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Differential Socialization in the Classroom: Implications for Equal Opportunity

Introduction

This chapter suggests ways in which the use of an anthropological framework can throw new light on our thinking about the possibility of attaining equal opportunity through education and our thinking about methods appropriate to reaching this goal. The chapter presents results obtained in an ethnographic study of equal opportunity in the classroom, along with the underlying assumptions, methodology, research design, and techniques used in the study. In particular, it explores ways in which children are socialized for adult work roles by teachers in the classroom. The study asks whether

I would like to express my deep appreciation for the contribution made by Pia Moriarty to all phases of the work reported here. Her creativity, intelligence, and insight have been of inestimable value. I would also like to thank Henry Levin for reviewing and commenting on the manuscript throughout several stages of its development and to acknowledge gratefully the support of the Center for Economic Studies, Harvard University, and National Institute of Education Grant #G-00-3-0205.

children are given equal opportunity to learn skills and attitudes appropriate to a wide variety of work roles, or if instead only a small segment of work-related skills and attitudes is transmitted to particular groups of children. It focuses especially on the effect of student social class on patterns of socialization for work roles in the classroom, and investigates whether or not children are socialized differently according to their social class background.

The design of the study emerged from a conviction that much of the writing about education and equal opportunity in the U.S. is grounded in some serious misconceptions about the role of schools in society and about the role of the teacher in the classroom.

Speaking within an anthropological framework, it is crucial to keep in mind that schooling is a social institution with a key role in socializing children for *available* adult roles. Schools are not set up to socialize children for membership in some ideal society; they are set up to socialize children for membership in their own society as it currently exists and as it is likely to exist in the near future. This is not to say that there is no room at all for change, for innovation, or for ideals in education, but that to expect an institution responsible for child socialization to depart radically from the needs of the culture as currently constituted is to expect a culture to commit suicide.

The conception of schools as primary *transmitters* of culture is very different from the conception common in the United States of schools as *reformers* of culture. A view of the school as transmitter of culture has interesting implications for the issue of equal opportunity in education.

As transmitters of culture, schools need to ensure that children are satisfactorily prepared to assume adult work roles. Imagine the fate of the culture if students graduated from schools, wandered into work places, and started tearing up concrete floors with jackhammers because they wanted to be farmers instead! Or imagine what would happen if students felt they could only take orders from their mothers, fathers, and other relatives, not from some stranger called the "boss" whom they had never met before in their lives. In countless ways which are taken for granted, children emerge from the institutions of socialization ready to step into the work place in a minimally disruptive manner.

One fundamental characteristic of adult work roles in the culture of the United States is that these roles are highly differentiated and stratified. Horatio Alger myths aside, it is a rare person in this day and age who spends substantial portions of his or her work life at drastically different levels of the stratified work place. To be a properly socialized person in this culture, one has to be willing at least to tolerate one's place at a particular level in the work hierarchy, and to have the skills and capabilities appropriate to that level. The school becomes an institution which is crucial in differentiating students, in allocating them to one level or another, and in socializing them to perform adequately in and at least minimally accept their place.

In short, the school is a social institution upon which the culture places highly contradictory expectations. Receiving most obvious attention is the expectation that schools will maximize social equality by promoting equal

opportunity; less obvious is the expectation that schools will maximize social differentiation by allocating persons to positions in a differentiated and stratified work force (Brookover and Erickson 1975:105).

Given that, from a structural-functional perspective, the school is heavily involved in differentiating students, on what basis is this differentiation likely to take place? Much of the educational literature proposes or assumes that schools are able to sort out individual differences in an equitable and neutral fashion (*Harvard Educational Review* 1968, Special Issue on Equal Educational Opportunity; McMurrin 1971). The indigenous image of this process is that the child is born with an innate academic potential which can be "divined" by watchful parents and teachers (Fischer 1963) and which is expected to be indicative of all future skills, abilities, and successes. An elaborate ritual procedure of testing, grading, and ranking accompanies this belief, and is conducted in such a way as to emphasize the neutrality and objectivity of the process.

In fact, the person most intimately involved with this testing and grading process, the teacher, is a cultural being who is operating in a cultural context—a swirling constellation of forces in which it is humanly and culturally impossible to be "neutral." There is considerable evidence that teachers label and form expectations of children with regard to their individual ability on the basis of the child's membership in particular groups, the most obvious of which are social class, sex, and ethnicity (Rist 1970, Leacock 1969, Brophy and Good 1970).

This chapter suggests that teachers socialize children differentially for work roles based on the teacher's perception of these roles and the social class of the children's parents. This does not appear to happen intentionally or consciously, but rather virtually without plot or plan, in a series of actions woven throughout the fabric of day-to-day life in the classroom.

What teacher behavior can be seen to constitute socialization for adult work roles? Background reading and research about the economic structure and organization of the United States, including characteristics of work roles at various levels of the occupational hierarchy, provided a series of concepts and constructs to be drawn upon in operationalizing the concept of socialization for work roles in the classroom. They did not provide a ready-made set of characteristics which could be taken to the classroom and simply checked off as absent or present. A great effort was made in the research I will report shortly to build a picture of behavior constituting socialization for work roles out of the teachers' own construction of the work process in the classroom. However, the knowledge gained through background reading and research was extremely helpful in interpreting the significance of the teachers' activity.

Three general dimensions for analyzing classroom interaction emerged as a result of the combined process of background research and on-site observation. The dimensions consisted of (1) cognitive or skill requirements for different jobs, including self-presentation skills; (2) the relationship to authority at different levels of the work hier-

archy; and (3) self-image and general level of work-related expectations suitable for different positions.

The most common view of the way in which schools prepare and sort students for work roles is through the teaching and testing of cognitive skills. This view is grounded in a conception of the work place known as the "human capital model" (Becker 1967, Mincer 1970). According to this model, employers are willing to pay more for people with greater amounts of "human capital," "human capital" being a rather vague term referring to cognitive skills, the "capacity to learn," and certain technical skills as well. It is seen to be acquired through investment in education as well as on-the-job training. Consistent with this view, the role of the school is seen as teaching cognitive skills and evaluating and differentiating pupils according to how well they have learned these skills, or according to their general ability. Parsons' (1959) statement that the primary factor underlying the child's opportunity for achievement is his or her individual ability also exemplifies the "human capital" perspective on the role which schools play with respect to the work place.

Skills in self-presentation can also be thought of as acquired in the classroom and related to work role characteristics at various levels of the work hierarchy. A person's work role has been linked to the presentation of self in both the popular and the scholarly domain (Goffman 1959). A mention of the roles of used car salesman, hard hat, lawyer, or doctor, for example, brings to mind images of particular styles of self-presentation. As Bowles and Gintis point out:

> [Individuals who have attained a certain educational level tend to] ... acquire manners of speech and demeanor more or less socially acceptable and appropriate to their level. As such, they are correspondingly valuable to employers interested in preserving and reproducing the status differences on which the legitimacy and stability of the hierarchical division of labor is based. [1976:141]

Appropriate manners of speech and demeanor vary according to the level of the job hierarchy at which one is placed. For example, at the professional and managerial level there is a need to participate in discussions in a culturally defined "articulate" and "confident" manner to a much greater degree than at the lower levels. Production and service workers are far less likely to find themselves called upon to become involved in extended discourse in the upper-middle-class style as a criterion for adequate job performance.

There is substantial evidence that the cognitive aspect of job performance and therefore of schooling has been greatly overemphasized. Bowles and Gintis (1976) summarize a body of literature which suggests that cognitive ability, as measured by IQ, is not the crucial variable associated with educational achievement and satisfactory on-the-job performance. They stress the importance of a number of "personality" factors, one of which can be described in terms of one's relationship to authority at different levels of the work hierarchy.

Kohn (1967) distinguishes jobs at the lower level of the hierarchy, which he perceives as being characterized by external requirements, rules, regulations, and routine, from those at the higher

levels, which he sees as requiring that employees internalize norms that are consistent with the goals of the organization. He suggests that workers at the lower levels are expected to accept the direction of external authority, while those at the higher levels are expected to show independence in their judgments and base their work behavior upon internalized values and motivation. In other words, it is presumed that employees in lower level jobs must be motivated and directed by structures *external* to themselves, while those at higher levels are presumed to be "self-directed" by *internal* motivations that correspond to organizational needs. Kohn's (1967) distinction is supported by a number of more recent theoretical and empirical studies (Gintis 1971, Bowles and Gintis 1976, Edwards 1976).

Looking at these traits in terms of schooling, one would expect to find that socialization for jobs in the lower portions of the work hierarchy would involve the use of *externally imposed* methods of motivating students to behave in ways that the teacher or school considers appropriate. Socialization for higher level roles, on the other hand, would involve teaching students to *internalize* and identify with the norms and requirements of the school so as to be "self-directing" within that context.

A third general dimension along which schools can be seen to prepare students for future work roles is self-image, that is, one's sense of personal capability and likely future role. Meyer (1970), in his review of the literature on anticipatory socialization (the tendency for people to become what society as a whole appears to expect of them), suggests that schools may indeed create pupil self-images that correspond to expected future roles. He notes that the likelihood of an individual's acquiring the attributes of a given position in society is directly related to whether he or she is socially perceived as likely to acquire that position. The work of Sennett and Cobb (1972), who conducted in-depth interviews with American workers, also suggests a link between the experience of oneself in school and future work roles.

These three dimensions emerged and jelled during the process of data gathering and analysis. I will now describe briefly the research design—an ethnographic approach to the study of socialization for adult work roles in the classroom.

The Research Design

In order to study the effects of student social class background, or parental work role, on patterns of socialization for work roles within the classroom, two classrooms were selected for study, one in each of two schools located in neighborhoods which contrasted according to social class. Given the homogeneous character of urban and suburban neighborhoods in the contemporary United States, it was virtually impossible to find a single neighborhood containing within it substantial differences in social class of the residents. The study therefore took a form which is known in anthropology as a controlled comparison, in which an attempt is made to research more than one site, holding all variables as con-

stant as possible except the one which is the independent variable under study (Nadel 1952; Nader 1964).

The typical research design in the field of social class and education has involved an implicit or explicit comparison between middle- or upper-middle-class white schools and lower-class minority schools (Herriott 1966; Conant 1961). While the educational problems of minorities have certainly merited this attention, this contrast tends to be unrepresentative of the social majority. The majority of people in the United States are neither wealthy nor poor. "Mainstream" differences are most likely to be noted within the "middle income" range. This study sought to compare the experiences of students in this middle range by selecting schools located in a lower-middle-class and an upper-middle-class community.

The study took two different but intimately related focuses. One was interaction *within* the classroom—in particular, teacher socialization behavior in the classroom. The other focus was *outside* the classroom, in the belief that, since the classroom is intimately embedded within a social context, knowledge of that social context will further understanding of interaction within the classroom. Spindler underlines the importance of interpreting the various levels of meaning involved in social interaction:

> The manifest content of any interaction set may be quite clear to the participants within it, but the latent, or implicit, content may be virtually undetected in a direct, conscious sense. It is the anthropologist's job to try to expose this implicit level in his or her interpretation of behavior and its consequences.... The anthropologist records and analyzes the data in a continuous search for the underlying principles of organization, the undeclared meaning and functions of behavior in both verbal and non-verbal dimensions. [1963:8–9]

This interpretive process cannot be carried out effectively without an adequate understanding of the social and cultural context in which interaction takes place (Sindell 1969, Wax and Wax 1971, Leacock 1969).

Looking Outward: The Social Context of the Classroom

I will first describe the way in which the social context of the classroom was conceptualized. Classrooms can be thought of as embedded within a series of concentric circles representing aspects of the social and cultural environment in which interaction within the classroom takes place. Beginning from the outside, each circle can be thought of as influencing all those contained within it. Of course, there is also likely to be some degree of influence moving in the other direction, and inter-influence between the various levels. A sophisticated model of the situation would be covered with arrows going every which way. However, the strongest direction of influence is assumed to be from the outside in, or from macro structures to micro interactions. This is in accordance with the conception stated earlier that education is primarily a process of cultural transmission.

The research design involved a series of plans constructed to gather data on each of the various aspects of the socio-

cultural context represented by the ellipses in Figure 1. Obviously, it would not be possible to obtain in one study a full understanding of all the dynamics at work within each level and between all levels. However, some knowledge was considered to be better than none, and time was devoted to gathering data at each of the levels represented in the diagram. It is important to note here that the details of the diagram were not determined prior to the beginning of the study, but emerged as the study took place. What existed to begin with was a theoretical appreciation of the importance of the social context; the specific definitions of the social context emerged from the data during the course of the research.

Space does not allow a detailed description of the kind of data collected with respect to each ellipse in the diagram. I will rely on the data presented later in the chapter on the social context of the classroom to stand as indicative of the kinds of data gathered and the methods used at each level. Needless to say, the approach was one of in-depth participant observation, focused particularly around the three dimensions outlined earlier. It seems crucial, however, to describe a bit more fully the design and methodology employed in studying what took place within the two classrooms themselves.

Looking Inward: Interaction Within the Classroom

Two basic premises guided research within the classroom. One was that we wished to achieve a lengthy and intimate contact with the classroom while minimizing the degree to which our

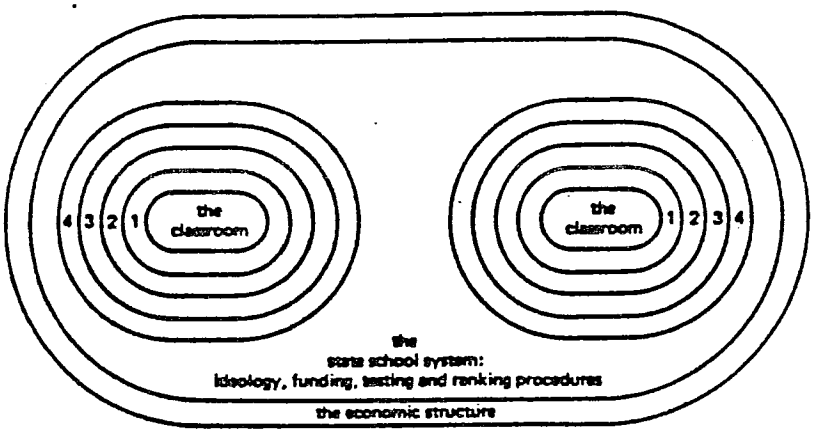

Figure 1 Levels of the sociocultural context.

presence affected interactions among people there.[1] The other was that we wished to avoid as much as possible coming into the classroom with a predetermined idea of how teachers socialized children for work roles. We wished instead to become involved in a very open-ended observation of the teachers' own construction of the work process in the classroom, so that the socialization patterns we would eventually define would be as truly indigenous to the classroom as possible.

In line with the first premise, we planned on spending at least a three-month period in the classroom, during which we would become familiar with all the ins and outs of how the teacher constructed the process of daily life in the classroom. We did not become actively involved in taking responsibility within the classroom, preferring to retain an observer's role. The level of experience and confidence of the teacher seemed very important in enabling close contact with the observer while minimizing alteration of teacher behavior. Both of the teachers selected for the study were very experienced and appeared to have a great deal of confidence in their teaching ability. This seemed to make it possible for them to tolerate extended amounts of very close observation.

Designing Instruments for Observation

Operationalizing the concept of socialization for work roles within the classroom was obviously the key task of the study. Note again that this was done only in general ways before classroom observation began. Within the classroom, a lengthy process was begun which involved paying strict attention to the details of classroom life while drawing upon the literature relating to social class and work roles to interpret these details and to construct patterns out of them, at the same time preserving the details of classroom interaction in themselves in order to have them available for continuing analysis. We expected our understanding of classroom interaction to grow fuller and fuller and probably to change over time. Having the data continuingly available in as "raw" a state as possible would enable us to go back over it with a fresh perspective as many times as we wished.

We began the first few days by simply writing down everything we noticed while we were in the classrooms. We worked together, alternating daily, one of us observing the teacher while the other observed the children. We put together a basic sense of the structure of the school day, work routines, and norms and values in the classroom, and then constructed working observation schedules which were used throughout the course of classroom observations. Each day observations were conducted that focused on one of the three categories: (1) the discipline and values taught through the teacher's control scheme; (2) the role of the student in the classroom, with special emphasis on the nature and amount of child participation and self-presentation; and (3) presentation of academic subject-matter.

At least 12 hours were devoted to intensive observation of behavior in each category in each of the two classrooms. We also conducted additional observa-

tions in one or another of the three categories, with primary focus on the teacher in the more teacher-centered classroom (Huntington) and on the children in the classroom where children were permitted to interact more freely (Smith). In addition, in order to ascertain whether behavior in the first-grade classrooms that we had selected was consistent with that found in other classrooms in the two schools, we visited the other first-grade classroom, as well as a third-grade and sixth-grade classroom in each school. In total, we devoted almost 56 hours to observations of Mrs. Newman's class and 17 hours to other classrooms at Huntington School, while observing Mrs. Jones' class and other classrooms at Smith School for 106 hours and 16 hours respectively. The observations were conducted over the last four months of the 1974–1975 school year.

Over time, we were able to construct satisfactory coding schemes for the types of behavior in which we were particularly interested. These will be explained shortly. Although in our initial observations we used a team approach in which we either carried out joint observation or exchanged observation sites, the data that were used for the classroom analysis were collected by one observer in each classroom. While the presence of observer bias cannot be ruled out, an analysis of parallel codings by the two observers for the same classroom for a full day's notes pointed to an acceptable level of inter-observer reliability (.91). In essence, our observations involved taking extensive verbatim notes on the various behaviors being studied, as well as making audio recordings of some classroom activities. The notes were analyzed and converted to statistically manipulable data on the basis of the coding scheme that we had developed. During the course of the classroom observations, in which classrooms were being observed individually, the two observers met at least once a week to maintain close coordination of their efforts and to insure that the focus of observations was remaining congruent. (See Whiting's [1966] discussion of the importance of this process in a study involving fieldworkers in different sites.)

The working observation schedules were used throughout the course of classroom observations. They provided the raw material which was sifted through again and again throughout the process of analyzing and interpreting the data. Because of space limitations, we will describe this process only as it took place with the observation schedules recording teacher *control* of the work process in the classroom. It provides the most complex, and we think interesting, example of the process of analysis and interpretation. The coding scheme that we constructed represented an attempt to reduce a prodigious set of notes and recordings to a data set that was analyzable, while minimizing the loss of relevant information.

The hundreds of pages of observation schedules regarding control in the classroom were read over time and time again in order to identify recurring patterns of control. Frequently heard statements, recurring ways of structuring work situations, ways of rewarding and punishing, were noted and tabulated. This process produced a set of 83 basic categories of control-ori-

ented teacher behavior which we felt summarized as fully as possible the modes of teacher behavior in this area in both classrooms. (See Appendix A.) It is very important to note that these categories only emerged after a long period of intense immersion in the classroom. It would have been impossible to produce them ahead of time. Their strength is that they are tailored precisely to reflect and capture socialization patterns *in these two classrooms*. They abstract from the mass of daily interactions, yet are still sensitively attuned to them.

One important aspect of the coding scheme is that all interactions were categorized in terms of a *strategy* and a *message*. *Strategy* can be viewed as the form of approach that the teacher uses to communicate, while *message* refers to the teacher's form of control (e.g., whether she gives reasons for her directives or simply issues them as commands). Messages were intended to capture the content of control, the generalized values taught in each classroom, particularly those relating to the dimension under study. This strategy/message distinction blurs occasionally, but we found it to be a useful tool for conceptualizing and recording patterns of interaction in the classroom.

These 83 coding categories provided a very rich data base, accurate in its detailed reproduction of teacher socialization patterns but rendered unwieldy because of it. Consequently, after a careful analysis of patterns revealed by the coding scheme, the observations were reclassified into a streamlined external system which seemed relevant to this inquiry and could reasonably represent the more detailed information which had been gathered. This reclassification was based on three contrasting pairs of variables:

- internal or external source of responsibility
- present or future orientation
- academic or behavioral application

Each interaction recorded on the initial observation sheets was coded according to the 83-category scheme, and was then recoded into the simplified reclassification scheme. A complete account of the manner in which the 83-category scheme was reorganized into the three simplified groups is in Appendix B.

An interaction was defined as a complete verbal transaction around a control-oriented event between a teacher and a child or between a teacher and a group of children. An interaction might contain one sentence or several. Each interaction, or transaction, could be coded by up to three categories; that is, it could include up to three strategies and three messages. More than three were never necessary. It was not difficult to judge the boundaries of disciplinary interactions, as they did not extend over long periods of time, or to judge what was and was not a control-oriented event.

Thus it was possible to compute a score for each child reflecting the number of interactions that child had with the teacher in the area of each of the coding categories and the three groups of recoded variables. This score reflected the percentage of total observed interactions between that child and the teacher that contained at least one occurrence of a given variable. Tests were

run on these scores to determine whether a comparison of the average numbers of interactions of particular types between the two classrooms would yield statistically significant differences. These comparisons were based upon interactions involving 20 children at Huntington and 25 at Smith. The three midyear transferees at Smith were excluded from the data analysis. A total of 1,080 interactions were recorded between the teachers and these 45 children, 571 at Huntington and 509 at Smith. An arc sine transformation (Eisenhart 1947) was performed in order to normalize the distribution of the scores for purposes of statistical comparison. Analyses were based upon comparisons of the average number of interactions of particular types present in the two classrooms, the two sexes, ability groups, and ethnic groups.

The statistical results reported in this chapter are based upon a two-way analysis of variance of these scores, testing the relative effects of the independent variables by themselves (such as sex or classroom) as well as when other statistical effects are controlled (for example, sex and ability group taken together). The significance figures reported are derived from an analysis of variance which controls for sex, ability group, and ethnic group and makes an adjustment for the different numbers of children in each classroom.[2]

The coding scheme as finally fashioned was at a high level of abstraction from the original data. It therefore allowed the data to be manipulated relatively easily for the purpose of data analysis. At the same time, the original words of the teachers and the intermediate coding scheme remained available to allow for continuing clarification and reinterpretation.

The Sites Selected for Study

Several criteria were used in the selection of neighborhoods, schools, and classrooms appropriate for the study. As mentioned earlier, the research design called for choosing one school in a lower-middle-class neighborhood and another in an upper-middle-class neighborhood. In addition, I wished to select schools in which the principal and school district personnel were at least minimally receptive to the creation of the kinds of extensive personal contacts with school staff and parents called for by the research design. Given the delicate nature of many school-community relationships, this criterion was to prove fairly demanding. I also wished to find teachers who were respected, experienced, and well integrated into their respective schools and districts.

It was decided that the schools selected would be elementary schools and that the classrooms would be first-grade classrooms. The first-grade level was chosen in order to capture differences in the educational process at an early stage of formal education, thereby minimizing the influence of later factors which may affect both teachers' and students' expectations of relevant educational and occupational futures.

A major metropolitan area in California was selected as an appropriate locale in which to look for specific research sites. Neither the exact locations selected nor the schools and teachers themselves will be identified further,

because of the schools' concerns about confidentiality.

The first step in the search for two appropriate classrooms involved an examination of 1970 Census data to determine appropriate lower-middle-class and upper-middle-class sites in the metropolitan area in question. This examination yielded a number of potential sites for each type of school and classroom, and permission was obtained from the appropriate school authorities to observe classrooms in 10 different schools. After a careful screening of 31 classrooms in these schools, the two schools that were used as the basis for this study were selected according to the criteria outlined previously. For the sake of preserving confidentiality, the lower-middle-class school will be referred to as Smith Elementary School, and the upper-middle-class school will be called Huntington Elementary School.

The principals at the two schools selected the particular teachers and classrooms in which they wished the observations to take place. The teachers they selected fit the criteria defined by the research design in many ways: both were a comfortable part of their respective worlds, both were highly regarded by colleagues, both had taught for more than 10 years, and both were willing to participate in the study. They will be referred to as Mrs. Jones (Smith Elementary School) and Mrs. Newman (Huntington Elementary School).

While a comparison between only two classrooms does not permit great generalizability, the richness of an in-depth ethnographic approach allows the potential of collecting a wealth of data at a high level of validity, an important concern in an exploratory study of this kind (Rist 1977). A summary of results of data gathered in this exploratory ethnographic study of socialization for work roles in the classroom will now be presented.

Ethnographic Results: Socialization for Work Roles in the Two Classrooms

Description of the Two Schools [3]

The two schools selected for the study are located in suburban communities of between 50,000 and 100,000 in population. Both communities lie near a major urban center in California. The communities are situated approximately nine miles apart in a county described in a local publication as a "rapidly growing and dynamic region ... possessing tremendous assets in industry, educational facilities. geography and climate."

Smith Elementary School is located in a lower-middle-class area of Valley City, on a street lined with modest tract homes of the 1950s West Coast style. The following passage from a book about the American white majority describes at least the male inhabitants of Smith's neighborhoods well:

> "He is the ordinary employee in the factory and in the office," says Robert C. Wood. Comprising half the nation's families, "he forms the bulk of the nation's working force. He makes five to ten thousand dollars a year; he has a wife and two children; owns a house in town—between the ghetto and the suburbs or perhaps in a *low cost subdivision*

> *on the urban fringe*; and he owes plenty in installment debts on his car and appliances. He finds his tax burden heavy, his neighborhood services poor...." [Howe 1970:4] (italics added)

A school district socioeconomic profile of Smith's attendance area describes the neighborhood as a "stable blue collar area." A description of the neighborhood prepared by the school's Parents' Advisory Council speaks of a multicultural community with average to less-than-average incomes, some military families, and moderate transiency. The majority of the Smith community is Caucasian, with a sprinkling of Chicano, Filipino, and Samoan families. A simple 15-minute drive separates Smith from Huntington, but the economic and social distance between the two neighborhoods is clearly evident. Huntington Elementary School serves a virtually all-white upper-middle-class neighborhood—Hillview. Instead of small tract houses showing signs of age, there are large, stately houses, architecturally individualized and surrounded by lush but immaculately groomed landscaping. A recent school district publication offers the observations of one four-year resident about the character of the community:

> In Hillview, everything works... And the Hillview resident works too. In the main, he's a professional or management person....
>
> It's the Doctor Dentist Lawyer who divides his rare free time between his kids and the Tax Shelter Specialist. Mrs. Doctor Dentist Lawyer is very active in the PTA...
>
> If there's anything [Hillview] people do in larger measure than most communities, it's meet. Meet to plan meetings. Meet to plan strategy to get their side heard at the Meeting. Meet to figure out how to avoid Meetings. Meet about school.... And if we can't Meet, we write the Editor. Thoughtful, impassioned letters...
>
> We don't seem overly concerned about our cars. They're relatively new. They work. That's enough.... Bikes we have in abundance. And we ride them. To work, with briefcase on the rear fender. To school in wheeled packs. To overcrowded tennis courts in our new whites. Using our generous bike lanes like conspicuous consumers.
>
> So here's what I see in Hillview: an intelligent, wealthy group of family-oriented individuals who want a happy, productive life for themselves and their children. They're active in seeking change for all society, but they are not driven to effect it. And they resist change that will ruffle their lives. Things are great as they are....

Teacher estimates of parental occupation at the two schools (Table 1), submitted to the State of California as part of a state testing program, provide a reasonable approximation of the contrasts in occupational level between the two schools. Along with this difference in occupational level is a difference in level of education and, of course, income. Table 2 summarizes the contrast in years of education of parents of children in the two classrooms under study, as reported in parent interviews. Census figures for the two neighborhoods give contrasting incomes of approximately $9,850 at Smith and $14,550 at Huntington in 1970. Of course both these figures need to be adjusted upward to allow for inflation since 1970.

Characteristics of the schools reflect

TABLE 1 **Teachers' Estimate of Occupational Level of Parents**

Type of Occupation	Huntington	Smith
Professional	93%	4%
Semiprofessional, technical	3%	31%
Skilled and semiskilled	3%	56%
Unskilled	1%	7%
Unknown	—	1%

the contrast between the two neighborhoods. School spending for the 1973–1974 school year was approximately $840 per student in Smith's school district as compared to $1,350 in Huntington's. This difference in available resources translates into a series of other differences in the school environment. The median teacher salary in Huntington's district in 1973–1974 was approximately $16,200, as compared to $12,800 in Smith's district. The size of the two first-grade classrooms is indicative of average class sizes: about 28 pupils in the Smith classroom as compared to about 20 at Huntington.

Differences in demographic characteristics and economic resources are linked with differences in median achievement levels of pupils in the two schools. Smith second-grade pupils scored slightly below the 70th percentile on state reading tests in 1975, while Huntington second graders scored slightly below the 100th percentile. While Smith's neighborhood is a bit below the state median in terms of its socioeconomic characteristics, its achievement scores are above the state median in the early grades. This may reflect the fact that the district's economic resources are also above the median, because of a high concentration of profitable industry as part of its tax base. The data on achievement scores should serve to remind the reader that the populations under comparison lie in different portions of the middle class.

The physical appearance of the two schools offers another element of contrast. Like the homes in the area, Smith School was built in the 1950s to absorb the increasing enrollments generated by the local tract developments that were providing postwar housing for workers. Smith School's spare and square concrete block architecture, few trees, and side lots filled with scrubby weeds all contribute to a less-than-inviting appearance. Huntington School, al-

TABLE 2 **Comparison of Parents' Level of Education**

All Parents	Advanced Degree	College Graduate	Some College	H.S. Graduate	Less than H.S. Graduate
Huntington (n = 37)	51%	24%	19%	6%	—
Smith (n = 38)	—	8%	18%	32%	42%

though considerably older than Smith, appears exceedingly well-groomed, with large expanses of windows reflecting the verdant growth of many trees and thick grass. The impression it offers is very much in tune with the affluence of the surrounding homes.

Mrs. Jones' First Grade

At Smith School, in-depth observations were carried out in Mrs. Jones' first-grade classroom. Though only in her thirties, Mrs. Jones had already taught for 10 years at the primary level, including five years in the first grade. She knew the neighborhood well, having grown up nearby and graduated from the local public high school. Other members of the school staff appeared to respect her highly as a teacher. As the principal commented:

> . . . she is excellent without a doubt. . . . She does interesting and different things in her classroom, and offers a lot of enrichment. . . . She's a very professional person; she's constantly trying to improve herself as an educator. I think that people in the community think that she's a good teacher for their child to get.

It was clear that she took her job seriously and devoted a great deal of time and energy to devising interesting activities for her students.

A maximum of 28 students attended Mrs. Jones' class during the year, with five children leaving and five others entering between September and March, the month in which this study began. Four others left by June, reflecting the school's relatively high mobility rate. The ratio of boys to girls during most of the observations was 19 to 9, and was roughly the same as that in the other first-grade classroom at Smith.[4] Sixty-eight percent of the students were Caucasian, and the remaining 32 percent were Chicanos (21 percent), Filipinos (7 percent), and Samoans (4 percent). All of the children spoke English and came from homes in which English was spoken, although a few spoke Spanish as well.

During the school day, the Smith classroom was relatively freeform, comfortable, and, at times, frenetic. The children were often spread out all over the room, engaged in different kinds of activities, some academically oriented, some not. Frequent movement of children between activities was accompanied by a rather high level of noise within the classroom. The room had a lot of inviting, open territory with many interesting things for the children to do. It was organized to facilitate small group activities, with the children seated around four large tables rather than at separate desks. Although there were times for whole-class academic activities, children also worked under a system of "contracts" in which teacher and student made individual agreements as to which of several sets of exercises would be completed each week. Class time varied between group activities and individual ones in which students would utilize the several resource stations or learning centers around the room.

Despite the individualized nature of the work, Mrs. Jones did not always require that work be done individually. She sometimes suggested ways in which the children could cooperate, and joint activities were expressly encouraged at the learning centers. The

children interacted almost constantly, circulating freely within the room, talking with each other and getting additional materials from supply cabinets kept open and within their reach. Classroom discipline was relatively loose, so that a child could easily switch from doing contracts to play without risking immediate correction from Mrs. Jones, who was likely to be occupied giving individual help to particular students. At such times, as well as at times when they had finished their work to the teacher's satisfaction, the children were free to play with each other. They often chose to play with one of the very popular rats who lived in a cage in the corner of the classroom, or to build elaborate tunnels across the floor with books that were shelved within easy reach.

Mrs. Newman's First Grade

If Mrs. Jones' classroom can be seen to represent the "open classroom" concept recently popular in the United States, Mrs. Newman's classroom brings to mind more traditional ideas about the educational process. Like most of the teachers at Huntington, Mrs. Newman was older and more experienced than Mrs. Jones and the other teachers at Smith. She had more than 20 years of classroom experience at the elementary school level, including eight at Huntington. While Mrs. Jones was still in the process of completing her requirements for a master's degree on a part-time basis at a nearby university, Mrs. Newman had long since obtained her master's degree from a far more prestigious institution.

Mrs. Newman had lived in the Huntington neighborhood even before joining the faculty, and her own children had attended Huntington. She was highly respected by parents and other members of the Huntington faculty. Parents whose older children had been in her classes requested her for their younger ones. The principal directed the observers to her classroom, saying, "She's one of the best."

Mrs. Newman's class was smaller than Mrs. Jones', with 10 boys and 10 girls for the greater part of the year. The basic overall stability of the neighborhood and the school was reflected by the fact that only one student transferred into or out of the class during the entire year. A great many of the children had attended kindergarten and even nursery school together. Other than two black males who were bused to Huntington from another neighborhood and one girl whose mother was from Central America, all of the children were Caucasian.

During the school day, the Huntington classroom was orderly, quiet, and productive. Desks were aligned in traditional rows and children worked by themselves, poring over assignments, moving quietly from their desks to resource materials that lined the room, only occasionally poking and playing with each other. Both Mrs. Newman's instruction and the organization of the classroom were structured so as to encourage independent cognitive work. Grouping of desks into clusters, as for art work or special projects, was quite rare.

It was a classroom in which everything had its place. During independent work times (comparable to contract times at Smith), some movement was allowed, but the style and scope of

movement was clearly restricted. Resources circulated from child to child, children circulated from resource to resource, but both returned to their proper places. Children's activities were generally limited to various academic options.

Mrs. Newman allowed very little to interfere with her objective of promoting independent academic work, calling interaction between children "bothering your friends." She stated repeatedly that interaction would prevent children from finishing their assignments and producing high-quality work and that play should be saved for the playground. She made her priorities clear:

> I don't think anybody really has time to look at the frogs now. I know Debbie has work to do. She has a whole SRA kit to keep her busy.
>
> You can color when you're finished, but don't spend so much time on coloring. I found out some of my good people are just spending their time coloring.

Mrs. Newman indicated a strong sense of professional responsibility to prepare children for future schooling and she stressed reading as the key to success. She kept the classroom consistently orderly and productive toward this end, and both good study habits and high academic standards were emphasized.

How representative are these two teachers and classrooms? This is a very difficult question to answer. Obviously, a sample size of two classrooms does not provide a basis for conclusive generalizations. Demographic data about the neighborhoods make it clear that they are quite suitable for a comparison of lower-middle-class and upper-middle-class communities. Differences in school resources and school mobility parallel this social class contrast. Tabulations resulting from 33 hours of observations in other classrooms in the two schools indicated that, while both Mrs. Jones and Mrs. Newman were unique individuals with a distinctive presence in the classroom, they were in line with other teachers in their schools in terms of the dimensions outlined earlier as relevant to the study.[5]

The amount of freedom given to the students, or the looseness of structure of the two classrooms, varied in a way which is contrary to what one would expect from a reading of the literature (Bowles and Gintis 1971, Binstock 1970). Typically, lower-class classrooms are described as having tighter discipline and control than upper-class classrooms. The results of the preliminary survey of 31 classrooms in the county conducted for this study convinced us that the two classrooms selected were not atypical in this respect. We observed no classrooms in Huntington-type neighborhoods which were structured as loosely as Mrs. Jones', although not all classrooms in Smith-type neighborhoods were structured equally loosely. The ambience in Mrs. Newman's classroom was quite similar to that in other upper-middle-class classrooms, even those specifically designated as "open" classrooms and taught by younger teachers. It is possible that the passage of time and the current popularity of the open classroom approach has changed the formal structure of many lower-middle-class classrooms. If so, this may have interesting ramifications in terms of changing pat-

terns of socialization for work roles. On the other hand, these findings may indicate the relative superficiality of the changes involved in the move to an open classroom structure. If these classrooms are somewhat atypical in terms of organizational structure, it is possible that this study's findings may tend to understate typical differences with respect to the relationship to authority in the classroom. Differences could be expected to be even more pronounced in a situation in which the lower-middle-class school was more tightly structured than the upper-middle-class school.

Relationship to Authority: Internal Versus External Control in the Two Classrooms

It was suggested earlier that an important distinction among jobs is the type of relationship to authority established to motivate the employee and assure adequate performance. Jobs in the lower portion of the work hierarchy appear to be characterized by the assumption that employees must be motivated and guided by work arrangements and supervision *external* to themselves, while it is presumed that in jobs at the upper levels of the hierarchy employees will be motivated by *internalized* norms and values that correspond to the needs of the enterprise. This is not to say that employees at the upper levels of the hierarchy are free to direct themselves as they see fit; on the contrary, it seems more appropriate to describe them as being

> by no means autonomous, self-actualizing and creatively self-directed. Rather, they are probably super-socialized so as to internalize authority and act without direct and continuous supervision to implement goals and objectives relatively alienated from their own personal needs. [Bowles and Gintis 1976:145]

The ultimate source of authority is in both cases external, yet the motivational scheme which actualizes the authority is quite different.

Accordingly, we hypothesized that if children are socialized by the school for work roles that are relatively similar to those of their parents, students at Smith would be more likely to be exposed to teacher behavior emphasizing external controls and rules, while those at Huntington would experience more teacher behavior attempting to inculcate the internalization of norms.

This hypothesis was fully developed and tested through a process of general observation as well as through a more elaborate scheme of quantification, as described earlier. The distinction between internal and external control grew to be conceptualized as one embodying both teacher expectations and the nature of responsibilities given to the children. In general, an internal reaction was viewed as one in which the teacher treated the child as a self-directed person who was capable of handling a process in an independent way and of choosing the consequences of his or her activity. It is an interaction in which the teacher places on the child responsibility to shape his or her activity in a manner that promotes or relies upon internalized values, self-images, standards, or goals. By contrast, an external interaction is one in which the teacher emphasizes that the child is to follow certain standard rules, proce-

dures, or directions to be set out by the teacher and made salient by his or her authority and direct power. In an internal interaction, the responsibility for compliance is placed on the child, while in an external interaction it is placed on the teacher.

External control proved to be the overriding control mechanism used by Mrs. Jones. In fact, the single most common strategy in evidence at Smith was the use of teacher commands. Mrs. Jones would simply order: "I want that done now" or "You have an assignment; sit down and get busy" or some similar command. The second most common strategy was the use of direct praise and blame, such as "That's good" or "No, that's not right," and so on, in which the teacher's opinion is a direct external sanction. Rule repetition was also common.

> You cannot get a rat out until you've finished your work.
> Come in right away when the recess bell rings.
> You have to get a pass to go to the office.
> You can't throw food in the cafeteria.
> No playing in the hall.
> No running in the room.
> We don't hit or kick.
> Use quiet voices.
> No fighting.

The use of commands or sanctions resting on the authority of the teacher and of rule repetition keeps the responsibility for control localized in an external source.

Not all of the control techniques used at Smith were external ones. Approximately 17 percent of teacher control strategies and 19 percent of teacher control messages at Smith were coded as internal. The way in which Mrs. Jones employed internal modes of control in the classroom was most revealing. She tended to employ an internal approach at times when she was trying to inculcate proper standards of general classroom behavior rather than when she was attempting to teach specifically academic skills. For instance, she consistently refused to act as an external authority when disputes arose among children, urging them to take responsibility for resolving their own differences.

> [to two children who came asking the teacher's judgment about who owned what] I don't know what happened. You two will have to decide that by yourselves. [internal]
>
> How would you feel if someone took your lunch? [internal]

And she urged the children to learn to use classroom resource materials without her help.

> [to a boy who came to her during art because he couldn't find the glue] You've been in this classroom since September and you still can't handle that? You can solve that problem yourself. [internal]

With respect to academic interactions, on the other hand, Mrs. Jones tended to employ an external approach to motivate her students.

> You have work to do and I want it done.
> I won't accept backwards numbers on your arithmetic paper.
> Here's a star for everybody who finished.
> Sit down and do that work; this is a work time.

About 9 percent of the academic interactions were coded as employing internal strategies, while about 10 percent involved internal messages.

In short, the overriding mode of control employed at Smith was external, and this was particularly strong in the area of academic interactions. On the whole, Mrs. Jones reinforced a pattern in which the impetus for action came not from the children themselves but from an external rule or authority figure who issued rules and regulations.

The pattern reinforced at Huntington was quite different. External modes of control were in evidence, but consistent emphasis was placed on the children's internalizing responsibility for academic work. If anything, Mrs. Newman's behavioral standards were stricter than those at Smith, but the central focus of almost all of her statements was on the academic implications of behavior. By pointing out the academic implications of behavior, Mrs. Newman offered reasons to the children, in effect engaging them in thinking in an internalized way about what they were doing.

> If you're talking to your neighbor, you're probably not looking at the clues and remembering what the answers are.
>
> Jim, maybe it's because you're wiggling in your chair that you counted more.

Children were held responsible for "using time wisely," which meant working quietly at their desks during the independent work period. They were expected to pace themselves and make choices not to interact with each other in order to complete daily assignments. These expectations were usually communicated in an internal fashion:

> Our fifteen minutes are up. Have you used them wisely?
>
> Tommy, talk to yourself quietly and tell yourself where you are and what's expected of you.
>
> [to a child who has not completed his work during the time allotted] Why do you do this to yourself?

There were strong external standards at Huntington, too. The children were clearly expected to follow the rules, most of them academic in their application—think for yourself, listen to directions, don't bother your friends. The teacher told them the reasons behind the rules and made them take the responsibility for the consequences of failure to follow them. Often, her corrections included both an external and an internal component:

> [Tommy was supposed to be listening to the story] No writing, Tommy. Play fair with yourself. Why is it so hard to follow directions, Tommy? You'll be a good football player, but no one will ask you to play. You really have to follow the rules. [both external and internal]

How is the control scheme at Huntington different from that at Smith? Both have their external rules and authority figures, but at Huntington there is an additional component to many of the teacher's statements. She expects the children to learn, and she expects them to internalize academic and behavioral standards. She throws the responsibility back to the children, constantly admonishing them to "play fair with yourself," "use good judgment,"

or "use your time wisely." She repeats that they know why the rules are there and that they will take the consequences of inferior work. She appeals to an internalized set of values, asking the children to think for themselves and decide what to do. The importance of the internal approach at Huntington is underlined by the quantitative analysis: 52 percent of the strategies at Huntington were coded as internal, along with 67 percent of the messages.

As noted earlier, Mrs. Newman was careful to employ an internal approach when dealing with academic interactions. She would find various ways to encourage the view that the child was engaged in a self-directed academic process.

> Will this misbehavior help you to become a better reader?
>
> That's being a real independent worker.
>
> Be fair to yourself, use your time wisely to help yourself become a better reader.

Of the academic interactions at Huntington, 38 percent were coded as involving internal strategies, while 59 percent were coded as involving internal messages. The comparable figures at Smith were 9 percent and 10 percent.

What is the significance of this rather striking contrast in the use of external and internal modes of motivation control in the classroom? There is one more piece of information which is useful in interpreting the above data. Children in the top half of the reading groups in both classrooms received significantly more internal messages than children in the bottom half of the reading groups in the two classrooms ($p = .005$). They also received significantly more internal academic messages ($p = .046$). Thus, an internal approach, particularly with respect to academic interactions, is associated in both classrooms with children who are perceived to have the highest ability level and future potential. Ethnographic evidence from both classrooms revealed that the teachers associated reading group level with ability level; both considered reading to be the "name of the game" at the first-grade level. Comments like Mrs. Jones' when she first pointed out the top reading group to us saying, "This is the cream of the crop," are testimony to this association.

Generally speaking, the higher the perceived ability level of the child, the higher the occupational level the child is expected to attain in the future. An internal mode of control in the classroom can be seen as a method of socialization appropriate to higher levels of the stratified work place. It has been hypothesized that higher-level jobs are ones in which norms and objectives must be internalized for occupational success. Jobs at the upper levels of the hierarchy require a great deal of internalized direction such that action is self-motivated, yet consistent with the needs of the employer or with accepted professional standards. Supervision at this level tends to be rather remote, or, as in the case of self-employed professionals, nonexistent. One is expected to do the "right" thing without being told what to do, when to do it, or how to make a decision. This dynamic is evident as a lawyer plans a case, a physician makes a diagnosis, or a high-level manager makes a marketing decision. At times one may consult with other people for information or advice, but the relation-

ship to authority is still quite different from that characterizing jobs at lower levels.

Jobs which the children at Smith are likely to attain appear to involve considerable supervision and more routinized work activities. Employees are expected to follow specific rules and procedures determined by the firm. To quote Carter and Carnoy:

> a . . . worker [at this level of the work hierarchy] must come to work every day, be able to carry out the tasks within the assigned time, and accept task assignments without questioning them. Although . . . [he, she] has responsibilities, these are responsibilities geared to a direct work objective. [1974:42]

The type of socialization taking place in a classroom such as Mrs. Jones', with its emphasis on rules and regulations and external sanctions, seems well suited to such an occupational future. In short, the differences in the way children at the two schools are socialized to relate to authority tend to parallel the differences in occupational level of the children's parents.

Skill Requirements: Self-Presentation Skills

As noted earlier, both the popular and the scholarly domain have recognized that work role is linked to particular styles of self-presentation. It appears that skills relevant to self-presentation are taught from the beginning of the school experience. The sharing session, or "show and tell," was one way in which these skills were taught in both classrooms. Time was set aside in which students presented themselves to others through telling about an item that they brought to school or an event that took place in their lives. In both schools, the sharing time was nominally run by a student leader or two who called on a fellow classmate with a hand waving in the air to come to the front, face the group, and tell what he or she had to share. The teacher might or might not comment, and other students might ask questions. Eventually the teacher would terminate the presentation and another volunteer would be selected.

At Smith, sharing took place only about once every three days at irregular times, often convened at the request of one of the students. The teacher appeared to think of sharing as a nice activity but not one so important that it needed to happen daily. Mrs. Jones' presence was relatively unobtrusive during sharing time; she seemed to think of the activity as the children's time. She approached it not as an explicit learning activity, but as a time for "kids to be kids," sharing their treasures with each other in whatever way they wished. Over the course of 102 sharing presentations during a six-week period, Mrs. Jones commented on the presentations only about half the time. When she did comment, the two most frequent responses consisted of asking a factual question which required a specific answer or making a positive closing remark like "That's nice." Only 8 percent of the time did she offer any procedural instructions about how to make presentations. If she did offer a procedural suggestion, it was usually a specific direction about what else to say. For example, someone got up to say that her family had just bought a

new car, and Mrs. Jones prompted, "Tell us the color." A frequent procedural suggestion she would make to a child who was sharing a particular object was "Hold it up."

At Huntington, on the other hand, every day began with 10 minutes of sharing. It provided time for the children to settle down in preparation for the independent work period. But more importantly, it gave Mrs. Newman numerous opportunities to review academic materials through her follow-up questions and to give procedural suggestions to individual speakers about grammar and presentation. Almost 90 percent of the 87 presentations observed were followed by a response from Mrs. Newman, and in one-quarter of the cases the teacher interjected specific feedback about the process of speaking before a group.

> What nice sentences you made. You told us so many things. We know exactly when and where and what.
>
> I like the way Joanne shared yesterday. She called it a "poster"; she could describe it more than "this."
>
> I really like the way Matt spoke so nice and loud. Although I was looking in my desk and rattling papers, I could hear every word he had to say. When we have something that's important to say, then we should say it so people can hear it.

Mrs. Newman found many ways to draw the child and/or the class into further presentation or discussion based on what the child had originally said. More than 20 percent of the time she would tie the child's presentation to the subject matter of the previous day or use it as the basis for a discussion question for the class. Mrs. Jones did this approximately 3 percent of the time. Another third of the time Mrs. Newman, while not extending the subject the child brought up, would sustain the discussion of it by asking an open-ended factual question which allowed the child to use language independently in formulating a response (Parsons 1971). When Mrs. Jones did sustain a child's presentation by asking a factual question, it was almost always phrased as a closed cue which called for restricted language use in response: a yes/no question, a naming or labeling response, or a question with a clearly defined answer.

The Smith children were being socialized to perform before a group in a relatively haphazard way, with very little attention placed on developing extended verbal skills of the kind appropriate to the upper levels of the occupational hierarchy. The children were receiving little opportunity to practice and gain verbal skills in performing in front of a group, in elaborating on an initial thought or statement, or in receiving feedback on how they presented themselves.

Data gathered from observation in another upper-middle-class elementary school in the county serve to underline the differential approaches to the activity of sharing and the relevance of these different approaches to the child's socialization. A volunteer parent-teacher committee in a first-grade classroom prepared a short statement explaining the sharing activity. The statement stressed explicitly the self-presentation skills which they were attempting to teach:

> Students are encouraged to share items of interest and experiences which they have had, and must plan to inform or

> entertain the group rather than simply take up time or satisfy egos. . . . We provide on-the-spot guidance which hopefully helps the speaker and the audience to attain these goals.

While one may feel regret that a 6-year-old is subjected to these kinds of stereotyped performance expectations at such a tender and spontaneous age, it is undeniably suitable preparation for that smooth and carefully monitored interaction that characterizes the upper occupational echelons of the culture of the United States.

Images of the Child in the Classroom: Future Versus Present Orientation

The structure and content of classroom interaction inevitably sets up within it certain images of the child. It subtly defines the child's present being and mode of becoming, as well as constructing an image of who the child will become. These images are likely to filter into the child's consciousness in various ways and contribute, along with the actions they bring into being, to the socialization and development of the child. These images and related actions are likely to constitute a significant aspect of socialization for future work roles (Meyer 1970, Brookover 1975).

In a hierarchical and highly differentiated society, one might well expect the school to contribute to the development of differential images of self and related skills among children. If the society is to operate smoothly, the view of self that a child takes on must be realistically related to the child's likely future position. Everyone cannot have the same view of self, because everyone cannot hold the same position in the occupational hierarchy; some must be prepared for the pressures and rewards of the presidency while others are prepared to persevere in the daily routines of the assembly line. Because work roles are different, effective socialization must lead people to feel at least minimally comfortable in and tolerant of their positions at different levels of the work hierarchy.

The two teachers consistently portrayed very different images of the child in the present and the future in the classrooms. They can be seen to be involved in socializing children to particular self- and role-orientation with respect to ways of handling the present and the future.

In general, the children at Huntington learned that they had positive futures ahead of them. In fact, they had already entered them:

> Good thinking. See, you're really thinking like a mathematician. [after a review of geometric shapes] You'll be a good scientist. [writing fantasy stories] You were artists—now you're authors.

The teacher continually reinforced a "you can do it" attitude.

> You just don't know how good you really are. Just keep trying, boys and girls.
>
> If you don't get it, that's perfectly all right, Jimmy. By Friday you'll get it without looking.
>
> I want you to take your time, Joanne. You were content to get words wrong before. Read to yourself and enjoy it. Say to yourself, "I'm a good reader, because this is a second-grade book."

The consequences of present activity were continually linked with the future. Students were regularly reminded that

they needed to prepare for study at the major university near Hillview, or at other major universities around the country.

> It's real important to be a good listener. What you said wasn't wrong, but it didn't answer the question. This is important for taking tests, and you'll have them from now on, even if you get to Harvard.

Looking to the more immediate future, the pressures and glories of second grade were often brought to their minds:

> Eddie, this is gonna be expected of you next year. You have to listen and follow through.

> [after an independent work session in writing stories] You have worked great. [class subtracts to find that they have worked on their own for 35 minutes] You are ready for second grade, because first graders can only work 15 minutes.

It appears that students at Huntington were learning two different kinds of things with respect to the present and the future. They were learning that they could expect to end up at the upper levels of the occupational hierarchy. They were also learning to think of the future consequences of present actions, a sort of training which is crucial to being able to handle the kinds of choices and decisions with important future ramifications which characterize many managerial and professional roles. In contrast, work schedules and the organization of work tasks are fairly well prescribed at lower levels of the occupational hierarchy, and involve more set work routines.

The emphasis at Smith was almost totally on the present. The future consequences of present activities were rarely mentioned. The teacher essentially tried to create a positive, present-oriented atmosphere, with a "let kids be kids" attitude prevailing. The children were allowed to play with each other for long periods in the classroom. The teacher encouraged parents to bring in family pets, and enjoyed watching the children spend time fondling them, rather than, for instance, using the animals as a pretext for a science lesson. Although the Huntington children had parties, too, the Smith children spent more time doing "fun" things like breaking piñatas and eating cake and ice cream at school.

They were expected to act like first graders, not like kindergarteners, but were not pushed to behave in the more mature ways that the future would demand of them. While the teacher at times reinforced the progress they had made in first grade, she rarely extrapolated it beyond the first grade. What references she did make to the second grade were negative ones:

> [when the class failed to bring a seed from home, as she had asked] We're not getting ready for second grade. This was homework.

> [after struggling with several children about writing their letters properly] In second grade they don't teach you printing. That's why you have to know it now.

> [when the class was not paying attention during math, in exasperation] We've got to get this before we get to second grade.

During the entire time of fieldwork, the only positive reference to second grade that I heard came from the second-grade teacher, who invited the first graders in one day to see how the sec-

ond-grade seats felt, since they would be occupying them soon.

References to role models in the future were very infrequent, although the teacher would sometimes tell the children to correct their own work, saying, "Be your own teacher." The only reference to an educational future beyond the second grade was the following criticism issued during a music lesson:

> This is important. You can't play an instrument when you get to the upper grades if you can't read music. You need to know this stuff, and I'm really disappointed.

The nearby university whose existence was mentioned so often at Huntington was never discussed at Smith, nor was any other college or university. The constant reminder of a positive future and the importance of moving toward it through academic achievement that was so prevalent at Huntington simply did not exist at Smith. Future consequences of present activities were rarely pointed out. The Huntington teacher referred to future status and role almost eight times as often as the teacher at Smith. This difference was statistically significant after controlling for sex, ethnicity, and ability group factors. Thus, the overall emphasis on future roles and the consequences of present activities was far greater in the upper-middle-class first grade than in the lower-middle-class one. The most remarkable characteristic of Mrs. Jones' approach to the future of the children in her classroom was that she virtually ignored it. It seems plausible that this is the kind of experience that leads to what Jackall has called "personal drift," a phenomenon he observed among lower white collar workers in a large bank. He describes this as "an unsureness about future goals and a related uncertainty about one's own abilities." He continues:

> The absence of goals is especially critical. Younger people leaving high school often have no idea of what they want for their futures, at least regarding work. Schooling has provided no direction for them at all. [1976:33]

Mrs. Jones' classroom certainly provided no direction for the children at Smith. They seemed to experience the essence of being average: some successes, some failures, and no particular place to go.

The Sociocultural Context of the Classroom

The pattern of differences observed in the ways in which the two teachers socialized the children in their classrooms for adult work roles is, I believe, directly in conflict with the promise of equal opportunity offered by the educational system in the United States. At the tender age of six, these children have done practically nothing as individuals to account for the kind of differential treatment they are receiving, except to have been born by chance into one neighborhood and social class background or another. Interviews with the teachers themselves made it clear that they felt they were allowing and encouraging each child to develop and progress as far as each was able; they would have been shocked at any accusation of differential treatment based on social class. Why, given a social commitment to equal opportunity and a conscious effort on the part of the

teachers to act on this commitment, do these profound and pervasive patterns of differential socialization exist?

This question leads us directly to an analysis of the sociocultural context of the classroom. Participant observation revealed a constellation of forces which tended to influence the classroom in such a way that, in general, characteristics of parental work role were transmitted to students. The extensive interviews, observations, and research conducted outside the walls of the classroom can barely be touched on here, but an attempt will be made to summarize some of the key findings and interpretations.

It became clear that the school staff, the district staff, and the state educational apparatus actually did have different expectations for children from upper-middle-class families than from lower-middle-class ones. The social class make-up of the neighborhood was a characteristic that was very much on the minds of educational personnel at all of these levels, and it was linked rather directly to their expectations of students.

The School Staff

Mrs. Jones did not have time to include many facts in the five-minute orientation that preceded the first day of observations at Smith, but she managed to emphasize the social class background of the children. She said, "The neighborhood, it's not a lower-class neighborhood; it's really more like lower middle class." I heard teachers describe the neighborhood as lower middle class over and over during the period of fieldwork. It was usually mentioned in passing, but it was regularly included as salient background information.

A perception of the neighborhood as culturally deprived accompanied the categorization of lower middle class. The researchers were quite surprised to discover the extent to which the "culture of poverty" formulation, originally constructed to describe the lives of the urban poor in Puerto Rico (and heavily criticized even within this limited scope [Leacock 1970, Valentine 1968]), was being used to describe the lives of the average white American family. The version of the "culture of poverty" theory fashionable in educational circles today characterizes the homes of the poor and of ethnic minorities as empty, deprived, and characterized by semi-pathological patterns of functioning and inadequate care and education of children. The following quotes from interviews with teachers at Smith reveal the extent to which this formulation was being applied to the family life of the average American residing in Smith's attendance area:

> I don't really feel that the parents, some of them, really realize what kind of a home life they are giving their kids, because they've got so many problems themselves that they can't solve. You get into a filtering-down thing, too, from the parent to the child.

> I know kids that go home at three o'clock that are street kids until six. Or they go home to a babysitter, and the babysitter goes, "Sure, you know [do whatever you want]." ... There's families there that constantly give their kids money, "Go buy a popsicle or something." ... I think there's a lot of parents, I know there are parents because I've called on 'em and said, "Hey, we've

got a problem with your kid." "Well, I can't come tonight, that's bowling," and the kid is the last thing on their minds. Kids just sort of happen.

The principal summarizes the prevailing attitude when he says that Smith "does not have the same home background as schools on the other [more affluent] side of town." Like proponents of the "culture of povery" literature, the staff focused on the home rather than the school as the major cause of school failure or difficulty. And the perception of the homes led to a clear separation between the realm of the home and the realm of the school. During the year of fieldwork, events planned and sponsored by the school never involved visits by the class to parents' homes. Field trips were always trips *out* of the neighborhood. Implicitly, educational resources came to be defined as lying outside of the immediate community.

The characterization of the neighborhood as lower middle class fits remarkably well with Mrs. Jones' response when asked if she had any unusual children in her classroom.

> I have an awful lot of kids that are average, everyday children. I don't have any outstanding artists this year. ——— is a good actor. . . . There's a lot of children that have made an awful lot of growth, but I don't see that as being unusual. It's fun to sit back and see, is there anybody that's gonna be famous? I really think ——— is going to do something. [This was a child who was lowest academically in the class, but the teacher had praised his creative mechanical abilities.] I have an awful lot of everyday Joe Smiths.

The school staff at Huntington expressed very different views about parents and children in that neighborhood. While the words "average" and "deprived" come to mind at Smith, the words "gifted" and "fascinating" are in evidence at Huntington. The staff at Huntington repeatedly made reference to the income and power of the parents in the neighborhood, as if basking in the reflected glory. As the principal commented:

> The population, the community is fascinating. You have so many college-educated people who have such high expectations of their children and of school.

Just as at Smith, the Huntington staff seemed to generalize from the characteristics of the parents' achievements to a set of expectations for the children. Whereas this meant a relaxing of expectations at Smith, it meant a heightening of academic standards at Huntington. Mrs. Newman, when asked what the children in her class would go on to do, replied directly that they would be trained as professionals. The principal at Huntington takes a bow to the parents when he says:

> A lot of it is, of course, the way [the children] come to us. I mean ability, of course, heredity and a few other things.

Instead of posing a problem to the school, the home environment is seen to offer resources and educational possibilities at Huntington. School personnel set up opportunities to send the children out into the neighborhood for special programs like cookie baking, a trip to the local nature refuge, and watching tractors dig out a new swimming pool in one parent's backyard.

The differential expectations expressed for the children in the two classrooms appear to have strikingly different consequences in terms of the staff's reaction to individual learning problems on the part of individual children. Instead of viewing children as "average Joes" who will always have certain difficulties, the staff at Huntington marshaled substantial resources to solve problems. Experts were consulted and special attention was offered, and the staff intervened with a sureness based on having the resources to meet the need and having confidence in their own abilities and in that of the child to overcome the difficulty. One little girl who entered the Huntington class in the middle of the year could not read and often sat in tears at her desk. Mrs. Newman evaluated the problem, decided that she was certainly capable of reading, spent individual time with her each day, and arranged for a student from the nearby university to tutor her as well. By the end of the school year, the child was reading in class and happily taking additional books home. Children with reading problems in Mrs. Jones' class simply did not receive this kind of direct marshaling of forces to resolve problems.

In short, it seemed clear that the social class level of the neighborhood was a very salient characteristic in the minds of the staff at both schools. It generated general levels of expectations for children in each neighborhood which could be seen to influence the behavior of the teachers in the classroom. At Huntington, Mrs. Newman was helping future leaders on their way to academic and professional success, while at Smith, Mrs. Jones was coping with "an awful lot of average everyday Joe Smiths."

The District Staff

The attitude of the school district toward the parents and children at Smith was strikingly revealed in the course of a presumably routine contact between the researchers and the district for the purpose of gathering background information for the study. We wished to obtain the achievement test scores for both schools to learn their ranking with respect to each other and to the statewide population. We had gone to Huntington's district first, where raw scores, interpretive guides, and Xerox machines were made readily available to us, as they would have been to any concerned Hillview parent. The staff mentioned that such documents were public information and could not legally be withheld. To our surprise, when we went to Smith's district office, we were told that the schools' achievement test scores could not be given out. After moving through several levels of district personnel to the top in an effort to get this information (the research project had, after all, been approved by the school board), we were finally told what Smith's score had been, although scores for other schools in the district were withheld. We were told that the district had had too much trouble with Smith parents coming in and complaining that they had heard that test scores were higher in schools on the other side of town. A high-level district official said with considerable indignation that the parents simply did not understand that the scores were *a direct consequence of the average IQ and socioeco-*

nomic level of the neighborhood (italics added). Since the complaints about low achievement levels at the school were justified, the district would not release the information in an effort to minimize the complaints.

This incident reveals again a kind of ceiling placed on expectations for the children at Smith. While these limited expectations were expressed in other ways at the district level, space necessitates moving on to consider another level of the sociocultural context of the classroom—the state educational apparatus and its procedures and regulations.

The State Educational Apparatus

Observations at the two schools revealed that one other important expression of differential expectations for the children was the staff's reliance on an "objective" statistic produced by the State Department of Education's testing program. This was a measure of expected school performance on state achievement tests, known as the comparison score range. According to a small group of parents at Smith, the staff relied on this statistic to justify current levels of achievement at Smith and to downplay the chance of raising schoolwide achievement levels any further.

As part of its yearly testing program to monitor school performances, the State Department of Education executes a procedure in order to evaluate individual school test score performances on the basis of pupil characteristics. This procedure results in the computation of an expected test score range for each district and for each school within the state, based on the following set of pupil characteristics: the children's score on an Entry Level Test, administered in October of first grade (used as a baseline measure of knowledge a child brings to school); a socioeconomic indicator computed from teachers' estimates of the occupational level of the children's parents; the percentage of bilingual pupils; and the percentage of pupil mobility. On the basis of these factors, a range is computed within which the school's achievement scores are expected to fall. A school receives an "A" for scoring above this range, a "W" for scoring within it, and a "B" for falling below it.

The precise score range varies depending on the grade level and on the subject matter of the achievement test, i.e., math, writing, and so on. However, Smith's predicted score range generally consisted of a range between the 30th and the 70th percentiles, whereas Huntington's predicted score range was between the 85th and 99th percentiles. Thus, an achievement score at the 60th percentile would be perfectly normal and to be expected at Smith, whereas it would be grossly under expectations at Huntington. It appears that the State Department of Education expects and will implicitly accept a vastly different level of performance from schools like Huntington than from schools like Smith. And most significant is the fact that all of the factors used to determine the level of expectations are factors operating outside the classroom walls. The implication is, unavoidably, that what is really important in terms of achievement is the characteristics a child brings from home rather than

what takes place at school. As the state guide for interpretation of test scores explains:

> To compare a district with other districts without regard for the characteristics of the district is often meaningless and sometimes misleading. It is more useful to compare a district with similar districts in terms of social, financial, and educational problems and capabilities. [California State Testing Program 1974:23]

Despite language in official testing program documents warning against too narrow an application of the evaluations, there remains an explicit assertion that expected levels of performances are related to the backgrounds of the students:

> The ranks in the column for predicted score ranges represent the test score range in which each district could be "expected" to score based upon the pertinent characteristics of the pupils, the community, and the school district. [California State Testing Program 1974:25]

Moreover, the cautionary language found in the official reports rarely enters into the awareness of parents and school personnel, who generally receive only summaries of annual testing goals and outcomes. Insofar as these results are seen to establish distinctly lower expectations on the part of parents, teachers, and school officials for some children than for others, it is likely that they serve as a self-fulfilling prophecy in which poor performance is expected of students in schools with low ranges, while good performance is expected of students in high-range schools. The impact of such differential expectations has been documented in several studies (Rosenthal and Jacobsen 1968, Rist 1970, Leacock 1969), the results of which correspond well with the differential socialization hypothesis set forth here.

In fact, the comparison score range appeared to be used as an upper limit to expectations at Smith. (At Huntington, obviously, there was no upper limit, because the scores were already at the top.) A parent talked at length of being told by the Smith principal and another teacher that the school's achievement scores were near the top of the comparison score range for the school and could not be expected to be raised any further. According to the parent, this was used as a justification for setting school goals for academic achievement in the school's program proposal at currently existing levels, rather than raising them to a higher level.

As the teacher explained in an interview, the staff was simply thinking ahead to a potential state evaluation of the program, knowing that the school was liable to lose the funds if goals and objectives were set and not met. She said strongly that the fact that higher expectations did not appear on paper did not mean that they were nonexistent. The staff saw themselves as being cautious, putting down on paper what they were sure they could do.

Another parent pointed bitterly to the stated goals for achievement in the program proposal of an affluent school across town. In fact, the proposal of the school on the other side of town *was* filled with statements about discrepancies between actual performance and potential performance, in spite of the already high achievement of the chil-

dren there. Reading levels were already above state established expectations, but still higher goals were set.

It is not difficult to imagine the mechanisms through which these differential responses on the part of the school staffs on opposite sides of town get set up. The theme of the self-fulling prophecy is repeated in yet another form. It is likely that, at the school across town, it *is* apparent to everyone that the children are very bright and have great capabilities. After all, look at their parents, their test scores, and so on: the culture has created massive evidence that this is true. At the very least, the culture of expectations has created demanding parents whose ambitious expectations are very difficult to dampen. And, by virtue of this certainty on the part of all involved, it becomes no major risk to commit oneself in writing to improved achievement. At Smith, on the other hand, the culturally created evidence is far less convincing. Mediocre IQ's, parents whose success in life has been average at best, evidence that similar children all over the state do no better—it seems quite sensible not to be too rash in committing oneself to perform the unlikely.

Thus the State Department of Education plays its part in setting the stage for educators and parents to differentiate their expectations according to the social class of the students' neighborhood.

Economic Structure and Organization of the Society as a Whole

At this point it is critical to return to the basic theoretical underpinnings of the study. From an anthropological perspective, schools are agents of cultural transmission involved in socializing a new generation to fit the needs of the culture. One overwhelming reality for which children must be prepared is the reality of the world of work. In many ways, the hallmark of the world of work in industrial and post-industrial society is the enormous degree of differentiation which characterizes the division of labor. The degree of differentiation is unprecedented in human history. In the United States, this differentiation of tasks is embedded in a hierarchical structure in which certain tasks are seen as infinitely more valuable, more important, and more demanding of talents than others (Davis and Moore 1945:48). Jobs at various levels of this hierarchy are characterized by very different levels of prestige. The social consensus about the levels of prestige of various occupations is remarkably strong, and has remained quite consistent over time. Members of the culture tend to rate the prestige levels of jobs similarly, regardless of their own position in the hierarchy. That is, doctors are rated high in prestige not only by doctors or others in similar occupations but by people at all occupational levels (Reiss 1961).

In spite of the fact that it is widely agreed that all occupational outcomes are not equal, children must be prepared to move into one niche or another. Children must be differentiated from each other at school in the same way that tasks are differentiated from each other in the world of work. The culture requires dropouts to fill the drop-out-level jobs, just as it requires M.D.'s and Ph.D.'s to fill the jobs at the

top. Given this reality, it is logical to expect that one would find children being socialized very differently in the classroom. It would be cultural suicide to socialize all children to fully expect and prepare to become doctors, lawyers, scientists, or business executives, just as it would be to socialize all to become assembly-line workers.

The economic structure thus can be seen to account for the basic phenomenon of differential socialization, but why does differential socialization appear to take place along social class lines? It was clear from the data gathered for the study that the educational staff at the local, district, and state levels all approached their tasks with definite preconceptions at some level about the performance potential of the children in the two schools and the roles in which they were likely to end up. These preconceptions can be seen to develop through people's direct participation in everyday social and cultural life. Educational personnel have grown up absorbing the widespread cultural agreement about the value, worth, power, and ability of people at different occupational levels. They have experienced work role and social class stereotypes as acted out again and again in cartoons, on TV, and in books, magazines, and newspapers. They have been heavily exposed to the cultural world view that human ability is distributed in the form of a bell-shaped curve and that it is measurable using the social-class-biased instrument known as the IQ test. The examples could go on and on; it is clear that one's everyday experience in this culture leads one to cue immediately into a person's work role as an indicator of intelligence, worth, and power, and to behave in accordance with this cueing. Having grown up with a massive cultural indoctrination in the face of a massive body of culturally created evidence, the educational personnel observed in this study behaved no differently than one could expect any cultural beings to behave in the situation.

Conclusions

The research findings, although exploratory in nature, have profound implications for educational policy in the United States. They call for a rethinking of our approach to educational reform and to the role of the school in promoting equal opportunity.

The research findings imply that without significant changes in social stratification by class background and its basis in the hierarchical structure of work, it is not likely that differential socialization on the basis of social class will be eliminated from schools. Until inequalities in the structure of work are changed, it is unrealistic to expect any teacher, however trained, to be completely free of the pervasive stereotyping fostered in everyday social experience that constantly recognizes and draws conclusions from work role and its associated social class status. It seems likely that equality and full human development can only be fostered by schools when adult social roles into which children move are changed to support and rely on these qualities as well. From this point of view, one cannot rely on the institution of the school to bring about substantial social reform or change, since what takes place in schools is likely to be *reflective of* social and cultural reality. The effort to bring

about equal opportunity in education may be better served by turning energy and attention for reform away from the schools and toward the work place.

The research findings suggest that many popular educational reforms are likely simply to rearrange the appearance of classroom interaction, leaving the substance of what takes place in the classroom largely untouched. This is because the reforms are conceptualized and introduced with little understanding of the powerful cultural influences at work in the classroom. For instance, data from Smith Elementary School suggest that, while the formal structure of the classroom has probably changed substantially over the past 20 years so that the structure is now much less rigid and restrictive, the underlying messages communicated in spite of that structure remain strongly restrictive in many ways. While Mrs. Jones' classroom appears on the surface to be free-form, loose, and encouraging of internal direction on the part of the children, close and careful observation reveals that the substance of what is being transmitted is still strongly centered on authority and the presence of external sanctions. In the same vein, while the presence of equal funding for the two classrooms and schools would certainly help in promoting equal education, it would not address the problem of the pervasive cultural consciousness which notes and stereotypes according to social class. It would not change the "hidden curriculum" of the two classrooms or obliterate patterns of differential socialization.

In short, results from the study tend to document another kind of self-fulfilling prophecy in the classroom. A vast array of cultural clues cue the teacher as to the child's likely future position in the work hierarchy, and the teacher in turn behaves in such a way as to socialize the child for and encourage the child toward this position. Increases in spending are unlikely to eradicate this dynamic, as are changes in classroom organization such as the move to an open classroom. The measure most likely to be effective in removing this self-fulfilling prophecy is not a program to be instituted in the classroom, but one to be instituted in the wider society. This cultural restructuring could take many forms, but one central feature would necessarily be some sort of destratification of the work place, and a concomitant recognition of the importance and the particular kinds of complexity of all of the various kinds of work roles and of the value of the people who perform them.

There are smaller and more immediate steps which could be taken to minimize differential socialization in the classroom, although it is extremely important to keep the root of the problem and appropriate long term solutions firmly in mind. Educating educators and parents about the existence of differential patterns of work role socialization in the classroom and the cultural dynamics which account for them can hopefully introduce a certain amount of awareness which can begin to slow the operation of the self-fulfilling prophecy. Bringing real thoughtfulness about the nature of one's interaction with students into the classroom can be expected to promote the breaking down of stereotypes and the freeing of students' potential. Also, educational personnel and parents can certainly scrutinize educational practices for indications of varying levels of expecta-

tions for different kinds of students and work to eliminate these aspects of the educational scene. The comparison score range is one likely candidate for this kind of action.

In more theoretical terms, the significance of this study and of the ethnographic approach in general can be seen to be a continuing insistence that an understanding of social and cultural wholes is crucial for an understanding of what is taking place within the few hundred square feet that make up the classroom. The part cannot successfully be separated from the whole without violating fundamental aspects of its nature.

To understand the dynamics at work in the part and the whole, one must also come to grips with the fact that educational personnel are as thoroughly enculturated as all the rest of us. To assume that they act as neutral judges within the classroom is to adopt unquestioningly the culture's own view of itself, a practice which has proved rather unilluminating whenever it has been followed.

Action taken without these kinds of understandings of school and society has proved again and again to be unsuccessful in reaching the root of any problem and in coming up with lasting solutions.

APPENDIX A: FUNDAMENTAL UNITS OF TEACHER CONTROL BEHAVIOR

(The 83-Category Coding Scheme)

Teacher Control Strategies

1. Structuring of Work Situation
   - 1.1—During independent work time, provide enough work to fill the time completely, and check work if misbehavior occurs
   - 1.2—Emphasize wise use of time for work production, not social interaction
   - 1.3—Praise good behavior before the class enters a situation with high potential for behavior problems
   - 1.4—Express understanding that the previous activity was exciting, but that now it is time for work
   - 1.5—Express expectation that the child is capable in terms of academic skills of doing the assigned work

2, 3. Threaten for Academic/Behavioral Ends
   - 2.1, 3.1—Threaten to tell the parents about it during a conference
   - 2.2, 3.2—Threaten that the parents will repeat the child's neglect of responsibilities
   - 2.3, 3.3—Threaten with the teacher's responsibility to punish misbehavior
   - 2.4, 3.4—Threaten with fearful situations ("ghost story")
   - 2.5, 3.5—Threaten with academic failure (that the child won't be able to complete the assignment because of misbehavior)
   - 2.6, 3.6—Threaten with exclusion
   - 2.7, 3.7—Threaten with delay or denial of gratification

4, 5. Blame, Punishment for Academic Work/Behavior
   - 4.1, 5.1—Physical exclusion, either outside or inside the classroom
   - 4.2, 5.2—Shaming, sarcastic criticism as a negative model
   - 4.3, 5.3—Delay or denial of gratification
   - 4.4, 5.4—Blame on the basis of the teacher's personal reaction
   - 4.5, 5.5—Other individual criticism
   - 4.6, 5.6—Waiting
   - 4.7, 5.7—Ignore deviant behavior

6, 7. Praise, Reward for Academic Work/ Behavior
- 6.1, 7.1—Personal praise as a positive model
- 6.2, 7.2—Competitive praise as compared with a negative personal model
- 6.3, 7.3—Material reward
- 6.4, 7.4—Promise of some sort of reward
- 6.5, 7.5—Praise on the basis of the teacher's personal reaction
- 6.6, 7.6—Other individual praise

8. Authority
- 8.1—Command
- 8.2—Explicit invocation of the teacher as an authority
- 8.3—Explicit invocation of a rule
- 8.4—Asking a question to invoke rule response
- 8.5—Asking the reason for misbehavior, implying that there is none
- 8.6—Repeating directions with the stated assumption that the child has not heard
- 8.7—Command to follow directions (blame for disobedience)

9. Reason
- 9.1—Reason explicitly stated

Teacher Control Messages

1. Individual Responsibility
- 1.0—Ask the child to choose between compliance and exclusion
- 1.1—Ask the child to play fair, not to cheat her/himself or others by misbehaving or by neglecting academic work
- 1.2—The child is responsible for getting work done within a given time
- 1.3—The child is responsible for explicitly thinking about doing the right thing at the right time
- 1.4—The child is responsible for doing his/her own work, thinking for him/herself in doing it
- 1.5—The child is responsible for solving personal disputes
- 1.6—The child is responsible for using materials properly, getting them ready, and putting them away
- 1.7—Ask the child to remind him/herself of internalized values or self-image
- 1.8—The child is responsible for behaving in a way that makes work possible (raising hand, paying attention, being in right place at right time, ready to start next activity, noise level)
- 1.9—The child is responsible for behaving in such a way as to further the mastering of academic skills, with this goal explicitly stated

2. Others' Feelings
- 2.1—The teacher stresses respect for feelings of other children as an important value in the classroom
- 2.2—The teacher expresses understanding of children's feelings in a sympathetic way

3. Achievement
- 3.1—Compare the child with proper achievement of someone his/her age or grade
- 3.2—Compare the child with proper achievement above grade level
- 3.3—Compare the child with proper achievement below grade level
- 3.4—Link achievement to self-image in the present
- 3.5—Link achievement to self-image in the future

4. Child-Initiated Input
- 4.1—Procedural ideas reinforced
- 4.2—Procedural questions reinforced
- 4.3—Child-initiated independent work reinforced
- 4.4—Child-initiated ideas discouraged

5. Explicit Work Values
- 5.1—Emphasis on hard work or trying hard
- 5.2—Emphasis on independent work (self-image)

5.3—Work carefully because careful work is important
5.4—Work alone, don't bother other people
5.5—Enjoy reading
5.6—Work together, cooperate
5.7—Obey directions in carrying out work

6. Other
6.1—Reference to family or community standards
6.2—Get along, don't fight!

APPENDIX B:
RECODED STRATEGIES

Internal Behavior: 13, 35, 72, 84, 85 and 52, 55, 57, 71, 76, 91 if message is internal behavior

External Behavior: 14, 31, 32, 33, 34, 36, 37, 51, 53, 56, 73, 74, 75, 82, 83, 86, 87 and 52, 55, 71, 76, 81 if message is external behavior

Internal Academic: 12, 15, 62 and 42, 45, 61, 66, 91 if message is internal academic

External Academic: 11, 22, 27, 41, 43, 44, 46, 63, 64, 65 and 42, 45, 47, 61, 66, 81 if message is external academic

Internal: All codings for internal behavior strategies plus all codings for internal academic strategies

External: All codings for external behavior strategies plus all codings for external academic strategies

Behavior: All codings for internal behavior strategies plus all codings for external behavior strategies

Academic: All codings for internal academic strategies plus all codings for external academic strategies

Present: 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 61, 62, 63, 65, 66, 71, 72, 73, 75, 76, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87 and 91 if message is present

Future: 22, 27, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 64, 74 and 91 if message is future

RECODED MESSAGES

Internal Behavior: 10, 15, 16, 21, 22 and 17, 31, 32, 33, 41, 42 if strategy is internal behavior

External Behavior: 18, 57, 72 and 44, 71 if strategy is external behavior

Internal Academic: 11, 13, 14, 19, 34, 35, 43, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55 and 17, 31, 32, 33, 41, 42 if strategy is internal academic

External Academic: 12, 44, 56, 57, 71 if strategy is external academic

Internal: All codings for internal academic messages plus all codings for internal behavior messages

External: All codings for external academic messages plus all codings for external behavior messages

Behavior: All codings for internal behavior messages plus all codings for external behavior messages

Academic: All codings for internal academic messages plus all codings for external academic messages

Present: 10, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 21, 22, 31, 33, 34, 41, 42, 43, 44, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 72 and 71 if strategy is present

Future: 11, 19, 32, 35 and 71 if strategy is future

Achievement: 31, 32, 33, 34, 35

Notes

[1] The actual fieldwork was carried out by two people, the author and Pia Moriarty. The presence of a second person made it possible for each fieldworker to concentrate on one school and one classroom, enabling more extensive study of each site.

[2] The inclusion of statistical results in this chapter does not represent an attempt at statistical "proof" of the hypothesis under study. The small sample size inevitably results in the violation of one of the assumptions underlying the analysis of variance procedure, and precludes the presentation of the results as proof. (See Hays [1973:529] and Wilcox [1978:162–163] for a more technical discussion of the problem.) However, the data do offer a rough estimate of the size of observed differences across a number of student groups in the two classrooms, and are introduced as one of many kinds of data supporting the hypothesis.

[3] In order to uphold promises of confidentiality to the two schools, certain minor details have been changed for the purposes of this description.

[4] I had hoped to find a classroom with a relatively even number of boys and girls, but such a classroom was not available at Smith.

[5] The relatively small number of observations conducted in other classrooms precluded any statistically meaningful analysis, but hand tabulations revealed similar patterns.

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