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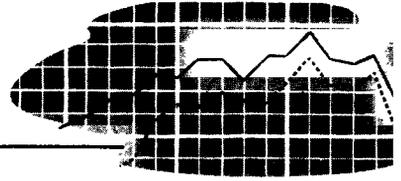
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With the Researchers



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Explorations in Classroom Management

THE origins of the researchers to be summarized here lay in the authors' feeling of inadequacy in trying to help teachers, especially beginning ones, with problems of importance to them. Discipline is one problem frequently verbalized by teachers. Teachers' questions about "what to do when Johnny disturbs" have been shrugged off with impatience, or have been answered with slogans or "principles." Scientific research about the technology and theory of controlling misbehavior in a classroom is either lacking or inadequate.

Consequently, we turned our attention to a study of the practical problem of classroom management, from the standpoint of technology. We wanted to see whether there is not some lawfulness about discipline in classrooms or, on the other hand, whether the variety of variables involved is so great as to preclude the possibility of predicting pupils' reactions from the qualities of disciplinary techniques employed.

Since the teacher must work with groups or, at least, "aggregates" of pupils, we shifted the focus from the effects of disciplinary measures upon an individual child to that of the audience reactions, or the "ripple effects."

Specifically, how does a teacher's method of handling the misbehavior of one child (henceforth to be referred to as a *desist-technique*) influence *other* children who are audiences to the event but not themselves targets?

The factors to be discussed can be grouped into two major classifications: (1) variables operating at the time of the desist-technique (e.g., the qualities of the desist technique, the social position of the target) and (2) pre-

vailing variables (e.g., the audience-pupils' intensity of motivation to learn and their liking for the teacher).

I. *Variables Operating at the Time of the Desist-Technique.*

A. *Threatening vs. Supportive Desist-Techniques.*

In a fashion characteristic of psychologists, we started with an experiment using college students (these are "captive subjects" that do not require administrative clearances and parental approvals). Four classes of students in a college of education were used as subjects. Two classes were taught by a young instructor of educational methods; two classes were taught by an older professor of psychology.

The experiment was conducted as follows:

1. At the second meeting of the class a researcher, posing as a graduate student, obtained questionnaire data on the attitudes of students regarding their instructors, the degree of seriousness of classroom misbehaviors (including "coming late to class") and causes of racial prejudice. The student reports were anonymous.

2. The two instructors of each of the four classes began the third class period with a lecture which gave "his own evidence" that

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The "explorations" described in this statement actually go beyond what we probably are accustomed to thinking of as "classroom management." The researchers raise, and attempt to answer, some fundamental questions about variables involved in interpersonal relationships in the classroom setting.

Of particular importance, the research here reported is of the "projected experiment" type, directed at understanding of PRODUCER-PRODUCT influences and effects growing out of teacher-pupil interactions in "real" classrooms.

Equally significant, these "explorations" represent a co-ordinated attack on a set of related problems; they do not constitute merely a collection of reports dealing with isolated and unrelated hypotheses. Also, the authors consistently look for relationships among the inferences suggested by the data, seeking to establish the essential network of implications that may enable us better to explain classroom behavior and better to equip teachers for their important task.—D. G. R.

the single most important cause of racial prejudice was repressed hostility toward punitive parents that is displaced upon minority groups.

3. A male student, previously informed about the experiment, arrived late to class—toward the end of the instructor's lecture.

4. The instructor directed either a threatening or a supportive desist-technique at the late-comer. Both desist-techniques stated that coming late interfered with the instructor's presentation and should cease. The supportive desist-technique went on to offer the late-comer help in acquiring the lecture material he had missed. The threatening one stated coldly that "this cannot help but affect my evaluation of you and your grade."

5. The "graduate student" readministered his attitude questionnaire.

Two conclusions emerged from this preliminary experiment:

1. Students who are not themselves targets of a desist-technique are affected by it.

2. The *two methods* of handling misbehavior in a classroom produce statistically significant *different results*. That is, there is a degree of predictability from some dimensions of desist-techniques to some effects upon audience students.

Threatening-desist-techniques, for both instructors, resulted in significantly lowered judgments of the instructors' helpfulness, likeability, freedom from authoritarianism, and fairness; threatening techniques also raised ratings of the amount of classroom tension.

For the young instructor—but not for the professor—differences between the two desist-techniques produced significant changes in

ratings of the instructor's competence in his subject-area and in the freedom of the students to communicate with the instructor.

Students in none of the groups changed their attitudes about the seriousness of the deviancy (coming late), and all groups shifted significantly towards the position of the instructors about the causes of racial prejudice.

It would seem, then, that differences in the effects of certain qualities of desist-techniques are more marked in some areas than in others; that the prestige of the emitter of the desist-technique makes some difference; and that some norms of classroom behavior are so well established in colleges as to be rather resistant to change by an instructor's stand on the issue. Influence attempts of instructors that are directly related to course content are not readily changed in relation to a single example of their desist-technique style.

However, another finding may well serve to limit the generalizability of the above results. Although 97 per cent of the students reported that they did *not* perceive that the event was contrived, the students who witnessed either technique were surprised that a college instructor would take time out to correct a student for coming late, even though they rated coming late as a serious misbehavior. Most of them, especially those who witnessed the threatening desist-technique, felt that the behavior was *not* typical for the instructor. There were frequent comments on a post-incident questionnaire such as: "He must have had an argument with his wife," or "He probably got caught in a traffic-jam." This reaction to an unexpected

behavior of an instructor, in a sense "excusing it away," may actually function to reduce the changes produced by differences in desist-techniques. From the viewpoint of research methodology and strategy these findings also point to the advisability of using teacher-stylist variables that are within expectations and that have some ecological prevalence.

B. *Punishing vs. Reprimanding vs. Ignoring.*

In an experiment with eighth and ninth graders (for whom teachers' use of desist-orders is not unexpected) Ryan, Gump, and Kounin¹ investigated whether qualities of a desist-technique make any difference in audience-pupils' reactions.² Volunteer paid subjects were recruited from three metropolitan junior high schools during the summer months to come to a university campus for the purpose of participating in a research studying different methods of teaching. Volunteers were randomly assigned to groups of about twenty-five each where they were asked to consider themselves as being in a regular classroom.

After each group assembled it experienced the following sequence of events: the experimenter introduced the activities of the day; a female teacher (the same for each group) introduced herself to the class; the subjects filled out a questionnaire containing mostly ratings of their first impression of the teacher; the teacher taught a lesson, using slides, about Turkey; a pretrained pupil (also the same person for all groups) misbehaved (got up and sharpened a pencil while the slides were being shown); the teacher issued a desist-technique; the subjects filled out another questionnaire about the activities, the teacher, and the deviancy-event.

Three desist-techniques were used: (1) punitive and intense (walked toward him, saying

¹ James J. Ryan; Paul V. Gump; and Jacob S. Kounin, "An Experiment on the Effect of Motivation to Learn Upon Students' Reactions to Teachers' Desist-Techniques." (In preparation.)

² This experiment was actually started at a later time in the sequence of explorations in order to study the effects of pupil-motivation. (It will be referred to later as the "high-school experiment.") We are referring to it here because it does show that qualities of the desist-technique make some predictable differences in audience-pupils' reactions.

"Hey you, who do you think you are?" in a firm, irritated voice, put her arm on his shoulders in a gesture of pushing him into his seat, saying, "Now sit down! If you ever do that again, I'll really make trouble for you."); (2) simple reprimand (saying in a matter-of-fact tone: "Don't do that again. Please sit down in your seat now."); and (3) ignoring (indicated awareness of the behavior, but did nothing).

The "take" of the experimental manipulation was evidenced by the existence of a significant difference between all groups in the predicted direction regarding the subjects' ratings of the teacher's meanness, anger, and degree of determination to stop the misbehavior.

Compared to the others, the punitive technique resulted in the subjects' rating the deviancy as "most serious," the degree of interference with attention to the task as "greatest," the teacher as "making too much of an issue" over the event, the experience "most discomforting," and the teacher "best able to maintain order in a class of 'tough kids.'"

The simple reprimand produced the highest ratings for teacher fairness and also resulted in the subjects' reporting their paying more attention to the lesson following the event and to the teacher being judged as best able to maintain order in "most classes."

Subjects witnessing "ignoring" as the desist-technique thought the misbehavior most likely would recur, but rated the teacher highest in her degree of liking for pupils.

There were no differences between the groups in subjects' ratings of how much the teacher knew about the subject or how well she could explain it. When equivalent effects are considered (likeability, fairness, felt discomfort) it should be noted that the results of punitiveness in this experiment are quite similar to the results obtained from the threatening desist-technique in the college experiment.

C. *Clarity, Firmness, and Roughness.*

In one study by Kounin and Gump³ fifty observers were trained to record critical incidents in Barker and Wright's⁴ specimen-

³ Jacob S. Kounin and Paul V. Gump, "The Ripple Effect in Discipline," *Elementary School Journal* 158-62; Fall 1958.

record style. These were incidents in which an audience-child was aware of a teacher directing a desist-technique at another child. Twenty-six kindergarten classes were selected to represent the range of socio-economic and ethnic neighborhoods in a large city. All observations were made during the first four days of beginning kindergarten. The observers were instructed to record: (1) what the deviant and the audience-child were doing immediately before the teacher intervened, (2) the full content and manner of the desist-technique and the deviant's immediate reaction, and (3) the behavior of the audience-child during and for two minutes following the desist-technique.

When the resulting 406 incidents were analyzed, it was possible to reliably characterize both the teachers' desist-techniques and the behavior of the audience-children.

The qualities of the desist-technique were rated along dimensions of: (1) clarity (defining the deviancy and stating what to do to stop it); (2) firmness (this included items conveying an "I mean it" quality—walking closer to the deviant, or continuing to look at the deviant until he stopped); and (3) roughness (angry remarks and looks, or punishment).

The reactions of the audience-child were classified as (1) no reaction (no overt behavior which the coder could interpret as related to the desist-technique incident); (2) behavior disruption (overt signs of negative emotionality such as fear, anxiety, and restlessness or a shift away from an originally constructive direction); (3) conformance (stops a deviancy of his own or behaves even better, i.e., sitting more "correctly" himself); (4) nonconformance (engages in a misbehavior of his own); and (5) ambivalence (both conforms and misbehaves).

Statistically significant differences were obtained in the overt behavior of the audience-children as related to the desist-technique used by the teacher. Techniques increasing "clarity" resulted in increased "conformance," but had no effect upon "behavior disruption." Techniques increasing "roughness," on the other hand, had no

effect on "conformance or nonconformance," but did increase "behavior disruption." The effects of "firmness" differed from both.

Some of the conclusions of this study are as follows:

1. What teachers *do* makes a difference. There is some lawfulness about the effects of techniques. It was not necessary to obtain personality ratings or IQ tests of the teachers as persons; it was only necessary to find out what they do and how they do it. (Whether teachers with personality factor-x can or cannot *do* things certain ways is another issue.)

2. There are contextual or prevailing variables that also effect how an audience-child will react to an event. Two such contextual variables stand out from the kindergarten study. One refers to the degree of familiarity the pupil has with the teacher and the situation. (Such familiarity, of course, relates to the amount of time one has spent in a particular experience. For example, there were more "no reactions" on the *last* three days than on the first day.) The other contextual variable is the audience-child's orientation at the time of the incident. Techniques high in "firmness," for example, produced increased "conformance," but *only* for audience-children who were themselves oriented toward, or interested in deviancy at the time of the event.

3. "Roughness" is not an increased degree of "firmness." In terms of their effects, it is evident that these are different dimensions.

Although it does not deal specifically with the ripple effect, we would like to summarize another study on the effects of "punitiveness" since it is closely related to the dimension of "roughness." In a study by Kounin and Gump⁵ we attempted to determine the influence of teachers judged to be punitive upon children's attitudes toward misconduct. Three pairs of first-grade teachers, each pair from the same school, were *selected*. One of a pair was rated as "punitive" (anti-child, ready to threaten and inflict harm) by prin-

⁵ Jacob S. Kounin and Paul V. Gump, "The Comparative Influence of Punitive and Non-punitive Teachers Upon Children's Concepts of School Misconduct," *Journal of Educational Psychology*. In press.

⁴ Roger C. Barker and Herbert F. Wright, *Midwest and Its Children* (Evanston, Illinois: Row, Peterson, and Company, 1954) 532 p.

cipals, assistant principals, the two investigators, and a supervisor of student teachers; the other member of the pair was rated as "nonpunitive." All teachers were rated as having good organization and as achieving the learning objectives for their grade. Children from these classes were interviewed individually during the third month of attendance at school. The interview consisted of the question: "What is the worst thing a child can do at school?" and, following the reply, "Why is that so bad?" The misconducts talked about were coded for content and for certain qualities. The following was found:

1. Children with teachers judged to be punitive showed more preoccupation with aggression—their misconducts were more serious, their targets suffered more harm; they more frequently cited physical assaults on others as misconduct, and their replies contained more gory—or "blood and guts"—phrases.

2. Children with punitive-rated teachers had more conflicts and were more unsettled about misbehavior in school. They selected misconducts to talk about for which they expressed abhorrence and yet which required premeditation, or "malice aforethought."

3. The children with nonpunitive teachers gave more "reflexive justifications" as explanations for why given misconducts were bad. This was coded when a child gave no consequence for either himself or others in his explanation of why the misconduct was bad—the reason given being "because it's not nice" or "because it's bad." We suggested two interpretations for this finding: (a) that children with nonpunitive teachers have less conflicts about misconduct than have children with punitive teachers—to say "you don't do x because it's not nice" reflects a settled issue; and (b) a sort of naive faith and trust in the teacher is reflected by children with nonpunitive teachers—a reflexive justification for a school misconduct is like, say, "x is bad because teacher says so."

4. Punitiveness of teachers detracts from children's concern with school-unique values and results in less internalized socialization. Children with punitive teachers talked more about physical attacks on peers—misconduct by no means unique to the classroom setting.

Children with nonpunitive teachers talked more about learning, achievement losses, and violations of school-unique values and rules.

D. *Task-focus vs. Approval-Focus.*

Since discipline is centrally related to problems of power and influence and methods of exerting power and influence, another study was undertaken in which Alden⁶ dealt with some variables pertaining to these factors. Following French⁷, she hypothesized the following bases for teacher power and influence: the coercive role (the teacher as one who can punish); the "legitimate" role (the teacher as an official leader); reward; and pupils' liking for a teacher and teacher expertness.

The base of a new teacher's power (specifically, "expertness" and "liking") was manipulated by varying the experimenter's introduction of the teacher. All classes were given a lesson in secret writing. A "high expert" was introduced as knowing all about codes and as having a high position in the military intelligence for coding and decoding secret codes; the "low expert" was introduced not as an expert but simply as a teacher who had agreed to teach the lesson. The "high liking" new teacher was introduced as being very fond of children and the "low liking" as not caring about children one way or another.

The desist-techniques used by the teacher were related to these concepts. Some desist-techniques focused upon liking and teacher approval ("I see a boy playing with some paper clips. I just don't like a boy who plays with things when he should be paying attention."). Other desist-techniques related to expertness and focused upon the task ("I see a boy playing with some paper clips. Because secret writing demands concentration, I don't see how he can learn much about it when he plays with things instead of paying attention.").

⁶ Elizabeth Alden, *The Effects on Non-Target Classmates of the Teacher's Use of Expert Power and Liking Power in Controlling Deviant Behavior*. Doctor's thesis, Wayne State University, 1959. 158 p.

⁷ John R. P. French, Jr., "A Formal Theory of Social Power," *Psychological Review* 63: 181-95; May 1956.

Fifth graders were divided randomly into eight classes in which a new teacher taught a lesson (in a pedantic, "academic" manner) about secret writing. In this manner, both "high" and "low expert" and "high" and "low liking" teachers used both approval-focused and task-focused desist-techniques. In each group three desist-orders were directed at three children who had been trained to act the role of misbehaving pupils. In four of the groups, the desist-technique focused upon teacher liking and approval and in four groups the desist-technique focused upon the task.

One of Alden's most impressive findings was the following: in all cases, desist-techniques focusing upon the task were more effective in eliciting desirable student reactions than desist-techniques focusing upon the teacher's approval. (With the exception of scores on a test of how much was learned from the lesson, measurements of results were all based upon differences between measures given before the lesson and measures given after the lesson). For some effects, the superiority of the task-focused desist-techniques held, regardless of whether the introduction of the teacher focused upon her expertness or her liking for children. Thus, in all groups, task-focused desist-techniques increased audience-childrens' ratings of the teachers skill in handling children and increased their rated degree of interest in secret writing.

For some effects, the use of a task-focused desist-technique combined with the teacher's expertness to effect the pupils' reactions. Thus, when an expert teacher used a task-focused technique it increased the children's judgment of how much she liked pupils and would be inclined to reward pupils; it resulted in the pupils considering the deviances she corrected as being more serious and feeling less inclined to misbehave themselves; and it led to a greater amount of information recalled by the pupils from the lecture itself. The influence of being introduced as having high liking for children made a significant difference on one measurement: a teacher with high liking for children and high expertness using task-focused desist-techniques resulted in pupils feeling more inclined toward discussing personal matters with her.

E. *The Deviant's Reaction and Prestige.*

An experiment by Gnagey⁸ was directed at two questions: (1) What is the effect of the deviant's reaction to a teacher's desist-technique upon audience-pupils? (Specifically, does whether the deviant submits to or defies the teacher's desist-order make any difference on how audience-children react to the event?) (2) Does the prestige of the deviant among his classmates influence audience-pupils' reactions to a desist-order event?

In this study, four intact classes of fifth graders were shown a science film during which a male classmate "misbehaved" (saying aloud, "Hey, is this film about over?"). This deviant boy then became the target of a desist-order exerted by the teacher. This teacher, who was new to the class, directed the deviant to leave the room and report to the principal. The deviants were pre-selected on the basis of socio-metric scores. (Of course, their classmates didn't know that the deviancies were part of an act.) Two male deviants had high attributed influence among their classmates and two had low influence. Two (one high-influence and one low-influence) were trained to behave in a *submissive* manner (saying, "Yes ma'am, I'm sorry," (on leaving the room) and two were trained to react in a *defiant* manner (saying belligerently, "I'll leave the room, but I won't go to the principal's office. The heck with you!").

Gnagey found that the target's reaction did make a predictable difference in audience-pupils' reactions. Compared to pupils who saw the deviant defy the teacher, pupils who witnessed the deviant submit to the teacher rated the teacher as "more capable of handling kids" and as more expert in showing films; they rated the desist-technique as fairer; and they recalled more facts from the film. The magnitude of the differences between the effects of the two kinds of deviant reactions was greater for boys than for girls and was greater for boys who were audience to a high-influence deviant than boys who were audience to a low-influence deviant.

⁸ William J. Gnagey, "Effects on Classmates of a Deviant Student's Power and Response to a Teacher-Exerted Control Technique," *Journal of Educational Psychology* 51: 1-9; February 1960.

The Gnagey study also points up one reason for an audience-person to be affected by a desist-order directed at someone else, namely, some sort of linkage with the deviant. In this case it is a sociometric linkage—the linkage of an audience-pupils' motivation to identify with a same-sexed person in a high prestige position. Hence, the finding, for boys only, of a greater effect of a high-influence male's reaction than that of a low-influence male's reaction. Another sort of linkage—to the deviancy event—was illustrated by the previously mentioned kindergarten study. Here, when the audience-child was either deviant himself or was watching the deviancy, he was more likely to react to the desist-technique than if he had no such relationship to the deviancy. In both the Gnagey study and the kindergarten study, then, linkages are shown to be important: linkages to the deviant person, and linkages to the deviancy event.

II. *The Influence of Prevailing Variables.*

With the exception of the kindergarten study, all the studies previously referred to dealt with contrived conditions and with audience-pupils' reactions to qualities of desist-orders as these were emitted by teachers unknown to them except for that one time. As such, they may be loaded in favor of discovering a ripple effect. For a desist-order may have an effect on a nontarget classmate because something in it contains new information for him concerning the teacher or the rules of the setting. This is probably the reason for the finding in the kindergarten study that the degree of clarity of a desist-technique makes a difference in the conforming behavior of an audience-child, especially on the first day of school attendance when the situation is not completely structured. Except for the facts pertaining to learning scores in the Alden and in the Gnagey studies, most of the effects dealt with attitudes and judgments.

Research conducted in other contexts shows that judgments of others are subject to selective perception and perceptual distortion on the basis of the receiver's motivations as well as on the basis of the receiver's relationship to the emitter of behavior (re-

lative prestige, liking for, etc.)⁹. Accordingly, it seemed pertinent to investigate audience-pupils' reactions to naturally occurring desist-techniques in actual classrooms with regular teachers. The design employed here was similar to that used in the kindergarten study but with two differences: older children were used as subjects and interviews were utilized in order to study judgments and attitudes. The research sought to determine the influence of variables "within" audience-pupils as such influences affected their reaction to desist-orders. These "within" variables were: (1) the degree of intensity of students' motivation to learn the subject-matter and (2) students' degree of liking for their teacher.

The subjects, randomly selected, included sixty-three boys and sixty-two girls who were just entering high school. They were interviewed between the fourth and tenth day of their attendance at the school and again three months later. One high school was located in a predominantly lower-class neighborhood, one in a lower-middle-class area, and the third in a middle-middle-class neighborhood.

The interview centered around students' descriptions of a most-recent incident when another student engaged in a misbehavior which the teacher did something about. A complete description of the deviance and of the teacher's method and manner of handling it was obtained. The students' open-ended evaluations of the incidents and how they were handled and their reports of how the incidents affected them also were obtained. Finally, students' responses to pre-structured, forced-choice items (relating to the teacher's fairness, his own inclination to behave better or worse afterwards, etc.) were secured. Reports of two such incidents were obtained from each student: one based on the academic class in which he said he was "most determined to learn" and one relating to the class in which he said he was least de-

⁹ Some examples are: A. Pepitone, "Motivational Effects in Social Perception," *Human Relations* 3: 57-76; 1950; and Jacob I. Hurwitz, Alvin F. Zander, and Bernard Hymovitch, "Some Effects of Power on the Relations Among Group Members," in Dorwin Cartwright and Alvin Zander, *Group Dynamics* (Evanston, Illinois: Row, Peterson, and Company, 1953) 642 p.

terminated to learn the subject-matter. (Gym, music, and shop were excluded.) For the first interview descriptions of, and reactions to, 250 desist-order incidents involving sixty-four different teachers were obtained. (The second interview included eight fewer subjects.)

The first focus of this study was upon audience-pupils' intensity of motivation to learn as it affected their reactions to desist-orders. Assuming that most high-school teachers concentrate on subject matter,¹⁰ we hypothesized that pupils highly motivated to learn would see desist-orders as facilitating their goals, would be more inclined to perceive desist-orders in terms of task-salient dimensions, would see deviances as more interfering and more serious, would react more favorably (in respect to teachers' intents) to desist-orders, would attribute more power and influence to teachers, and so on.

Ofschus¹¹ developed codes for various aspects of the reported incidents. He scored the responses of the pupils and compared the reactions of pupils reporting a desist-incident in the class in which they were "highest in determination to learn" with their reactions when reporting a desist-incident in a class in which they were lowest in motivation to learn.¹² He found that audience-pupils' intensity of motivation to learn the subject *did* predict reaction to a desist-event. In high-motivation classes deviances were rated as more disturbing to the class and more serious, desist-techniques were rated as more fair, students tended to take more of the teacher's side as opposed to that of the deviant, and the students tended to report acting even better themselves after

the incident. In low-motivation classes, students tended to report more teacher-punitive-ness and anger and to judge more of the teachers as "making too much of an issue" of the incident. In evaluating the desist-technique, more of those in the high-motivation group evaluated it on the basis of its effectiveness in stopping the misbehavior, whereas more in the low-motivation group used teacher-manner (anger, fairness) as a basis for evaluating the incident.

In line with this finding, Osborne¹³ coded pupils' responses to a request to describe the teacher. More of those in the high-motivation group talked about task-relevant attributes (competence in explaining, homework properties) while more in the low-motivation group talked about non-task teacher-attributes (fairness, personal qualities, etc.). It would appear, then, that "motivation to learn" may operate to select salencies in what pupils perceive about teachers and to influence judgments about, and reactions to, teachers' desist-techniques. However, other findings show that such a viewpoint may be over-simplified. When talking about teachers in classes where pupils were highly motivated to learn, only a small number of pupils felt neutral to or disliked the teacher; in the low-motivation classes more than three times as many pupils felt neutral towards or disliked the teacher. Evidently intensity of motivation to learn is highly associated with liking for the teacher. Are these prevailing variables separable? And which gives rise to which?

By comparing the reaction of pupils in classes with both high-motivation and liking for the teacher with the same pupils' reaction in classes with low-motivation and high-liking and separately with classes with low-motivation and low-liking Ryan¹⁴ was able to separate the effects of motivation and liking for the teacher. In general, it was found that "motivation to learn" was associated with degree of attention paid to the task and tendency to behave even better

¹⁰ A study by Hilton indicates this is a tenable assumption. See Thomas L. Hilton, *Ego-Involvement in Teaching: Its Theory and Measurement by a Word Completion Technique*. Doctor's thesis, Harvard University, 1955. 192 p.

¹¹ Leon T. Ofschus, *The Effects on Non-Target Classmates of Teachers' Efforts to Control Deviant Behavior*. Doctor's thesis, Wayne State University, 1960. 357 p.

¹² Most of these were found to be run-of-the-mill incidents—most of the deviances were coded as quite mild (mainly talking or noise and laughter) and most of the desist-techniques seemed to involve either no harm, or only mild harm, to the deviant.

¹³ Keith Osborne, *Salencies in Students' Perceptions of Teachers*. Doctor's thesis, Wayne State University. In preparation.

¹⁴ James J. Ryan, "Factors Associated With Pupil-Audience Reaction to Teacher Management of Deviancy in the Classroom," *American Psychologist* 7; July 1959.

after a desist-event. Judgments about the desist-technique, however, varied with liking for the teacher. Liking for the teacher predicted judgments of fairness and siding with the teacher; disliking the teacher was associated with seeing teacher anger, punitiveness, and overreacting to the deviancy. It appears, then, that knowledge of both motivation to learn and liking for the teacher help predict reactions to a desist-event, but they may relate to different facets: "motivation" predicts reactions regarding the task and behavior conformance; "liking" predicts evaluative judgments regarding the teacher's behavior in the event.

The above comparisons were made for the total population of desist-events. Do these findings hold for all types of desist-events or only for certain kinds? Is the predictability of a pupil's reaction improved by knowing the qualities of the desist-event in addition to knowing the pupil's motivation to learn and liking for the teacher?

In order to answer the above questions the pupils were divided into four categories: (1) high motivation to learn and high liking for the teacher (HiM HiL); (2) high motivation to learn and low liking for the teacher (HiM LoL—this group was not included in the statistical analysis for the first interview because of the small number of cases); (3) low motivation to learn and low liking for the teacher (LoM LoL); and (4) low motivation to learn and high liking for the teacher (LoM HiL).

Two questions may be asked regarding any of the above comparisons: (1) *Within* any one group, does it make any difference whether a desist-technique does or does not have a certain quality? For example, do the pupils in the HiM HiL group react differently to a desist-technique that contains punishment than to one that does not? (2) Are there differences *between* groups in how the pupils react to a desist-technique involving a certain quality? For example, do the pupils in the LoM HiL group react differently to a desist-technique containing punishment than do the pupils in the LoM LoL group?

One of the organizing concepts in this study focused on the concept of commitment. Pupils in the HiM HiL group may be thought of as committed in a positive direc-

tion to both the task and the teacher. Pupils in the LoM LoL are committed in a negative direction to both the task and the teacher. Pupils in the LoM HiL have a mixed commitment—they are committed in a negative direction to the task and in a positive direction to the teacher.

The audience-pupils' reactions in this research were categorized as follows: (1) reactions relating to the task (these relate to the inclination to pay more attention, or not to, and to behave better, or not to, following a desist-order); (2) reactions involving evaluations of the teacher (these have to do with whether the teacher is judged as making too much of an issue of the deviancy or not, whether she was fair to the deviant or not, and whether the audience-pupil tended to take the teacher's or the deviant's side in the event); and (3) reactions in which an evaluation of the teacher is not involved. (The data here dealt with how *serious* the pupil rated the misbehavior.)

In general, the results of Ryan's study supported the following hypotheses regarding the task-related dimensions of attention and behavior conformance:

la. Hypothesis: When there is a *clear prevailing commitment* to the task, *negative or positive*, variations in desist-techniques will not produce shifts in task-related reactions of an audience pupil to a desist-event. In *none* of the four within-group comparisons did the presence or absence of punishment, of anger, or of strong firmness make a difference in whether pupils reported an inclination to pay more attention to the task or to behave better themselves.

lb. Hypothesis: When there is a low or negative task-commitment, task-related reactions to desist-technique qualities that manifest the teacher's intent will be effected by whether the pupil likes the teacher or not. In the LoM groups only, pupils who witnessed desist-techniques involving strong firmness, anger, or punishment shifted in a direction of paying more attention and behaving better if they liked the teacher but not if they were neutral toward or disliked the teacher. When the desist-techniques did not contain anger, punishment, or firmness (when teacher-intent was not signalled) there were no differences between the LoM HiL and LoM LoL groups.

1c. Hypothesis: When there is high positive commitment to the task, task-related reactions to desist-technique qualities that manifest the teacher's intent will not be effected by difference in liking for the teacher. There were no significant differences between the HiM HiL and HiM LoL groups in attention and behavior-change reactions to desist-techniques containing punishment, anger, or firmness.

In order to account for the results involving judgments that evaluate the teacher's behavior, we have looked to Heider's¹⁵ theory of balance. Briefly, Heider postulates forces to avoid imbalance and maintain balance between our perception of people and their acts. Thus, to perceive a liked person to do something "bad" is an unbalanced perception; an example of a balanced perception is to perceive a person who is liked as doing good things. Assuming "unfair" to be bad, we would expect pupils who like the teacher to judge her desist-techniques as fair. Accordingly, we proposed and tested several hypotheses (see 2a and 2b in the following paragraphs) regarding evaluations of the teacher.

2a. Hypothesis: When there is a clear prevailing commitment to the teacher, variations in desist-techniques or in motivation to learn will not produce shifts in those teacher evaluations that have clear good-bad connotations.

In none of the four *within* group comparisons, did the presence or absence of anger, punishment, or firmness make a difference in whether pupils rated a desist-technique as fair or unfair.

2b. Hypothesis: When there is a clear prevailing commitment to the teacher, judgments of a desist-technique having clear good-bad connotations will be in balance with this commitment irrespective of the quality of the technique or the commitment to the task.

HiL groups judged desist-techniques as more fair than LoL groups whether or not the desist-technique contained punishment, anger, or firmness, and this held true for both HiM and LoM groups.

¹⁵ Fritz Heider, *The Psychology of Interpersonal Relations* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1958) 322 p.

Assuming that taking the teacher's side versus the deviant's side also tends to follow the balance theory, but perhaps not as closely, since this judgment does not have such clear good-bad connotations as does fairness, we further hypothesized that:

2c. Hypothesis: When desist-techniques contain some strong property, commitment to the teacher will influence how pupils evaluate the event in evaluations not having clear good-bad connotations.

When desist-techniques contained punishment, anger, or strong firmness, HiL groups differed significantly from LoL groups; HiL groups were more on the teacher's side and LoL groups were more on the deviant's side. When the desist-technique did not contain anger, punishment, or strong firmness the HiL groups did not react differently from the LoL groups.

Judgments which did not involve evaluations of the teacher were related to the nature of pupil commitment by hypotheses pertaining to the kinds of cues that influence a pupil when he judges the seriousness of a deviancy (see 3a and 3b which follow).

3a. Hypothesis: When there is a clear commitment to both the task and the teacher, judgments of deviancy-seriousness will not be dependent upon whether or not the desist-technique manifestly signals the teacher-value.

Within neither the HiM HiL nor LoM LoL groups did the teachers' using or not using punishment, anger, or firmness make any difference in how the pupils rated the degree of seriousness of the deviancy.

3b. Hypothesis: Where there is no commitment to the task, but where there is commitment to the teacher, pupils will utilize the teachers' manifest-value to judge the seriousness of the deviancy.

Only within the LoM HiL group did the teachers' use of punishment, anger, or firmness relate to pupils' ratings of the seriousness of the deviancy. In this group, when the teachers signalled their value by anger, punishment, or firmness the pupils increased their ratings of the seriousness of the deviancy. Differences between LoM LoL and LoM HiL in judgments of the seriousness of the deviancy were significant when the desist-techniques contained anger, punishment, or firmness, but were not when the

desist-techniques did not contain these teacher-message properties.

In summary, certain variables an audience-pupil carries "within" him do appear to influence how he reacts to a desist-event directed at a target other than himself. The pupil's intensity of motivation to learn is one. This commitment to the task, positive or negative, is mainly influential in affecting how much attention he focuses on the task and how much he is inclined to behave even better after witnessing a desist-event—both being task-related variables. The pupil's liking for the teacher is another relevant variable. This commitment to the teacher, positive or negative, is mainly influential in determining how the student arrives at evaluative judgments about the event. These judgments follow the laws of balance, i.e., a liked person tending to be perceived as doing good things and a disliked person tending to be perceived as doing bad things. Thus, the desist-techniques of liked teachers tend to be seen as more "fair," those of disliked teachers as more "unfair." In addition, when a teacher signals his intent or value in the desist-technique the pupil who likes him takes his cue about the deviancy from him.

One study mentioned earlier and one additional research may be referred to here to illustrate efforts that were made to determine whether motivation to learn effects liking for the teacher or whether liking for the teacher effects motivation to learn.

In the high-school experiment previously mentioned in 1b, we attempted to create experimentally conditions which would result in high and low motivation. Considerable difficulty was experienced in creating low motivation for the paid volunteers who came to a university campus to participate in research. After four experimental failures to create a low motivation condition, we finally produced comparatively lower motivation in one group than in another. Although there were significant differences in reactions to desist-technique qualities, the reactions of the "high" and "low" motivation groups did not differ. This failure to replicate some aspects of the "interview study" leaves the issue unsettled; the results may mean that motivation to learn follows liking of the teacher, or merely that only relatively lower motivation rather than actual low

motivation was produced in the low motivation condition, or, still again, that there are differences in commitment in an experimental setting as compared to an actual classroom.

In another study we obtained, by use of questionnaires, estimates of pupils' "pre-motivation to learn world history" two weeks prior to their attendance in high school. About one to two weeks after their attendance in the high school we replicated the "interview study" with questionnaires in which classes of pupils described some desist-events and rated their reactions to it. While "pre-motivation to learn" did predict ($r = .49$) post-motivation to learn," it did not predict students' reactions to the desist-event in the post situation. Both "post-motivation to learn" and "post-liking for the teacher" were significantly related (as were motivation and teacher-rated ability to explain and to make the subject interesting). Allowing for differences between questionnaire and interview methods (results from the questionnaire, as might be expected, contained much more sparse descriptions of the events and the teacher which were more difficult to code reliably), the results seem to indicate that motivation to learn is not solely determined by what a pupil brings to the class but is effected, even in one week, by what happens in the class and by whatever it is that teachers do that leads to their being rated as being liked and as being able to explain and make the subject interesting.

III. *What About Liking for a Teacher?*

While liking for the teacher stands out as an important variable, we must pause to ask what this means. Do the same behaviors that contribute to teachers being liked account for persons in other roles being liked? Or does the teacher role carry its unique properties as far as "being liked" is concerned?

The questionnaire study showed a relationship between ratings of "explains well" and "makes interesting" and pupils' liking for the teacher. The Alden study showed a relationship between task-focus desist-techniques and rated liking for the teacher. When Osborne¹⁶ compared the pupils' descriptions of teachers in "high"- and "low-liked" groups, the differ-

¹⁶ *Op. cit.*

ences were about the same as the differences obtained when "high" and "low" motivation groups were compared. When describing "high-liked" teachers, task-property descriptions were predominant, e.g., "explains well," "assigns the right amount of home work," "helps you learn." (Seventy per cent of the pupils mentioned this dimension when talking about "high-liked" teachers.) Only 19 per cent of the pupils mentioned "friendliness" or "meanness" (more of the "low-liked" teachers being included when this non-task dimension was described). In contrast, in a study by Polansky and Kounin¹⁷ in which adults and college students were asked to describe a professional helper (physician, social worker, college counselor) they had just seen for the first time, the majority talked about "friendliness," "helpfulness." "Understanding" was referred to by 49 per cent of the clients when talking about professional helpers, compared to 7 per cent of the high-school students who used this term when describing teachers.

In a study of the ripple effect in a camp milieu Gump and Kounin¹⁸ also asked campers to describe camp counselors. The most frequently used dimension was that which we called "gratuitous giver": 63 per cent of the campers (ranging from seven to thirteen years of age) described their counselor with statements illustrated by "gives us candy" and the like. Only 2.3 per cent of the campers used terms that might be equivalent to "explaining well," e.g., "taught us how to play ball better." It also was found that concepts of misbehavior (obtained from the question, "What's the worst thing to do?" and "Why is that so bad?") also differed, depending upon whether the camper was talking about camp, home, or school milieus.

¹⁷ Norman Polansky and Jacob S. Kounin, "Clients' Reactions to Initial Interviews," *Human Relations* 9: 237-64; 1956.

¹⁸ Paul V. Gump and Jacob S. Kounin, "Issues Raised by Ecological and 'Classical' Research Efforts," *Merrill-Palmer Quarterly of Behavior and Development* 6: 145-53; 1959-1960.

The role of the central adult (parent, teacher, counselor) as a sufferer from children's misbehaviors and as a retributor also differed as between milieus.

All the above leads us to believe that the salient dimensions used to analyze adult-child relationships probably differ for parents, camp counselors, teachers, and other adult-child role figures. Equivalences may be theoretically possible at a higher level of abstraction, but concrete techniques cannot be directly extrapolated from one adult-child role to another.

It would seem, further, that studies of the attributes of teachers as such, whether obtained from projective and inventory-type measures or from boy-scout-type lists of characteristics (trustworthy, loyal, helpful, friendly) are inadequate to the task of analyzing what constitutes teachership. We need to know what teachers *do* that makes a difference for the learning and behavior of *pupils* in *classrooms*. Not only do we need to know what teachers do to manage misbehavior, but we must know what they *do* to evolve and sustain motivation to learn and to become "liked." What *are* the really significant dimensions of what we call teaching? (We are inclined to believe that the "desist-style" dimension here discussed is not as important as some others.)

What is more, studies are needed to better inform us about what constitutes the nature of the classroom as a unique setting distinct from other kinds of settings for children's groups. For, television or not, the locus of necessity of educational practice and the point of application of learning theory or group dynamics theory or other psychological theories is the classroom with a teacher in charge of a group of children or adolescents. And what we know of teachers or students, separately or together, must be relevant to this basic context if it is to be of benefit to those doing the job.

Researchers should get into the classrooms; and teachers and administrators should let them in.

Our progress as a nation can be no swifter than our progress in education.

—John F. Kennedy.