)	49 (46.2%)	106 (100%)

$(X^2 = 51.82, p < .001)$

predicted. New teachers low on Total Autonomy at the time of the pre-
test, who found their S.O.'s autonomy attitudes to be high, became more
autonomous in their attitudes by the time of the posttest (100% positive
change). In contrast, those who were high on pretest autonomy, and whose
S.O. had lower attitudes to autonomy, either stayed the same (50.0% no
change) or dropped their score by the time of the posttest (47.2% nega-
tive change). A negligible number of this latter group increased their
scores (2.8% positive change).

The Organization Autonomy Attitude subscale showed a similar pattern
in the direction of change, and the Curriculum Autonomy Attitude subscale
showed these relationships were even stronger. There was absolutely no

TABLE 3

Direction of Change on the Curriculum Autonomy Attitude
Subscale, Holding Constant New-Teacher Pretest Scores and S.O. Scores

New Teacher Pretest	S.O. Score	Positive Change	Negative Change	No Change	Total N
High	High	2 (20.0%)	2 (20.0%)	6 (60.0%)	10 (100%)
	Low	0 (0%)	21 (48.8%)	22 (51.2%)	43 (100%)
Low	High	6 (60.0%)	0 (0%)	4 (40.0%)	10 (100%)
	Low	4 (9.3%)	4 (9.3%)	35 (81.4%)	43 (100%)
Total N		12 (11.3%)	27 (25.5%)	67 (63.2%)	106 (100%)

$(X^2 = 47.02, p < .001)$

percentage difference between positive and negative change where S.O.
and new-teacher pretest scores coincided (i.e., where both were high or
both low). When S.O. was low, however, 48.8% of new teachers who were
high on the pretest dropped their scores; and when S.O. was high, 60.0%
of the new teachers with low pretests increased their score in the
direction of S.O. (Table 3).

Results for the Parent-Community Autonomy Attitude subscale appeared
to be striking, but the marginal totals were too small in some cases to
report the table in detail here.

The Colleague Autonomy subscale also showed the same relation between
S.O. position and the direction of change in new-teacher attitudes. Notice
in Table 4 that where both S.O. and new teacher were high, there was a

TABLE 4

Direction of Change on the Colleague Autonomy Attitude
Subscale, Holding Constant New-Teacher Pretest Scores and S.O. Scores

New Teacher Pretest	S.O. Score	Positive Change	Negative Change	No Change	Total N
High	High	1 (2.4%)	6 (14.6%)	34 (82.9%)	41 (100%)
	Low	0 (0%)	10 (45.5%)	12 (54.5%)	22 (100%)
Low	High	11 (42.3%)	0 (0%)	15 (57.7%)	26 (100%)
	Low	4 (23.5%)	2 (11.8%)	11 (64.7%)	17 (100%)
Total N		16 (15.1%)	18 (17.0%)	72 (67.9%)	106 (100%)

$(X^2 = 38.92, p < .001)$

14.6% negative change. But the rest of the table supports the theory. S.O.'s who were high on Colleague Autonomy seemed to influence new teachers with low autonomy to increase their autonomy regarding colleagues; and S.O's with low autonomy attitudes seemed to have a negative effect on new teachers originally high on this subscale.

The Student-Client Autonomy Attitude subscale is also interesting.

TABLE 5

Direction of Change on the Student-Client Autonomy Attitude
Subscale, Holding Constant New-Teacher Pretest Scores and S.O. Scores

New Teacher Pretest	S.O. Score	Positive Change	Negative Change	No Change	Total N
High	High	2 (11.1%)	4 (22.2%)	12 (66.7%)	18 (100%)
	Low	0 (0%)	9 (64.3%)	5 (35.7%)	14 (100%)
Low	High	26 (70.3%)	0 (0%)	11 (29.7%)	37 (100%)
	Low	14 (37.8%)	3 (8.1%)	20 (54.1%)	37 (100%)
Total N		42 (39.6%)	16 (15.1%)	48 (45.3%)	106 (100%)

$(X^2 = 52.58, p < .001)$

Overall there was greater movement of attitudes here than for other sub-scales, and there were some anomalies. One needs to be cautious in interpreting correlations as causation, and this part of the analysis leaves unexplained the numbers of new teachers whose attitudes remained constant over time. For example, where both S.O.'s and new teachers' pretest scores were low, there was still a fairly large movement in attitudes about students (37.8% positive change and 8.1% negative change). Likewise, where both

S.O. and new teacher were high, there was 22.2% negative change which cannot be accounted for in terms of the theory. The two "conflict" groups worked in the predicted way, this time with more changes in both groups than no change (Table 5).

Nonetheless, this refinement of the analysis of change scores tends to support the contention that the attitudes held by a new teachers' evaluator (his significant other) are related to socialization changes. With every subscale of autonomy attitudes, there was a significant relationship between S.O. attitude scores and the direction of change in the new teacher's attitudes. Furthermore, support for this proposition was indicated by the change-score analysis of three additional autonomy attitude scales; the Active Autonomy Attitude Scale, the Inert Autonomy Attitude Scale, and the Time Autonomy Attitude Scale.

Although the correlations between the Active and Inert Autonomy Scales were significant, they were lower than would be expected if they were truly opposite ends of a continuum. Cutting the number of items of the Inert Scale appeared to have also reduced the content of the task areas tapped. Thus, while the Active Scale more fully reflected teacher autonomy in a wide number of school and curriculum task areas, the Inert Scale dealt more with teacher autonomy regarding the evaluation process of task performance and the significant evaluators associated with the organizational evaluation process. The Time Scale represented teacher autonomy in dealing with "time-spending" activities associated with the school organization and with clients (both parents and students).

The Active Scale, as shown in Table 6, indicated a great amount of "no change" in both cases where the attitudes of S.O. and new teachers were in agreement. Where both S.O. and new teacher were high on the Active Scale, the small number of cases appears to produce an anomaly in that two new teachers (33.3%) actually lowered their scores from pretest to posttest.

TABLE 6

Direction of Change on Active Autonomy Attitude Scale,
Holding Constant New-Teacher Pretest Scores and S.O. Scores

New Teacher Pretest	S.O. Score	Positive Change	Negative Change	No Change	Total N
High	High	0 (0%)	2 (33.3%)	4 (66.7%)	6 (100%)
	Low	0 (0%)	21 (50.0%)	21 (50.0%)	42 (100%)
Low	High	7 (77.8%)	0 (0%)	2 (22.2%)	9 (100%)
	Low	5 (11.4%)	6 (13.6%)	33 (75.0%)	44 (100%)
Total N		12 (11.8%)	29 (28.9%)	60 (59.4%)	101 (100%)

$(X^2 = 55.92, p < .001)$

While there was little distinguishable difference in the direction of
change, where both S.O. and new teachers were low, there was more negative
change. When S.O. was low and the new teacher high, there were no positive
changes at all and a 50.0% negative change. The reverse was true when S.O.
was high and the new teacher was low, that is, there were no negative
changes and a 77.8% positive change in the predicted direction.

For the Inert Scale, again there appeared to be little reason for the
new teacher to change his attitude when in agreement with his S.O. However,
when both teacher and S.O. were low, there was some positive change (25.0%);
when both were high, there was absolutely no percentage difference between
positive and negative change. When new teacher and S.O. differed in attitude,

TABLE 7

Direction of Change on Inert Autonomy Attitude Scale,
Holding Constant New-Teacher Pretest Scores and S.O. Scores

New Teacher Pretest	S.O. Score	Positive Change	Negative Change	No Change	Total N
High	High	7 (18.9%)	7 (18.9%)	23 (62.2%)	37 (100%)
	Low	0 (0%)	8 (44.4%)	10 (55.6%)	18 (100%)
Low	High	19 (55.9%)	0 (0%)	15 (44.1%)	34 (100%)
	Low	3 (25.0%)	1 (8.3%)	8 (66.7%)	12 (100%)
Total N		29 (28.9%)	16 (15.8%)	56 (55.4%)	101 (100%)

$(X^2 = 31.89, p < .001)$

the direction of change was in the predicted way. New teachers with low
scores whose S.O. was high showed no negative change and 55.9% positive
change. Those who started high and had an S.O. with low scores either
stayed the same (55.6% no change) or dropped their scores by the time of
the posttest (44.4% negative change) (Table 7).

The Time Scale (Table 8) showed both a large movement in attitudes in
the predicted direction and an anomaly. Where both S.O. and new teacher
pretest scores were low, there was still a fairly large movement in a posi-
tive direction (38.5%); however, where both were high, there was much greater
pressure to move in a positive direction (56.3%), and the rest of the table
gives support for the theory. In both cases of conflict in attitudes, there

TABLE 8

Direction of Change on Time Autonomy Attitude Scale,
Holding Constant New-Teacher Pretest Scores and S.O. Scores

New Teacher Pretest	S.O. Score	Positive Change	Negative Change	No Change	Total N
High	High	9 (56.3%)	1 (6.3%)	6 (37.5%)	16 (100%)
	Low	0 (0%)	19 (52.8%)	17 (47.2%)	36 (100%)
Low	High	7 (70.0%)	0 (0%)	3 (30.0%)	10 (100%)
	Low	15 (38.5%)	1 (2.6%)	23 (59.0%)	39 (100%)
Total N		31 (30.7%)	21 (20.8%)	49 (48.5%)	101 (100%)

$(X^2 = 49.91, p < .001)$

was a tendency for the new teacher to change attitudes in the direction of
those held by S.O. Where the new teacher was low and S.O. high, there were
no negative changes and 70.0% positive change. The reverse was true when
the new teacher was high and S.O. was low; there was no positive change
and 52.8% negative change.

Resources as a Socialization Variable

The major intervening variables in the power/influence theory of occu-
pational socialization are resources and affect. Two indicators of resources

were used, i.e., the relative teaching experience of new teachers in the sample and the perceived status of their teaching subject.[3]

The data did not support the resources hypothesis clearly. The new experienced group (high resources) did not change toward their S.O.'s autonomy attitudes less often than the new inexperienced group (low resources). The trends were in the predicted direction for some sub-scales but not for others, and none was statistically significant. When status of teaching subject was used as an indicator of the resources vari-able, however, the changes were more consistently in the predicted direc-tion, with low-status teachers changing more toward S.O. attitudes than high-status teachers. This pattern was completely reversed (significant at the .05 level) for the Colleague Autonomy subscale where more teachers with high subject status changed toward S.O. attitudes, while low-status teachers were more resistant to evaluator-influenced change.

While resources is defined as something that reduces S.O.'s ability to sanction the teacher, the measurement of resources by prior teaching experience would seem also to reduce S.O.'s need to sanction the teacher. In other words, the more resources a person has in terms of prior sociali-zation, the less need there is to socialize him in the present, and hence the lesser necessity of sanctions. Thus, when results show that the new experienced teachers were subjected to fewer control attempts than new

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[3]Perceived status of teaching subject was measured by the following interview question:

Irrespective of your own feelings about this, how do you think your subject/grade level ranks in status and respectability among staff members?

    1. The highest status subject/grade level
    2. Highly respected
    3. Respected as much as most other subject/grade levels
    4. Not respected as much as most other subject/grade levels
    5. The lowest status subject/grade level
    6. Don't know

Responses 1 and 2 were treated as high status; responses 3, 4, and 5 as low status.

inexperienced teachers, it can be assumed that they were more able to do
the job without supervision--not that they were expected to resist super-
vision or to remain impervious to sanctions. The second measure of re-
sources, i.e., the perceived status of the subject/grade level, seems a
more valid representation of the concept. Perhaps this explains the
different findings regarding the two measures of resources.

Affect as a Socialization Variable

Affect was treated as the motivational factor necessary for sociali-
zation change. In order for identification with, or at least acceptance
of, the significant other to take place, some degree of affect in the
relationship is necessary. The higher the affective relationship between
socializer and socializee, the more likely is power to act as a positive
force on the socializee.

When changes from pretest to posttest were examined in relation to
the affect variable, high affect was, as predicted, more closely related
to attitude change than was low affect.[4]

Table 9 shows that with the Total Autonomy Scale there were more
(66.0%) new teachers in the high-affect group whose attitudes change in

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[4]Operationally, affect was measured by two simple interview ques-
tions about the major evaluator:

    Q. 30. How well do you think S.O. likes you?
    Q. 31. How well do you like S.O.?

The response categories were:

1. A great deal
2. Fairly well
3. Moderately well
4. Not very much
5. Not at all

These were scored 5, 4, 3, 2, and 1 for both questions, and the combined
score was used to define high affect (a score of 9 or above) and low affect
(a score of 8 or below). This divided the new-teacher sample into two
roughly equal groups of 50 high affect and 56 low affect.

TABLE 9

Relation of Affect tc New-Teachers' Changes
Toward S.O.:   Total Autonomy Scale

Teacher Affect	Change	No Change	Total N
High	33 (66.0%)	17 (34.0%)	50 (100%)
Low	24 (42.9%)	32 (57.1%)	56 (100%)
Total N	57 (53.8%)	49 (46.2%)	106 (100%)

$(X^2 = 5.69, p < .025)$

the direction of their S.O. over the first-year teaching period than in
the low-affect group (42.9%), and this difference is statistically
significant.

Interaction Between Affect and Resources

Some interesting interaction effects were noted between affect and
resources for the various autonomy subscales.

On the Organization Autonomy subscale, there was a tendency for
affect to be related to change for high-resources teachers and not for
low-resources teachers. That is, when the new teacher was more experienced
or was teaching a high-status subject, high affect toward a significant other
was related to a change toward his opinions on organizational autonomy.
When the new teacher was inexperienced, it was the low-affect teachers who
changed more toward their S.O. In addition, low status of teaching subject
as a measure of resources was more closely related to change for low-affect
teachers than for high-affect teachers. While it is a tenuous post hoc
explanation, it is possible that new teachers who disliked their evaluators
did so because their ideas on autonomy about administrative matters clashed;

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that this clash made them more aware of their evaluators' attitudes and thus more likely to change despite the negative feelings involved. High-resources people, on the other hand, may already have been partly socialized in the direction of evaluators' attitudes to Organization Autonomy and, because of high affect, identified even more closely with those attitudes as the year progressed.

For the Parent-Community Autonomy Attitude subscale, high affect was more consistently related to change, but for the Colleague Autonomy Attitude subscale, affect worked in the opposite way from that hypothesized with the high-resources groups. This could indicate that new teachers with high resources found an evaluator they disliked more of a threat to their position than colleague interference, and so took more notice of the S.O.'s attitudes regarding colleague control. On the whole, it was the high-resources teachers and the low-affect teachers who changed more toward their significant others in regard to Colleague Autonomy. The most powerful indicator of this unexpected trend proved to be the Status of Teaching Subject measure of resources. That is, high-status teachers changed more than low-status teachers (p < .05), and when this was combined with affect, low-affect teachers whose subject was high in status changed more often than high-affect teachers. The relationship here did not quite reach the .05 level of significance, because for low-status teachers, high affect was related to change in the expected way.

The problem of interpretation here is that of correlation versus causation. Affect is defined theoretically as an intervening variable modifying the significant other's power to influence the neophyte teacher. However, operationally, since the measure of affect was obtained late in the first year of teaching, affect was clearly a dependent variable in that liking or dislike for a significant evaluator must result from interaction during the school year. The nature of authority relations between a new teacher and his significant other, their personal relationships, their evaluations of one another, and so on, must be "causes" of the affect between them.

Affect and New-Teacher Attitudes

It is equally true that the affective relationship is likely to influence other attitudes the teacher and the significant other have about one another and their behavior in the work situation. This is evident when affect is examined in relation to the behavioral autonomy measures obtained by interviews with the new-teacher sample.

Affect and behavioral autonomy. Frequency of evaluation was one measure of behavioral autonomy used. Here, only 11.6% of high-affect teachers reported high frequency of evaluation attempts on Task 1 (clerical administrative tasks), while 21.8% of the low-affect teachers reported high frequency. On Task 2 (arr.nging course content), however, affect worked differently according to relative teaching experience. If the teacher was experienced, affect increased with less frequent evaluation; but if the teacher was inexperienced, it increased with more frequent evaluation. This interpretation must of necessity be tentative. It could be that liking for the evaluator encouraged more frequent contact; or it could be that the affect itself grew out of the fact that a significant evaluator gave the inexperienced teacher useful feedback. Several comments by new teachers suggested the latter relationship for many inexperienced new teachers in response to the question, "What do you like least/most about teaching in this school?" Responses included "Superiors should give more help to new teachers," "help not readily available," "not enough praise given by the principal," "I would have appreciated more help as a new teacher," "high degree of impersonality--aloofness of the administration; lack of communication within the school relative to student problems," "I was left alone too much, and even when I asked for help with discipline, none was forthcoming," etc.

A look at the frequency with which new teachers were evaluated on Task 3 (teaching methods) gives further substance to this explanation. Inexperienced teachers who liked their S.O. (high affect) tended to be given more frequent evaluations than were new teachers who disliked their S.O. (50% high frequency, cf. 19.1%). There was only a slight tendency

for this to be so for new experienced teachers, but it is interesting to note that low-resource/low-affect teachers were evaluated with high frequency less often than any other group.

With regard to Task 4 (disciplining students), this pattern did not hold. Low-resource teachers were evaluated more frequently on discipline, but here the lowest frequency was for new experienced teachers with high affect, whose significant others apparently trusted them with this task area and infrequently conveyed their evaluations.

A second measure of behavioral autonomy was the degree of directive vs. delegation used in the allocation of teaching tasks by significant others. The prediction was made that where resources are low and affect is low, allocation is more likely to be by directive than by delegation. This prediction held for the resources variable, but no significant differences were found to be related to affect.

Affect and new-teacher satisfaction. Affective relationships with significant evaluators seemed to be strongly related to new-teacher satisfaction measures. For example, when new teachers were asked how satisfied they were with the way allocation of teaching tasks was handled, low-affect teachers were significantly less satisfied than high-affect teachers, as shown in Table 10.

TABLE 10

Relation of Affect to New Teachers' Satisfaction
with Allocation: Task 3 (Teaching Methods)

Level of Teacher Satisfaction	Teacher Affect		Total N
	High	Low	
High	46 (77.9%)	36 (60%)	82 (68.9%)
Low	13 (22.1%)	24 (40%)	37 (31.1%)
Total N	59 (100%)	60 (100%)	119 (100%)

$X^2 = 4.46$, p < .05)

The relationship could obviously work in both directions. Dislike for
an evaluator could lead to dissatisfaction; or dissatisfaction with the
way tasks are allocated could lead to low affect in relation to the
evaluator of those tasks.

When new teachers were asked about their satisfaction with the way
tasks were evaluated, both resources and affect appeared to be related
to satisfaction. Task 3 (teaching methods) again involved some interesting
patterns, as shown in Table 11. The least satisfied group was the new
experienced, low affect, of which 28.1% were not satisfied with the way

TABLE 11

Relation of Resources and Affect to Satisfaction
with Evaluations: Task 3 (Teaching Methods)

Evaluations Satisfy	High Resources (NE)[a]		Low Resources (NI)[b]		
	High Affect	Low Affect	High Affect	Low Affect	Total N
Yes	29 (93.5%)	23 (71.9%)	25 (83.4%)	32 (94.1%)	109 (85.8%)
No	2 (6.5%)	9 (28.1%)	5 (16.6%)	2 (5.9%)	18 (14.2%)
Total N	31 (100%)	32 (100%)	30 (100%)	34 (100%)	127 (100%)

$(X^2 = 8.71, p < .05)$

[a]NE = New experienced teachers

[b]NI = New inexperienced teachers

their teaching methods were evaluated. The left half of the table (the
$X^2 = 5.13, p < .025$) shows low affect strongly associated with dissatisfac-
tion with evaluation for experienced new teachers. Affect did not have
this effect for inexperienced new teachers, and when the two low-affect
groups are compared, the new experienced group was significantly less

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satisfied (28.1%) with evaluation of teaching methods than was the new inexperienced group (5.9%). (X^2 = 5.78, p < .025.)

This relationship held for teacher satisfaction with the way Task 4 (disciplining students) was evaluated. For high-resources teachers (new experienced), low affect was more strongly associated with dissatisfaction than high affect. (X^2 3.68, p approaches .05.) And when low affect was held constant, it was clear that new experienced teachers in this condition were more dissatisfied than new inexperienced teachers, as seen in Table 12.

TABLE 12

Relation of Resources to Satisfaction with
Evaluation for Low—Affect Groups: Task 4
(Disciplining Students)

| Evaluations Satisfy | Low-Affect Teachers | | Total N |
	High Resources (NE)[a]	Low Resources (NI)[b]	
Yes	25 (80.6%)	33 (97.1%)	58 (89.2%)
No	6 (19.4%)	1 (2.9%)	7 (10.8%)
Total N	31 (100%)	34 (100%)	65 (100%)

(X^2 = 4.54, p < .05)

[a]NE = New experienced teachers
[b]NI = New inexperienced teachers

Some explanation of why this relationship held for experienced teachers but not for inexperienced teachers can be found in the relative importance these new teachers placed on the S.O.'s evaluation of their performance.

They were asked: "How important to you is S.O.'s evaluation of how well
or poorly you are doing (on this task)?" Responses ranging from
"extremely important" to "not at all important" were coded into high-
and low-importance groups. For new experienced teachers, low affect was
associated more with increased importance of the significant other's
evaluation on Task 4 (disciplining students; reported 57.1% high impor-
tance) than for new inexperienced teachers where low affect was associ-
ated in the opposite direction with decreased importance (only 32.1%
reported high importance).

This interpretation was supported by the figures in further break-
downs. For new inexperienced teachers, low affect was clearly associated
with reduced importance of the significant other's evaluation (p < .05).
While it was linked with lower importance for new experienced teachers
(42.9% low, cf. 28.6% low), this difference was not statistically signifi-
cant, and when the two low-affect groups were compared, it is quite clear
that experience did seem to alter the low-affect/low-importance relation-
ship. That is, new experienced teachers still saw their S.O.'s evaluation
as more important than did new inexperienced teachers, even where there was
low affect between them and their S.O. (p < .05). There was a similar
tendency on all three other task areas, though none of these was statis-
tically significant.

As a validating check on the above interpretation, an interesting
comparison can be made with pretest responses on Item 28 of the Autonomy
Attitudes Inventory: "I intend to follow my principal's preferences as to
teaching style." There was a tendency for low-affect people to be less auton-
omous in their responses to this item on the pretest. A closer look, more-
over, shows that it was the experienced new teachers who later expressed
low affect for their S.O. who were most likely to follow the principal's
preference about teaching style at the beginning of the school year
(40.6%; p < .05), compared with only 19.5% of high-affect teachers. As
was shown previously, it is the experienced new teachers with low affect

who also regard their S.O's evaluations as more important. While it must
be remembered that the S.O. was not always the principal, this comparison
suggests that low affect may have developed from an inability to satisfy
an evaluator whose good opinion had been sought after from the start of
the year. It is perhaps not surprising that new but experienced teachers
should be more "evaluator oriented" than the inexperienced new teachers.
Having already taught elsewhere, they should have more organizational
"know-how" than completely inexperienced people. If part of their organi-
zational mythology was, as it appears to have been, that success comes
from "psyching-out" the principal's preferences, it is not surprising that
a clash of personalities, or an inability to please, would involve a
lowering of affect and an increased emphasis on the importance of the
significant other's evaluations. Further investigation could perhaps
clarify the causal relationships more thoroughly than can be done with
the present data.

Affect and new-teacher dropouts. Of the 26 teachers in the sample
who left the school district at the end of their first year, three were
getting married, and three were transfers. The remaining 20 were recorded
in the interview as expressing low affect between themselves and their
significant others.

Clearly, affective relationships with significant evaluators are
important in the socialization of new teachers. The affect variable is
related consistently to measures of attitude change, to behavioral autonomy
and to work satisfaction. High affect was associated, as predicted, with
more frequent changes in autonomy attitudes than was low affect, though
this relation was stronger for new teachers who were low on autonomy in
the first place, the "conformists" of the system. As has been indicated,
low affect may have caused or been the result of conflict or dissatisfac-
tion with the significant other, and care must be exercised in interpreting
the direction of relationships here, but an explanation is offered in
terms of other supporting data. This suggests that new-experienced (i.e.,
high resources) teachers were more evaluator-oriented organizational

members than inexperienced teachers and the dissatisfaction with the
evaluators leads both to increasingly low affect and to a corresponding
increase in the importance of the S.O.'s evaluations.

Authority Rights and New-Teacher Satisfaction

As indicated in the section on the Autonomy Attitudes Inventory, this
study departs from the traditional view of autonomy as a unitary concept
characteristic of professionals. Instead, autonomy is seen here as a
dependent variable related to various characteristics of organizational
tasks and interpersonal relationships among members of the organizational
structure.

In addition to the Autonomy Attitudes Inventory, a structured inter-
view schedule (see Appendix 2) was developed to obtain measures of behav-
ioral autonomy from the sample of new teachers. Since these were teacher
reports of behavior, not observed behavior as such, "behavioral autonomy"
is used here in a particular sense.

The Dornbusch-Scott theory of authority and evaluation, on which the
Interview Schedule is based, suggested several indicators of behavioral
autonomy:

a. The number of people who allocate tasks to the new teacher.

b. The number of people whose evaluation of the new teacher affect
   his organizational sanctions.

c. The frequency with which the new teacher's performance is evalu-
   ated.

d. The degree of directive vs. delegation in the allocation of tasks
   to the teacher.

Some of the indicators are rough measures, and several are in need of
further refinement, but the results are of interest as a new approach to the
measurement of teacher autonomy.

Task allocation. Each new teacher was asked, "Which people in the school
attempt to tell you what you should do (on this task) or how you should do
it?" Different people were named for each of the four task areas or, where

the same person made control attempts in several task areas, he was
recorded as an evaluator each time.

Because there were obvious differences between elementary and secon-
dary schools in the number of task allocators, it was necessary to control
for school level. Since there was a preponderance of females at the ele-
mentary level, it was also necessary to control for sex.

When these two variables were controlled for, it was possible to
test the hypothesis that new teachers with low resources are subject to
a greater number of control attempts than those with high resources. The
measure of resources being used was teaching experience, so that new
experienced teachers were the high-resources group, and new inexperienced
teachers were the low-resources group. When the total number of allo-
cators listed for every new teacher was added and divided by the number
of new teachers in each group, the result provided a rough measure of
resources as a variable related to the behavioral autonomy of the new
teacher, as shown in Table 13. The figures in the table indicate simply

TABLE 13

Average Number of Allocators for High- and Low-Resources
Groups, Controlling for Sex and School Level

	High Resources (NE)[a]			Low Resources (NI)[b]		
	Male	Female	Total Group	Male	Female	Total Group
Elementary	2.00	2.64	2.56	3.00	2.96	2.96
Junior High	2.60	3.25	3.00	3.20	2.66	3.00
Senior High	3.77	3.15	3.41	5.22	2.00	4.32
Total Group	2.86	2.96	2.96	3.00	3.73	3.52

[a]New experienced teachers
[b]New inexperienced teachers

the average number of allocators for each group. Thus, new, experienced, male, elementary teachers on the average had 2.00 people who made control attempts of this kind, while new, inexperienced, male, elementary teachers had, on the average, 3.00 people who made allocation attempts.

When this comparison (high resources vs. low resources) was made across each new teacher group, it could be seen that the hypothesis was supported. Experienced new teachers did have fewer allocators than inexperienced new teachers. For example, male junior high teachers with low resources had 3.2 allocators; male senior high teachers with low resources had 5.22 allocators compared with only 3.77 for their new but experienced colleagues. The only exceptions to this predicted pattern were female junior high teachers, where the high-resource group averaged 3.25 allocators and the low-resource group averaged only 2.66; and the female senior high group, where high-resource teachers have more allocators (3.15) than low-resource teachers (2.00).

It was hypothesized that high-resource teachers more frequently regard control attempts as illegitimate, and the question, "In general, do you think (allocator named) should have the right to tell you what to do (on this task) or how to do it?" was used as an indicator of autonomy attitudes in relation to allocation attempts.

Combining the answers to this question for all allocators in all four task areas, a surprising number of new teachers were found to reject the legitimacy of allocation rights in the school organization. As predicted, some groups of new experienced teachers are more autonomous, in the sense of rejecting the legitimacy of allocation exercisers, than are new inexperienced teachers. For example, at the junior high level, experienced teachers designated 14.8% of allocators as illegitimate, compared with only 5.1% for inexperienced teachers. Again, at the senior high level, experienced teachers reported more of their allocators as illegitimate than did inexperienced teachers. But at the elementary level, 23.0% of the allocators mentioned by the inexperienced females were seen as illegitimate, while only 13.9% were rejected by experienced teachers. This is possibly because

inexperienced females had more allocators than their experienced counter-
parts, and given the isolated classroom structure of the elementary school,
they saw less justification for control attempts by allocators other
than their principal.

TABLE 14

Total Illegitimate Exercisers of Authority Rights
by Organizational Group[a]

Organizational Group	N	Total Illegitimate Exercisers of Authority Rights
Hospital:		
Clerks (med. students)	9	.178
Interns	21	.096
Residents	11	.167 (based on two responses)
Nurses Aides	25	.134
Team Leaders	29	.041
Football Team:		
Off Linemen	15	.089
Ball Carrier	13	.000
Back Three	5	.000
Front Eight	20	.032
Student Newspaper:		
Desk Worker	15	.106
Copy Editor	14	.113
Electronics Company:		
Assembly Linemen	25	.081
Research Center:		
Engineers	7	.133
Draftsmen	6	.000
Technical Typist	4	.167
Storekeepers	5	.053

[a]These data are from studies in Evaluation and Authority by S. M. Dornbusch
and W. R. Scott (in press) and are used by permission of the authors.

Table 14 shows that in comparison with the highest rate (17.8 illegitimate exercisers of authority rights) found in organizations studied by Dornbusch and Scott (in press), the 23% reported by inexperienced female teachers reveals a high rate of illegitimate allocation exercisers. Thus, the sample of teachers cannot be viewed as docile, since one out of seven or even one out of five allocators were reported to be illegitimate. This comparison makes it easier to interpret the verbal comments on organizational matters reported later, particularly those related to autonomy, which indicate that new teachers in this sample were indeed concerned with the nature of authority relations within their schools. Moreover, this finding supports the fact that autonomy attitude scores for almost all new-teacher groups increased from pre- to posttest. It is only the female, new, inexperienced teachers in senior high school whose autonomy scores dropped significantly from pretest and posttest, and it is this group which had the greatest number of allocators and evaluators.

Performance evaluations. The second indicator of behavioral autonomy used was the number of people whose evaluations of the new teacher affect his organizational sanctions. Each teacher was asked: "Which people's evaluations of how well or how poorly you are doing (on this task) help to influence your organizational rewards and sanctions?"

It was again hypothesized that new, experienced teachers have fewer evaluators than inexperienced teachers whose resources are more likely to

TABLE 15

Average Number of Evaluators for High- and Low-Resources
Groups, Controlling for Sex and School Level

Level of Teacher	High Resources (NE)			Low Resources (NI)		
	Male	Female	Total Group	Male	Female	Total Group
Elementary	1.00	1.32	1.28	1.00	1.53	1.52
Junior High	1.60	2.13	1.93	3.40	3.33	3.38
Senior High	2.69	3.44	3.00	3.14	4.00	3.76
Total Group	2.19	1.97	2.05	3.08	2.55	2.66

be doubted. The procedure was the same as with the average number of
allocators. For elementary teachers the principal was most often the only
person whose evaluations were seen as having an effect on organizational
sanctions. At the secondary levels, department heads, vice-principals,
deans of students, and other teachers were often seen as significant evalu-
ators, in addition to the school principal. Hence the large average num-
bers of evaluators at junior and senior high school levels.

As predicted, low-resource teachers did report a greater number of
significant evaluators than high-resource teachers. For example, inex-
perienced male junior high teachers had a mean of 3.40 evaluators, while
their experienced new-teacher colleagues reported on the average only
1.60 evaluators. The same comparison holds across all equivalent cells.
It is interesting to note that females at every level (except new inex-
perienced junior high) reported more evaluators than did males. While
this was a teacher-perceived number, and not an objective figure of actual
evaluator numbers, it does indicate a lesser degree of autonomy for females
than for males insofar as evaluation is a form of control. Particularly
at the senior high level, there were individual cases of new women teachers
who reported as many as 12 people whose evaluations had some effect on
their organizational sanctions.

Frequency of evaluation. As a third indicator of behavioral autonomy,
the frequency of evaluation control attempts was examined. It should
follow that the less experienced a new teacher is, the more often he is
subject to surveillance; or in more general terms, the lower the resources
of the newcomer in relation to the organization, the lower his autonomy.

The following question was asked to determine frequency of evaluation:

I am particularly interested in how often you receive ratings or
evaluations (on this task). I realize there are many ways in
which people show their opinions or evaluations of your work.
You may receive written evaluations once or twice a year; an
evaluator may praise you for your good work each day or criti-
cize you for a mistake; he may simply indicate his judgments of
your work with a smile or a frown; or you may know when he observes

any aspect of your work and says nothing, whether or not he is
satisfied with it. In other words, by _evaluation_ I mean any
time you learn, either directly or indirectly, how well or poorly
any evaluator thinks you are doing.

Now, my question is, how frequently do you learn A's evaluation
of how well or how poorly you are doing (on this task)?

The results show a definite tendency in the predicted direction. New
inexperienced teachers were more frequently evaluated by their significant
others than were new experienced teachers, on all four task areas. As
already indicated, high affect was related to less frequent evaluations
for experienced new teachers, but increased the frequency of evaluations
for inexperienced teachers. It is possible that inexperienced teachers
desired helpful feedback from their evaluators and that high affect de-
veloped from, rather than caused, more frequent evaluation attempts by
a significant other.

Delegation vs. directive in task allocation. The major distinction
made in the Dornbusch-Scott theory between active and inert tasks led us to
use a further indicator of behavioral autonomy, i.e., the extent to which
new teachers are allocated tasks by directive or by delegation. If the
significant other regards a particular task area as relatively "inert," it
is likely that he will expect directives to be followed without the exer-
cise of the teacher's professional autonomy. Other task areas may be more
clearly variable in terms of the resistance they offer, but an allocator may
still deny the professional his autonomy in adapting to that variability if
he doubts the professional's resources. Thus, the prediction was made that
where both resources and affect are low, allocation is more likely to be
directive than by delegation.

Several interview questions were used to operationalize the directive/
delegation continuum. Each new teacher was asked: "With (this task) do
you think A _should_

a. Specify exactly what and how it should be done.
b. Tell me what he expects but leave room for initiative
    and flexibility.
c. Delegate responsibility entirely to me."

With regard to clerical and administrative tasks many new teachers wanted
their S.O. to tell them exactly what should be done and how. One teacher,
for example, complained about "the manner in which clerical administra-
tive tasks are handled--instructions are nebulous"; another of "the way
tasks like yard duty are defined--not clear enough"; and another of "not
being given time ahead with clerical tasks--shouldn't give it to us one
hour ahead and expect it to be done. Should give us more time." There
was a clear demand for more directives from the low-resources (new inex-
perienced) group. If the two "delegation" responses are combined and
figures compared on that basis, there is a significant difference (p < .05)
between experienced and inexperienced teachers.

For the other three task areas, this question proved to be an inade-
quate discriminator, but there was a high demand for delegation in regard
to Task 3 (teaching methods) than for either the arrangement of course
content or disciplining students.

Another question asked: "When A allocates (this task) to you, how
closely do you follow his suggestions?"

Using teaching experience as a measure of resources, no differences
were detected. But when status of teaching subject was used as an indi-
cator of resources, on Task 4 (disciplining students) low status of teaching
did seem to be related to the degree to which a new teacher tried to follow
his evaluator's suggestions about disciplining students (p < .05).

The verbal responses of new teachers to the question, "What did you
like most/least about working in this school?" revealed clear evidence that
matters of autonomy were important factors in determining new-teacher
satisfaction. Autonomy issues were mentioned frequently as the aspect of
teaching liked most of all, e.g., "The freedom I have in teaching and how
I teach"; "freedom of making decisions--freedom to plan and act"; "The
freedom I've felt from the principal"; "the independent quality of my
colleagues"; "freedom and flexibility--very few administrative pressures";
I like the setup, the freedom to arrange things I want to--the informal
atmosphere--we're not forced or told what to do"; "I like the principal's

approach. The freedom I have to teach the way that is best for me. The vice-principal gives us support, has more contact with teachers and the principal"; "very open to new things and trying new things and will encourage you to do the same"; "liberalism--we're allowed a lot more freedom in this school than in other schools," etc.

Contrasting statements about what was liked most were often the reverse of those quoted above. Two examples will suffice: "The feeling of knowing where I stand on almost every matter--secure school--know where you stand with students, teachers, and administrators"; "the principal and vice-principal are both well-organized. They are direct rather than nebulous. They're fair. Certain things you are expected to carry through and within that you can do what you want to do. They back you with discipline."

Contextual Effects on Teacher Attitudes

It is possible that new teachers' attitudes are affected by the prevailing school staff attitudes, that is, structural or contextual effects, in addition to interaction with individual significant others. It can be argued generally that new-member interaction with group members will bring about strong group influences which will modify the new member's attitudes, regardless of his own orientation. Blau and Scott (1962) argue that in order to show this type of structural or contextual effect, one must separate the external influence of group pressure from the internal influence of the new member's own attitudinal position.

The method used in this study to separate contextual effects from those of personality was straightforward. New teachers' attitudes toward job autonomy were measured by means of pretest and posttest questionnaires. Also, a questionnaire was administered to their experienced colleagues in the district. Using aggregated scores on the pretest attitudes for the teaching staff (including the new-teacher scores) to characterize the prevailing school climate as either high or low on attitude subscales, one can simply compare this school context score with the new-teacher pretest

attitude (either high or low) and, on the basis, look for posttest atti-
tude change in the direction predicted by the context.

Specifically, it is argued that regardless of pretest attitude posi-
tion, new teachers tend to change their attitudes toward those exhibited
by the school context. Also, where new-teacher attitudes correspond fairly
well with the school context (both are characterized as either high or
low), they tend to maintain rather than change their attitudes.

The cutoff points used in determining high and low categories for
the contextual analysis were the same as those used throughout the pre-
vious analysis of the resources-affect theory (they were based on the
pretest total teacher distributions for the various attitude scales).
This categorization, however, is a factor limiting all of the contextual
analysis in that few new teachers with high pretests are found in schools
characterized by prevailing low autonomy attitudes; thus, interpretation
is often tentative where this high-low category is discussed.

Two dependent variables are used to measure the extent of attitude
change over time. The first controls for the direction of the attitude
change rather than displaying a simple "change" vs. "no change" dichotomy,
that is, new-teacher pretest scores are compared with school climate or
prevailing attitudes. Posttest scores are then used to determine whether
the individual new-teacher attitude scores increased toward the school
context (positive change), decreased toward the school context (negative
change), or made no change or changed in a direction opposite to that
predicted (no change). The second dependent variable used in the contex-
tual analysis is the posttest position, characterized by a high or low
attitude score. (Again the same cutoff points are employed in order to
maintain comparability across different measures and analyses.) The con-
textual analysis is concerned with predictions for the four attitude
scales with relatively high Cronbach alphas: Total Autonomy Attitude
Scale; Curriculum Autonomy Attitude Scale; Active Attitude Scale; and
Inert Attitude Scale.

Contextual analysis using direction of attitude change as the dependent
variable. Taking the Total Autonomy Attitude Scale first, Table 16 shows
that teachers whose pretest attitudes coincided fairly closely with that
of the school climate changed much less than those who found themselves
in conflict with their school climate. That is, if both school context
and new teacher were scored high on pretest Total Autonomy attitudes, or
if both were scored low, there appeared to be little reason for the teacher
to change. In addition, there was some tendency for teachers with high
pretest scores to lower their attitude scores, and those with low pretest
scores to raise them by the time of the posttest. This effect appears to
be inherent in the change-score analysis and therefore will not be reported
for each of the other three tables. By holding constant the pretest posi-
tion, contextual effects may be examined.

TABLE 16

Direction of Change on Total Autonomy Attitude Scale,
Holding Constant New-Teacher
Pretest Scores and School Context

New Teacher Pretest	School Context	Positive Change	Negative Change	No Change	Total N
High	High	8 (17.4%)	17 (37.0%)	21 (45.7%)	46 (100%)
	Low	0 (0%)	4 (50.0%)	4 (50.0%)	8 (100%)
Low	High	31 (81.6%)	0 (0%)	7 (18.4%)	38 (100%)
	Low	7 (38.5%)	1 (7.7%)	5 (53.8%)	13 (100%)
Total N		46 (43.8%)	22 (21.0%)	37 (35.2%)	105 (100%)

$(X^2 = 47.97, p < .001)$

When new-teacher and school context were high, there was a greater ten-
dency for positive change and less tendency for negative change as predicted

(17.4% positive change, 37% negative change) than for the case where teacher was high and school context was low (no positive change, 50% negative change). While this tendency appeared in three out of the four cases where teachers were scored high on pretest attitude scales, none of the partial chi-squares are significant at the .05 level and therefore will not be discussed in further detail.

Running the partial analysis for low pretest Total Autonomy did result in one chi-square significant at the .01 level ($X^2 = 9.90$, $p < .01$), indicating contextual effects where teachers had low pretest autonomy scores. Specifically, low teachers in high contexts were more likely to increase and less likely to decrease their Total Autonomy scores (81.6% positive change, 7.7% negative change). Also, low teachers in low school climates were much more likely not to change their attitudes (53.8% no change) than were those in a high autonomy school context (18.4% no change).

The same pattern is exhibited in the Inert Autonomy Attitude Scale (Table 17). New teachers who were in their pretest scores and in high

TABLE 17

Direction of Change on Inert Autonomy Attitude Scale,
Holding Constant New-Teacher
Pretest Scores and School Context

New Teacher Pretest	School Context	Positive Change	Negative Change	No Change	Total N
High	High	5 (9.8%)	19 (37.2%)	27 (52.9%)	51 (100%)
	Low	0 (0%)	1 (20.0%)	4 (80.0%)	5 (100%)
Low	High	22 (61.1%)	0 (0%)	14 (38.9%)	36 (100%)
	Low	4 (30.8%)	2 (15.4%)	7 (53.8%)	13 (100%)
Total N		31 (29.5%)	22 (21.0%)	52 (49.5%)	105 (100%)

$X^2 = 36.50$, $p < .001$)

school contexts were more likely to increase and less likely to lower their attitude scores (61.1% positive change, no negative change) than were those in low school climates (30.8% positive change, 15.4% negative change). Again, teachers who scored low in low school context were more likely not to change their attitudes (53.8% no change) than were those in high school climates (38.9% no change).

In Table 18, the Active Autonomy Scale shows a similar pattern, that is, the school context significantly affected teachers with low pretest attitudes ($X^2 = 6.55$, $p < .05$). Here again new teachers who were low on

TABLE 18

Direction of Change on Active Autonomy Attitude Scale,
Holding Constant New-Teacher
Pretest Scores and School Context

New Teacher Pretest	School Context	Positive Change	Negative Change	No Change	Total N
High	High	4 (9.5%)	15 (35.7%)	23 (54.8%)	42 (100%)
	Low	0 (0%)	6 (66.7%)	3 (33.3%)	9 (100%)
Low	High	30 (73.2%)	0 (0%)	11 (26.8%)	41 (100%)
	Low	8 (61.5%)	2 (15.4%)	3 (23.1%)	13 (100%)
Total N		42 (40.0%)	23 (21.9%)	40 (38.1%)	105 (100%)

$X^2 = 52.51$, $p < .001$)

pretest active attitudes but in high contexts were more likely to have higher scores and less likely to have lower scores by the time of the posttest (73.2% positive change, no negative change) than are those in low school climates (61.5% positive change, 15.4% negative change).

According to Table 19, the Curriculum Autonomy Scale follows exactly the same pattern; however, in this case the partial chi-squares are not

significant at the .05 level. This scale, along with the Active Autonomy
Scale, shows that teachers in the low-low category tend to change in a
positive direction. This finding may be due to significant-other effects
or just due to the unrefined nature of the high-low categorization scheme.

TABLE 19

Direction of Change on Curriculum Autonomy Attitude Scale,
Holding Constant New-Teacher
Pretest Scores and School Context

New Teacher Pretest	School Context	Positive Change	Negative Change	No Change	Total N
High	High	5 (10.9%)	16 (34.8%)	25 (54.3%)	46 (100%)
	Low	0 (0%)	6 (75.0%)	2 (25.0%)	8 (100%)
Low	High	28 (75.7%)	0 (0%)	9 (24.3%)	37 (100%)
	Low	9 (64.3%)	1 (7.1%)	4 (28.6%)	14 (100%)
Total N		42 (40.0%)	23 (21.9%)	40 (38.1%)	105 (100%)

$(X^2 = 54.65, p < .001)$

Contextual analysis using posttest attitude as the dependent variable.
Taking Total Autonomy Attitude Scores first, a chi-square analysis for the
effects of pretest position on posttest position yielded evidence for
refining the contextual analysis by controlling for pretest position
$(X^2 = 11.96, p < .001)$.

When this was done, as shown in Table 20, teachers in high-autonomy
school climates whose pretest autonomy scores were high, were more likely
to have high scores on the posttest (83%) than were teachers with high
autonomy scores in low school context (62.5%). One-half of the new teachers
who scored low on the pretest and who were in a high school climate became

TABLE 20

Change on Total Autonomy Attitude Scale,
Holding Constant New-Teacher
Pretest Scores and School Context

New Teacher Pretest	School Context	New Teacher Posttest High	New Teacher Posttest Low	Total N
High	High	39 (83.0%)	8 (17.0%)	47 (100%)
	Low	5 (62.5%)	3 (37.5%)	8 (100%)
Low	High	19 (50.0%)	19 (50.0%)	38 (100%)
	Low	5 (35.7%)	9 (64.3%)	14 (100%)
Total N		68 (63.6%)	39 (36.4%)	107 (100%)

$(X^2 = 15.36, p < .005)$

high on the posttest, whereas their counterparts in low school climates
were somewhat more likely to remain low (64.3%). While teacher attitudes
changed over time in the predicted direction, that is, toward the pre-
vailing school climate, regardless of pretest position, the partial
chi-squares were not significant at the .05 level.

For the Curriculum Autonomy Attitude Scale, a chi-square analysis
revealed nonsignificant effects of pretest position on posttest attitudes,
thus making the further refinement of holding pretest position unnecessary.

Table 21 indicates that teachers in high school climates were more
likely to have high posttest autonomy attitudes (73.8%) than were those in
low school contexts (43.5%).

TABLE 21

Relationship of School Context to Posttest
Curriculum Autonomy Attitude Scale

School Context	New Teacher Posttest High	New Teacher Posttest Low	Total N
High	62 (73.8%)	22 (26.2%)	84 (100%)
Low	10 (43.5%)	13 (56.5%)	23 (100%)
Total N	72 (67.3%)	35 (32.7%)	107 (100%)

$(X^2 = 6.47, p < .025)$

Since the chi-square analysis for the effect of pretest position on posttest Active Attitude Scores was significant $(X^2 = 6.68, p < .01)$, a more refined contextual analysis was run holding constant new teacher pretest position.

TABLE 22

Change on Active Autonomy Attitude Scale,
Holding Constant New-Teacher
Pretest Scores and School Context

New Teacher Pretest	School Context	New Teacher Posttest High	New Teacher Posttest Low	Total N
High	High	35 (83.3%)	7 (16.7%)	42 (100%)
	Low	3 (33.3%)	6 (66.7%)	9 (100%)
Low	High	23 (56.0%)	18 (44.0%)	41 (100%)
	Low	4 (30.8%)	9 (69.2%)	13 (100%)
Total N		65 (61.9%)	40 (38.1%)	105 (100%)

$(X^2 = 17.22, p < .001)$

As predicted, Table 22 shows that new teachers with high pretest attitude
scores in high school climates were significantly more likely to have
high posttest scores (83.3%) than were those in low contexts (33.3%)
(X^2 = 9.76, p < .005). Where new teachers scoring low on the pretest
found themselves in higher autonomy climates, they were more likely to
have high posttest autonomy scores (56%) than were those teaching in low
school contexts (30.8%). Although this is in the predicted direction,
the partial chi-square here is not quite significant at the .05 level
(X^2 = 2.53, NS).

A chi-square analysis indicated that on the Inert Attitude Scale
pretest position was positively related to posttest score (X^2 = 14.50,
p < .001); thus, it was necessary to refine the contextual analysis by
holding constant pretest psition in Table 23. For new teachers with high

TABLE 23

Change on Inert Autonomy Attitude Scale,
Holding Constant New-Teacher
Pretest Scores and School Context

New Teacher Pretest	School Context	New Teacher Posttest High	New Teacher Posttest Low	Total N
High	High	34 (66.7%)	17 (33.3%)	51 (100%)
	Low	4 (80.0%)	1 (20.0%)	5 (100%)
Low	High	14 (38.9%)	22 (61.1%)	36 (100%)
	Low	1 (7.7%)	12 (92.3%)	13 (100%)
Total N		53 (50.5%)	52 (49.5%)	105 (100%)

(X^2 = 18.54, p < .001)

pretest scores, there was a reversal in that those in high contexts were
less likely to have high posttest attitude scores (66.7%) than were those

in low contexts (80.0%); however, this is not significant (X^2 = 0.37, NS).
The small number of cases where high teachers were in low contexts may
have contributed to this particular finding.

Looking at new teachers with low attitude scores, as predicted,
teachers in high school climates were significantly more likely to have
high posttest scores (38.9%) than were those in low school contexts (7.7%)
(X^2 = 4.38, p < .05).

Methodologically, since an absolute measure of attitude change was
not used, more rigorous operationalization is needed in future analyses to
reveal more substantial evidence for contextual effects. Again, a related
factor limiting all of the contextual analyses was the fact that so few
new teachers with high pretest scores were found in schools characterized
by prevailing low autonomy attitudes. Thus, even though attitude changes
were in the direction predicted by the context, significant partial chi-
squares were not always achieved, and where the chi-squares were signifi-
cant, the small number of cases often made the interpretation somewhat
tentative, but nonetheless useful. Further research should determine the
conditions under which one may expect either the context or the most impor-
tant organizational evaluator to have greater socialization effects on new-
teacher attitudes toward autonomy.

Summary and Conclusions

In summary, the findings suggest that: (a) Attitudes toward autonomy
often clash with existing attitudes of superiors and colleagues; (b) orga-
nizational evaluation has a significant effect on professional sociali-
zation; (c) autonomy is more likely to be achieved by virtue of the teacher's
resources or qualities rather than by desire; (d) personal liking between
teachers and their evaluator is a significant socialization variable;
(e) satisfaction with teaching in general is related to satisfaction with
the way tasks are allocated and evaluated; (f) new teachers want more control
and guidance in such areas as discipline and clerical tasks and more autonomy
in such areas as curriculum content and teaching methods; and (g) school

context is an important factor in the socialization of teacher attitudes.
It is further concluded that the usual unitary approach to the study of
autonomy may be misleading and that the distinction between active and
inert participation in tasks, delegation vs. direction, authority rights
and legitimacy feelings are more promising research tools than the broader,
ambiguous concepts of professionalism and bureaucracy.

The results suggest a need to examine more closely the way in which
neophytes in an organization are evaluated, who is given appraisal rights
over them, the authority-legitimacy relationships between neophytes and
evaluators, and the effects of evaluators on developing professional atti-
tudes, on instability within the organization, and on attrition rates from
the ranks of neophytes. One clear implication is that educational adminis-
trators should not ignore the importance of evaluation nor underestimate
its controversiality in changing teacher attitudes. Supervision without
overtones of evaluation is probably impossible in that bureaucratic office
and authority imply some appraisal rights. Given this fact, it may be
wiser to structure evaluation patterns deliberately in order to change
teacher behavior more effectively. Teacher trainees and new teachers
could perhaps choose their own supervising teacher, who would be paid to
evaluate their teaching. In this way both power, or the ability to sanc-
tion, and affect would be taken advantage of in socializing new teachers
in "desirable" directions, rather than allowing power to act regardless of
whether the direction of influence is desirable or not. It may be possible
to build these variables into some form of acceptable colleague control,
where legitimized power is added to mutual liking and respect.

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APPENDIX 1

Autonomy Attitude Inventory

Instructions:

- Please respond to each of the following items on the attached

    IBM General Purpose Answer Sheet.

- Be sure to fill in name, date, and location (your school) at the

    top of the Answer Sheet first.

-- You should respond to each item on the basis of the following

    five-point scale:

Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

    These categories correspond respectively to the column

    headings

1	2	3	4	5

    on the IBM General Purpose Answer Sheet.

- A sample item follows:

    Item 23. Ability grouping within classes is a question for

    each teacher to decide alone.

        If you Disagree with the above statement, you will

        answer as follows:

        T   F
        Y   N
    23. __1__   __2__   __3__   ▰▰▰▰   __5__

PLEASE MAKE SURE THAT YOU BLACKEN ONLY ONE SPACE FOR EACH ITEM (1-33)

AND THAT YOU RESPOND TO EVERY ITEM. THANK YOU.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Black in your responses on the Answer Sheet, not on this instrument.	1	2	3	4	5

Item 1. Teachers should be required to take regular in-service courses.

2. I should be free to decide what, if any, teacher organizations I join.

3. It is best for my teaching career that I do not participate in local politics.

4. I should be free to select the textbooks I want to use.

5. I do not expect to have my teaching assignment changed during the school year without my agreement.

6. I should spend time outside school hours helping individual students.

7. Salary increases should be based on the teacher's competence.

8. What my colleagues consider to be good teaching is more important to me than what my Principal says about it.

9. I should relegate all problems with parents to the Principal for solution.

10. I feel free to depart from the District's adopted curriculum content when it seems appropriate to do so.

11. My teaching will be evaluated by someone who knows more about teaching than I do.

12. It is important to me to be well liked by my students.

13. Teaching is an art that cannot properly be taught in education courses.

14. Among colleagues a teacher should feel free to criticize another teacher.

15. As a teacher, I have to take community opinion into account in matters of personal behavior.

16. I am personally responsible for determining the arrangement of course content in my classes.

17. I should accept extra-curricular and non-teaching duties as part of my job.

18. It is part of my job to handle discipline problems arising outside my classes.

19. Specialization in subject matter is more important than training in the methodology of teaching.

20. The school administrators should not seek to mix informally with teachers.

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Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
1	2	3	4	5

21. Parents have no right to tell me what to do in the classroom.

22. I should be left free to determine the methods of presentation I use in my classes.

23. I should refer most instances of student misbehavior to my Principal for further action.

24. Teachers should ignore school regulations which interfere with the welfare of the students.

25. I should spend time with my fellow teachers in informal social and recreational activities.

26. I should deliberately make opportunities to become acquainted with the parents of my students.

27. I should have some say in formulating or altering school rules.

28. I intend to follow my Principal's preference as to teaching style.

29. I alone should decide how to give grades to students in my classes.

30. In a teaching team, I expect to be given a subordinate role.

31. I would prefer that parents not visit my class unless I invite them to do so.

32. Those teachers with the longest experience are the better teachers.

33. Student conduct should be taken into consideration in deciding achievement grades.

PLEASE MAKE SURE THAT YOU HAVE BLACKENED ONLY ONE SPACE FOR EACH ITEM (1-33) AND THAT YOU HAVE RESPONDED TO EVERY ITEM.   THANK YOU.

APPENDIX 2

New Teacher Interview Schedule

This interview is part of a long-term study of the problem
faced by teachers new to a school district. The Questionnaires
you have already filled in for us, together with this interview,
will help us pin-point some of the problems that people have in
getting used to a new school.

We are talking to many teachers in this District and would
like you to be as frank as possible.

I want to make it perfectly clear that although I have to
ask for names and write them down on this form here, there is
no way for anything you tell me to get back to other people at
the school here. We're going to take your answers right back to
Stanford R & D Center and put the results on to IBM cards. There
is absolutely no reason for any names to be put in our research
reports. We just need names for the moment to keep track of what
we're doing in the data analysis.

The study has the approval of the School Board, the Superin-
tendent, the Head Masters and the Teachers Associations. We
hope our results will be very useful to this District and others
in assessing and perhaps improving the way new teachers are
handled. The more open you are in answering these questions, the
better our results will be.

To help speed up things, I'll give you this set of cards with
question numbers and possible answers on them. I will read the
question and you follow the possible answers on the card. Then
tell me the number of the alternative you pick as the right answer.

Let's try the first question ...

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1. How many new teachers started at your school last Autumn?

    1. I was the only one.
    2. 2 - 3.
    3. 4 - 6.
    4. 6 or more.
    5. Don't know.

2. Do the new teachers in your school tend to keep together
    as a group? (in their free time?)

    1. Yes.
    2. No.
    3. Only at the start of the year, not now.
    4. Yes, but I was not included.

3. Who are your four best friends in the school?

Name	Department or Grade Level	Position
1.		i.e., teacher,
2.		Dept. Head
3.		Principal, etc.
4.		

4. How many of these people are also new to the school?

    1. 1.
    2. 2.
    3. 3.
    4. All of them.
    5. None of them.

5. How friendly would you say that most of your fellow teachers are?

    1. Extremely friendly.
    2. Very friendly.
    3. Moderately friendly.
    4. Slightly friendly.
    5. Not at all friendly.

6. How do you rate the social atmosphere among teachers at your
   school (their friendliness, acceptance of you as a colleague)
   in comparison with that in other schools you know of?

   1. Better (more congenial).
   2. About the same.
   3. Worse.
   4. Don't know.

7. Irrespective of your own feelings about this, how do you think
   your subject ranks in status and respectability among staff
   members?

   1. The highest status subject.
   2. Highly respected.
   3. Respected as much as most other subjects.
   4. Not respected as much as other subjects.
   5. The lowest status subject.
   6. Don't know.

8. Which people in the school attempt to tell you what you should
   do about _____ or how you should do it?

   Repeat for each of Tasks (1) through (4).

   1. Clerical, administrative tasks (attendance lists, late
      books, handling money, etc.).
   2. How you arrange course content (deciding books to be used,
      topics to be covered, timing of content, etc.).
   3. The teaching methods you use (assignments, lectures,
      grouping, using Teacher Guides, etc.).
   4. Disciplining students (misbehavior, insolence, refusal to do
      work set, how to handle, enforcing school rules, etc.).

9. When ____Ai____ tells you what you should do (on this task),
   how does Ai allocate (the task)?

   1. I find I am told what to do in quite a bit of detail and I
      am expected to do it that way.
   2. I am told in a general way what I am supposed to do and if
      he doesn't like the way I do it, he is likely to criticize me.
   3. I am informed in a general way what is supposed to be done
      and I have very little fear that I will be criticized for
      the way I do the job.

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10. With (this task) do you think ____Ai____ should

    1. Specify exactly what and how it should be done?
    2. Tell me what he expects but leave me some room for initiative and flexibility?
    3. Delegate responsibility entirely to me?

11. When ____Ai____ allocates (this task) to you, how closely do you follow his suggestions?

    1. To the letter, exactly.
    2. As closely as I can.
    3. Fairly closely.
    4. Not very closely.
    5. Not at all.

    PROBE: Why? if answers 4 or 5.

12. Now, think of the way you go about doing (this task) for all of the people who have given the task to you. In general, how do you usually decide the way you go about doing (this task)?

    1. I follow a routine procedure.
    2. The people who give me the task tell me how to do it.
    3. Someone other than the person who gives me the task tells me how to do it.
    4. I consult with other people and then decide how to do the task.
    5. I decide the way the task will be done.

13a. ____Ai____ has people in the school (or district) who are superior to him. Do you think Ai's bosses approve of Ai's telling you what to do or how to do it?

    1. Yes.
    2. No.

    If says "They don't know," say, "If they know," would Ai's bosses approve of Ai's telling you what to do or how to do it?

    1. Yes.
    2. No.

13b. <u>Ask only if answers "No" to 13a.</u>

Do you think <u>Ai</u>'s bosses <u>disapprove</u> of <u>Ai</u>'s telling you what
to do or how to do it? (Note that Disapprove is stronger than
Not Approve.)

1. Yes.
2. No.

14. In general, do you think ____Ai____ <u>should</u> have the right to
tell you what to do (on this task) or how to do it?

1. Yes.
2. No.

15. How satisfied are you with the way you are told what to do
(on this task) and how to do it?

1. Extremely satisfied.
2. Very satisfied.
3. Moderately satisfied.
4. Slightly satisfied.
5. Not at all satisfied.

PROBE: If 3, 4 or 5: Why are you only Moderately satisfied/
Slightly satisfied/ Not at all satisfied?

16. There may be many people connected with the school who evaluate or
judge how well or how poorly you are doing (on this task). Some
may assess your performance (on this task) every time you do it,
while others only occasionally are in a position to do so. Although
many people may make such evaluation, probably not all of them help
determine or have an effect on your organizational rewards and
penalties (such as gaining tenure, promotion, transfer, senior or
responsible positions, good class allotment, or good or bad teaching
reports, etc.).

Which people's evaluations of how well or poorly you are doing (on
this task) help to influence your organizational rewards and
sanctions?

PROBE: Anyone else?
PROBE: How about ... ? (Those listed as Allocators previously,
if different.)

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17a. Ei_____ has bosses or superiors in the school (or district).
Do you think Ei's bosses approve of Ei's evaluating you and
influencing your organizational rewards and sanctions (tenure,
advancement, teaching reports, transfer, etc.)?

1. Yes.
2. No.

If says "They don't know," say, "If they know, would Ei's bosses
approve of Ei's evaluating you and influencing your organizational
rewards and sanctions?"

17b. Ask only if says "No" to 17a.

Do you think Ei's bosses disapprove of Ei's evaluating you and
influencing your organizational rewards and sanctions?

1. Yes.
2. No.

18. In general, do you think _____Ei_____ should have the right to
evaluate you and thus influence your organizational sanctions
(on this task)?

1. Yes.
2. No.

19. How satisfied are you with the way evaluations are made of how
well or how poorly you do your work (on this task)?

1. Extremely satisfied
2. Very satisfied.
3. Moderately satisfied.
4. Slightly satisfied.
5. Not at all satisfied.

PROBE: If answers 3, 4 or 5, "Why are you only Moderately
satisfied/ Slightly satisfied/ Not at all satisfied?"

20. I am particularly interested in how often you receive ratings
or evaluations (on this task). I realize there are many ways in
which people show their opinions or evaluations of your work.
You may receive written evaluations once or twice a year; an
evaluator may praise you for your good work each day or criticize
you for a mistake; he may simply indicate his judgements of your
work with a smile or a frown; or you may know when he observes
any aspect of your work and says nothing, whether or not he is
satisfied with it. In other words, by evaluation, I mean any
time you learn, either directly or indirectly, how well or how
poorly an evaluator thinks you are doing.

Now, my question is, how frequently do you learn ____ Ei's ____
evaluation of how well or how poorly you are doing (on this task)?

1. Very frequently.
2. Frequently.
3. Fairly often.
4. Occasionally.
5. Seldom.
6. Almost never.
7. Never.

PROBE: for understanding, if says 6 or 7. Clarify that it
includes both positive and/or negative evaluations.

21 How important to you is ____ Ei's ____ evaluation of how well or
how poorly you are doing (on this task)?

1. Extremely important.
2. Very important.
3. Moderately important.
4. Slightly important.
5. Not at all important.

22. How often, when you do (this task), is ____ Ei ____ dissatisfied
with how well you are doing (on the task)?

1. Always.
2. Almost always.
3. Usually
4. Fairly often.
5. Occasionally.
6. Seldom.
7. Almost never.
8. Never.

PROBE: for understanding, if answers Always or Never.

23. In general, which people in the school have the <u>greatest</u> ability to sanction your attitudes and behavior as a teacher. That is, which people can reward you for good work (praise, favors, good teaching reports, etc.) or punish you for "mistakes" (by expressing disapproval, rebuking you, influencing your teaching report adversely, giving you trouble, etc.)?

    Check for Allocator and Evaluator mentioned.
    PROBE: "Any other ...?"

24. Which sanctions are of most importance to you?

    1. Organizational rewards and penalties (such as tenure, transfer, teaching reports, good class allotment, promotion, etc.).
    2. Informal sanctions (such as approval or disapproval of your superiors, colleagues; their liking, respect for you, etc.).

25. In general, when you do a good job (on this task), do you get ratings or evaluations that are high enough to satisfy you?

    1. Yes.
    2. No.

26. In general, how much influence do _____ Ei's _____ evaluations of your work as a teacher have on your organizational rewards and penalties?

    1. Extremely influential.
    2. Very influential.
    3. Moderately influential.
    4. Slightly influential.
    5. Not at all influential.

27. What do your evaluators care about when they evaluate your work? What do they look for or pay attention to?

<u>Regarded favorably</u>	<u>Regarded unfavorably (as "mistakes")</u>

28. Are there any other people, or groups of people, in your work group, elsewhere in the school, or outside the school, whose evaluations of you as a teacher are important to you?

    1. Yes.
    2. No.

    PROBE: Who?
           Anyone else?

    For each person or group mentioned – <u>Why is</u> _____'s evaluation of you as a teacher important to you?

Name	Reasons
1.	
2.	
3.	

29. In general, how satisfied or dissatisfied are you with the way (this task) is assigned and evaluated?

    1. Extremely satisfied.
    2. Very satisfied.
    3. Moderately satisfied.
    4. Somewhat satisfied.
    5. Somewhat dissatisfied.
    6. Moderately dissatisfied.
    7. Very dissatisfied.
    8. Extremely dissatisfied.
    9. Don't know.

30. How well do you think _____ S.O. _____ likes you?

    1. A great deal.
    2. Fairly well.   (Ask for each Allocator
    3. Moderately well.   Evaluator
    4. Not very much.   Principal
    5. Not at all.   Dept. Head,
    6. Don't know   if different.)

31. How well do you like _____ S.O. _____?

    1. A great deal.
    2. Fairly well.   (Ask for each Allocator
    3. Moderately well.   Evaluator
    4. Not very much   Principal
    5. Not at all.   Dept. Head,
    6. Don't know.   if different.)

32. How do you rate your teaching competence (at this stage of your
    career) in comparison with _____ S.O. _____?

    1. I am much more competent than S.O.
    2. I am somewhat more competent.
    3. I am about equally competent.
    4. I am somewhat less competent.
    5. I am much less competent.

33. Do you ever ask _____ S.O. _____ for advice about school matters?

    1. Yes.
    2. No.

34. Do you ever ask _____ S.O. _____ for advice about your problems outside
    the school, such as personal or family problems?

    1. Yes.
    2. No.

35. How often have you received help and/or advice on your teaching
    problems from _____ S.O. _____?

    1. Very frequently.
    2. Frequently.
    3. Fairly often.
    4. Occasionally.
    5. Seldom.
    6. Almost never.
    7. Never.

36. Ask only if answers 1-6 on Question 36.

    Did you have to ask for help and information from ____S.O.____
    or was it offered by him without your asking for it?

    1. I asked (S.O.) for help or information.
    2. (S.O.) offered it without my asking.

37. Do you feel ____S.O.____ offered you help or advice unnecessarily,
    when you felt you could do the problem without help?

    1. Yes. (His help was unnecessary)
    2. No. (I welcomed their intervention)

    PROBE: for examples.

38. What do you like most about working at this school? (I mean your
    work situation, the students, your colleagues, etc.)

    1.
    2.
    3.