

- 295. knowledge of secretaries about what happens in the school
- 296. students going into the military
- 297. student/principal relations
- 298. 6th period girls' gym class
- 299. the Viet Nam War
- 300. teacher concern for teacher peer approval
- 301. student friendships or lack of friendships with people from other schools
- 302. substitute teachers
- 303. parents' attitudes toward high school
- 304. attitudes toward independent study
- 305. calendar in front of main office
- 306. politics in general; world news
- 307. subject of art
- 308. teacher evaluations
- 309. CTA calendar issue
- 310. job of student council president
- 311. students travelling
- 312. tri-district in service meetings
- 313. girls' athletic events
- 314. administration/janitors relationship
- 315. janitors' perception of community
- 316. discipline cycles
- 317. peer teaching
- 318. teasing fieldworker because of absence from school

- 319. senior dinner and prom
- 320. 7th period accounting class
- 321. Literary Journal Club
- 322. 1st period art class
- 323. 2nd period speed reading class
- 324. 7th period Voch. Ed. Rock Poetry class
- 325. teachers bringing sibling or other guests into the school
- 326. student/board relations
- 327. introduction program for 8th graders
- 328. field trips
- 329. formal role of a teacher
- 330. McDonald's controversy
- 331. teacher territoriality
- 332. 2nd period clothing I class
- 333. 3rd period pastry and deserts class
- 334. 4th period culinary arts class
- 335. 5th period culinary arts class
- 336. nurse's office
- 337. new courses
- 338. Project Friend
- 339. 1st period psych. class
- 340. where students live
- 341. teacher/cafeteria staff relations
- 342. waiting behavior
- 343. student careers

- 344. 2nd period English Lyric Poetry class
- 345. 7th period German III class
- 346. teachers' salaries: merit committee
- 347. students under pressure of work and commitments in school
- 348. values of students
- 349. role of principal
- 350. Rotary Club award
- 351. Bell Awards
- 352. academics
- 353. track team
- 354. great swamp
- 355. winter sports award
- 356. International Language Club banquet
- 357. campus life
- 358. PRRF
- 359. Photography
- 360. tennis team
- 361. Devil's Triangle
- 362. staff parties
- 363. community/school relations
- 364. paraprofessionals
- 365. weight lifting
- 366. The Chat
- 367. the judiciary committee
- 368. student doing volunteer work

- 369. visiting British students
- 370. golf team
- 371. commons committee
- 372. executive council
- 373. teachers playing sports in school
- 374. rock club

- 500. non-school talk among teachers
- 501. Curriculum Coordinators
- 502. United Fund
- 503. Sheffield/state relationship
- 504. fund raising
- 505. student-teacher conference
- 506. students who are problems - as seen by administrators
- 507. teachers who live in Sheffield
- 508. free days
- 509. senior lounge
- 510. student switching classes
- 511. freshman orientation
- 512. going to college
- 513. faculty meeting
- 514. French IV
- 515. low History II
- 516. teachers' perceptions of sexual differences among students
- 517. Homecoming Queen Elections Assembly

- 518. English Composition 12
- 519. independent study
- 520. Humor class
- 521. work strategies
- 522. advanced History 12
- 523. jokes and remarks about teaching and work in school
- 524. attitude towards student privacy
- 525. sports
- 526. college conferences
- 527. History I
- 528. teachers' views of students - intellectual capacity and personality
"Students are..."
- 529. general perception of themselves
- 530. Literature of Sports
- 531. teachers' perceptions of courses ("fun")
- 532. cafeteria duty
- 533. English composition 9
- 534. teaching strategies
- 535. 19th century literature 12
- 536. New York
- 537. students who are permitted to do what they want
- 538. students' perception of teaching
- 539. cafeteria staff
- 540. Advanced History 11th grade - 1st period
- 541. students' opinions of teachers' duties and performance

- 542. teachers' attitudes towards mini-courses
- 543. teachers talking about teaching methods and school policies
- 544. political identification among students and teachers
- 545. obvious pairing and petting in school
- 546. German V - 1st period - 12th grade
- 547. German III, 2nd period
- 548. Students helping to teach
- 549. job of "coordinators"
- 550. "Because I am a H.S. teacher" - definition of job
- 551. tests and exams
- 552. disagreement over teaching philosophies
- 553. getting to know students
- 554. superintendent/teacher relationship
- 555. German IV - 6th period - 12th grade
- 556. senior projects
- 557. the importance of belonging to organization
- 558. being a person
- 559. being better than everybody else
- 560. the difficulty of making friends
- 561. being sick
- 562. student council classes
- 563. homerooms
- 564. the meaning of electing representatives
- 565. what is bad for kids, psychologically
- 566. student elections

- 567. nurses aides
- 568. the use of first or last names
- 569. perception of commons
- 570. perceptions of independent study
- 571. to date or not to date - boy friends
- 572. Business English, 9th period - 10-11 grade
- 573. individualized instruction
- 574. typing, 3rd period
- 575. the room at the back of the library desk
- 576. not being middle class in Sheffield
- 577. gossip among students
- 578. French, 4th period, 11th grade
- 579. sharp exchanges between students
- 580. walking the halls during class time
- 581. teacher attitudes towards students walking the halls during class time
- 582. the coke machine by the girls' gym
- 583. steno 7th period
- 584. fishing club .
- 585. the release of the freshman class
- 586. the philosophy of disciplining - positive/negative
- 587. student/teacher relationship - joking with each other
- 588. change of student behaviors from 1st to 7th period
- 589. being paid twice a month/once monthly .
- 590. perception of what students should know
- 591. competitive relationship with township h.s.

- 592. teeny bopper - doing the h.s. thing
- 593. being liberal
- 594. being a sophomore
- 595. being smart
- 596. the junior year
- 597. working hard
- 598. Jesus movement
- 599. how hard it is without friends
- 600. the meaning of having friends
- 601. students studying
- 602. individualized instruction
- 603. chemistry
- 604. grades
- 605. coaches
- 606. senior lounge
- 607. "relatives"
- 608. teacher's out of school activities
- 609. Catholic Youth Organization
- 610. card playing
- 611. audio-visual program
- 612. scheduling
- 613. gym
- 614. "third floor"
- 615. winter ball
- 616. assistant principal's perception of community

- 617. weather
- 618. drama room exit
- 619. student lexicon
- 620. student messengers for office
- 621. office phones - intercom system
- 622. 3rd period drama class
- 623. pregnancy
- 624. 5th period speech class
- 625. announcements
- 626. student participation in academic programs outside of high school
- 627. dating behavior
- 628. cross-country
- 629. bowling
- 630. stage crew
- 631. student lockers
- 632. auditorium
- 633. health room
- 634. cafeteria gangs
- 635. teacher's life history
- 636. students painting the school
- 637. coffee house
- 638. students' perceptions of time
- 639. students on their personal philosophy
- 640. nucleonics class
- 641. academic awards

- 642. 2nd period art class
- 643. 3rd period art class
- 644. athletic awards
- 645. Sheffield newspapers
- 646. hockey bus
- 647. cafeteria music
- 648. art major's class
- 649. Christmas assembly gifts
- 650. varsity club banquet
- 651. other adults' perceptions of cafeteria
- 652. trashing
- 653. students in school after it closes
- 654. parent dress
- 655. music room
- 656. band
- 657. cafeteria parties
- 658. CYO
- 659. AV room
- 660. faculty/janitors relationship
- 661. 7th period health
- 662. 18 year old rights
- 663. Christmas assembly
- 664. students' perceptions of community

701. talking politics

702. tag day

703. homosexuality

704. cutting class

FINDINGS

(See STUDENT MANUAL, INSTRUCTORS' MANUAL, READINGS)

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE HIGH SCHOOL:
EVALUATION REPORT

The evaluation of Social Organization of the High School (SOHS) is based on data collected during two separate field tests [Test 1 and Test 2] conducted under the auspices of the Department of Educational Administration, Teachers College, Columbia University, from January through June, 1975. Each field test consisted of a graduate course in Educational Administration called "Social Organization and Administration."

Length of Tests

Test 1 consisted of a class that met for two hours once a week for 14 weeks [January 23 through May 8], for a total of 28 hours; the class for Test 2 met for two hours twice a week for 6 weeks [May 20 through June 26], for a total of 24 hours.

Objectives

The primary objective of both Test 1 and Test 2 was to determine the extent to which SOHS¹ was ready for use by the target population--educational administrators, educational researchers, and teachers--by using two small samples from the population as judges as well as subjects.

¹Note that SOHS refers to the entire instructional package.

There were, of course, instructional objectives as well, but a serious effort to implement them was made only in Test 2, much as Test 1 was more of a preliminary try-out than a full-scale field test. The overall objectives of the course of instruction are given below; more detailed behavioral objectives geared to each unit of SOHS are stated elsewhere [Appendix A].

Overall Objectives

A. After working through these units, one should be able to identify the rules of behavior specific to any school which one observes, in the following manner:

- (1) Starting with discrete episodes of behavior, the social constraints influencing interpersonal interactions are identified and distinguished from the purely idiosyncratic content of the interaction.
- (2) The patterns of behavior which are inferred from individual episodes are progressively checked against other episodes and against the total knowledge available about the school. Thus, an idea of the pervasiveness of the pattern as well as of the exceptions and deviations from the pattern is established.
- (3) Identified patterns of behavior are related to the larger structural characteristics of the school, such as size, formal organization, and the relation of the school to the community it serves.
- (4) If possible, the identified patterns of behavior then serve as guides towards predicting the impact on the school and the

feasibility of various policies and strategies for change and problem-solving.

B. Having identified the specific patterns of behavior in more than one school, one should be able to formulate a comparative analysis of some sector of activity, e.g. programming, curriculum, classroom organization, in two or more schools.

Samples

The sample for Test 1 consisted of 21 male and female graduate students of Educational Administration, Special Education, Higher and Adult Education, Curriculum and Teaching, Applied Linguistics, and Science Education. They ranged in age from the early twenties to the mid-fifties. The sample for Test 2 consisted of 32 male and female graduate students who were of the same age range as Sample 1 and who also came from essentially the same major fields. The names, present or former positions, and major fields of the subjects in both Test 1 and Test 2 are included in this report [Appendix B].

Instructional Staff

Francis A. J. Izumi, the project director, served as the principal instructor. Other project personnel were occasionally brought in on an "as-needed" basis.

Evaluation Instruments

Test 1

The instrument consisted of a set of guidelines [Appendix C1] used by the students in the preparation of written critiques of both the discussions in class and the written materials ["handouts"] prepared by the project staff. Students were required to write a critique of each handout as well as one of the course as a whole. Critiques of the lectures and class discussions were optional.

Test 2

The instrument used consisted of a similar set of guidelines [Appendix C2] used in the preparation of critiques. Apart from the different form used, there were also the following differences: (1) no critique of the discussions was solicited; (2) a critique of the course as a whole was not required. In addition, a final examination [Appendix C3] was given, and the students' reactions to the assigned readings were recorded.

In both cases, the evaluator was present at every class meeting. He was responsible for collection of the critiques and transmittal of their contents to the project personnel. The critiques, as well as informal observations made by the evaluator and the instructional staff, formed the basis for revision of SOHS.

Results

Test 1

In Test 1, the students were not asked to read and criticize anything other than the two sets of handouts written by the project staff. Appendix D1 consists of the school descriptions originally given to the students; the school descriptions in the current form of SOHS reflect their criticisms and suggestions for revision. Appendix D2 consists of a unit called "You Can't Teach Me Because. . . ." as originally written. The corresponding unit, again reflecting the students' critiques, is called "Sorting, Territoriality, and Autonomy" in the most recent form of SOHS. The following also resulted from Test 1: (1) the abandonment of grounded theory² as a pedagogical technique, since Test 1 showed that it does not work very well, given the demands for more structure in the course, more theoretical and methodological readings either in advance of, or concurrent with, the presentation of any material from the three schools, less non-directiveness on the part of the instructional staff, and progression from the general to the particular, rather than the reverse; (2) the adoption, in Test 2, of several recommendations made by the students and staff during, and immediately after, Test 1. These recommendations were:

²Grounded theory states that one must proceed inductively from one's raw data, i.e., one should collect the data without reference to theory initially, and allow the data to suggest testable hypotheses that are checked against the data already at hand and the data one is about to collect, rather than proceeding deductively with the theory such that data are collected with the purpose of testing hypotheses generated by the theory.

(a) Proceed deductively; rather than inductively. Grounded theory may well be excellent in research--its utility as a pedagogical device is practically nil. In connection with this, it might be helpful to reverse the order of the three units, i.e., to begin with "Bureaucratic and Organic Structures," proceed to "Formal and Emergent Roles," and end with "Sorting, Territoriality, and Autonomy."

(b) Prepare a more extensive reading list, and require that the articles and excerpts be read in order.

(c) Specify a set of training objectives and prepare a series of exercises to determine if the training objectives are met.

Test 2

Although the class indicated that some revisions needed to be made in the materials (including the descriptions of the three high schools involved, which had already been revised), there was no opportunity to effect the recommendations. The criticisms made have been transmitted to the project staff, however, and if the opportunity (especially the requisite funds) presents itself, it would be possible to implement most of the suggested changes. (The criticisms made with respect to the assigned readings have already been implemented.) With respect to the examination administered to students, the results suggest that the instructional objectives have been substantially met. The instructor, one of the writers, and the evaluator all served as raters (independently of each other) and reached essentially the same conclusions with respect to the success of the instructional program. Two representative examination papers are included [Appendix E].

Recommendations

(a) Conduct several additional field tests, using the entire set of materials. Neither Test I [which used only the school descriptions and "You Can't Teach Me Because . . ."] nor Test II [which used only the school descriptions, "Bureaucratic and Organic Structures," "Formal and Emergent Roles," and a much curtailed reading list] constituted an adequate field test.

(b) Conduct the additional field tests at different sites. The two samples used may very well have been representative [but not randomly chosen] of one geographic stratum of the population, but they were certainly neither randomly chosen from, nor even representative of, other strata of the population, geographic or otherwise.

(c) Conduct the additional field tests with different instructional personnel. There is, at present, no evidence that the course is transportable, nor that the materials are self-contained.

(d) Prepare an accessing system for the raw field notes. Given an adequate index to them, they would constitute an invaluable data bank for researchers not already familiar with them. At present, only the project personnel know how to locate the field notes they need.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

While the objectives of this phase of the research program were product rather than knowledge oriented, there are a number of interesting generalizations which emerged in all three schools:

1. School Size as a Factor in Socialization

One of the most frequent factors which surfaced throughout the year as we compared field notes from the three schools was the effect of size on the socialization process in the schools. Sheridan, which was far larger than either Sheffield or Green Valey, seems to be a qualitatively different social environment from the other two schools as much as a result of its size as its urban location. In both of the other schools, for example, the sorting process operates as it does elsewhere in society as a mechanism for categorizing individuals into convenient "groupings" to reduce the effort required to discriminate among numbers of individuals. In both Green Valley and Sheffield, this process centers around behavioral characteristics ("jocks," "freaks," "good students," etc.) At Sheridan, however, there are so many students that only gross sorting into racial groupings seems operative. Thus, Chinese students are "good" students while Black students are not. Similarly, school size seems to have some effect on the socialization process itself as it operates within the school. In each of the schools we

found that there are a variety of socialization patterns involving different levels and segments of the school population. While it is customary to speak of the socialization of the students, it is, of course, a transactional function since teachers are socialized to the school, to the adult networks and to students as well. Once again we found that at Sheridan, because of its size, the socialization function is at once more restricted--that is, sub-units within the school rather than the school itself serve as the environmental base for socialization--and yet the pressures for conformity for teachers is stronger since physical security is a much stronger force here. There are enough other characteristics of size that, although the structural differences between small schools and big schools have been described in other literatures, we feel that an important focus for the second period of field work should be the question of optimal size groups for a variety of teaching, learning, value orienting, socialization structuring and similar groupings. The following dimensions seem pertinent:

- a. number of students
- b. budget of school
- c. complexity
 - 1. organizational structure
 - 2. number of communities students were drawn from
 - 3. external complexity--how it is part of a district
- d. number of square miles of district
- e. feeder schools--number and size
- f. population density
- g. staff size and role patterns

- h. average class size
- i. scheduling complexity
- j. course offerings
 - 1. hierarchical by level
 - 2. lateral by course variety

2. The "Culture" of the High School

When we first undertook this research program, we hypothesized that "there are within the typical high school two distinct cultures, that of the adults and that of the youth and that the dissonance between these cultures is at the heart of the failure of the high school." Further, we made the assumption that "the discovery of mediation points between these two cultures is an important area for further research." As a result of our field experience, we now feel convinced that the "two cultures" notion is an appealing but inaccurate view of the social structure of high schools, at least of the three high schools we have been observing. We have found that the concepts of individual resources and resource negotiation as they operate in classical exchange theory better describe what we have seen as operative in the schools. The structure of the school determines the ability of any one person within that school--whether adult or child--to negotiate his role within that system. Thus, as we illustrated elsewhere, students negotiate a role for themselves in relation to other students, to teachers, and, in general, to all of the activities of the school. In Sheffield, where individualized instruction has become an important school goal, this process is most visible in classroom situations where the

student is expected to negotiate an individual "contract" with the teacher, thus changing the classroom process from a continuing, informal, group to teacher negotiation to a formal one-to-one negotiation. As a result, the mediation points between student and teachers seem not to involve conflicting adult-child cultures and are less subject to group processes and more oriented to individual performance schedules.

3. Structural Dimensions of the High School

Throughout the three years of field work, it became increasingly obvious that the usual dimensions of school structure--adult-child, administration, teaching staff, students and community, curriculum, teaching, and so on--are not appropriate as categories within which to examine the social organization of the high school. From the field experience we developed three dimensions--sorting, territoriality and rule making and rule breaking--as behavioral foci through which social organization can be examined. As we indicated earlier, these dimensions operate within the school to organize behavior and it is within them that mediation points may be found. Again, these are negotiation points centering around individual resources of teachers and students. Thus, a student "sorted" as a "good student" is differentially allowed to negotiate both territorial rights and his adherence to the formal and informal rules of the school.

4. The Rule Structure of the High School

One of the most promising areas for further investigation is the rule structure of the high school. In all three schools we were able to identify the "charter" of the school, those formal rules and directives

which emanate from federal and state regulations and guidelines, administrative directives, teachers' contract negotiations, in effect, all of the behavioral requirements imposed on the school. We found that this charter is in many ways a latent set of rules and that there is no group in the school, not students, not teachers, and not even administrators that sees it as operationally effective. Generally, it operates as a repository of authority and we found numerous examples in each of the schools where this charter is ignored, superseded or adapted to fit the reality of the school. If this charter is considered the authority structure of the school, then an interesting question is what is the opposing structure of rules which mediates it so as to establish the parameters of acceptable/not acceptable behavior. There are a number of ideological domains from which this "counter charter" seems to be drawn. To some extent it comes from community pressures, at least in Green Valley and in Sheffield. At Sheridan, despite its location in a highly volatile community where educational issues are paramount, its administrative separation from the local community school board and the dispersion of its feeder schools insulates and isolates it from the community. The counter-charter also comes from youth culture, from teacher militancy, from a sense that the day-to-day life of the school is not easily subject to regulation and regularizing and a number of other counter pressures. In all three schools there is an observable process by which the charter is renegotiated on an almost daily basis. Behavior is allowed to drift from the charter requirements until some crisis, some new issue or some conflict arises and then the administration of the school has a "charter crack-down," attempting to re-establish the authority structure. Yet, there are also

numerous examples of where this re-imposition of authority was unsuccessful because behavioral standards had "drifted" too far from the charter to be re-directed. In the next period of field work, we plan to identify this "counter charter" in terms of its origins and operation. We are hypothesizing that this behavioral structure is the school equivalent of myth and ritual and that it can be subject to the same analytic processes once it has been identified.

Recommendations

1. After three years of field experience, we are convinced that the use of field work perspectives and methodologies is an important and promising approach to the study of schools and of education. Moreover, we feel that this perspective will provide an important new dimension for both the study of education and for the preparation of educators.

2. In our own field experience and as a result of reviewing the work of others, we continue to sense that methodological and conceptual knowledge in the area of anthropology and education is in need of considerable development. Thus, we propose to continue with the development of the conceptual glossary (part of which has been included in this report) and to further develop our field manual both as a basis for replication studies and as a methodological introduction for educators.

3. One of the unanticipated side effects of the first year of study, and one which persisted in diminishing degree throughout the program, was some experience with the problems as well as the promise of team research in the anthropological study of schools. Team research has not been a frequent mode in anthropology and the problems of distinctive styles an individual

problem orientation deserve some special analysis. Specifically, we plan to prepare some specific protocols on such problems for dissemination as part of the field manual.

4. On the basis of the evaluation of the training materials, a number of recommendations were made by the evaluator as well; they are:

(a) Conduct several additional field tests, using the entire set of materials. Neither Test I [which used only the school descriptions and "You Can't Teach Me Because . . ."] nor Test II [which used only the school descriptions, "Bureaucratic and Organic Structures," "Formal and Emergent Roles," and a much curtailed reading list] constituted an adequate field test of the total system as a complete unit. Since there were different students in each of the field tests, there is no experience with the total system with the same class.

(b) Conduct the additional field tests at different sites. The two samples used may very well have been representative [but not randomly chosen] of one geographic stratum of the population, but they were certainly neither randomly chosen from, nor even representative of, other strata of the population, geographic or otherwise.

(c) Conduct the additional field tests with different instructional personnel. There is, at present, no evidence that the course is transportable, nor that the materials are self-contained.

(d) Prepare an accessing system for the raw field notes. Given an adequate index to them, they would constitute an invaluable data bank for researchers not already familiar with them. At present, only the project personnel know how to locate the field notes they need.

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