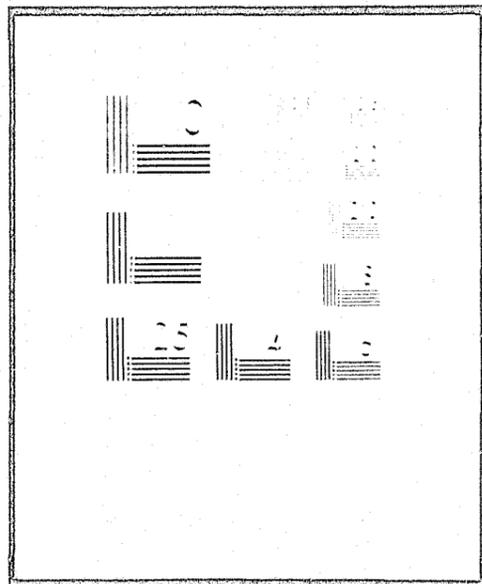


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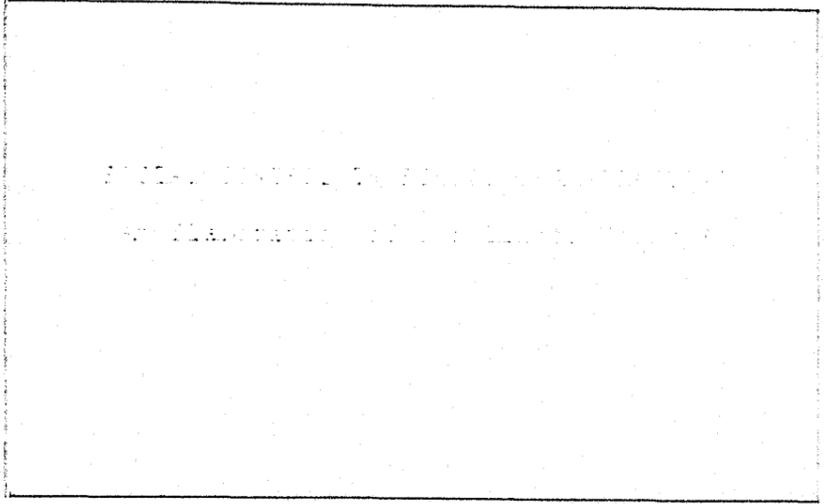


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SOCIAL CONTROL IN SCHOOL ORGANIZATIONS
An Elaboration of Compliance Theory*

by

Gary A. Kreps
Metropolitan Criminal Justice Center
&
Department of Sociology
College of William and Mary

&

Charles W. Thomas
Metropolitan Criminal Justice Center
College of William and Mary
&
Department of Sociology
Bowling Green State University

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The Metropolitan Criminal Justice Center of the College of William and Mary was established in September of 1971 as an organization within which a variety of basic and applied research projects of relevance to those with interests in the fields of criminology, corrections, law, and sociology. The primary source of funding for these projects has been the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration and its research-oriented branch, the National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice.

This report is one of a series that have been completed under the auspices of a grant from the National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice, #75-NI-99-0031. The purpose of the project, which is entitled "The Impact of the Legal Process and Formal Legal Sanctions on Juvenile Delinquents," is to obtain longitudinal data on a large sample of juveniles who appear before the juvenile courts of Portsmouth and Virginia Beach, Virginia and to evaluate the consequences of such appearances on the attitudes and behavior of these children. The design also calls for the collection of data on a substantial number of juveniles who have not been exposed to any official processing by social control agencies, thereby providing a control group for the project.

The scope of the research is obviously quite broad. Among the several issues to be addressed during various segments of the study are an evaluation of the empirical adequacy of selected propositions derived from labeling theory, an assessment of the deterrent effects of formal legal sanctions, an examination of correlates of judicial decision-making by juvenile court officials, ecological correlates of delinquency, and school factors related to delinquency.

The study began in November of 1974 and will continue until November of 1976. At present, the work on the project is being conducted at the College of William and Mary, but in August of this year the project will be moved to the Department of Sociology at Bowling Green State University.

Within the limits of the funds that have been provided for the study, every effort will be made to disseminate the products of our research to professionals in the fields related to our work. We hope that the periodic reports and bibliographic materials that you have been and will be receiving will prove to be of some utility to you in your own work and that you will feel free to make appropriate comments or criticisms when you have had an opportunity to review the reports that you receive.

SOCIAL CONTROL IN SCHOOL ORGANIZATIONS

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ABSTRACT

Examinations of public schools as formal organizations have been scarce until relatively recently. Even in those organizational analyses that are available, insufficient attention has been focused on the impact of formal organizational characteristics on the attitudes and behavior of organizational participants. Thus, the purpose of this study is to evaluate the extent to which the application of one theoretical model, Etzioni's compliance theory, can provide us with a means by which the relative effectiveness of school organizations may be better understood. Our analysis, based on questionnaire data obtained from a sample of 923 high school sophomores who were attending public schools in a southeastern SMSA in 1974, evaluates an elaboration of compliance theory propositions. The findings show that structurally-generated powerlessness, our measure of an immediate consequence of the adoption of a relatively coercive organizational structure, stimulates the development of negative attitudes toward school personnel, organizational goals, and involvement in the school organization, each of which is viewed as an indicant of student commitment to

the organization of which they are a part. Thus, on a more general level, our analysis reflects the utility of compliance theory as a social psychological framework by means of which organizational control structures and their effects may be better understood.

SOCIAL CONTROL IN SCHOOL ORGANIZATIONS

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Introduction

Organizational researchers have developed something of a preoccupation with comparative structural analyses, and this attentiveness to structural variables may well have shifted the focus of research away from equally relevant social psychological processes that take place within all organizations (Pugh *et al.*, 1963, 1969a, 1969b; Hickson *et al.*, 1969; Blau and Schoenherr, 1971; Heydebrand, 1973). At least in part, this reflects the assumption that it is possible to infer social psychological processes from structural data. This, in turn, has led to the concern that the development of social psychological modes as frameworks for empirical study have not kept pace with the work that has been completed on comparative structural paradigms (cf. Lammers, 1974).

The basic issue is methodological as well as conceptual. Social psychological research on organizations generally requires intensive case studies of organizational members rather than the somewhat more facile measurement of structural properties. Thus, the generalizability of social psychological analyses is frequently problematic, particularly when such analyses

do not obtain data from more than a single organization. On the other hand, although comparative surveys mitigate the problem of generalizability in social psychological research, the extent to which they add to our understanding of structural effects on organizational membership is often limited. It seems probable that one way to move toward a resolution of these and other problems is to structure empirical research in such a way as to allow a direct rather than an inferential assessment of the impact of structural variables. Stated somewhat differently, it would appear that the relative power of structural models of organizations can be better evaluated if we attempt to assess the social psychological implications of these models in as direct a manner as is possible. The purpose of this paper, therefore, is to examine and elaborate the implications of Etzioni's (1961, 1965) compliance theory in light of data we have obtained on the social psychological consequences of organizational involvement. More specifically, we will evaluate the social psychological consequences of organizational control structures on a series of attitudinal dimensions that reflect the responses of high school students to their involvement in school organizations.

Theoretical Model

Initially, it is important to emphasize the fact that the comparative emphasis that characterizes much of the organizational literature has stimulated, we think beneficially, a more specifically organizational treatment of schools by those

involved with the sociology of education. This research focus has examined for example, patterns of formalization, standardization, and centralization of decision-making (cf. Bidwell, 1965; Corwin, 1967, 1970, 1974; Herriott and Hogkins, 1973). Our conceptualization of schools in terms of compliance theory has certainly been influenced by this previous work. On the other hand, the consequences of social control arrangements in schools for student attitudes and behavior has not been systematically studied despite the debate that the issue has provoked and the fact that it reflects a basic policy concern among those involved in educational administration.

The paucity of research notwithstanding, it is clear that all organizations, however large or small, must confront the issue of attaining and retaining social control over the activities of organizational participants. Thus, theoretical models that conceptually link organizational control structures to individual response patterns are relevant to the study of one of the most basic processes that is to be found in all social organizations: the exercise of power. Etzioni's compliance theory provides one such model. Originally offered as a general theory of complex organizations, the typological utility of compliance theory has been justifiably critiqued for its unidimensionality in the face of vast differences in organizational objectives, structures, processes, and environments (Burns, 1967; Hall *et al.*, 1967). Quite simply, as a general classification scheme, compliance theory restricts us to making rather simple distinctions between types of complex

organizations but, more importantly for our purpose here, the model does point out the critical importance of organizational control structures. Indeed, other analysts have not questioned the relevance and importance of research on compliance structures and their consequences. What appears to be needed is the conceptual elaboration and empirical measurement of the dynamics of organizational control and the response of organizational participants to that control. Etzioni is important in this regard because he has so specifically and so frequently directed our attention to this issue. Thus, in the following paragraphs we will attempt to re-state the basic tenets of compliance theory and provide an elaboration of that model that is designed to account for the social psychological effects of the compliance structures of public school organizations.

Compliance theory directs attention to the type of power applied by the organization as well as its relationship to the type of lower participants. Three basic forms of power are distinguished according to compliance means employed. Coercive power relies on the threat or actual use of physical sanctions, restrictions placed on freedom of movement, or the exercise of control over the means of satisfying basic needs; remunerative power flows from control over such reward systems as salaries and wages; and normative power is derived from the capacity to allocate and manipulate symbolic reinforcers (Etzioni, 1961: 3-6). Although Etzioni has noted that each type of power may be exercised by a single organization, he

suggests that one type of power tends to be more heavily emphasized to prevent the possibility that the utilization of one type of power would neutralize another.

The exercise of any one of these types of power implies something about the orientation that organizational participants will or do have toward the organization. The orientation of participants varies in terms of their intensity of involvement in and commitment to the organization. Etzioni has described three basic response patterns which, in effect, depict an alienation to commitment continuum. Alienative involvement reflects an intense negative orientation toward the organization; calculative involvement is associated with either a weak positive or moderately negative orientation; and moral involvement implies an intensely positive commitment.

Etzioni argues that the exercise of coercive power typically leads to alienative involvement among organizational participants; remunerative power to calculative involvement; and normative power to moral involvement (Etzioni, 1961: 8-22). Thus, these combinations of type of control structure and type of participant responses are defined as congruent compliance structures. Etzioni suggests that congruent compliance structures are more frequent in the empirical world because they are more effective, yet some organizations clearly deviate from these simple congruency patterns. Compliance theory has generally depicted schools as having dual compliance structures that exhibit patterns of both normative and coercive compliance.

If power-involvement congruencies are basic to organizational effectiveness, then we would expect problems related to organizational effectiveness where two types of power operate simultaneously. Although schools have a definite normative component, the premise of this paper is that coercive power is heavily and often predominantly emphasized. We readily acknowledge the fact that schools have and employ the power to manipulate such symbolic rewards as grades, academic honors, and other symbols that reflect the exercise of normative power. Moreover, we note the importance of school organizations being able to stimulate moral involvement of the students who are cast as the lower participants in the school organization if the school is to effectively and efficiently move toward the acquisition of its change-oriented goals. Nevertheless, we are suggesting that care must be taken in distinguishing between the type of power that school officials might claim to exercise on a formal level (normative power) and the type that is actually reflected in many daily activities (coercive power). It is worth noting that the rigorous control structure of schools has historically been the topic of considerable philosophical debate (Goodman, 1964; Silberman, 1970; Jencks *et al.*, 1972).

An examination of the formal objectives of public schools illustrates the potentially conflicting nature of normative and coercive control. An important distinction has been made in the organizational literature between formal and operative goals (Perrow, 1961; Simon, 1964). The moral and technical

socialization of students preparatory to their assumption of adult statuses and roles are formal objectives of education (Bidwell, 1965). How effective schools are in attaining these goals is, of course, an empirical question (Coleman, 1966; Jencks et al., 1972). It is not clear, for example, whether the development of basic skills can be more effectively accomplished by a rigidly or loosely structured educational experience, but, pursuing Etzioni's logic, it can be argued that normative control is both the desired and necessary means by which the probability of effective moral socialization may be increased. This, in turn, points to a potential problem in the structural organization of schools that may inhibit movement toward the attainment of organizational goals.

Specifically, the organization may adopt elements characteristic of coercive control structures in an attempt to adequately insure the requisite level of social control over those being processed, but it may also adopt many of the characteristics of normative control structures given the desire to attain change-oriented goals. Thus, the presence of two potentially conflicting types of organizational goals (change versus control) and the exercise of two types of power within the organization (normative versus coercive) must be viewed as a major problem for the organization, a problem that is often resolved by placing relatively greater emphasis on one type of goal and/or a greater degree of reliance on one type of control structure. Our thesis is that the operative goals of

many public schools quite often shift from the long-range intent to produce an educated citizenry to the short-range and more immediately observable goal of maintaining order, control, and discipline, all of which are goals that encourage increased reliance on the exercise of coercive power. Indeed, one need not have any extensive contact with school systems to realize that a substantial emphasis in teacher evaluations is placed on their ability to control students, and much the same can be said about the manner in which the effectiveness of school administrators is evaluated. This is not to say that schools ignore their educative function. It is to say that the contingencies of everyday school operation encourage educators, educational administrators, and the public that is served by the schools to place a priority on attaining control goals. The movement toward an increased utilization of coercive power that this frequently implies has proven counterproductive to the change-oriented goals of organizations in other settings (cf. Thomas and Poole, 1975) and may be viewed as a determinant of reduced organizational effectiveness in schools as well, particularly because of the fact that the reliance on coercive power tends to reduce the level of commitment between the organization and organizational participants.

In brief, school administrators and teachers often attempt to apply relatively rigid controls because of the demand to maintain discipline and control, but they simultaneously seek to meet the educational and expressive needs of students in a fashion that implies a desire to exercise normative power.

To the extent that coercive power is more heavily emphasized in school organizations, compliance theory hypothesizes the stimulation of relatively high levels of alienation among organizational participants. More specifically, if the structure of the school is perceived to be coercive by students, we would expect decreased levels of student commitment to the school organization. When that is the case, public schools become organizations not really so different from what Goffman (1961) has described as "total institutions" or what compliance theory would designate as dual compliance structures within which coercive power dominates.

Although our suggestion that schools may be properly viewed as analogous to total institutions or coercive organizations may, at least initially, appear to be an overstatement of the manner in which public schools are organized, the notion that such a conceptualization may prove fruitful is not new (cf. Nelson and Besag, 1970). The general logic that can be advanced in support of this position has been well-stated by Kassebaum:

"The school, being nearly inescapable, becomes an institutional setting for not only education but for the struggles waged by youth against what they often experience as the heavy hand of adult control. The school, being required by law, must exert whatever control is necessary to maintain order and continuity from one day to the next, one year to the next... on the one hand, the schools are obliged to provide direction and

and maintain sufficient order that instruction and learning can take place; on the other hand, the application of controls can transform the schoolroom into a battleground of clashing age-sets, cultures, and classes...The possibility then exists for school to be a compulsory custodial institution for many children."

(Kassebaum, 1974: 157-158, emphasis added.)

Our position, then, can be succinctly stated: schools represent organizations which purport to use normative power, largely because normative power facilitates their acquisition of change-oriented goals through stimulating the moral involvement of students. Not really so unlike such coercive organizations as prisons, however, schools must be able to maintain some basic level of control over the students prior to being able to move toward the types of changes in capabilities and world-views which they would like to stimulate. Control cannot be assumed to flow from the characteristics of the lower participants in the school organization as might be the case in such normative organizations as churches. Schools are simply not in a position to rely upon either recruitment standards set by the organization or the self-selectivity exercised by students (cf. Carlson, 1964). Further, schools cannot exercise any significant degree of after-the-fact selectivity by removing students who do not reflect the desired level of moral involvement in the school organization. These and other factors force school organizations to so structure

their operations that the desired level of control over those being processed within the organization can be assured. This, in turn, implies that the exercise of any normative power will often take place within an organizational structure that is primarily designed to achieve social control, a structure that is not nearly so dissimilar to that of a total institution or coercive organization as many previously have assumed.

To the extent that the structure of public schools does reflect a greater emphasis on the exercise of coercive power, we would expect to find increasing degrees of negative commitment among student populations. Negative commitment, moreover, would be expected to stimulate student responses to the school organization that would impair the success of the school in attaining its change-oriented goals. The exact causal sequence has not been carefully specified in existing formulations of compliance theory. It seems possible, however, to attempt to reduce the relatively complex notion of commitment to the school organization to more manageable components. The hypothesized ordering of these components that we propose to examine in this research is presented in Figure 1.

//INSERT FIGURE 1 ABOUT HERE//

Initially, we are suggesting that the coercive elements of the structure of school organizations systematically deprives students of any significant degree of control over that segment of their lives which falls within the scope of control that is

exercised by the school. The scope of control and degree of coercion that an organization can apply vary, of course, both between and within types of organizations. A maximum security penitentiary, for example, has a far greater scope of control and is legally empowered to exercise more coercive power than is the case with a public school. Nevertheless, we can conceive of a continuum of organizational types along which public schools might represent a more narrow scope of control and in which the degree of coercion employed is relatively slight. Private boarding schools would then represent organizations with a somewhat greater scope of control and in which greater degrees of coercion are allowed. Military prep schools and academies would represent an even greater movement along the continuum (although we recognize that private schools and academies have significantly greater powers of selectivity in recruiting members). Prisons and custodially-oriented mental hospitals would fall at the extreme of the continuum. In all such organizations, however, participants lack the power to meaningfully influence the policies, rules, regulations, and programs that are established by the organization as means by which the organizational goals are to be pursued. Thus, the potential for positive involvement in and commitment to the organization is viewed as being initially broken by the alienation of participants that follows the adoption of a basically coercive organizational structure. The key dimension of this structurally-generated alienation is defined in this research as powerlessness, but by this we mean feelings of powerlessness

that are specific to the organization rather than the more general notion of powerlessness that has been described by Seeman (1959). This conceptualization is consistent with examinations of contextual powerlessness that have been reported elsewhere (cf. Thomas and Zingraff, 1975). The alienation of students in school organizations is viewed as a determinant of other responses to the school organization which imply that the effectiveness of the organization in attaining change-oriented goals will be impaired. Specifically, as can be seen in the schematic presentation of our model in Figure 1, powerlessness is directly as well as indirectly linked to several dimensions of organizational commitment. Commitment can best be understood as having multiple properties, and we suggest that there is a logical ordering to commitment patterns. The most generalized referent is interpreted as affect toward the organization (X_4). However, we suggest that there are also intervening mechanisms which reflect student responses to organizational arrangements. Teachers represent an immediate point of reference. Thus, if they are perceived as disinterested in students, lacking in understanding, and discriminating in treatment (X_2), it logically follows that both the normative goals of the organization (X_3) and involvement in the organization (X_4) will be viewed negatively. The latter (X_4) represents the logical outcome of the commitment sequence. Here the predisposition to maintain personal involvement in the organization is viewed as a product of structurally-generated powerlessness (X_1), affect toward school personnel (X_2), and evaluations of organizational goals (X_3). Because each of the

properties of commitment are hypothesized consequences of structurally-generated powerlessness, a number of direct and indirect effects are envisioned. The exact nature of our expectations can best be expressed by the following sequential propositions:

Proposition 1: The greater the degree of structurally-generated powerlessness, the more negative the affect expressed toward school personnel.

Proposition 2: The greater the degree of structurally-generated powerlessness, the more negative the evaluation of organizational goals.

Proposition 3: The greater the degree of structurally-generated powerlessness, the more negative the affect expressed toward involvement in the school organization.

Proposition 4: The more negative the affect expressed toward school personnel, the more negative the evaluation of organizational goals.

Proposition 5: The more negative the affect expressed toward school personnel, the more negative the affect expressed toward the school organization.

Proposition 6: The more negative the evaluation of organizational goals, the more negative the affect expressed toward involvement in the school organization.

In summary, our conceptual model suggests that schools are appropriately viewed as formal organizations which must pursue both control and change goals within a single organizational structure. On a formal level, schools present themselves as what Etzioni has termed normative organizations. On an operational level, however, the requirement that an adequate level of social control be maintained over those who are required by law to remain as organizational participants dictates the incorporation of elements of coercive power in school organizations. Coercive structures can be detected by contextually specific perceptions of powerlessness on the part of students. Although not previously elaborated by the compliance model, we argue that coercive power will produce a logical sequence of negative commitment patterns to school personnel, to school objectives, and to continuing involvement in school organizations. The functional dialectic of school systems, as evidenced by the presence of a dual compliance structure, hypothetically impairs organizational effectiveness by stimulating negative commitment on the part of students.

Research Design and Methodology

In order to operationally test the implications of this theoretical model, data were obtained from a sample of 966 public school sophomores who were attending school in an SMSA

located in the southeastern section of the United States in 1974. Properly completed questionnaires were returned by 923 students, 95.5 percent of those contacted. Because the sampling unit was classes rather than individual students, and because we were not able to control such factors as absence from school on the days during which the data were collected we cannot argue that our sample is fully representative, but we are not aware of any major biases that would significantly affect the quality of our analysis. Indeed, we would argue that those who either were not in school or that refused to cooperate were quite probably less committed to the school than those from whom we did obtain data. This would tend to make our findings more conservative than would have been the case had we been in a position to draw a purely random sample.

Perhaps a more important sampling consideration is that, while we collected data in three of the five high schools in the metropolitan area where the research was conducted, the organizational structures of the three schools were very similar. This, in turn, precludes any comparative organizational analysis that would have otherwise allowed us to examine the assumption that variations in the degree of reliance on coercive power will affect the levels of structurally-generated alienation that can be found among organizational participants. On the other hand, tests of the implications of our propositions do not require comparative analyses. Instead, the basic issue revolves around whether or not levels of alienation detected among students can be linked to feelings of powerlessness that

are linked to the nature of the school organization. Because our contextual measure of powerlessness was designed to examine this linkage, the purpose of the present study is not impaired by the absence of comparative data.

The manner in which the major concepts in our propositions were operationalized is described below and sample indicators from the attitudinal measures are provided in Appendix A.

Alienation

Measures of alienation that have been reported in prior organizational research often differ considerably from the conceptual definitions of alienation that are available in much of the sociological literature. Etzioni (1961), for example, describes alienation as negative involvement in an organization; Aiken and Hage (1966) refer to it as a feeling of disappointment or dissatisfaction with work. Our conceptualization follows Seeman's (1959) discussion of powerlessness rather closely with the exception that a test of our model requires a contextual rather than a societal referent for levels of alienation, but our emphasis on the notion of structurally-generated powerlessness is consistent with the basic assertions of compliance theory. This approach reflects our desire to more clearly delineate the manner in which components of negative involvement in an organization are logically interrelated. Thus, this powerlessness is viewed as the most direct effect of the adoption of a dual compliance structure within which the primary emphasis is placed on the exercise of coercive

power. Our contextual measure of powerlessness contains seven Likert-type attitude items that were selected from a larger pool of potential items. In this and the other attitudinal measures, final item selections were accomplished by correlating each item score with an initial summated scale score. Unless the item-to-scale correlations obtained were equal to or greater than .50, the item was defined as non-discriminatory and therefore deleted from the computation of a final scale score (for a more complete discussion and evaluation of this method of item selection see Thomas et al., 1975). The higher the scale score on this variable, the higher the level of structurally-generated powerlessness. The scale has a mean of 21.545 and a standard deviation of 5.491.

Affect Toward School Personnel

Our conceptual model suggests that three interrelated consequences flow directly from levels of powerlessness that are generated by the organizational structure of the school. Of these three consequences, the level of affect expressed toward school personnel is particularly important in that it is, in turn, a determinant of the other two consequence variables. Teachers were chosen as the most relevant object toward which affect could be measured, and the content of the operational measure focuses on the extent to which the students feel that teachers are concerned about students. The final scale contains ten items. The lower the scale score on this measure, the more negative the affect toward teachers. The mean of the

scale is 23.038 and the standard deviation is 7.116.

Evaluations of Organizational Goals

The formal goals of school organizations call for changes in the attitudes, values, and capabilities of students which will allow them to better understand and succeed in the adult world into which they will move following graduation. Attainment of such goals requires a substantial level of positive commitment to these goals on the part of students, but we have suggested that structurally-generated powerlessness reduces commitment. Thus, we would expect alienated students to negatively evaluate the change-oriented goals of the school and to negatively evaluate the quality of their school experiences. An eight-item attitude measure was developed for this important variable. The lower the scale score on this variable, the more negative the evaluation of organizational goals. The mean of this measure is 30.382 with a standard deviation of 6.868.

Affect Toward Involvement in the School Organization

Feelings of powerlessness, negative affect toward school personnel and negative evaluations of organizational goals are all viewed as determinants of our most general referent of commitment: affect toward involvement in the school organization. Our measure of affect toward the school organization focuses on general positive and negative aspects of involvement in the school organization. The lower the scale score on this measure, the more negative the affect toward involvement in

the school organization. The mean of this eight-item measure is 28.388 with a standard deviation of 6.884.

Analysis and Findings

The model that is outlined in Figure 1 predicts a number of direct and indirect linkages among the variables which represent responses to the structural organization of the school. If, as we have predicted, powerlessness is both directly and indirectly linked to affect toward involvement in the school organization, the introduction of both affect toward school personnel and evaluations of organizational goals as control variables should not significantly alter the magnitude of the zero-order correlations between powerlessness and affect toward involvement. Should the zero-order correlations be significantly reduced, we would have to question the viability of our prediction of a direct linkage and a modification of the model outlined in Figure 1 would have to be considered. Similarly, the direct and indirect linkage predicted between affect toward school personnel and affect toward involvement in the school organization should not be significantly effected when the evaluation of organizational goals variable is held constant. Finally, the zero-order correlation between evaluation of organizational goals and affect toward involvement in the school organization should not be significantly diminished when the antecedent effect of both powerlessness and affect toward school personnel are held constant nor should the magnitude of the initial linkage between affect toward school personnel and affect toward involvement be reduced when the antecedent effect

of powerlessness is controlled. Should these controls for antecedent variables yield major reductions in the respective zero-order correlations, spuriousness would be indicated and a modification in the basic theoretical model would be necessitated. The statistical information required for an assessment of these several possibilities is provided in Table 1.

//INSERT TABLE 1 ABOUT HERE//

The zero-order correlations reported in the upper-half of Table 1 provide substantial support for Propositions 1-6. Relatively strong linkages are noted between powerlessness (X_1) and both affect toward teachers (X_2) and affect toward involvement in the school organization (X_4). Further, both affect toward teachers (X_2) and evaluations of organizational goals (X_3) are strongly related to the affect toward involvement variable (X_4). Thus, the zero-order correlations that are presented in Table 1 are sufficiently substantial that no immediate modifications in our theoretical model are indicated.

The initial support for our propositions that was derived from an examination of the zero-order correlations must be qualified by the findings of our controlled analysis. The hypothesized linkages between affect toward school personnel (X_2) and both evaluations of organizational goals (X_3) and affect toward involvement in the school organization (X_4) are supported by the controlled analysis. The introduction of relevant intervening and antecedent variables does not significantly

influence the magnitude of the zero-order correlations. Similarly, the linkage between evaluations of organizational goals (X_3) and affect toward involvement (X_4) does not appear to be significantly altered when the antecedent effect of powerlessness (X_1) is held constant. On the other hand, the initial levels of association between powerlessness (X_1) and both evaluations of organizational goals (X_3) and affect toward involvement (X_4) are reduced when the influence of affect toward school personnel (X_2) is controlled. A comparable reduction in the zero-order correlations is also noted when the association between evaluations of organizational goals (X_3) and affect toward involvement (X_4) are examined after the introduction of affect toward school personnel (X_2) as a control. These findings, in turn, imply that our measure of affect toward school personnel is a particularly important variable both because it appears to mediate the linkage between powerlessness and the other consequence variables and because it significantly influences the relationship between evaluations of organizational goals and affect toward involvement in the school organization. Thus, although all of the direct and indirect linkages that were predicted are supported by the controlled analysis, the strength of several of the linkages is revealed to be less than what we would have expected from an examination of the zero-order correlations.

These qualifications notwithstanding, our analysis rather clearly shows that levels of powerlessness that are associated with the structure of these public schools are determinants of

three interrelated consequences that imply reduced effectiveness of the school organization in attaining its change-oriented goals. As levels of powerlessness increase, our respondents appear to develop negative attitudes toward their instructors, a rejection of the meaningfulness of the formal goals of the organization, and negative evaluations of the nature of their involvement in the organization. Further, when such factors as powerlessness stimulate the development of negative effect toward school personnel, the probability that they will devalue organizational goals and their involvement in the organizations appears to be considerably increased. Thus, we conclude that: (1) there is evidence in support of the hypothesis that the structure of public school organizations generates important degrees of powerlessness among the student population; (2) powerlessness is significantly related to consequences that imply reduced levels of organizational effectiveness with regard to attaining the formal goals of the organization; and (3) that the consequences of powerlessness are interrelated in such a manner as to further inhibit the effectiveness of the school organization.

Discussion

The organizational effectiveness of schools is an important applied as well as a significant theoretical issue. The specification of objectives is basic to any assessment of organizational performance. We have argued that there is an important distinction between formal and operative goals in public education. At the operative level, the development of

a highly structured means of assuring social control over students, who are required by law to attend school regardless of their degree of commitment to the formal goals of education, implies the exercise of coercive power. This, in turn, stimulates relatively high levels of powerlessness among students. Such structurally induced powerlessness fosters negative affect toward school personnel, the formal goals of the organization, and the predisposition to maintain personal involvement in the school.

Given that the logical sequence of response patterns to coercive structures has not previously been specified in formulations of compliance theory, the present model contributes to a better understanding of the genuine complexity of human responses to social control in an educational setting. Certainly further comparative research is needed in which levels of coercive control can be systematically varied, both with regard to structural properties and the equally important perceptions of organizational participants. In this manner, alternative commitment patterns can be specified. Beyond that, a variety of behavioral outcomes should also be measured. For example, we have previously shown that the dimensions of this model are good predictors of juvenile delinquency, even when sex, ethnicity, socioeconomic status, curriculum tract, and academic performance were held constant. These findings suggest that compliance theory can usefully be applied to that aspect of delinquency which is related to the school experience

(Thomas, Kreps, and Cage, 1975).

From an applied standpoint, we have documented a control dialectic involving the simultaneous use of normative and coercive power, which is potentially inconsistent with the acquisition of skills and meaningful psycho-social development. Still, it is worth repeating that a principle problem in public education is a lack of clarity as to whether the instrumental or expressive needs of students should predominate (or perhaps be pursued equally). Moreover, the assumption that both instrumental and expressive objectives can be effectively accomplished within similar organizational structures is an open empirical question. Evidence suggesting that instrumental payoffs (cognitive skill development, educational achievement, occupational status, income) are direct results of the way public education is socially structured is spotty at best (Coleman, 1966; Jencks et al., 1972; Bidwell and Kasarda, 1975). At the same time there is little if any evidence which suggests that a rigid control structure contributes to psycho-social development. Our own research implies just the opposite.

Certainly the objectives that organizations pursue dictate the structural arrangements organizations must impose. Presently there is considerable ambiguity in public education both in terms of objectives (normative versus order goals, instrumental versus expressive needs of students, community functions versus individual wants, and so on) and in terms of organizational structures designed to accomplish them. For some

time the relatively rigid structure of public education went unquestioned. More recently, experiments have been tried and continued in an effort to "destructure" the education of students. There is considerable debate about the relative merits of alternative structures: some argue for continued experimentation and some suggest a return to the old verities. This debate occurs in the face of strong public pressures for accountability and social science knowledge that suggests caution in making claims for educational effectiveness. The problem that is often forgotten in this discussion is that the social control processes in school organizations have major psychological and social consequences for client populations, consequences which are clearly crucial to the issue of effective organizational performance. Any assessment of effectiveness of educational organizations will be inherently problematic until there is some resolution of the ambiguity about objectives. In any event, social psychological models which directly confront social control, a basic process related to the pursuit of any organizational objective, will be crucial for the expansion of practical knowledge about organizational performance. In our judgment, Etzioni provides one such model and we should continue to work with it.

APPENDIX A

The following sample items illustrate operational measures of the variables employed in this article:

<u>Item</u>	<u>Content</u>	<u>Item to Scale</u> <u>Score Correlations</u>
ORGANIZATIONAL POWERLESSNESS		
	The opinions and desires of students don't seem to make any difference in the way this school is run.*	.714
	There's not much I can do about the way I'm treated here whether I like it or not.*	.643
	Nobody here will let us make decisions for ourselves.*	.665
	People like me have little influence on how this school is run.*	.592
AFFECT TOWARD TEACHERS		
	Most teachers couldn't care less about me.	.644
	When all is said and done, our teachers don't really care what we think.	.621
	Most high school teachers don't really care whether their students do well or not.	.680
	Usually our teachers don't really listen to our views in class.	.639
EVALUATIONS OF ORGANIZATIONAL GOALS		
	School is preparing me to make decisions for myself.	.771
	School is helping me to become a better citizen.	.747

FIGURE 1

PREDICTED LINKAGES BETWEEN POWERLESSNESS (X1), AFFECT TOWARD SCHOOL PERSONNEL (X2),
EVALUATIONS OF ORGANIZATIONAL GOALS (X3), AFFECT TOWARD
INVOLVEMENT IN THE SCHOOL ORGANIZATION (X4)

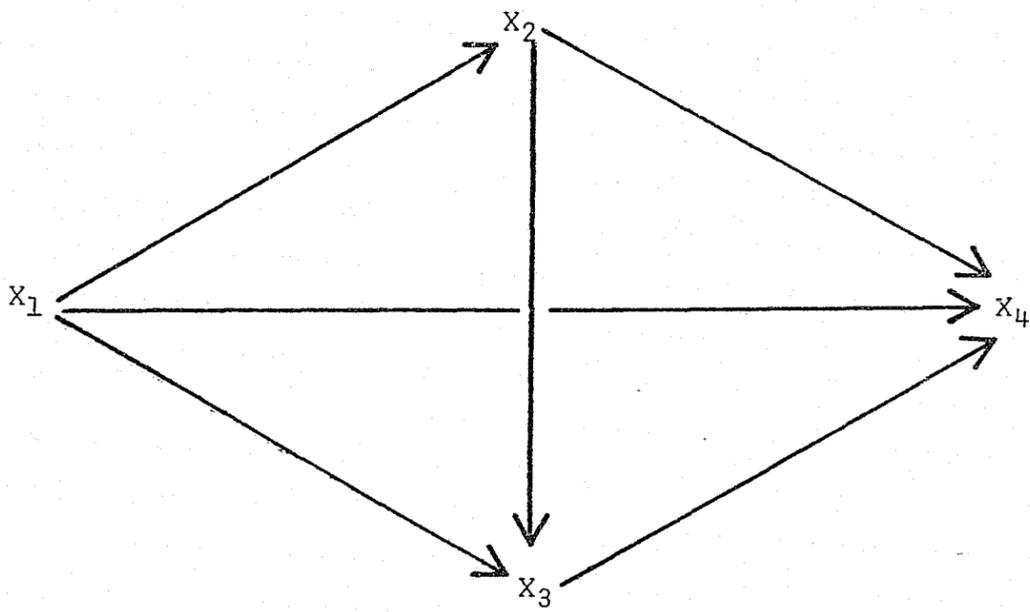
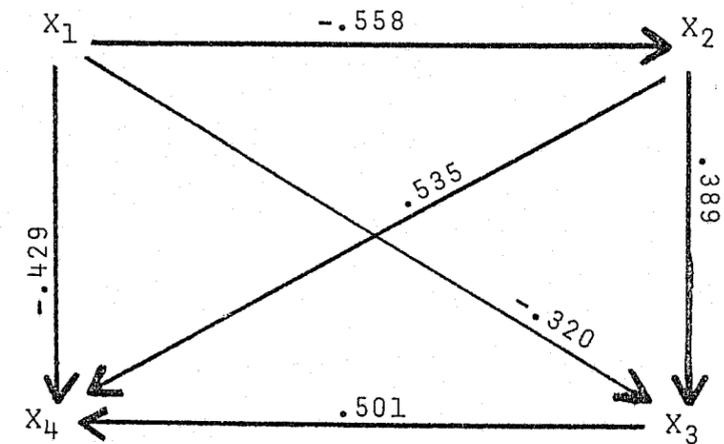


TABLE 1

INTERRELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN POWERLESSNESS (X1), AFFECT TOWARD SCHOOL PERSONNEL (X2), EVALUATIONS OF ORGANIZATIONAL GOALS (X3), AND AFFECT TOWARD INVOLVEMENT IN THE SCHOOL ORGANIZATION (X4)



Partial Correlations

$X_1X_3.X_2 = -.139$	$X_2X_3.X_1 = .261$	$X_3X_4.X_1 = .425$
$X_1X_4.X_2 = -.186$	$X_2X_4.X_1 = .394$	$X_3X_4.X_2 = .380$
$X_1X_4.X_3 = -.327$	$X_2X_4.X_3 = .428$	$X_3X_4.X_1X_2 = .364$
$X_1X_4.X_2X_3 = -.146$	$X_2X_4.X_1X_3 = .324$	

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