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STUDENTS' UNION POWER AND INFLUENCE STRUCTURES

by



ALAN ROSS MACLEOD

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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ABSTRACT

The major purpose of the study was to examine the power and influence structures that existed within two urban high school students' unions from the perspective of a political decision-making model developed for the study. Second, the study was designed to test hypotheses predicting relationships between membership in power and influence structures and each of the following variables: membership on students' council executive, social class, attitudes toward the political process, perception of power and student values.

The high schools were selected for the study primarily on the basis of relative proximity to the university. This factor was important as it was necessary to have trained research assistants present at executive meetings of the students' councils. The final sample size involved 571 students from one school and 590 from the second school.

The main instrument, the Students' Union Questionnaire, consisted of four sections. The first three sections were designed to obtain data pertinent to social class, attitudes and values as well as providing basic demographic information. The fourth section involved nomination of student leaders both generally and for three specified issue areas. Additional information was obtained through use of a short questionnaire given to the council members and through informal discussions with executive members.

The study of influence structures was restricted to the formal meetings of the students' council executives. To obtain a

measure of the relative influence exerted by each of the council members, interaction data from eight council executive meetings were recorded by observers trained in the use of Bales' Interaction Process Analysis.

Study of the data for the purpose of testing the hypotheses was undertaken using independent parallel analyses which involved the students from both samples.

A significant relationship was found between membership on the students' council executive and membership in the power structure. There were no significant differences in the number of power structure members selected for the different issue areas. Also, perceptions of the students with reputational power of the students' union power structure did not differ significantly from those of the other students.

Significant differences were found between the social classes of both power and influence structure members and those of the other students.

Attitudes of both power and influence structure members toward the political process were significantly more positive than those held by the other students, but no significant differences were found in the sense of power of these groups.

When the values of power and influence structure members were compared with those held by other students in the samples, differences were not generally significant.

The results of this study suggest that the student leaders were the formally designated office holders to a great extent but they were not representative of the total student membership in terms of

the membership as a whole. If the domain and range of students' council involvement in governance of the schools were extended, teachers and administrators would be able to discuss issues with some confidence that the value positions expressed by the formal leaders were representative of those held by the students' union membership.

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Chapter 1

THE PROBLEM

Introduction

Student participation in governance may be traced back at least as far as Plato's "Academy" which was founded about 387 B.C. The "Academy" had scholarchs, or students' leaders, that were elected by a process of secret balloting. The school was a sort of brotherhood, its members bound by ties of affection, but it was not intended to function on the basis of democratic procedures. Similarly, Aristotle's "Lyceum" developed and incorporated such officers as the master of sacrifices and overseer of good order.

Eby and Arrowood (1940), in examining the student guilds extant in the middle ages, explained the rise of such guilds in terms of a need for protection and mutual aid. This was necessitated as governments during this period were capable of imposing order on a local basis only, while scholarship was international. In Italy separate guilds of students and masters developed. At Paris and Oxford, the students had the privilege of belonging to the university, but power resided in the hands of the masters. At Bologna the students' guilds generally exercised university functions involving governance. There, by the middle of the thirteenth century, two universities were organized as follows:

Each . . . was divided into clubs, called nations from the fact that each association was made up of members from a particular region. Each nation elected one or more councillors, who with the rectory formed the ordinary executive body of the university. Each university at Bologna had as its head a rector, a student who was elected to office biennially It may be said here that, in the course of time, all rectorships were combined into one, and that the power of the student rector was gradually reduced, until in the sixteenth century it was a mere shadow. The semblance of student government was, however, preserved in Italian universities until the nineteenth century (Eby and Arrowood, 1940: 765-766).

Within the United States, the concept of a students' council received wide acceptance in the years immediately following 1920.

McKnown (1944) cited a study which revealed that in 1927 over half of the schools included in the sample had organized their councils after 1920. A subsequent study completed by Kelley and reported by McKnown (1944) revealed that of the 1,904,775 students in schools from which replies were received, 91.9 per cent were involved in some form of student participation in school governance.

Much more recently, with the rise of activism in many American and Canadian high schools, administrators have found it necessary to re-examine the purposes and activities of students' councils. Peterman (1969) voiced a concern of many administrators when he noted that the students' councils have often been bypassed by dissident students who have claimed that the councils are not truly representative of students' attitudes and interests but rather are merely a "tool of the administration." Deegan (1970: 15-16) recently stated some of the weaknesses of student government at the community college level:

Frequently, candidates run for office unopposed . . . and the student government associations themselves tend to spend their time on endless procedural wrangles, rarely considering substantive matters, and not possessing any real power to deal with substantive matters anyway.

At the high school level somewhat similar problems have developed. Students' unions have sometimes resembled "teeny-bopper social event clubs" rather than in any sense being a viable entity with a significant role in the governance of the school.

It is rather surprising that little research has been undertaken to examine the distribution of power and influence within students' unions, given opinions similar to the above about the functioning of many students' unions. At present little empirical evidence exists to indicate who makes the decisions in a students' union. Similarly, little is known about the values and attitudes of the students who are members of the power and influence structures of the students' unions.

The Problem

The major purpose of the study was to examine the power and influence structures of two high school students' unions from the perspective of a decision-making model which was developed for the study. As no prior methodology existed for study of students' unions' power and influence structures, the model was based in large part on findings of research that investigated community decision-making processes.

In identification of power structure members, methodology from community power studies was adapted for use at the high school level.

An important part of the problem was that of determining whether power was held generally across a number of issue areas or whether it was specific to one issue area.

The students' council constitutes the formally elected

decision-making body of the students' union. However, in large high schools of the type included in the study, many of the proposals for change and action are initiated at council executive meetings, although such proposals may subsequently be taken to council for discussion and approval or rejection. As the executive of a council often takes the time to examine an issue prior to its presentation to the council as a whole, the study approached the identification of influence structures through an examination of interaction at council meetings.

The problem of examination of the power and influence structures was approached by comparing selected student characteristics for each structure with the same characteristics represented in the other students' union members. Student characteristics considered included:

- 1. Membership in the formally designated decision-making body of the students' union,
 - 2. social class,
 - 3. attitudes toward the political process,
 - 4. sense of power, and
 - 5. values held.

Importance of the Problem

Although there have been two recent studies completed at the University of Alberta related to students' unions and some characteristics of their membership, there has been no study, prior to the current one, which focused on the political aspects of students' union decision—making.

MacLeod (1966) studied the relationships between students'

organizations, attitudes toward the political process, and social class. Benoit (1967) centered his study on political attitudes and some forces which affect them. His main concern was to determine the factors or characteristics which tend to be common among the influentials of a student body, and to compare them with those found among the non-participants. Neither study investigated influence or power structures within the students' union; it was assumed that the influentials were in fact the office holders.

There is also a need to increase knowledge about the values and political attitudes of the student group as a whole and to be able to compare values of power holders with those of other students, in order to have an informed basis for evaluating the relative merits of current and future proposals for increasing the level of student decision-making in the area of school governance. Presently, it is rather popular to advocate increased participation for students, but little is known of the possible ramifications of this approach. For example, are the value patterns of those students who hold power compatible with the educational goals of the school? Little research evidence is available. Gudridge (1969) reported the emergence of student-faculty councils and student advisory councils, and one of the high schools which participated in the current study considered the formation of a school union with policy-making functions. There is a need to know what the students' attitudes are toward existing governance arrangements.

Argyria (1957: xiii) maintained that "There is little known as to how a decision is first created and how it travels through the

organization in order to have its intended effect." It is hoped that the present study will contribute to such knowledge.

Definitions of Terms

Power. Power is "the potential ability of an actor or actors to select, to change and to attain the goals of a social system (Clark, 1968: 46)."

Influence. Influence is the actual exercise of power that brings about change (Clark, 1968), and as Etzioni (1968: 314) has noted, "this includes sustaining a course of action or preserving a status quo that would otherwise have been discontinued or altered."

Control. Control refers to any process in which a person or group or organization has determined, i.e. intentionally affected, what another person or group or organization has done (Tannenbaum, 1962).

Values. Values are "the normative standards by which human beings are influenced in their choice among the alternative courses of action which they perceive (Jacob, Flink and Schuchman, 1962: 27)."

Political efficacy. Political efficacy is the feeling that

individual action does have or can have, an impact upon the political process, i.e. that it is worthwhile to perform one's civic duties. It is the feeling that political and social change is possible and that the individual citizen can play a part in bringing about this change (Campbell, 1952: 187).

Limitations

A number of Hmitations are inherent in both the methods used

to gather data and in the design of the study. The major limitations have been listed below and each is commented upon briefly.

Reliability of data. The use of questionnaire data may have resulted in problems of faulty perception and of deliberate or accidental errors, with the result that a reduction in over-all reliability and validity will have occurred. In one of the schools twenty-one questionnaire answer sheets were deleted from the analysis because response patterns were created to mislead the researcher. Typically, the answer sheets deleted had all of one response category marked or had multiple responses indicated for a single item.

Representativeness of interaction data. The assumption that the recorded interaction was representative of the total formal interaction of meeting participants, and was not affected by the presence of a coder, may not be valid.

Informal influence processes. The use of a single method of influence measurement restricted to the formal setting of council executive meetings did not provide any indication of the extent to which informal influence was important in decision-making.

The value profiles. The value profiles used in the study as the measure of students' values were developed relatively recently, and consequently have not been checked extensively against other criteria.

Decision making. All of the methods of measurement used in determining power and influence structures assumed that decision-

making is an individual rather than a group phenomenon.

Sampling technique. The samples from the two schools used in the study were not randomly selected. The representativeness of the findings is thus open to question. To some extent, the use of replication within the study partially compensated for this weakness.

Delimitations

The study was delimited in the following ways:

- 1. It considered only high school students.
- 2. Only two high schools from one urban system were included.
- 3. Interaction data from only eight students' council executive meetings were obtained.
- 4. Only the perceptions of students were considered in assessing their values and attitudes.

Organization of the Thesis

The initial chapter has introduced the research problem, presented definitions for a number of key concepts, and stated the assumptions, delimitations and limitations of the study.

Chapter 2 examines the conceptual and theoretical aspects of the research problem and concludes with a statement of the hypotheses that were formulated for the study.

Chapter 3 discusses the methodology of the study, including a description of the instrumentation, the sample and data collection procedures, and the methods of data analysis.

Chapter 4 presents the findings of the study related to the power structure of the two schools, and Chapter 5 presents the

findings related to influence structures.

Chapter 6 contains a summary of the study, a statement of the conclusions drawn, a discussion of possible implications, and some suggestions for further related research.

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Chapter 2

CONCEPTUAL AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The following chapter provides a review of literature relevant to the conceptual framework upon which the study is based. First, the measurement of the concepts of power and influence is discussed.

Second, research which relates office holding, social class, values, and attitudes toward the political process to the possession of power and influence is considered. Research surveyed acts as the basis for a political decision-making model which is presented. Finally, the hypotheses tested during the study are introduced.

THE CONCEPTS OF POWER, INFLUENCE, AND THEIR MEASUREMENT

Concepts

Power. Schopler (1965: 178), in introducing the concept of power, remarked that "the potential importance of a power concept is easy to document as are the difficulties of placing it in a coherent theory." Even a casual examination of the research literature which deals with the concept of power reveals that there are a wide variety of meanings associated with the term. An additional problem is that "the major theoretical analyses of power typically have little data uniquely related to them, nor have they generated anything like a distinctive and coherent set of testable issues (Schopler, 1965: 179)."

Clark (1968), in one of the most comprehensive discussions

available of the concept of power, categorized power definitions as being "individualistic," "dyadic," and "systemic." In this schema the classical definition suggested by Weber (1947: 152), "power (macht) is the probability that one actor within a social relationship will be in a position to carry out his own will despite resistance, regardless of the basis on which this probability rests," is representative of the "individualistic" approach to defining the term. In the "dyadic" categorization power is conceived primarily in terms of a relationship between two actors. Dahl (1957: 202-203) explained power as follows: "A has power over B to the extent that he can get B to do something that B would not otherwise do." Similarly, Schermerhorn (1961: 12) spoke of power as "the processual relation between two parties modally characterized by (1) asymmetrical influence . . . and (2) the predominance of negative sanctions as a feature of behavior in the dominant party." A third view of power is that advocated by Clark (1968: 46), wherein power is "the potential ability of an actor or actors to select, to change and to attain the goals of a social system." An advantage of this "systemic" approach is that it emphasizes that possession of power in one area does not entail possession in any other area, yet the definition allows the possibility of being powerful in several issue areas simultaneously. Second, this view of power facilitates clear separation between the concepts of "power" and "influence." Influence can then be viewed in terms of an actual exercise of power.

For each social system the bases of power may be categorized. The bases of power suggested by French and Raven (1960) have received continuing recognition by authors writing about power bases. The

power, based on P's perception that 0 has the ability to mediate rewards for him; coercive power, based on P's perception that 0 has the ability to mediate punishments for him; legitimate power, based on the perception by P that 0 has a legitimate right to prescribe behaviour for him; referent power, based on P's identification with 0; expert power, based on the perception that 0 has special knowledge or expertise. In terms of the present definition of power for any given social system, the actors will occupy status positions, and their power will have one or more bases. The possession of power in one social system does not guarantee that this power will continue in another system.

Influence. The actual exercise of power that brings about change may be termed influence, and as Etzioni (1968: 314) noted "[such exercise] includes sustaining a course of action or preserving a status quo that would otherwise have been discontinued or altered."

Measurement of power and influence. Two further conceptual distinctions related to the above terms are essential for an understanding of the literature that is reviewed and the model that is subsequently developed. First, a "power structure" is considered to be a patterned distribution of power resources within a social system. Second, a "decision-making structure" is the patterned distribution of influence within the setting of a social system. Clark (1968) suggested that the study of a power structure implies analysis of the system at one point in time, while the decision-making structure is best analyzed by studying the actual processes of influence as

exercised over time.

In the current study, an attempt was made to examine the membership both in the power structure and the influence or decision—making structure in two students' unions. It should be noted that the power structure in an organization exerts constraints upon the processes of decision—making that will occur within the system. Further, in examining the membership of a power structure, the conclusion of Walton (1966) and Kadushin (1968) should be considered. Walton (1966), after analyzing thirty—three community power structure studies involving some fifty—five communities, concluded that the type of power structure identified in a single method study may prove to be an artifact of that approach. Similarly, Kadushin (1968) has drawn attention to the need for obtaining multiple indicators of power and influence structures.

Power Structure Analysis

Tannenbaum and Kahn (1957) have devised the "control graph" as a means of depicting the control structure within an organization. A control structure represents the possessed by various levels of the members of the degree of power possessed by various levels of the hierarchy. The Tannenbaum and Kahn (1957) instrument for measuring control relies on the averaged judgments supplied by various participants within the organization, and a control graph presents the results of these judgments in the form of a polygon.

Two aspects of organizational control structure are represented by a control curve. The hierarchical distribution of control is represented by the shape or slope of the curve, and the total amount of control exercised by all levels in the organization is represented by the general height of the curve. Tannenbaum (1968) has recently summarized work that has been done with control graphs in a wide variety of organizational settings.

By implication, control curves provide a good deal of significant information about how control is distributed within an organization and also give an indication of the total amount of control instituted. Total control is evinced by the height of the curve or the area under the curve. The control curve may assume various shapes and positions in relation to the horizontal axis. Figure 1 presents a number of hypothetical control graphs which may be used for illustrative purposes. In the first diagram, an authoritarian organization is depicted, with the control being concentrated at the higher levels of the hierarchy. The second graph presents what might be termed a democratic control structure wherein the lower participants of the organization are viewed as exercising a great deal of control. The third graph shows a polyarchical organization wherein all levels of the organization are seen as exercising a great deal of control. In contrast to the polyarchical control structure is the laissez-faire situation. In the laissez-faire case little control is exercised by any of the organizational members.

Tannenbaum and Smith (1968), after examining research based on two hundred geographically separate organizational units from a number of large organizations including business and industrial organizations, labor unions, and voluntary groups, concluded that the great variety of organizations that were examined most commonly could be characterized by the authoritarian control graph.

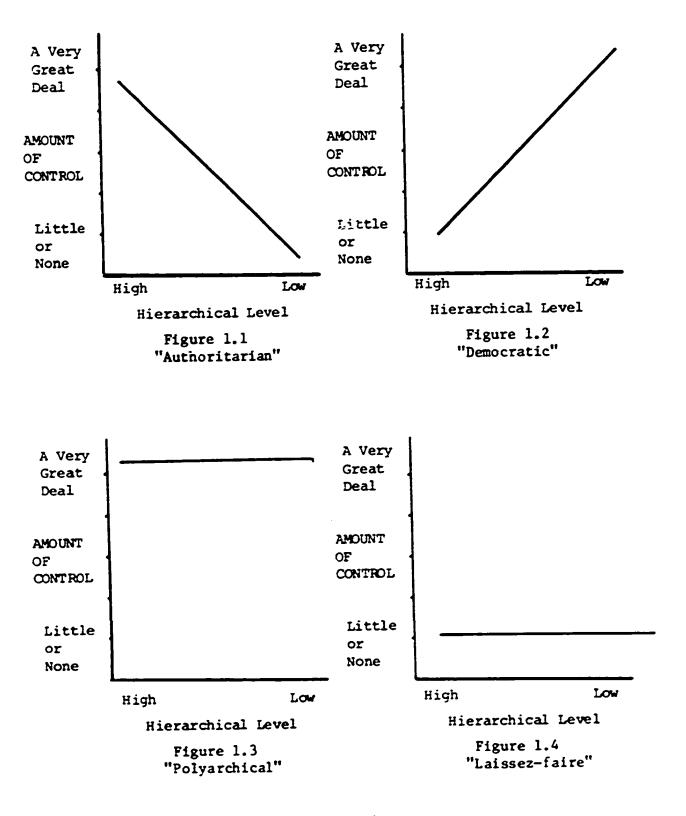


Figure 1
Control Graphs

A more specific measure of power structure is advocated by Hunter whose Community Power Structure (1953) attempted to determine who had power in a specified city and how it was utilized in the making of community decisions and the resolving of conflicts. essence the method was relatively uncomplicated: if you want to know about power in a community, ask those individuals who are active in the community. The crucial Hunter question was, "If a project were before the community that required decision by a group of leaders leaders nearly everyone would accept - which ten on the list of forty would you choose (Hunter, 1953: 63)?" After asking the influentials from a number of community organizations to name the top community leaders of Regional City, Hunter studied leadership designations and interactions. Extensive interviews were conducted with the people who were members of the reputational group to determine how the power structure worked. It was concluded that power resided predominantly in a diminutive cohesive elite of business leaders and that the political structure was subservient to the economic leaders of the community.

A number of political scientists, especially Dahl and his students, have challenged the findings of a "power elite," charging that research which found such structures was in the nature of a self-fulfilling prophecy. The general question as earlier stated was felt by such objectors to cause an artificial combination of the names of the influential people on one list and thus to give the appearance of a cohesive leadership elite.

Clark (1968: 75-76) has summarized additional objections to the use of the reputational technique. First, in collecting names of top leaders there is no intrinsic method for arriving at an appropriate cut-off point for the precise number of leaders or for a separation of top leaders from "second stringers." Second, even if the concept of "power holder" is clear to the researcher, many respondents are prone to confuse power figures with social notables or widely publicized persons who may not wield any actual influence in community affairs. Finally, the reputational method provides only a measure of the reputation people have for being power figures or a measure of potential influence which, even if extant, may not be exerted or may be exercised infrequently or over a narrow range of issues.

In the face of persistent criticism, the reputational technique continues to be widely used, and the criticisms against it have been vigorously contested. There are a number of advantages that accrue to the user of the reputational technique which merit consideration. First, it isolates the power aspect within a system and thus allows the researcher to consider this variable without becoming involved in other aspects of community life. Second, the reputational approach is a highly reproducible methodology. That is, its operations are so defined that numerous researchers can investigate several communities, knowing that the operations for determining which people are selected as power holders can be closely duplicated in other communities. It is only when researchers suggest that the results of using the reputational method reflect the actual distribution of influence within the community that serious doubts about the validity of the technique arise. Yet, even on this point, results of research studies are not completely definitive. Gamson (1968) examined

fifty-four issues in eighteen New England communities in order to determine the extent of the relationship that existed between membership in the group of reputationals and success in influencing the outcome of issues. The power holders, or reputationals, were found to have been active on at least one of the three issues studied in their respective communities.

However, they are frequently active on opposite sides, although this may merely reflect a method of issue selection which emphasized controversy. When they are both active and united, they are on the winning side about three quarters of the time. This is not merely a function of their participation on the more active side, for they have as high a proportion of victories when they support the less active side . . . Nor is their success an artifact of the natural advantage gained from supporting the status quo. On the contrary, they achieve their success against this advantage. They are united and successful in support of change two-thirds of the time (Gamson, 1968: 347).

Yet Dahl's (1961) earlier study of New Haven revealed little overlap among leaders within the issue areas of urban development, party nominations, and public education. Not only was direct influence specialized, but to a great extent it reposed in the hands of public officials. Similarly, Wildavsky (1964), in what was essentially a replication of Dahl's (1961) study, compared leaders in Oberlin, Ohio, identified by a reputational technique with those identified by decision areas and found that a compilation of a general reputational elite was of little heuristic value for selecting individuals and groups reported to have the most influence in the various policy areas of the community. The influentials omitted by the use of the reputational approach were basically from two groups: people not normally active or influential but who happened to be so only on an issue or cluster of issues that interested them, and second, those whose

leadership would be known only to a few of those engaged in the consideration of a particular issue.

The particular variation of the reputational approach that was utilized in the present study was mass sociometry. However, the general approach of the issue-specific reputational technique was also incorporated. In mass sociometry the population is surveyed to ascertain who is perceived as having power within the group, while the issue-specific reputational approach constitutes an adaptation of the reputational technique which attempts to overcome some of the criticisms which have been levied against the Hunter approach. Rather than assuming the existence of a generalized power elite, the method admits the possibility that there may be different power structures existing in varying issue areas and under varying conditions. Informants are asked to rate particular individuals, or groups, or organizations in terms of their influence within a particular issue area. Clark (1968) has reported the use of this methodology for a study of decision-making that involved fifty-one American communities.

Influence Structure Analysis

Bales (1970: 62) has suggested that "useful inferences concerning the relative power of persons in a group can often be made by observing who speaks to whom." What Bales has termed "power" corresponds to the definition of "influence" used in the current study.

Commonly individuals who reach the highest amounts of participation do so by the use of relatively long monologues during which they address the group as a whole. If the individual addresses a high rate of interaction to the group as a whole, he is attempting to

exercise influence with the group. More generally, "to take up time speaking in a small group is to exercise power over the other members for at least the duration of the time taken, regardless of the content (Bales, 1970: 76)." Further, "within the small group the time taken by a given member in a given session is practically a direct index of the amount of power he has attempted to exercise in that period (Bales, 1970: 76)."

The method which Bales (1970) has developed of simultaneously classifying the quality of an act, who performs it, and in relation to whom, is called Interaction Process Analysis (I. P. A.). In the original development of the method, Bales (1950) maintained that the set of categories provided in a general-purpose standard set of categories for observation and analysis, rather than a series of special categories, each particularly fitted for a particular kind of group or a particular hypothesis. Recent revisions in the categories, Bales (1970), were undertaken to facilitate the transfer of scores out of categories with high frequencies into the smaller frequency categories where they are needed for increased reliability and to provide important additional information. The revised categories for Interaction Process Analysis are shown in Figure 2.

An examination of the categories of I. P. A. will help to clarify how the system is operated. To say, for example, that an individual "gives information" (Category 6) does not indicate the content of that information. Similarly, to say that a person "agrees" (Category 3) is not to say what he agrees with in terms of idea content.

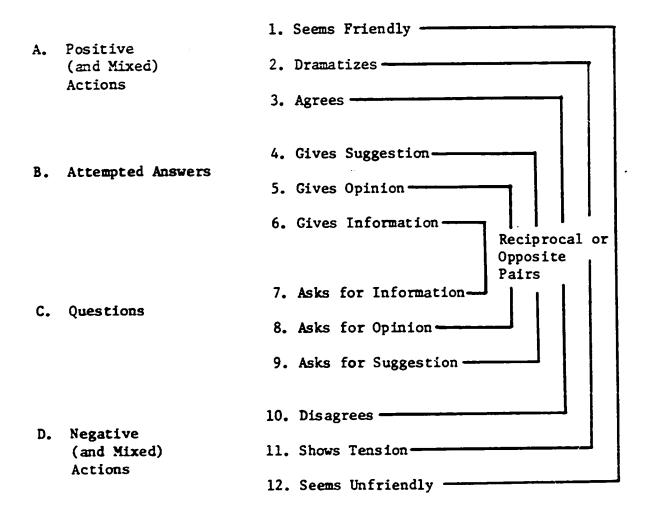


Figure 2
Categories for Interaction Process Analysis

Although Bales provided a detailed discussion of how each of the categories is defined, he noted that "much of the operation of scoring is intuitive and very close to common sense (Bales, 1970: 94)." To be scored, an act must be sufficiently complete to permit interpretation and reaction to the content and to the speaker. The relative ease of usage was one of the primary reasons for the adoption of the Bales approach in the current study. Second, the method has been used for the analysis of interaction involving a great number of groups varying widely in composition.

At the University of Alberta, studies completed by Matthews (1967), Molyneux (1965), and Hemphill (1968) provide examples of the original Bales categories being used for research related to school board meetings. Such groups are similar in size to the executive of the students' councils that were considered in the current study.

Research Relating Selected Variables to Membership in Power and Influence Structures

A number of studies have investigated the relationships existing between membership in a power or influence structure and the
variables of office holding, social class, attitudes toward the
political process, values, and perception of power structure membership. Findings from some of these studies are reported below.

Office holding and power. Traditional concepts about the nature of power and policy-making conform to what Kimbrough (1964) termed the "formal institution-association concept or model." Two of the main assumptions upon which this concept is based are:

- (a) The predominant power in public policy is the institution of government. The persons elected or appointed to official positions in the formal decision-making structure hold the most actual power . . . •
- (b) Basic . . . policy decisions are established in the formal meetings of the legislative groups, boards, and agencies which are legally clothed with authority to adopt binding policies (Kimbrough, 1964: 13).

The findings of Hunter's (1953) study of Regional City seriously challenged the accuracy of this "institution-association" concept. The predominant policy-making power resided not with the official policy makers but with an informal structure of leaders drawn largely from the industrial, commercial, and financial interests of the city. Actual decision-making processes made a mockery of the assumption that important decisions are taken during formal meetings of the official policy makers.

In sharp contrast to Hunter's (1953) findings, Dahl's (1961) study of decision-making in New Haven found that direct influence was highly specialized, and to a great extent it reposed in the hands of public officials. In contrast to the reputational technique used by Hunter, Dahl used an issue-analysis technique wherein three issue areas in New Haven politics were studied in depth.

As a result of the conclusions of researchers such as Walton (1966) which pointed to the many weaknesses inherent in single method studies, there have been several studies which utilized more than one approach to the identification of community leaders. Presthus (1964) concluded that the decisional approach resulted in the identification of several governmental officials as power holders who were, he found on the basis of evidence from a reputational approach, exercising purely functionary roles rather than making actual decisions. Thus

he concluded that "the two methods were better conceived as mutually supportive means of ascertaining power (Presthus, 1964: 59)."

Kimbrough (1964) also recommended utilization of both techniques, as did the researchers in two studies completed at the University of Alberta: Housego (1964) and Matthews (1969).

Social class and power. Hunter (1953) and Dahl (1961) both found that the policy-makers commonly were individuals from the upper social classes. However, Dahl (1961: 238), after reviewing the evidence in his New Haven research which linked social standing and political influence, commented that

The relation between social standing and political influence illustrates some points that apply to other resources as well. Thus a threshold is not uncommon with respect to other resources too; . . . beyond a certain level an increase in resources is not always associated with increased influence . . . Moreover, to have a resource does not mean that it will be used to the full simply to gain influence over government officials and their decisions.

Wildavsky (1964: 297), in relation to the question of the relationship between power and social class, concluded that

Relatively high social and economic status may be a general conditioning factor which gives people in these categories an advantage. They have the education and background which encourages interest and activity as an obligation. They develop the social and communication skills which facilitate activity. And this increases the confidence they already have. Some individuals with less social and economic status can and do break out of the cycle which keeps their participation in community affairs low . . . but this break probably requires a special effort.

In the Presthus (1964) study of decision-making in "Edgewood" and "Riverview," most of the individuals in either power structure possessed disproportionate amounts of power resources, including high social class, high income, and high educational attainment.

Another major study which found an association between leader-ship and power resources, especially social class, was conducted by Agger, Goldrich, and Swanson (1964). They found in four cities of the southern and western United States that middle and upper classes generally were over-represented among active influentials and that the lower classes were under-represented. Representation differences were most sharply defined in southern cities. These differences were attributed in part to the presence of disadvantaged Negro elements.

Values and power. Means (1969: 44) introduced the issue of values as follows: "The difficulties in value studies are myriad. One of the most serious is that no one seems to agree on how to define value." Similarly, Gue (1971: 18) concluded that "each authority . . . seems to coin his own definitions, and many then proceed to construct instruments to measure whatever term was used at the outset." Nor is there general agreement on the relationship between values and the related concepts of attitudes and beliefs. Each of these terms requires some clarification before proceeding with an examination of research which has related values and power.

In the present study the definition of attitude adopted was that advocated by Rokeach (1968: 112): "a relatively enduring organization of beliefs around an object or situation predisposing one to respond in some preferential manner." The position that an attitude is an organization of beliefs requires clarification of the term "beliefs." Beliefs were defined as "those phenomena which are accepted by the individual as real or possible, true or false, correct or incorrect, without necessarily being accompanied by objective evidence

or a commitment to action (Gue, 1971: 19)."

McGuire (1968:15) identified two courses which have been pursued in theoretical discussions relating the concepts of attitudes and values: "values seen as broader attitudes" and "values as components of attitudes." The definition of values adopted for the present study was based on the former approach: "the normative standards by which human beings are influenced in their choice among alternative courses of action which they perceive (Jacob, Flink, and Schuchman, 1962: 27)." Included in this conception of values is the idea that values are normative, that they encompass the concept of choice among alternatives with an implication of betterness among choices, and that they are determinants of action. The importance of learning and of perception is also indicated.

Two or more values may be organized together to form a value system. In conducting research on value systems, the first problem is to find a way to measure value systems. In the current study, values were studied from the perspective of a value system and the methodology that was used is discussed in Chapter 3.

Variations in definition of the value-related terms and in research methodology for measuring value systems limit the usefulness of a survey involving particular orientations to value systems and to power. However, it may be said that there is evidence of increasing interest in the study of relationships between values and involvement in decision-making. Agger, Goldrich, and Swanson (1964) differentiated between "power structures" and "regimes" at the local level. The former term was used to draw attention to the distribution of power in the community and the ideology of the political leadership. The latter

was used to refer to the "rules of the game" or values prevalent throughout the system. Evidence was presented to show that the structure of decision-making and the local value system may operate independently.

basis of the ethos which they exhibited. Thus, citizens adhering to a "Protestant ethos and middle-class political style" are felt to act differently in the political arena than those having an ethos derived from immigrant and working-class values.

Clark (1968) reported that researchers involved in The International Studies of Values in Politics are currently investigating the values and involvement in community activities of about one thousand political leaders in four different countries.

Thus, little research has been undertaken which examines the values of individuals who were found to be power holders. The research tradition has been one where researchers were content to identify leaders and to classify them according to whether or not they were office holders. To some extent the lack of valid and reliable instruments for determining values has hindered research.

evident in Dahl's (1961) New Haven study that political attitudes, such as confidence in one's capacity to influence the governmental processes, i.e. a feeling that one is politically efficacious, were associated with a high level of political participation. Indeed, "participation and political confidence evidently reinforce one another (Dahl, 1961: 287)." The overall importance of confidence to political

between middle and working class strata, if level of political confidence is considered. Registered voters with similar confidence levels participated at about the same rate in local affairs whether they had middle or working class power resources. Wildavsky (1964) also found that a high level of political activity was associated with a feeling of political efficacy. Using the same scale as a measure of alienation, Presthus (1964) found that those who ranked low on alienation, i.e. felt politically efficacious, were more likely to have participated in the making of important decisions.

An association between office holding on the students' council and a feeling of being politically efficacious was found in studies done by MacLeod (1966) and Benoit (1967).

Perceptions of power structure members. Bonjean (1963), by examining the reputational choices of top leaders, observed a modification in the membership of the power structure. When reputational choices of the top leaders were compared with other choices, he found that the two groups perceived different individuals as being the top leaders. However, Preston (1969), using the same methodology, found substantial agreement between the selections of top leaders and selections made by other individuals.

A POLITICAL DECISION-MAKING MODEL

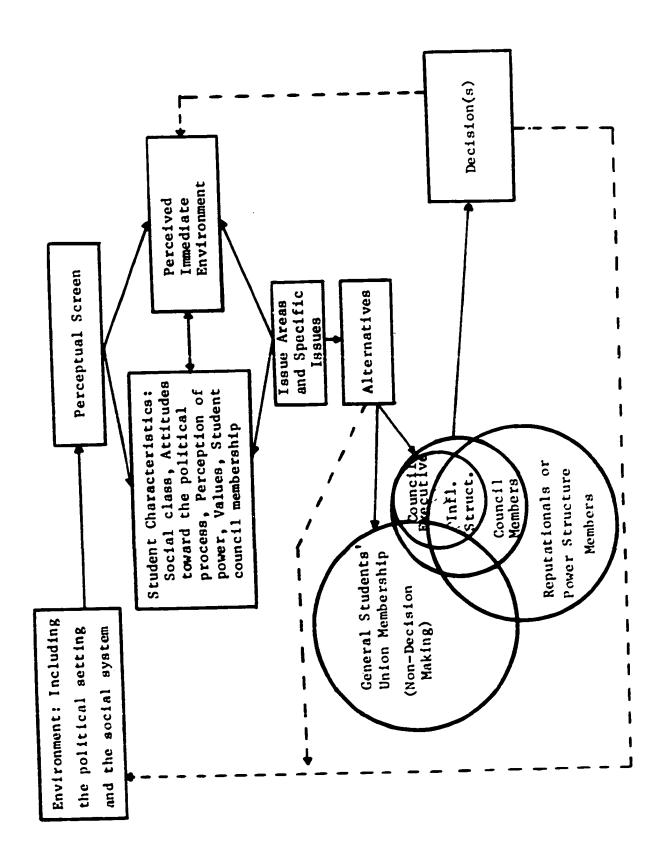
A number of the findings from the preceding survey of research related to power and influence structures, office holding and power, attitudes toward the political process and power, social class and power, and values and power may be applicable to the study of power and

influence structures within students' unions. The students' union of a school may be viewed as a subsystem operating within the broader organizational environment; in the same general sense that power and influence structures operate within such decision-making bodies as a city council or a school board, they may be said to be operational for a students' union. On the other hand, differences in political setting, age, and experience of the students' union members may result in factors, other than those examined in community power studies, playing important roles in students' union decision-making.

Students' council may be studied with similar approaches to those used by community power students, Figure 3 presents a model which is intended to indicate some of the possible relationships extant between student characteristics, environmental considerations, and the decision processes. The model includes a number of variables which previous research in community power structures has examined and suggests possible links between these variables and membership in the power and/or the influence structure. In examining the model it is evident that a limited number of the possible variables have been included for consideration. However, such variables as school climate, existing authority structures, and the influence of social groupings among students could all be subsumed under the category of "perceived immediate environment."

Behavior at any given time tends to be a product of all involvements past and present, both within the organizational setting and the larger environment. In the model the larger environment is pictured as including the political setting and the social system.

Figure 3
A Political Decision-Making Model



All stimuli from the environment are indicated as being directed to the perceptual screen, where they are then subject to the process of selective perception wherein the perceiver responds only to a small portion of the sensory information provided by the environment.

Other factors which impinge upon the screen and which act as limits to perception include the frequency of previous experiences with particular stimulus responses, the extent to which such factors have been reinforced, characteristic ways of organizing stimulus patterns and contemporary factors prevailing at the moment of perception (Secord and Backman, 1964).

Further, involvements past and present are seen as the primary determinants of the student perceptions of the selected characteristics including social class, attitudes toward the political process, sense of power, values, and students' council membership.

In the model, within any given issue area, the student characteristics are shown as interacting with the perceived immediate environment to produce a particular issue and in turn to determine alternatives that will be considered by the students who are influential in determining decisional outcomes.

The overlapping circles in Figure 3 indicate the various publics which react to issue alternatives. Taken as a group, the circles represent all the students' union members within a school.

The largest of the circles portrays that portion of the students' union which is not involved in the decision process after the alternatives have become apparent. However, their non-involvement is specific to their perceptions of any issue or issue area and is therefore subject to change. Within this circle are also included the

alienated and apathetic students who may not be aware of the existence of alternatives or of issues.

The second largest circle portrays the students who have been nominated as power structure members. The basic criterion for membership in this group may be operationally stated as nomination as a leader by at least ten students. Membership within this group of reputationals may vary within the issue areas and even from one issue to another.

The third largest circle is the group of students' council members, while the smallest circle represents the council executive.

The shaded area of the council executive circle represents those members of the executive who are also members of the influence structure for the students' union.

The purpose of overlapping the circles is to indicate that within the overall students' union membership there are various roles which provide differential involvement in decision-making. For example, some reputationals that are general members of the union, some reputationals who are council members, and even some reputationals on the council executive are not involved in the decision processes. Similarly, some of the council members are reputationals; some are also executive members; and a few are members of the influence structure.

within the model, feedback loops have been included in three areas. First, there is feedback to the environment as various alternatives become known to the members within the students' union. As indicated in Figure 3, this type of feedback occurs prior to the making of the decision. The feedback to the environment may result in

modifications of the views held by some students and by other publics, with the result that the final decision is different from what it would have been without broader involvement. Second, there is feedback in two directions after a decision has been reached: to the immediate environment and to the larger environment. This feedback may also modify subsequent decisions and influence the involvement of the various publics.

Hypotheses

For the present study a number of research hypotheses related to students' union power structures were developed within the general framework suggested by the model. These hypotheses examined the proportion of executive members in the power structure in relation to the rest of the students' union membership, compared student characteristics of both groups, and also considered the question of whether separate power structures existed in different issue areas. Hypotheses related to student's political efficacy and values were also tested, comparing these factors for members of the influence structures and for the other students.

It was not possible to investigate all of the possible relationships that were suggested by the model within the scope of one study, given limitations of time and of resources. In developing hypotheses, the researcher restricted consideration of relationships to those suggested by analogy in the preceding literature survey. In accordance with the usage advocated by Siegel (1956: 7), the research hypotheses were derived from the theory under examination and from the literature. Where null hypotheses were stated, this was done with the express

purpose of rejecting them where the evidence so warranted.

Hypothesis 1.0. There is no significant difference in the number of power holders in different issue areas.

Hypothesis 2.0. A significantly greater proportion of students' council members than of non-executive members are included in the power structure.

Hypothesis 3.0. The perceptions of students with reputational power of the students' union power structure do not differ significantly from those of other students.

Hypothesis 4.0. Power structure members have a significantly higher social class than the other students' union members.

Hypothesis 5.0. Power structure members have a significantly more favorable attitude toward the political process than other students' union members.

Hypothesis 6.0. Power structure members have a significantly more favorable attitude toward the political process than other students' union members.

Hypothesis 7.0. There is no significant difference between the value scores of power structure members and those obtained by other students' union members on the revised "Value Profile" scale.

Separate tests of the subscales are presented as Hypotheses 7.1, 7.2, 7.3, and 7.4.

Hypothesis 7.1. There is no significant difference between

the value scores of power structure members and those obtained by other students on the "Acceptance of Authority" subscale.

Hypothesis 7.2. There is no significant difference between the value scores of power structure members and those obtained by other students on the "Need-determined Expression vs. Value-determined Restraint" subscale.

Hypothesis 7.3. There is no significant difference between the value scores of power structure members and those obtained by other students on the "Equalitarianism" subscale.

Hypothesis 7.4. There is no significant difference between the value scores of power structure members and those obtained by other students on the "Individualism" subscale.

SUMMARY OF CHAPTER 2

Influence and power were defined and research was surveyed to ascertain possible ways of measuring these concepts. It was suggested that construction of control graphs would provide an overall picture of the members' perceptions of the levels at which power is exercised.

A number of the variations of the reputational technique which have been used in studies of community power structures were presented. The reputational approach, in spite of a number of disadvantages, appeared to offer a reliable measure of a power structure.

The Bales Interaction Process Analysis technique was proposed as the measure of an influence structure. Specifically, by considering the relative amounts of interaction initiated by various group members,

information is gained about their relative influence.

After considering research related to the variables of office holding, social class, values, and attitudes toward the political process, a model was presented for political decision-making in a students' union. Decisions were seen to be made by students who were members of the power and influence structures or of either structure. Some of these students were also members of the formally designated decision-making body within the students' union.

The chapter concluded with the presentation of the research hypotheses for the study. These hypotheses were derived by analogy from the literature surveyed and from a decision-making model.

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Chapter 3

METHODOLOGY

INTRODUCTION

The present study of power and influence structures within students' unions was conducted at two composite high schools in Edmonton, Canada. Throughout the following report of the findings, these schools have been referred to as School "A" and School "B."

The actual collection of the data involved two phases. The first phase entailed collection of information by questionnaire. Student responses provided the information which formed the basis for categorizing the students according to whether or not they were members of the power structure. The second phase involved the use of Bales' Interaction Process Analysis at students' council executive meetings in order to obtain interaction information that subsequently was used to decide which executive members were the influentials.

The starting time for the study was early in December. This timing meant that a period had elapsed after the start of the school year, which allowed for the establishment of power and influence structures within each students' union. Data collection was terminated after a re-test questionnaire was administered to a small portion of one sample at the beginning of April.

SAMPLE AND DATA COLLECTION

The two schools selected for the study were chosen partly on the basis of convenience for the researcher and his assistants in terms of distance for travel from the university. This factor was deemed important in light of the necessity of having an assistant who was trained in the use of interaction recording at the executive meetings that were observed. The researcher was fortunate in being able to obtain the services of two doctoral students who both had previous training in the use of Bales' Interaction Process Analysis, but with their own research commitments the importance of proximity was considerable.

within the two schools, the samples were selected so as to obtain a cross-section of students that would encompass all programs offered and would also include students from all grade levels. In School "A" the final sample of student questionnaires totaled 571. In addition, twenty-one questionnaires which were not complete or which presented "type" responses were not included. In School "B" the final sample size was 590. Nine questionnaires were discarded from School "B." It should be noted as a point of clarification that these sample sizes refer to the multiple choice sections of the questionnaire. In addition there was a separate section which involved gathering names for use in compilation of the power structure. This part of the questionnaire was left completely blank by 33 students from School "A" and by 21 students from School "B."

Table 1 presents a summary description of both samples by age, sex, and grade. The original sample selection was predicated on the

Table 1 General Description of Samples for Schools "A" and "B"

							Age				Crado	
School	Sample Size	Sample as % of School Enrolment	Male	Sex le Female	14 and Under	15	15 16 17	17	18 and 10 11 12 Over	10	11	12
v.:	571	37.1	311	260	29	206	206 166 133	133	37	227	227 175	169
18	290	29.5	310	280	30	187	187 195 149	149	29	175	175 221	194

both schools. While this goal was surpassed in School "A" where 37.1 per cent of the students were included in the final sample, School "B" had only 29.5 per cent in the final sample. This lower figure for the second school was caused by an outbreak of influenza among students during the time period in which the questionnaire was administered.

INSTRUMENTATION

Students' Union Questionnaire

The main instrument developed for the study was the Students' Union Questionnaire. It included various scales and subscales to provide measures of the independent variables under consideration. The type of scales used are summated rating scales (also called Likert-type) based on groupings of a number of items which are considered to be approximately equal in value for the construction of scales. Respondents are assumed to provide answers which accurately measure the intensity of an attitude. Selltiz et al. (1959) stated that summated rating scales do not claim to be more than ordinal scales. Thus they make possible the ranking of individuals but do not provide an accurate basis for inferring how much individuals differ. Siegel (1956) stated that, with ordinal scaling, hypotheses are most appropriately tested through the use of nonparametric statistics.

The first section of the questionnaire was designed to provide basic demographic data. The Gough (1949) "Home Index Scale" items, as modified for Canadian usage by Elley (1961), were included as the

measure of social class. Further minor modifications were incorporated to update the scale. For example, one question was changed so as to ask about ownership of a color television rather than a black and white set. Overall, the scale contained twenty questions related to the income of parents, parental education, property ownership, and social and recreational life style. Benoit (1967), Cathcart (1967), Clark (1969), and Lavers (1970) used this scale in studies conducted at the University of Alberta involving high school students.

The second section of the questionnaire presented a minor adaptation of the items used by Tannenbaum and Kahn (1957) in their control graphs. These items were used as the basis for constructing the control graphs. Such graphs presented a general picture of the power structure as perceived by the students' union members that were included in the samples.

Section three of the questionnaire presented the Bales and Couch (1969) Value Profile in a form modified especially for the present study. As Gue (1969: 19) indicated, "the measurement of values or value orientations is a complex, uncertain and frustrating process."

Numerous attempts have been made within the past fifteen years to develop and test approaches to the study of values. Among the more prominent studies are those of Morris (1956), Kluckhohn (1961), Raths (1966), Rokeach (1968), and Bales and Couch (1969). The Bales and Couch (1969) instrument was selected for the present study in view of the apparent content validity which was attained through the use of a large item pool. The Value Profile incorporated items from many of the earlier value studies: initially the authors started with a pool of 872 items. Duplicate items were eliminated and through a subsequent

factor analysis of results obtained from a sample of college students four value factors were isolated. A pilot study offered an opportunity to determine the suitability of the items, in terms of content and wording, for a high school sample. Although only 28 of the original 40 items in the profile were included in the questionnaire for the present study, the original subscale names were retained.

The "Acceptance of Authority" subscale contains items primarily adapted from Adorno's (1950) work on authoritarianism. The "Need-determined Expression vs. Value-determined Restraint" subscale presents items stated in terms of moral relativism and present-time orientation—items not unrelated to a hedonistic viewpoint. The key assumption in the statement of icems in the "Equalitarianism" subscale is that for the individual the authority source is the group as a whole. In this subscale the group is also the object of identification. The "Individualism" subscale items suggest that one or two individuals are the source of authority rather than the group.

Also contained in the third section of the questionnaire were political efficacy items and a sense of power scale which was based on Kolesar's (1967) "Sense of Powerlessness" subscale. There were eight items included in the political efficacy scale rather than the four found in previous scales. The original four political efficacy items were devised by Campbell (1952) and were modified for use with high school students by Knill (1963). The additional four items were taken from the Kolesar (1967) "Sense of Powerlessness" subscale and were included as the result of a factor analysis conducted on returns from the pilot study.

The first three sections of the Students' Union Questionnaire

taken together provided the data for measuring office holding on students' council, social class, student values, attitudes toward the political process and sense of power.

The final section of the instrument solicited information about reputational leaders both within the students' union, generally, and also within a number of selected issue areas.

The instrument as administered to each of the samples is included in Appendix A.

Decision Questionnaire

A short questionnaire was prepared and administered to students' council members in order to obtain their perceptions about how decisions were made in the students' union. Respondents were asked to indicate whether decisions were made primarily by the executive, the council as a whole, the student body, some small groups of students, or some combination of these groups. Further, the students were asked to name any particular students which they felt were linked with a particular decision, and they were also invited to comment on any of their answers.

MEASUREMENT OF THE DEPENDENT VARIABLES

The dependent variables studied in the present research were membership in the power and in the influence structures within a students' union. A brief step-by-step discussion of how the dependent variables were measured follows.

Step 1: Nomination of Power Structure Members

All members of the particular sample under study were asked as

part of the questionnaire a modified version of the Hunter (1953) reputational question: "If there were an issue before the students' union that required a *decision* by a group of student leaders - leaders that nearly everyone would accept - which students in the school would you choose?" In this form the question elicits results which have been termed mass sociometry by Knill (1964).

The succeeding questionnaire item asked students to name the individuals who were felt to be important in the specified issue areas of "athletic program," "social program," and "non-council decisions." The latter area concerned decisions which did not specifically concern the council in terms of the traditional role definition for a students' council.

Student nominations were then tallied, and for both the general reputational nominations and the specific issue nominations students who received at least ten nominations were designated as being members of the power structure for the particular category in which the nominations were received. All of the other respondents were then designated as "other students."

Step 2: Observation of Influence Structures

The study of influence structures within the samples was restricted to an examination of influence as observed within the formal setting of students' council executive meetings. The methodology used in the determination of influence structures precluded study of influence structures for the entire councils. The limited duration of the study and the use of two samples raised barriers to the use of alternative methods which would require close familiarity

with the entire membership of each students' council.

In order to derive influence structures at each of the schools, eight council executive meetings were observed and interaction was categorized by a research assistant according to the categories of Bales' (1970) Interaction Process Analysis. According to Bales, a great deal of information about the functioning of a group may be inferred from an analysis of the interaction. The measure that was chosen for influence exerted was the total interaction initiated by each of the participants in relation to the other group members. Students who scored in the top third for their group on interaction initiated were designated as members of the influence structure. This methodology had the obvious weakness that stems from giving equal weight to all interaction initiated, when in actuality a member may be very important in issue resolution, yet may interact relatively little. The contribution to a discussion of such a member may in fact be decisive to the outcome, whereas some other members may be garrulous without obtaining support from the group for their ideas.

THE PILOT STUDY

The value instrument developed by Bales and Couch (1969) had item selection determined in large part by the results of factor analyses of data gained from a sample of university under-graduates. It was deemed advisable, therefore, to undertake a pilot study in order to ascertain the appropriateness of the items in terms of content and vocabulary level for high school students. In addition to the value instrument, the other questions from the proposed instrument were also included to determine whether any difficulties with wording or format

existed with these items. The administration of the complete instrument also provided information about the length of time that most students would require to complete the questionnaire.

In total, 182 students from grades 10, 11, and 12 from a rural composite high school participated in the pilot study. This sample constituted slightly under 40 per cent of the total school population. Seven of the student answer sheets were deleted from the sample because of incomplete or inaccurate returns.

In order to obtain an indication of student reaction to the questionnaire items, especially in terms of the appropriateness of the wording, discussions were arranged with a group of approximately twenty students who had indicated a willingness to discuss the contents of the questionnaire. The researcher and an assistant, who helped with the administration of the questionnaire, had also asked each of the classes which were involved to indicate any of the words or questions that were not understood.

As a result of the student reactions and also of a subsequent factor analysis of the data from the pilot study, a number of revisions were incorporated into the final draft of the questionnaire. Considering that several changes had been made in wording and in item selection, it was deemed advisable to again conduct a factor analysis for each of the samples in the main research. Results of these factor analyses are reported in Tables 2 and 3 for Schools "A" and "B" respectively. For each sample, six factors were identified, which together accounted for 49.1 per cent of the total variance at School "A" and for 49.0 per cent of the total variance at School "B." In Tables 2 and 3 the factors were designated as follows. Items 1 to 9 constituted the "Acceptance

Table 2

Varimax Rotation Six Factor Analysis Value, Political Efficacy
And Sense of Power Items

School "A"

		Factor						
[te=	Communalities	1 .	2	3	4	5	6	
1	. 477	.638	.233	.026	001	117	.026	
2	.449	.653	.066	:089	.091	038	.013	
3	.537	.698	.168	106	.021	097	.032	
4	.473	.644	.207	018	.070	105	00	
5	.432	. 580	.258	070	.050	.007	.14	
6	.411	.623	.045	.071	089	.033	.07	
7	.413	.628	.082	.077	031	064	01	
έ	.429	.634	.114	.086	004	052	.06	
9	.401	.621	.043	.062	.012	010	.10	
10	.325	.009	.007	043	.118	. 538	.14	
11	. 469	054	029	.159	.060	.660	.01	
12	.361	165	.112	.020	.067	.560	.05	
13	.355	026	026	067	.117	. 579	01	
14	.314	099	022	.169	.096	.513	.05	
15	.352	008	.040	.055	.142	.555	.13	
16	.451	070	.116	006	.654	.068	01	
17	.430	018	.130	025	.632	.103	02	
18	.303	003	.065	.065	.529	.122	07	
19	.427	022	.049	.042	.640	.110	.02	
20	.219	.022	008	.059	.394	.179	.16	
21	.287	.217	131	.077	. 440	.039	.14	
22	.276	.014	050	.069	.502	.023	.12	
_	.235	001	019	.066	.475	.033	.0:	
23	.473	.106	.031	.131	008	.119	.69	
24	.422	.029	002	.083	.044	.083	. 6:	
25	.421	.018	.005	.000	.147	.105	.6	
26 27	.333	.058	.045	036	.125	100	.5	
_	.386	.062	.051	.048	.067	.179	.5	
28	.283	.207	.092	.388	.256	.102	.0	
29	.415	044	198	.605	.048	038	.0	
30	.453	092	183	.629	.113	017	.0	
31	.335	.198	.120	.527	027	.018	.0	
32	.468	.007	257	.633	010	001	.0	
33	.554	.007	141	.725	.065	.066	0	
34	.605	.054	089	.764	.056	.071	.0	
35	.505	.002	207	.657	.066	.153	.0	
36	.437	.104	.642	104	.039	049	0	
37	.581	.137	.740	117	025	010	.0	
38	.480	.115	.650	180	047	.048	.0	
39	.476	.148	.655	152	.030	.019	.0	
40	.546	.215	.692	119	.051	.013	.0	
41	.364	.195	.559	066	.053	.071	0	
42 43	.453	.137	.648	069	.084	.009	.0	

Table 3

Varimax Rotation Six Factor Analysis Value, Political Efficacy
And Sense of Power Items

School "B"

- .		Factor					
[tem	Communalities	1	2	3	4	5	6
1	. 479	.666	.114	.104	.002	101	031
2	. 429	.640	.096	.052	.068	050	001
3	. 469	. 641	.195	031	.034	125	.034
4	.446	.639	.164	.072	008	073	.003
5	. 402	. 597	.142	.103	.086	.073	.051
6	. 430	.616	.141	132	.079	044	.067
7	.391	.608	.050	.027	037	126	024
8	.464	.609	.167	104	.011	192	.130
9	.257	. 483	.044	.033	.009	.078	.118
10	.223	.034	029	.036	050	.463	.048
ii	.444	054	069	022	.098	.652	.034
12	.378	157	053	.100	068	.579	011
13	.377	128	100	.145	077	.565	. 066
14	.386	144	.039	.082	.134	.581	.037
15	.444	.038	051	.224	.114	.613	.036
16	. 476	.112	037	.644	038	.174	125
17	. 509	.059	035	.683	087	.147	097
18	. 428	.012	041	.635	.068	.132	.010
19	.332	070	.083	.557	.071	.045	.056
20	.331	.067	055	.555	. 088	.080	.013
20	.247	.025	.070	.437	.106	010	.197
	.281	025	.015	.500	.052	011	.166
22	. 245	.016	026	.472	.091	.040	.107
23	.414	.134	.022	064	.083	.109	.610
24	.467	.095	.039	013	.063	.098	. 66
25	.370	.012	017	.169	064	.050	. 578
26	.295	.012	.039	.172	048	096	.50
27	.478	.013	.035	.060	035	.044	.68
25	.215	.210	.033	.164	.375	034	. 03
29	.401	033	136	.007	.579	089	.19
30	. 457	056	095	.007	.657	104	.04
31	.235	.154	.159	.128	.405	025	06
32	. 457	029	152	.065	.646	.101	02
33	.544	.035	194	.043	.695	.120	07
34		.041	147	.024	.721	.077	08
35	. 557	.002	290	.052	. 587	.155	-01
36	.455	.141	.674	.049	072	080	.02
37	.489	.183	.725	001	079	.021	.03
38	. 566	.094	.672	045	205	032	.03
39	. 507		.661	042	128	085	.02
40	.506	.206 .290		.026	096	057	03
41	. 562	.043	.681 .523	008	076	013	01
42	.281		. 683	.005	098	071	.10
43	. 521	.171	.003	.003	070	0/1	

of Authority" subscale, items 10 to 15 the "Need-determined Expression vs. Value-determined Restraint" subscale, items 16 to 23 the "Equalitarianism" subscale and items 24 to 28 the "Individualism" subscale.

The "Political Efficacy" scale items were 29 to 36 and the "Sense of Power" scale items were from 37 to 43.

Numnally (1967: 357) suggested that only variables which have loadings of .30 or higher should be included: "loadings of any smaller size . . . represent less than ten per cent of the variance." All of the items in the subscales and scales had loadings which exceeded this minimum.

REPLICATION

Replication was utilized within the study design by treating the students from each of the two schools as separate subsamples.

Independent parallel analyses were conducted with each subsample.

Replication as a methodology was used in testing all of the hypotheses formulated for testing in the study.

Kerlinger (1964: 403-404), in discussing the use of two samples in a survey research project, stated the primary advantage of replication: "By using two separate samples . . . the results of one survey could be checked against the results of the other." However, Yarrow, Campbell, and Burton (1968: 9-10) cautioned that highly consistent findings in replicated studies are necessary in order to substantiate research findings:

if . . . [a researcher] . . . has performed a nearly exact replication of his procedures and the outcome spells inconsistency, there is little justification for taking his findings seriously.

RELIABILITY

Estimates of reliability were obtained for the value subscales, the political efficacy scale, and the sense of power scale. No measures of reliability were obtained for the background information, social class, or control graph data.

Test-retest stability. There are a number of rather severe limitations associated with the use of test-retest measures involving such factors as the process of remeasurement itself, intensifying differences in expressed attitudes, and also the existence of a genuine attitude change between test administrations. Given these limitations, it was still decided to obtain stability coefficients for the value subscales, as little prior evidence of their reliability existed.

Nunnally (1970: 123) stated that "the reliability coefficient is usually an overestimate when determined by the retest method."

The elapsed period between the original administration of the questionnaire and the retest was approximately seven weeks. The obtained coefficients were as follows:

Acceptance of Authority	0.73
Need-determined Expression vs. Value-determined Restraint	0.55
Equalitarianism	0.57
Individualism	0.82

Internal consistency. The methods of determining internal consistency that were used include item-subscale intercorrelations and item intercorrelations. Item subscale scores were obtained for

the value subscales, the political efficacy, and sense of power scales. Each item was correlated with the factor within which it fell. The results for both schools in the study are reported in Tables 4 and 5. Correlations obtained at School "A" ranged from 0.460 to 0.756, and at School "B" the range was from 0.409 to 0.742. Thus the obtained correlations all fell within the range 0.30 to 0.80 that was suggested by Guilford (1965: 481).

Reliability coefficients from item intercorrelations were calculated for the value subscales and for the two scales. The formula used to calculate the reliability coefficient is identical to that which is used to compute Coefficient Alpha (Nunnally, 1967: 193-196):

$$r_{kk} = \frac{k(r_{ij})}{1 + (k-1) r_{ij}}$$

where r_{kk} = the reliability coefficient,

r = the average item intercorrelation,

k = the number of items on the test.

The obtained reliability coefficients for School "A" and School "B" are reported in Table 6. The range obtained varied from 0.61 to 0.83.

When compared to the 0.50 to 0.60 range proposed by Nunnally (1967) as being acceptable for the early stages of research, the above reliability measures were deemed to have provided adequate evidence of the reliability of the subscales and scales.

Table 4

Item-Scale Intercorrelations - Value Subscales

(School "A": n = 571) (School "B": n = 590)

Item	0	Acceptance of Authority		ermined ton vs. etermined	Equa taria		Individ- ualism	
	"A"	"B"	Resti "A"	raint "B"	"A"	"B"	"A"	"B"
1	.678	.673						
2	.659	.655						
3	.709	.674						
4	.679	.662						
5	.635	.615						
6	.615	.631						
7	.631	.615						
8	.649	.653						
9	.618	. 497						
10			.569	.499				
11			.679	.674	.•			
12			.557	.580				
13			.536	.566				
14			.558	.601				
15			.608	.647	527	.577		
16					.537	.608		
17					.537 .536	.639		
18					.648	.587		
19					.490	.582		
20					.524	.517		
21					.567	.558		
22					.491	.507		
23					• 7/4	• 50.	.684	.638
24							.640	.676
25							.633	.604
26							.544	. 53
27 28							.619	.673

Table 5

Item-Scale Intercorrelations for Political Efficacy and Sense of Power Scales

(School "A": n = 571) (School "B": n = 590)

****	Polit		Sense	
tem	Effic "A"	"B"	Pow "A"	rer "B"
29	.469	.460		
30	.635	.588		
31	.663	.650		
32	.497	.425		
33	.667	.665		
34	.711	.701		
35	.744	.708		
36	.672	.621		
37			.649	.698
38			. 756	.742
39			.692	.704
40			.689	.707
41			.733	.738
42			.605	.551
43			.661	. 709

Table 6

Reliability Coefficients for Value Subscales,
Total Value Scale, Political Efficacy Scale
and Sense of Power Scale

Subscale or Scale	School "A"	School "B"
Acceptance of Authority	0.83	0.81
Need-determined Expression vs. Value-determined Restraint	0.62	0.64
Equalitarianism	0.66	0.70
Individualism	0.61	0.61
Total Value Scale	0.74	0.72
Political Efficacy	0.79	0.75
Sense of Power	0.81	0.82

STATISTICAL TECHNIQUES

Factor analysis was utilized as a statistical technique contributing to the development of the instrument and also as a means of testing the reliability of portions of the instrument. As previously indicated, factor analysis was used both for data from the pilot study and for analysis of data for the samples of the main study.

The statistical tests used for the hypotheses of the study are described below. Exact significance levels are reported for the results of tests conducted on the data. The level of significance adopted for the study was p = 0.05.

Hypothesis 1.0. There is no significant difference in the number of power holders in different issue areas. This hypothesis was tested by the use of a chi-square one-sample test for "goodness of fit." In adopting this approach "the chi-square technique tests whether the observed frequencies are sufficiently close to the expected ones to be likely to have occurred under H_O (Siegel, 1956: 43)."

Hypothesis 2.0. A significantly greater proportion of students' council executive members than of non-executive members are included in the power structure. A chi-square two-sample test incorporating a correction for continuity was used to test the second hypothesis.

Hypothesis 3.0. The perceptions of students with reputational power of the students' union power structure do not differ significantly from those of other students. The third hypothesis was tested using Spearman's rank correlation coefficient (rho), a variant of Pearson's

product moment correlation, commonly used where the information to be analyzed is available in the form of ranks.

Hypothesis 4.0. Power structure members have a significantly higher social class than the other students' union members. This hypothesis was tested utilizing a chi-square test. The results of the chi-square test were used to determine the significance of differences between score distributions on the Gough Home Index Scale for power structure members and non-power structure members. For the purposes of calculating the chi-square, the Gough categories were collapsed with only the top three used. In the tables which involve this scale, the degrees of freedom indicate that this procedure was used.

Hypotheses 5.0, 6.0, 7.0, 7.1, 7.2, 7.3, and 7.4. These hypotheses compared differences in the attitudes and values of power structure members and those held by other students in the samples. The test that was used to obtain a measure of the significance of differences was the Mann-Whitney "U." Siegel (1956: 116) stated that the Mann-Whitney "U" test "is one of the most powerful of the non-parametric tests, and it is a most useful alternative to the parametric 't' test . . . when the measurement in the research is weaker than interval scaling."

Hypotheses related to differences in students' attitudes toward the political process, sense of power, and values were also tested, comparing the attitudes and values of leading influentials with those of other students in the samples. As all of the members of the influence structures were also members of the power structures, the tests for differences in social class that were conducted for the power structure

members did not need to be repeated for the members of the influence structures.

SUMMARY

Instrumentation, samples, and data collection, methods of measuring the dependent variables and of conducting data analysis were discussed in this chapter.

The main instrument used in the study, The Students' Union

Questionnaire, consisted of four sections. They dealt with background
data including items related to social class: a section designed to
obtain information about student perceptions of the control structure
existing in the students' union; a section containing the value subscales, the political efficacy, and sense of power scales; and a final
section designed to obtain information about membership in the power
structure of the students' union.

Finally, statistical tests for testing the research hypotheses were described for each hypothesis.

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Chapter 4

FINDINGS: STUDENTS' UNION POWER STRUCTURES

SELECTION OF REPUTATIONAL LEADERS

The students in both of the schools, as part of the Students'
Union Questionnaire, were asked to respond to the question: "If there
were an issue before the students' union that required decision by a
group of student leaders - leaders that nearly everyone would accept which students in the school would you select?" The question in this
form offers no direction as to whether students selected should be
members of the students' council, or the executive of that council, or
members of the students' union at large. In analyzing the answers, it
was arbitrarily decided that students who received at least ten nominations would be designated as the reputational leaders or power structure members within the students' union. The same criterion was used
for designating who were the power structure members in the selected
issue areas of athletics, social program, and non-council decisions.

A summary of the student responses to all of the questions that were related to reputational leadership is contained in Table 7.

Discussion of this table is necessary in order to understand the leadership situations that existed in both schools. First, from an examination of the table, it is evident that a similar number of students from each of the schools received the necessary ten nominations to be included in the students' union power structures. However, School "B" with about 500 more students to choose from than were enrolled in

Table 7

Summary of Students' Responses to Questionnaire Items Related to Reputational Leadership at Schools "A" and "B"

				Issue Area	Irea			
	"Larono"	"[8]	"Athletic	etic.	"Social Program"	lal ram"	"Non-Council Decisions"	ouncil ions"
			rog		,			
	11 411	"B"	"A"	"B"	V	"B"	"A"	
Raнponse	۷						•	5
Students Receiving Ten	18	20	13	19	13	16	٥	27
or More Nominactons			•	ò	143	196	178	179
Students Receiving Less	192	293	174	507	<u>}</u>) i		
than Ten Nominations			ć	00	67	29	14	80
	99	27	39	67	}			•
Non-Usable Kesponses	77	7.0	39	29	67	29	14	x 0
Council Position Named	5	i				Ć	73	7
"Students Selected from	16	ĸ	4	9	20	ע	77	•
Student Body"			Ċ	36	51	29	77	32
"hon't Know"	97	36	55	2	ļ 1		76	77
	32	27	55	43	19	7.7	07	
Other Responses		α,	152	102	182	175	251	238
No Response	103	00	1					

School "A" selected a slightly larger number of students as leaders in the "general" power structure. This pattern was continued in the nomination of leaders within the designated issue areas.

What about the students who received at least one nomination but failed to receive the ten nominations needed to be included as members of the power structure? An examination of Table 7 shows that, in terms of numbers, School "B" students nominated about one hundred more of their fellow students as leaders than was the case for School "A". It might have been expected that in the smaller school students would know each other better and consequently would be inclined to nominate more leaders than would be the case for the larger, and therefore theoretically more impersonal, school. It may be that School "A," which offers a wider variety of programs, has a somewhat more fragmented student body. Some evidence for this possibility exists in that within at least one of the vocational programs very few students were willing to nominate any students as leaders. One such student commented: "I have not paid my union fees and do not intend to until I SEE what the students' union is doing for ME." He did not nominate any leaders.

Another possible source of fragmentation existed in the differences of age and length of time spent at the two schools.

Comments of the grade ten students who did not nominate any leaders were often similar to the following: "This is my first year and I don't know anyone here." At the other end of the age and grade spectrum, several of the second-year grade twelve students commented that they did not know who the student leaders were this year.

Within both schools it appeared that some of the lack of knowledge about possible leaders was due to apathy on the part of the students. One student wrote: "Sir, I cannot fill this out because I don't have any people I would turn to in these situations because I don't give a damn." There was also the succinct statement: "Don't know, don't care, apathy personified."

Another grouping of student comments was related to the feeling that there were not students within the students' union who would be acceptable as leaders to the student body as a whole. A second-year grade twelve student explained it this way: "You cannot single out certain people who are considered leaders of this school. There are many different types of people in the school, I have been here for four years and not one year has there been one single group."

Yet another group refused to nominate students as leaders because they felt that the student body as a whole should be asked to make crucial decisions. Finally, a large group of students made no nominations and offered no explanations for their refusal.

One of the concerns of the study was to determine the extent to which leaders were considered to be "general" leaders, as opposed to being leaders within one issue area only. Tables 8 and 9 present a description of the degree of specialization in leadership according to the selected issue areas of "athletic program," "social program," and what was termed "non-council decisions." The latter decision area involved questions that affected several students in their relation—ships with teachers or with administrators within the school.

From Tables 8 and 9 it is apparent that "general" reputational leaders were also commonly power holders in the "social program" area and to a somewhat lesser extent in the "non-council" decision area.

The area of "athletic program" exhibited the greatest degree of

Table 8

Membership of General Reputationals in Power Structures for Selected Issue Areas

(School "A": n = 18)

General		Issue Area	
Reputational Students ¹	Athletic	Social	Non-Counci
Students ¹	Program	Program	Decisions
A	*	*	*
В .	*	*	*
С		*	
D	*	*	*
E		*	*
F		*	*
G		*	
Н		*	
I	*	*	
J		*	
K		*	
L			
м			
N			
0	*		
P			
Q			
R		*	

¹ Reputationals listed according to frequency of nomination.

Table 9

Membership of General Reputationals in Power Structures for Selected Issue Areas

(School "B": n = 20)

General		Issue Area	
Reputational Students 1	Athletic	Social	Non-Council
Students ¹	Program	Program	Decisions
A	*	*	*
В		*	*
С		*	*
D		*	*
E	*		*
F		*	*
G		*	
Н		*	*
I		*	*
J		*	
К		*	-
L	*	*	*
M			
N			*
0			
P		*	
Q			
R			-
S	*		
T			

¹ Reputationals listed according to frequency of nomination.

leadership specialization. In School "A" only five athletic power structure members were also nominated as "general" leaders, while in School "B" only four of the athletic power holders were also members of the general reputational grouping. Table 7 indicated that there were a total of 13 athletic power structure members in School "A" and 19 in School "B." Of the 13 from School "A," five were also members of the council executive. Of the 19 athletic leaders from School "B," only 3 were on the council executive.

A rather different proportion of the power structure members for the "social program" decision area were also considered as being "general" reputationals. Of the top 10 power figures in School "A," all were both "social program" reputationals and "general" reputationals. Eight of these social leaders were also executive members of the council executive. In School "B," 9 of the top 10 "social program" power holders were also selected as overall leaders and eight of these were members of the council executive.

The area of "non-council decisions" dealt with matters that involved students in a personal way with teachers and administrators, and in this decision area there was a general reluctance to nominate students for leadership roles. In School "A," there were 251 students who left this response category blank, and in School "B," 235 students did likewise. In view of these figures, it was to be expected that there would be fewer students receiving the necessary ten votes to become categorized as members of the power structure for this decision area. In actuality, only 6 students from School "A" and 10 students from School "B" received the necessary nominations.

The importance of the council executive in relationship to the

"non-council" power structure was evident. Of the students selected in this issue area from School "A," all were members of the council executive, while from School "B" 7 out of ten were executive members.

An examination of comments made about answers for the "non-council decisions" revealed that many students wished to see committees established to deal with emergent problems involving school governance. Further, it was generally agreed that such committees should have teachers, counsellors, administrators, and students as members. No suggestions, however, were made about the relative proportions each of these groups should have on these committees.

CONTROL GRAPHS

While Tannenbaum and Kahn (1957) defined control in terms of a completed act of influence, in terms of the definitions of power and influence adopted for the study the control graph more nearly presents a description of the "general" power structure than of the influence structure. The view expressed by Clark (1968) was accepted that the study of power structures implies a strategy for analyzing the system at one point in time while an influence structure is best analyzed by studying actual processes of influence as exercised over time.

Thus the second approach to the examination of the power structures for both of the students' unions was to construct control graphs. On a control graph the vertical axis shows the amount of control. For the present study the range of possible control levels varied from a level of "5," which indicated "a very great deal," to "1," which indicated that "little or no control" was perceived.

The horizontal axis presented the various hierarchical levels

in the students' unions. Constitutionally, for both of the schools all decisions made by the students' council or executive were subject to ratification or rejection by the principal, and it is for this reason that the position of "principal" was included in the hierarchy.

Figures 4 and 5 present the control graphs for the two samples.

In the presentation of the graphs, to facilitate comparison of the perceptions of the members of the power structure with those of all other students in the samples, the responses of these two groups have been separately presented.

In School "A" the principal was perceived as being quite powerful both by the members of the power structure and by the student body.

In School "B," while the membership perceived the principal as being quite powerful, the power holders felt that he had relatively little power. These differences were reflected in a difference of over a full category on the relative levels of control perceived by the two groups. Possibly this difference in perception may result from the fact that a representative of the administration other than the principal commonly attended council and executive meetings.

The two graphs showed that there was general agreement on the placement of the staff advisor by the students from School "B" while in School "A" some variance in opinion between the reputationals and the other students was evident. In both schools the advisor was viewed as being less powerful than the principal by all but the reputationals from School "B."

The executive of the council were considered to be very powerful by the power structure members from both schools. Such perceptions supported the study of the executive in order to obtain an indication

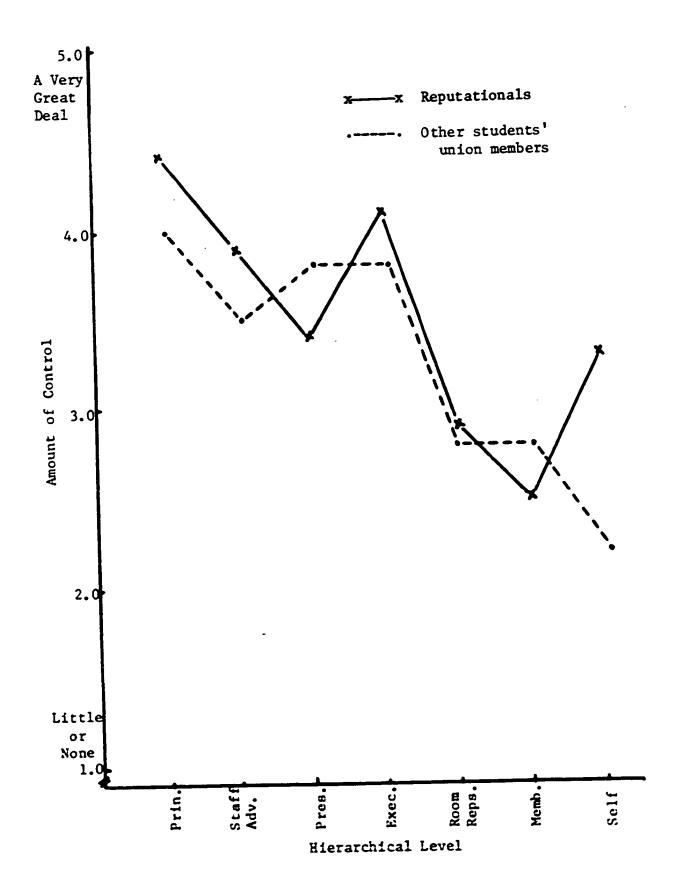


Figure 4
Control Graphs for School "A"

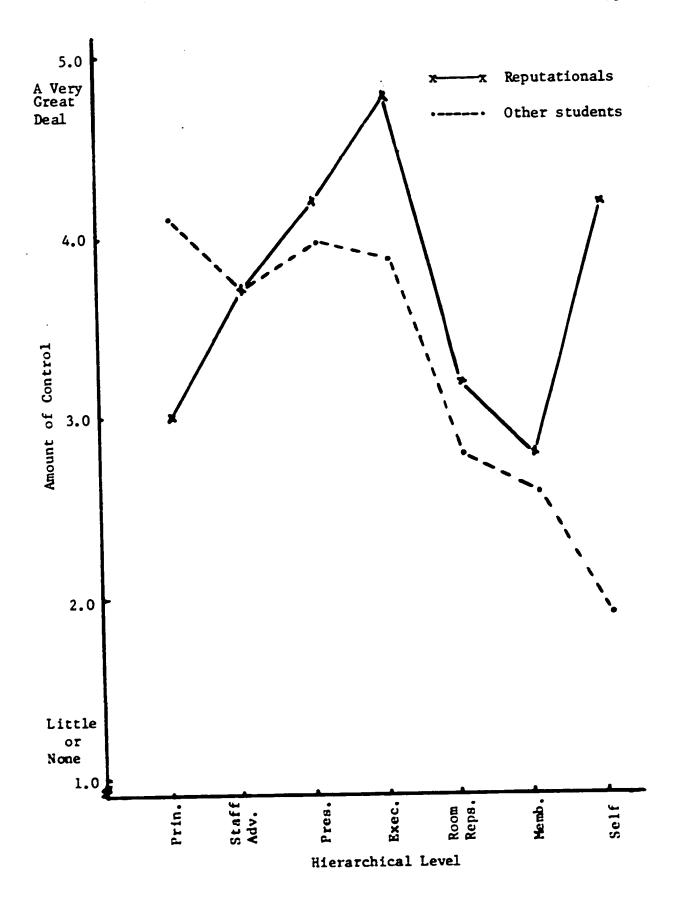


Figure 5

Control Graphs for School "B"

of who the influentials in the students' union were. For School "B," if the responses of the reputationals were considered, the executive were viewed as possessing the greatest amount of power. A somewhat lower level of power was accorded the executive by the reputationals from School "A." Informal discussions with some of the executive members from this school who were also reputationals revealed that they were dissatisfied with the level of their power relative to other hierarchical levels.

A relatively lower power position was accorded the room representatives within both of the schools. Although the combined voting strength of the room representatives at council meetings was considerable, students generally perceived their power as being little greater than that accorded to the membership of the students' union.

The final category on the control graph provided a measure of the self-perception of the individual rater who completed the questionnaire while the second last category indicated how the members, apart from formally designated leaders, were rated. Thus, the students generally agreed that the average member has little power, but they disagreed about their own personal level of power; power structure members saw themselves as having power, and other students saw themselves as having little power. The widest gap occurred between the perceptions of the reputationals at School "B" compared to those of the other students in that sample.

TESTING HYPOTHESES RELATED TO POWER STRUCTURES

Having explained how membership within the group of power holders was determined for the study, and having presented an overall

picture of how control was distributed for the samples, the hypotheses related to membership in the power structures may now be examined.

Testing Hypothesis 1.0

The first hypothesis stated that there is no significant difference in the number of power holders in different issue areas. From a consideration of Table 10, it is evident that there was considerable variation in the total number of power structure members from issue area to issue area at School "A." Three times the number of students were members of the "general" power structure as were members of the "non-council" power structure. However, the one-sample chi-square test produced a chi-square of 5.84, which is not significant at the .05 level. Again, for School "B" the results for the one-sample chi-square test, reported in Table 11, were not significant. For this school the number of members in the power structures for the selected issue areas varied from 10 to 20.

On the basis of the above results, Hypothesis 1.0 was accepted.

<u>Discussion</u>. The statistical test used, the one-sample chi-square, did not warrant rejection of the null hypothesis. However, the differences in terms of numbers are obviously considerable, especially when the members of the "general" and "non-council" power structures are considered.

Testing Hypothesis 2.0

The second hypothesis stated that a significantly greater proportion of students' council executive members than of non-executive members is included in the power structure. Tables 12 and 13 present

Table 10

Chi-Square One-Sample Test for Membership in Power Structures by Issue Area for School "A"

		Issu	e Area	
Category	General	Athletic	Social	Non-Council
Observed	18	13	13	6
Expected	12.5	12.5	12.5	12.5

Table 11

Chi-Square One-Sample Test for Membership in Power Structures by Issue Area for School "B"

		Issu	e Area	
Category	General	Athletic	Social	Non-Council
Observed	20	19	16	10
Expected	16.25	16.25	16.25	16.25

Table 12

Chi-Square Test Comparing Membership in the Power Structure with Council Executive Membership for School "A"

(n = 571)

Category		tructure bers		Power cture	Tota	als
	Frequency	Proportion	Frequency	Proportion	F	P
Council Executive	10	.77	3	.33	13	1.00
Non-Executive	8	.01	550	.99	558 .	1.00

Table 13

Chi-Square Test Comparing Membership in the Power Structure with Council Executive Membership for School "B"

(n = 590)

		tructure ibers	3. 5.5	Power cture	Tota	als
	Frequency	Proportion	Frequency	Proportion	F	P
Council Executive	12	1.00	0	.00	12	1.00
Non-Executive	8	.01	570	.99	578	1.00
Chi-square	= 570.9, d.	f. = 1, p =	.000			

frequencies and proportions for executive and non-executive members.

In addition these tables include results of chi-square tests which compared membership in the power structure with council executive membership. The chi-square results incorporated a correction for continuity, which had the effect of bringing the observed and expected values closer together thus reducing the chi-square value.

The reported chi-square of 203.5 and 570.9 for Schools "A" and "B" respectively are both significant at the .000 level.

Hypothesis 2.0 was therefore accepted.

<u>Discussion</u>. Hypothesis 2.0 was strongly supported. A highly significant difference in the proportion of executive members who were power structure members as compared with non-executive members was found. It should be noted that for School "B" 100 per cent of the council executive members were also power structure members, and for School "A" nearly 80 per cent of the council executive were also power structure members. For the two schools it appeared that formal office holders were generally members of the power structure. Further, at School "A," of the 8 non-executive power structure members, 6 were on the students' council, while at School "B," 5 non-executive power structure members were also on council.

One of the objections raised to the reputational method of determining power structure membership is that respondents confuse notables with true power holders. The extent to which this confusion occurred in the present research is not known, but informal discussions with a few students brought out the point that the majority of students have heard the names of executive members and would be likely

to name them on the questionnaire without having any real idea of the amount of power these notables possess.

Testing Hypothesis 3.0

The third hypothesis stated that the perceptions of students with reputational power of the students' union power structure do not differ significantly from those of other students. To test this hypothesis for each of the samples, the members of the power structure, as perceived by the non-power structure members, were listed in rank order. Second, the rank order was determined for the perceptions of the power structure of the students who were the power structure members. Spearman rank correlations (rhos) were then calculated using the correction for ties as suggested by Siegel (1956: 206-207)

Tables 14 and 15 report the ranks and the obtained Spearman rank correlations. For School "A," the Spearman rho was 0.69, and for School "B" it was 0.83. Tests of significance for these correlations were performed by first calculating Student's "t" and then referring this value to a table of the critical values of "t." The rho of 0.69 is significant at the .02 level, while the rho of 0.83 is significant at the .001 level.

Hypothesis 3.0 was therefore accepted.

Discussion. Results for the statistical tests of the third hypothesis provided support for the hypothesis for both of the samples. The findings were interpreted to mean that the power structures in both students' unions were highly recognized. Both were perceived similarly by the students who were members of the power structures and the other students in the schools. However, in School "A" there were greater

Table 14

Spearman Rank Correlation Coefficient for Leader Non-Leader Comparison of the Top Eleven Leaders for School "A"

(n = 571)

tudent	Rank by Leaders	Rank by Non-Leaders
A	6.5	1
В	1	2
С	3.5	3
ס	8	4
E	2	5
F	3.5	6
G	5	7
Н	9	8
I	10.5	9
J	6.5	10
К	10.5	11

Spearman's "rho" = 0.69, significant at the .02 level

Table 15

Spearman Rank Correlation Coefficient for Leader Non-Leader Comparison of the Top Twelve Leaders for School "B"

(n = 590)

Students	Rank by Leaders	Rank by Non-Leaders
A	1	1
В	3	2
С	5.5	3
ת	2	4
E.	5.5	5
F	4	6
G	9	7
Н	11.5	8
I	9	9
J	9	10
К	7	11
L	11.5	12

Spearman's "rho" = 0.83, significant at the .001 level

differences in the rankings given the top four students by the leadership group than was the case for School "B."

By constructing a leadership typology similar to that suggested by Bonjean (1963), differences in perception between the two groups of students may be re-examined. Bonjean spoke of leaders as being visible, concealed, and symbolic. Visible leaders were those who received approximately the same ranking by both of the groups doing the ranking. For the present study, concealed leaders were defined as the students who received a significantly higher rank position from the power structure members than from other students and symbolic leaders were the individuals who received a significantly higher rank position from the non-leaders than was given by the power structure students.

Bonjean's (1963) criteria for determining whether a significant difference existed in rank was that if the rank variation was

-5.0 or greater, the individual would be typed as a concealed leader and if the variation was +5.0 or greater he would be typed as symbolic. Using the same criteria in the present study, one member of the "general" power structure, the student ranked highest by non-power structure members at School "A" was classified as a symbolic leader. This power structure member was the president of the students' union. Information which might provide an explanation of the lower rank accorded the president was obtained from a separate questionnaire given to council members. Three executive members provided comments that indicated that they had lost confidence in the leadership provided by the president. Two other students, one from School "A" and one from School "B," with rank differences of four were on the verge of being categorized respectively as symbolic and concealed leaders. However,

there is no doubt that the overall conclusion remains that the leadership structures were highly visible in both students' unions.

Testing Hypothesis 4.0

Hypothesis 4.0 stated that power structure members have a significantly higher social class than the other students' union members. Table 16 presents the frequencies obtained for each of the five categories of the Gough Home Index Scale by members of the power structures and by the rest of the students in the samples. Results are also provided for chi-square tests. In calculating the chi-square values, the five categories were collapsed into three as indicated by the fact that only two degrees of freedom are indicated in Table 16.

The chi-square values of 266 and 283 that were obtained for Schools "A" and "B" respectively indicate that the two groups differed with respect to the classifications. The significance of any value of chi-square depends upon the number of degrees of freedom in the data. With two degrees of freedom these chi-square values are significant beyond the .001 level.

Hypothesis 4.0 was therefore accepted.

Additional Analysis

Considering the general composition of the power structures from both of the students' unions for the issue areas of "athletic program," "social program," and "non-council decisions," only that of the "athletic program" was markedly different from that of the "general" power structures. Accordingly, Table 17 was prepared to provide the distributions for the athletic power structures according to the categories of the Gough scale. Chi-square results were again

Table 16

Chi-Square Tests for Social Class Frequencies on Gough Scale

(School "A": n = 571) (School "B": n = 590)

Social Class Category	Frequencie Power Str Membe	ucture rs	Other Stu	Frequencies for Other Students	
(Gough)	- "A"	m _B m	w _A w		
1 (high)	8	4	175	238	
2	1	1	140	129	
3	1	1	166	141	
4	0	0	56	42	
5	0	0	24	34	
Totals	10	6	561	584	
Chi-square Chi-square	for School "A" = 2 for School "B" = 2	266, d. f. 283, d. f.	= 2, p = .000 = 2, p = .000		

Table 17

Chi-Square Tests for Social Class Frequencies on Gough Scale for "Athletic Program"

Decision Area

(School "A": n = 571) (School "B": n = 590)

Social Class Category	Frequ e nci Power Str Membe	ructure	Frequencies for Other Students	
(Gough)	"A"	B"	-n _A n	"B"
1 (high)	5	4	178	238
2	1	1	140	129
3	2	3	165	139
4	0	0	56	42
5	0	0	24	34
Totals	8	8	563	582
Chi-square for Chi-square for	School "A" = School "B" =	270, d. f. 279, d. f.	= 2, p = .000 = 2, p = .000	

based on three categories, and thus there were two degrees of freedom. The chi-square for the School "A" sample was 270, and for School "B" the value was 279. Both of these results were significant beyond the .001 level.

Discussion. The fourth hypothesis was strongly supported by all of the data that were analyzed. The highest social class categories on the Gough scale were over-represented in the power structures for both schools in all of the issue areas. At the same time, the lowest social classes were virtually without representation in any of the power structures.

The very highest social class category accounted for not less than one-half of the power structure members, although it constituted only one-third of the students in the sample from School "A" and about forty per cent of the students in the group from School "B."

Over one-eighth of the students in both samples were from the lowest two social classes; yet none of these students were members of the "general" power structure, and only one was on any of the other power structures.

Testing Hypothesis 5.0

The fifth hypothesis stated that power structure members have a significantly more favorable attitude toward the political process than other students' union members. Attitudes toward the political process were determined by the "Political Efficacy" scale, and the scale scores were tested using the Mann-Whitney "U" test. Means and standard deviations for the students from both schools are presented in Table 18, and the Mann-Whitney "U" test results are presented in

Table 18

Means and Standard Deviations for Power Structure Members and Other Students on Political Efficacy and Sense of Power Scales

(School "A": n = 571) (School "B": n = 590)

Nower Other Power Other Power Students Str. Str. Students Str. Str. Students Str. Str. Str. Str. Str. Str. Str. Str.	tcal 36.1 29.4 40.8 24.3 25.1 9.3 of 26.3 21.8 24.3 25.1 9.3				Means	:		Standard Deviations	Deviations '	"B"
tcal 36.1 29.4 40.8 28.4 6.1 7.9 of 26.3 21.8 24.3 25.1 9.3 6.6	tcal 36.1 29.4 40.8 28.4 6.1 of 26.3 21.8 24.3 25.1 9.3			,,V,,		9		Othor	Power	Other
36.1 29.4 40.8 28.4 6.1 7.9 y 26.3 21.8 24.3 25.1 9.3 6.6	y 36.1 29.4 40.8 28.4 6.1 y 26.3 21.8 24.3 25.1 9.3	Scale	Power Str.	Other Students	Power Str.	Other Students	rower Str.	Students	Str.	Students
y 36.1 29.4 40.8 28.4 6.1 7.9 y 26.3 21.8 24.3 25.1 9.3 6.6	y 36.1 29.4 40.8 28.4 6.1 26.3 21.8 24.3 25.1 9.3									
26.3 21.8 24.3 25.1 9.3 6.6	26.3 21.8 24.3 25.1 9.3	Political	36.1	29.4	40.8	28.4	6.1	7.9	4.3	7.4
		Sanse of	26.3	21.8	24.3	25.1	6.3	9.9	5.2	7.0

Table 19.

The "Political Efficacy" scale means for power structure members were 36.1 at School "A" and 40.8 at School "B." The corresponding means for non-power structure students were 29.4 and 28.4. Standard deviations on this scale varied from 4.3 to 9.3. The largest deviation was obtained for the power structure students from School "A."

The "U" value for the students from School "A" was 1498, and for School "B" it was 256. The corresponding "z" scores for these values are -2.53 and -3.61. These values are significant at the .01 and .00 levels respectively.

Hypothesis 5.0 was therefore accepted.

Discussion. The fifth hypothesis was supported by the Mann-Whitney "U" test results. Power structure members were significantly more efficacious than the other students in the samples. The differences in probability levels for the "z" scores suggested that the power structure members from School "B" were more efficacious than their counterparts from School "A."

Testing Hypothesis 6.0

The sixth hypothesis stated that there is no significant difference between the scores of power structure members and those of other students' union members on the "Sense of Power" scale. Means and standard deviations are provided in Table 18. Means ranged from 21.8 for non-power holders at School "B" to 26.3 for power holders at School "A." Standard deviations ranged up to 9.3, suggesting considerable variability among scores.

Table 19

Mann-Whitney "U" Tests of Differences Between Power Structure Members and Other Students on Political Efficacy and Sense of Power Scales

(School "A": n = 571) (School "B": n = 590)

	=		2		p(two-tailed)	led)
	ηVμ	''B''	ıı,Yıı	uBII	"A"	uBu
Political Efficacy	1498	256	-2.53	-3.61	•01	00•
Sense of Power	2252	1614	-1.07	-0.33	.28	. 74

This hypothesis was also tested using a Mann-Whitney "U" test, and the results are presented in Table 19. The "U" values of 2252 for School "A" and 1614 for School "B" yielded "z" scores of -1.07 and -0.33. The two-tailed probabilities for these "z" scores are .28 for School "A" and .74 for School "B."

Hypothesis 6.0 was therefore accepted.

Discussion. The sixth hypothesis was stated in the null form, as no evidence was available on the prior use of this scale. The findings that are reported in Table 19 indicate that this hypothesis cannot be rejected for either of the samples. Thus there was relatively little difference in the sense of power between power structure members and other students when power was measured by the "Sense of Power" scale. In answering the questions which formed this scale, students were expressing their views of students' collective efficacy in relation to overall school governance rather than students' union governance and teacher-student governance relationships, as was the case for responses to the "Political Efficacy" scale. This difference may help account for the fact that power structure members felt no greater sense of power than the other students in the sample. Overall, the student scores from the two samples suggested that they did not have a high sense of power in relation to governance of the schools.

Testing Hypothesis 7.0

Hypothesis 7.0 stated that there is no significant difference between the value scores of power structure members and those obtained by other students' union members on the revised "Value Profile" scale. Means and standard deviations for the total scale are reported in Table 20, and the "U" tests of significance are reported in Table 21.

The means for students who were members of the power structure were 93.9 for School "A" and 90.7 for School "B." For other students in the samples, the corresponding means were 83.8 and 85.0. However, standard deviation values of up to 14.7 compound the difficulties in interpreting the differences between means.

The "U" value of 1728 for School "A" yielded a "z" of -2.08, which is significant at the .04 level (two-tailed). The "U" value of 1282 for School "B" produced a "z" of -1.33, which is significant at the .19 level (two-tailed).

The null hypothesis was therefore rejected for School "A" but accepted for School "B."

<u>Discussion</u>. Although the results for School "A" warranted rejection of the null hypothesis, the same was not the case for School "B." In a study such as the present, when a result is not supported by the replication it may not be termed a finding of the research.

The value differences that were found to be significant between power structure members and the other students at School "A" supported the approach taken in the decision-making model upon which the hypothesis was based. However, the apparent inconsistency between these differences and the non-significant differences obtained for School "B" raise the possibility that the instrument may not have provided an accurate measure of student values. High standard deviation values also suggested that there was little consistency among students on value scores. The definition of values adopted for the study,

Table 20

Means and Standard Deviations for Power Structure Members and Other Students on Value Subscales and Total Scale

		Means "A"			-	Standard Deviations	Deviation	18 "B"
Subscale	Power Str.	Other Students	Power Str.	Other Students	Power Str.	Other Students	Power Str.	Other Students
Accept ance of Authority	41.4	33,2	37.7	33.6	9.3	9.6	6.2	0.6
Need-determined Expression Vs. Value-determined Restraint	15.6	15.3	14.8	15.5	7.0	5.1	3.4	5.1
Equalitarianism	20.1	19,3	19,3	20.1	6.2	5.6	3.7	6.2
Individualism	16.8	15.9	18.9	15.7	5.4	4.7	5.2	7.0
Total Scale	93.9	83.8	90.7	85.0	14.2	14.7	7.1	14.2

Table 21

Mann-Whitney "U" Tests of Differences Between Power Structure Members and Other Students on Value Subscales and Total Scales

Subscale	"Y"	U uBu	2 uV11	ngu	p(two-tailed)	ailed) ''B''
Acceptance of Authority	1540	1256	-2.45	-1.20	.01	.23
Need-dotermined Expression Vs. Value-Determined Restraint	2644	1643	-0.31	-0.26	9.	. 79
Equalitarianism	2431	1657	-0.73	-0.23	. 47	. 82
Individualism	2452	1089	-0.68	-1.61	• 50	.11
Total Scale	1728	1282	-2.08	-1.33	•00	.19

which included the idea of normative standards, required that scores on value items be consistent. It is also possible that the conditions under which the questionnaire was administered, which could not be standardized, may have contributed to the inconclusive results. The tester influences the kinds of responses obtained, and in one school highly negative opinions of the instrument were expressed by some of the people who administered it. The possible importance of differing school climates as a factor involved in creating the differences in values cannot be overlooked. Finally, it may be that the values of power structure members may not differ significantly from those held by other students. Further research utilizing other approaches to the measurement of values would help to clarify this question.

As the overall "Value Profile" scale provided little specific evidence about value patterns without further analysis, tests were undertaken for each of the value subscales. To facilitate comparison between the subscale results for each school, results were all presented in Tables 20 and 21.

Testing Hypothesis 7.1

Hypothesis 7.1 stated that there is no significant difference between the value scores of power structure members and those obtained by other students on the "Acceptance of Authority" subscale.

The "Acceptance of Authority" subscale means at School "A" were 41.4 for power structure members and 33.2 for the other students. For School "B," the corresponding means were 37.7 and 33.6. The "U" value for School "A" was 1540 with a "z" of -2.45 giving a two-tailed probability of .01. For School "B," the "U" value was 1256 with a "z"

of -1.20 and a two-tailed probability of .23.

Thus the null hypothesis was rejected for School "A" but not for School "B."

<u>Discussion</u>. In interpreting the "Acceptance of Authority" subscale, it is necessary to know that the lower the mean value obtained for the subscale the greater the willingness of the respondent to accept authority. At both of the schools the power structure students were less willing to accept authority, in terms of their responses to the questionnaire items on this subscale, than was the case for the other students. The differences between power structure members and other students were significant at School "A" but failed to reach significance at School "B."

A possible interpretation of these apparent differences is that the leading power structure members on the students' councils, far from being "tools of the administration," composed a group whose members were less willing to accept authority than was the case for the other students' union members. Unfortunately, any generalization which might be advanced to explain the differences neglects the roles that were played by specific individuals in each of the schools. For example, in one school two power structure members who were also council members confided to the researcher that they believed that the president and the school principal together were making all of the important decisions for the council.

Testing Hypothesis 7.2

Hypothesis 7.2 stated that there is no significant difference between the value scores of power structure members and those obtained

by other students on the "Need-determined Expression vs. Value-determined Restraint" subscale.

An examination of Table 20 shows that there was little difference between the mean scores on this value subscale from sample to sample and from one group to another within samples. All of the means were near a value of 15; the range of scores was from 14.8 to 15.6.

The "U" value of 2644 for School "A" and 1643 for School "B" produced "z" scores of -0.31 and -0.26. The two-tailed probabilities for these "z" values are .76 and .79.

Hypothesis 7.2 was therefore accepted.

Discussion. The null hypothesis could not be rejected for either sample on the "Need-determined Expression vs. Value-determined Restraint" subscale. Overall, the relatively low means obtained on this subscale may be interpreted as suggesting that the majority of students, whether power structure members or not, favor a present time orientation with considerable flexibility in moral standards.

Testing Hypothesis 7.3

Hypothesis 7.3 stated that there is no significant difference between the value scores of power structure members and those obtained by other students on the "Equalitarianism" subscale.

Means for the "Equalitarianism" subscale also varied little from sample to sample and from group to group; the lowest mean was 19.3, and the highest was 20.1.

The "U" values of 2431 for School "A" students and 1657 for School "B" students had corresponding "z" scores of -0.73 and -0.23. The two-tailed probability levels associated with these "z" results

are .47 and .82.

Hypothesis 7.3 was therefore accepted.

<u>Discussion</u>. The above evidence does not warrant rejection of the null hypothesis for either of the samples. The relatively low means suggest that the students were generally favorably disposed towards the concept of equalitarianism as it was represented by the items comprising the "Equalitarianism" subscale, but no significant differences existed in mean scores of power holders and non-power holders.

Testing Hypothesis 7.4

Hypothesis 7.4 stated that there is no significant difference between the value scores of power structure members and those obtained by other students on the "Individualism" subscale.

The mean for the students who were members of the power structure at School "A" was 16.8, while at School "B" the mean for this group was 18.9. Somewhat lower means of 15.9 at School "A" and 15.7 at School "B" were obtained for the non-power structure students.

The "U" value for School "A" of 2452 resulted in a "z" of -0.68, which is significant at the .50 level (two-tailed). The "U" for School "B" was 1089 with a corresponding "z" value of -1.61 and a two-tailed probability of .11.

Hypothesis 7.4 was therefore accepted.

<u>Discussion</u>. The null hypothesis could not be rejected for either of the samples. Considering a higher mean as indicating less acceptance of the idea of individualism, as represented by the

subscale items, power structure members were somewhat less oriented toward individualism than were non-power structure students. As the standard deviation values on this subscale ranged up to seven, considerable caution must be expressed in drawing any conclusions based upon the means.

Additional Analysis

Table 22 provides in summary form an indication of the degree of relationship that existed between the dependent variable of power structure membership and the predictor variables of office holding, social class, political efficacy, sense of power, the value scale and the value subscale.

In terms of correlations, the best predictors of power structure membership were social class, political efficacy, and acceptance of authority. The only variable to be statistically significant for both samples was political efficacy. As was found for the tests reported earlier in this chapter, the value subscales were not significantly related to power structure membership, with the exception of the "Acceptance of Authority" subscale, and the findings for that subscale reached significance only for School "A."

SUMMARY

Initially, in chapter four, criteria were presented for selection of membership in the students' union power structures. Students who received at least ten nominations in an issue area were designated as being members of the power structure for that area. Second, control graphs were presented to provide an overall picture of the levels

Table 22

Correlation Between Power Structure Membership and the Independent Variables for Schools "A" and "B"

						Need			Total
School	Power Structure Member.	Social Class	Political Efficacy	Sense of Power	Accept. of Auth.	determ. Exp. vs.	Equal.	Indiv.	Value Scale Score
	1.000	.154*	.110*	087	111*	900	019	.026	091
:	 			,	•	```	610	- 067	-,040
, B.,	1.000	770.	. 166*	.011	045	014	610.	•))
		!							

*Significant at .05 level.

within the students' union hierarchy at which power was perceived to exist and to give an indication of student perceptions of the amount of power that was exercised by each level.

Tests of hypotheses related to membership in the power structures were then presented. Of the issue areas selected, the greatest variation in the number of power holders was between the "general" power structure and the "non-council decisions" power structure. However, the differences in terms of numbers were not statistically significant. Second, a significantly greater proportion of students' council executive members than of non-executive members were members of the power structures. Third, the perceptions of the power structure by students who were power structure members did not differ significantly from those of other students.

Support was obtained for the hypothesis which stated that power structure members have a significantly higher social class than other students and also for the hypothesis which stated that power structure members have a significantly more favorable attitude toward the political process than other students' union members.

The "Sense of Power" scale did not differentiate between power structure members and the other students.

The values of power structure members were generally similar to those held by other students in the sample.

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Chapter 5

INFLUENCE STRUCTURE ANALYSIS

THE MEASUREMENT OF INFLUENCE

Bales' Interaction Process Analysis has been briefly discussed in the second chapter as the measure chosen for categorizing interaction data and subsequently for determining the influence structures within the students' council executives. Some elaboration of the methodology associated with the use of I. P. A. is appropriate prior to a discussion of the influence structures that existed in the two councils.

In using I. P. A., the unit of interaction to be scored is the "act," which is defined as "a communication or indication sufficiently complete to permit the other person to interpret it, and so react in relation to its content and to the speaker (Bales, 1970: 68)." Twelve interaction categories exist, and these were presented earlier in Figure 2. These categories "do not classify what is said, that is the content of the message, but rather how the persons communicate, that is who does what to whom in the process (time order) of their interaction (Bales, 1970: 92)."

Interaction data for eight executive meetings at each school were recorded on special interaction sheets, an example of which is included in Appendix C. Two recorders were hired as research assistants and both had previous formal training in the usage of Bales'

I. P. A. Each recorder attended alternate meetings of the two

council executives.

Inevitably there will be some variation in the amount and type of interaction that will be scored by any two recorders, although evidence exists to show that systematic training does reduce such variations. Some measure of reliability is needed in order to determine the nature of such variations. Bales (1950: 101) indicated some of the difficulties that are present when conventional measures of reliability are utilized in an interaction setting:

One aspect of the problem of reliability concerns the relation-ship of A₁ to B₁. The ideal of one-to-one correspondence is clearly not to be expected. On the other hand, conventional tests of significance at the .05 level are not applicable, for although the scores will usually represent less than the number of acts that would have been recorded by an omniscient observer, there is no reason to believe they were sampled at random

As a measure of reliability Bales recommended that, rather than using a product moment correlation, a chi-square test be used as an index of goodness of fit:

Use of a chi-square test is . . . indicated because it permits a concomitant test of both categorizing and unitizing, whereas "r" is insensitive to the number of acts within categories so long as the proportion of acts within categories to the total acts is constant (Bales, 1950: 103).

The suggested chi-square level for an acceptable degree of reliability of the observation is .50, not .05.

Table 23 presents the results of the reliability test undertaken for the interaction data. Both recorders attended one executive meeting and scored the interaction concurrently. In total, Coder "1" scored 1361 acts while Coder "2" scored 1337 acts. The chi-square test compared scoring category by category, and the obtained chi-square of .80 indicates a relatively high level of agreement between coders.

Assessment of the individual and of his position in the group

Table 23 Interaction Category Inter-Coder Reliabilities

nteraction Category	Coder "1"	Coder "2
1	105	92
2	183	153
3	52	60
4	232	207
5	187	178
6	127	156
7	50	59
8	26	32
9	3	0
10	56	49
11	169	183
12	171	168
Total	1361	1337

Chi-square = 7.07, d. f. = 11, significant at .80 level

requires consideration of the amount of interaction initiated during each meeting by each member as compared to the others. The crucial question to be asked is "Does the total amount of interaction initiated by the individual fall within the upper, middle, or lower third (approximately) of the rank order (Bales, 1970: 78)?" For any given meeting, those individuals whose interaction scores ranked within the top third for interaction initiated were deemed to be the influentials within the group. A summary of the interaction that was initiated over the eight meetings of the study by each of the council executive members was then prepared. The group members who ranked within the top third on this measure were designated as the overall influentials for that council executive.

Influence Structures for the Council Executive at School "A"

Table 24 summarizes the interaction initiated by the executive members at School "A." Ranks have been calculated for each of the group members, both for each meeting and for the total of the eight meetings scored. It is evident from the table that a number of executive meetings were not attended by all members. Such absences were especially pronounced during the first two meetings and again at meeting six. Concern over what the executive and the council were accomplishing was voiced at the second meeting, and an effort to instill new enthusiasm into the executive followed.

When the top five ranked members are viewed on Table 24, some variation in the membership of this group of influentials is evident from meeting to meeting. A Kendall's "Coefficient of Concordance" (W) was used as the measure of the relation among rankings of group

Table 24

Totals And Ranks For Interaction Initiated By Council Executive Hembers At Eight Executive Meetings: School "A"

							Meeti	Meeting Number	ber								Overall	11
Konbor	-	Rank	7	Renk		Rank	4	Rank	~	Rank	9	Renk	,	Rank	80	Rank	Total	Rank
	3	-	5	•	2	•	=	=	53	_	4.7	,	83	7	62	9	415	~
c •	; ;	٠ ٠		. 1	19	•	11	12	23	11	42	ထ	•	1	14	10	184	12
a (٠ ،	165	~		•	72	s	79	4.5	8	•	53	•	85	4	699	n
ء د	3	,	82	ı •o	6	11	33	•	110	7	26	4.5	89	4	53	o	485	4
3 <u>6</u>	212		301		222	, ,,	185	7	278	~	135	**	150	-	201		1684	-
: 2	28	•	•	•	26	13	35	•	31	10	32	10	22	10	0	•	174	13
. c) 17	100	•	69	,	23	01	51	•	67	7	25	6	96	60	787	•
) =	9		79	^	104	7	91	4	0	1	26	4.5	0	•	0	ı	351	•
: •	112	~	147	•	20	10	100	m	105	6	99	6	81	m	146	6	807	~
		ı 1	8	•	97	•	37	^	79	4.5	39	•	24	\$	57	7	416	•
, ,	· c	•	127	•	4	12	0		29	•	0	•	13	11	0	1	243	10
٠ -	· c	•	. •	•	82	4	55	•	43	•	•	•	45	1	148	7	373	60
2 3	· c	•	•	•	13	1	0	•	•	12	•	•	•	12	0	ı	56	1.5
: 2	· c	•	0	•	49	€	0	•	0	1	•	•	41	80	63	w.	168	14
: c	• •	•	0	•	0	•	205		0	•	0	•	•	1	0	•	205	11
Total	676		1089		1032		8 6 4		916		588		. 632		885		6684	

Kendall's W = 0.55 Chi-Square = 61.18, d.f. = 14, aignificant at .001 Level.

members over the eight meeting period. When a chi-square test, reported in Table 24, was used to test the significance of the Kendall's "W" value of 0.55, the result was significant at greater than the .001 level. Thus there was a significant degree of agreement among the rankings on interaction initiated over the eight meetings studied.

Member "E," the students' union president, retained a preeminent rank throughout the eight meetings, but his leadership was questioned from the second meeting on by two of the executive members who had attended a students' council workshop between meetings one and two and had returned highly dissatisfied with the existing council programs and activities. Total interaction received in the category "seems unfriendly" reflected this change. In the first meeting, which was before the Council Workshop, the president's total was 25. On meeting 2, it was 46, while in the third meeting it reached 51. Overall, about 45 per cent of the interaction he received was negative in nature.

Member "E" was also the only group member who directed the majority of his interaction initiated to the group as a whole rather than to specific individuals. Directing interaction to the group rather than to individuals, according to Bales (1970), is a sign that the individual is highly influential.

The individual ranked second highest overall on interaction initiated, member "I," was the staff advisor. Influence exertion by the advisor was not limited to criticism of ideas expressed by the executive members but also included offering suggestions for action by the executive. For example, the question of introducing changes

in the students' union constitution was broached by the advisor and he offered specific suggestions for change. An examination of the Bales (1970) categorization of the interaction initiated indicates the nature of the advisor's participation. Over 40 per cent of the total initiated was in the categories "Gives Suggestion" and "Gives Opinion." In terms of interaction received, nearly two-thirds of the total was negative in nature. In general, the base of the advisor's influence appeared to be his position as an institutional figure.

The third highest individual was member "C," who was the students' council treasurer. Interaction initiated by this person was often linked with the providing of information related to the financial position of the council but his leading interaction category was "Seems Unfriendly." At one executive meeting he suggested that the position of treasurer was redundant, as the school office personnel already kept a set of books. The executive agreed that he should discontinue keeping separate financial records, but appeared anxious to retain the position of treasurer and to have the incumbent continue in that position.

The fourth and fifth ranked executive members, after they returned from the council workshop earlier mentioned, adopted a position of near hostility toward the president and also at times toward the staff advisor. For both of these members the rates of interaction initiated were very high in the meeting immediately after the council workshop. Neither made any secret of their dissatisfaction with the type of leadership being offered by the president.

The individual ranked fourth, person "D," was the social convenor and his relatively high rate of interaction initiated was

largely accounted for by two types of comments: suggestions on how to revive interest in school dances and negative comments about such items as school dance dress regulations and the concept of awards being given to certain students at an awards event. In terms of interaction initiated, his leading category was "Seems Friendly."

The fifth ranked student was the secretary, member "G," who, the researcher concluded through repeated observation, exerted more influence at the meetings than was indicated by her interaction initiated totals. In terms of interaction initiated, the category most frequently used was "Gives Information."

Bales (1950) proposed an "index of direct access to resources" which summarizes the extent to which a group member is asked for information, opinion, or suggestion as to what should be done. An individual highly ranked on this index is regarded by other group members as controlling resources needed in the discussion. Using this index as an alternative approach to influence measurement would result in member "G" being ranked third in influence over the eight meeting period, behind only the president and the staff advisor.

Further, in the first meeting the secretary's index value was less than one-tenth that of the president while in the final meeting the index value reached one-half of that of the president. The impression that member "G" was influential beyond the ranking suggested by interaction initiated totals was also confirmed by her election to the position of president of the students' union for the following school year.

In order to gain a general impression of the relative importance of the council executive and the council in the decision-making Attendance of council members at these meetings was such that only once was a quorum attained, although the group conducted business informally at two of the other meetings. On one occasion, the president indicated to the researcher that he hoped that a quorum would not be present so that the meeting could be cancelled. Although several issues were brought to council by the executive, the president often expressed his opinions on them prior to asking for discussion. The above suggested that the council generally was of relatively little importance in issue resolution in comparison with the executive. If this impression accurately reflected the situation, then study of influence structures with reference only to the executive of the council still allowed the researcher to obtain much of the important data relevant to the exertion of influence in the students' union.

A short questionnaire given to council members by the researcher contained questions dealing with the decisions made by the executive and also those made by the council as a whole. Students were asked to indicate which persons or groups within the students union were primarily responsible for the decisions.

In examining responses of council members to the above questionnaire, it was evident that little consensus existed about the existence of any issues. A criterion was set that required the identification of an issue by at least five council members before it would be considered to be significant. No issue reached this level of nomination.

A copy of the questionnaire that was given to the council members is included in Appendix B.

Influence Structures for the Council Executive at School "B"

Table 25 summarizes the interaction initiated by the group members at School "B" over the eight meetings of the executive that were observed. Individual "O" was not a member of the council executive but held the council position of chairman of the constitutional revision committee, and as he attended six of the meetings he was included in the rankings. In terms of overall initiation of interaction, totals recorded for School "B" were approximately fifty per cent greater than for School "A." Executive meetings lasted an average of about fifteen minutes longer than those of the executive at School "A." Further, at School "B" the meetings were held weekly, while at School "A" generally there was a meeting only once every two weeks.

In order to obtain a measure of the significance of the agreement in the rankings for the group members over the eight meeting period, a Kendall's "W" was again calculated. The "W" obtained of 0.59 was tested using a chi-square and was found to be significant at greater than the .001 level.

The student who ranked highest on interaction initiated, group member "N," was the president of the students' union. He initiated over twice as many acts as the second ranked group member, member "A"; 2836 as opposed to 1350 acts initiated. On interaction initiated, his leading category was "Gives Suggestion." As president he appeared anxious to have the executive engage in what he termed "executive problem solving." A step by step approach to the problems faced during the meetings observed was evident. During the course of these meetings,

Totals And Ranks For Interaction Initiated By Council Executive Members at Eight Executive Meetings: School "B"

Table 25

							Meetin	Meeting Number	ı.								0veral1	11
Mesber	-	Renk	~	Rank	-	Rank	4	Rank	~	Rank	۰	Renk	~	Rank	&	Rank	Total	Rank
<	147	~	118	^	263	~	66	3	275	2	173	3	82	_	193	2	1.350	7
•	•	1.5	**	15	86	•	32	11	11	13	0	•	-	13	89	7	214	13
ပ	19	13	33	11	7.0	10	7.5	~	66	•	79	'n	7.5	∞	8	9	916	7
٥	108	•	165	4	87	~	130	~	117	4	-	14	143	8	103	6	854	4
ad	77	=	42	٥	94	11	16	12.5	88	æ	29	12	21	11	18	12	254	12
•	63	•	101	^	~	14	123	~	16	^	88	7.5	96	s	8	'n	611	•
o	44	^	167	~	88	•	₹9	€	31	11	8 7	10	128	6	8	4	629	•
×	83	4	169	•	125	~	65	^	128	m	192	8	113	4	•	-	875	e
	12	4	1.7	13.5	38	13	16	12.5	*	14	^	13	12	12	4	13	111	15
7	76	9.5	40	10	4	•	11	•	45	•	83	4	90	•	53	10	897	∞
×	56	9.5	53	•	;	12	38	•	22	12	25	6	52	10	41	6	328	11
.a	*	•	1.7	13.5	~	15	14	14	35	10	30	11	•	¢	24	. 11	155	14
r	23	12	27	12	83	٥	37	10	11	•	28	7.5	89	•	47	«	411	•
æ	294		233	- 6	423		223	~ 4	418	-	400	-	463	-	382	-	2836	**
٥	9	•	112	ç	101	4	4	15	7	\$	63	•	•	•	•	ı	342	10
Tot al	966		1301		1553		1001		1399		1258		1337		1163		9884	

Kendall's W - 0.59, Chi-Square - 65.63, d.f. - 14, Significant at .001 Level.

the question of systematic problem solving was raised on three separate occasions by the president. He stated at one point that it was "necessary that all of us go through this process." The main result of the systematic approach to the executive appeared to be that the president was accorded influence on the basis of perceived expertise as well as on the basis of referent power. However, about a third of the interaction received by the president was of a negative nature.

The second highest ranked individual on interaction initiated was the staff advisor. He assumed the role of a critic of proposals, often drawing on past experience within the school to support his views. An examination of the interaction initiated by categories indicated that about a third of the total was in the categories "Gives Suggestion" and "Gives Opinion." The advisor appeared to be received by the students as a group member with expertise and also as a member with some referent power. In terms of interaction received, slightly over 40 per cent was negative in nature.

The individual ranked third initiated less than one-third of the total interaction initiated by the president. Individual "H" as athletic board chairman was especially active in the discussions due to the successes that teams from this school were having in interschool competitions. For example, the football teams from School "B" won both the city junior and senior finals, and discussion arose as to whether the council should buy football jackets for all the players. His leading category on interaction initiated was "Seems Unfriendly." The negative aspect of his interaction was generally linked to defence of large expenditures in the athletic area.

The grade twelve president, individual "D," was ranked fourth on interaction initiated. This influential appeared to direct his participation in the direction of providing socio-emotional leadership for the group. He was very active in joking with the people sitting near him and also with the executive as a whole. His leading interaction categories were "Dramatizes" and "Seems Unfriendly." Less than a tenth of the total involved the category "Gives Suggestion." A tabulation was kept for three meetings of the attempts at jokes by this member and the average was slightly over eleven per meeting. Although these activities delayed the conduct of business at the executive meetings, the researcher observed that the group were generally tolerant toward these antics. In terms of interaction directed at this member, the prevalent categories were "Dramatizes" and "Shows Tension." The latter category appeared to the researcher to reflect the view of some members that at times individual "D" did not know when to stop interrupting the proceedings.

Finally, the publicity board chairman was ranked fifth among the group of influentials. Aside from the president, he appeared to have the widest range of issue participation at executive meetings. He was also a member of the power structure within each of the selected issue areas. Of the other influentials, only the president was also a member of all of the power structures.

As had been done at School "A," the researcher attended four council meetings at School "B." Again the purpose of attending was to gain a general impression of the relative importance of the council executive and the council as a whole in the decision-making processes. Frequently at these meetings, non-executive members participated to a

greater extent than the executive. The president, acting as chairman of the meetings, was the exception to this interaction pattern.

The same questionnaire that had been given to the council at School "A" was also given to the same group at School "B." The questionnaire asked students to identify the decisions which were the most important and to indicate the persons or groups primarily responsible for making each decision. Six decisions that had been made during the school year were identified by at least five of the council members. In examining the responses it was evident that most respondents felt that the executive were responsible for three of these decisions. The executive and council together were seen as having been responsible for two of the others, while the council alone was viewed as being responsible for one decision.

Comparison of Influence Structures for Schools "A" and "B"

In examining the membership rankings of the overall influence structures, some similarities were present between the structures that existed at Schools "A" and "B." First, the highest ranked individual at both schools was the president of the students' union. In both cases he accounted for over twenty-five per cent of the total interaction initiated, and in both cases the category "Gives Suggestion" was the most commonly used. The president from School "B" received a smaller proportion of negative and a larger proportion of positive reactions than was the case for the other president. Second, for the council at School "B" there were two advisors, one of whom was second ranked in the initiation of interaction, as was the advisor from

School "A." The advisor from School "A" offered a higher proportion of suggestions and opinions than was the case at School "B" and in turn received a higher proportion of negative reactions from the group than was the case at School "B."

In terms of formal executive positions held, differences were found in the rankings of the other three members of the influence structures. The athletic board chairman was third ranked in School "B" while in School "A" the two athletic representatives on council were ranked eighth and fourteenth. The fourth-ranked influential at School "B" was member "D," the grade twelve president. The fifth ranked group member, person "G," was the publicity board chairman. At School "A," the Grade twelve representative had ranked sixth in total interaction initiated and the publicity representative was ranked seventh.

TESTING THE HYPOTHESES FOR MEMBERS OF THE INFLUENCE STRUCTURES

Prior to reporting the hypotheses test results for influence structure members, the relationship that was found between membership in the power structure and in the influence structure requires some additional clarification. In both of the schools, the members of the influence structure, without exception, were also members of the power structure. However, in both cases there were fewer members in the influence structure than in the power structure. This situation was in large part due to the Bales (1970) system wherein only the top third of the group members are assigned membership in the influence structure. Only three of the influence structure members from

School "A" and three from School "B" were included in the samples.

The study as originally conceived would have included a test of Hypothesis 1.0 for influence structure members as well as for power structure members, but the approach proposed involved simultaneous recording of the issue areas under discussion as well as the interaction and this method proved not to be feasible for the present research.

As the study of influence structures was restricted to formal council executive meetings, no tests were possible for Hypothesis 2.0, which related office holding and influence structure membership.

No test was undertaken for the third hypothesis which dealt with influentials' perceptions of the influence structure as compared with the views of the other students. As only three of the influentials from each school were included in the samples, the ranking procedure used earlier in testing this hypothesis would have had little validity.

Because a finding of the study was that all influentials were also power structure members, no need existed for a separate test of Hypothesis 4.0 for influence structure members.

Testing Hypothesis 5.0

Hypothesis 5.0, phrased for comparing influence structure members with other students, stated that influence structure members have a significantly more favorable attitude toward the political process than other students' union members.

The Mann-Whitney "U" test for Hypothesis 5.0 is reported in

Table 27. The "U" value for School "A" was 75 while for School "B" it was 166. The corresponding "z" values were calculated to be -2.73 and -2.43, and are both significant at the .01 level.

Hypothesis 5.0 was therefore accepted.

<u>Discussion</u>. Hypothesis 5.0, when tested for influence structure membership, was strongly supported at both schools. There appeared to be a marked difference in the sense of political efficacy between students who were influentials and the other students, with the influentials feeling considerably more efficacious.

Testing Hypothesis 6.0

In terms of influence structures, Hypothesis 6.0 stated that there is no significant difference between the scores of influentials and those of other students' union members on the "Sense of Power" scale. Table 26 presents means and standard deviations for the various categories and Table 27 presents the results of a Mann-Whitney "U" test for each sample with "U" values of 546 at School "A" and 769 at School "B." The "z" values that were calculated are -1.09 and -0.38. The two-tailed probabilities associated with these values are .28 and .70.

Hypothesis 6.0 was therefore accepted.

<u>Discussion</u>. There were no significant differences in the students' sense of power as measured on the "Sense of Power" scale.

Generally, student scores were near the midpoint of the scale.

Testing Hypothesis 7.0

Hypothesis 7.0, restated for testing differences in values

Table 26

Means and Standard Deviations for Influence Structure Members and Other Students on Political Efficacy and Sense of Power Scales

		Means	ın 8			Standard Deviations	Deviations	# # # # # # # # # # # # # # # # # # #
		"Y"		11B11		A	T = 61	Othor.
Scale	Infl. Str.	Other	Infl. Str.	Other Students	Infl. Str.	Other Students	Str.	Students
Political	31.3	29.5	41.0	28.5	2.1	7.9	7.0	7.0
Sense of	24.7	21.8	24.0	25.1	4.2	6.7	7.9	7.0
Power								

Table 27

Mann-Whitney "U" Tests of Differences Between Influence Structure Members and Other Students on Political Efficacy and Sense of Power Scales

p(two-tailed)		•02	.70	
p(two	<	00°	.28	
2	B.	-2.43	-0.38	
	"A"	-2.73	-1.09	
=	uBu.	166	692	
	μΥμ	75	979	
	Scale	Political	Sense of	Power

between members of the influence structures and those of other students, stated that there is no significant difference between the value scores of influence structure members and those obtained by other students' union members on the revised "Value Profiles" scale. Means and standard deviations for the total scale are reported in Table 28, and the "U" tests are reported in Table 29.

The means for students who were members of the influence structures were 91.3 at School "A" and 97.0 at School "B." The standard deviations reported are 5.1 for influentials from School "A" and 4.6 from School "B." For non-influentials, means of 83.9 for this group at School "A" and 85.0 for the same group at School "B" were calculated. The standard deviations for the non-influentials were considerably higher than was the case for influentials, with values obtained as high as 14.7.

The Mann-Whitney "U" test resulted in a "U" value of 539 for School "A" and 374 for School "B." The "z" values of -1.10 and -1.72 have two-tailed probability levels of .27 and .09 respectively.

Hypothesis 7.0 was accepted on the basis of the evidence reported above.

Discussion. On the basis of the above results for the total value scale, the null hypothesis could not be rejected for either of the samples. It should be remembered that the total value scale was formed simply by addition of the items from the four subscales. The apparent value congruity between influence structure members and the other students' union members does not support the decision-making model which implied that values of power and influence structure

Table 28

Means and Standard Deviations for Influence Structure Members and Other Students on Value Subscales and Total Scale

		Means	sus	:	•	Standard Deviations	реутастоп	11811 12
Subscale	Infl.	"A" Other Students	Infl. Str.	Other Students	Infl. Str.	Other Students	Infl. Str.	Other Students
Acceptance of Authority	44.3	33.3	41.0	33.6	10.0	9.6	6.1	0.6
Need-determined Expression Vs. Value-Determined	12,3	15.4	15.3	15,5	9.0	5, 1	3.2	5.1
Foualitarianism	18.3	19.3	22.0	20.1	5.1	5.7	7.7	6.2
Individualism	16.3	15.9	18.7	15.8	3,1	4.7	6.1	9.4
Total Scale	91.3	83.9	97.0	85.0	5.1	14.7	9. 4	14.2

Table 29

Mann-Whitney "U"-Tests of Differences Between Influence Structure Members and Other Students on Value Subscales and Total Scale

		1	8	,	p(two-tailed)	ailed)
	"A"	TBT	"A"	11B11	"A"	B
Acceptance of Authority	338	432	-1.80	-1.52	.00	.13
Need-Determined					Š	90
Expression Vs. Value-Determined	532	866	-1,13	-0.05	97.	• 30
Restraint						
Come 14 tertan fam	176	654	-0.27	-0.77	. 78	44.
	•	ć	71.0	00.[-	98 •	.16
Individualism	804	288	\T•0=		•	
	000	728	-1.10	-1.72	.27	60.
Total Scale	939		i i			

members would be dissimilar. The interpretations suggested in the earlier discussion of the values of power structure members may also be applicable to the evidence presented above.

Testing Hypothesis 7.1

Hypothesis 7.1, restated for use with influence structures, stated that there is no significant difference between the value scores of influence structure members and those obtained by other students on the "Acceptance of Authority" subscale.

The mean score that was found for members of the influence structure at School "A" totalled 44.3, with a standard deviation of 10.0, while for School "B" the mean for the same group was 41.0, with a standard deviation of 6.1. The corresponding means and standard deviations for the non-influence structure members were 33.3 and 9.6 for School "A" students and 33.6 and 9.0 for School "B" students.

These results are reported in Table 28.

The "U" test results, reported in Table 29, showed a "U" value of 338 at School "A" and 432 at School "B." The "z" values of -1.80 and -1.52 have two-tailed probabilities of .07 for School "A" and .13 for School "B."

Hypothesis 7.1 was therefore accepted.

Discussion. The results for the "Acceptance of Authority" subscale exhibited a similar trend to those earlier obtained for the comparison of power structure members with non-power structure members. Influence structure members tended to be less accepting of authority than was the case for the other students, but these differences were not statistically significant.

Testing Hypothesis 7.2

Hypothesis 7.2, restated for use with influence structures, stated that there is no significant difference between the value scores of influence structure members and those obtained by other students on the "Need-determined Expression vs. Value-determined Restraint" subscale.

The mean subscale score for influence structure members from School "A" was 12.3, while a standard deviation of 0.6 indicated that there was little variation among the influentials in their scores on the subscale. At School "B" the mean was 15.3 with a standard deviation of 3.2. For the non-influentials in School "A," the mean was 15.4 with a standard deviation of 5.1, and in School "B" the corresponding mean was 15.3 with a standard deviation of 5.1.

Table 29 includes the "U" test results for the "Need-determined Expression vs. Value-determined Restraint" subscale for both schools. The "U" value at School "A" of 532 taken together with "z" value of -1.13 has a two-tailed probability level of .26. At School "B" the larger "U" of 866 with a -0.05 "z" value has a two-tailed probability of .96.

Hypothesis 7.2 was therefore accepted.

Discussion. There was little difference between the scores of members of the influence structures and those of other students on the "Need-determined Expression vs. Value-determined Restraint" subscale. The null hypothesis could not be rejected.

As was the case for the comparison involving power structure members, the scores on the subscale suggested that many students, as

indicated by the means for both schools, adopted a present time orientation and maintained a level of flexibility in their attitudes toward moral standards.

Testing Hypothesis 7.3

Hypothesis 7.3, restated for use with influence structures, stated that there is no significant difference between the value scores of influence structure members and those obtained by other students on the "Equalitarianism" subscale.

The mean on the "Equalitarianism" subscale for influentials at School "A" was 18.3 with a standard deviation of 5.1, while at School "B" the mean was 22.0 with a standard deviation of 4.4. The means for the other students in the samples varied little: 19.3 for School "A" and 20.1 for School "B." Standard deviations for the non-influentials were also similar: 5.7 at School "A" and 6.2 at School "B." These figures are reported in Table 28.

The Mann-Whitney "U" test resulted in values of 776 at School "A" and 654 at School "B," with corresponding "z" values of -0.27 and -0.77. The two-tailed probability levels for these values are .78 at School "A" and .44 at School "B."

Hypothesis 7.3 was therefore accepted.

<u>Discussion</u>. There were no significant differences found between the influence structure members and the other students on the "Equalitarianism" subscale.

The relatively low mean values for all students in both samples suggested a general disposition to favor equalitarianism as measured by this subscale.

Testing Hypothesis 7.4

Hypothesis 7.4, restated for influence structure members, stated that there is no significant difference between the value scores of influence structure members and those obtained by other students on the "Individualism" subscale.

The mean on the "Individualism" subscale for influentials at School "A" was 16.3 with a standard deviation of 3.1, while at School "B" the mean for this group was 18.7 with a standard deviation of 6.1. Corresponding means for the non-influentials in the samples were 15.9 and 15.8 with standard deviations of 4.7 and 4.6.

The Mann-Whitney "U" test resulted in "U" values of 804 at School "A" and 588 at School "B" with "z" values of -0.17 and -1.00. The two-tailed probability levels for these values are .86 at School "A" and .16 at School "B." Results for means and standard deviations are presented in Table 28, and results for the Mann-Whitney "U" tests are given in Table 29.

For all students from School "A," the mean score on the "Individualism" subscale was 15.9 with a standard deviation of 4.7. For all students from School "B," the mean was 15.8 with a standard deviation of 4.7. As the range of possible scores on this subscale was from 5 to 30, these results indicated that there was a clustering of responses around the midpoint of the subscale.

Hypothesis 7.4 was therefore accepted.

<u>Discussion</u>. The "Individualism" subscale results as presented above did not warrant rejection of the null hypothesis for either of the samples, as no significant differences were found between the views

of influence structure members and those of other students on the subscale.

SUMMARY

In Chapter five the rationale for determining membership in the influence structure of a students' council was reviewed. The top five ranked executive members on "interaction initiated" were designated as the influentials for that council. A Kendall's "Coefficient of Concordance" was used as the measure of the relation existing among the rankings of group members over the period of the research in terms of the interaction that each member initiated. It was found that a significant degree of agreement existed on the rankings obtained over the eight meetings included in the study.

A brief discussion of the formal positions held by the members of the power structures from both executives revealed the pre-eminence of the president and the staff advisor.

A number of the hypotheses that had earlier been tested for power holders were now used to compare attitudes and values of the members of the influence structures with those of the other students. Influentials were found to be more efficacious than the non-influentials at both schools. However, there were no significant differences in their sense of power as measured by the "Sense of Power" scale. In terms of the value scales and the subscales separately considered, none of the differences between the influence structure members and the other students were significant at the .05 level, although some differences approached this level at one or other of the schools.

REFERENCES FOR CHAPTER 5

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- Bales, R. F. Personality and interpersonal behavior. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1970.

Chapter 6

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

SUMMARY

The Problem

The major purpose of the study was to examine the power and influence structures of two urban high school students' unions from the perspective of a political decision-making model developed for the study.

In identification of power structure members, methodology from community power studies was adapted for use with high school students. The problem of identification of influence structures was approached through the use of Bales' Interaction Process Analysis.

Selected student characteristics which included social class, attitudes, and values were compared for power and influence structure members in relation to those held by the other students in the samples.

Related Literature and Hypotheses

Difficulties were indicated with definitions of power, influence and values. The definitions adopted viewed power in terms of a potential whereas influence was seen as the exertion of power to bring about change. Values were defined in terms of normative standards which influence choice among perceived alternatives.

Literature related to the study of power structures within a community setting was reviewed. Evidence was presented to show that

there was little agreement among researchers on the methodology to be used in the study of power and influence. The most prominent approaches were seen to be the reputational and the decisional methods. Weaknesses inherent in single-method studies were briefly considered.

The latest revision of Bales' (1970) Interaction Process

Analysis was discussed as an approach to the use of interaction data
which could be used to provide the researcher with an indication of
the relative influence of group members. Specifically, influence was
related to the total amount of interaction initiated in the formal
group situation.

Research relating selected variables to membership in power and influence structures was then considered. Conflicting evidence was found on the role played by formal office holders in the decision-making processes. Research relating the social class variable to power structure membership was more definitive, with the available research concluding that policy makers were commonly individuals from the upper social classes. Little research evidence was available on the relationship between values held by an individual and membership in power and influence structures. Finally, a positive relationship was evident in the literature between attitudes toward the political process and membership in the decision-making group.

A political decision-making model was constructed to relate power and influence structure membership to the variables surveyed in community power studies. In addition other variables were included in the model which impinge on the decision processes, but the present study was restricted to variables researched in community studies.

Methodology

The main instrument, the Students' Union Questionnaire, was developed specifically for the study. The results of a pilot study given to a high school sample were used to adapt some of the questions which had not previously been used with a high school sample. In its final form the questionnaire provided information on demographic variables, on perceived distribution of control within the students' union, and on students' values and their political efficacy. A section was provided for the nomination of students' union leaders both generally and for specified issue areas.

The samples in the study included students from two urban high schools. A total of 571 students were included from one school, and 590 were included from the second school. Circumstances were such that true randomization could not be used as the basis for inclusion of students within the samples. Special IBM answer sheets were provided for student responses and subsequently an optical scorer transferred responses to cards for computer processing.

Additional information was obtained through use of a short questionnaire that was given to council members at a regular council meeting and through informal discussions with executive members. Also, in order to obtain a measure of the relative influence exerted by each of the executive members, interaction data from eight council executive meetings were recorded by observers trained in the use of Bales' I.P.A.

Analysis of the data for the purposes of testing the hypotheses of the study was undertaken using independent parallel analyses of the students from both samples. In addition to testing the hypotheses, a descriptive approach was used to present results related to the control graphs for both students' unions.

These statistical tests were used to test the hypotheses: hypotheses 1, 2, and 4 were tested using variations of chi-square; the third hypothesis was tested using Spearman's rank correlation coefficient; and, the fifth and succeeding hypotheses were tested using the Mann-Whitney "U" test.

Findings

Hypothesis 1.0. No significant differences existed among the numbers of power holders in the issue areas that were examined. Within each of the samples, however, there was a considerable amount of variation between the number of power structure members in the "general" issue area and in the "non-council decisions" area. In School "A," there were three times as many members in the "general" power structure as in the "non-council decisions" power structure.

Hypothesis 2.0. A significantly greater proportion of students' council executive members than of non-members was included in the power structure. These differences were evident upon an examination of the percentages of council executive members who were also members of the power structures at both schools. In School "B," 100 per cent of the executive were also power structure members; in School "A," the figure was 77 per cent.

Hypothesis 3.0. Perceptions of students with reputational power of the students' union power structure did not differ

significantly from those of the other students. One exception to this finding was revealed through the construction of a leadership typology similar to that devised by Bonjean (1963). At School "A," the president was then seen to be what Bonjean termed a "symbolic" leader in that he was accorded a much higher rank by students generally than was the case when power structure members did the ranking.

Hypothesis 4.0. Significant differences existed between the social class of power structure members and that of the other students in the samples. The highest social class categories were over-represented, while the lowest social classes were virtually without representation in the power structures. As the influence structure members were all members of the same group of power holders who were found to be significantly different in social class, no separate test comparing social class of influence structure members with that of the other students was necessary.

Hypothesis 5.0. Attitudes of both power and influence structure members toward the political process, as measured by the "Political Efficacy" scale, were significantly different than those held by the other students from the samples. The differences were in the direction of a feeling of greater efficacy for power and influence structure members than was the case for the rest of the students.

Hypothesis 6.0. No significant differences were found between the sense of power, measured by the "Sense of Power" scale, of either the power or influence structure members as compared with that of the other students in the two samples. The "Sense of Power" scale was

concerned with student perceptions as to whether or not they could influence the governance of the school.

Hypothesis 7.0. Consistent results were not obtained when the total value scores of power structure members were compared with those of the other students. At School "A," significant differences existed between total value scores; at School "B," there were no significant differences. However, a finding of the study was that there were no significant differences between the value scores in total and between influence structure members and non-influence structure members in the two samples.

Hypothesis 7.1. Again, results were not consistent for the hypothesis tests for the "Acceptance of Authority" subscale. At School "A," scores obtained by the power structure members were found to be significantly different from those of non-power structure members; but at School "B," no significant differences were found between these two groups. When scores of influentials and non-influentials were compared on this subscale, no significant differences were found. At School "A," however, the differences just failed to reach significance at the .05 level.

Hypotheses 7.2, 7.3, and 7.4. No significant differences were found between the scores of either power or influence structure members and the rest of the students on the "Need-determined Expression vs. Value-determined Restraint," "Equalitarianism," or "Individualism" subscales.

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

In the high school students' unions studied in the present research, it was found that the power holders identified through use of the "general" reputational approach were substantially the same students as those identified through the issue-specific reputational approach. The exception to this pattern was the "athletic program" decision area where power structure membership was found to be more specific to that area. This exception pointed out an advantage which accrues to the researcher who utilizes more than one approach to the identification of power structure membership: structures are revealed which would otherwise not be known.

For the administrator, the existence of a separate athletic power structure may have implications for administrative practice. In order to establish effective communication channels with the power figures in athletics within the student group, rather than approaching the students' council, some means must be found to determine which students are the power structure members for that decision area. Since the athletic representatives on council were found to be the top ranked athletic power structure members, they should be approached for information about the composition of the athletic power structure.

Evidence from the data obtained for constructing control graphs suggested that the students' union membership generally did not feel that they had much say in how decisions were made in the students' union. The feeling of a large group of students that they were inefficacious, i.e. that they could not influence the political processes within the students' union, may partially account for the

feelings of apathy toward the council and its activities that were evident from comments written in several of the student questionnaires. Further, in examining the control graphs, there was evidence of some disagreement between the power structure members and the other students about the relative importance in decision-making of the various hierarchical levels within the students' union. In this type of situation, there is need for clarification of the existing distribution of control. Both the school administration and the council might examine carefully their own philosophical positions in relation to the level of control which they desire for each hierarchical level. After clarification of their positions, there would be a need to provide for communication of the conclusions to the whole students' union and for the resolution of differences which emerge about the relative distribution of control. It may well be that advantages would accrue to the students' union and to the administration if this clarification and discussion preceded any increase being alloted to the role to be played by the students' council in the governance of the school.

A finding of the study was that the students' council executive members were primarily power structure members. A possible implication of this finding for the administrator is that in the event of a confrontation with student dissidents over an issue outside the athletic decision area, the administrator, by knowing about the power postion of the students' council executive, would be able to facilitate negotiations which would include this group. By including them, he would know that there would be a better chance of any conclusions being accepted by the student group as a whole than would be the case if negotiations were conducted solely with the dissidents.

It should be noted that in one of the two schools included in the present study, specific provision was made in the students' union constitution for council members to represent the student in any negotiations with the administration.

When the values of the students in the samples were examined, it was evident that the values of the power and influence structure members were not significantly different from those held by the overall student membership. Taken together with the above finding on the relationship between office holding and power structure membership, it may be that not only were the power structure members formally designated leaders, but their values were representative of those held by the rest of the students. If additional research evidence supports these findings, then administrators could increase the relative power of the students' council in the governance of the school knowing that their views would likely be representative of those held by the great majority of the students. Further, Katz and Kahn (1966) maintained that where organizational leaders epitomize system values, identification with such leaders can provide a powerful integrative force. If the administrator desires an integrated system then, where values of system members are similar, mechanisms must be developed which will transmit this similarity of value patterns to the participants.

The present study, as well as earlier students' union studies such as those conducted by MacLeod (1966) and Benoit (1967), found that formal leaders were mainly from the highest social class groupings.

Although the members of the power structure were not representative of the school as a whole in terms of their social class membership, if the students shared common value patterns, as the evidence above

suggests, then the social class membership variable may be of relatively little consequence for students' union decision-making. The extent to which student decision-makers were conscious of social class differences was not revealed in the study although some informal discussions with a few students suggested that class awareness was generally low.

The different situations that developed at the two council executives over the period of the study may be interpreted in terms of differential involvement in organizational change processes. As indicated in the report of the study, a students' council workshop was held early in the course of the research. Although this workshop was only three days long, it offered an opportunity for nearly total involvement during the period as sessions, formal and informal, continued almost around the clock for the whole three days. Representatives attended the workshop from all the public high schools in the city. While several executive members, as well as both staff advisors, attended from School "B," only two student representatives attended from School "A." The sessions discussed both the necessity for change in students' councils and some possible mechanisms for the introduction of change.

When the School "A" representatives returned to their executive with plans to introduce new ideas, sharp conflict ensued with several executive members who had not attended. This conflict was not fully resolved by the end of the period of data collection for the study. When their influence attempts were largely unsuccessful in obtaining the desired changes, the two executive members became cynical. One commented to the researcher several weeks later: "We

have given up fighting the impossible." By the eighth meeting attended by the researcher and his assistant, the council executive had all but ceased to function. Indeed, the final meeting was held more because the staff advisor stated that there was a number of things which needed attention than through any initiative on the part of the president.

In contrast to School "A," the representatives from School
"B" returned to a receptive executive and were able to suggest changes
without arousing any noticeable conflict.

For the seven meetings after the council workshop for which interaction data was obtained, the total number of acts initiated at School "A" was 6008, while at School "B" the total was 9214. Whereas these interaction totals may not be a reliable guide to the relative success obtained by the two executives, they do provide measures of the differences in participation in discussions for the two groups. Although other factors are involved, the importance of the students' council workshop and the subsequent receptions accorded representatives on their return is evident. For the administrator, the differences which developed in participation suggest the importance of broad involvement in the planning and the executing of change within the organization. Katz and Kahn (1966: 407) summarized the problems associated with approaching change through an individual who is removed from the group setting, who becomes convinced of the need for change, and who is subsequently returned to the group:

When the individuals return to their old structures, they step back into the same definitions of their roles. What is more basic, these roles are intimately related with a number of other organizational roles; the converted returnees may want to redefine their own way of functioning, but the expections of superiors,

subordinates and colleagues have not changed, nor has there been a change in organizational sanctions and rewards.

In terms of the model developed for the study, it appears that the individual must operate within a series of organizational and environmental constraints. Decision-making cannot be fully explicated through a study of individual participants.

Although a number of possible conclusions and implications have been drawn, they must necessarily be regarded as tentative and subject to verification or refutation by further research. The fact that many results were inconclusive suggests that some of the relevant variables were not considered and that the methodology used to study some variables may not have been appropriate for the present study.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

In terms of the political decision-making model presented in Figure 3, a number of possibilities are present for further research. First, no specific methodology is inherent in research related to the model. For example, an alternative approach to the study of power structure was advanced by French (1956). He advocated obtaining the requisite information to construction sociograms which would include all group members. Merely by reversing the direction of the arrows of the sociograms, the power structure based on interpersonal attraction could be represented. The resulting power digraphs would indicate the extent to which power structures varied with respect to the degree of mutuality, the number of levels of power, the degree of connectedness, and the relative proportions of direct and indirect power.

Although elaboration of digraph theory is beyond the scope of the present study, a brief comment about a number of the terms introduced is necessary. First, in digraph theory, mutuality would occur when individuals have counter-power over those who exert power over them. Second, levels of power would be determined by the number of links in a digraph that separated those positions furthest apart. Third, connectedness would be a function of the extent that members have direct or indirect power in relation to each other. Finally, the proportion of direct power relative to indirect power would be a function of the number of links separating the members.

Second, further study could utilize the approach to the study of organizations which has been advocated by Pugh et al., (1963). In this conceptualization, the contextual, structural, activity, and performance variables are viewed as the determinants of organizational behavior. Contextual variables include the location, history, size, resources, and constitution of an organization. Structural variables to be considered would include the extent of standardization of procedures and of roles. For example, one aspect of role standardization includes qualifications for office, and the differences which existed between the relatively stringent qualifications in effect at School "A" and the minimal qualifications at School "B" were not considered in the discussion of power and influence structures in the present research. Activity variables or organizational processes, could be studied through use of methods similar to those used in this study, or alternative procedures could be considered. Finally, performance variables, which are concerned with the degree of success an organization has in reaching its stated goals, could be judged on the basis of

perceptions formed by organizational participants.

Another possibility would be to use essentially the same approach as the present study but to obtain evidence about other types of samples. The present research concentrated on students' unions from urban schools. A similar study in a rural school setting could provide a basis for comparison of rural and urban power structure membership. Similarly, a study could be undertaken for students' unions at the post-secondary educational level. Comparisons could be made between power and influence structure membership in universities, institutes of technology, and community colleges.

The theory and research upon which the political decision—
making model was based could form the basis for a similar model to be
applied to educational organizations other than students' unions. For
example, research studies could examine power and influence structures
which have developed within such interest groups as teachers' and
trustees' organizations.

Another study could examine a single group in depth utilizing Bales' (1970) Interaction Process Analysis to determine the types of group roles which exist and subsequently to analyze their value directions in terms of the value categories which Bales developed.

Alternative approaches to the study of values could also be considered.

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APPENDIX A

STUDENTS! UNION QUESTIONNAIRE

Instructions: Please put your name on the separate answer sheets. Be frank in your responses with the assurance that individual responses are strictly confidential. Please respond to EVERY item.

Section 1: General Information

- 1. What grade are you presently in?
 - a. ten
 - b. eleven
 - c. twelve
- 2. What was your age last birthday?
 - a. 14 or younger
 - b. 15
 - c. 16
 - d. 17
 - e. 18 or over
- 3. Your sex?
 - a. boy
 - b. girl
- 4. Are you presently an elected member of the students' council other than a room or grade representative?
 - a. yes
 - b. no
- 5. Are you presently a room or grade representative on the student council?
 - a. yes
 - b. no
- 6. Does your family own a car?
 - a. yes
 - b. no
- 7. Does your family have a garage or carport?
 - a. yes
 - b. no
- 8. Did your father go to high school?
 - a. yes
 - b. no
- 9. Did your mother go to high school?
 - a. ves

10.	Did your father go to university?
	a. yes b. no
11.	Did your mother go to university?
	a. yes b. no
12.	Is there a writing desk in your home?
	a. yes b. no
13.	Does your family have a stereo record player?
	a. yes b. no
14.	Does your family own a piano?
	a. yes b. no
15.	Does your family get a daily newspaper?
	a. yes b. no
16.	Do you have your own room at home?
	a. yes b. no
17.	Does your family own its own home?
	a. yes b. no
18.	Is there an encyclopedia in your home?
	a. yes b. no
19.	Does your family have more than 100 hard cover books?
	a. yes b. no
20.	Did your parents borrow any books from the library last year?
	a. yes b. no
21.	Does your family leave town each year for a holiday?
	a. yes b. no

- 22. Do you belong to any club where you have to pay fees?
 - a. yes
 - b. no
- 23. Does your mother belong to any clubs or organizations such as study, church, art, or social clubs?
 - a. yes
 - b. no
- 24. Does your family own a color TV set?
 - a. yes
 - b. no
- 25. Have you ever had lessons in music, dancing, art, swimming, etc., outside of school?
 - a. yes
 - b. no

Section II:

Questions 26 - 32 are intended to see what your opinion is about the amount of say that people in the following positions have about what the students union at this school does.

Please use the following code for questions 26 - 32:

- a = a great deal of say
- b = quite a bit of say
- c = a little say
- d = very little say
- e = no say at all.
- 26. In general, how much do you think the president has to say about how things are decided in this students' union?
- 27. In general, how much do you think the executive of the students' union has to say about how things are decided in this students' union?
- 28. In general, how much do you think that a room representative (or grade representative) has to say about how things are decided in this students' union?
- 29. In general, how much do you think that the membership has to say about how things are decided in this students' union?
- 30. In general, how much do you think that you have to say about how things are decided in this students' union?
- 31. In general, how much do you think that the staff advisor has to say about how things are decided in this students' union?
- 32. In general, how much do you think that the principal has to say

Section III:

The following questions have been asked of a number of high school students throughout the country. They are all matters of OPINION; there are not any right or wrong answers.

Please give your opinion on every statement. Do not worry over individual items. It is your first impression, the immediate feeling about each statement that we want.

Please use the following code for questions 33 - 75:

- a = agree strongly
- b = agree somewhat
- c = agree slightly
- d = disagree slightly
- e = disagree somewhat
- f = disagree strongly.
- 33. Obedience and respect for authority are the most important virtues students should learn.
- 34. There is hardly anything lower than a person who does not feel a great love, gratitude, and respect for his parents.
- 35. What youth needs is strict discipline, rugged determination, and the will to work and fight for family and country.
- 36. You have to respect authority and when you stop respecting authority, your situation isn't worth much.
- 37. Patriotism and loyalty are the first and the most important requirements for a good citizen.
- 38. Young people sometimes get rebellious ideas but as they grow up they ought to get over them and settle down.
- 39. A child should not be allowed to talk back to his parents, or else he will lose respect for them.
- 40. The facts on crime and sexual immorality show that we will have to crack down harder on young people if we are going to save our moral standards.
- 41. A well raised child is one who doesn't have to be told twice to do something.
- 42. Nothing is static; nothing is everlasting; at any moment one must be ready to meet the change in environment by a necessary change in one's moral views.
- 43. Let us eat, drink, and be merry, for tomorrow we die.

- 44. The solution to almost any human problem should be based on the situation at the time, not on some general moral rule.
- 45. Life is something to be enjoyed to the full, sensuously enjoyed with relish and enthusiasm.
- 46. Life is more a festival than a workshop or a school for moral discipline.
- 47. The past is no more, the future may never be, the present is all that we can be certain of.
- 48. Everyone should have an equal chance and an equal say.
- 49. There should be equality for everyone -- because we are all human beings.
- 50. A group of equals will work a lot better than a group where the roles are rigidly prescribed.
- 51. Each one should get what he needs the things we have belong to all of us.
- 52. No matter what the circumstances, one should never tell people what to do without consulting them.
- 53. It is the duty of every good citizen to correct anti-minority remarks made in his presence.
- 54. Poverty could be almost entirely done away with if we made certain basic changes in our social and economic system.
- 55. There has been too much talk and not enough real action in doing away with racial discrimination.
- 56. To be superior a man must stand alone.
- 57. In life an individual should for the most part "go it alone," assuring himself of privacy, having much time to himself, and attempting to control his own life.
- 58. The most rewarding object of study any man can find is his own inner life.
- 59. Study and thought are the highest form of human activity.
- 60. The individualist is the man who is most likely to discover the best road to a new future.
- 61. Voting is the only way that students like me can have any say about how the students' council runs things.

- 62. I don't think students' council members care much about what students like me think.
- 63. Students like me don't have any say about what the students' council does.
- 64. Sometimes students' council activities seem so complicated that a students like me can't really understand what's going on.
- 65. Schools are run by others and there is little that pupils can do about it.
- 66. The teachers will not listen to pupil complaints about unfair school rules.
- 67. There really isn't much use complaining to the teachers about the school because it is impossible to influence them anyway.
- 68. In this school the teachers are the rulers and the pupils are the slaves.
- 69. The school principal is really interested in all pupils in this school.
- 70. In this school pupils can complain to the principal and be given a fair hearing.
- 71. Pupils often are given the opportunity to express their ideas about how the school ought to be run.
- 72. In discipline cases the pupil's explanation of the circumstances is carefully weighed by the school authorities before punishment is decided upon.
- 73. Pupils have adequate opportunities to protect themselves when their interests conflict with the interests of those who run the school.
 - 74. Pupils in this school are given considerable freedom in planning their own programs to meet their future needs.
 - 75. Pupils ideas about how the school should be run are often adopted in this school.

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Section	n IV:
Your r	ame
Instru blanks	ctions: For each of the following questions use as many of the provided as you feel are needed.
a e	there were an issue before the students' union that required decision by a group of student leaders—leaders that nearly eryone would accept—which students in the school would you oose?
((6)
((7)
((8)
((9)
(5) (10)
t y t	ometimes people feel that certain people are more important than there in making decisions in different areas. Below are listed are different types of activities. For each one, indicate who ou feel are the important students involved when decisions are eing made. Note that names of students may be listed under more than one activity area. Cativity 1: Athletic program. For example, if a question were raised about whether to add curling to your intramural program, there are likely some students who would be the ones to consult before a decision would be made. List students whom you would consult about any athletic activity connected with the students' union.
	1)
	(7)
	(8)
	(4)
	(5)

Activity 2: Social	program. Which students would you consult he social activities sponsored by the studer	nts'
council?	ine social additions of the second	
(1)	(6)	
(2)	/=\	
(3)		
(4)	401	
(5)		
affort sever	ouncil decisions. This involves questions to students in their relationships with teach istrators within the school.	ners
(1)	(6)	
(2)	4-1	
(3)		
(4)	4.63	
	(10)	

⁻⁻ End of Questionnaire --

APPENDIX B

DECISION QUESTIONNAIRE: STUDENTS' UNION STUDY

Introduction

This questionnaire is part of a study being conducted by a doctoral student at the University of Alberta. You may be assured that your responses are confidential and that your name will not be used in the report of the study.

use	d in the report of the study.
1.	Your name:
2.	If you are serving on any students' council committees or are a member of a grade council please indicate which one(s) in the space below:
	1.
	2.
	3.
3.	During the current school year (1970-71) the students' council executive and the council have made a number of decisions. In the space provided please indicate which decisions you consider

axecutive and the council have made a number of decisions. In the space provided please indicate which decisions you consider to have been the most important. For each decision also indicate the people or group(s) primarily responsible for making the decision. That is, was the decision made primarily by the council executive, the council as a whole, student body, some small group of students or some combination of these groups. If any students were mainly responsible for a particular decision please name them. If you wish to comment on any of your answers please feel free to do so. Use as many of the blanks as you feel are needed.

DECISION	PERSON(S) OR GROUP(S) RESPONSIBLE	COMMENTS
;		
:		

APPENDIX C

BALES' INTERACTION ANALYSIS WORKSHEET

L. :	SEEMS FRIENDLY		<u> </u>	<u> </u>	 			
2	DRAMATIZES			ļ	 			
3.	AGREES							
4	SUGGESTION				 			
5.	OPINION		<u> </u>		 			 _
6.	INFORMATION						ļ	
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