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ABSTRACT
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schools are presently organized, teacher/styles seem to make very
little difference in the degree to which the traditional values of
work, time, authority, order, and perhaps achievement are emphasized.
One can infer that children attending public school, in whatever
permutation, will find that traditional norms form a hidden
curriculum to which they must adhere. The study, though limited to
intensive research in four elementary classrooms, does suggest that
if the constraints outlined in the research are truly functional
requisites of the institution, it can be surmised that the degree of
change possible in the public schools is limited by institutional
needs for order, conformity, time schedules, and work. Teacher
behavior will continue to emphasize these management/control needs so
long as schools and the society in which they exist remain so
structured. (Author/MJB)

"Learning to Work"

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The title of this paper would be more appropriate were it "Teaching Children How to Work" rather than "Learning to Work"... The research had its genesis in a concern for the specific role which schools play in the socialization process of children. It is clear that the school (and the process of schooling) is only one of many institutions which help children acquire the attitudes, values, skills, and behavior patterns which are necessary for adult life. Some authors argue that because the family or early socialization has such a profound impact upon children that development of the basic personality virtually has been accomplished by the time children enter school, and that, therefore, the impact of schooling can only be minimal. This paper, however, seeks to elaborate on a conceptualization which is at least implicit in Durkheim's work--that is, that in complex societies, there is a "division of labor" in the socialization process such that various agencies or institutions contribute to the socialization process aspects congruent with their unique structure. The family, for example, with its small size, particularistic and diffuse orientation, appropriately contributes to the development of individual differences--the acquisition of a unique personality. In this, Durkheim differs not at all from the developmental psychologists. The school, since it has a different structure and orientation, does not specialize in the development of personality; rather, it begins where the family leaves

off and concentrates on the development of citizenship (Durkheim, 1973). Similarly, the church helps to develop aspects of religious belief, while Scouts, the media, and other agencies make their own contribution. Taken together, the result is total adult human being.

Of interest in this study was discovering the content of the unique contribution of schooling. More concisely: other than cognitive skills, what do teachers teach?

Many writers have discussed the probable effect of schooling upon a school-aged cohort. These discussions can be distributed in two camps, one of which might be called the functionalist, the other, revisionist or neo-Marxist. Functionalists, such as Robert Dreeben, have argued that schools are a transition between the protective shell of the family and adulthood, wherein children are prepared in the skills they will need in the real world. In Dreeben's work, particularly, the real work is seen as a place of secondary relationships where survival means coping with competition universalism, achievement, and independence, and specificity in relationships. (Dreeben, 1968) Because these are simply the givens of social life, no particular evaluative valence is attributed to them.

Critics have tended to argue that these values are not without valence; they argue that while schools do indeed prepare children for adult life, they do so in accordance with a highly stratified, class-biased society which progressively and successively facilitates the success of the

children from the upper classes while stunting the life
chances of those less fortunate and relegating them to steps
at the bottom of the social ladder. This is done because
lower class children are exposed to schooling experiences
which lead to the differential development of skills; the
children of the affluent learn the independent thinking,
and communicative skills necessary for professional life
while the children of the poor learn compliance and passivity.
(Friedenberg, 1971 ; Grannis, 1967 ; Bowles and Gintis, 1976.)

In this study less emphasis was placed upon the relation-
ship between schools and social class; our major interest
was in developing a sense of the norms which teachers stress
in the classroom, compiling empirically an inventory of the
techniques or strategies which were employed to stress them,
and some indication of the reasons why the dominant norms
were, in fact, dominant. We took as a starting point the
premise elaborated in earlier work by both Dewey and Durkheim
that social systems establish norms and patterns of discipline
which teach people what to do and how to act, and that schools
are no exception. We felt that whatever norms were established
would serve as an affective, or "hidden curriculum" (Jackson,
1968) for children.

One is struck upon entering the classroom by both the
diversity and similarity of school life. Initial observation
shows what has been called a kaleidescope of activity, a three
ringed circus, a buzz and flurry of events and activities, a
wide range of teaching styles. Some children read under

teacher supervision, others write at their desks; still others
are up and about, playing. Some classrooms have very directive
teachers, others allow children to set their own schedules.
Some teachers stress the basics; others are more interested
in creative writing and drama.

At the same time, there is an underlying similarity in
classrooms. Building design, materials available, often the
arrangement of the physical setting with chairs of children in
clusters or rows being directed by an adult toward readily
identifiable tasks such as reading, writing, and mathematics--
all cue an observer that "school is going on". (Eisenhart, 1977)

Having school "go on" means that work is going on, work
both for teachers and children. That the school is a work
place for both children and teachers has been described in
detail (Lortie, 1973); its task orientation is perhaps its most
salient feature. But how it comes to be a work place for
children is a process which is not arrived at easily.

In order to establish a workplace teachers have to set
up a set of explicit and implicit rules for children to follow;
further, they must organize the school environment to preserve
a system of student behavior and group functioning which allows
them to select the activities in which the group of children
will engage (Eisenhart, 1977:2). It is not enough to desig-
nate rules by fiat; the setting has to reinforce them for
effective teacher control. Teachers know that the process of
establishing the workplace is one of their primary jobs; they
call it classroom management or maintenance of discipline,
almost universally citing it as a major educational problem,

no matter what grade level or where they teach. Coleman,
Waller and others posit that teacher domination over
students is fragile. (Coleman 1961; Waller, 1932) That
control, or discipline, continues to be a problem area, or
that competence in maintaining control is constantly a felt
need, even for well-trained teachers, indicates that the
equilibrium between students and teachers remains tenuous
at best, and that teachers ever have peering over their
shoulders the spector of a classroom out of control.

How then, do teachers establish control? And what do
their efforts teach to children?

Methods

To answer these questions, an intensive ethnographic
study of classrooms was planned. Public school teaching
cannot be separated from its organizational context (Lortie
1973:482). Neither can justifiable conclusions about teacher-
student behavior be reached without engaging in research con-
ducted with teachers in actual classrooms (Kounin 1970:142).
For these reasons, it was decided to move into classrooms,
studying teacher behavior with research methods employing
nonparticipant observation. It also was decided not to begin
with a behavior coding system developed in advance of ob-
servation, since the intent of the study was to enumerate and
codify as broad a range of work-related teacher behavior as
possible. Therefore, a category system of data collection
(Rosenshine and Furst 1973: 132) was sought to preserve as
much of the variety of teacher behavior as possible, and to

require descriptive ability, but minimal inference from the observer.

The work of Roger Barker, et al, which uses handwritten transcripts of observed behavior fits these strictures (Barker 1963); it relies on the observer to record everything which the subject does, without attempting to score or count the behavior before recording it. Scoring, or coding, is then performed on the written transcript. While it obvious that no means of observation can preserve all details of reality, Barker's scheme retains the greatest amount of data and proved easiest and most economical to administer of the techniques available to the researcher.

Establishing Work Norms

Stage one of the research began with preliminary obs r-vations in six urban elementary classrooms. Chronicles of teacher verbal and quasi-verbal behavior[1] were recorded in writing by the researcher, then used to determine the spe-cific norms which teachers seemed to stress in their class-rooms; the school is different from other settings children participate in because it is a place of work. However sugar-coated they may be, there are still jobs to be done, whether or not the students want to do them. This task orientation shaped the demands teachers placed upon children, demands for

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[1]Quasi-verbal behavior was that which substituted for teacher talk, such as when teachers wrote instructions on the black-board, or pointed authoritatively to the seat in which the student was supposed to be sitting.

behavior oriented toward five norms. Classrooms appeared to be places where children were expected to do the following:

1. Conform to authority

2. Conform to a schedule and avoid wasting time

3. Equate academic achievement with personal worth

4. Keep busy

5. Maintain order

Doing the job, then, seemed to include doing it in a specific way; it was assumed that students had to do what the teacher said to do when it was wanted, and with minimal noise, and movement. They also were expected to learn the distinction between work and play.

While the preliminary observations delineated what seemed to be major normative emphases in the classroom, a systematic observation of teacher behavior was required to determine what teachers actually did to teach children how to work. For this, a new group of classrooms were selected. (See "The Sample" below)

In them, chronicles of teacher verbal and quasi-verbal behavior were again recorded by the researcher. Coding of the chronicles or transcripts then took place in two stages. First, the chronicles were used to develop categories of teacher behavior which reinforced the five management norms outlined above: Authority, Time, Achievement, Work, and Order. Indicators for several other areas were also developed, based upon what was observed in the classrooms and also upon behavior which teachers are exhoted to encourage in children. These were autonomy or self-initiative, punitiveness, and intrinsic as well as extrinsic motivations for achievement.

Forty-one specific types of teacher behavior were delineated as reinforcers. The second stage of coding consisted of assigning each occurrence of managerial behavior to the normative category to which it was related. Frequency counts of the behavior coded were calculated; these were converted into percentages of the total amount of teacher behavior coded. Classroom activities were also categorized so that both the amount of time spent in each type of activity and the categories which had the highest frequencies of behavior reinforcing the norms under study became apparent. In addition, the amount of time spend in each classroom activity was calculated by adding up for each day the total time per activity. A random sample of transcripts were re-coded by an independent rater. In general, inter-rater reliability was high for all coding categories (t .5).[2]

Each classroom was observed in turn over a period of nine months. At least 33 hours were spent in each of the four classrooms, and all times during the day were included to insure a representative sample of classroom activity.

Supplementary information on teachers was obtained by means of informal conversations and an interview with each teacher. The impact of teacher behavior on their students was assessed by interviewing a representative sample of the

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[2]The two raters assigned teacher behavior to each normative category identically; agreemtn also was high as to the identity of each type of behavior. Disagreement on individual behavior types arose in a few cases where a behavior occurred infrequently, and was more frequent for the most innovative teacher. Time and Achievement behavior was "easiest" to code reliably. Reprimands were the most difficult behaviors to assign to normative categories.

children in each classroom, and by administering a pencil-
and-paper questionnaire to each child. Responses of the
children were controlled for differences by sex and ethnicity,
but these did not prove relevant in the analysis.

The Sample.

Four fourth grade classrooms in two school in Albuquerque,
New Mexico, were chosen for the study. The first school was
in a semi-rural lower income Mexican-American neighborhood;
the second was located in a middle class neighborhood with a
largely Anglo population. Three of the four teachers were
Anglos; one was a Mexican-American. 'All were in their late
twenties and early thirties; all had taught five years, and
none had previously taught fourth grade. Each teacher had
about thirty children in a self-contained classroom; resource
teachers, aides, and student teachers were not present. The
children in one school were predominantly Mexican-American;
in the other, they were predominantly Anglo-American.

One of the purposes of the study was to see if the norma-
tive emphasis observed during the preliminary investigations
obtained more generally. For this reason, maximum variation
in the sample was sought. Schools with substantially different
student clientele were chosen to determine whether the type of
child taught affected how teachers acted with regard to student
work behavior.

In addition, classrooms were chosen to represent a maximum
range of teaching styles. It is fairly obvious that a task
orientation and heavy emphasis on disciplined behavior prevails

in traditionally teacher-centered classrooms. Proponents
of the open concept classroom, however, often maintain that
they represent a break from traditional orientations. We
wanted to see if this were true. To that end one classroom
in the sample operated on an open concept, utilizing learning
center and student-developed reading materials rather than a
standard curriculum and text materials. There were no desks;
students worked on the floor or at tables, and each had a
basket for personal belongings. Work was individualized and
scheduling was fairly flexible. At the opposite end of the
scale was a very teacher-centered classroom where children sat
in rows and were taught in one of two groups-so designated
by   levement - according to a never-changing time schedule
posted on the blackboard. Textbooks and workbooks provided
the backbone of the curriculum; teacher dominance was evident
even in art classes where chilccen colored or copied drawings
made by the teacher.

Table 1 displays the size and ethnicity of each class-
room as well as the characteristics of each teachers' style.

            Insert Table 1 Here

Teachers for the study were selected in two stages. First,
two school principals (one from each of the two ethnic areas)
were located who would permit an observer to work in their
school for several months. They were asked to find volunteers
from among their experienced fourth grade teachers who had
self-contained classrooms. Experienced teachers were sought
to insure stability of teaching styles; self-contained class-

rooms were chosen so that a single observer could study them
more easily and only one teacher would have influence upon the
students.

Each principal explained the study to the teachers,
indicating that it would include having an observer in the
classroom for at least two months, taking notes on whatever
the teacher did. Two teachers from each school volunteered
for the study.

The fact that only teachers willing to be observed for
an extended period of time participated in the suty may have
affected the results; however, observational research of this
nature cannot be undertaken without the permission and co-
operation of the subjects.

The Distribution of Activities

An analysis of the types of activities teachers organized
for their students yielded thirteen distinct categories which
were grouped into three sets, depending upon the type of response
required from students. These are listed in Table __IV__. While
wide variation existed in the extent to which the teachers used them,
all of the teachers employed each of the categories with one
exception - competitive games, such as spelling bees. Teacher
A said she did not believe in subjecting children to the
posibility of public humiliation if they happened to lose
in a contest.

Most interesting for this study however, was the fact
that the single most frequently engaged in activity for all
four teachers was what we called "maintenance"- activity which
was directed toward settling down, getting organized, cleaning

up, and general classroom logistics. Our finding that at least 20% of all teacher talk was directed toward getting organized substantiates the off-heard contention of teachers that establishing control is "what you do during the day instead of teaching" (Eisenhart, 1978:2); Even the teacher in the open concept classroom devoted the same portion of verbal behavior to management.

Control oriented, or management behavior was not limited to those transition times between periods of real pedagogy. By definition, it was the dominant type of behavior during transtion times, but it also was widely distributed through-out the school day, indicating that in elementary school classrooms, constant surveillance is necessary to keep the daily round of activities going. Emphasis on time keeping, acting in an orderly manner, attending to tasks, and following orders was found to be a major component in the behavior of each of the four teachers.

The Management Core

All four teachers stressed work norms by means of constant verbal and non-verbal requests for certain kinds of student behavior. However, six of these requests occurred with par-ticular frequency, constituting no less than 50 percent of the non-instructional talking teachers engaged in, and in the case of one, comprising over 60 percent. These 6 items of teacher behavior constituted what was termed in this study the "management core" of teacher behavior. It was so named because the six behaviors in the management core expressed the work norms defined earlier, and because they were central.

to the activities of all four teachers. Despite their other-
wise very dissimilar classrooms, the four teachers in the study
were alike in their use of the management core. Table II
lists the management core behaviors, and shows the distribution
of management core behavior among the teachers, their individ-
ual teaching styles, and the amount of talking each did.

The management core seemed to arise from the structure
and task orientation of the school, and it acted to constrain
even the most unconventional teachers to conform. This was
because it represented the minimal managerial demands which
teachers could use to get children to perform their tasks
in the crowded arena of the classroom.

· Insert Table II

Overall, 16 percent of the statements were oriented
toward establishing who was boss in the classroom. That
the children did indeed accept the teacher as an authority
was indicated in their interviews, where, regardless of their
ethnicity, they said that they "had to do what the teacher
said because she was the boss", and that children who did
not do so were acting inappropriately.

About 11 percent of the messages had to do with a task
orientation, keeping busy, getting to work, or being told
what to do next. 10 percent reinforced a time orientation
which emphasized and clarified the class schedule, while
six percent were "get-moving" statements which told children
to hurry up and not waste time. Children were also sub-
jected to a very large number of messages (seven percent

of the total coded) telling them to "sit down and shut up".
That these norms were enforced was indicated by the number
of reprimands--nine percent of the total.

A "hidden curriculum" existed, then, consisting in
certain rules which were embodied in management-type behavior.
Children were expected to internalize these rules in every
classroom:

1. Do what the teacher says.

2. Live up to teacher expectations for proper behavior.

3. Keep busy.

4. Keep quiet and don't move too much.

5. Stick to the schedule.

The message was reinforced by the fact that children in
all the classrooms spend a great deal of time working alone.
Table III shows the allocation of time to various classroom
activities, indicating that from 30 to 53 percent of the time
spent in school was occupied with activities which did not allow
children to move around or respond verbally to anyone but the
teacher. Thus, keeping quiet and keeping busy were reinforced
by classroom activity as well as teacher behavior.

Insert Table III

It is important to repeat at this juncture that the
management core did not seem to be optional; all teachers,
regardless of their intentions, teaching styles, or ethnicity
used the behavior it included in great quantity. In addition,
they appeared to use it uniformly; there were no statistical
differences among the teachers in the amount of management

activity they engaged in. Differences in classroom environ-
ment, then, did not affect the impact of the management core;
all children were heavily exposed to it. Differences among
children also had no affect upon the results; the two Mexican-
American classrooms did not differ substantially either in the
behavior of the teacher or in the responses of the children
in the frequency of importance of work norms. While it may
seem that sex should have created differential responses,
at least among the children, it did not. Boys and girls
responded similarly as to their perceptions of activities and
rules in the classroom. Both boys and girls felt that they
were equa-ly held accountable to the normative structure of
the classroom; they did not feel (and there did not seem to
be) different work norm messages for boys and girls. Thus,
within the limitations of data obtained in this study, it
was clear that the children had begun to internalize the work
norms which were the focus of the study. Children in all
classrooms, for example, stated that classrooms were work
places, not places for play, that classrooms had rules which
had to be followed, and that there existed a time table for
things to be done. When children were asked what their teacher
most wanted them to do, both Mexican-Americans and Anglos,
boys and girls, responded, "be quiet, don't fool around, and
get our work done on time". While differences in sex and
ethnicity may, later on, affect how children act out in work
norms, in fourth grade, at least, their exposure to, and
acceptance appear to be the same.

Discussion

Most studies of teachers have stressed the great varia-
tion which exists in teacher style and activity. However,
this study has tried to point out that at least along one
very important dimension, that of management, teachers
tended to look rather alike. There were basic rules for
school life which made survival in classrooms possible.
Teachers employed management behavior because they had no
option as to whether or not activities kept moving in an
orderly fashion in the classroom. The exigencies of the
crowded classroom dictated the management core; it repre-
sented the minimal demands of the school as an institution.
This held true across all four of the classrooms studied,
despite their variation in style. Where differences did
exist, they seemed to be determined by the individual person-
ality and philosophy of the teacher, rather than by the insti-
tutional constraints which produced the management core.

It also was clear that the students in this study recog-
nized the strong emphasis on work norms; in a written question-
naire, over 80% indicated that time keeping, doing what the
teacher said, keeping busy, and maintaining order were
important to their teachers. In interviews, when asked what
was most important in school, after citing spelling and math,
they responded, "Sit down, be quiet, and do what the teacher
says."

One unexpected finding was that, despite the variation
among the teachers in emphasis on both grades and achievement,

all the children felt that grades were an accurate reflection of how the teacher evaluated them, and most felt that "getting grades is the most important thing about school". Some of this may be an effect of ethnicity; Mexican-American children in the sample were more likely to place heavy emphasis on grades than Anglo children. It may also be that children learn that grading and evaluation on specific skills is a school function which is so important both to the child and to his family that the idiosyncracies of individual teachers do not affect their overall response to evaluation.

Thus, teachers seem constrained by institutional requirements relating to the high pupil-to-teacher ratio in elementary classrooms and the necessity for instilling cognitive skills to elicit from students certain kinds of behavior pertaining to time, work, authority, and order. They do so in a core of behavior which seems to be relatively uniform, regardless of individual teaching styles. Individual classrooms may have foibles which children memorize for a year, but they do not have the lasting impact of the management core.

We have suggested that the management core is common to all teachers because it represents the minimal conditions under which work can take place. Another way of stating this is that the management core represents the basic core of teacher attempts to establish control in the classroom.

By means of the behaviors defined in this study, teachers establish a management system of discipline reflecting the realm of possible behavior under classroom conditions. The management

system, if effective, makes school work possible, and the
sooner children learn how to work, the more effective a
teacher can be, for she then is able to spend more time
actually teaching. How to work, for example, seems to be
learned well by the time students reach high school; it
would be rare to find the same high ratio of didaction to
control behavior in secondary schools as was found here
in fourth grade.

The underlying similarity in classrooms, or what lets
the observer know that school is "going on" derives from a
carefully devised, but often unconscious, pedagogy engaged
in by teachers teaching children how to work, not only at
congitive tasks, but in those affective skills which lead to
the learning of work norms. Thus, learning to work for children
constitutes learning to control by teachers. The two are a
function of classroom tasks and structure, and seem to result in
the establishment of a normative structure regarding work in the
classrooms.

Conclusion

This study suggests that, given the way public schools
are presently organized, teacher styles seem to make very little
difference in the degree to which these traditional values of
work, time, authority, order, and perhaps achievement are
emphasized. One can infer that children attending public school,
in whatever permutation, will find that traditional norms form
a hidden curriculum to which they must adhere. While this study

was limited to intensive research in four classrooms, and further research will be needed to verify its findings, it does suggest that if the constraints outlined in this research are truly functional requisites of the institution, it can be surmised that the degree of change possible in the public schools is limited by institutional needs for order, conformity, time schedules, and work. Teacher behavior will continue to emphasize these needs so long as schools and the society remain so structured.

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Table I

CLASSROOM COMPOSITION AND TEACHER CHARACTERISTICS

	Teacher A	Teacher B	Teacher C	Teacher D
School	Valley	Heights	Valley	Heights
Teacher's Ethnicity	Anglo	Anglo	Anglo	Mexican-American
# of Students	25	30	29	30
% of Mexican-American Students	72%	20%	79%	10%
% of Female Students	36%	53%	58%	50%
Use of Materials	individualized instruction; unconventional curriculum; unconventional use of space and time	semi-individualized instruction; conventional curriculum, unconventional use of space and time	small group instruction; conventional curriculum; conventional use of space and time	large group instruction; conventional curriculum, conventional use of space and time
Teacher Style	student centered, open, therapeutic pupil-teacher relationship	teacher centered, open, therapeutic pupil-teacher relationship	teacher centered, authoritarian pupil/teacher relationship	teacher centered, authoritarian pupil/teacher relationship

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TABLE II

Indicators and Distribution of Management Core Behavior

Norm	Behavior Indicator	Percentage of Total Behavior			
		Teacher A	Teacher B	Teacher C	Teacher D
Acceptance of Authority	1). Statements spelling out teacher rules and expectations	16(n=124)	9(n=68)	18(n=167)	16(n=120)
	2). Reprimands	6(n=51)	10(n=69)	19(n=87)	9(n=62)
Orderliness	3). Statements limiting movement & talking	10(n=75)	10(n=70)	6(n=56)	3(n=96)
Task Orientation	4). Dispatching orders	5(n=61)	7(n=49)	6(n=50)	7(n=49)
	5). Get-moving statements	4(n=32)	3(n=58)	3(n=50)	3(n=60)
Time Orientation	6). Statements signalling beginnings and endings of activities	13(102)	10(n=67)	12(n=106)	10(n=73)
Total Management Core Behavior Coded		54(n=625)	53(n=381)	53(n=496)	62(n=458)
Total Behavior Coded		n=792	n=707	n=906	n=724

Note: Reprimands were seen as authority reinforcing, although they also can reinforce other norms.

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TABLE III

SUMMARY OF TIME ALLOCATIONS
FOR GIVEN ACTIVITIES

	Teacher A	Teacher B	Teacher C	Teacher D
Solitary Activities	42	53	30	48
Managerial Activities	25	19	20	21
Interactive Activities	21	18	38	~20
Other	12	10	12	11

NOTE: Time is expressed in percentages of the total amount of
observed time spent in these activities.

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TABLE IV

CATEGORIES OF CLASSROOM ACTIVITIES

Solitary Activities

1. Seatwork: Children are working individually at their desks, interacting with neither the teacher nor other students.

2. Circulating: Children engaged in "seatwork"; teacher moves about the room helping individual children or exercising surveillance over activities.

3. Tutoring: Children are at "seatwork"; teacher is seated at her desk. Individual children come, one by one, to her for help at her desk.

4. Reading a story: The teacher reads a story aloud to the students.

Interactive Activities

5. Discussion: A combination of question and answer plus discussion which, in elementary schools, seems to serve the same function which lecturing does in higher education: presentation of information.

6. Checking: Grading papers, answers are read while students grade their own or others papers.

7. Boardwork: Teacher gives children problems to work on the blackboard.

8. Explication: Teacher gives explicit instructions for assignments.

9. Games: Relays, spelling bees, competitive team activities.

10. Reading aloud: Children read from a text to the teacher.

Maintenance Activities

11. Getting organized: Collecting materials, passing them out, changing activities, giving orders, telling children what to do next.

12. Settling down: Teacher gets children seated and quiet so activity can continue or another one can begin.

13. Other: A category consisting primarily of watching TV and movies or visiting lecturers or of going to the library, where after finding books the children sit quietly and read.