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INTRODUCTION

A social system has an integrated system of roles organizing the activities of its members towards common goals (Bidwell, 1955). Each and every member of a society has a role or set of roles that he/she plays in that society. A fundamental component of a society is that its rules, regulations, laws and mores, put down by the law-givers of that society, are recognized and obeyed by its members. Therefore, role conflict occurs when a successful interaction and communication between the members of that social group is threatened. An interaction is considered successful when all members in that interaction are willing to observe certain rules of deference and demeanour — rules of conduct set down by the law-givers of the organization or social group. These laws and regulations of deference and demeanour, whether explicit or implicit, are obeyed for the smooth running and perpetuation of that society, by its members (Spindler et al., 1974; Brubacher, 1969). These rules socialize the members of a society, cement the component parts of a society together, provide a sense of identity and transmit culture. It is in this sense that they are very important. In return to obedience the society has to make sure that the individual's needs, of those who make up that society are satisfied (Bidwell, 1955). In the absence of this need satisfaction, conflict and confusion will arise. This is so because in any organization coordination and cooperation within and among its parts is of great importance (Khan et

al., 1964).

Conflict in general, but role conflict experienced by individual members of a group in particular, is always costly for the group as well as the individual in efficiency, as well as in terms of emotional and interpersonal involvement. It also decreases the productivity of the group (Khan et al., 1964). Therefore the internalization and the proper use of behavior expectations is of utmost importance for the smooth operation of a group and for the satisfaction of the needs of the individuals who make up that group (Bidwell, 1955).

The school is a social system and in that sense has the responsibilities of a social system (Grace, 1972; Denzin, 1973). The school is one important place where socialization takes place to a large extent. Students between the ages of 5-20 spend most of their day in school learning how to become adults and citizens of society (Denzin, 1973). Teachers are significant actors in this system but almost all the literature related to schools deals mainly with students or curricular and educational administration problems (Grace, 1972). Teachers are discussed rarely. Waller pointed to their important role when he stated "most of the programs for the rehabilitation of the schools are founded upon the rock of teacher resistance" (Waller, 1965, p. 457).

Teachers in primary and secondary educational institutions function within the boundaries and the dictates of the dominant culture (law-givers) of the general society. They are entrusted with the responsibility of inculcating in the young the values of that society and preparing for the society's future adult citizens who can function smoothly and efficiently according to the dictates of that society. They also have the responsibility of fulfilling the industrial and

technological and vocational requirements of that society (Brubacher, 1969, p. 96). Furthermore, they are perpetuating the cultural stratification of society (its social, economic, political, occupational structure). For example, for a student coming to school, a teacher is expected to pass on the prescribed knowledge of the 3 Rs in addition to continuing and perpetuating that which the home and significant others in the student's world have already begun to 'teach'.

In 1972 Grace published the results of a small scale inquiry into the role of the teacher in England. The study was limited to one hundred and fifty secondary school teachers in a small town, small school context. In 1978, when I was looking for a thesis topic, I decided to follow Grace's analysis in Canada. Being a teacher myself, I was very concerned with the situation of teachers in the Montreal area schools. As a result of administrative and bureaucratic power struggle between the government, the school boards and teacher unions, and because of the most recent changes of focus in the educational priorities enunciated by the Ministry of Education, teachers had been made to feel less significant, but were given more responsibility along with diminishing authority (M. E. Q., 1979). There was an atmosphere of unhappiness on the part of teachers who started verbalizing a strong sense of professional stress.

I decided to use the insights and model provided by Grace to carry out a similar study of teachers in a small school in a small town context in a suburb of Montreal: teachers of Lake of Two Mountains high school. Most of the teachers live in the immediate community, while some commute to the school from Montreal and within a radius of 15-20 miles.

CHAPTER I

THE DESIGN

Conceptual Framework

A. Approaches to the Study of Role Conflict

In the general literature dealing with the concept of "role" and "role conflict," one encounters several disciplinary approaches, the most prominent being the sociological approach and the psychological approach. Gross et al. (1957) and Biddle et al. (1962) have attempted to provide unifying analytical frameworks. We shall first of all quickly review the literature in this area.

Since a given individual has to fulfill several roles in society in different situations, it is reasonable to expect that the individual will often face problem situations where he has to decide which role expectation and prescribed pattern of behavior to enact. "Role Conflict" is the term which is applied by social scientists to the problem situation faced by an individual as described above. Some researchers use more specific connotations of "role conflict" such as "role strain" (Goody, 1968) or "role stress" (Westwood, 1967a). In all its forms, role conflict results from one type of incompatibility or other related to the individual in a given role. As Khan et al. (1964) have emphasized, one can examine "role conflict" "as a fact in the environment of the person and as a fact in his internal, psychological life."

At the theoretical level, the analysis proposed by Talcott Parsons

(1951) has influenced the work of many scholars. As Grace (1972, p. 2) analyzes this situation, role occupants are seen

to be faced with potential conflict arising out of value-choices which they have to make. Important among these are the extent to which they become emotionally involved in role relationships (affectivity v. affective neutrality); the extent to which they put their own interests before those of the group or organization (self-orientation v. collectivity orientation) and the extent to which they employ universal standards in specific local situations (universalism v. particularism).

Empirical studies related to role conflict take two different orientations in general: perceptual studies and perceptual-experiential studies.

Perceptual studies concentrate on the simple perception of the observer of divergent expectations from a role as seen by the role occupant and the significant others in the life of that occupant. An example is the study of Musgrove (1967) asking groups of teachers to rank four main aspects of teacher's role (discipline, teaching, personality and organisation) as they ideally valued them and as colleagues, pupils and parents valued them. The critiques of this approach argue that "the problem of role conflict is a different one from the problem of role agreement and disagreement" (Charters, 1963). Some others qualify as "naive" the assumption on which this approach is based — that all lack of consensus leads to conflict (Westwood, 1967).

Perceptual-experiential studies of role conflict on the other hand, as exemplified by the work of Getzels and Guba (1954), attempt to measure the extent to which such situations trouble the role occupant.

Historically, the emphasis has been on the study of inter-role

conflict -- conflict which can arise because one holds different roles such as teacher, father, husband. More recently the emphasis is on the intra-role conflict -- conflict arising within a specific role.

Others still claim that roles have a moral and ethical orientation and role conflict arises because of rapid change in the cultural context of a group leading to a breakdown of value consensus. The teacher's role is given as an example.

Role-organization conflict is also centrally related to teacher's role (Katz and Kahn, 1966; Corwin, 1965). There are several variables in this area, as follows: leadership styles, organizational commitment and professional orientation, communication patterns, specialization, job coordination, work climate, allocation of resources, goal setting, and goal attainment.

In relation to role-culture conflict, one should mention the role community conflict approach. In relation to teachers such situations have been analyzed since Waller's study (1965). Teacher's private life in the community as well as the teacher's life in the school are influenced by the expectations of the larger community.

Merton (1957) has developed the concept of "role set" and has defined it as "that implement of role relationships which persons have by virtue of occupying a particular social status." The occupant of the role being studied becomes the "focal" person and his role conflict is measured in relation to the others included in the role set. On the other hand, there is another approach where the emphasis in the definition of self-role or person role conflict is upon the individual performing the role. "Ideal-actual" conflict is one example. The role occupant's perception of the significance to be accorded to the role

and his perception of how much it is actually valued. On the other hand, Getzels and Guba (1957) have pointed out that "if the institutional demands are contradictory to, or irrelevant to, the demands of personality, then the individual is presented with a conflict." For example, conflict arising in a teacher who prefers an assertive, magisterial type of teaching style and who is forced to adopt a democratic, group learning process in the classroom.

The study of the differential resolution of role conflict is also of some importance in the role conflict literature. The approach which an individual will adopt will depend on many factors, most importantly upon the nature and the intensity level of the conflict, the context in which conflict is experienced and personality variables. According to the analysis of Grace (1972, p. 10) attempts to resolve role conflict may take the form of

positive, adaptive or retreatist reactions. Exposed to role conflict in the teaching situation, one teacher can become a militant reformer, determined to change certain circumstances in the situation, another can resolve the incompatibilities by a system of priorities or compromises, while a third can become disengaged and pessimistic about the whole business.

The consequences of role conflict and its successful or non-successful resolution have direct consequences for the individual and direct or indirect consequences for the group in which the individual is functioning. The consequences of role conflict have been examined in some situations but we do not have a wide empirical base to decide on the positive or negative effects in a systematic way. Coser (1956, p. 154) has argued that "a flexible society benefits from conflict because such behaviour, by helping to create and modify norms, assures its continuance under changed conditions." On the other hand, Kahn et

al. (1964) found that reduced confidence in superiors and the organization as a whole resulted from a certain type of role conflict experienced by workers and related to job tensions. In the teaching situation the positive resolution of role conflict may be reflected in changes brought about in curriculum to organization of the school while the negative consequences are illustrated by Charters (1963, p. 748) when he states: "... the teacher is likely to belittle the accomplishments of education and to take a cynical attitude towards his work, the school system and educational ideas and ideals."

B. The Teacher and Role Conflict

Very little empirical research of the contemporary role of the teacher has recently been done. Changes thought imminent in the teacher's role have been discussed in general. For example, the changes discussed may deal with teaching styles or the types of teaching styles parents want to see in schools (Sieber and Wilder, 1973; Parsons, 1951; Willower et al., 1967). Actual investigations of the teacher's roles, the professional behaviour he/she engages in or is expected to practice have been few (Musgrove and Taylor, 1965).

Much of the literature on the subject of teacher role conflict has mostly the psychological perspective as its point of departure, using behavioural norms but staying at the level of theorizing (Bates, 1962; Gullahorn and Gullahorn, 1963). Sociologists are concerned with structural considerations and with the specific content of role. Such considerations merely stay at the level of assumption without realizing that "norms change rapidly ... and come in a baffling variety, but there are only a limited number of ways that roles may themselves be structured" (Bates, 1962).

It is assumed by many authors that teacher's role conflict is due to personality shortcomings and inadequacies and therefore the remedies lie in self-criticism and behaviour change (Edgerton, 1977; Sarbin, 1943).

Until recently, any efforts to understand teacher's role, have not been total: "an adequate conception of role must necessarily take all of the role dimension into account" (Sarbin, 1943). "Until the structural sources of tension are recognized and managed, merely personal resolutions of tension remain illusionary and transitory" (Sarson, 1972).

On the other hand, studies and experience have shown that changes in the educational institutions or changes in methods, do not solve the problem because they do not sufficiently consider the teacher as a significant actor. The traditional conception of the teacher's role must change (Edgerton, 1977; Brubacher, 1969). Teacher's role or any role exists in an interaction with all other roles (Brubacher, 1969). This point makes us aware that psychology is not the only discipline that might influence educational goals, teacher roles, institutions and aims. Economics, politics, sociology, history and anthropology also influence what goes on in the classroom and why.

In order to understand the reason for teacher role conflict and society's changing expectations of teachers, we must investigate beginnings of the role of teachers and institutionalized teachers.

1. Historical Background and Present Context in Quebec

The major factor that determined the teachers' jobs and training, at the turn of the last century, was industrialization and the associated changes that came with it. The major factor that determines their jobs

and training today is the technological revolution of the last decade or so. This is so because industrialization and technology create new needs and requirements in the economic, industrial, political, religious, educational institutions of society, as well as in the family institution.

Industrial needs put pressure on family life. For example, families had to separate to be closer to their jobs. Therefore traditional roles also changed. For example, fathers were not the only breadwinners; mothers also had to work. The influx of people into the urban centre with its pollution and over-crowding added pressures on individuals and society, such as malnutrition, child abuse and delinquency. These pressures threatened the social fabric of society. The growth of industry and therefore of the city, necessitated the establishment of facilities where:

- 1) the techniques and skills of the newly established industry and technology could be taught to suit the political requirements of the dominant culture or schools.

- 2) The children, who were left unattended, could be cared for as the conditions in the cities deteriorated, i.e. nurseries (Fuller and Jacobs, 1973; Wilson, 1962). The social reformers of the day thought that by educating all children, social conditions could be improved (Morrison, 1976; Phillips, 1957; Cross, 1973; Prentice and Houston, 1975).

- 3) A constant flow of skilled workers into the industry or the work force could be prepared, i.e. schools.

Therefore, it is under these conditions that compulsory education as we know it today first appeared at the beginning of the 19th

century. It determined what kind of jobs teachers were to do and to have.

In the pre-industrial societies or in primitive societies prior to the 19th century, educators and compulsory education as we now know were not necessary. In these societies culture was transmitted by the implicit curriculum, the informal curriculum. In other words, society at large educated its young in the ways of the culture. For example, parents taught their children that which was necessary. The son took over the father's business and the daughter learned all that was necessary from the mother (Wilson, 1962). The young learned from significant others, such as parents, elders and clergy about becoming adults. That is, they became socialized informally. This socialization process with its norms and codes reflected the values and moral codes of the society (Dahlke, 1958). The Bible or the Scriptures were often the only readers (Goody, 1968).

In these traditional societies, the intellectual elite were the priests and the literati. These were not teachers, in the present sense, but were the custodians and guardians of knowledge (Wilson, 1962). Teachers as we know them today, were not yet created.

As societies became more and more complex in organization, the community abdicated its implicit responsibilities to the educational institutions which in return were expected to pass on the explicit academic culture or curriculum, brought about by technological and industrial change. These demands of industry and technology on society created the need for a new breed of teachers, who would have to make knowledge secularized. Knowledge had to be useful and the right of the ordinary people and not only the right of the intellectual elite

(Wilson, 1962). The diffusion of knowledge to the ranks of the ordinary people became an accepted social goal of the social reformers and universal education began to be advocated (Fuller and Jacobs, 1973).

Thus, teachers became the specialists and the transmitters of knowledge in a changing society. But we see clearly that formal schooling came about at the turn of the 19th century to satisfy the needs and dictates of the industrial revolution, and the existing political system. The needs and dictates of the society were seen as social necessities. For example, some basic skills such as numeracy and literacy or the 3 Rs had to be taught throughout society to enable the newly emerging industry to function, i.e. to prepare workers for the work force (Dahlke, 1958). At the same time it was thought that the people's standard of living could be improved through education and by doing so, alleviate suffering and pain of the men, women and children who worked in the sweat shops 15-18 hours a day.

The role of the teacher in the 19th century was that of teacher-missionary (Taylor, 1969) dedicated to the teaching of the basic skills and by doing so, it would alleviate human suffering. They took the gospel of religious and social values from the enlightened section of society to the unenlightened section of society (Floud, 1962). The teacher was the agent of social cohesion "to maintain and promote consensus on value questions" (Taylor, 1969), while the society — home, church, family, had the great responsibility of teaching the young child how to become an adult. The family initiated its young into adulthood.

The child could find models to shape himself after in the people around him — his significant others. The explicit curriculum, the academic curriculum was taught by the school, while the implicit curriculum

was taught by home, family, church, the significant others. The moral concepts of good and bad, values of obedience, charity, kindness and love which is the implicit curriculum was taken care of in the home. Teachers only made sure that these rules were followed in schools and that they themselves followed them.

In the 20th century, as society became more technologically oriented, knowledge became more objective and scientific in character. As scientific knowledge increased, the requirement for the humanities (Wilson, 1962; Entwistle, 1977) which deal with non-scientific aspects of life, decreased. And yet paradoxically, as scientific knowledge grew, the awareness in society needing some sort of continuity and certain value commitment increased. People became aware that scientific knowledge outstrips moral, spiritual and political wisdoms. At the same time, society now passes even more so than before to the teacher the responsibility of initiating its young into adulthood. The teacher of the 20th century is dedicated to teach the scientific, objective curriculum and (now is expected to be) dedicated "to the raising of standards of culture debased and threatened by the freedoms and the dehumanizing aspects (Goodman, 1960) of the technological revolution." These two obligations are mutually exclusive as they stand. The values which the teacher must transmit become, in some sense, extrinsic to the knowledge that he/she is assisting young people to acquire.

Now, more than ever before, teachers must deal with the frustrations of society, as members of that society, and have to cope with increasing frustrations in the teaching profession itself brought about by the evolving technological industry and society, with its changing

expectations and needs. There is also the power struggle among school boards, teacher unions and governments to contend with.

It should be mentioned here that conflicts in teacher's role, just like any conflict, do not exist in isolation in society but exist in a process of interaction with every part or member affecting one another.

Nowadays, the teacher is expected to perform the following tasks besides his or her initial role, transmitting the academic culture or scientific knowledge.

1) The teacher has become the weaning agent (Westwood, 1967; 1967a). In traditional societies the child had already acquired emotional or social independence when he/she came to school. Now the teacher is expected to stimulate the child to respond, to accept certain social values, which earlier were the responsibility of others. The teacher has to socialize the child and build in him social controls as part of the child's developing personality structure (Westwood, 1967a) and cultivate the spirit of inquiry or curiosity.

2) The teachers have become social filters or selectors (Denzin, 1973; Wilson, 1962; Circourel and Kitsuse, 1963). It is the school teachers who prepare the child for the social role chosen for him within the society. In traditional societies, the selection occurred before formal education began with the consent of the parents.

3) The teacher also guides the child towards upward mobility, that is, 'to get on' and 'move up' away from the aspirations and values of the parents (Entwistle, 1977).

Beyond these responsibilities, to keep up with the requirements of the new technology, teachers of today must keep up to date.

He/she attends various courses, workshops, seminars, conventions, etc. These put extra pressures and requirements on the already heavy load of the teacher.

On the other hand, we should remember that schools as the main educational institutions, have been under a lot of criticism in the past decade or so. They are being blamed by industry, technology, etc. for graduating illiterate adolescents into the mainstream or the work force of society, or are being blamed for failing in their responsibilities. (Note that no official delegation of responsibility has ever been made). The educational institutions pass this criticism down to the teachers who are then expected to solve the malady of illiterate, hopeless, unmotivated and aimless youth (Illich, 1973; Erikson, 1968). Teachers are asked to solve this problem while conforming to the requirements of the bureaucratic organization of schools, school boards, and education ministries, who often have incompatible goals. The incompatible and often contradictory goals or aims create moral conflict in the teacher.

Educational institutions have answered the challenges and criticisms of the technological revolution and have adapted to the needs, values and requirements by changing their role requirements and their expectations of the teacher, the student and the public. Therefore, the technological revolution has redefined and redetermined teachers' jobs and their training. This new redefinition has brought about a rapid change in the teachers' role and has increased and diversified the teachers' responsibilities and expectations. In doing so, it has increased the potential of teacher role conflict.

In Quebec all these factors reviewed as historical background are more vivid since the effect of industrialization and technological

revolution had a major impact on the societal fabric very recently. Since the early 60's the Quiet Revolution has brought about all the conflict situations described above to bear on the schools and teachers of Quebec. Various changes in school curriculum are implemented with the idea of secularizing Quebec society while the hold of the clergy and religious sectarianism is still very much evident in everyday school life. Also in the late seventies the government started to think more carefully in terms of rationalization of the huge expenditures devoted to the modernization of the school system in Quebec. Political ideology and economic necessity started taking openly a precedence over pedagogical considerations. A significant factor that has increased the role conflict of teachers in Quebec especially, is that while the teachers' role and jobs are being redefined, teachers are not consulted. Yet it is clear, that for any educational blueprint to work (Grace, 1972), teachers should be consulted if they are indeed essential to the process. It is not sufficient to assume that teachers will "fit in" with any educational 'renovation'. For example, the latest blueprint for integration of special education children by the education ministry last March was presented on the last day of the QACLD convention in Montreal. The Quebec Minister of Social Affairs addressed one of the closing sessions where I was present, and explained the rationale behind the integration policy, that his ministry and the ministry of education have undertaken. He explained how it was possible and 'better' to integrate special education children into regular classrooms. Economically speaking, that sounds logical. Why have 12 children in a classroom when the general maximum is 31 or 29? What about the training of teachers? The fact that the teacher who accepts these special

children into the classroom may have no training does not seem to interest the minister. What of the deaf, crippled or the blind child who are integrated into regular classes? We advocate the rights of children; what of the rights of deaf, crippled or blind children if the teachers do not have the preparation and readiness to make the policy into reality?

At the time when I first planned this study, teachers were finding themselves in a deteriorating situation in Quebec contrasting with and following a recent improvement period. This was perceived by many teachers in general including myself. The results of this study should be analyzed with this background in mind.

2. The Teacher and Role Conflict — A Conceptual Framework

While the great potential of role conflict has been emphasized in relation to the role of the teacher in various theoretical analyses (Floud, 1962; Corwin, 1965; Hoyle, 1965; Wilson, 1962; Merton, 1957) empirical evidence is rare.

The diffuse nature of the teacher's role is cited as a major cause for conflict in many works. A. S. Neill (1939, p. 47) has written in this respect as follows:

Most teachers have a more or less vague feeling that their work is pouring water down a drain. His work is physically much more exhausting than that of a lawyer or a doctor because he has a job that never finishes, a job in which he can never see the end.

However, the empirical evidence is not conclusive since some studies do not show any evidence of conflict related to the role diffuseness (Gerstl, 1967) while others do (Peterson, 1964).

Merton (1957, p. 112) has emphasized teacher conflict arising from the role set complexity:

The teacher may thus become subject to conflicting role expectations among such members of his role set as professional colleagues, influential members of the school board and, say, the Americanism Committee of the American Legion. What is an educational essential for the one, may be judged an education frill, or as downright subversion by the other. These disparate and contradictory evaluations by members of the role-set greatly complicate the task of coping with them all. The familiar case of the teacher may be taken as paradigmatic. What holds conspicuously for this one status, holds in varying degrees for the occupants of all other statuses.

The empirical work (Charters, 1963; Manwiller, 1958; Getzels and Guba, 1955) based on this theoretical model has been dismissed mainly by the criticism that the conflict is largely in the eye of the observer.

In several studies, Musgrove and Taylor have shown the existence of different levels of conflict in different types of schools in England and at different levels of schooling (Musgrove, 1967; Taylor, 1968; Musgrove and Taylor, 1969).

Conflict arising from the characteristics of schools as institutions which are much more exposed to public pressure than are hospitals, courts and universities, is also emphasized in the literature. The implications of this on the personnel, specially teachers, has been discussed and examined (Hoyle, 1965; Corwin, 1965; Carver and Sergrovanni, 1969).

Conflict of role commitment and career orientation in teaching is central. This stems from the conflict which arises in balancing self-interest and the interest of the others: As teachers are being trained more and more in universities as professionals, this conflict will become more acute because professional and career mobility are emphasized over devotion and total dedication to students.

Value conflict is another major area of concern in the teacher

role conflict literature. Floud (1962) describes the role of the teacher as that of the missionary. Spindler (1963) speaks of a major shift in societal value structure represented by a movement away from "traditional" and towards "emergent" values. In this way the older teachers have more potential for facing this type of conflict. A pluralistic society advocating pluralism in values has made the role of the teacher a very delicate one. Teachers who insist on the traditional values may be open to ridicule and charges of ethnocentrism by students, those applying emergent values may be criticized by society at large. Musgrove and Taylor (1965) provide evidence that the moral orientation of the teacher's role is still very strong.

Perceived marginal status, without direct say in matters to be taught and the organization of the curriculum, may lead the teacher to experience acute and chronic conflict situations. In the same vein, studies have concluded that men teachers are more associated with conflict than women teachers (Getzels and Guba, 1955), secondary teachers more than grammar school teachers (Musgrove, 1967). Therefore among some important mediating factors which have been isolated one finds characteristics of the teacher and characteristics of the school.

We can see how diverse and complex the teacher's role has become. This diversity and complexity has created role conflict in the teacher. Westwood (1967), Wilson (1962), Musgrove and Taylor (1969), Edgerton (1977), Grace (1972) regard teachers' role as a classic conflict situation: Grace (1972) has divided the teacher's role into the following conflict categories:

(a) Role diffuseness or Role ambiguity: Teacher's role is ill-defined, uncertain, marginal. Most role occupants want to feel

that their activities are important and necessary. When they perceive that they only have marginal status, conflict can arise (Wilson, 1962; Grace, 1972). Teachers of art, woodwork, metal work, technical and commercial studies and home economics, and physical education have always faced this marginal status. In Quebec, this conflict is more pronounced because high school credits are not usually given towards graduation in these subjects. Teachers are also open to a variety of interpretations and expectations and demands in the performance of their roles or jobs (Musgrove, 1967; Wilson, 1962). For example, there is no clear-cut definition of the jobs of the teacher. A teacher who teaches English cannot go to class, rattle off a lot of grammar and then leave, like a factory worker whose job is to cut stacks of patterns or other routine tasks. Once these patterns or tasks are done, he/she then passes on to the next stack or task, and so on, and so on.

The teacher is also expected to do routine as well as non-routine work. Teachers are expected to do paper work, budget, counsel and also teach (which is his/her only traditional role). Teachers are increasingly faced with the Dr. Jekyll/Mr. Hyde phenomenon. They are constantly faced with changing roles, from teacher to secretary to counsellor to policeman (Bidwell, 1955; Edgerton, 1977).

(b) Role vulnerability: The teacher is faced with conflicting expectations of how he or she should perform his role. Since teachers are paid public servants everyone and anyone feels competent to give advice and opinions. Teachers are exposed to public pressure. Teachers feel vulnerable because there is no jargon to protect them. In Quebec, the centralization of education, the latest White Paper where parents were asked to get more involved in school affairs, the

latest employment contract settlement and especially the cut-backs in education have made the Quebec teacher feel more vulnerable. The feeling of vulnerability has resulted in increased power of the teacher unions who have started to create a special jargon to protect teachers. In Quebec, school board commissioners are usually business men or other professionals such as lawyers, doctors, etc. who hardly have any experience at the grass roots level. Conflicts arise because teachers perceive a conflict between the way the institution is run, the way society treats them and their own professional status and self-image (Wilson, 1962; Grace, 1972). Whenever the teachers strike, the public becomes quite hostile to them and do not understand the issues involved.

(c) Conflict of role commitment and career orientation: This conflict is a conflict of the expected and accepted social value of "getting on" or the desire to "move up" to a better job (Wilson, 1962). If teachers are "on the move" then they cannot perform the affective aspect of their jobs. They are not committed to their job. In such cases they become impersonal transmitters of skills and do not personally get involved with the children they teach. This, then, is a conflict between "self-interest and the interests of others" (Grace, 1972). Grace suggests that:

this conflict has always been present in society, but has intensified in modern industrial societies where visible success and public recognition have heightened significance, where greater opportunities exist for job mobility and social mobility and where growing secularism has even weakened the belief that God, even if no one else, sees the dedication of the individuals. (Grace, 1972; Wilson, 1962)

This conflict is not only confined to teachers, but Wilson argues that this type of conflict is particularly severe for teachers because of the importance of affective commitment in the role -- the strictly

professional attitude, to remember that one's clients are just cases which is so much stressed in medicine, law and social work, is simply not possible in teaching (Wilson, 1962; Grace, 1972). Teachers are concerned with the examination of concepts of professionalism, the structure of organization and analysis of human motivation. These ideals are cultivated in the colleges of education. These stress the necessity of sustained and warm relationships with the client (Grace, 1972).

(d) Value conflict: The possibilities of value conflict for the teacher in today's culture or society are numerous. Teachers from the start of the teaching profession were expected to exhibit religious and moral virtues in their own person (the teacher here is a value model) and is expected to transmit these virtues to their pupils (the teacher here is the value bearer). These values are essentially a moral-religious element of value emphasizing consideration for others, honesty, truthfulness and the importance of 'spiritual' as opposed to 'material' impulses and a socio-cultural component emphasizing good manners, respect for persons, and property, thrift, independent initiative with responsibility constructive use of leisure, ambition and the work-success ethic.

The teacher's spiritual and moral standing and value commitment were regarded more important.

The changes in today's modern industrial and technologically advanced societies have brought about severe problems in this area of the teacher's role. According to Wilson (1962), Spindler (1963) the growth of pluralism in values has created a conflict situation in the classroom between the old traditional values and new emergent values, youth vs. age. Floud (1962) thinks that today's affluent society also

creates a conflict in the form of declining respect for institutional authority and a widening of social and spiritual gulf between generations which together undermine the moral authority of the teacher. Therefore the mass media and the peer group are seen as powerful sources of alternative values against those of a teacher.

Teachers who hold traditional values will experience conflict with their students, and younger colleagues, and teachers who hold emergent values may experience conflict from their colleagues, parents, etc. In spite of the emergent values, Musgrove and Taylor (1965), King (1969), Goffman (1967) among many others, provide evidence that moral orientation or training of the teacher's role is still strong. Evidence suggests that many teachers see and will see their role as essentially in value conflict with wider cultural tendencies, toward materialism, hedonism and relative rather than absolute moral standards.

There has been no serious empirical study in Quebec about this topic. As my thesis is being typed, the Quebec government started releasing the results of a general study on the teachers in Quebec where some aspects of teacher conflict may be discussed. The list is not complete yet (M. E. Q., 1979).

Another study in a related area is confidential in nature and was commissioned by the Provincial Association of Protestant Teachers of Quebec from Pierre Dubois and Associates (1978). The questionnaire was prepared in order to obtain information on the quality of life in the work situation of the teachers based on the following model of analysis (Dubois et al., 1978, p. 11). One thousand four hundred teachers were included in the sample and 888 completed the questionnaire. All those who responded were scanned carefully and those who

had been recently faced with a difficult personal or family situation such as death or divorce were eliminated from the sample. Some other methodological controls were also exercised to make sure that the results were more directly attributable to the quality of life in the work situation.

The study established that the functions of teachers entail occupational stress, of which the principal components — general dissatisfaction and work-related tension — affect more than 40% of elementary teachers and more than 50% of secondary teachers. At the elementary level the three most important factors causing stress were actual assignment (15% dissatisfaction) monotony at work (16.8% experience this frequently and 29.8% experience it occasionally) and pressure from students (5% experience this frequently and 23.5% occasionally). In elementary teachers, general dissatisfaction was the most important factor demonstrating stress. This affected 5.25% of elementary teachers frequently and 34.25% occasionally but on a recurring basis. Tension at work was the second stress factor and was experienced by 16.5% of elementary teachers frequently and by 38.5% occasionally. Teachers most susceptible to stress at the elementary level were distributed as follows in the English summary:

Monotony affects particularly teachers at cycle II and those who teach French and physical education (p. 206 of the French version).

Pressure from students affects teachers with more than 17 years of scholarship, those who teach at cycle II, those who teach students of lower social class and French teachers (p. 204 of the French version).

General dissatisfaction affects teachers with 4 to 13 years of experience (p. 208 of the French version).

Tension at work affects teachers of special education and those who teach classes of between 28 and 25 pupils (p. 208 of the French version).

Dissatisfaction with assignment or total workload was most noticeable among younger teachers aged 32 and less, and those who had between 4 and 8 years of teaching experience (p. 206 of the French version).

On the other hand, for secondary teachers, the most important factors causing stress were the nature of work (17.5% experience this), monotony at work (25.3% experience this frequently and 37.3% occasionally) and work overload (19.5% experience this frequently and 35.8% occasionally).

By the "nature of work" Dubois refers to the extent of teachers' satisfaction with the possibility that their work offers for them to use their abilities. Work overload refers to the feeling by teachers that their workload is too heavy or that they lack sufficient time to carry out their duties.

At the secondary level general dissatisfaction was also the most important stress factor, affecting 9.25% of teachers frequently and 43.75% occasionally. Tension at work was the second stress factor and affected 19.5% frequently and 35% occasionally. Once again, according to the English summary:

Monotony affects particularly secondary teachers who work with general stream students and those who teach more than 60 different students per week (p. 215 of the French version).

Dissatisfaction with the nature of scope of the work affects teachers of general stream students and those who have between 4 and 8 years of experience (p. 215 of the French version).

Perception of work overload is more pronounced among men than among women (p. 215 of the French version).

General dissatisfaction and tension at work are perceived particularly by teachers with between 4 and 8 years of experience, while women at the secondary level show more work related tension than their male colleagues (p. 216 of the French version).

In concluding this chapter, we can state that the serious empirical investigation of teacher role conflict is very recent and little is known about the incidence of various types of conflict or the extent to which particular groups of teachers are troubled by particular categories of role conflict. This study is an attempt to use some of the methods applied by Grace to a British sample of teachers from a small school in a small town to investigate role conflict in teachers of a relatively small school in a relatively small community in the suburbs of Montreal.

3. Review of G. R. Grace's Role Conflict and The Teacher

In his book, Role Conflict and the Teacher, Grace (1972) reports the results of an investigation undertaken in the period 1967-70 into the intra-role conflict of 150 secondary school teachers.

To investigate both the perception and personal experience of role conflict by the sample, two schedules were used by Grace following a model outlined by Getzels and Guba (1955): one to measure role conflict perception and the second to measure role conflict experience. The operational definition of role conflict used in these schedules was "problems for the occupant which arise as the result of role incompatibilities." Grace describes the development of the schedules as follows:

The role conflict areas were therefore presented to the respondents as problems which teachers might meet with during the course of their work. Each area of role conflict was represented by two items which suggested role incompatibilities within the area. Four potential role conflict areas were presented: area I: Problems

arising from role diffuseness; area II: Problems arising from role vulnerability; area III: Problems arising from tension between role commitment and career orientation; area IV: Problems arising from value conflicts. (Grace, 1972, p. 30)

These four areas of conflict are detailed as follows:

Area I (A) Role Diffuseness: It is the difficulty of knowing what had been accomplished as the result of role performance. The items in this area are concerned with knowledge or lack of knowledge of goal achievement as a factor of role conflict. The assumption in this area is that conflict will arise from this role ambiguity between the desire to know what role occupants were accomplishing and the relative invisibility of many teacher-achievement.

Area II (B) Role Vulnerability: Conflict of vulnerability arises when community or organization expectation of the role are powerful and run counter to those of the role occupant (a conflict between the actual and the ideal). Professional workers in a bureaucratic organization may experience or perceive conflict when the professional orientation of autonomy and quality may clash with bureaucratic requirement of uniformity and routine. Role, role-organization conflict or role vulnerability conflict is seen to be a major conflict for teachers in U.S. (Corwin, 1965). Example: external agencies such as governments, community, parent groups put pressure on the teacher and criticize teachers and teaching methods, and give their opinions on how and what teachers should or could do.

The teacher's role is taken to be vulnerable and exposed to conflict in two ways: (1) Role is not protected by the jargon, the mystique and the narrowly defined technical expertise and could be exposed to the expectations of various agencies who feel capable in

defining the teacher's role. (2) The uncertain status of teachers as professionals. Therefore Area II is designed to present role conflict arising from exposure to conflicting expectations and to conflicting perceptions of the professional role. These were seen as two related aspects of role vulnerability.

Area III (C) Role-Commitment vs. Career Orientation: The conflict suggested in this area is between the widely held belief that promotion went to the 'movers' and the widely held belief that teachers should show loyalty to school and its pupils. An individual has a reasonably clear idea of how his role should be performed. Conflicts arise when the individual holds different expectations from what others hold for him or expect of him. The teacher's role demands a sustained and continued relationship of devotion and loyalty with his students yet in our society achievement and social mobility, 'to get on or move up' are accepted and highly valued cultural goals.

Area IV (D) Value Conflict: The conflict in this area is between the values which teachers are expected to uphold and those which were generally current in society. Conflicts in this area occur when certain value commitments of a society are only partially supported or different areas of society follow these values to different degrees yet the teacher is expected not to deviate.

The teacher is expected to express value consensus, yet society no longer holds the value consensus. This is where conflict arises -- it becomes a conflict of the youth vs. age. In this society where achievement orientation is emphasized and where commercial exploitation of personal relations takes place, it becomes increasingly difficult for the teacher to hold the traditional moral virtues such as honesty,

integrity and loyalty, etc.

Grace used both questionnaires and interviews in completing his study. The social context of his investigation was a prosperous borough of approximately sixty thousand inhabitants. Grace's results show that

the conflicts arising from role diffuseness, role vulnerability, role commitment v. career orientation and role value orientation were seen to be actual problems of the teaching situation and that conflicts of 'moral orientation' were rated as particularly important by the sample of teachers. (Grace, 1972, p. 45)

Grace, however, establishes distinctions by emphasizing mediating variables such as age, sex, professional qualification and others.

Conflict arising from role diffuseness was not a prevalent condition although men teachers were prone to relatively high levels of conflict perception and experience in this area (Grace, 1972, Chapter 5).

Conflict arising from a sense of role vulnerability was most clearly detected among secondary modern teachers. Graduation from a teacher training programme and subject matter specialization seemed to affect outcomes but the autonomy of the teacher emerged as an important factor (Grace, 1972, Chapter 6).

The brunt of the "commitment" type conflict fell upon men teaching in secondary modern schools.

Caught between their firm belief in the value of sustained relationships with the pupils and their pressing economic need for promotion, they reacted with understandable bitterness. It was apparent that this discontent provided a powerful dynamic force behind proposals for the reform of the salary and reward structure of the teaching profession. (Grace, 1972, p. 82)

Teacher role conflict in the value area was described as essentially a conflict with "society." Once again, male teachers in secondary modern schools felt this conflict most acutely. A minority,

mainly young teachers, did not see any such conflict with society (Grace, 1972, Chapter 8).

The Instruments

This study of a relatively small high school in Quebec followed the Grace study closely. To investigate the teacher role conflict, we used therefore the role conflict schedule developed by Grace. These are in the form of a questionnaire. The questionnaire is divided into Schedules I and II. Each schedule is further divided into 4 areas. Each area has two further questions. Therefore each schedule has eight (8) questions in all.

Schedule I deals with Role Conflict Perception.

Schedule II deals with Role Conflict Experience.

Area (i) deals with Role Diffusion.

Area (ii) deals with Role vulnerability.

Area (iii) deals with Role commitment vs. Career orientation.

Area (iv) deals with Values.

Schedule II is similar to Schedule I except that in this case the concern is experienced (personal) role conflict.

The instrument is scored by checking one statement in each area (see Questionnaire in Appendix). In Schedule I, the following questions are asked:

This seems to me to be

0. No answer.
1. Not a problem at all.
2. A problem of little importance.
3. A problem of moderate importance.
4. A problem of great importance.
5. A problem of very great importance.

In Schedule II, the following questions are asked:

I have personally felt this to be

0. No answer.
1. Not a problem at all.
2. A problem to a little extent.
3. A problem to a moderate extent.
4. A problem to a great extent.
5. A problem to a very great extent.

Grace has other parts to this instrument but only the first section was used. In the actual questionnaire (the one handed out to my respondents), space is provided where teachers could comment on or about the questions.

Some related data was collected but not analyzed for the purposes of this study. This data is for further use in exploring the relation of some personality variables, ideologies held by teachers and their perception of the school's organizational context and hierarchy structure. Briefly, the other instruments used are as follows:

Pupil Control Ideology (PIC)

PIC is developed by Willower, Eidell and Hoy (1967). This form consists of 20 statements, measured on a five-point scale ranging from Strongly Agree (5 points) to Strongly Disagree (1 point). The range of possible scores on this form is between 20 to 100 points. A high score signifies a custodial attitude toward pupil control and a low score is indicative of a humanistic attitude toward control of pupils.

Schools I Would Like To See

The list of goals was developed by Power, Cortell and Lever (1975). Out of the 24 goals or objectives of education, the educator is asked to indicate four most important and four least important goals he/she considers important.

This instrument is an attempt to accommodate most people's view

of what purposes education should serve. It includes eight different models or images held by theorists in education: familial model, political, economic, religious, collegial, custodial, community and humanizing model.

Teaching Styles

This questionnaire deals with the teaching styles of educators. Each one is asked to indicate the type of teacher he/she was when he began to teach and now. (They are asked to indicate why the change has come about, if any). They are asked the type of teacher they would like to be if they had a choice. (They are also asked to indicate briefly why they would so choose).

This questionnaire was devised by Sieber and Wilder (1973). The questionnaire is based on their observations. They divided teaching styles into 4 'philosophies of teaching'. Teacher A is control-oriented, or concerned with maintaining discipline. Teacher B is content-oriented or concerned with subject matter. Teacher C is discovery-oriented; he/she encourages students to be creative and find things out for themselves. Teacher D is sympathy-oriented; he/she believes it is important for students to like the teacher but to handle their own problems.

The Moeller Scale of Bureaucratic School Systems

The last two parts of the questionnaire deal with the organizational-bureaucratic aspect of teaching. Every teacher, whatever his/her basic orientation, comes face to face with this aspect of teaching.

The questionnaire on the school bureaucracy (Moeller Scale, 1964) deals with items describing most or least-bureaucratic school systems

and another one which deals with items relating to the teacher's sense of power or powerlessness, in the school system.

Moeller developed the questionnaire for a study whose central issue was the teacher's sense of power with respect to the school system at large (whether teachers can influence the policy-direction of the school system) and the sense of ability or impotence to influence the organizational forces which so importantly shape the teacher's destiny. (It is the teacher's sense of power vis-a-vis his school system and the bureaucracy involved therein).

The bureaucratic school model scale subjectively investigates the influence of organizational structure upon the teacher's sense of power. It uses an eight-item forced-choice instrument on which the school bureaucracy is scaled from 0-8, 0 being least bureaucratic and 8 being most bureaucratic.

The teacher's Sense of Power Scale has six items listed from highest to lowest, in the sense of power. The teacher is asked to mark Agree or Disagree for the six items.

Administration of the Questionnaire

I was formerly a special education teacher in the school for two years and the respondents are my former colleagues.

The questionnaire was administered after the Easter vacation in the spring of 1979. This was thought to be an ideal time because there were no exams to prepare or correct and the report cards had been sent out for the previous term.

My husband who was on staff was kind enough to give out the questionnaire and collect them. The respondents were asked to return the questionnaires to his mailbox, anonymously. In the beginning, the

responses were slow; all but one person accepted to do the task. (She said she didn't believe in questionnaires). As individuals were reminded personally, there was a sudden surge of response.

A preliminary meeting with the school principal, enlisted his full cooperation and permission and the head teacher agreed to include this in his agenda during a staff meeting.

Considering the workload of teaching and the inaccessibility of teachers (few teachers live in the immediate school district), personal interviews were waived. Instead, a section was added to the questionnaire for personal comments as feedback.

41 out of 53 questionnaires were returned. Of these, six respondents objected to some of the items with comments saying that some parts were too personal. In fact, three had omitted to answer the last sheet which is the vital statistics.

CHAPTER II

DESCRIPTION OF THE SAMPLE

The School

A population of 53 teachers in a small semi-rural Quebec public school north of Montreal were the subjects of my experiment. Like most rural Quebec towns, the majority of the population is French-speaking. The town population is 8,957 (1979 census). The school is the only English-speaking high school serving a very large region, just north of Laval Island. For more than a decade, while French high schools have been upgraded and renewed, as to building facilities, the English population's needs have been neglected. Note that when the first promises to build a new English high school in the area were made, it was to a city with an anglophone majority. Also the new industry to the area such as a G. M. bus plant and a large new shopping center, have stabilized the area's employment opportunities.

The school population in the past three years has remained relatively stable with the exception that the francophone population of the school has increased, since many French-speaking parents feel that their children will get a better education and learn a second language easier in English schools.

In the past, the school has been over-crowded. For example, the cafeteria had to be used as classrooms; classrooms had to be used as

lunch rooms. There is no auditorium or assembly hall. The gym is used for assemblies, which means that gym classes have to be cancelled if assembly is to be held. In winter, during recess, students congregate in the halls because they have no place to go. Portable extensions were added to the school to accommodate the overflow, and the building itself has long been condemned by the local fire marshal. Until 1979, after many letters and petitions by parents and teachers, there was no change. The Provincial government, before the Quebec Referendum, agreed to provide funds for a 700-place school. To date no construction has begun. They are not allowing the school to be built until various tests and surveys and other red tape is taken care of. This situation may change at any moment, nevertheless.

Characteristics of the Sample

The study was meant to be a case study of the population of teachers in a high school. Out of the total of 53 teachers, only 41 returned questionnaires that were acceptable for analysis. This means 77% of the total teacher population. Twenty-three are male, 15 are female and three have not indicated their sex. Twenty-eight of the respondents are married. The majority fall into the following age range: 35-40 years old. Eighteen teachers are over forty and 13 are under 35. Almost all of the teachers have only teaching experience, not having worked at other occupations before or after becoming teachers. Seventeen of the teachers had over ten years' experience in teaching and eight had less than four years' experience. Eleven respondents have B.A. degrees, 16 have B.A. plus additional college credits and four have less than a B.A. degree. Fourteen respondents had majored within the field of Education. Eleven (11) teachers had majored in a

discipline other than Education and 16 teachers did not answer this question. At the graduate level, three teachers are studying in the field of Education while eight are continuing their graduate education outside of the field of Education. Twenty of the teachers teach a particular subject exclusively while 13 teachers teach different subjects. Twelve teachers did not answer the question on religious affiliation. Eighteen answered Protestant. In the same way, 18 teachers did not answer the question on income while 12 indicated that they fall in the \$21,000 to \$25,000 income bracket. The majority of the teachers are Canadian citizens and 23 got their teacher training in Canada. Fourteen teachers did not answer this question. Twenty-one teachers are at least bilingual, if not trilingual. Twelve did not answer this question.

Comparative Hypotheses

Grace's study had three major objectives:

- 1) Do the role conflict areas suggested and described by Wilson (1962) in fact present conflict-arising situations in the sample of English Secondary school teachers teaching in a prosperous Midland borough of 60 thousand inhabitants? An important related question: is there a difference in the role conflict areas between perceived and experienced role conflict?
- 2) Is there a relationship between particular category of teacher classified by years of experience, marital status, sex, etc. and overall levels of perceived and experienced role conflict?
- 3) To examine the relationship between particular categories of teacher and particular category of role conflict, to have a more complete profile of role conflict.

In our study, we decided to concentrate on the first objective to obtain a comparable data set. The role conflict areas are as follows:

- A. Role Diffuseness (measured by Questions 1 and 2, sub a and b, see Appendix).
- B. Role Vulnerability (measured by Questions 1 and 2, sub c and d, see Appendix).
- C. Career Orientation vs. Role Commitment (measured by Questions 1 and 2, sub e and f, see Appendix).
- D. Values (measured by Questions 1 and 2, sub g and h, see Appendix).

As we explained earlier, two schedules were developed by Grace: the first is to measure perceptions of conflict in these four areas and the second is to measure experienced conflict in the same role-conflict areas. The results of Grace's sample are reported in the following two tables (Grace, 1972, p. 36 and p. 39):

Table 1

<u>Conflict Areas</u>	<u>% Scoring</u>	
	<u>High</u>	<u>Low</u>
Role Commitment vs. Career Orientation	64	36
Divergent Value Orientation	63.3	36.7
Role Vulnerability	47.3	52.7
Role Diffuseness	35.3	64.7

Table 2

Extent of Personal Experience of Role Conflict (N=150)

<u>Conflict Areas</u>	<u>% Scoring</u>	
	<u>High</u>	<u>Low</u>
Divergent Value Orientation	36	64
Role Diffuseness	26	74
Role Commitment vs. Career Orientation	22	78
Role Vulnerability	22	78

Grace obtained the following results:

Schedule I: All four role conflicts are perceived as valid to teachers. Some are seen to be of greater importance than others. Conflicts between role commitment and career orientation and conflict between emergent value orientations are regarded as problems of greater importance in the teaching situations. Almost 2/3 of the sample had high scores in these areas. Both these conflicts (Areas C and D) may be described in terms of 'moral orientation', since they deal with ethical and value considerations. It is characteristic of the historical background and tradition of the teaching profession that teachers in general should consider Areas C and D, the areas of moral consideration, to be of greater importance than conflict areas of self-orientations. Areas A and B (role vulnerability and role diffuseness) may be considered in terms of 'self-orientation'.

Schedule II: The percentage of individual respondents who did not personally feel conflict was, as expected, markedly higher than in Schedule I.

22.7% of teachers had no personal experience of conflict in Area C.
16.7% of teachers had no personal experience of conflict in Area B.
13.3% of teachers had no personal experience of conflict in Area D.
11.3% scored low conflict in the role diffuseness Area A.

The majority of teachers, however, had some personal and troubling experiences in each of the role conflict areas, although the overall level of scores was low compared to Schedule I. The emergence of value conflict as the most important area of role conflict experience for the sample is yet further evidence of the concern which teachers have.

Differences between Table 1 and Table 2 are affected by such variables as age, sex, professional qualifications, type of school and type of teaching within the school. The influence of personality factors is also important. Khan et al. (1964) found several personality dimensions that mediated significantly the degree to which perceived conflict is experienced as conflict by the focal person.

How do Grace's results compare with the hypothesis advanced by Wilson's work concerning teacher's role? (Wilson, 1962). A quick review is relevant here, since Grace based his research on Wilson's work and the directions suggested by him.

In Areas A and B, Wilson's hypothesis is not upheld. No significant conflict is suggested in Grace's sample.

In Area C, Wilson's description of the clash in teaching between commitment and career orientation which is said to be 'a most significant role conflict', is upheld by virtually 2/3 of the teachers.

In Area D, Wilson's description of a conflict 'which passes beyond teacher's role into the very structure of contemporary society', is

upheld. The majority of teachers see themselves engaged in such a conflict.

Hypothesis of the Present Study

The purpose of this endeavour was to see how the present sample compared with Grace's findings and to see if the role conflicts described by Grace existed in the Quebec sample.

The following hypotheses were proposed:

A. Experienced Role Conflict will be different from Perceived Role Conflict in all four areas of conflict under examination. More specifically:

- a) Experienced Role Conflict in areas A, B, C, D, will be different from Perceived Role Conflict in areas A, B, C, D.
- b) The teachers in our sample will experience more conflict in all areas (A, B, C, D) than they perceive.

B. Conflict (experienced and perceived) will be different for areas A and B as compared to Conflict (experienced and perceived) in Areas C and D. More specifically:

- a) The conflict experienced in Areas A and B (Role Diffuseness and Role Vulnerability) will be less important than the conflict experienced in Areas C and D (Career Orientation vs. Role Commitment and Values). This hypothesis is advanced because Role Vulnerability and Role Diffuseness are more acknowledged and accepted components of a teacher's role than the two other potential conflict areas.

b) The conflict perceived in Areas A and B (Role Diffuseness and Role Vulnerability) will be almost the same as in Areas C and D (Career Orientation vs. Role Commitment and Values).

Measuring Role Conflict

As indicated in a previous paragraph and as shown in the Conflict Schedules reproduced in the Appendix, each area of conflict is measured by two questions. On each question the scores vary from 1-5, 1 indicating a low conflict situation and 5 indicating a high conflict situation. Therefore we decided to follow this tentative measurement schedule.

On single questions, there is a possibility of scores ranging from 1 to 5 with 0 indicating no answer. Therefore:

- 0 = no answer
- 1-2 = low level of conflict
- 3 = medium level of conflict
- 4-5 = high level of conflict

On combined questions — for each area — the scores will range from 01 to 10 with 0 indicating no answer. Therefore:

- 0 = no answer
- 01-04 = low level of conflict
- 05-06 = medium level of conflict
- 07-10 = high level of conflict

Results in Hypotheses

Area A: Role Diffuseness: Question 1. "Whereas many occupations give clear knowledge of results to practitioners, teaching by its very nature can do this only to a limited extent." The following table (3) shows the perceived conflict in this area by the teachers in our

sample.

Table 3

Perceived Role Diffuseness as Measured by Question 1

Frequencies and Percentages

<u>Conflict Scores</u>	<u>No. of Teachers</u>	<u>%</u>
No response 0	1	2.4
Low 1-2	10	24.4
Medium 3	21	51.2
High 4-5	9	22.0

Table 4

Experienced Role Diffuseness as Measured by Question 1

Frequencies and Percentages

<u>Conflict Scores</u>	<u>No. of Teachers</u>	<u>%</u>
No response 0	3	7.3
Low 1-2	18	43.9
Medium 3	14	34.1
High 4-5	6	14.6

The experienced conflict on this aspect of Role Diffuseness seems to be less than the Perceived Conflict (Table 4).

The following are the results on the second component of Role Diffuseness as measured by Question 2:

Area A: Role Diffuseness: Question 2. "The teacher's work requires a considerable input of energy yet for all this, the teacher can never be certain of what has been accomplished with the pupils."

Table 5 shows the perceived conflict in this area by the teachers of our sample while Table 6 shows the experienced conflict on the same item.

Table 5

Perceived Role Diffuseness as Measured by Question 2

Frequencies and Percentages

<u>Conflict Scores</u>	<u>No. of Teachers</u>	<u>%</u>
No response 0	1	2.4
Low 1-2	8	19.5
Medium 3	17	41.5
High 4-5	15	36.6

Table 6

Experienced Role Diffuseness as Measured by Question 2

Frequencies and Percentages

<u>Conflict Scores</u>	<u>No. of Teachers</u>	<u>%</u>
No response 0	3	7.3
Low 1-2	17	41.5
Medium 3	13	32.0
High 4-5	7	17.1

The Perceived Role Diffuseness is higher than the Experienced Role Diffuseness as indicated by the tables. Therefore we expect to find lower Perceived Role Diffuseness Conflict than Experienced Role Diffuseness Conflict when we combine the results of the two components as shown in Tables 7 and 8.

Once again the perceived level of conflict on Role Diffuseness seems to be higher than the experienced role conflict in this area.

We shall now turn to Area B.

Area B: Role Vulnerability: Question 1: "The teachers, unlike many professional practitioners, are subject to a variety of conflicting opinions as to how one's professional work has to be carried out." The following tables (9 and 10) show the perceived and experienced conflict on this item. The perceived conflict is higher than the experienced conflict.

Area B: Role Vulnerability: Question 2: "The teacher is a professional practitioner but despite this, the teacher is generally treated as if teaching were not a professional practice."

Tables 11 and 12 give the results on this question. Once again, the perceived conflict is higher than the experienced conflict. We shall now see what the combined effect will be as illustrated in Tables 13 and 14. The Perceived Role Vulnerability is higher than the Experienced Role Vulnerability.

We shall now explore Area C.

Area C: Career Orientation vs. Role Commitment: Question 1: "To obtain promotion the teacher must be mobile and 'gain experience' yet the nature of the work requires a sustained relationship with particular groups of pupils."

The perceived conflict is higher than the experienced conflict on this aspect of Area C (Tables-15 and 16).

Area C: Career Orientation vs. Role Commitment: Question 2: "In this society which stresses 'getting on' it is becoming increasingly difficult for the teacher to stay committed to a particular school." Perceived Conflict is once again higher than Experienced Conflict as shown in Tables 17 and 18.

In the overall Area C, the perceived conflict is higher than the experienced role conflict as shown in Tables 19 and 20.

Area D will be examined next.

Area D: Values Conflict: Question 1. "The teacher is expected to maintain traditional values and standards yet at the same time society in general largely ignores these values and standards."

The Perceived Conflict is lower for our sample on this item in contrast to the previous questions on the other three areas (Tables 21 and 22).

Area D: Values Conflict: Question 2. "In a society which is becoming skeptical and permissive, it is increasingly difficult for teachers to maintain traditional values and attitudes.

The Perceived Conflict is slightly higher than the Experienced Conflict in this item and when the two questions are combined, the perceived conflict and the experienced conflict, for this area, are almost the same although the perceived conflict is felt by 2 more teachers at a high level as opposed to the experienced conflict (Tables 25 and 26).

Table 7

Perceived Role Diffuseness as Measured on Questions 1 and 2

Area A

Frequencies and Percentages

<u>Conflict Scores</u>	<u>No. of Teachers</u>	<u>%</u>
No answer 0	1	2.4
Low 01-04	8	19.5
Medium 05-06	15	36.6
High 07-10	16	39.0

Table 8

Experienced Role Diffuseness as Measured on Questions 1 and 2

Area A

Frequencies and Percentages

No answer 0	3	7.3
Low 01-04	17	41.5
Medium 05-06	9	22.0
High 07-10	12	29.3

Table 9

Perceived Role Vulnerability as Measured by Question 1

Frequencies and Percentages

<u>Conflict Scores</u>	<u>No. of Teachers</u>	<u>%</u>
No response 0	1	2.4
Low 1-2	10	24.4
Medium 3	15	36.6
High 4-5	15	36.6

Table 10

Experienced Role Vulnerability as Measured by Question 2

Frequencies and Percentages

<u>Conflict Scores</u>	<u>No. of Teachers</u>	<u>%</u>
No response 0	3	7.3
Low 1-2	21	51.2
Medium 3	4	9.7
High 4-5	13	32.0

Table 11

Perceived Role Vulnerability as Measured by Question 2

Frequencies and Percentages

<u>Conflict Scores</u>	<u>No. of Teachers</u>	<u>%</u>
No answer 0	1	2.4
Low 1-2	10	24.4
Medium 3	11	26.8
High 4-5	19	46.3

Table 12

Experienced Role Vulnerability as Measured by Question 2

<u>Conflict Scores</u>	<u>No. of Teachers</u>	<u>%</u>
No answer 0	3	7.3
Low 1-2	19	46.3
Medium 3	8	19.5
High 4-5	11	27.0

Table 13

Perceived Role Vulnerability as Measured by Questions 1 and 2

Area B

Frequencies and Percentages

<u>Conflict Scores</u>	<u>No. of Teachers</u>	<u>%</u>
No answer 0	1	2.4
Low 01-04	6	14.6
Medium 05-06	15	36.6
High 07-10	19	46.3

Table 14

Experienced Role Vulnerability as Measured by Questions 1 and 2

Area B

Frequencies and Percentages

<u>Conflict Scores</u>	<u>No. of Teachers</u>	<u>%</u>
No answer 0	3	7.3
Low 01-04	18	43.9
Medium 05-06	7	17.1
High 07-10	13	32.0

Table 15

Perceived Conflict Career Orientation vs. Role Commitment
as Measured on Question 1

Frequencies and Percentages

<u>Conflict Scores</u>	<u>No. of Teachers</u>	<u>%</u>
No answer 0	2	4.9
Low 1-2	17	41.5
Medium 3	14	34.1
High 4-5	8	19.5

Table 16

Experienced Conflict Career Orientation vs. Role Commitment
as Measured by Question 1

Frequencies and Percentages

<u>Conflict Scores</u>	<u>No. of Teachers</u>	<u>%</u>
No response 0	4	9.7
Low 1-2	24	58.5
Medium 3	8	19.5
High 4-5	5	12.2

Table 17

Perceived Conflict Career Orientation vs. Role Commitment
as Measured by Question 2

Frequencies and Percentages

<u>Conflict Scores</u>	<u>No. of Teachers</u>	<u>%</u>
No answer 0	4	9.7
Low 1-2	22	53.6
Medium 3	7	17.1
High 4-5	8	19.5

Table 18

Experienced Conflict Career Orientation vs. Role Commitment
as Measured by Question 2

Frequencies and Percentages

<u>Conflict Scores</u>	<u>No. of Teachers</u>	<u>%</u>
No answer 0	5	12.2
Low 1-2	27	65.8
Medium 3	6	14.6
High 4-5	3	7.3

Table 19

Perceived Role Conflict Career Orientation vs. Role Commitment
as Measured in Questions 1 and 2

Area C

Frequencies and Percentages

<u>Conflict Scores</u>	<u>No. of Teachers</u>	<u>%</u>
No answer 0	2	4.9
Low 01-04	16	39.0
Medium 05-06	14	34.1
High 07-10	9	21.9

Table 20

Experienced Role Conflict Career Orientation vs. Role Commitment
as Measured in Questions 1 and 2

Area C

Frequencies and Percentages

<u>Conflict Scores</u>	<u>No. of Teachers</u>	<u>%</u>
No answer 0	4	9.7
Low 01-04	24	58.5
Medium 05-06	7	17.1
High 07-10	6	14.6

Table 21

Perceived Values Conflict as Measured on Question 1

Frequencies and Percentages

<u>Conflict Scores</u>	<u>No. of Teachers</u>	<u>%</u>
No answer 0	2	4.9
Low 1-2	10	24.4
Medium 3	7	17.1
High 4-5	21	51.2

Table 22

Experienced Values Conflict as Measured by Question 1

Frequencies and Percentages

<u>Conflict Scores</u>	<u>No. of Teachers</u>	<u>%</u>
No answer 0	3	7.3
Low 1-2	12	29.3
Medium 3	8	19.5
High 4-5	18	43.9

Table 23

Perceived Values Conflict as Measured on Question 2

Frequencies and Percentages

<u>Conflict Scores</u>	<u>No. of Teachers</u>	<u>%</u>
No answer 0	1	2.4
Low 1-2	7	17.1
Medium 3	9	21.9
High 4-5	24	58.5

Table 24

Experienced Values Conflict as Measured on Question 2

Frequencies and Percentages

<u>Conflict Scores</u>	<u>No. of Teachers</u>	<u>%</u>
No answer 0	3	7.3
Low 1-2	9	21.9
Medium 3	8	19.5
High 4-5	21	51.2

Table 25

Perceived Values Conflict as Measured on Questions 1 and 2

Area D

Frequencies and Percentages

<u>Conflict Scores</u>	<u>No. of Teachers</u>	<u>%</u>
No answer 0	1	2.4
Low 01-04	6	14.6
Medium 05-06	11	26.8
High 07-10	23	56.1

Table 26

Experienced Values Conflict as Measured on Questions 1 and 2

Area D

Frequencies and Percentages

<u>Conflict Scores</u>	<u>No. of Teachers</u>	<u>%</u>
No answer 0	3	7.3
Low 01-04	6	14.6
Medium 05-06	11	26.8
High 07-10	21	51.2

CHAPTER III

TEST OF HYPOTHESES

A. Experienced Role Conflict will be different from Perceived Role Conflict in all four areas of conflict under examination. More specifically:

a) Experienced Role Conflict in Areas A, B, C, D, will be different from Perceived Role Conflict in Areas A, B, C, and D.

b) The teachers in our sample will experience more conflict in all areas (A, B, C, D) than they perceive.

B Conflict (Experienced and Perceived) will be different for Areas A and B as compared to

True: see Tables 3-26.

True: Each time experienced role conflict (Tables 4, 6, 8, 10, 12, 14, 16, 19, 20, 22, 24, 26) is lower than perceived Role Conflict (Tables 3, 5, 7, 9, 11, 13, 15, 17, 19, 21, 23, 25).

Not true: In all areas, Perceived Role Conflict was higher than Experienced Role Conflict. See Tables 3 - 26.

In general, true: Results for Areas A and B are more comparable than results for

to Conflict (Experienced and Perceived) in Areas C and D. More specifically:

- a) The Conflict Experienced in Areas A and B (Role Diffuseness and Role Vulnerability) will be less than the Conflict Experienced in Areas C and D (Career Orientation versus Role Commitment and Values).
- b) The Conflict Perceived in Areas A and B (Role Diffuseness and Role Vulnerability) will be almost the same as in Areas C and D (Career vs. Role Commitment and Values).

Areas C and D. Area C is the lowest conflict area while Area D is the highest conflict area (see Tables 7, 8, 13, 14, 19, 20, 25, 26).

Not true: Area C is a low Experienced Conflict Area; Experienced Conflict in Area C is lower than Experienced Conflict in Areas A, B or D. Area D is the highest Experienced Conflict area.

Not true: Perceived Conflict in Areas A, B and D is higher than in Area C. In these terms, the following is the classification by area from highest in Perceived Conflict to lowest in Perceived Conflict: D, B, A, C.

The area of highest Perceived Role Conflict for Grace's sample is Area C: Career Orientation vs. Role Commitment. This is the lowest area of Perceived Role Conflict in our sample. The three other areas of perceived role conflict have produced very similar results for both our study and the study of Grace (Table 27). As far as the personal experience of role conflict is concerned, the Montreal sample has, overall, higher experienced conflict than the British sample. Furthermore, although the highest experienced conflict is in Area D for both samples, the Montreal sample experiences this type of conflict (Values) more than the British sample (Table 28).

Comparison of Our Results with Grace's Results

We shall attempt to compare our results to those of Grace, area by area.

1. Area A -- Role Diffuseness. The results obtained are very similar for both studies. There is in each case an indication that approximately 35-40% of the teachers perceive this to be a possible area of very high conflict. Furthermore, in actual fact, 26-30% of the teachers do experience this conflict at a high level. Lack of knowledge about goal achievement is at the basis of this type of conflict; measures should be taken to improve evaluation methods for goal achievement or teachers should be prepared, in teacher training courses, to expect and accept this fact as a characteristic of the profession.
2. Area B -- Role Vulnerability. The results obtained in this area are very similar for the two samples, especially as far as the perceived role conflict is concerned. In the Montreal sample, 10% more than the British teachers experienced this conflict at a high level. This conflict is the result of community or organization expectations of the

Table 27

Perceived Importance of Role Conflict -- Comparison Between Grace's Results (N=150) and the Results of This Study (N=41)
(Results given in percentages)

Conflict Area	Length of Conflict	Grace's Results		Our Results		No Answer
		High	Low	High	Low*	
1. Role Diffuseness		35.3	64.7	39.0	58.6	2.4
2. Role Vulnerability		47.3	52.7	46.3	51.3	2.4
3. Career Orientation vs. Role Commitment		64	35.0	21.9	73.2	4.9
4. Divergent Value Orientations		63.3	36.7	58.5	39.1	2.4

*Low represents the cases shown as medium and low in Tables 3-26.

Table 28

Extent of Personal Experience of Role Conflict -- Comparison Between Grace's Results (N=150) and the Results of This Study (N=41)
(Results given in percentages)

Conflict Area	Length of Conflict	Grace's Results		Our Results		No Answer
		High	Low	High	Low*	
1. Role Diffuseness		26.0	74.0	29.3	63.4	7.3
2. Role Vulnerability		22.0	78.0	32.0	60.7	7.3
3. Career Orientation vs. Role Commitment		26.0	74.0	14.6	75.7	9.7
4. Divergent Value Orientations		36.0	64.0	51.2	41.5	7.3

*Low represents the cases shown as medium and low in Tables 3-26.

role running counter to those of the role occupant. It is expected that this type of conflict will be higher in situations where the professional orientation of autonomy and quality may clash with bureaucratic requirements of uniformity and routine. An example cited already is when external agencies, such as governments, community, and parent-groups put pressure on teachers and criticize teachers and teaching methods, and give their opinion on how, and what teachers should or could do. This was indeed the case in our sample where union positions and recently announced government policies were putting increased pressures on the teacher as an "independent" professional. One could have expected even higher levels of experienced role vulnerability for a higher number of teachers in the Montreal sample.

3. Area C — Role Commitment vs. Career Orientation. The conflict suggested in this area is between the widely held belief that promotion went to the "movers" and the widely held belief that teachers should show loyalty to school and its pupils. This is the lowest area of conflict both perceived and experienced for our sample, while it is the highest area of perceived role conflict in the British sample. Even in the British sample, the experienced conflict is not very high. For the purposes of this study, an understanding of the Quebec teacher job market may explain why teachers here do not perceive this as a major role conflict area and do not experience it as a major conflict. The structure of teacher salary scales is such that advancement is automatic based on experience and number of years of scholarship. Therefore, since the salary scale is, as a rule, much more favourable in teaching than in the other professions to which teachers may aspire and since, realistically, the teacher market is a closed one, divergent

loyalties do not tempt teachers very much.

4. Area D — Divergent Value Orientations. Sixty-three percent of Grace's sample and 58.5% of our sample, recognize this area as a potentially high conflict area for teachers. And in experienced conflict, this is indeed the area of highest conflict for both groups. Changing value systems create this type of conflict. This is true for both societies. However, since Quebec recently went through the "Quiet Revolution," and since the nature of the Montreal society is becoming increasingly multicultural, the potential of this conflict and the personal experience of such conflict are to be expected at high levels.

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSION

Society thrives on change.

Individuals thrive on stability. (Wilson, 1975)

The future of education lies in the ability of future generations to live with the implications of this paradox.

Answers or solutions to the ever-increasing role conflict in teachers do not lie in programs of re-orientation, preparation retraining or in an ongoing monitoring of actual consequences alone, since these are external procedures, that is, these are intervention mechanisms that are imposed from outside the individual. Also, these changes in today's society are so rapid and varied that answers to problems of role conflict today may be obsolete tomorrow. The answers and solutions lie in preparing individuals (in any walk of life) to adapt to and to accept changes in the new society without losing a feeling of the worth of life (Goodman, 1956). It is by acquiring skills or internal coping mechanisms that the individual will make a more healthy adjustment to everyday life.

The need for coping mechanism becomes more urgent as change becomes so rapid, that adjustment cannot be left for the next generation. It is the inability to adjust to and adapt to change that breeds conflict. Unresolved conflict may have a number of consequences. Some may initiate change but others may initiate retreatism (Grace, 1972;

Wilson, 1975; Musgrove and Taylor, 1969).

Areas For Change

Areas where coping mechanisms are indicated are (1) in teacher-training colleges, (2) in the role conceptions of teachers, and (3) in teaching institutions and their general educational aims.

Our educational institutions, teacher colleges and teacher roles should undergo a change so that they may be feasible, tenable, and practicable in the future. Schools and teachers have often lagged behind in accepting and implementing change brought about by technology.

1. Teacher Colleges. Teacher-training programmes still function on the traditional concept of school, i.e. school as the place where one can and must go to learn the 3 Rs. The teacher training programmes could train teachers to acquire the ability or the life skill to adapt to change and be ready to adopt change. A word of caution I feel is necessary here: we must keep in mind that alongside new techniques we also ought to teach the ethical implications of their possible uses and misuses (Cipolla, 1969).

Another important responsibility of teacher training programmes is to educate that part of society which takes an active role in decision-making. Historically, the teaching profession has been the last to be consulted when changes have been planned in schools. Many proposed changes are not given careful consideration for all parties involved (Grace, 1972). The teacher, after the fact, is expected to implement the change. It is also thought by many teachers that the decisions taken are primarily for economic and political reasons (Cicourel and Kitsuse, 1963; Entwistle, 1977). The welfare of the individual is of little value or consequence (Illich, 1973; Lloyd, 1972).

For example, during the 1980 Q.A.C.L.D. Convention, Dr. Denis Lazure, the Quebec Minister of Social Affairs, talked about the integration of special education students into the regular stream. The teachers involved were not asked but were expected 'to fit in' with the new blueprint that was decided for them and for their students.

In the teacher-training programmes, novice teachers are not prepared for the real-life classroom and its responsibilities; for example, computers placing and promoting students even if they fail in classwork and of mediocrity being the norm.

2. Teacher Role Conception. The nature of teaching must change. One must realize that education in an industrial and technologically advanced society is radically different. The emphasis must be 'on how to' rather than 'on what of'. Since its beginning, teaching has been insular in character. Teaching seems to isolate teachers (Willower, 1969) from the world and from each other. It has protected teachers from the threats of business, politics, etc. The teaching profession is no longer able to and must not encourage this role of insulator and protector. Unavoidably, the waves of unrest and change in society outside the classroom have entered the classroom. The teacher no longer has absolute authority. The new intruders, mass media and technology, are threatening and challenging the authority of the teacher and are thus causing teachers to be more insecure and to feel role conflict. The increased role conflict and insecurity is expressed by teacher malaise, by dissatisfaction and by strikes. A word of caution is necessary here. "We are so bemused by the incidences of technological change that we mistake its manifestations for significant alterations in the whole pattern of our living" (Jeffries, 1967). In pursuit of

technological and economic gain, the individual's rights are forgotten, the rights of the human being are ignored (Grace, 1972; Wilson, 1962).

The change that is indicated in teachers should be a mental preparation to accept this change.

Changes in the role of the teacher could entail a change in the purpose of teaching or the philosophical aspect of teaching. The origin of teaching is moral and teachers think of teaching as a moral responsibility (Goffman, 1967; Denizen, 1977). Teaching was thought of as an attempt to instill in the child 'the fear of God' — teaching him right from wrong, and making him a good citizen (Wilson, 1962). It is interesting to note that from its inception the proper purpose of schools and thus of teaching, are ambiguously stated in broad terms; for example, the purpose of teaching was to "educate the child to his fullest potential and capacity" (Willower, 1969) while the general role of schools was the equalization of educational opportunities especially in a society where status and class differences are still operant (Taylor, 1969).

Mass media and technology are competing with schools and teacher's role. The child is in school from 9-3 but is under other influences the rest of the time. Teachers no longer influence their students like in old times. Teachers are 'losing prominence in the child's scheme of things' (Taylor, 1969).

The question to be raised here deals with the morality of these technological innovations: can computers instill the sense of right and wrong? The answer, depends whether teaching today is still a moral responsibility or not. This debate is another subject altogether.

Could it be that the key to teacher role conflict reduction may

lie here? That is in the moral overtones of the teacher's role. Maybe teachers, and society should no longer think of teaching as 'a moral responsibility'. Teaching should probably be viewed within the total context of today's changing society, with its new technology and new morality.

Thus, one important coping mechanism may be the clarification of teacher's role. For teachers and in education, conflict arises when the age-old role of teachers is being questioned more and more strongly and visibly. The teachers expect and think they deserve certain ceremonial rules of deference and demeanour. These rules are the building blocks of the interaction between teacher and student (or of society at large). The role conflict of teachers is increasing because these building blocks are tumbling and teachers are thus beginning to feel vulnerable. Floud (1962) has suggested that teachers must abandon the missionary orientation and adopt the social worker orientation if they want to be effective in modern society. Teachers must change their expectations. Teachers must be aware that change in our society has changed codes and values of our society. The coping mechanisms here is for the teacher not to expect students to have the same values that he/she has (yet this does not mean that in his/her classroom the teacher must not expect a certain code of behaviour. This code is very personal and varies from teacher to teacher). Another coping mechanism for the teacher is not to feel guilty and blame himself totally for failures of his students. Society must not blame the teacher's personality and character shortcomings and weaknesses for the failure in teaching and to expect teachers to change their personality if they want to teach (Edgerton, 1977).

It is time to search outside the teacher's personality for reasons for failures. For too long now, teachers have been blamed for failing illiterate youth and encouraging their alienation. I believe that the failure is not due to teacher incompetence, but to the fact that Educational systems have pushed the teacher too far into the shadows and brought the pupils into the centre of the stage (Grace, 1972); all this is making the teacher's role more confusing and varied, diffuse and is taking away his professionalism and confidence.

Teachers should be brought into centre stage and be treated as significant actors on the stage of the classroom (Grace, 1972) and of the educational decision making.

The conflict in teachers will increase as governments and school boards implement more and more cutbacks, thereby reducing teacher autonomy. This seems to be the trend for the 80s. We must try to arm the teacher with coping mechanisms to help reduce conflict.

Education has failed, says Bantock (1963), because it failed to provide the moral and cultural strength that the folk environment provided. Schools have failed because they are instruments of policy rather than a vehicle of culture (Bantock, 1969; Masemann, 1976).

3. Teaching Institutions and General Aims for Education. Changes for education and teacher role could probably take the form of changes in the educational aims. Instead of school being a place where academic knowledge is taught, maybe, the hidden curriculum (the implicit) should be brought out into the open (Denzin, 1973; Goffman, 1967) to emphasize its importance, and make the explicit curriculum of secondary importance; in other words, reverse the present trend. Today, science and technology dominate the educational field (Entwistle, 1977), social

values and commitments are relegated to the hidden curriculum and thereby considered of secondary importance (Becker, 1968). After all, is it not more important to know how to say rather than what to say and what to know? We must practice and teach the art of living together, i.e. corporate living (Hargreaves, 1980), in harmony once again. The question for the decision makers could be: what should the aims of education be? The transmission of academic explicit culture or the social implicit culture?

According to Bantock (1963) "most of what is learned in schools beyond the practical benefits of literacy ... that ability to read and write ... the modern world demands appears to be an unnecessary burden." This holds especially true with today's computers.

The success of any change lies in the change taking place at its roots or source. The concept of interdependence of events, people and things is important here. If we want teachers to teach, students to learn well, society to have well-prepared and adjusted youth, schools and decision makers and educational aims must change. The educational institutions must seriously re-assess their role and responsibility not only to their students but also to their teachers. Maybe it is by helping the teacher reduce role conflict that the schools can truly help their students. It must be realized that for change to be effective or successful, it must accompany probable consequences to the teacher and the individuals involved in the change.

Educational programs must be revised and reshaped to meet the needs of the times, to accommodate today's world and allow men to better measure and master today's total life environment (Lloyd, 1972; Illich, 1973). Educational programs could view socialization or schooling as an

interaction process where the child and teacher are an active and equal member in society (Carlton, 1974; Henslin, 1973; Becker, 1968; Mackay, 1973; Mehan, 1973), rather than one manipulating the other (Dreitzel, 1973). Both parties should be seen as participating in a system of reciprocal role expectations (Bidwell, 1955). The outcome of the interaction depends on the realization that one's behaviour has an impact on other people. Future educational programs must consider giving instructions in how to 'make the grade' or how to work in the system and how to function in a bureaucratized institution or culture. These have much greater impact on the lives of students today than do the academic institutions or culture (Masemann, 1976; Becker, 1968). What is apparent in our society is that students are being trained to deal, to some degree, with the demands of the technological requirements of society, but are unable to deal with the personal demands that this technologically advanced society creates. This may be another source of conflict for the teacher. Maybe the movement of 'back to basics' should not be back to teaching the basics of grammatical rules, for example, but back to the rules of conduct, rituals of deference and demeanour. Educational experiences should be an opportunity where the student learns to know himself better and to know how to deal with himself and the world more adequately (Becker, 1968). This is a coping mechanism that teachers should be trained in, in teacher training programmes.

To sum up: teachers need a revamping of their role. Maybe schools must be viewed as temporary places (Goffman, 1967; Denzin, 1973; Carlton, 1974) where students come to acquire the social (implicit) curriculum, more than the explicit curriculum. It is in schooling

(formal as well as informal) that rules of conduct which are tools or surviving techniques or coping mechanisms are transmitted from generation to generation for the perpetuation of that society (Spindler, 1974; Spindler, 1963; Singleton, 1971). In any event, to reduce role conflict, the teacher of the fourth quarter of the 20th century should be flexible, self-assured, able to adapt to the requirements of the new generations and society and yet confident enough about his own ideologies as he adapts them to the society of the 21st century.

Although my research may have some limitations such as the sample being small, some questions invalidated by those who felt threatened by their job insecurities (and especially in the present situation of pupil population reduction which has led to teachers being placed in Surplus Pools), it is a step towards understanding the role conflict that teachers experience. It also gives a hint to the direction that schools should take if they want to understand their personnel better for the sake of better interaction.

Therefore, this last chapter should be read with these limitations in mind. The different suggestions for the education of role conflict do not necessarily stem from the case study nor do the conclusions advocate the implementation of the alternatives suggested. Rather, the conclusion chapter should be read as a series of reflections and suggestions toward further research to better explain the complex organization of school life and the intricacies of interaction in the classroom and between teachers and the different other actors in the daily life of the school.

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APPENDIX

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Department of Education
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Montreal

December 1978

M.A. in Educational Studies

Topic: An exploratory analysis of teacher roles. It is an inquiry into the role conflict that teachers feel and experience in a sample of high school teachers.

Questionnaire

This questionnaire is prepared for my M.A. thesis in Education studies at Concordia University, Montreal. I am doing a study of the role of the teacher.

This is a confidential questionnaire. This means your answers will not be seen by anyone else in this university or outside the university. Your answers will be used only for the purpose of the research which intends to better understand some of the problems, decisions and preferences involved in the role of the teacher.

I hope that you will find these questions interesting to answer and I thank you for your participation in this study.

Q. 1. The following statements refer to possible problems that are involved in the teacher's work. Please indicate, regardless of your personal experience of these problems, whether you see them as actual problems for teachers and if so, how important you believe them to be in the teaching situation. Please mark the appropriate box to indicate your reaction on each statement.

	1	2	3	4	5	Missing Answers	Key
Whereas many occupations give clear knowledge of results to practitioners, teaching by its very nature can do this only to a limited extent.	4	6	21	4	5	1	(a)
The teacher's work requires a considerable input of energy and yet for all this the teacher can never be certain of what has been accomplished with the pupils.	3	5	17	11	4	1	(b)
The teacher, unlike many professional practitioners, is subject to a variety of conflicting opinions as to how one's professional work has to be carried out.	5	5	15	9	6	1	(c)
The teacher is a professional practitioner but despite this, the teacher is generally treated as if teaching were not a professional practice.	3	7	11	12	7	1	(d)
	9.8	14.6	51.2	17.1	4.9	2.4	
	7.3	12.2	41.5	26.8	9.8	2.4	
	12.2	12.2	36.6	22.0	14.0	2.4	
	2.3	17.1	26.8	29.3	17.1	2.4	

Whereas many occupations give clear knowledge of results to practitioners, teaching by its very nature can do this only to a limited extent.

The teacher's work requires a considerable input of energy and yet for all this the teacher can never be certain of what has been accomplished with the pupils.

The teacher, unlike many professional practitioners, is subject to a variety of conflicting opinions as to how one's professional work has to be carried out.

The teacher is a professional practitioner but despite this, the teacher is generally treated as if teaching were not a professional practice.

	1	2	3	4	5	Missing Answers	Key
(frequency)	7	10	14	4	4		2
(percentage)	17.1	24.4	34.1	9.8	9.8		4.9 (e)
	14	8	7	7	1		4
	34.1	19.5	17.1	17.1	2.4		9.8 (f)
	4	6	7	13	9		2
	9.8	14.6	17.1	31.7	22.0		4.9 (g)
	3	4	9	12	12		1
	7.3	9.8	22.0	29.3	29.3		2.4 (h)

To obtain promotion the teacher must be mobile and "gain experience" yet the nature of the work requires a sustained relationship with particular groups of pupils.

In this society which stresses "getting on" it is becoming increasingly difficult for the teacher to stay committed to a particular school.

The teacher is expected to maintain traditional values and standards yet at the same time society in general largely ignores these values and standards.

In a society which is becoming sceptical and permissive it is increasingly difficult for teachers to maintain traditional values and standards.

Q. 2. In the previous schedule you were asked whether you saw certain suggested problems as actual problems in the teaching situation. Will you please indicate here whether any of these problems has caused you any personal concern (i.e. that you have "felt" this problem and been to some extent troubled by it). If so, will you please indicate to what extent. Please do this by once again marking the box which indicates best your reaction to each statement.

	1	2	3	4	5	Missing Answers	Key
Not a problem at all	9	22	34.1	14.6	14.6 (percentage)	7.3	(a)
A problem of little importance	6	11	13	7	1	3	(b)
A problem of moderate importance	10	11	4	10	3	3	
A problem of great importance	24.4	26.8	9.8	24.4	7.3	7.3	(c)
A problem of very great importance	13	15	8	7	4	3	
	34.1	12.2	19.5	17.1	9.8	7.3	(d)

Whereas many occupations give clear knowledge of results to practitioners, teaching by its very nature can do this only to a limited extent.

The teacher's work requires a considerable input of energy and yet for all this the teacher can never be certain of what has been accomplished with the pupils.

The teacher, unlike many professional practitioners, is subject to a variety of conflicting opinions as to how one's professional work has to be carried out.

The teacher is a professional practitioner but despite this, the teacher is generally treated as if teaching were not a professional practice.

	Missing Answers		Key	
Not a problem at all	1	14	34.1	17
A problem of little importance	2	10	24.4	10
A problem of moderate importance	3	8	19.5	6
A problem of great importance	4	3	7.3	2
A problem of very great importance	5	2	4.9	4
			9.8	5
			12.2	12.2
			14.6	6
			19.5	8
			24.4	12
			29.3	29.3
			34.1	14.6
			38	19.5
			41.5	24.4
			45	29.3
			49	34.1
			53	38
			57	41.5
			61	45
			65	49
			69	53
			73	57
			77	61
			81	65
			85	69
			89	73
			93	77
			97	81
			101	85
			105	89
			109	93
			113	97
			117	101
			121	105
			125	109
			129	113
			133	117
			137	121
			141	125
			145	129
			149	133
			153	137
			157	141
			161	145
			165	149
			169	153
			173	157
			177	161
			181	165
			185	169
			189	173
			193	177
			197	181
			201	185
			205	189
			209	193
			213	197
			217	201
			221	205
			225	209
			229	213
			233	217
			237	221
			241	225
			245	229
			249	233
			253	237
			257	241
			261	245
			265	249
			269	253
			273	257
			277	261
			281	265
			285	269
			289	273
			293	277
			297	281
			301	285
			305	289
			309	293
			313	297
			317	301
			321	305
			325	309
			329	313
			333	317
			337	321
			341	325
			345	329
			349	333
			353	337
			357	341
			361	345
			365	349
			369	353
			373	357
			377	361
			381	365
			385	369
			389	373
			393	377
			397	381
			401	385
			405	389
			409	393
			413	397
			417	401
			421	405
			425	409
			429	413
			433	417
			437	421
			441	425
			445	429
			449	433
			453	437
			457	441
			461	445
			465	449
			469	453
			473	457
			477	461
			481	465
			485	469
			489	473
			493	477
			497	481
			501	485
			505	489
			509	493
			513	497
			517	501
			521	505
			525	509
			529	513
			533	517
			537	521
			541	525
			545	529
			549	533
			553	537
			557	541
			561	545
			565	549
			569	553
			573	557
			577	561
			581	565
			585	569
			589	573
			593	577
			597	581
			601	585
			605	589
			609	593
			613	597
			617	601
			621	605
			625	609
			629	613
			633	617
			637	621
			641	625
			645	629
			649	633
			653	637
			657	641
			661	645
			665	649
			669	653
			673	657
			677	661
			681	665
			685	669
			689	673
			693	677
			697	681
			701	685
			705	689
			709	693
			713	697
			717	701
			721	705
			725	709
			729	713
			733	717
			737	721
			741	725
			745	729
			749	733
			753	737
			757	741
			761	745
			765	749
			769	753
			773	757
			777	761
			781	765
			785	769
			789	773
			793	777
			797	781
			801	785
			805	789
			809	793
			813	797
			817	801
			821	805
			825	809
			829	813
			833	817
			837	821
			841	825
			845	829
			849	833
			853	837
			857	841
			861	845
			865	849
			869	853
			873	857
			877	861
			881	865
			885	869
			889	873
			893	877
			897	881
			901	885
			905	889
			909	893
			913	897
			917	901
			921	905
			925	909
			929	913
			933	917
			937	921
			941	925
			945	929
			949	933
			953	937
			957	941
			961	945
			965	949
			969	953
			973	957
			977	961
			981	965
			985	969
			989	973
			993	977
			997	981
			1001	985

To obtain promotion the teacher must be mobile and "gain experience" yet the nature of the work ideally requires a sustained relationship with particular groups of pupils.

In this society which stresses "getting on" it is becoming increasingly difficult for the teacher to stay committed to a particular school.

The teacher is expected to maintain traditional values and standards yet at the same time society in general largely ignores these values and standards.

In a society which is becoming sceptical and permissive it is increasingly difficult for teachers to maintain traditional values and standards.

Q. 3. In the space provided below please discuss at some length any one of the previously mentioned problems or any additional ones that you feel are important in your everyday life as a teacher.

Q. 4. In this question a number of statements about teaching are presented. Our purpose is to gather information regarding actual attitudes of educators concerning these statements. You will recognize that the statements are of such a nature that there are no correct answers. I am interested only in your frank opinion of them.

Following are twenty statements about schools, teachers and pupils. Please indicate your personal opinion about each statement by circling the appropriate response at the right of the statement.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
	SA	A	U	D	SD
1. It is desirable to require pupils to sit in assigned seats during assemblies.					
2. Pupils are usually not capable of solving their problems through logical reasoning.					
3. Directing sarcastic remarks toward a defiant pupil is a good disciplinary technique.					
4. Beginning teachers are not likely to maintain strict enough control over their pupils.					

Strongly Disagree SD
Disagree D
Undecided U
Agree A
Strongly Agree SA

5. Teachers should consider revision of their teaching methods if these are criticized by their pupils.
6. The best principals give unquestionable support to teachers in disciplining pupils.
7. Pupils should not be permitted to contradict the statements of a teacher in class.
8. It is justifiable to have pupils learn many facts about a subject even if they have no immediate application.
9. Too much pupil time is spent on guidance and activities and too little on academic prep.
10. Being friendly with pupils often leads them to become too familiar.
11. It is more important for pupils to learn to obey rules than that they make their own decisions.
12. Student governments are a good "safety valve" but should not have much influence on school policy.
13. Pupils can be trusted to work together without supervision.
14. If a pupil uses obscene or profane language in school, it must be considered a moral offence.
15. If pupils are allowed to use the lavatory without getting permission, this privilege will be abused.

- | | Strongly
Disagree | Disagree | Undecided | Agree | Strongly
Agree |
|-----|----------------------|----------|-----------|-------|-------------------|
| | SD | D | U | A | SA |
| 16. | | | | | |
| 17. | | | | | |
| 18. | | | | | |
| 19. | | | | | |
| 20. | | | | | |
16. A few pupils are just young hoodlums and should be treated accordingly.
17. It is often necessary to remind pupils that their status in school differs from that of teachers.
18. A pupil who destroys school material or property should be severely punished.
19. Pupils cannot perceive the difference between democracy and anarchy in the classroom.
20. Pupils often misbehave in order to make the teacher look bad.

Q. 5. Listed below are 24 goals for education. Please choose eight of these: four most important and for least important goals as far as you are concerned.

1. Develop capacity for action based on knowledge.
2. Develop a pride in our work and in our status in life.
3. Develop a sense of group solidarity.
4. Learn to respect and to get along with others.
5. Develop skills for continued learning.
6. Learn how to manage information.
7. Develop skills of self-exploration.
8. Learn the rewards of good citizenship.
9. Learn to use leisure time effectively.
10. Understand the changes in the world.
11. Understand and practice democratic principles.
12. Understand and practice family living skills.
13. Develop ability to trust our own judgement.
14. Develop skills for innovation.
15. Learn to manage money and other resources effectively.
16. Understand and practice ideas of health and safety.
17. Learn to cooperate with people holding viewpoints which differ from ours.
18. Appreciate culture and beauty.
19. Develop self-initiative.
20. Develop an abiding set of spiritual and moral values.
21. Recognize and accommodate the differing needs of others.
22. Accept our own shortcomings.
23. Learn to accept the authority of people in positions of responsibility.
24. Learn about and understand the interdependence of people.

I consider the following goals to be the four most important goals:

- 1 _____
- 2 _____
- 3 _____
- 4 _____

I consider the following goals to be the four least important goals:

- 1 _____
- 2 _____
- 3 _____
- 4 _____

Q. 6. Although teachers have to concern themselves with many different things in their jobs some teachers emphasize certain things more than others. We would like to know which one of the following four types of teachers you think best describes you at present, when you first started your career, and which one would be your choice if you had to opt for another style:

The four teaching styles are as follows: