The Relation of Organizational Structure and Personal Attributes to Work Satisfaction Among Public School Teachers

Thomas G. Schackmuth
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THE RELATION OF ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE
AND PERSONAL ATTRIBUTES TO WORK SATISFACTION
AMONG PUBLIC SCHOOL TEACHERS

by

Thomas G. Schackmuth

A Dissertation Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School
of Loyola University of Chicago in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

June
1975
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VITA

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His graduate studies were undertaken at Loyola University of Chicago and at Northern Illinois University, DeKalb, Illinois. He was graduated from Loyola University, Chicago, in February, 1967 with the degree of Master of Arts in Sociology.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

| ACKNOWLEDGMENTS                                      | ii    |
| LIFE                                                 | iii   |
| LIST OF TABLES                                       | v     |
| LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS                                | viii  |
| CHAPTER                                              |       |
| I. INTRODUCTION                                      | 1     |
| Statement of the Problem                             | 1     |
| Variables and Hypotheses                             | 4     |
| Description of the Study                             | 12    |
| II. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND AND REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE | 23    |
| Early Theories                                       | 24    |
| Empirical Studies                                    | 26    |
| III. WORK SATISFACTION AND ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE  | 43    |
| IV. WORK SATISFACTION AND PERSONAL ATTRIBUTES        | 76    |
| V. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS                           | 113   |
| Relevance to Theory                                  | 124   |
| Implications for Future Research                     | 126   |
| REFERENCES                                           | 129   |
| APPENDIX A                                           | 136   |
| APPENDIX B                                           | 137   |
| SURVEY OF TEACHER ATTITUDES                           | 138   |
LIST OF TABLES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Economic, Educational, and Occupational Characteristics of Adult Residents of Bolingbrook and Romeoville in 1972</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>The Number and Percentage of Respondents Who Returned Completed Questionnaires According to the School Where Employed</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Professional Self-Image of Teachers as Affected by Professional Atmosphere</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Work Satisfaction of Teachers as Affected by Professional Self-Image</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Work Satisfaction of Teachers as Affected by Professional Atmosphere</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Percent of Each Type Which Is High on Work Satisfaction</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Professional Self-Image of Teachers as Affected by Bureaucratic Atmosphere</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Work Satisfaction of Teachers as Affected by Bureaucratic Atmosphere</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Percent of Each Type Which Is High on Work Satisfaction</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Percent of Each Type Which Is High on Satisfaction With the Work Organization</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Professional Self-Image of Teachers as Affected by Educational Ecology</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Percent of Each Type Which Is High on Professional Self-Image</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>Work Satisfaction of Teachers as Affected by Educational Ecology</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>Percent of Each Type Which Is High on Work Satisfaction</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>Professional Self-Image of Teachers as Affected by Size of the School</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
16. PERCENT OF EACH TYPE WHICH IS HIGH ON PROFESSIONAL
SELF-IMAGE
17. WORK SATISFACTION OF TEACHERS AS AFFECTED BY SIZE OF
THE SCHOOL
18. PERCENT OF EACH TYPE WHICH IS HIGH ON WORK SATISFACTION
19. PROFESSIONAL SELF-IMAGE OF TEACHERS AS AFFECTED BY
TEACHING EXPERIENCE
20. PERCENT OF EACH TYPE WHICH IS HIGH ON PROFESSIONAL
SELF-IMAGE
21. PERCENT OF EACH TYPE WHICH IS HIGH ON PROFESSIONAL
SELF-IMAGE
22. WORK SATISFACTION OF TEACHERS AS AFFECTED BY PROFESSIONAL
SELF-IMAGE WHEN CONTROLLING FOR TEACHING EXPERIENCE
23. INTRINSIC PRIDE IN THE WORK ITSELF OF TEACHERS AS
AFFECTED BY PROFESSIONAL SELF-IMAGE WHEN CONTROLLING
FOR TEACHING EXPERIENCE
24. WORK SATISFACTION OF TEACHERS AS AFFECTED BY SEX
DIFFERENTIATION
25. PERCENT OF EACH TYPE WHICH IS HIGH ON WORK SATISFACTION
26. WORK SATISFACTION OF TEACHERS AS AFFECTED BY TEACHING
EXPERIENCE.
27. PERCENT OF EACH TYPE WHICH IS HIGH ON WORK SATISFACTION
28. PROFESSIONAL SELF-IMAGE OF TEACHER AS AFFECTED BY JOB
RANK OF FATHER
29. PERCENT OF EACH TYPE WHICH IS HIGH ON PROFESSIONAL
SELF-IMAGE
30. PERCENT OF EACH TYPE WHICH IS HIGH ON PROFESSIONAL
SELF-IMAGE
31. WORK SATISFACTION OF TEACHERS AS AFFECTED BY PROFESSIONAL
SELF-IMAGE WHEN CONTROLLING FOR INTERGENERATIONAL MOBILITY
32. SATISFACTION WITH PAY AND MATERIAL BENEFITS OF TEACHERS
AS AFFECTED BY PROFESSIONAL SELF-IMAGE WHEN CONTROLLING
FOR INTERGENERATIONAL MOBILITY

vi
33. WORK SATISFACTION OF TEACHERS AS AFFECTED BY JOB RANK OF FATHER

34. PERCENT OF EACH TYPE WHICH IS HIGH ON WORK SATISFACTION
# LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Figure</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Proposed Path Model for Predicting Work Satisfaction</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Map Diagram of Work Satisfaction With Gammas</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INTRODUCTION

statement of the Problem

This dissertation seeks to investigate the work satisfactions among teachers in the organizational setting of the elementary school. Of additional importance is a second variable, the level of professionalization, which is analyzed to assess its impact on the work satisfactions of the elementary school teacher. Finally, an attempt is made to determine the extent to which the individual elementary school teacher's feelings of mobility orientation, assessed in terms of his/her own perceived occupational prestige, is a source of satisfaction or dissatisfaction in his occupational role.

Some of the fundamental concerns of the study focus on the impact of the organizational setting, namely the extent to which bureaucratization within public elementary schools contributes to or diminishes both the level of professionalization as well as the work satisfactions of elementary school teachers. Moreover, some additional questions are analyzed relative to the professional atmosphere or structure of the elementary school, namely the size, the educational ecology, and the administrative leadership of the elementary school in influencing the professional self-image, the extent of commitment, and ultimately the work satisfactions of the elementary school teacher.

The rationale for a study of work satisfaction is related to the significance of work as a major factor in the life styles of Americans.
In the course of their daily work lives, many individuals in American society experience ordinary stresses and strains which often result in feelings of failure, unhappiness, or worry. For a considerable number of adults, the needs for a sense of participation, achievement, and meaning are often left unsatisfied by the rationalized jobs performed at the workplace. Frequently, the latent pressures and tensions carried from the workplace influence the way in which people spend their leisure time. In some circumstances, dissatisfactions experienced at the workplace may contribute to disorganization in the rest of one's life, resulting in the failure to achieve a sense of psychological well-being and a satisfactory level of mental health.

One can affirm that an individual's occupational role represents a central focus in his life in terms of the amount of time and energy committed to this activity. Moreover, occupational roles become for many individuals the principal institutional means for achieving the dominant material goals of their society (Merton, 1957: 134). Frequently, the intensity of one's commitment to the demands of an occupational role leads to role conflicts. Such role conflicts often result from the inability effectively to co-ordinate activities pertaining to work roles and non-work roles which center around family activities and leisure time behavior (Sorokin and Merton, 1936).

For some workers in American society, the occupational role is assigned segmental importance and represents only one of several competing areas of socially patterned personal identifications. However, for other workers, it would appear that work and the workplace constitute a significant location not only for one's informal group
life and social participation, but also a source of one's general life satisfactions.

The feelings of reward that an individual experiences in selected aspects of his occupational role might be referred to as work satisfaction. It has been suggested that work satisfaction varies directly with a person's position in the occupational hierarchy (Inkeles, 1960). In concurring with this hypothesis, one might infer that blue collar workers experience a lesser degree of work satisfaction than white collar workers. In support of this conclusion is the recognizable trend toward job enlargement and job rotation so as to minimize the intrinsic dissatisfactions frequently linked to the monotonous and repetitive nature of much blue collar work. In spite of this evidence, physiological symptoms associated with tensions, pressure, and stress are frequently identified with the role conflicts and role overload experienced by white collar workers employed in large scale organizations (Kahn, 1964).

It has been suggested that workers at all occupational levels feel that they are employed at jobs where mobility is blocked, the opportunity for growth is lacking, and challenge is missing (O'Toole, 1973: xvi). Authoritarian work settings and jobs damaging to one's self-esteem may contribute to work dissatisfaction, frequently resulting in lesser work productivity and the absence of physical and psychological rewards.

There is some evidence, however, which suggests that, for the professional person, work and the workplace constitute a preferred location for the individual's personal and general satisfactions.
As a professional person, the school teacher in the organizational context of the elementary school system can be viewed in terms of the sources of satisfaction and dissatisfaction that bear upon his/her occupational role. Among the sources of satisfaction and dissatisfaction of the elementary school teacher, one might infer that such influences as the social prestige of the teacher, his/her economic status and professional standing will be closely linked with the level of work satisfaction. Similarly, one might expect that the decision-making authority of the individual teacher, his/her competence and motives for teaching are all factors which contribute to his/her overall occupational satisfactions.

With this introduction, it is the writer's purpose to focus on the specific variables and hypotheses that bear upon the occupational role of the elementary school teacher in the organizational setting of the elementary school system. At this point, it is appropriate specifically to delineate the theoretical model for predicting the work satisfactions of the respondents in the study.

Variables and Hypotheses

The object of analysis is the individual elementary school teacher within the organizational setting of the elementary school. The dependent variable is work satisfaction, which is subdivided into three types: satisfaction regarding intrinsic pride in the work; satisfaction relative to the organization; satisfaction pertaining to pay and material benefits. The major independent variables in the study include the following individual school-related characteristics: the social class, size, educational ecology, level of bureaucracy, professional
atmosphere of the school as well as the professional self-image of the individual elementary school teacher.

A proposed model for predicting work satisfaction will be outlined below and can be found in greater detail in the appendix. The model includes four sets of variables: personal background variables, school-related variables, professionalization variables, and the dependent variable. Each variable will be described with a view toward measurement and the formation of operational definitions.

A. Personal Background Variables

1. Sex Differentiation.

Respondents will be classified into the social categories of male and female.

2. Intergenerational Mobility.

Intergeneration Mobility refers to the extent to which the individual perceives his occupation or socio-economic status to be divergent from the occupational rank of his father. Intergenerational Mobility will be measured by means of some specific questionnaire items pertaining to the occupational, and educational background of the respondent in relation to his family of orientation.

3. Teaching Experience

The extent of the individual's teaching experience will be determined by the number of years that the individual indicates that he/she has been a full-time school teacher. Four years or less will be defined as "limited" teaching experience; five to nine years will be defined as "intermediate" teaching
experience; ten or more years will be defined as "extensive" teaching experience.


The social class of the respondent will be measured by means of the perceived social class level with which the individual currently identifies himself.

B. School-Related Variables

1. Size of the School.

Size refers to the number of students enrolled at the particular school. Schools enrolling less than one thousand students will be defined as "small"; schools enrolling more than one thousand but fewer than fifteen hundred students will be defined as "medium"; schools enrolling in excess of fifteen hundred students will be defined as "large".

2. Social Class of the School.

The social class of the schools will be determined by a 1972 survey of both communities wherein the schools are located. This survey provides a percentage distribution of the socio-educational attainments and occupational prestige ranks of a sample of families residing in each of the two communities -- Bolingbrook and Romeoville, Illinois.

United States Census data (from 1970) of the tracts served by the schools already appear to have become outdated by the extraordinary growth and rapid social changes occurred in each of these communities during the last three years.
3. Level of Bureaucracy in the School.

Bureaucratization refers to the processes by which occupations become specialized, and work activities need to be co-ordinated in order to maximize predictability. The specific external dimensions accompanying the level of bureaucracy include hierarchy of authority, division of labor, presence of rules, procedural specifications, impersonality, and technical competence.

The attitudinal components accompanying the level of bureaucracy will be measured by means of selected items from Richard H. Hall's scale of bureaucratization. The behavioral components accompanying the level of bureaucracy will be measured by means of some questionnaire items designed to elicit information relative to organizational controls.

4. Organizational ideology (or educational ecology).

Organizational ideology refers to a set of beliefs held by a group of persons in a work organization which specify its official philosophical principles and objectives, i.e., the educational ecology of the particular elementary school as evidenced in a pattern of self-contained classrooms (or traditional educational environments) versus "classrooms without walls" (or open educational environments). Individual schools which possess classrooms containing in excess of three hundred students will be defined as "open schools"; individual schools which do not possess such "open classrooms" and primarily contain classrooms containing fewer than seventy-five students in each will be defined as "traditional schools"; schools which
possess classrooms none of which exceed three hundred students but in which more than one-fourth of the students are assigned to classrooms containing more than seventy-five students will be defined as "intermediate schools".

5. The Tenure of the Principal.

The length of the principal's tenure at the particular school will be measured by the number of years that the school principal has been successively employed at the particular school. A "short" tenure will be defined as three years or less; an "intermediate" tenure will be defined as four to six years; a "long" tenure will be defined as seven or more years.

C. Professionalization Variables

1. Professional Atmosphere in the School.

Professionalization refers to the dynamic process whereby an occupation is observed to change certain crucial characteristics in the direction of a profession. The attitudinal attributes accompanying the professional atmosphere include orientation to one's professional organization as a primary reference group, belief in public service, belief in self-regulation, a sense of calling to the field, and a feeling of autonomy.

The attitudinal components accompanying the professional atmosphere of the school will be measured by means of Richard H. Hall's scale of professionalization containing 25 Likert-type items and an additional two items inserted by the writer. The behavioral components accompanying the professional atmosphere
of the school will be measured by approximately six question-
naire items which attempt to gather information pertaining to
membership in professional organizations, attendance at
professional meetings, reviewing of professional journals, and
progress toward professional growth by means of formal academic
study.


The professional self-image refers to the extent to which the
individual teacher has internalized a set of norms which call
for an autonomous commitment to one's discipline and students,
versus a supervised commitment to one's particular school or
the employing organization. The professional self-image of the
teacher will be measured by the same scale and questionnaire
items used above to assess the professional atmosphere of each
school by means of the attitudinal scale and behavioral items
identified with professionalization.

D. Dependent Variable - Work Satisfaction

Work satisfaction refers to the feelings of reward that an individual
worker experiences with regard to aspects of his occupational role,
including the extent to which the job provides an outlet for one's
technical skills, sufficient material rewards, and socially reward-
ing experiences with co-workers and supervisors in the organizational
setting of the workplace.

Work satisfaction will be subdivided into three types: satisfaction
regarding intrinsic pride in the work itself; satisfaction relative
to the organization; satisfaction pertaining to pay and extrinsic
benefits. Work satisfaction will be measured by means of selected
likert-type items taken from Nancy Morse's Scale of Intrinsic Pride
in Work and Arthur H. Brayfield's and Harold F. Rothe's Work
Satisfaction Scale.

Now that six hypotheses have been delineated, the specific variables
contained in the theoretical model for predicting work satisfaction
will be tested. The first four hypotheses suggest that certain
contextual or environmental variables related to the organizational
setting of the school have an impact on the professional self-image
and ultimately bear upon the overall work satisfactions of the
elementary school teacher.

1. The professional atmosphere in the school is positively related
to professional self-image, which, in turn, is positively
related to work satisfaction.

2. The level of bureaucracy in the school is negatively related to
professional self-image, which, in turn, is positively related
to satisfaction with the work organization.

3. An "open" educational ecology in the school, controlling for
social class, is positively related to professional self-image,
which, in turn, is positively related to work satisfaction.

4. The size of the school, controlling for social class, is neg-
atively related to professional self-image, which, in turn, is
negatively related to work satisfaction.

The final two hypotheses suggest that certain features of the
individual's personal background affect his professional self-image and influence particular aspects of the individual teacher's work satisfactions.

5. Teaching experience, controlling for the individual's class background, is positively related to professional self-image, which, in addition is positively related to intrinsic pride in the work.

6. Intergenerational mobility, controlling for the individual's social class background, is positively related to professional self-image, which, in turn, is positively related to satisfaction with pay and material benefits.

Having presented the specific hypotheses contained in the theoretical model for predicting work satisfaction, the writer will now specify more clearly the connections between the variables contained in the hypotheses. Frequently, one can logically distinguish an independent variable from a dependent variable by deciding on the direction of influence of the particular variables. In addition, some variables are clearly recognized as dependent as a result of a particular time order or because of their permanence or relatively fixed qualities. In other relationships between variables, it is more difficult to assess the direction of influence or otherwise to distinguish between independent and dependent variables.

The direction of influence is problematic regarding the relationship between the professional self-image of the elementary school teacher and his level of work satisfaction. One might logically suspect
that work satisfaction is determined or influenced by one's professional self-image. But, it is also possible to imagine one's professional attitudes and behavior being influenced by work satisfactions. In this study, the concept of professional self-image is treated as a set of consciously learned behavior patterns acquired during the process of occupational socialization. It is anticipated that the achievement of work satisfaction does not represent an intentionally learned process but results rather from feelings of reward that a person experiences because of the successful performance in aspects of his occupational role. For this reason in particular, and because the concept of work satisfaction is characteristically viewed as a dependent variable in most research investigations of this kind, it will be treated as the dependent variable in this analysis.

With these remarks regarding the relationship between the variables and hypotheses, it is appropriate to describe in some detail the methodological features of the study. Particular attention will be given to describing the social setting from which the respondents were selected as well as the research instruments employed in the study.

**Description of the Study**

This study consists of an analysis of the work satisfactions of public elementary school teachers. A total of 397 elementary school teachers from the Valley View Community Unit District 365 have been selected as participants in the study.

The Valley View Public School System contains eight individual schools located in the residential communities of Romeoville and
Bolingbrook, Illinois. Both communities are suburbs situated approximately thirty miles southwest of the city of Chicago.

The Valley View Public School System was formed in the summer of 1953 by combining four one-room country schools (a total of 89 students) into the consolidated District 96. District 96 expanded slowly, reaching a total of 219 students for the 1958-59 school year. During the middle sixties, the new villages of Romeoville and Bolingbrook grew rapidly. The elementary school population grew accordingly, with 900 students in 1960-61, 3,318 students in 1965-66, and 6,603 by 1970.

Beginning in September, 1970, a 45-15 Continuous School Plan was adopted. This plan provides for a twelve month school year. Each student in the school from kindergarten through eighth grade attends classes for 45 days and then receives a vacation for 15 days. The rhythm is repeated four times a year so that each student attends school for the legal minimum of 180 days per year. In addition to the four vacations, all students receive an additional week of vacation at Christmas, at Easter and at about July 1.

In July, 1972, Valley View Elementary District 96 united with Valley View High School District 211 to form Valley View Community Unit District 365.

Currently, District 365 consists of eight individual schools, of which six are elementary schools with grades kindergarten through five: Brook View, Oak View, and North View are located in Bolingbrook; and Park View, Valley View, and Ridge View in Romeoville. There are approximately 585 teachers and 10,000 students in the entire school
system of eight schools.

According to the United States Census for 1970, there is only a slight variation in the median annual incomes of the two residential communities where the Valley View School District is situated. The median annual income for Bolingbrook is $12,070; for Romeoville, it is $12,565. Similarly, the median educational level for the two communities is quite comparable. For Bolingbrook, the median educational level was 12.2; for Romeoville, 12.0.

Due to the rapid growth of both of these communities during the last four years, it is probable that this census information is already obsolete. A more recent empirical survey of the two communities in 1972 reveals that Bolingbrook more closely resembles a "middle class" community while Romeoville appears to be primarily a "working class" community. The socio-educational level and occupational rank of the residents of Bolingbrook appear to be higher than those of Romeoville. In Bolingbrook, 33% of adult male respondents had attended college, versus only 8% in Romeoville. Similarly, in Bolingbrook 14% of the adult female respondents had attended college versus only 2% in Romeoville. This results in a total of 20% of adult residents of Bolingbrook who have attended college versus only 8% for Romeoville.

Bolingbrook, moreover, ranks higher than Romeoville relative to the occupational prestige of the adult males. Exactly 50% of adult males from Bolingbrook are employed in white collar occupations, while only 26% from Romeoville are so employed. More than half (52%) of Romeoville male respondents reported they were either skilled blue collar, semi-skilled factory, or transport workers; while only 35% of
the Bolingbrook male respondents were so employed. In Table 1 the income, educational, and occupational characteristics of the two communities are summarized.
### TABLE ONE

**ECONOMIC, EDUCATIONAL, AND OCCUPATIONAL CHARACTERISTICS**

**OF ADULT RESIDENTS OF BOLINGBROOK AND ROMEOVILLE IN 1972**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Bolingbrook</th>
<th>Romeoville</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Median Income</strong></td>
<td>$12,070</td>
<td>$12,565</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Median Grade Level Achieved</strong></td>
<td>12.2</td>
<td>12.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Adult Males Who Have Attended College</strong></td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Adult Females Who Have Attended College</strong></td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Employed in White Collar Occupations</strong></td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Employed in Blue Collar Occupations</strong></td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>52%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Valley View Schools encourage progressive and innovative methods of instruction. The concept of "open education" appears to be highlighted with considerable emphasis on individualized instruction, multi-unit instruction and self-directed learning. Furthermore, it appears that considerable attention is given to recognition of the professional role of the teacher. "Planning time" is institutionalized for teachers in order that they might be in contact with professional consultants and make use of professional libraries. Teacher aides, rather than teachers, supervise children during recess in the playground and in the cafeterias.

Among the seven elementary schools in District 365, one of the schools can be defined as "large", four as "medium", and two as "small". West View, in Romeoville, is defined as "large", with 2,686 students and 160 teachers. Three of the four medium-sized schools are located in Bolingbrook: North View with 1,228 students and 52 teachers; Brook View with 1,110 students and 47 teachers; Oak View with 1,038 students and 43 teachers; Park View, in Romeoville, has 1,201 students and 79 teachers. The two small schools are located in Romeoville: Ridge View with 928 students and 37 teachers and Valley View with 729 students and 53 teachers.

Among the seven elementary schools in District 365, there are varying degrees of "openness". In terms of its physical environment, Oak View in Bolingbrook is entirely "open" (a school without walls). Ridge View in Romeoville and Brook View in Bolingbrook are also defined as "open schools" since they are "half open", i.e., there are two classrooms with over 450 students in each. North View School, located
in Bolingbrook, along with Valley View School and West View Junior High School, both located in Romeoville, possess substantially self-contained or traditional-type classrooms, with the vast majority of students assigned to classrooms containing fewer than 75 students. Finally, Park View School in Romeoville is an example of an "intermediate" school, with several "large open spaces" i.e., four classes divided into units of approximately 150 students.

In viewing the schools relative to the length of the tenure of the principal (i.e., number of years at the particular school), only West View Junior High School in Romeoville and Valley View in Romeoville have had the same principal for the past eight years. Both schools reflect long tenures of the principals. Ridge View in Romeoville has had the same principal for a medium tenure - the last five years. Among the other schools, Oak View and North View of Bolingbrook have had the same principal for two years while Brook View in Bolingbrook has had the same principal for only one year.

The instrument for gathering the data was a questionnaire designed by the researcher. The following standardized scales were included in the questionnaire: Professionalization and bureaucratization scales designed by Richard H. Hall; selected items from a work satisfaction scale designed by A. H. Brayfield and H. F. Rothe; an intrinsic pride in work scale by Nancy Morse; and a scale measuring members' perceptions of the control structure designed by Arnold S. Tannenbaum and Robert L. Kahn.

The universe of the study includes all certified teachers employed during the 1973-74 school year in the six elementary schools
and one junior high school within District 365. As can be seen from Table 2 a total of 397 elementary school teachers are included within this universe. This is a universe study, and so between March 28, 1974, and April 2, 1974, the appropriate number of questionnaires were delivered to each of these seven schools contained within the Valley View Public School System (District 365). The researcher, with the aid of the school principal, arranged for the distribution of the questionnaires to the subjects. Each subject was requested to return the completed questionnaire in a stamped, self-addressed envelope to the researcher.
TABLE TWO

THE NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS WHO RETURNED COMPLETED QUESTIONNAIRES

ACCORDING TO THE SCHOOL WHERE EMPLOYED

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School</th>
<th>Number of Questionnaires Delivered</th>
<th>Number of Questionnaires Returned</th>
<th>Percentage of Questionnaires Returned</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Brook View</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North View</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oak View</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total for Bolingbrook Schools</td>
<td>147</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Park View</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ridge View</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Valley View</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Westview Junior High</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total for Romeoville Schools</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTALS FOR DISTRICT 365</td>
<td>397</td>
<td>219</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
On May 17, 1974, 219 completed, usable questionnaires were received, which represents a return of 55% of the original 397 questionnaires distributed to all potential participants. The responses were coded and recorded on data processing cards, and tabulation and statistical testing were performed at the Lewis Towers Campus of Loyola University, Chicago, Illinois.

The data were treated by means of multivariate analysis. The specific statistical procedures which were employed in the study included the use of gamma as a coefficient designed to measure the degree of association between two or more variables. This type of statistical test is suitable for analyzing data at the ordinal level of measurement. In addition, cross-tabulation tables are presented to analyze specific patterns of relationship between selected variables.

It is almost impossible to make meaningful comparisons between those persons who comprise the universe of the study and that population which represents the respondents to the questionnaire. It has been determined, however, that the percentage of males and females in the universe corresponds significantly to the actual distribution of males and females who responded to the questionnaire. There are 28% males and 72% females in the universe, and respondents to the completed questionnaires consist of 26% males and 74% females.

One might predict that those who responded to the questionnaire may exhibit attitudes somewhat more favorable to items measuring a professional self-image and work satisfaction than those members of the universe who did not respond to the questionnaire. It is
anticipated, however, that this possible bias may be partially over­
come by the treatment of the data. Since the data require analysis
at the ordinal level of measurement, the respondents can be classi­
fied on a continuum as "higher" or "lower" by use of the median as a
measure of central tendency.
CHAPTER II

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND AND REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Most sociological efforts to study the problem of work satisfaction have sought to isolate specific patterns of relationship by liking levels of individual satisfaction or dissatisfaction to particular occupational roles (e.g., Inkeles, 1960; Kahn, 1960). In addition, numerous studies (e.g., Dubin, 1958; Zaleznik, Roethlisberger, and Christensen, 1958) have explored variations in the degree and kind of satisfactions experienced in various occupational categories.

In these research investigations, the degree and kind of satisfactions one experiences is frequently attributed to factors related to the nature of the work itself (e.g., Dubin, 1958); in other cases, to the level of prestige and esteem identified with one's occupational role and performance in it (e.g., Mills, 1951). In still other research reports, the degree and kind of occupational satisfaction is viewed as a consequence of the worker's mobility achievements relative to the career timetables of meaningful reference individuals such as significant others, colleagues, siblings, or parents (e.g., Shostak, 1969; Form and Geschwender, 1962). Finally, some studies have linked the degree and kind of work satisfaction to the employing organization itself (e.g., Miller, 1967; Kornhauser, 1963). In these studies, the impact of the organizational setting of the workplace is viewed as significantly influencing one's level of work satisfaction.
Early Theories

Among the earliest theories of social organization that bear on the problem of work satisfaction is Durkheim's theory of social solidarity. According to Durkheim (1893: 372), occupational specialization resulting from the division of labor is essentially a source of solidarity. In fact when the normal conditions of the division of labor prevail, the individual worker is not imprisoned in his specialized occupational task, but rather is in constant contact and collaboration with his co-workers.

According to Durkheim, the division of labor does not result in rationalized production devoid of functional activity for the worker except in the most unusual and abnormal circumstances. However, when one observes the pace of technological innovations during the twentieth century, it appears that Durkheim's theory of social solidarity does not completely apply to the work settings of all twentieth century workers, particularly blue collar workers. Numerous industrial occupations require the performance of highly fragmentary and simplified work tasks which not only lack continuity but also demand intense co-ordination of neuro-motor skills (cf. Friedmann, 2961: 74).

In contrast to Durkheim, Marx views the division of labor as a divisive influence rather than as an instrument of solidarity. A most serious cleavage resulting from the division of labor is the modification of social relations as they are associated with the forces of production. Furthermore, because one's relationship to the forces of production become a crucial consequence of the division of labor, the alienating propensities of such societies become more evident. Those
who possess the less favorable relationships to the forces of production experience a total loss of humanity. These individuals, referred to collectively as the proletariat, are a mass of individuals oppressed by the disintegration of society and more specifically from the disintegration of the middle class (Marx, 1845: 92). Hence in Marx's theory, the division of labor represents a substantial source of divisiveness in society, whereas for Durkheim, the division of labor is clearly "functional" in creating solidarity and in improving the material and social conditions and perhaps the work satisfactions of the individual worker.

In his middle range theory of deviant behavior, Merton (1957) suggests the centrality of the occupational role as a socially structured avenue for realizing the culturally prescribed aspirations of one's society. Such aspirations are transmitted by way of the family, school, and workplace. The reward for intensive disciplining and sustained motivation to achieve the success goals of the society is the promise of gratification resulting from one's labor (Merton, 1957: 137). Hence, in those occupations where there are limited opportunities for advancement or for conventional and legitimate means for achieving material success, there will be a marked tendency toward a lack of extrinsic work satisfaction. Moreover, one suspects that in such occupations, individuals are not likely to experience notable intrinsic or technical satisfactions from their work roles.

Maslow's (1943) theory of motivation postulates that human needs arrange themselves in hierarchies of prepotency, namely, as soon as one need is satisfied, another need appears in its place. The lowest
level needs — the physiological needs — must be gratified before the next level of higher needs — the safety needs can be fulfilled. Following the safety needs hierarchically are the social needs, the esteem needs and ultimately the need for self-actualization. One can only speculate regarding the extent to which occupational roles provide various segments of the occupational hierarchy with the satisfaction of needs on these various levels.

**Empirical Studies**

Before citing some of the empirical studies which relate to work satisfaction, it is noteworthy that two broad theoretical approaches to the sociology of the workplace characterize the worker's relationship to his job. The scientific management movement of Frederick W. Taylor represented an attempt to prescribe the most efficient procedures for the organization and conduct of routine work. The goal of the movement was to use the rather inefficient human organism in the productive process in the best way possible. This was to be accomplished by transforming the human being from a general to a more special purpose mechanism. One of the underlying assumptions of this approach was that human beings can be easily measured in terms of increasing efficiency. Incentive plans, cost analysis, stimulus-response techniques, engineering plans, etc. characterize this approach to the workplace (Roethlisberger and Dickson, 1939).

The "human relations in industry" approach was an attempt to counteract the non-social and engineering point of view. Elton Mayo and his associates provided a social psychological framework to focus on the behavior of persons in the small work group. The so-called
"Hawthorne effect" which resulted from their investigations suggests that, when people get special attention, they are willing to work harder. It also dramatizes the inadequacy of the purely economic view of man by emphasizing that workers are a part of a social system which could either organize to undermine or support management. This social psychological perspective contrasts sharply with the mechanistic emphasis of the scientific management movement. (cf. Miller and Form, 1964).

Among one category of studies indicating that work satisfactions may be exhibited in the form of physiological symptoms, Fromm (1955) suggested the importance of differentiating between what people consciously think about their work satisfactions and what they feel unconsciously. Psychoanalytic evidence suggests that the sense of unhappiness and dissatisfaction can be deeply repressed; a person may feel satisfied but his dreams, psychosomatic illness, and insomnia are reflected in such physical symptoms as severe headaches, high blood pressure, nervous tension, and ulcers, which express the underlying unhappiness.

Greenberg (1958) pointed out that work is undoubtedly less arduous physically than it was in the past; however, modern standards of efficiency require individuals to key themselves to a higher pitch of nervous and mental effort. Consequently, leisure has become more emphatically an occasion for a flight from purposefulness. Leisure is no longer the sphere for self-realization as it is a passive state which provides the vicarious experiences giving one the immediate satisfactions that are denied the individual during the working hours.
Friedmann (1961) indicated the functional relationship of repressed needs carried over from the workplace to the sphere of leisure activity. He indicated that many individuals' needs for meaning and for a sense of achievement are left unsatisfied by the rationalized jobs performed in the factory, the office, and the workshop. The blocked needs for self-expression and mobility frequently result in behavior patterns of depression, nervous strain, and aggressive tendencies during the individuals' so-called "free time". Such behavior frequently must be camouflaged since in a competitive and conformist society, people who appear to be happy and contented are often considered "well-adapted", while those who express dislike for their jobs are regarded as "failures".

A second assortment of studies focuses on the work dissatisfactions principally of blue collar workers in American society. Blauner (1964) indicated that basic changes in the social organization of work brought about by the industrial revolution have resulted in the fragmentation of man's work experience. The causes of this fragmentation are observed in three conditions: (1) powerlessness and lack of control; (2) meaninglessness as when the individual's role is so specialized that he becomes a "cog" in an organization; (3) isolation or when an individual is separated from a community or network of personal relations which would inhibit impersonal treatment.

This viewpoint of Blauner seemingly is reinforced by Chinoy (1955), who reported that the majority of assembly-line auto workers found work largely meaningless and yielding little possibility in the
way of intrinsic satisfactions. Assembly-line work left the men physically and psychologically fatigued, destroying the possibility of lively and creative patterns of recreation.

In a similar study of automobile assembly-line workers, Walker and Guest (1962) indicated that routine and repetitive work limited the direct satisfactions that could be derived from it. Walker and Guest concluded that, while the auto worker expressed satisfaction with rate of pay and job security, he found extreme specialization oppressive and contributing to a deep sense of anonymity.

In a study of "central life interests" of industrial workers, Dubin (1964) indicated that, for the vast majority of industrial workers, work and the workplace did not provide valuable social experiences congenial to the development of preferred informal human relationships. Dubin's research indicated that only about ten per cent of the industrial workers perceived their important primary social relations as taking place at work. The other ninety per cent preferred primary interactions with fellowmen elsewhere than on the job.

In a study by Morse and Weiss (1955), it was found that unskilled industrial workers stated that they would keep on working because of a lack of alternatives, not positive satisfactions. The workers indicated that they would continue to work even if there were no financial need to do so, although also indicating that the job itself was boring and without meaning. This study suggested that even men who are not at retirement age can feel threatened by the prospects of what not working would mean to them. Furthermore, working
apparently serves functions other than economic since the producing role is important for maintaining a sense of well-being.

A third category of studies focuses on the worker's perceptions and frames of reference as a measuring rod or benchmark of his own relative work satisfaction. Inkeles (1960) indicated that there is a hierarchical relationship to occupational satisfaction. As occupational prestige increases, income and psychic rewards typically increase and hence enhance the sense of job satisfaction. According to Inkeles, those who hold jobs of higher status were much more likely to be concerned about having a job which is "interesting", stimulating, challenging, and permitting self-expression. The proportion desiring this quality was three times greater among professionals than it is for unskilled workers in both the United States and in the U.S.S.R.

Form and Geschwender (1962) have questioned the assumptions underlying traditional studies of job satisfaction, rejecting the following assumptions:

1. That all workers have a clear perception of a hierarchical occupational structure;
2. that all workers desire upward occupational mobility;
3. that the degree of job satisfaction is a function of success in the graded occupational structure.

The authors have provided evidence that job satisfactions for manual workers in an industrial society are not so much a function of their own individual aspirations, but rather a response to the occupational position which their parents and brothers occupy. In addition, Form and Geschwender argued that it is a normal condition for manual workers
not to expect enormous opportunities for upward mobility and not to internalize strongly the ideology of opportunity. Lacking the ideology of opportunity, they tend to use their peer groups, and particularly the male members of their family of origin, as measuring rods or social references in evaluating their own occupational positions. The greater the amount of mobility a worker has experienced relative to his social references, the more job satisfaction he will feel.

Shostak (1969), has pointed out that, while large numbers of skilled craftsmen enjoy many advantages over other blue collar workers, they also experience much more conflict and stress than do unskilled and semi-skilled workers. According to Shostak, work satisfactions do not result exclusively from the challenge of the job itself through such factors as achievement, responsibility, growth, advancement, recognition etc.; but rather there are additional external variables which provide certain comparative references influencing the worker's perception of his own satisfaction. According to Shostak, the following external variables have contributed to work satisfaction for blue collar workers: (1) the worker's frame of reference (steadiness of employment in relation to others); (2) the worker's history (the effects of change); (3) the comparative performance of "significant others" (male relatives of the same cohort); (4) the worker's estimation of available or future realistic alternatives to his present job.

A fourth category of studies focuses on the intrinsic factors of job satisfaction. Friedlander and Walton (1964) pointed out that the reasons one remains with an organization differ from -- and are not
just the opposite of -- the reasons for which one might leave the organization. The reasons that an employee remains with a particular organization reflect positive motivations -- those which are concern primarily with work process factors. Job satisfaction is related to indices of personal growth and self-actualization such as achievement, responsibility, and advancement.

The reasons for which an employee leaves an organization reflect his negative motivations, namely those factors which deal primarily with circumstances peripheral to the work process itself or with the community environment. Indices of job dissatisfaction, according to Friedlander and Walton, will be concerned with such aspects of the job environment as working conditions, company policies, supervision, etc.

According to Mills (1951), the direct technical processes of work have been declining in meaning for the mass of employees, but other features of work such as income, power, and status have replaced the meaning previously channeled into the technical aspects of work. Apart from the technical skills involved in one's job, work is a source of income; the amount, level, and security of pay and one's income history represent a significant part of the work's meaning.

Mills suggested that income provides security against unemployment and anxiety about sickness, accident, or old age. Prestige is a source of self-esteem among co-workers, superiors, subordinates, friends, family and the community-at-large. Power over the technical aspects of work is replaced by power over other people. Finally, according to Mills, these four aspects of occupations -- skill, power, income, status -- must be taken into account in order to understand the
meaning of work and the success of its gratification.

In a study by Zaleznik, Roethlisberger, and Christensen (1958), six main areas of job satisfaction are identified which contributed to the worker's overall sense of purposefulness:

1. The intrinsic characteristics of the job -- the degree to which the worker feels that the job provides him with an outlet for his technical work skills;
2. the extended features of the job -- the feelings about pay, the physical working conditions, the fringe benefits etc.;
3. the supervisor -- the worker's feelings toward his foreman as a boss;
4. associates at work -- the worker's feelings about working with the particular people in his department;
5. the company -- the worker's feelings about working for this particular concern;
6. the union -- the worker's feelings in being a member of this particular union.

The authors have suggested that the following hypotheses reveal the relationship between work satisfaction and status congruence among these six areas of the job:

1. the higher the status congruence, the more satisfied he will be;
2. the more the individual's external rewards are in line with or greater than his social investment, the more satisfied he will be;
3. the individual's satisfaction varies as his degree of reward-
from management and from the group is attained.

In a study by Herzberg, Mausner, and Snyderman (1959), two
dimensions of job satisfaction were identified. One set of factors
accounted for satisfaction while a different set of factors accounted
for dissatisfaction. Motivating factors such as recognition, achieve­
ment, advancement, responsibility, and the work itself led to a
positive work attitude, while dissatisfied workers frequently com­
plained about company policy, supervision, interpersonal relations,
salary, and working conditions.

In an article by Kahn (1960) relating to a group of workers in
an insurance company, it is pointed out that there is a positive
relationship between job satisfaction and attitudes toward one's
company as well as toward one's own financial and job status. However,
the major determinant of job satisfaction appears to be the type of
work actually done. Clearly those individuals who perform high level
technical work experienced a higher degree of intrinsic satisfaction
than those performing the repetitious clerical type of work.

Dubin (1958) pointed out that job satisfaction increases with
(1) the skill required to do the work; (2) the amount of variation
involved in the work task; and (3) the amount of difficulty and
complexity involved in the nature of the task. Furthermore, job
satisfaction was linked to financial rewards, in addition to such forms
of "pay" as privilege, power, status, and authority which are psychic
compensations for work.

Finally, Orzack (1958) demonstrated that those in professional
occupations stressed work and the workplace as preferred locations for a variety of activities -- including general satisfactions, technological relations, and central life interest. He tentatively concluded that professional people consider their work an end in itself; work is a focal center of self-identification which is important and valued.

A fifth and last category of studies focuses on the sources of satisfaction and dissatisfaction experienced principally by professional persons employed within organizational settings. In an analysis of scientists in an industrial setting, Kornhauser (1963) found that there are certain built-in strains between professional autonomy and bureaucratic control which vary widely from one organization to another. Much depends on the willingness of organizations and professionals to accommodate to each other regarding values pertaining to goals, supervision, and decision-making.

Hall (1969) found an inverse relationship between degree of bureaucratization and level of professional attitude. Highly bureaucratic organizations tended to impede the development of professional attitudes. Similarly, an organization whose members had strong professional commitments were more resistant to bureaucratic norms of behavior.

Wilensky (1965) reinforced this viewpoint by asserting that occupations in the process of becoming professions often exist in organizational settings which impede their progress toward professional status. It is the organizational context which threatens autonomy and the service ideal and acts as a barrier to professionalization. The culture of bureaucracy invades the professions while the culture of
professionalism invades the work organization.

Gouldner (1957) suggested the presence of tension between professional values and the demands of the employing organization. According to him, the professional person may find that the employing organization commands his loyalty in such a way as to limit his commitment to his professional goals by attempting to channel his career orientation toward the employing organization as a dominant reference group.

Corwin (1961) has suggested that, since bureaucratic and professional role conceptions prescribe opposing modes of conduct, individuals who subscribe to the professional role typically express greater conflict than do those individuals who have accepted the status of an employee in the work organization. This viewpoint is reinforced by Blau and Scott (1962) in their assertion that more professionally oriented workers (as opposed to less professionally oriented) tend to be more critical of their supervisors as well as the rules and procedures of the entire organization. Consequently, less conflict for the professional in such settings is likely to result if they hold weaker ideals of professional attitudes.

In discussing the probability that professional persons will experience alienation from their employing organizations, Miller (1967) has suggested that professional alienation is dependent upon professional and organizational goals. While the type of alienation manifested by engineers may result from their lack of power and participation in organizational matters, the type of alienation experienced by scientists may reflect their sense of not being autonomous in
pursuing their work zealously.

Moeller (1962) pointed out that teachers employed in bureau-
cratic school systems reported a significantly higher sense of power
in affecting school system policy than did teachers employed in less
fully bureaucratized school systems.

Corwin (1964) suggested that teachers who are highly profes-
sional in orientation tend to be most militant when they have a low
employee orientation. Although militant teachers are not always the
most professionally oriented, the most professionally oriented teachers
are among the most militant.

Chase (1951) has indicated that teachers who exhibit high work
satisfaction have tended to give favorable ratings to their super-
intendents, principals, and supervisors, while those teachers who are
dissatisfied with their positions have tended to rate the leadership
of their supervisor as poor.

Ziegler (1967) concludes that there is considerable work dis-
satisfaction among male teachers. According to Ziegler, the absence
of work satisfaction among male teachers is related to the limited
opportunities for upward mobility and for adequate financial rewards
within the profession. In addition, it is reported that male teachers
frequently experience feelings of relative deprivation largely because
of their unfavorable comparison to males in other occupations requiring
similar education.

Finally, in a study of bureaucratic procedures of a federal agency
of law enforcement, Blau (1955) indicated that the consultation norms
of federal agents were frequently violated. While the agents were encouraged to consult supervisors on matters requiring a solution to a technical problem, they frequently exhibited an alternative consultation pattern. Instead of conforming to the officially prescribed procedure, the federal agents frequently chose to consult with colleagues for information in cases involving technical competence.

Of particular importance are some studies regarding the relationship between work satisfaction and personal happiness or psychological well-being by Bradburn and Noll (1969). These authors reported a consistently strong association between work satisfaction and overall happiness. It appears that work satisfaction is particularly linked with males who had positive feelings of personal happiness in the higher prestige occupations. More important, however, was the fact that income, promotions, and general chances for advancement, as seen by the individual as well as his perceptions of how others viewed his job, have a greater association with positive feelings of psychological well-being for those in higher status positions. Those in lower status positions, however, had less of a stake in the world of work and thus were unlikely to reap much benefit in terms of positive feelings about psychological well-being. At best, these individuals could hope for a lessening of negative feelings about psychological well-being.

Having surveyed some aspects of the sociological literature on the problem of work satisfaction, it is evident that several assumptions are consistently employed in these research efforts. Most of the research studies bearing on the problem of work satisfaction seemingly
have focused on blue collar workers. An implicit underlying assumption of these studies is that blue collar workers are dissatisfied and alienated in contrast to those in the professions. Professionals, it is often assumed, have creative, stimulating, self-actualizing, and hence satisfying work. Only a few studies have hinted at the stress, tensions, and the frustrations of the mobility-conscious, career-oriented white-collar bureaucrat and professional employed in a large scale organization.

The studies pertaining to work satisfaction suggest that the convergence of an assortment of key variables is instrumental in predicting a high level of work satisfaction. Of particular importance in predicting a high level of work satisfaction is the nature of the work assignment itself. As opposed to routine and repetitive work assignments, individuals are likely to find greater satisfaction in work which is characterized by its complexity and which provides an outlet for one's technical skills.

A second variable frequently identified in studies of work satisfaction is the extent to which the work affords the individual opportunities for forming rewarding social relationships. A favorable psychological climate in which personal bonds and interests are allowed to develop among persons performing similar work assignments is conducive to personal growth as well as work satisfaction.

A third variable linked to work satisfaction is the extent to which the individual possesses personal autonomy in performing his work activities. The impact of rigid supervisory controls and bureaucratic restraints often precludes the attainment of a high
level of work satisfaction. The failure of the individual to experience an optimum balance of freedom and control typically contributes to feelings of alienation from organizational goals.

Finally, an individual's level of work satisfaction has been frequently associated with the influence of reference group norms. Although an individual's level of work satisfaction may be directly related to the challenge of his particular occupational role, his feelings about pay and other extended features of the job may result from specific reference group norms. The impact of these reference group norms is to provide a useful "benchmark" for assessing one's work satisfaction relative to the comparative performance of "significant others".

With these remarks on the convergence of various studies of work satisfaction, it is the writer's intention to investigate some specific influences that bear upon the work satisfactions of the elementary school teacher. As a professional person, the elementary school teacher is viewed as an individual possessing superior knowledge and competence who has internalized specific norms of conduct which equip him/her with the special capacity to meet the educational needs of children. In order to fulfill his/her professional obligations, the elementary school teacher must possess the authority to handle the unique problems in which he/she is confronted as well as the responsibility for their outcome.

Since the individual teacher is also a member of an employing organization -- in this case, the elementary school system -- he/she is required to observe rules and procedures which assure the efficient
performance of specialized duties. Because some aspects of the teacher's work role involves standardized procedures, he/she is often viewed as a bureaucrat. In such cases, his/her work is presumed to be categorical and routine with an attempt to apply a set of uniform rules.

The bureaucrat's goals of commitment to the particular elementary school may differ from the professional's goal of service to his students. In such cases, there is a conflict of loyalty between professional standards and the demands of the employing organization. To the extent that an individual elementary school teacher perceives the opportunity to experience growth in spite of some possibly negative working conditions and organizational policies, presumably to that extent the degree of his/her work satisfaction can be assessed.

The individual elementary school exists within a subculture with its own set of beliefs, values, and traditions, with its own ways of thinking and behaving that set it apart from other social institutions. The particular social organization of the school reflects a pattern of social relations consisting of many individuals who comprise the social system of the school and who perform their specific social roles. Of particular importance relative to the social organization of the school is its organizational ideology, namely the set of beliefs held by a group of persons in a work organization which specify its official philosophical principles and objectives. If the organizational ideology (or educational ecology) of a particular elementary school reflects a pattern in which the majority of the students in that school are assigned to self-contained
classrooms, then that educational environment will be viewed as a "traditional school". In those schools in which the majority of students are assigned to "classrooms without walls", these educational environments will be regarded as "open schools". It is anticipated that the work satisfactions of the individual teacher will be influenced by the circumstances of the educational environment in which he is working.

Some additional factors anticipated as contributing to the work satisfactions or dissatisfactions of the individual elementary school teacher include the administrative leadership reflected in the length of the principal's tenure at the particular school. It is expected that the size of the school and the social class level of the residential community wherein the particular elementary school is located will also be significant variables linked to the work satisfaction of the individual elementary school teacher.

Furthermore, one might suspect that the extent of the individual elementary school teacher's work satisfaction will be influenced by the degree to which he/she is motivated and committed to teaching. Moreover, one would expect that his work satisfactions would bear upon the degree to which the individual teacher views himself/herself as an autonomous professional person committed to the process of educating children. Finally, the work satisfactions of the individual elementary school teacher will undoubtedly be influenced by the extent to which he/she perceives his/her occupational prestige rank to be divergent from the objective rank of friends, relatives, co-workers, and other important reference groups.
CHAPTER III

WORK SATISFACTION AND ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE

In this chapter, the first four hypotheses in the study will be analyzed to determine the patterns of response on the questionnaire by the participants. Each of these hypotheses suggests that the environmental variables related to the organizational setting of the school have an impact on the professional self-image and work satisfactions of the individual elementary school teacher. The data will be presented from two points of view: (1) to determine any patterns of relationship between variables by means of a cross-tabulation of two measures arranged in a four-fold table; (2) to determine the significance of cross-comparisons in selected dichotomies by means of gamma as a statistical measure of association.
TABLE 3

PROFESSIONAL SELF-IMAGE OF TEACHERS
AS AFFECTED BY PROFESSIONAL ATMOSPHERE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Professional Self-Image</th>
<th>Professional Atmosphere</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Low</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>43%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>57%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Gamma: .28

"Professional Self-Image" refers to the extent to which the individual teacher has internalized professional norms; consists of 27 attitude statements and 6 behavioral components. Attitude statements pertain to one's orientation to the professional organization, public service, self-regulation, sense of calling, autonomy. Behavioral components include membership in professional organizations and reviewing professional journals.

"Professional Atmosphere" refers to the composite professional self-images of all the teachers in a particular school.

The "High" and "Low" cells in the table reflect respondents who are above and below the cumulative mean of all participants in the study. In the case of the schools, "High" or "Low" schools refer to those schools in which the cumulative response of the participants is either above or below the cumulative mean for all participants in the study.

The data in Table 3 present the cross-tabulation percentages and gamma for the relationship between the professional atmosphere of the school and the professional self-image of the individual teacher. The gamma of .28 suggests a low positive association between these two variables. The low positive association between
these two variables is demonstrated by the fact that a sizeable majority (57%) of the respondents with a "high" professional self-image are employed in schools with a "high" professional atmosphere. Moreover, the same percentage (57%) of the respondents with a "low" professional self-image are employed in schools with a "low" professional atmosphere.

The relationship between these two variables -- professional atmosphere and professional self-image -- does appear to lend moderate support to the first hypothesis which states "the professional atmosphere of the school is positively related to a professional self-image . . ." Wilensky's (1965) research indicated that occupations which are in the process of becoming more professionalized often exist in organizational contexts which impede progress toward professional development. Perhaps the cultural values of the employing organization substantially diminish the impact of the professional culture surrounding the school environment.
### TABLE 4

**WORK SATISFACTION OF TEACHERS**  
**AS AFFECTED BY PROFESSIONAL SELF-IMAGE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Work Satisfaction</th>
<th>Professional Self-Image</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Low</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Gamma: .66

"Work satisfaction" refers to the feelings of reward that a person experiences relative to his/her occupational role; consists of 15 attitude statements reflecting pride in the work, satisfaction with the organization, satisfaction with pay.

Table 4 presents a cross-tabulation and gamma for the relationship between the professional self-image of the individual elementary school teacher and his level of work satisfaction. The gamma of .66 indicates a substantial positive association between these two variables. The data in this table indicate that more than two-thirds (68%) of the participants who possess a "high" professional self-image also exhibit a "high" level of work satisfaction. Similarly, among those respondents who possess a "low" professional self-image, less than one-third (30%) indicate a "high" level of work satisfaction.

This particular finding gives support to Inkeles' (1960) conclusions about a hierarchical relationship regarding work
satisfaction. As occupational prestige and status increase, both material and psychic rewards also typically increase and therefore enhance one's sense of work satisfaction. According to Inkeles, professional persons are particularly concerned about having jobs which offer psychic rewards and permit role-expression. The research of Orzack (1958) also bears on the relationship between professionalization and work satisfaction. Orzack indicated that persons in professional occupations prefer the workplace as the setting for which their central life interests and general life satisfactions are experienced.

**TABLE 5**

**WORK SATISFACTION OF TEACHERS AS AFFECTED BY PROFESSIONAL ATMOSPHERE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Work Satisfaction</th>
<th>Professional Atmosphere</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Low</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>59%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>41/100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Gamma: .36

The data in Table 5 describe the relationship between the professional atmosphere of the school and the level of work satisfaction achieved by the individual teacher. A gamma of .36 suggests that a moderate negative association exists between these two
variables. Among the teachers that can be described as "highly professional", only 40% report "high" work satisfaction; in contrast, among teachers employed in schools characterized by "low" professional atmospheres, nearly three-fifths (59%) report "high" work satisfaction. This finding appears to be contrary to what one might have anticipated. One would have suspected that those identified with a "high" professional atmosphere would be considerably more likely to experience a "high" level of work satisfaction than those teachers identified with a "low" professional atmosphere.

Miller's (1967) conclusions regarding the alienation of professional persons from their employing organizations affords some insight into these unexpected results. According to Miller, professional alienation is dependent upon professional and organizational goals. While professional persons may possess autonomy in pursuing their work objectives, they may simultaneously experience a lack of power and participation in organizational decisions. In this light, an environment described as "highly professional" may also contribute to a sense of professional alienation and therefore minimize work satisfactions.

An additional explanation for these unanticipated results is that the "low" professional atmosphere constitutes a less competitive social environment which minimizes a sense of relative deprivation. In such an environment, teachers may experience more autonomy and fewer pressures to achieve professional standards of conduct. Similarly, in atmospheres described as "highly professional", 
teachers may find themselves subject to more rigid demands for achieving academic excellence and teaching proficiency. In such a situation, it is anticipated that work satisfactions would be reduced.

TABLE 6

PERCENT OF EACH TYPE WHICH IS HIGH ON WORK SATISFACTION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Professional Atmosphere</th>
<th>Self-Image</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Type A</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type B</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type C</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type D</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6 presents data regarding the relationship between the professional self-image of the elementary school teacher and the level of work satisfaction, controlling for the professional atmosphere of the school. The gamma of .72 indicates a very strong positive association between these variables when controlling for a "high" professional atmosphere. An even stronger positive association of .77 is obtained for these variables when controlling for a "low" professional atmosphere.

Thus, for teachers working in atmospheres that can be described as "highly professional", somewhat more than one-half (57%)
of the respondents possessing a "high" professional self-image experienced a "high" level of work satisfaction; whereas, less than one-fifth (18%) of those with a "low" professional self-image experienced a "high" level of work satisfaction. This finding appears to be consistent with the findings presented in Table 4, namely that a "high" level of work satisfaction is substantially dependent upon a "high" professional self-image.

Among the teachers employed in schools characterized by a "low" professional atmosphere, more than four-fifths (84%) of the respondents possessing a "high" professional self-image experienced a "high" level of work satisfaction; nevertheless, only two-fifths (40%) of those with "low" professional self-image achieved a "high" level of work satisfaction.

These findings appear to support the conclusions stated previously that a "high" level of work satisfaction is substantially dependent upon a "high" professional self-image. However, it is indeed unanticipated that the findings should suggest that an atmosphere described as "highly professional" is not the most suitable environment for achieving a "high" level of work satisfaction. It is evident that a greater probability of achieving a "high" professional self-image and a "high" level of work satisfaction exists in those schools with a "low" professional atmosphere than in those schools characterized as "highly professional". Moreover, work satisfaction appears to be directly linked to the attainment of a professional self-image in spite of the quality of the professional atmosphere where the teacher finds himself.
In conclusion, the data contained in the first four tables lend modest support to the first hypothesis. When viewing the professional atmosphere of the school as a contextual variable, it appears to provide modest support for the first hypothesis which states "the professional atmosphere of the school is positively related to a professional self-image . . ." Of greater significance, perhaps, is the substantial positive relationship which exists between the professional self-image of the elementary school teacher and his level of work satisfaction. This particular finding tends to give the strongest support to the first hypothesis. However, the findings indicate that the level of one's work satisfactions are not significantly dependent upon the quality or type of professional atmosphere characterizing a particular elementary school. Moreover, it appears that, although a "high" level of work satisfaction is dependent upon a "high" professional self-image, a "highly professional: atmosphere in the school is not critical -- and in fact may be dysfunctional -- to the attainment of a "high" level of work satisfaction.
TABLE 7

PROFESSIONAL SELF-IMAGE OF TEACHERS
AS AFFECTED BY BUREAUCRATIC ATMOSPHERE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Professional Self-Image</th>
<th>Bureaucratic Atmosphere</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Low</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>43%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>57%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Gamma: .31

"Bureaucratic Atmosphere" refers to the composite of all teachers in a particular school regarding the extent to which this occupation has become specialized with co-ordinated work activities; consists of 12 attitude statements pertaining to hierarchy, division of labor, rules, procedures, impersonality, competence.

The data in Table 7 present the cross-tabulation of percentages and gamma for the relationship between the level of bureaucracy in the school and the professional self-image of the individual teacher. A gamma of .31 indicates that a moderate positive association exists between these two variables. Among those respondents employed in schools characterized by a "high" bureaucratic atmosphere, nearly three-fifths (59%) exhibit a "high" professional self-image. Similarly, among the respondents identified with schools possessing a "low" bureaucratic atmosphere, only 43% exhibited a "high" professional self-image. Hence these data do not lend support to the hypothesis that "the level of bureaucracy
in the schools is negatively related to a professional self-image . . ."
This particular finding is unexpected in view of Gouldner's (1957) conclusion that bureaucratic and professional orientations pre-
scribe opposing modes of conduct -- bureaucrats channel their
dominant loyalties toward the employing organization, while pro-
fessionals are characteristically committed to the ideals of service
and autonomy in pursuing goals of excellence. At least for
elementary school teachers, the culture of bureaucracy seemingly
invades the profession, while the culture of professionalism
seemingly invades the work organization.

**TABLE 8**

**WORK SATISFACTION OF TEACHERS**
**AS AFFECTED BY BUREAUCRATIC ATMOSPHERE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bureaucratic Atmosphere</th>
<th>Low</th>
<th>High</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>58%</td>
<td>39%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>61%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Gamma: -.36

Table 8 describes the relationship between the bureaucratic atmosphere of the school and the work satisfactions of the individual elementary school teacher. A gamma of -.36 indicates a moderate negative association between these variables. Less than two-fifths
(39%) of the teachers employed in "highly bureaucratic" atmospheres report "high" work satisfaction; whereas nearly three-fifths (58%) of those identified with "low" bureaucratic atmospheres report "high" work satisfaction. These findings seemingly bear upon the conclusions of Herzberg et. al. (1959), specifically that one set of factors accounts for work satisfaction while another helps to explain work dissatisfaction. These authors assert that work dissatisfactions are largely attributable to specific bureaucratic features of the work environment such as company policy, supervision, and working conditions. Moreover, Herzberg et. al. conclude that the sources of one's work satisfactions are not directly related to the bureaucratic atmosphere of one's work organization but are more directly linked to the work process itself which reflect positive motivations for personal growth and self-actualization. Hence, the findings in Table 6 suggest that a "highly bureaucratic" atmosphere or work environment may substantially preclude the attainment of a "high" level of work satisfaction.
In Table 9, the data describe the pattern of relationship between the professional self-image of the individual teacher and his level of work satisfaction, controlling for the bureaucratic atmosphere of the school. These findings indicate that teachers employed in schools characterized as having "low" bureaucratic atmospheres more consistently report "high" work satisfactions than do those employed in schools classified as "highly bureaucratic" atmospheres. Nevertheless, the quality of the bureaucratic atmospheres is seemingly of lesser significance in determining "high" work satisfactions than is the professional self-image of the individual teacher. The data in Table 9 suggest that the achievement of a "high" level of work satisfaction is chiefly dependent upon the individual's own self-concept of his professional growth; of secondary importance is the impact of the work environment or the bureaucratic atmosphere of the particular

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Bureaucratic Atmosphere</th>
<th>Professional Self-Image</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Type A</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type B</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type C</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type D</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE 9
PERCENT OF EACH TYPE WHICH IS HIGH ON WORK SATISFACTION
school where he is employed.

Among the teachers identified with schools characterized as having "low" bureaucratic atmospheres, 80% with a "high" professional self-image also report a "high" level of work satisfaction. In sharp contrast, among the teachers employed in schools defined as "highly bureaucratic" atmospheres, only 58% of those possessing a "high" professional self-image also report a "high" level of work satisfaction. A "low" bureaucratic atmosphere seemingly represents a more desirable working environment not only for those teachers possessing a "high" professional self-image but also for those exhibiting a "low" professional self-image. Among the teachers possessing a "low" professional self-image and also reporting a "high" level of work satisfaction, 42% are employed in schools defined a "low" bureaucratic atmospheres while only 12% of these teachers are in "highly bureaucratic" atmospheres.

These findings in Table 9 seemingly support Kahn's (1960) conclusions that the technical aspects of the work process itself appear to be of greater significance in predicting a "high" level of work satisfaction than the extended features of the work which include organizational policy and financial benefits. Moreover, Orzack (1958) indicated that for professional persons, work tends to be viewed as a highly valued and important activity which becomes a major focus of one's self-identification. For these researchers, the technical aspects of the work process become major determinants of intrinsic work satisfaction, while those aspects of the work environment which are peripheral to the work process itself are of
somewhat lesser significance in predicting one's work satisfactions.

TABLE 10

PERCENT OF EACH TYPE WHICH IS HIGH ON SATISFACTION WITH THE WORK ORGANIZATION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Bureaucratic Atmosphere</th>
<th>Professional Self-Image</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Type A</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type B</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type C</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type D</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 10 describes the relationship between the professional self-image of the elementary school teacher and those respondents who are "highly" satisfied with their work organization when controlling for the bureaucratic atmosphere of the school. The findings in Table 10 seem to correspond meaningfully to those findings previously discussed in Table 9. A "low" bureaucratic atmosphere is somewhat more conducive to the achievement of a "high" level of satisfaction with one's work organization for the elementary school teachers in this study. Of greater significance, however, is the finding that the attainment of a "high" professional self-image so frequently accompanies a "high" level of work satisfaction.

Among the teachers employed in schools defined as "low"
bureaucratic atmospheres, 67% of those with a "high" professional self-image also report that they are "highly satisfied" with their work organization (in this case, their elementary school). However, among the teachers identified with schools characterized as having a "highly bureaucratic" atmosphere, only 60% of the respondents possessing a "high" professional self-image report a "high" level of satisfaction with their work organization. Although the differences between these percentages reflect higher organizational satisfactions in a "low" bureaucratic atmosphere, the measurable differences are nevertheless modest. More noticeable differences result when focusing on those elementary school teachers who exhibit a "low" professional self-image and report a "high" level of satisfaction with their work organization. One can observe from Table 8 that 45% of these teachers are associated with a "low" bureaucratic atmosphere while only one in seven (14%) are employed in "highly bureaucratic" atmospheres.

The findings in Table 10 are consistent with Friedlander and Walton's (1964) conclusions about those factors which explains why an individual remains with an organization. According to these researchers, the attainment of a high level of work satisfaction is directly linked to personal growth, responsibility, and advancement. It is because of positive motivations that an employee expresses satisfaction with his work organization. Furthermore, Friedlander and Walton indicate that work satisfaction is only indirectly related to the work environment or to those circumstances peripheral to the work process itself. Hence, specific features of
the work environment such as working conditions, company policies, supervisory procedures etc. do not significantly contribute to a high level of intrinsic work satisfaction. Rather, the improvement of specific features of the work environment is viewed by these researchers as a means of reducing dissatisfaction with one's work.

In summary, one can observe from one segment of the findings that a noticeable departure occurs from the prediction which is stated in the second hypothesis that "the level of bureaucracy in the school is negatively related to a professional self-image . . . ." This finding suggests that a highly professional self-image is dependent upon a highly bureaucratic atmosphere in the school. It was anticipated that professional and bureaucratic norms in the schools would be inversely related. These findings seemingly do not support Hall's (1969) conclusions that bureaucratic organizations tend to impede the development of professional attitudes; and that highly committed professional persons tend to resist bureaucratic norms of behavior. In addition, one can conclude from the findings that the attainment of a high level of work satisfaction (or low level of work dissatisfaction) is somewhat dependent upon a "low" bureaucratic atmosphere. Nevertheless, the findings indicate that a "high" level of work satisfaction -- as well as a "high" level of satisfaction with one's work organization -- is more directly dependent upon the individual's formation of a high quality professional self-image. These findings concur with the assertions frequently made in other studies that the circumstances of the work environment, including the level of bureaucracy in a work or-
ganization, may only enhance or reduce the level of work dissatisfaction experienced by the individual in his occupational role. Moreover, it is often concluded that the attainment of a high level of work satisfaction is more directly linked with the nature of the work process itself and not with any features of the work environment that are peripheral to the work process.

**TABLE 11**

PROFESSIONAL SELF-IMAGE OF TEACHERS
AS AFFECTED BY EDUCATIONAL ECOLOGY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Professional Self-Image</th>
<th>Educational Ecology</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Closed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>55%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Gamma: -.11

"Educational Ecology" refers to the arrangement of the classroom environment in a particular elementary school. "Open" schools contain an excess of 300 students in individual classrooms. "Closed" or "traditional" schools primarily contain classrooms with fewer than 75 students in each.

Table 11 presents the cross-tabulation percentages and gamma for the relationship between the educational ecology of the school (i.e. open or closed) and the professional self-image of the individual teacher. The gamma of -.11 indicates a low negative association between these two variables. Among those respondents
employed in "open" schools, less than a majority (only 48%) exhibit a "high" professional self-image. Conversely, a slight majority in "closed" schools possess a "high" professional self-image.

These findings are consistent with the previously mentioned findings regarding the influences of selected environmental variables on the professional self-image of the individual teacher. It was anticipated that the open school would provide a more favorable organizational context for internalizing professional norms and values. Furthermore, the open school setting, one might have suspected, would contribute to the reduction of tensions between individual professional goals and the demands of the employing organization. Thus, these findings do not lend support to the hypothesis that an "open" educational ecology in the school is positively related to a professional self-image.
Table 12 presents the percentages contained in a typology describing the relationship between a "high" professional self-image and the educational ecology of the school (i.e. open or closed) when controlling for the social class of the community wherein the particularly elementary school is located. Among the teachers employed in schools serving the "middle class community" (i.e. Bolingbrook), a somewhat larger percentage possessing a "high" professional self-image are identified with "closed" schools as opposed to "open" schools. Nearly one-half (48%) of those possessing a "high" professional self-image are identified with the "closed" schools; whereas exactly 40% of these teachers possessing a "high" professional self-image are employed in "open" schools. Contrary to what was expected, the "closed" school represents at least a moderately more conducive educational environment for the formation of a "high" professional self-image.

**TABLE 12**

PERCENT OF EACH TYPE WHICH IS HIGH ON PROFESSIONAL SELF-IMAGE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Community Type</th>
<th>Educational Ecology</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Type A</td>
<td>Middle Class Community</td>
<td>&quot;Open&quot; Educational Ecology</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type B</td>
<td>Middle Class Community</td>
<td>&quot;Closed&quot; Educational Ecology</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type C</td>
<td>Working Class Community</td>
<td>&quot;Open&quot; Educational Ecology</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type D</td>
<td>Working Class Community</td>
<td>&quot;Closed&quot; Educational Ecology</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
When focusing on the schools serving the working class population (i.e. Romeoville), not only does one observe a larger percentage of those possessing a "high" professional self-image than is the case among the respondents identified with the "middle class schools", but also the differences between the open and closed schools appear to be negligible. Among the teachers assigned to the "working class schools" and possessing a "high" professional self-image, 58% are identified with an "open" educational ecology and 57% are employed in a school characterized by a "closed" educational ecology.

These findings indicate that the educational ecology of the school -- specifically the difference between the "open school" and the "closed school" -- has little impact on the professional self-image of the elementary school teacher. Of more importance is the finding that a somewhat larger percentage of teachers possessing a "high" professional self-image are employed in those schools serving a working class population as opposed to those assigned to schools serving a middle class population.

It was anticipated that selected environmental variables such as the educational ecology of the school might have been of greater significance in predicting the development of a professional self-image among elementary school teachers. One might have anticipated that the "closed" school represents a less desirable social setting for the formation of a professional self-image. In contrast to the progressive and innovative organizational features of the "open" school, the closed school is often
characterized as possessing all the alleged trappings of traditional, unimaginative educational pedagogy and hopelessly locked into a network of inflexible bureaucratic procedures. Nevertheless, the findings in this study suggest that the "open" school exerts little, if any, influence on the professional self-image of the elementary school teacher.

A similar expectation that was not confirmed by the data was that the organizational setting of the middle class school (as opposed to that of the working class or lower class school) would represent an environmental milieu for the elementary school teacher more favorable to the formation of a professional self-concept. Wilson's (1959) research indicated that in working class schools the educational process was frequently devalued by the compelling evidence of lower academic achievements and lesser educational aspirations. Moreover, Wilson suggested that the influence both of peer group norms, as well as the social climate of working class schools, contributed to the lower quality of education in this socio-educational context. Similarly, in our study, one might have predicted, in contrast to the actual findings, that the social setting of the working class school would have provided a less suitable organizational environment than that of the middle class school for the formation of a professional self-image by the elementary school teacher. The data, however indicate that elementary schools located in a working class community can represent a somewhat more desirable social setting than those in a middle class community, for the formation of a professional self-image by the elementary
school teacher.

TABLE 13
WORK SATISFACTION OF TEACHERS
AS AFFECTED BY EDUCATIONAL ECOLOGY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Work Satisfaction</th>
<th>Educational Ecology</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Closed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Gamma: .25

The data in Table 13 present the cross-tabulation percentages and gamma for the relationship between the educational ecology of the school and the level of work satisfaction reported by the respondents. A gamma of .25 indicates a low positive association between these two variables. The findings indicate that "high" work satisfaction is somewhat dependent upon being employed in an "open" school. More than half (55%) reporting a "high" level of work satisfaction are teachers in "open" schools, whereas only 40% in "closed" schools report "high" work satisfaction.

These data suggest that the environmental features of the "open" school are particularly favorable to the attainment of a high level of work satisfaction. The "open" schools undoubtedly provide elementary school teachers with an opportunity for creative
self-expression and innovation without the stringent bureaucratic restraints frequently identified with the "closed" schools which advocate adherence to traditional teaching methods. Kornhauser's (1963) research implied that work satisfactions are subject to the built-in strains between professional autonomy and bureaucratic control. At best, such strains can be minimized where organization and professionals express a willingness to accommodate to each other regarding goals, supervision, and decision-making.

TABLE 14

PERCENT OF EACH TYPE WHICH IS HIGH ON WORK SATISFACTION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Educational Ecology</th>
<th>Professional Self-Image</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Type A</td>
<td>&quot;Open&quot;</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Educational Ecology</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>High Professional Self-Image</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type B</td>
<td>&quot;Open&quot;</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Educational Ecology</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Low Professional Self-Image</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type C</td>
<td>&quot;Closed&quot;</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Educational Ecology</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>High Professional Self-Image</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type D</td>
<td>&quot;Closed&quot;</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Educational Ecology</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Low Professional Self-Image</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 14 presents the percentages describing the relationship between the professional self-image of the elementary school teacher and those teachers who report "high" work satisfaction when controlling for the educational ecology of the school. These findings indicate that teachers possessing a "high" professional self-image and employed in an "open" school have the greatest
probability of experiencing a "high" level of work satisfaction. While "high" work satisfaction is chiefly dependent upon a "high" professional self-image, being employed in an "open" school is somewhat more favorable for this than being employed in a "closed" school. Among the teachers possessing a "high" professional self-image, 85% of those employed in "open" schools report a "high" level of work satisfaction, while only 53% of those employed in "closed" schools report a "high" level of work satisfaction. Moreover, among the respondents exhibiting a "low" professional self-image, only 28% of those assigned to "open" schools report a "high" level of work satisfaction as compared to 26% employed in "closed" schools who report a "high" level of work satisfaction. These findings indicate that, while the "open" school has a moderately favorable impact on the probability of experiencing a "high" level of work satisfaction, nevertheless formation of a high quality professional self-concept is of greater significance in predicting "high" work satisfaction.

In conclusion, the data focusing on the educational ecology of the school indicate that, while the "open" school represents an organizational setting moderately conducive to a "high" level of work satisfaction, it nevertheless has a negligible or perhaps slightly negative impact on the formation of a "high" professional self-image among elementary school teachers in this study. However, a contextual variable that at least moderately influences the likelihood that the elementary school teacher will internalize a professional self-image is the social class of the community wherein
the particular school is located. Elementary schools in working class communities are somewhat more likely to possess a larger percentage of teachers with a "high" professional self-image.

It is noteworthy that the attainment of a "high" level of work satisfaction is chiefly dependent upon the formation of a high quality professional self-concept. While the influence of the environmental context, (in the instance, the educational ecology of the school,) and the social class of the community wherein the particular school is located are helpful in predicting work satisfaction, the extent to which the individual teacher internalizes professional norms of conduct is the most important explanatory variable for predicting work satisfaction, in this study.
TABLE 15

PROFESSIONAL SELF-IMAGE OF TEACHERS
AS AFFECTED BY SIZE OF THE SCHOOL

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Professional Self-Image</th>
<th>Size of the School</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Small</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>54%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>46%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Gamma: .10

"Size of the School" refers to the number of students enrolled at a particular school. Schools enrolling less than 1,000 students are defined as "small"; schools enrolling in excess of 1,500 are defined as "large".

In Table 15, the cross-tabulation percentages and gamma are presented for the relationship between the size of the school and the professional self-image of the individual teacher. A gamma of .10 indicates a low positive association between these two variables. Among respondents employed in "large" schools, a sizeable majority (60%) exhibited "high" professional self-image; a similar majority of respondents employed in "small" schools, only 54% exhibited a "high" professional self-image.

Size of school population as an environmental variable linked to the elementary school, does not appear to have a substantial influence on the professional self-image of the individual teacher. Miller's (1967) research suggested that professional
persons often experienced a sense of alienation because of a lack of power and participation in organizational matters. This type of alienation might be especially characteristic of large organizations where professional persons sense a lack of autonomy in pursuing their own work objectives.

TABLE 16

PERCENT OF EACH TYPE WHICH IS HIGH ON PROFESSIONAL SELF-IMAGE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Community</th>
<th>School Size</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Type A</td>
<td>Middle Class Community</td>
<td>Large School</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type B</td>
<td>Middle Class Community</td>
<td>Small School</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type C</td>
<td>Working Class Community</td>
<td>Large School</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type D</td>
<td>Working Class Community</td>
<td>Small School</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

"Social Class of the Community" refers to the social class characteristics of the service populations wherein the schools are located: Bolingbrook (middle class), Romeoville (working class).

Table 16 describes the relationship between the size of the school and those respondents possessing a "high" professional self-image, when controlling for the social class of the population served by the particular schools. No percentages are given for the schools located in the middle class community because each of these schools (all located in Bolingbrook) are of "intermediate" size; none are classified as "large" or "small". The data in Table 16
represent a duplication of the data already presented in Table 15.

### Table 17

**Work Satisfaction of Teachers**  
**As Affected by Size of the School**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Work Satisfaction</th>
<th>Size of the School</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Small</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>48%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>52%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Gamma: -.20

Table 17 describes the cross-tabulation percentages and gamma for the relationship between size of the school and level of work satisfaction. A gamma of -.20 indicates a low negative association. The data suggest that only a minority of respondents employed in either "small" or "large" schools experience a "high" level of work satisfaction. Among the elementary school teachers reporting a "high" level of work satisfaction, only 34% are employed in "large" schools; however, nearly half (48%) are identified with "small" schools. Hence, one can conclude that the "small" school represents a somewhat more suitable organizational setting, than the large school, for the attainment of a "high" level of work satisfaction.

There is some evidence indicating that professional persons
employed in large organizations such as universities, hospitals, or research organizations are often confronted with situations in which organizational or bureaucratic norms conflict with professional standards. Miller's (1967) research offered some evidence that the amount of alienation experienced by professional persons was dependent upon the size of the organizational unit. In his study of the alienation of scientists and engineers from their employing organizations, Miller concluded that there were fewer limitations placed on professional incentives of those performing work activities within small organizational units, as opposed to large. Scientists who carried out their activities in special laboratories reported less organizational control and more professional incentives than those in larger organizational units.

**TABLE 18**

**PERCENT OF EACH TYPE WHICH IS HIGH ON WORK SATISFACTION**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>School Size</th>
<th>Professional Self-Image</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Type A</td>
<td>Large School</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type B</td>
<td>Large School</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type C</td>
<td>Small School</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type D</td>
<td>Small School</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 18 presents percentages describing the relationship
between the professional self-image of the individual teacher and those who have reported a "high" level of work satisfaction when controlling for the size of the school in which they are employed. The data indicate that, although "high" work satisfaction is chiefly dependent upon the formation of "high" professional self-image, this positive association is enhanced considerably when controlling for "small" schools. Among the respondents teaching in "small" schools, nearly three-fourths (72%) who indicated a "high" professional self-image exhibited a "high" level of work satisfaction. In contrast, among the respondents identified with "large" schools, less than one-half (46%) possessing a "high" professional self-image exhibited a "high" level of work satisfaction.

Perhaps some of the environmental features of large schools can be compared to other groups, organizations, or Gesellschaft-like units in which size in itself seemingly contributes to qualitative differences in norms. It is probable that in larger organizational settings as in larger communities, there is a greater need for formal controls to enforce conformity to norms. In addition, size (in terms of an increase in numbers) limits the nature and extent of personal interaction while contributing to a sense of anonymity. These qualitative differences in norms resulting from a change in numbers readily underline the desirability of the small school for providing a setting for development of professional values and attainment of work satisfaction.

In summarizing the data pertaining to size of the school, it is evident that size is not a principal explanatory variable for
predicting work satisfaction. As previously indicated, work satisfaction is chiefly dependent upon the development of a "high" professional self-image. Nevertheless, the structural feature of size seemingly is a contributor to the level of work satisfaction. It is significant that a "small" school is somewhat more desirable than a "large" school for experiencing "high" work satisfaction; whereas "large" schools are slightly more suitable than "small" schools for developing "high" professional self-image. Hence, these findings do not lend support to the hypothesis that the size of the school, controlling for social class, it negatively related to a professional self-image. Moreover, size, as an environmental variable, does not have sufficient impact to modify substantially the zero-order relationship between the formation of a "high" professional self-image and the attainment of a "high" level of work satisfaction.

It is noteworthy that in each of the first four hypotheses, the environmental variables appear to have little impact on the professional self-image of the individual elementary school teacher. The data do not support even the direction of the relationship predicted between the variables in three of the hypotheses. In only the first hypothesis (which predicts that the professional atmosphere in the school is positively related to a professional self-image) does the predicted direction of the relationship correspond even remotely to the actual findings. In general, then, the data do not support the hypotheses that the selected environmental variables -- professional atmosphere, bureaucratic atmosphere,
educational ecology, and the size of the school -- have a significant impact on the professional self-image of the individual elementary school teacher. However, there appears to be strong support for a positive relationship between the professional self-image of the individual school teacher and his level of work satisfaction. Further, this relationship is enhanced when one controls for "open" schools and "small" schools.
CHAPTER IV

WORK SATISFACTION AND PERSONAL ATTRIBUTES

In this chapter, the fifth and sixth hypotheses in the study will be analyzed in order to determine any significant patterns of response on the questionnaire by the participants. Both hypotheses suggest that personal background variables influence the professional self-image and work satisfactions of the elementary school teacher. As presented in the previous chapter, the data will be viewed from two perspectives: (1) to determine any patterns of relationship between variables by means of cross-tabulation of two measures arranged in a fourfold table; (2) to determine the significance of cross-comparisons in selected dichotomies by means of gamma as a statistical measure of association.
### TABLE 19

PROFESSIONAL SELF-IMAGE OF TEACHERS AS AFFECTED BY TEACHING EXPERIENCE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Professional Self-Image</th>
<th>Teaching Experience</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Limited</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>44%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>56/100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Gamma: .36

"Teaching Experience" refers to the number of years of fulltime teaching. "Limited" experience is defined as five years or less; "extensive" teaching is defined as six or more years.

The data in Table 19 present the cross-tabulation percentages and gamma for the relationship between the number of years of teaching experience and the professional self-image of the individual teacher. (Those respondents teaching five years or less are characterized as possessing "limited" teaching experience; those respondents teaching six or more years are defined as possessing "extensive" teaching experience.) The gamma of .36 indicates that a moderate positive association exists between these two variables. Among the respondents possessing "extensive" teaching experience, more than three-fifths (62%) exhibit a "high" professional self-image. In contrast, among those with "limited" experience, only 44% exhibit a "high" professional self-image.
The findings in Table 19 concur with the perspective of several authors who have viewed professional status as a "process" which grows out of an occupational subculture through which the individual internalizes specific norms of conduct. From this point of view, the professional person is perceived as gradually internalizing a commitment to professional goals. Moreover, several authors have implied that the attainment of professional self-image is a gradual "process" by their assertions regarding the interaction of professional persons within organizational settings. Since so many professional occupations exist within organizational settings, the workplace is often perceived as the locus of the culture of bureaucracy which frequently blocks one's commitment to his profession and his progress toward attainment of a professional self-image.

Since the findings described in Table 19 lend moderate support to the fifth hypothesis, one may conclude that the development of a professional self-image is a process one gradually achieves after many years of teaching experience. However, the organizational setting of the elementary school may be viewed as an impediment or a barrier to attainment of a professional self-image.
TABLE 20

PERCENT OF EACH TYPE WHICH IS HIGH ON PROFESSIONAL SELF-IMAGE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Social Class When Growing Up</th>
<th>Teaching Experience</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Type A</td>
<td>Higher</td>
<td>Extensive</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type B</td>
<td>Higher</td>
<td>Limited</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type C</td>
<td>Lower</td>
<td>Extensive</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type D</td>
<td>Lower</td>
<td>Limited</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

"Social Class When Growing Up" refers to the perceived social class level of the individual's family of orientation when he/she was growing up. "Higher" social class includes the upper class, upper middle class and middle class; "lower" social class includes the lower middle class, the working class, the lower class.

Table 20 presents the percentages describing the relationship between the number of years of teaching experience and those who possess a "high" professional self-image when controlling for the social class of the respondents when growing up. The findings indicate that the achievement of a "high" professional self-image is somewhat dependent upon extensive teaching experience as well as a personal ascription to "higher" social origins (i.e. the upper class, upper-middle class, or middle class). Nevertheless, experience appears to be of somewhat greater significance than class origins in predicting the achievement of a "high" professional self-image.
Among the respondents who possess "extensive" teaching experience, 71% of those from "higher" social origins possess a "high" professional self-image. In contrast, only 50% of the teachers with "extensive" teaching experience from "lower" class origins (i.e. the lower middle class, the working class, or lower class) possess a "high" professional self-image. The percentage differences are even somewhat larger when controlling for social class origins. Among those from "higher" social origins with "limited" teaching experience, only 45% possess a "high" professional self-image. In sharp contrast, among respondents from "higher" class origins with "extensive" experience, 71% possess a "high" professional self-image. Similarly, among those respondents who come from "lower" social origins with "limited" experience, only 37% possess a "high" professional self-image in contrast to the 50% with "extensive" teaching experience who report a "high" professional self-image.

The data in Tables 19 and 20 appear to lend at least moderate support to that portion of the fifth hypothesis which states that teaching experience, when controlling for the social class of the individual is positively related to professional self-image. As indicated previously, these findings suggest that the development of professional self-image is a process one gradually achieves after many years. One may not wish to conclude, however, that an extensive amount of experience in professional activities inevitably results in the successful internalization and commitment to professional values. Gouldner (1967) concluded that the professional
person may find that his employing organization summons his loyalty in such a way as to limit his enthusiasm for his professional goals. As a consequence, the individual's career orientation is channelled toward his employing organization as a dominant reference group.

The findings indicate that the respondents who think of themselves as originating from "higher" social origins are more likely to possess a "high" professional self-image than those who identify themselves as coming from "lower" social origins. Perhaps the development of a professional self-image does not result exclusively from educational preparation and the challenge of the job itself but also through certain comparative references influencing the individual's perceptions of his own professional development. It is possible that selected reference groups may operate as subtle influences which selectively favor those of higher social origins in progressing toward professional development. Moreover, the comparative performance of "significant others", particularly male relatives of the same age or cohort, may have an unknown influence in shaping the professional achievements and aspirations of those persons from "higher" social origins as opposed to those from "lower" social origins.
Table 21 describes the relationship between number of years of teaching and "high" professional self-image when controlling for the sexual identification of the respondents. The data indicate that the formation of "high" professional self-image occurs somewhat more frequently among males (as opposed to females) and among those characterized as possessing "extensive" teaching experience versus those with "limited" experience as teachers. However, teaching experience appears to be of greater significance than sexual identity in predicting the formation of "high" professional self-image.

Among the teachers with "extensive" teaching experience, 71% of the males report a "high" professional self-image. In contrast, only 50% of the females with "extensive" teaching experience possess a "high" professional self-image. In addition, among those who report "limited" experience as teachers, exactly one-half (50%)
of the males possess a "high" professional self-image in contrast to 43% of the females who have attained a "high" professional self-image. So even females with "extensive" experience have a lower professional self-image than comparable males.

These findings suggest, as has been previously discussed in Tables 19 and 20, that the formation of a professional self-image is a process, dependent upon the amount of time one is involved in a professional occupational role. Of particular importance, however, is the finding that males more frequently than females report the formation of a "high" professional self-image. This finding seems to be explained, in part, at least, by the research of Epstein (1970). Epstein indicated that women professionals employed in various occupations as engineers, scientists, and technicians worked fewer hours per week than their male colleagues. She suggested that, because women professionals are expected to perform additional role obligations relative to home-making and child-care, their performance and dedication was often judged by their male colleagues to be below acceptable standards of professional achievement. One can conclude that the apparent time demands and role conflicts experienced by women professionals are probably contributing influences explaining, in part, the alleged inability of women professionals to internalize a commitment to professional norms to an extent comparable to their male counterparts.
TABLE 22

WORK SATISFACTION OF TEACHERS AS AFFECTED BY PROFESSIONAL SELF-IMAGE WHEN CONTROLLING FOR TEACHING EXPERIENCE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Limited Teaching Experience</th>
<th>Extensive Teaching Experience</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Work</td>
<td>Professional Self-Image</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satisfaction</td>
<td>Low</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>73%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Gamma: .69

Gamma: .57

The data in Table 22 focus on the relationship between the professional self-image of the individual elementary school teacher and level of work satisfaction when controlling for extent of teaching experience. A gamma of .69 is obtained for this relationship when controlling for "limited" teaching experience; a gamma of .57 is obtained when controlling for "extensive" teaching experience. For at least a two-thirds majority, the experience of a "high" level of work satisfaction is dependent upon the possession of a "high" professional self-image independent of the extent of the respondent's teaching experience. Whether one has "limited" or "extensive" teaching experience appears to be of little consequence in affecting this relationship. Among respondents possessing a "high" professional self-image, 67% with "limited" experience report "high"
work satisfaction. Similarly, among respondents reporting a "high" professional self-image, 68% with "extended" teaching experience indicate "high" work satisfaction. Some slightly more noticeable differences are observed when isolating those who have experienced a "high" work satisfaction but who possess a "low" self-image. Among these respondents, 37% indicate that they possess "extensive" teaching experience in comparison to the 27% who report "limited" teaching experience.

As indicated previously in Table 4, a gamma of .66 indicates a substantial positive association for the zero-order relationship between professional self-image and work satisfaction. One can infer from Table 22 that the extent of one's teaching experience is not a significant control variable in modifying the already substantial positive association between one's professional self-image and his level of work satisfaction. As previously discussed in Tables 19 and 4, it is apparent that the extent of teaching experience contributes, at least moderately, to the formation of a "high" professional self-image and attainment of a "high" level of work satisfaction. However, once a professional self-image has been internalized, it can be observed that the level of one's work satisfactions are not highly dependent upon experience. The gammas of .57 and .69 indicate not only that experience has little impact on the development of a professional self-image and the consequent attainment of a high level of work satisfaction, but also that extensive teaching experience seemingly retards this relationship, although not significantly.
These findings suggest that attainment of high work satisfaction is not typically dependent upon a particular "timetable" or sequence of chronological events. It is rather substantially dependent upon the positive motivations of individuals to experience personal growth and self-actualization. Maslow's (1943) theory of motivation attests to this point of view by postulating that human needs are arranged in hierarchies of prepotency. As soon as lower level needs are gratified, the next higher level needs can be fulfilled. It is probable that occupational role patterns of professional persons provide ample opportunities for the satisfaction of human needs on various levels.

TABLE 23

INTRINSIC PRIDE IN THE WORK ITSELF OF TEACHERS
AS AFFECTED BY PROFESSIONAL SELF-IMAGE WHEN CONTROLLING FOR TEACHING EXPERIENCE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Limited Teaching Experience</th>
<th>Extensive Teaching Experience</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Intrinsc Pride in the Work</td>
<td>Professional Self-Image</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>35% 74% 37% 66%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>65% 26% 63% 34%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100% 100% 100% 100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Gamma: .68  ........................................ Gamma: .54

Table 23 presents the relationship between professional self-
image of the individual teacher and his level of intrinsic pride in the work when controlling for the teaching experience. Similar to the pattern of responses described in Table 22, gammas of .54 and .68 indicate that a positive association is obtained for the above-mentioned relationship. Moreover, the data suggest that, when controlling for "extensive" teaching experience, the relationship between the two variables is mildly, although immeasurably, depressed. For teachers with "limited" experience who possess a "high" professional self-image, nearly three-fourths (74%) report a "high" level of intrinsic pride in their work. In contrast, among teachers with "extensive" experience who possess a "high" Professional self-image, less than two-thirds (66%) indicate a "high" level of intrinsic pride in their work. A nearly negligible difference results when comparing teachers who exhibit a "high" level of intrinsic pride in their work and who possess a "low" professional self-image. Among these teachers, 35% report "limited" experience as teachers while 37% indicate they possess "extensive experience.

The fifth hypothesis states that "teaching experience, controlling for the individual's social class background, is positively related to an intrinsic pride in the work". Evidence has been presented in support of this hypothesis that a moderate, positive association exists between the extent of experience and the development of a professional self-image. However, the data do not lend support to the remainder of this hypothesis when controlling for teaching experience. It will be recalled from Table 4 that a substantial positive association of .66 is obtained for the zero-
order relationship between these two variables.

The degree to which the individual elementary school teacher feels that his work provides him with an outlet for technical work skills apparently does not depend on long years of teaching experience. In the light of Dubin's (1958) research, perhaps intrinsic pride in one's work is dependent upon the amount of variation involved in the work assignment as well as the amount of difficulty and complexity involved in the work itself. In interpreting these findings, one might conclude that, as individuals increase their teaching experience, there is a modest tendency for the individual to perform his work assignment in a more routine and more repetitive fashion, resulting in reduced intrinsic work satisfactions.
TABLE 24

WORK SATISFACTION OF TEACHERS AS AFFECTED BY SEX DIFFERENTIATION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Work Satisfaction</th>
<th>Sex Differentiation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Gamma: .17

The data in Table 24 describe the relationship between sex differentiation and work satisfaction. A gamma of .17 indicates a low positive association between these two variables. As seen in Table 24, slightly more than one-half (51%) of the females report "high" work satisfaction, while only two-fifth (40%) of the male respondents indicate that they are "highly satisfied" with their work.

These findings seemingly concur with the conclusions of Ziegler's (1967) research, which indicates that there is considerable work dissatisfaction among male elementary and secondary school teachers. Ziegler reports that males indicated that they are considerably less willing than females to choose teaching again as an occupational career, largely because of the nearly nonexistent opportunities for upward mobility and/or high income within
the profession. In addition to the observation that few structural opportunities for upward mobility are offered to those pursuing a teaching career, it is probable that work dissatisfaction among male teachers stems partly from feelings of relative deprivation and partly because money is an important material yardstick of success for males in general in our society. Relative to other occupations requiring similar education, male teachers are seemingly underpaid; perhaps, more importantly, they receive the same financial compensation as female teachers.

Further, one might argue that the nature of the task as well as the organizational context of elementary school teaching is disproportionately beneficial to the work satisfactions of females. It has been indicated that elementary school teaching is identified with motherhood, the training and socialization of the young, and the protection of the needy. Among the respondents in this study, three-fourths are female. This population characteristic, in itself, lends support to the view that the elementary school represents a feminine social system largely dominated by women's definitions and interpretations of social norms. Finally, one might conclude that the alleged feminized character of the organizational setting of the elementary school operates adversely in enabling male teachers to experience "highly satisfying" work experiences.
In Table 25, the data describe the relationship between the sexual identity and "high" work satisfactions when controlling for the marital status. The findings indicate that married persons more frequently report "high" work satisfactions than do single. Married females represent the category most frequently reporting "high" work satisfactions, while single males least frequently indicate "high" work satisfaction.

Among females, more than one-half of the married (57%) report "high" work satisfaction, in comparison to only 40% of the single. Among male respondents, 46% of those married report "high" work satisfaction in comparison to only 27% of the unmarried.

These findings seemingly concur with the conclusions of Bradburn (1969) which indicated that level of happiness is directly related to marital status. In terms of mental health and psycho-
logical well-being, married are much more likely to report that they are "very happy" and much less likely to report that they are "not too happy". In addition, Bradburn suggests that single men suffer greater psychological stress than do single women. In general, single men are reported to be unhappier than single women. Hence, the popular stereotypes of the single, carefree bachelor and the worried, unhappy spinster appear not to be validated by current, scientific research.

**TABLE 26**

WORK SATISFACTION OF TEACHERS AS AFFECTED BY TEACHING EXPERIENCE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Work Satisfaction</th>
<th>Teaching Experience</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Limited</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>44%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Gamma: .22

Table 26 focuses on the relationship between teaching experience and work satisfaction. The gamma of .22 suggests that a low positive association exists between the variables. Among the respondents who possess "extensive" teaching experience, a majority (56%) exhibit "high" work satisfaction. Among those school teachers who possess "limited" teaching experience, only 44% exhibit
"high" work satisfaction.

A plausible explanation for the apparent increase in work satisfaction among those with more experience as teachers is suggested by the research of Friedlander and Walton. These researchers imply that work satisfactions reflect positive motivations for performing the work process. An individual who exhibits positive motivations is likely to remain with an organization if he experiences personal growth and self-actualization. In contrast, work dissatisfaction is linked to circumstances which are peripheral to the work process itself. Therefore, the reason why one leaves an organization results from negative motivations surrounding the work environment such as working conditions, company policies, and supervision. One might suspect that elementary school teachers who have remained in the profession and hence have acquired more extensive teaching experience are more likely to possess opportunities to achieve a high degree of intrinsic satisfaction from their work than those teachers with fewer years of experience in the profession.
The data in Table 27 describe the relationship between the number of years of teaching experience and expression of "high" work satisfaction when controlling for sex of respondents. As previously indicated in Table 26, respondents who possess "extensive" experience more frequently report "high work satisfaction than those with "limited" experience. Of notable significance is the indication that males, particularly those with "limited" teaching experience, less frequently report "high" work satisfaction.

Among the respondents with "extensive" teaching experience, 58% of the females report "high" work satisfaction in comparison to only 50% of the males. Of greater significance, perhaps, are those who possess "limited" experience as teachers; while nearly half (47%) of the females indicate "high" work satisfaction, slightly more than one-fourth (29%) of the males indicate that they experience

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Experience</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Type A</td>
<td>Males</td>
<td>Extensive Teaching Experience</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type B</td>
<td>Males</td>
<td>Limited Teaching Experience</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type C</td>
<td>Females</td>
<td>Extensive Teaching Experience</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type D</td>
<td>Females</td>
<td>Limited Teaching Experience</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
"high" work satisfaction.

These findings correspond strikingly to those findings in Table 25 which suggest that single males are part of a social environment that makes them peculiarly vulnerable to psychological stress. Perhaps the low frequency of males who are both single and who possess "limited" teaching experience can be attributed to the higher proneness of single men in general to psychological maladjustment. Or as indicated previously, perhaps the female-dominated character of the elementary school both in terms of the interpretation of social norms as well as the unbalanced ratio of male to female teachers contributes to feelings of relative deprivation and results in lesser work satisfactions among male teachers. In contrast, the findings indicate that married males and those with "extensive" teaching experience are apparently subject to less psychological stress than either single males or females with "limited" teaching experience. This finding may reflect the subtle influence of an age factor. It is expected that older males and those with "extensive" teaching experience would have come to terms with their occupational career and would have made a psychological adjustment to the social nature of the workplace. Nevertheless, it is evident that the organizational setting of the elementary school is especially conducive to the work satisfactions of married females and those females with "extensive" teaching experience.

In conclusion, the data contained in Tables 19 through 27 lend moderate support to the fifth hypothesis which is stated as
follows: "Teaching experience, controlling for the individual's social class background, is positively related to a professional self-image, which in turn, is positively related to an intrinsic pride in the work." The findings indicate that extensive teaching experience is moderately conducive to the formation of a professional self-image. Moreover, those who are particularly likely to achieve a "highly professional" self-image are females from "lower" social class backgrounds who possess "limited" teaching experience.

When focusing on the data pertaining to work satisfaction, it appears that a low positive association is obtained for the relationship between teaching experience and work satisfaction. A "high" level of work satisfaction appears to be most frequently experienced by married females who have been teaching for more than five years. The lowest level of work satisfaction, or perhaps a certain amount of work dissatisfaction, is most frequently attributed to single males with "limited" experience as teachers. Hence, males from "higher" social class origins who have more than five years of teaching experience are most professional in orientation while married females with "extensive" experience as teachers are most likely to report that they are "highly" satisfied with their work. Finally, a substantial positive association is obtained for the relationship between professional self-image and one's level of work satisfaction. In other words, those who are highly satisfied with their work and who have an intrinsic pride in their work are very likely to possess a "high" professional self-image, regardless of sex or marital status. Moreover, this relation-
ship appears to be unaffected when teaching experience is employed as a control variable.

**TABLE 28**

**PROFESSIONAL SELF-IMAGE OF TEACHER AS AFFECTED BY JOB RANK OF FATHER**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Professional Self-Image</th>
<th>Job Rank of the Father</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Same As or Better Than</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Worse Than</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>48%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>52%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Gamma: .08

"Job Rank of Father" refers to the extent of perceived upward mobility (or intergenerational mobility) by the respondent relative to the occupation or socio-economic status of his father.

In Table 28, the relationship between intergenerational mobility (in terms of comparing one's own occupational status with that of one's father) and the professional self-image of the elementary school teacher is presented. The gamma of .08 indicates a negligible positive association between these two variables. Among respondents who indicate that their own job is "better than" that of their father's, a slight majority (52%) exhibit a "high" professional self-image. Similarly, among respondents who report that their own occupation is the "same as" or "worse than" their father's, slightly
less than one-half (48%) exhibit a "high" professional self-image.

Perhaps the absence of an appreciable positive relationship between intergenerational mobility and a professional self-image reflects a decline in work as a meaning-providing activity. In accordance with the viewpoint of Mills (1951), the direct, technical processes of work have seemingly diminished in meaning for the mass of employees, which perhaps includes persons of marginal and lesser professional status. One might predict that other features of work such as income, power, and status represent more concrete and measurable evidence of intergenerational mobility. Perhaps the respondents in this study may have evaluated their own job more in terms of its extrinsic benefits and less in terms of its significance as a meaningful professional activity.
TABLE 29

PERCENT OF EACH TYPE WHICH IS
HIGH ON PROFESSIONAL SELF-IMAGE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Social Class &amp; Job Rank</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Type A</td>
<td>Higher Social Class When Growing Up</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Job Rank Better Than Father's</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type B</td>
<td>Higher Social Class When Growing Up</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Job Rank Same As/Worse Than Father's</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type C</td>
<td>Lower Social Class When Growing Up</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Job Rank Better Than Father's</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type D</td>
<td>Lower Social Class When Growing Up</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Job Rank Same As/Worse Than Father's</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 29 describes the relationship between intergenerational mobility (in terms of comparing the occupational status of the respondent with that of his father) and those who possess a "high" professional self-image when controlling for the individual respondent's social class background. The findings suggest that, as individual variables, neither social class background nor his evaluation of his own job relative to his father's significantly influences the percentage of respondents who possess a "high" professional self-image. Of particular interest are those respondents who perceive their job rank as the "same as" or "worse than" that of their father and who identify themselves as being from a "lower" social class background. Among these respondents, only a slightly more than one-fourth (27%) report a "high" professional self-image. However, among the respondents who perceive their job rank as the "same as" or "worse than" that of their father and who
are from "higher" social class backgrounds, more than one-half (52%) report a "high" professional self-image.

Perhaps the respondents who perceive their social background as "lower" and who also indicate the absence of any appreciable intergenerational mobility are also inclined to place a low evaluation on their current occupations as elementary school teachers. As indicated previously, one may infer from this finding that, for many persons, work ceases to be a meaning-providing activity. This phenomenon may be particularly characteristic of the advanced industrialized societies where such a large percentage of the labor force is employed in large organizational settings. Because so many occupations are physically located in organizations, increasing demands are imposed upon the individual to adapt himself to the needs and goals of the organization. One suspects that for many of these persons, the extend to which the occupational role provides an outlet for one's skills is diminished. As a consequence, individuals who do not experience intrinsic satisfaction flowing from the meaning-providing functions of their work may tend to perceive the overall desirability of their occupations in terms of the extrinsic benefits it provides. Income, power, and status represent concrete, observable evidence of occupational mobility and success, in the absence of meaningful activities and intrinsic satisfactions.
TABLE 30

PERCENT OF EACH TYPE WHICH IS HIGH ON PROFESSIONAL SELF-IMAGE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>Job Rank Better Than Father's</td>
<td>Job Rank Better Than Father's</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>Job Rank Same As/Worse Than Father's</td>
<td>Job Rank Same As/Worse Than Father's</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td></td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td></td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 30 describes the relationship between the individual's perception of his own job rank relative to that of his father and those respondents who possess a "high" professional self-image, when controlling for sex of the respondents. The findings indicate that males, and particularly males who perceive their job rank as the "same as" or "worse than" that of their father, more frequently exhibit a "high" professional self-image than the female respondents in the study. Among the respondents who reportedly have experienced intergenerational mobility, 58% of the males possess a "high" professional self-image in comparison to only 51% of the females who exhibit a "high" professional self-image. When comparing the respondents who indicate no intergenerational mobility, the differences between the sexes is considerably larger. Among the males in this category, 68% possess a "high" professional self-image in comparison to only 39% of the females exhibiting a "high"
These findings suggest that the greater frequency of a "high" professional self-image reported by males as opposed to females may be linked to differences between the sexes regarding career orientations. Colombotos (1962) concludes that a sizeable percentage of male teachers in general, and particularly males from working class backgrounds, pursue a teaching career as an avenue to upward mobility, often resulting in the attainment of a position as an educational administrator. In contrast, female teachers, and particularly those female teachers from upper middle and middle class backgrounds (as opposed to working class backgrounds), were less likely than males to view teaching as a full-time career either because they planned to leave teaching to raise a family or because they planned to retire from the profession altogether. Furthermore, Colombotos indicates that the vast majority of upper middle and middle class males were attracted to the profession because they wished literally to teach. These conclusions from Colombotos' study seemingly bear on the data contained in Table 30. First, the apparent under-representation of females who perceive the teaching profession as a full-time career helps explain the smaller percentage of females (when compared to males) who possess a "high" professional self-image. Second, the dedication to a "teaching career" rather than to "mobility-orientation" on the part of upper middle and middle class male teachers in part explains the high percentage (68%) of those males who experience no intergenerational mobility but who exhibit a "high" professional self-image.
In brief, it appears that females tend to view teaching as a short-term or temporary career which is subordinate to the individual's marital and parental goals. For males, however, teaching is viewed as a longer-term career which often results in a commitment to professional norms as a teacher or in advancement to a position in the educational administration.

TABLE 31

WORK SATISFACTION OF TEACHERS AS AFFECTED BY PROFESSIONAL SELF-IMAGE WHEN CONTROLLING FOR INTERGENERATIONAL MOBILITY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Same As or Worse Than Father's Job</th>
<th>Better Than Father's Job</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Professional Self-Image</strong></td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work Satisfaction</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>76%</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Gamma: .81  
Gamma: .57

Table 31 describes the relationship between the professional self-image of the elementary school teacher and his level of work satisfaction, when controlling for the respondent's perception of his father's occupational rank in relation to his own. The gamma of .57 indicates a substantial positive association between the two variables when controlling for those respondents who perceive their
own job as being overall more desirable than that of their father. More importantly, the gamma of .81 reflects a very strong association between the variables when controlling for the respondents who view their own work as the "same as" or "worse than" that of their father.

This data indicate that for those respondents who perceive the overall desirability of their own work as the "same as" or "worse than" that of their father, the already substantial positive association between one's professional self-image and level of work satisfaction is further enhanced. No less than three-fourths or 75% of these respondents with a "high" professional self-image also exhibit a "high" level of work satisfaction. Moreover, less than one-fourth (24%) of these respondents reporting a "low" professional self-image exhibit a "high" level of work satisfaction.

One might infer from the data in Table 31 that the respondents who do not perceive their own job to be "better than" that of their father may not be judging intergenerational mobility exclusively in terms of extrinsic rewards. For these persons, perhaps money and status are of somewhat lesser significance than the intrinsic benefits of self-fulfillment or interpersonal satisfaction in assessing the overall desirability of an occupation. As observed by Inkeles (1960), those who hold jobs of higher status experience psychic rewards which typically enhance their sense of work satisfaction.

For respondents who perceive their own work as "better than" that of their father, it was anticipated that a gamma in excess of
.66 would be obtained for the zero-order association between professional self-image and work satisfaction. But among these respondents, only 64% who possess a "high" professional self-image report a "high" level of work satisfaction. In contrast, among those who experience no intergenerational mobility and who view their work as the "same as" or "worse than" that of their father, 75% who possess a "high" professional self-image also report a "high" level of work satisfaction. This finding seemingly does not concur with Form's and Geschwender's (1962) conclusions that work satisfaction is dependent upon the amount of mobility a person experiences relative to his important social references. In accordance with this view, one would logically expect that a substantial majority of those respondents who perceive their own work as "better than" their father's -- seemingly a significant reference individual -- would exhibit a "high" level of work satisfaction. Perhaps the work satisfactions of these respondents may reflect the presence of career timetables or benchmarks which will result in anticipated opportunities for upward mobility in the future.
TABLE 32

SATISFACTION WITH PAY AND MATERIAL BENEFITS OF TEACHERS AS AFFECTED BY PROFESSIONAL SELF-IMAGE WHEN CONTROLLING FOR INTERGENERATIONAL MOBILITY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Professional Self-Image</th>
<th>Same As or Worse Than Father's Job</th>
<th>Better Than Father's Job</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>61%</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Gamma: .65  
Gamma: .33

Table 32 focuses on the relationship between the professional self-image of the individual and his level of satisfaction with pay and material benefits, when controlling for respondent's perception of father's occupational rank in relation to his own. A gamma of .33 indicates a moderate positive association for the two variables when controlling for respondents who perceive their work as "better than" their father's. Furthermore, a gamma of .65 is obtained for the relationship between the variables when controlling for those respondents who perceive their own work as the "same as" or "worse than" that of their father. The same pattern holds as in the previous table which may be evidence of further reliability for the previous finding.
These data indicate that respondents who perceive their own work as the "same as" or "worse than" that of their father are more likely to be satisfied with their pay and material benefits than those respondents who perceive their work as "better than" that of their father. Among the respondents who have not experienced intergenerational mobility, 75% possess a "high" professional self-image and indicate that they are "highly satisfied" with pay and material benefits. However, among those who have experienced intergenerational mobility, only 58% possess a "high" professional self-image and are "highly satisfied" with their pay and material benefits.

The findings in Table 32 suggest that the respondents are not exclusively attributing material rewards to the attainment of intergenerational mobility. In fact, it appears that, when one controls for the presence of intergenerational mobility, the association between professional self-image and one's reported level of work satisfaction is mildly depressed. As indicated in Table 29, these data suggest that perhaps individuals who choose teaching as a professional career may incorporate a self-concept which includes an orientation toward self-expression and toward helping people. These individuals may think of their work more fully in terms of opportunities for the expression of their talents and creative abilities as well as experiencing gratification from relationships with other persons. Hence, for these respondents, intergenerational mobility may not be judged exclusively by the extrinsic rewards offered by money and status.
TABLE 33

WORK SATISFACTION OF TEACHERS AS AFFECTED BY JOB RANK OF FATHER

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Work Satisfaction</th>
<th>Job Rank of the Father</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Same As or Worse Than</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Better Than</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>48%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>52%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Gamma: .01

In Table 33, the relationship between intergenerational mobility and one's level of work satisfaction. The gamma of .01 indicates no positive association between these variables. Both respondents who rate their own job as "better than" that of their father's, as well as those who rate their work as the "same as" or "worse than" that of their father's report "high" work satisfaction.

The apparent absence of a significant association between intergenerational mobility and work satisfaction was unanticipated. It was expected that those persons employed in the teaching profession would tend to report that their work renders a higher level of satisfaction than the occupational activities of their fathers, particularly in the case of respondents reporting that their work is somehow "better than" that of their father. Perhaps the respondents
perceive their own educational and professional achievements as being insufficiently rewarded in society. Moreover, the work of Zaleznik (1958) indicates that work satisfaction is linked to the status congruence of one's job. If the external rewards of one's occupation are less than his personal investment, the less satisfied he will be. One might hypothesize that the respondents will minimize their own work satisfaction, relative to their father's rank, if they perceive a lack of status congruence in their own occupational activity. In such circumstances, the respondents may perceive their work as not rendering them sufficient status recognition or financial remuneration.

**TABLE 34**

PERCENT OF EACH TYPE WHICH IS HIGH ON WORK SATISFACTION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Job Rank Better Than Father's</th>
<th>Job Rank Same As/Worse Than Father's</th>
<th>39</th>
<th>42</th>
<th>51</th>
<th>49</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Type A</td>
<td>Males</td>
<td>Females</td>
<td>Job Rank Better Than Father's</td>
<td>Job Rank Same As/Worse Than Father's</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type B</td>
<td>Males</td>
<td>Females</td>
<td>Job Rank Same As/Worse Than Father's</td>
<td>Job Rank Same As/Worse Than Father's</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type C</td>
<td>Males</td>
<td>Females</td>
<td>Job Rank Better Than Father's</td>
<td>Job Rank Same As/Worse Than Father's</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type D</td>
<td>Males</td>
<td>Females</td>
<td>Job Rank Same As/Worse Than Father's</td>
<td>Job Rank Same As/Worse Than Father's</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 34 focuses on the relationship between intergenerational mobility of the respondents and those who exhibit a "high" level of work satisfaction when controlling for the sex of the respondents.
As indicated previously in the discussion of the data in Table 31, neither the presence nor absence of intergenerational mobility among the respondents does not appear to influence significantly their reported levels of work satisfaction. Furthermore, the data reflect the somewhat higher percentage of females, as opposed to males, who report a "high" level of work satisfaction. (It will be recalled from Table 24 that the gamma of .17 indicates that females are somewhat more likely than males to report that they are "highly satisfied" with their work.) Among respondents who rank their job as the "same as" or "worse than" that of their father, 49% of the females indicate that they are "highly satisfied" with their work in comparison to only 42% of the males who experience a "high" level of work satisfaction. A more noticeable difference in percentages occurs among respondents who rank their own job as "better than" that of their father. Among these respondents, 51% of the females are "highly satisfied" with their work in contrast to only 39% of the males reporting a "high" level of work satisfaction.

Of particular interest in Table 34 is the relatively small percentage of males experiencing intergenerational mobility who report a "high" level of work satisfaction. As previously discussed, the works of Colombotos (1962) and Ziegler (1967) suggest that the work dissatisfaction of male teachers is linked to the limited opportunities for upward mobility perceived by career-oriented persons. In addition, male teachers are likely to experience feelings of relative deprivation stemming from the limited financial rewards of teaching which are no greater than those of their female
colleagues and which do not compare favorably to the financial rewards of males in other occupations with similar education. Finally, male teachers are likely to experience lesser interpersonal satisfactions from teaching which may be due to the disproportionately large number of female teachers who populate the elementary schools and who help to maintain the feminine character of the social system. As a consequence, the organizational context of the elementary school seemingly operates adversely for males and somewhat favorably for females in their pursuit of highly satisfying work experiences.

The data contained in Tables 28 through 34 appear to lend only negligible support to the sixth hypothesis which is stated as follows: "Intergenerational mobility, controlling for the individual's social class background, is positively related to a professional self-image, which in turn, is positively related to satisfaction with pay and material benefits. Whether one perceives his own job rank to be "better than", the "same as", or "worse than" that of his father is of only negligible significance in predicting the likelihood that a respondent will possess a "highly professional" self-image or will attain "highly satisfying" work experiences. The findings indicate, however, that males from "higher" social class backgrounds and who indicate that they have not experienced intergenerational mobility are most likely to possess a "high" professional self-image. On the other hand, females from "lower" social class origins who indicate that they have not experienced intergenerational mobility are least likely to possess a "highly professional" self-image."
Intergenerational mobility does not predict one's level of work satisfaction. However, males in general, and particularly those who perceive their work as "better than" that of their father, are least likely to report that they are "highly satisfied" with their work. Females, on the other hand, in contrast to males, are only somewhat more likely to report a "high" level of work satisfaction. Finally, the substantial positive association between professional self-image and work satisfaction as well as satisfaction with pay and material benefits is moderately influenced when controlling for intergenerational mobility. The attainment of a "high" level of work satisfaction as well as being "highly satisfied" with pay and material benefits for those possessing a "highly professional" self-image appears to be moderately reduced for those respondents who perceive their work as "better than" that of their father as opposed to those who rank their job as the "same as" or "worse than" that of their father.
CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This dissertation presents the findings of an inquiry into the work satisfactions and professional self-images of elementary school teachers. Among the fundamental objectives of the study was to examine the impact of selected features of the (1) organizational context as well as (2) personal variables upon these professional self-images and work satisfactions. Hopefully, this study will reveal some of the possible influences predictive of professional self-image and high work satisfaction for the elementary teacher in his/her occupational role.

The universe of the study includes all certified teachers employed during the 1973-1974 school year in the six elementary schools and one junior high school contained within the Valley View Public School System (District 365) located in the two suburbs of Romeoville and Bolingbrook situated approximately thirty miles southwest of Chicago. A universe of 397 elementary teachers received a copy of the questionnaire; and approximately 55% or 219 persons completed and returned it.

The questionnaire was developed by the researcher from a collection of items which included the following standardized scales: Professionalization and bureaucratization scales designed by Richard H. Hall; selected items from a work satisfaction scale by A. H. Brayfield...
and H. F. Rothe; an intrinsic "pride in work scale", measuring organization members' perceptions of the control structure, by Arnold S. Tannenbaum and Robert L. Kahn.

The questionnaire itself contains approximately 86 items of which 30 request information concerning the socio-economic and educational backgrounds of respondents; 54 items are attitude statements pertaining to professionalization, bureaucratization, and work satisfaction; the remaining 2 items request information regarding perception of the school's power structure and overall job desirability when compared to selected reference groups and individuals.

The respondents are all certified school teachers in the Valley View Public School System (District 365). The "average" teacher in the survey, however, typically is a married, Caucasian female in her middle twenties. Typically, the "average" person is a primary grade teacher who has been teaching for less than six years. The most frequently identified national backgrounds are German, Irish, English, Italian, and Polish. The respondents characteristically describe their social origins as being middle class with both parents having completed twelve years of formal education.

Before presenting the findings, it should be noted that the following six hypotheses were tested:

1. The professional atmosphere in the school is positively related to a professional self-image, which, in turn, is positively
related to work satisfaction.

2. The level of bureaucracy in the school is negatively related to a professional self-image, which, in turn, is positively related to satisfaction with the work organization.

3. An "open" educational philosophy in the school, controlling for social class, is positively related to a professional self-image, which, in turn, is positively related to work satisfaction.

4. The size of the school, controlling for social class, is negatively related to a professional self-image, which, in turn, is negatively related to work satisfaction.

5. Teaching experience, controlling for the individual's social class background, is positively related to a professional self-image, which, in turn, is positively related to an intrinsic pride in the work.

6. Intergenerational mobility, controlling for the individual's social class background, is positively related to a professional self-image, which, in turn, is positively related to satisfaction with pay and material benefits.

In each of the first four hypotheses, it was predicted that the environmental variables characterizing the schools -- professional atmosphere, bureaucratic atmosphere, educational ecology, size -- would have a significant impact on the professional self-image of the individual teacher as well as his level of work satisfaction. It was anticipated that a high level of work satisfaction was dependent upon the following environmental features in the schools: a "highly professional" atmosphere, a "low" bureaucratic
atmosphere, an "open" educational ecology, and a "small" school. The findings, in part, at least, support these expectations.

By use of gammas, the findings as illustrated in Figure Two indicate that a "high" level of work satisfaction is moderately dependent upon a "low" bureaucratic atmosphere (gamma of .36). Similarly, "high" work satisfaction is somewhat dependent upon the presence of an organizational setting characterized by an "open" school and a "small" school (gammas are .25 and .20 respectively). It is noteworthy, however, that a "low" professional atmosphere is moderately conducive to a "high" level of work satisfaction (gamma of .36). An explanation for this unexpected finding is a "low" professional atmosphere may represent a less demanding and somewhat less competitive social environment. Under such circumstances, teachers may experience fewer pressures to achieve high standards of academic excellence and teaching proficiency. In brief, the findings indicate that a "high" level of work satisfaction is dependent upon the following environmental conditions: an "open" and "small" school characterized by a "low" bureaucratic as well as "low" professional atmosphere.

With respect to the impact of the environmental features of the schools on the professional self-image of the elementary school teacher, it appears that only the first hypothesis is supported by the findings. An anticipated, a "highly professional" atmosphere in the school lends itself to the formation of a "high" professional self-image (gamma of .28 indicates low positive association).
FIGURE TWO

MAP DIAGRAM OF WORK SATISFACTION WITH GAMMAS

Organizational Variables

- PROFESSIONAL ATMOSPHERE
- BUREAUCRATIC ATMOSPHERE
- EDUCATIONAL ECOSYSTEM (open)
- SIZE OF SCHOOL

Personal Variables

- TEACHING EXPERIENCE
- SEX DIFFERENTIATION (females)

WORK SATISFACTION

PROFESSIONAL SELF-IMAGE

Gammas:

- .28
- .36
- .31
- .36
- .11
- .25
- .10
- .20
- .66
- .36
- .22
- .17
The following findings, however, regarding the impact of the environmental variables of the schools on the professional self-image of the individual teacher do not lend support to the second, third, or fourth hypotheses. A "high" professional self-image is moderately dependent upon a "highly bureaucratic" atmosphere (gamma of .31). Moreover, the low positive associations of .11 and .10 respectively suggest that "closed" and "large" schools are conducive to the formation of a "highly professional" self-image. Hence, in sharp contrast to the findings pertaining to work satisfaction, a "highly professional" self-image is dependent upon the presence of the following environmental circumstances: a "highly bureaucratic" as well as "highly professional" atmosphere particularly in those schools characterized as "closed" and "large" schools.

While the afore-mentioned results do not lend support to the second, third, and fourth hypotheses, it was anticipated that "low" bureaucratic atmosphere, along with the presence of an "open" and "small" school constituted an organizational setting favorable to the formation of a "high" professional self-image. It was anticipated that such an organizational context was particularly suitable for the internalization of professional norms and values. In addition, one might have predicted that in schools characterized by a "low" bureaucratic atmosphere, tensions between individual professional goals and the demands of the employing organization would be minimized. Finally, it was expected that "small" schools represented an organizational setting safeguarding professional persons from the hazards of organizational alienation and a loss
of personal autonomy in pursuing their work objectives.

In terms of predicting the level of work satisfaction for the elementary school teachers in this study, it is noteworthy that the environmental variables comprising the organizational context of the elementary school are seemingly of lesser significance in predicting one's level of work satisfaction than the extent to which the individual elementary school teacher has internalized professional self-image. Perhaps the most important finding of all pertaining to the first four hypotheses is that a substantial positive association (a gamma of .66) is obtained for the relationship between professional self-image and the individual's level of work satisfaction. In view of the substantial positive association between these two variables, it is seemingly contradictory that the presence of the environmental variables in the schools which contribute to a "high" professional self-image do not contribute to a "high" level of work satisfaction. While a "highly professional" atmosphere as well as a "highly bureaucratic" atmosphere within a "large", "closed" school constitutes an organizational setting favorable to the formation of a "high" professional self-image, such circumstances do not contribute to feelings of "highly" satisfying work experiences among the elementary school teachers in this study. Rather, a "high" level of work satisfaction is chiefly dependent upon the formation of a "highly professional" self-image. Moreover, the presence of the following conditions enhances one's experience of a "high" level of work satisfaction in order of importance of their impact: teaching in an "open" school; assignment to a school characterized by a "low"
professional atmosphere; identification with a school possessing a "low" bureaucratic atmosphere; employment in a "small" school.

In the fifth hypothesis, it was predicted that the length of teaching experience, when controlling for the individual's social class background, is positively related to an intrinsic pride in the work. The findings indicate that "extensive" teaching experience (six or more years) is moderately conducive to the formation of a professional self-image (gamma of .36). Moreover, those who are most likely to develop a "highly professional" self-image are males from "higher" social class backgrounds (i.e. the upper class, upper middle class, or middle class) who possess extensive teaching experience. Females, from "lower" social class backgrounds (i.e. the lower middle class, working class, or lower class) possessing "limited" teaching experience, are least likely to report a "highly professional" self-image.

With respect to the data pertaining to work satisfaction, a low positive association (gamma of .22) is obtained for the relationship between teaching experience and work satisfaction. A "high" level of work satisfaction is most frequently attributed to married females who have been teaching for more than five years. In contrast, single males with "limited" teaching experience report the lowest level of work satisfaction (or perhaps a certain amount of work dissatisfaction). In brief, males from "higher" social class origins who have more than five years of teaching experience are most likely to possess a "highly professional" self-image; married females with "extensive" teaching experience are most likely to
report that they are "highly satisfied" with their work. Nevertheless, those who possess a "highly professional" self-image are very likely to be "highly satisfied" with their work (and to have an intrinsic pride in their work) regardless of sexual identity, marital status, or degree of teaching experience.

In the sixth hypotheses, it was predicted that intergenerational mobility (measured by means of the respondent's perception of his own job relative to that of his father), controlling for the individual's social class background, is positively related to satisfaction with pay and material benefits. The findings indicate that whether one perceives his own job rank to be "better than", the "same as", or "worse than" that of his father is of only negligible significance in predicting the likelihood that a respondent will possess a "highly professional" self-image or will attain "highly satisfying" work experiences. The findings indicate, in general, however, that those who are most likely to possess a "highly professional" self-image are males from "higher" social class origins who have experienced no intergenerational mobility. On the other hand, females from "lower" social class backgrounds who have not experienced intergenerational mobility are least likely to possess a "highly professional" self-image.

As indicated previously, intergenerational mobility does not predict work satisfaction. Among respondents who are least likely to report that they are "highly satisfied" with their work are males in general and particularly those who perceive their work as "better than" that of their father. Females are only somewhat more
likely than males to report a "high" level of work satisfaction.
Finally, the substantial positive association between professional
self-image and work satisfaction -- as well as satisfaction with
pay and material benefits -- is moderately influenced when controlling
for intergenerational mobility. The attainment of a "high"
level of work satisfaction, as well as being "highly satisfied" with
pay and material benefits for those possessing a "highly professional"
self-image, appears to be moderately reduced for those respondents
who perceive their own work as "better than" that of their father's,
as opposed to those ranking their job as the "same as" or "worse
than" their father's.

Having briefly summarized the findings in this study, the
writer questions whether these results accurately reflect the work
satisfactions and professional self-image of all participants in
the population. There is the possibility that the rate of return
of completed questionnaires may have been affected by at least a
few subtle influences. One might conjecture that the respondents
(representing only about 55% of the total population) constitute a
social category of persons who are both more professionally oriented
as well as more satisfied in their occupational roles as elementary
school teachers than the non-respondents in the population.

It is apparent to the writer that in several of the schools
administrative personnel, including the school principal, were
eager to cooperate with the research investigation. Perhaps this
willingness to cooperate is historically linked to the plethora of
other research studies that have focused particularly on the exper-
nmental and controversial features of the Valley View Public 
School System. Perhaps the respondents were urged to cooperate and 
may have been motivated to perform and carry out their "professional 
role obligations" out of fear of administrative reprisal. In addition, 
one suspects that a higher percentage of "satisfied" teachers would 
be willing participants in contrast to the non-respondents.

Unfortunately, the writer was not able to make desirable 
comparisons of meaningful personal and social characteristics com-
paring the total teacher population and the actual respondents to 
the study. One shred of evidence relative to the sex distribution 
of the respondents, however, indicates that the participants collec-
tively correspond to the total population. To a slight degree, 
females are disproportionately more willing than males to partici-
pate in the study. Among those who returned completed question-
naires, 26% are males and 74% are females; whereas the total 
population proportions are 28% and 72%.

Finally, there is a question of tautology regarding the sub-
jective measures for the concepts professional atmosphere (an en-
vironmental variable) and professional self-image (a personal 
variable). Both concepts are to some degree tautological in that 
they both measure a quite similar phenomenon in different ways. 
Moreover, the concept of professional atmosphere is equivalent to 
the composite of individual professional self-images. However, in 
terms of the logical relationship between concepts, professional
atmosphere represents the impact of normative influences of a "high" or "low" professional environment in a particular school on the professional self-image of the teachers in that particular school. In brief, while each measure -- professional atmosphere and professional self-image -- is somewhat tautological, each concept also represents a logically independent force.

Relevance to Theory

In terms of Marx's theory of surplus value, the division of labor is a divisive influence in society rather than an instrument of solidarity. Individuals in occupations possessing a less favorable relationship to the forces of production inevitably experience alienation from their fellow man. The findings in this study reflect the impact of the organizational setting on the individual's level of work satisfaction. In accordance with Marx's theory, the complex organizational settings characterizing modern workplaces represent an undesirable social environment for many workers, often resulting in feelings of alienation as well as modification in the nature and quality of social relations. As indicated in the findings of this study, "large", "closed" schools characterized by a "highly bureaucratic" atmosphere constitute a social environment somewhat unfavorable to "highly satisfying" work experiences.

While large organizational work settings are a consequence of industrialized societies and are legitimated by their enormous contribution to the material well-being of man, it is significant that they do not permit an optimum balance of freedom and control
as persons seek to fulfill human needs of a higher order. Maslow's theory of motivation indicates that the inconsequential nature of modern work along with the excessive reliance upon external organizational controls to direct human behavior infringes upon human freedom and prevents the attainment of personal growth. In accordance with Maslow's theory, one of the most significant conclusions warranted by the findings in this study is that the individual's level of work satisfaction is largely dependent upon the extent to which he possesses a professional self-concept. In view of this finding, it is probable that professional persons are likely to experience disproportionately favorable opportunities for personal growth and self-actualization in the course of their occupational activities.

Finally, the theoretical approach of Elton Mayo et al. in their "human relations in industry" approach signifies the importance of the technical and social aspects of the work situation for the attainment of satisfaction in the work role. The creation of more meaningful occupations by means of job enlargement and participative-management techniques is being achieved. Moreover, the "Hawthorne effect" highlights the importance of the psychological climate of the workplace as a means of experiencing work satisfaction. It is likewise plausible that among the respondents in this study, the "small" and "open" schools characterized by a "low" bureaucratic atmosphere represent a social environment particularly favorable to work satisfaction. Perhaps in such social settings, the relative presence of technical restraints are minimized while the availability of opportunities for the formation of rewarding social relationships
Regarding the reliability of these findings, it is the writer's impression that the "open", "small" school constitutes a preferred environment principally as it contributes to "high" work satisfaction; to a much lesser extent, does this preferred environment contribute to a "high" professional self-image. While the "open", "small" school may contribute significantly to "high" work satisfactions by affording maximum personal autonomy and allowing for greater institutional flexibility, it is probable that one's professional self-image is not shaped substantially by the environmental features of the workplace. It is the writer's view that the "open" concept has been frequently internalized by teachers and administrators as an educational methodology in addition to or in place of its more objectively defined meaning as a feature of the educational ecology. As a consequence, it is conceivable that some teachers in "open" schools may not have internalized an "open" educational ecology to the same extent as other teachers employed in schools characterized by a "closed" educational ecology.

Implications for Future Research

Perhaps further research should take place concerning the implication that persons employed in occupations which are more fully advanced in the professionalization process enjoy a higher level of work satisfaction. It has been suggested that work satisfactions are particularly enhanced among professional persons who experience complete autonomy and authority in utilizing their own internalized
normative system. Studies of work satisfaction of persons in the "established" professions as well as those in the "lesser" or "marginal" professions provide the circumstances to make meaningful comparisons regarding the nature of the work as well as the extent to which organizational and bureaucratic controls conflict with professional norms.

Further research may reveal that the formation of a professional self-image may be dependent upon the extent to which one's academic preparation and training effectively equips the individual with the appropriate educational skills. One might hypothesize that the likelihood that a teacher will internalize a professional self-image is related to the extent to which he possesses specialized technical skills. Moreover, it is anticipated that one's professional orientation will increase at the higher levels of educational achievement. Hence, one suspects that secondary school teachers may exhibit a higher professional orientation than elementary school teachers; similarly, one may predict that the professional self-concept of college instructors is more fully developed than that of secondary school teachers.

Further research is also needed regarding the relationship between work satisfaction and the satisfactions persons experience in other important social roles. It is questionable whether one's work satisfactions are completely unrelated to satisfactions experienced in one's marital or leisure roles. Perhaps additional research on the central life interests of professional men and
women might reveal unexpected differences between their marital and work satisfactions. Finally, one suspects that additional exploratory research may reveal that work satisfaction is dependent upon the avowed happiness or state of psychological well-being which persons experience at various junctures in the life-cycle.
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Ziegler, Harmon
# FIGURE ONE

**PROPOSED PATH MODEL FOR PREDICTING WORK SATISFACTION**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Personal Background Variables</th>
<th>School-Related Variables</th>
<th>Professionalization Variables</th>
<th>Main Dependent Variable</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SEX DIFFERENTIATION</td>
<td>SIZE OF THE SCHOOL</td>
<td>PROFESSIONAL ATMOSPHERE IN THE SCHOOL</td>
<td>WORK SATISFACTION</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTERGENERATIONAL MOBILITY</td>
<td>SOCIAL CLASS OF THE SCHOOL</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TEACHING EXPERIENCE</td>
<td>TENURE OF THE PRINCIPAL</td>
<td>PROFESSIONAL SELF-IMAGE</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SOCIAL CLASS OF RESPONDENTS</td>
<td>LEVEL OF BUREAUCRACY IN THE SCHOOL</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>EDUCATIONAL ECOLOGY OF THE SCHOOL</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Dear Member of the Faculty:

In recent years, educators, social scientists, and citizens in general have expressed many concerns about the social environment in our schools. A considerable amount of educational experimentation has taken place regarding various innovative methods and techniques of instruction; as a teacher and concerned citizen, perhaps you too have specific concerns of your own regarding the changes that have resulted from recent educational experimentation.

I am asking for your cooperation and participation in this survey of teachers of the Valley View Public Schools, in District 365. Having been a high school teacher myself, I can appreciate that your time is valuable. However, because of your special familiarity with many educational issues, I will be most grateful if you could take a few minutes to fill out your copy of the questionnaire. After completing the questionnaire, please seal it in the envelope provided and return it to me.

This survey is being conducted as a part of the degree requirements for the Doctor of Philosophy at Loyola University in Chicago. Should you be interested in the results of the survey, I will be happy to make that information available to you.

All information will be kept completely confidential and anonymous.

Thanking you in advance for your cooperation, I am

Sincerely,

Thomas G. Schackmuth
Lewis University
SURVEY OF TEACHER ATTITUDES

I. First of all we would like to know something about your background and personal history. Please circle only one number for each question.

1. | YES | NO | DON'T
   |-----|---|-----
   A. Were you born in this country? | 1  | 2  | 3
   B. Was your mother born in this country? | 1  | 2  | 3
   C. Was your father born in this country? | 1  | 2  | 3
   D. How many of your grandparents were born in this country:
      ONE | TWO | THREE | FOUR | KNOW
      1  | 2   | 3     | 4    | 5

2. Almost everybody in this country has ancestors in some other country. What single country did most of your ancestors come from? (Please write in the name of the country.)
   a. ________________________________
   b. If your ancestors come from many countries, try to pick the one which seems most prominent in your mind.
      (write in country) ________________________________
   c. Don't know ________________

3. In what kind of community did you reside most of your life when you were growing up? (Please circle one number.)
   a. rural farm area -------------------------1
   b. rural non-farm area ---------------------2
   c. small town, less than 10,000 ------------3
   d. city, 10,000 - 99,999 ------------------4
   e. large city, 100,000 or over -----------5
   f. suburb near large city ----------------6
4. In what kind of community do you reside now?
   a. rural farm area --------------------------------1
   b. rural non-farm area -----------------------------2
   c. small town, less than 10,000 -------------------3
   d. city, 10,000 - 99,999 --------------------------4
   e. large city, 100,000 or over ---------------------5
   f. suburb near large city --------------------------6

5. Indicate the highest level of schooling each of your parents completed. (If you cannot give an exact number, try to give an approximate number.) Circle one number for each person below.

FOR YOUR FATHER:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEARS OF GRADE SCHOOL</th>
<th>YEARS OF HIGH SCHOOL</th>
<th>YEARS OF COLLEGE</th>
<th>YEARS OF POST-GRAD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1, 2, 3, 4,</td>
<td>9, 10,</td>
<td>13, 14,</td>
<td>17, 18, 19,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5, 6, 7, 8,</td>
<td>11, 12,</td>
<td>15, 16,</td>
<td>or more</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

FOR YOUR MOTHER:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEARS OF GRADE SCHOOL</th>
<th>YEARS OF HIGH SCHOOL</th>
<th>YEARS OF COLLEGE</th>
<th>YEARS OF POST-GRAD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1, 2, 3, 4,</td>
<td>9, 10,</td>
<td>13, 14,</td>
<td>17, 18, 19,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5, 6, 7, 8,</td>
<td>11, 12,</td>
<td>15, 16,</td>
<td>or more</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

FOR YOURSELF:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEARS OF GRADE SCHOOL</th>
<th>YEARS OF HIGH SCHOOL</th>
<th>YEARS OF COLLEGE</th>
<th>YEARS OF POST-GRAD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1, 2, 3, 4,</td>
<td>9, 10,</td>
<td>13, 14,</td>
<td>17, 18, 19,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5, 6, 7, 8,</td>
<td>11, 12,</td>
<td>15, 16,</td>
<td>or more</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6. What is your father's occupation? (If your father is retired or not living, tell what his usual occupation was.) Please specify his particular job, e.g. auto mechanic, railroad conductor, baker, baker self-employed.
7. Please specify the type of place where your father was employed. (e.g. grocery store, bank, factory, etc.)

8. To which social class would you say your family belonged when you were growing up?

   a. upper class -------------------------------1
   b. upper middle class ------------------------2
   c. middle middle class -----------------------3
   d. lower middle class ------------------------4
   e. working class -----------------------------5
   f. lower class -------------------------------6

9. To which social class do you belong now?

   a. upper class -------------------------------1
   b. upper middle class ------------------------2
   c. middle middle class -----------------------3
   d. lower middle class ------------------------4
   e. working class -----------------------------5
   f. lower class -------------------------------6

II. Now we are interested in the things you do as a teacher. If you strongly agree with a particular item, circle number one (1). If you moderately agree, circle number two (2); if you moderately disagree, number four (4), strongly disagree number five (5). The middle category -- Undecided, number three (3) -- is designed to indicate an essentially neutral opinion about the item. (Please circle one number for each question.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STRONG AGREE-</th>
<th>MODERATE AGREE-</th>
<th>UNDECIDED</th>
<th>MODERATE DISAGREE-</th>
<th>STRONG DISAGREE-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

1. I systematically read the professional journals.  
   1   2   3   4   5
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>STRONG AGREE­MENT</th>
<th>MODERATE AGREE­MENT</th>
<th>UNDE­CIDED</th>
<th>MODERATE DISAGREE­MENT</th>
<th>STRONG DISAGREE­MENT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Other Professions are actually more vital to society than mine.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>My fellow professionals have a pretty good idea about each other's competence.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>People in this profession have a real &quot;calling&quot; for their work.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>I make my own decisions in regard to what is to be done.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>I regularly attend professional meetings at the local level.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>I think that my profession, more than any other is essential to society.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>A problem in this profession is that no one really knows what his colleagues are doing.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>The dedication of people in this field is most gratifying.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>I don't have much opportunity to exercise my own judgment.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>I believe that professional organization(s) should be supported</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>The importance of my profession is sometimes overstressed.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>STRONG AGREEMENT</td>
<td>MODERATE AGREEMENT</td>
<td>UNDECIDED</td>
<td>MODERATE DISAGREEMENT</td>
<td>STRONG DISAGREEMENT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>We really have no way of judging each other's competence.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>It is encouraging to see the high level of idealism which is maintained by people in this field.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>My own decisions are subject to review</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>The professional organization doesn't really do much for the average member.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>Some other occupations are actually more important to society than mine.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>There is not much opportunity to judge how another person does his work.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.</td>
<td>Most people would stay in the profession even if their incomes were reduced.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.</td>
<td>I am my own boss in almost every work-related situation.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21.</td>
<td>Although I would like to, I really don't read the journals too often.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22.</td>
<td>If ever an occupation is indispensable, it is this one.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23.</td>
<td>My colleagues pretty well know how well we all do in our work</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
24. There are very few people who don't really believe in their work. 1 2 3 4 5

25. Most of my decisions are reviewed by other people. 1 2 3 4 5

26. People in our profession should not be as free to strike as people in other occupations because we have a public trust. 1 2 3 4 5

27. People in our profession should be more involved in the affairs of their local community than most of them are. 1 2 3 4 5

III. This section poses some questions about your school and the way in which it is organized. If you strongly agree that the statement describes your organization, circle number one (1). If you moderately agree, circle number two (2); if you moderately disagree, number four (4), strongly disagree, number five (5). If you are undecided, circle number three (3). (Please circle only one number for each question.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>STRONG AGREEMENT</th>
<th>MODERATE AGREEMENT</th>
<th>UNDECIDED</th>
<th>MODERATE DISAGREEMENT</th>
<th>STRONG DISAGREEMENT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Even small matters have to be referred to some higher-up for a final answer.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. One thing people like around here is the variety of work they get to do.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Nothing is said if you come to work late occasionally.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Standard procedures are to be followed in almost all situations.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. The organization is always sponsoring employee get-togethers.</td>
<td>STRONG AGREEMENT</td>
<td>MODERATE AGREEMENT</td>
<td>UNDECIDED</td>
<td>MODERATE DISAGREEMENT</td>
<td>STRONG DISAGREEMENT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Employees are periodically evaluated to see how well they do their job.</td>
<td>STRONG AGREEMENT</td>
<td>MODERATE AGREEMENT</td>
<td>UNDECIDED</td>
<td>MODERATE DISAGREEMENT</td>
<td>STRONG DISAGREEMENT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. How things are done around here is left pretty much up to the persons doing the work.</td>
<td>STRONG AGREEMENT</td>
<td>MODERATE AGREEMENT</td>
<td>UNDECIDED</td>
<td>MODERATE DISAGREEMENT</td>
<td>STRONG DISAGREEMENT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. No two days are ever the same on this job.</td>
<td>STRONG AGREEMENT</td>
<td>MODERATE AGREEMENT</td>
<td>UNDECIDED</td>
<td>MODERATE DISAGREEMENT</td>
<td>STRONG DISAGREEMENT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. People here feel that they are constantly being watched to see that they obey all the rules.</td>
<td>STRONG AGREEMENT</td>
<td>MODERATE AGREEMENT</td>
<td>UNDECIDED</td>
<td>MODERATE DISAGREEMENT</td>
<td>STRONG DISAGREEMENT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Whenever we have a problem we are supposed to go to the same person for an answer.</td>
<td>STRONG AGREEMENT</td>
<td>MODERATE AGREEMENT</td>
<td>UNDECIDED</td>
<td>MODERATE DISAGREEMENT</td>
<td>STRONG DISAGREEMENT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. A person gets the chance to develop good friends here.</td>
<td>STRONG AGREEMENT</td>
<td>MODERATE AGREEMENT</td>
<td>UNDECIDED</td>
<td>MODERATE DISAGREEMENT</td>
<td>STRONG DISAGREEMENT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Some people are kept on the payroll even though they are not good workers.</td>
<td>STRONG AGREEMENT</td>
<td>MODERATE AGREEMENT</td>
<td>UNDECIDED</td>
<td>MODERATE DISAGREEMENT</td>
<td>STRONG DISAGREEMENT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

IV. Individual persons as well as groups of people have different impacts on how schools are run. How much would you say each of the following has to say about how things are decided in this school? (Please circle the number that corresponds to your opinion about the following items.)
"How Much Say" in Running Your Building?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>GREAT DEAL</th>
<th>PRETTY MUCH</th>
<th>NOT SURE</th>
<th>VERY LITTLE</th>
<th>NONE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Principal of the school</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School Board</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher's Association</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Faculty</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individual Teachers</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parents' Association</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

V. Please read each statement carefully and decide how you feel about it. You will agree with some statements, and you will disagree with others. You may be undecided about some. Please circle the number according to your agreement or disagreement, as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>STRONG AGREE-</th>
<th>MODERATE AGREE-</th>
<th>UNDE-</th>
<th>MODERATE DISAGREE-</th>
<th>STRONG DISAGREE-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>MENT</td>
<td>MENT</td>
<td>CIDED</td>
<td>MENT</td>
<td>MENT</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. I really don't feel a sense of pride or accomplishment as a result of the type of work I do.  
   1  2  3  4  5

2. Sometimes I feel that my job counts for very little in this organization.  
   1  2  3  4  5

3. Compared with other schools, the employee benefits are good.  
   1  2  3  4  5

4. I very much like the type of work that I am doing.  
   1  2  3  4  5

5. The administration keeps us in the dark about things we ought to know.  
   1  2  3  4  5
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>STRONG AGREEMENT</th>
<th>MODERATE AGREEMENT</th>
<th>UNDECIDED</th>
<th>MODERATE DISAGREEMENT</th>
<th>STRONG DISAGREEMENT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>I am very much underpaid for the kind of work I do.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>My job gives me a chance to do the things that I do best.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>I have confidence in the fairness and honesty of the administration.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>I'm paid fairly compared with other employees.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>My work is my most rewarding experience.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>I really feel part of this organization.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>They should do a better job of handling pay matters here.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>My work gives me a feeling of pride in having done the job well.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>They have a poor way of handling employee complaints here.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>In my opinion, the pay is lower here than in other schools.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
VI. How would you rank your present position in terms of overall desirability when compared with: (Please circle only one number.)

My Present Position is:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>BETTER THAN</th>
<th>ABOUT THE SAME AS</th>
<th>WORSE THAN</th>
<th>DON'T KNOW</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. my father's occupation</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. the jobs of others in your immediate family (e.g. your mother, and brothers and sisters over 25 years of age)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. the jobs of relatives outside the immediate family (e.g. brothers-in-law, uncles, cousins etc.)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. the jobs of close friends</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. the jobs of other elementary school teachers</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

VII. Please fill in the background information requested below. This information will be used in the statistical analysis of the data.

1. What is the name of the school where you teach?

2. Indicate what grade(s) you teach.

3. How many years have you been:
   A. working at your present job with this employer?
   B. doing the same type of work that you are doing now?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>A.</th>
<th>B.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Less than 2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2-5 years</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-10 years</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A. working at your present job with this employer?  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Count</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11-15 years</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16-20 years</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21-30 years</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31-40 years</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41 or more years</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4. Is your spouse employed?
* Yes ------------------------------------------------1  
  No -------------------------------------------------2
*IF "YES", what is his or her occupation?
  
5. Are you a member of any professional organization(s)?
* Yes ------------------------------------------------1  
  No -------------------------------------------------2
IF "YES", please circle all those to which you belong:
  a. National Education Association -------------------1
  b. American Federation of Teachers -------------------2
  c. Illinois Education Association -------------------3
  d. Local Education Association ---------------------4
  e. Parent Teacher Association ---------------------5
  f. Parent Teacher Organization ---------------------6
  g. Other (Please write in) -------------------------7
6. Are you given time-off for purposes of attending any of the following meetings?

* Yes -----------------------------------------------1
No -----------------------------------------------2

*IF "YES", please check as many as apply:

a. Meetings of a professional organization -------1
b. Inservice Workshops -----------------------------2
c. General Faculty Meetings ------------------------3
d. Departmental Meetings ---------------------------4
e. Other Meetings of an Educational Purpose -------5

7. Do you subscribe to professional journals in your field?

* Yes -----------------------------------------------1
No -----------------------------------------------2

*IF "YES", how many professional journals in your field do you subscribe to? ________________.

8. Does your library receive professional journals in your field?

Yes -----------------------------------------------1
No -----------------------------------------------2

9. During the last year have you taken any regular courses to keep up with your major area of concentration?

Yes -----------------------------------------------1
No -----------------------------------------------2

10. How good a job do you think your principal is doing?

Excellent -----------------------------------------------1
Good -----------------------------------------------2
Fair -----------------------------------------------3
Poor -----------------------------------------------4
Can't Decide -----------------------------------------------5
11. Indicate your racial heritage:
American Indian --------------------------------1
Asiatic ----------------------------------------2
Black or Negro -------------------------------3
Latin American -------------------------------4
White ----------------------------------------5
Other ----------------------------------------6

12. Please indicate whether you are:
male -------------------------------------------1
female -----------------------------------------2

13. Marital Status: Please circle one:
Married ----------------------------------------1
Single -----------------------------------------2
Divorced --------------------------------------3
Separated --------------------------------------4
Widowed --------------------------------------5

14. In what year were you born? ________

15. Would you say that you are currently affiliated with a church or denomination? If so, which one?

__________________________________________

Thank you very much.

(Please comment on any aspect of this survey that you care to.)
The dissertation submitted by Thomas G. Schackmuth, Sociology, Ph.D. has been read and approved by the following Committee:

Dr. Ross P. Scherer, Chairman
Associate Professor, Sociology, Loyola

Rev. Thomas M. Gannon, S.J.
Assistant Professor and Chairman, Sociology, Loyola

Dr. William C. McCready
Assistant Professor, Sociology, Loyola

The final copies have been examined by the director of the dissertation and the signature which appears below verifies the fact that any necessary changes have been incorporated and that the dissertation is now given final approval by the Committee with reference to content and form.

The dissertation is therefore accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

May 13, 1975
Date

Ross P. Scherer, Ph.D.
Director's Signature