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ABSTRACT

THIS REPORT CONTRASTS THE CHARACTERISTICS OF HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS WITH DISORDERLY HISTORIES AND THOSE WITHOUT SUCH HISTORIES. THE SAMPLE CONSISTS OF 1,318 ELEVENTH GRADERS IN EIGHT WISCONSIN SCHOOL SYSTEMS. THE MAJOR DEPENDENT VARIABLES ARE STUDENTS' REPORTS OF BEING SENT FROM CLASSES FOR DISCIPLINARY REASONS AND SKIPPING SCHOOL WITH A GANG OF KIDS; THE MERITS OF THESE INDICATORS ARE DISCUSSED. QUESTIONNAIRES COMPLETED BY STUDENTS PROVIDED ALL THE DATA, EXCEPT IQ, WHICH WAS OBTAINED FROM SCHOOL RECORDS. DISORDERLINESS, OR REBELLIOUSNESS, IS CONTRASTED WITH OTHER TYPES OF STUDENT DEVIANCE; A TAXONOMY OF SUCH DEVIANCE IS PRESENTED AND DISCUSSED. THE REPORT CONCLUDES BY NOTING THE IMPLICATIONS FOR SCHOOL POLICY AND FOR FURTHER RESEARCH OF THE EMPIRICAL FINDINGS. (AUTHOR)

CHARACTERISTICS OF DISRUPTIVE HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS

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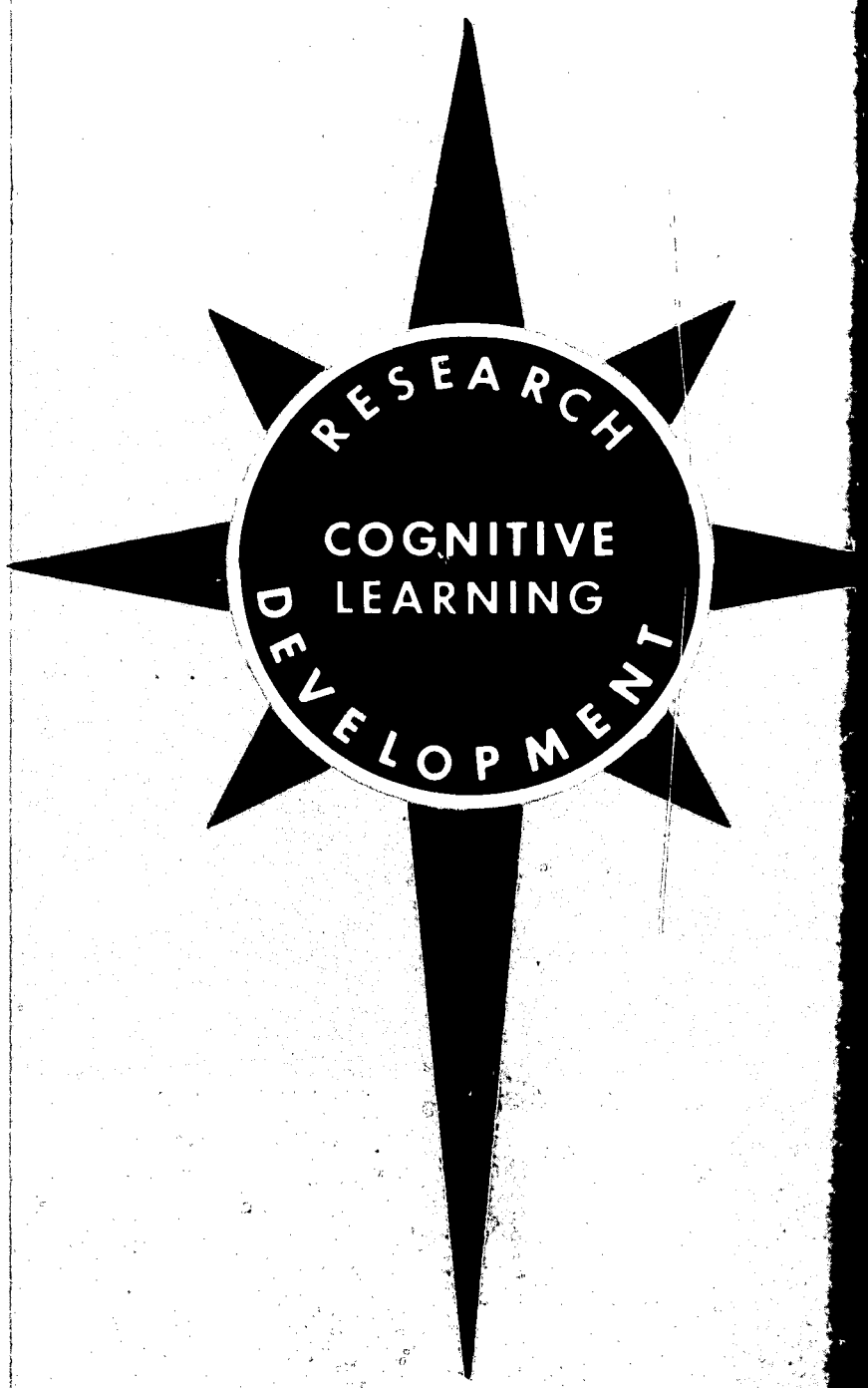

Technical Report No. 96

CHARACTERISTICS OF DISRUPTIVE HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS

By Warren O. Hagstrom and Leslie L. Hugh Gardner

Report from the Models for Planned Educational Change Project

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The Wisconsin Research and Development Center for Cognitive Learning focuses on contributing to a better understanding of cognitive learning by children and youth and to the improvement of related educational practices. The strategy for research and development is comprehensive. It includes basic research to generate new knowledge about the conditions and processes of learning and about the processes of instruction, and the subsequent development of research-based instructional materials, many of which are designed for use by teachers and others for use by students. These materials are tested and refined in school settings. Throughout these operations behavioral scientists, curriculum experts, academic scholars, and school people interact, insuring that the results of Center activities are based soundly on knowledge of subject matter and cognitive learning and that they are applied to the improvement of educational practice.

This Technical Report is from the Models for Effecting Planned Educational Change Project in Program 3. General objectives of the Program are to develop and test organizations that facilitate research and development activities in the schools and to develop and test the effectiveness of the means whereby schools select, introduce, and utilize the results of research and development. Contributing to these Program objectives, the main objective of the Planned Change Project is to develop and test system-wide mechanisms which local school systems can employ in utilizing knowledge and innovations of the type generated by the Center. Change-agent teams have been organized in area school systems and their effectiveness is being evaluated.

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ABSTRACT

This report contrasts the characteristics of high school students with disorderly histories and those without such histories. The sample consists of 1318 eleventh graders in eight Wisconsin school systems. The major dependent variables are students' reports of being sent from classes for disciplinary reasons and skipping school with a gang of kids; the merits of these indicators are discussed. Questionnaires completed by students provided all the data, except IQ, which was obtained from school records.

Disorderly students are far more likely to be boys than girls and they are especially likely to be those boys who do not expect to attend college. There is no clear correlation between father's occupational status and disorderly behavior, although SES and college expectations do interact in affecting disorderly behavior: boys and girls from high SES families who do not expect to attend college are most likely to become disciplinary problems. Students of average IQ are more likely to be disorderly than those with either low or high IQ. Intelligence interacts with SES and college expectations to affect disorderliness; those of high SES origins and low intelligence, and those of high intelligence and low expectations of attending college, are more likely to be disorderly than other students. Boys of marginal leadership status, who have some followers in the classroom but are not among the top leaders, are more likely to be behavior problems in high school than either non-leaders or the top leaders, although this is true only for those not expecting to attend college. The disorderly students are likely to perceive themselves either as in the leading crowd of their schools or as remote from the leading crowd.

Disorderliness, or rebelliousness, is contrasted with other types of student deviance; a taxonomy of such deviance is presented and discussed. The report concludes by noting the implications for school policy and for further research of the empirical findings.

I

INTRODUCTION: CONFORMITY AND DEVIANCE IN SCHOOL SYSTEMS

> The generalization that the schools have a despotic political structure seems to hold true for nearly all types of schools. . . . It is a despotism in a state of perilous equilibrium. It is a despotism threatened from within and exposed to regulation and interference from without. It is a despotism capable of being overturned in a moment, exposed to the instant loss of its stability and its prestige. (Waller, 1932, Pp. 9f.)

Schools ordinarily have difficulty maintaining order because students are bound by many and complex rules while school authorities have limited rewards and punishments to offer for conformity. Students are expected to conform to explicit rules related to the central tasks of the school; for example, rules about prompt completion of homework, independent work on exams, or appropriate spelling on written assignments. They are expected to conform to explicit rules related to the coordination of the activities of many persons in schools; for example, rules about raising one's hand to be recognized in a classroom, or using only certain stairwells between classes. Further, students are expected to conform to explicit or implicit standards of deference and demeanor (Goffman, 1956), deference to authorities and peers, demeanor for themselves as students and young people. The subtlety of some of these expectations is not inconsistent with their importance or the harshness of sanctions for their transgression. The explicit rules governing adolescents in a large high school might fill a large volume, and the implicit rules might be uncountable. We shall not attempt to devise a taxonomy of these rules here, although this would be a desirable task.

Schools in modern America are severely limited in the sanctions available to them. Extrinsic incentives—money, power, or prestige in the larger community—are seldom available, at least for the large majority of students. Physical coercion can be used only in extreme cases and is quite properly considered inconsistent with the central goals of schools as institutions. The intrinsic rewards of learning how to solve problems and acquiring exciting information are of great importance, but they are often scarce and often irrelevant to the rules governing students—these rewards are not usually supposed to be contingent upon many aspects of "good behavior." Thus, schools must operate primarily on the basis of symbolic token rewards—grades, praise, private blame and public ridicule. A school can reward students by conferring upon them identities as persons of merit, and it can punish them by identifying them as failures (Stinchcombe, 1964). These incentives have great long-run importance, and most students are usually influenced by them. But we ought not be surprised if most students sometimes and some students usually find these sanctions insufficient and deviate from expectations.

This report is devoted to one type of student deviation: rebellion—active alienation from authority. This is but one of many types of deviation, and we shall describe other types to justify our concentration on this particular one. Talcott Parsons (1951, Ch. VII) suggests a taxonomy of deviation based upon three variables. First, deviants tend to be ambivalent about their relations to others and to rules, and this ambivalence may be expressed either in terms of alienation or in terms of overconformity. Second, deviation may be active or it may be passive. Third, the focus of the deviation may be on social objects (persons, roles, groups) or on norms. Figure 1 applies Parsons' scheme to the student role. (Obviously the scheme could be applied to other actors in schools, particularly teachers.)

The most common type of deviation and perhaps the most costly in terms of the long-run goals of schools is probably passive evasion

	Active		Passive	
	Compulsive Performance		Compulsive Acquiescence	
	Focus on Social Objects	Focus on Norms	Focus on Social Objects	Focus on Norms
Conformative Dominance	<u>Dominance</u> "Manipulators of authority figures"	<u>Compulsive Enforcement</u> (Probably an empty cell for students)	<u>Submission</u> E.g., the "teacher's pet" "overdependent students"	<u>Perfectionistic Observance</u> "Ritualism"
	General Rebelliousness		General Withdrawal	
	Focus on social objects	Focus on norms	Focus on social objects	Focus on norms
Alienative Dominance	Aggressiveness toward social objects: particularly school authorities. "The rebel" (failures of deference)	Rejection of values by demeanor: "fools," "clowns," "regression in terms of age standards." Rejection of normal means, not ends: "Cheaters."	Withdrawal from social interaction "truants" "dropouts"	Evasion of rules the "lazy, apathetic student"

Adapted from Parsons, 1951, p. 259

Figure 1. Types of Student Deviation

of rules. Students may attend classes but neither pay attention nor try to learn. Overdependency and ritualistic behavior—where the student follows rules and instructions regardless of the fact that he isn't learning anything or otherwise attaining the formal goals set by the school—are also common, even if they are seldom recognized as problems of deviance, and they too are costly in a society which prizes creatively and imagination and in which the schools must help children attain a high degree of independence.

Despite the importance of these other types of deviation, rebellion, the active alienation from authority, is critically important to the social organization of schools in the short run. The rebel, unlike the cheat and unlike the apathetic lazy student, presents an open challenge to school authorities to which they must react, and these reactions may themselves threaten the order of the school. (Phillips, 1959). The rebellious student is likely to claim some sort of legitimacy for his behavior or at least challenge the legitimacy of the authority of teacher and principal. Stinchcombe suggests that the claim to legitimacy usually takes the form of claims to symbols of adult status—smoking, cars, marriage, etc. (Stinchcombe, 1964, Ch. 5), although today some rebellious students claim legitimacy on political bases. Furthermore, the rebellious student is likely to generate further disorder by stimulating various forms of collective behavior—crowdlike or moblike behavior. Crowds and mobs occur commonly in schools for a number of reasons. Students are generally ambivalent toward authority and will express alienation in crowds or mobs that they might control in ordinary situations. Large classrooms and especially large study halls give participants a feeling of anonymity, and as social reinforcers of particular roles and statuses are weakened, the student can participate in the undifferentiated crowd or mob. And noise and physical movement in classrooms can generate the kind of "circular reinforcement" noted by students of collective behavior.[1] The rebel-

[1] <u>Cf</u>. the excellent discussion of collective behavior in schools by Waller (1932, Ch. XII).

lious student, by expressing the alienative tendencies of others, can sometimes stimulate them too to become disorderly. (It seems reasonable to suppose that this would be more likely to occur as class size increases.)

Foolish, clowning behavior also tends to generate collective behavior, but fools ordinarily pose a smaller threat to the order of the school than rebels because the former tend not to claim legitimacy. The fool can display disrespect for the normative order of the school (by failing to demean himself properly) and get away with it because he does not claim respect for himself. Fools may even be functional for groups by providing a form of tension release and a focus for group identification (Daniels & Daniels, 1964; Dentler & Erikson, 1959).

Teachers often overreact to rebellious student behavior, partly because teachers are themselves ambivalent toward students. (It is not easy to wholeheartedly like adolescents.) Thus, a student's act of disrespect or disobedience may stimulate a disproportionately aggressive response from the teacher. In American schools today this teacher aggressiveness is likely to be verbal; the teacher can "pick on" the deviant in a manner that can arise quite naturally out of normal classroom activities. Teachers may also attempt to enlist the cooperation of students by their use of ridicule, by using the deviant student as a scapegoat, etc.[2] These practices are often "effective" punishments. However, use of them may lead to a loss of respect by students for the legitimacy of the teacher's authority. This may lead to other acts of deviance, producing still more teacher aggression, and so forth in an ever widening vicious circle of deviance.

Parsons suggests that effective social control must operate to stem these vicious circles and that one essential element is the refusal by the offended party to reciprocate the deviance of the offender (Parsons, 1951, Ch. VII). Parsons also suggests the importance of support, emphasizing the group membership of the offender rather than threatening it; permissiveness within limits; and the manipulation of rewards or punishments. The failure of normal tactics of teacher control leads to the rejection of the student.[3] Rejection may occur in a variety of formal or informal ways, but in American schools one common procedure is the exclusion of the student from the classroom: he is sent to the principal, the dean, or some other punitive agent. The frequency of occurrence of such rejection will be our major indicator of deviance in this report; its validity will be discussed in the next chapter.

Deviance may be a transient and episodic aspect of a person's life; most students will have engaged in most of the types of deviance noted in Figure 1 by the time they graduate from high school. On the other hand, when authorities react to deviance and label the offender, and when he comes to accept this labelling and define himself as a particular type of deviant, his deviation will become a more stable aspect of his role and his personality.[4] We are particularly interested in this report in the latter form, although our indicators do not enable us to distinguish between primary and secondary deviation with much confidence. Thus, this report will deal with the correlates and causes of students coming to play the role of rebel in schools.

In the next few pages we shall discuss the variables to be used in our attempts to explain variation among individuals in rebellious behavior. In the next section we shall describe the methods of the study, the sample and the major indicators. Then we shall present our results, and this report will conclude with a discussion of the implications of these findings. In a future report we shall discuss the characteristics of student groups and teachers in more or less disorderly classrooms.

CORRELATES OF REBELLIOUS BEHAVIOR

Those who are familiar with the lives of adolescents usually point out that boys and girls are markedly different in the way they relate to authority, whether that authority is domestic, academic, or legal. The sources of these differences are varied. The research of Douvan and Adelson (1966), for example, clearly indicates that male adolescence is centered around the problem of autonomy, while adolescent girls, on the other hand, are concerned with their expressive relationships. If boys are more concerned with personal autonomy, they can be expected to be more consistently engaged in confrontations with authority figures

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[2] Cf. the discussion by Jules Henry (1963) of these forms of teacher behavior.

[3] This is one manifestation of the very general principle that deviation leads to rejection. Cf. Stanley Schachter (1951) and the critical review of the literature on this topic in Levine and Allen (1968).

[4] For a discussion of what has come to be called "primary" and "secondary" deviation, see Lemert (1951).

who expect them, for better or for worse, to behave passively. Arthur Stinchcombe (1964), in developing a more general theory of rebellion in schools, suggests that boys, unlike girls, are forced to be oriented to a universalistic labor market, with the result that failure in school is critical to their self-conceptions in a way not true for girls. Current theories, empirical studies, and common sense all suggest, then, that boys will have a higher rate of classroom misbehavior than girls.

Of almost equal obviousness is the hypothesis that lower-class students will have a higher rate of classroom misbehavior than upper-class students; or, if not obvious, at least this is a notion suggested by a long tradition of sociological literature on juvenile deviance. Considering school misbehavior to be a type of "juvenile delinquency," this hypothesis would be suggested by studies of "lower class subcultures," such as Albert Cohen's Delinquent Boys (1955). The socioeconomic status (SES) hypothesis is more directly expressed with respect to high school in August B. Hollingshead's famous description of Elmtown's Youth (1949). Various reasons for the differences between social classes have been suggested: that lower-class students are discriminated against in the schools, partly because of culture conflict with middle-class teachers and other authorities, that lower-class culture emphasizes short-run and concrete goals instead of the long-run abstract goals of the schools, that lower-class families give less support to school authorities than middle-class families, etc.[5] Whether the issue is lower-class subcultures or lower-class dignity, this sort of reasoning leads to the prediction that high school rebellion will vary inversely with social class.

The one empirical test thus far given the SES hypothesis in terms of high school misbehavior, however, failed to find that social class has any direct bearing on classroom behavior, at least in the one California school studied. Stinchcombe's Rebellion in a High School (1964) reports that middle-class students were just as likely to have skipped school or have been sent out of class as were lower-class students. This result, refuting as it does a major assumption of most thinkers in this area, requires replication, and this we shall do here. We shall further replicate Stinchcombe's contrary hypothesis. Since he observed that class background predicted high school rebellion so poorly, he reasoned that it is not a student's background that accounts for rebellion, but instead his expectations of his future status in education and the labor market. "The key to high school rebellion is to be found in the status prospects of students, rather than in their status origins" (Stinchcombe, 1964, P. 69). Thus, we expect to find that students who plan on going on to college will have lower rates of classroom misbehavior than students who do not expect to continue. We shall also discuss how these aspirations interact with social class background and IQ.

The possible correlates or student rebelliousness discussed so far are remote from the classroom situation, but the social situation in a classroom certainly presents the stimuli that trigger specific rebellious acts and may lead to a persistent pattern of rebellious behavior. We shall here examine the student's social position among his peers. Fox, Lippitt, and Schmuck (1964, P. 102 f.) report that students rejected by their peers tend to have more negative attitudes toward school. Another study (B.A. Schmidt, 1958) found that sociometric rejects in elementary schools are often hostile and aggressive in their school settings. Other studies (Short & Strodtbeck, 1963) suggest that gang boys may engage in delinquent acts when they are competing for leadership in the gang; this suggests that the highest rates of misbehavior will be found among those with some claims to leadership but without a secure leadership status.

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[5] For critical reviews of these theories see Stinchcombe (1964), Phillips (1959), and Werthman (1963).

II
METHODS

SAMPLE

The data reported here were gathered in eight Wisconsin communities in March 1967. The sample includes 1318 high school students from 56 classrooms in ten high schools. The sample is not random. The most serious limitation of the sample is that it includes only relatively small communities, not selected in any random fashion. The largest city in the sample had a population of about 46,000 in 1960; the school system included two high schools, two junior high schools, and sixteen elementary schools. There is one other city of 35,000 with a substantial industrial base in the sample, while the other communities are smaller. The two smallest systems serve predominantly rural populations. None of the communities is a suburb, although a small fraction of the workers in three of them are employed in Milwaukee or Madison. As a result of the relatively small size of these communities, none of the schools involved is as homogeneous in terms of student social class origins as the high schools found in big cities. On the other hand, the schools are homogeneous in terms of race; not a single identifiable Negro is in the high school sample. These two characteristics of the sample present the most serious limitations on the generalizability of the findings reported here. The sample of schools is also unrepresentative in lacking either Catholic schools or private academies.

Within each school a random sample of 11th Grade English classes was chosen. (More than 95% of the students were 11 Graders in English classes; a small proportion were 12th Graders or were sampled in social studies classes.) The choice of English classes made administration convenient by avoiding problems of duplication or omission, but it limits our ability to generalize when the variables concern teacher or classroom characteristics.

Many of the same questions were asked of Fifth Grade students in the same communities. Results from this sample will be reported in a later publication. The questionnaires administered were developed in cooperation with the Cooperative Project for Educational Development (COPED), and they have also been administered to thousands of other students in other states. We hope to be able to replicate and extend the present analysis with the more extensive data from these other states. (For a detailed description of COPED's program, see Mial, 1967).

Questionnaires were administered by paid assistants during the regular English class period. The teacher was asked to leave the room and did so in almost all cases. No attempt was made to contact students absent on the day the questionnaires were administered, and students were assured that their responses would be treated confidentially.

INDICATORS OF REBELLIOUSNESS

Two questions taken from Stinchcombe (1964) are our primary indicators of rebellious behavior. The first, and the one that will be used most in this analysis, is "Have you ever been sent out of the class to the office by a teacher you didn't get along with? --- Yes, more than once; Yes, once; or No." The distribution of responses to this question are shown, separately for boys and girls, in Table 1. This indicator has face validity, and it conforms to the theoretical notions about deviation and rejection discussed above. However, student responses may have been dishonest (the actual frequencies of having been sent out are probably higher than those reported in Table 1), and the behavior reported clearly depends not only on the student concerned but his teacher as well. The likelihood that a teacher will send a misbehaving student

Table 1

Relative Rates of Being Sent Out of Class, by Sex

	Times Sent Out				
Sex	2+	1	0	Total	
Boys	22%	17%	62%	100%*	(N = 653)
Girls	3%	7%	90%	100%	(N = 665)

*Totals do not equal 100% because of rounding.

out of class will depend not only upon the teacher's ability to maintain control in the classroom but on the policies of the principal and other disciplinary authorities in the school. Thus, this indicator is relatively crude. It is, however, correlated with other questions indicating deviance in the way we expect it to be. Some correlates of responses to this question are shown on page 7; see also the discussion in Stinchcombe (1964, Ch. 2). The data on page 7 show that those who have been sent out of class are substantially more likely than others to report: that life in their present classroom is unpleasant; that they do not work very hard at school tasks; that they are bored with the work in their present classroom; and that, everything considered, their school is not very good. Since it is unlikely that either student misreporting or teacher characteristics are systematically associated with other variables used in this report, the crudity of this indicator will ordinarily tend to reduce the correlations we shall present.

The second indicator of rebelliousness used here is the student's response to the question, "Have you ever skipped school with a gang of kids (whether or not you got caught)? Yes, more than once; Yes, once; or No." Table 2 presents the distribution of responses to this question by sex. The phrase "with a gang of kids" in this question is added to sharpen its relation with flouting authority rather than merely evading it; the student who wishes to

Table 2

Relative Rates of Skipping School, by Sex

	Times Skipped School				
Sex	2+	1	0	Total	
Boys	22%	10%	68%	100%*	(N = 653)
Girls	12%	11%	79%	100%	(N = 665)

*Totals do not equal 100% because of rounding.

rationally evade authority can do it best by skipping out by himself, while students who skip in a group are likely to be showing contempt for the school's authority to themselves and others. This indicator, like being sent out of class, may be misreported by students and will be affected by the situation and policies of the school. Skipping may be easier to accomplish in some locations than others, and some schools may punish it more severely than others. The data in Table 3 show that responses to the skipping question are correlated with attitudes toward school in the manner to be expected. The data in Tables 1, 2, and 3 show that skipping has more variance than being sent out, especially for girls, and, for girls, its correlations with attitudes toward other aspects of school are considerably larger than the correlations between these attitudes and being sent out of class. Thus, for girls skipping is a better indicator of rebelliousness than being sent out of class. Girls do not confront the authorities of the school directly, as do boys; their deviance is more likely to be in the nature of collective evasion of rules. For boys, on the other hand, being sent out of class appears to be a somewhat better indicator of rebellious behavior.

Most of the other indicators used in this report are responses to questions in the same questionnaire. The number of sociometric choices received was computed by summing choices given within a class. Intelligence test scores were obtained from official school records.

Table 3

Correlations Between Being Sent Out of Class and Skipping School with Selected Attitudes to School, by Sex

	Correlation (Gamma coefficient)*			
	Times sent out of class by teacher (Never, once, more than once)		Times skipped school with a gang of kids (Never, once, more than once)	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
1. Times sent out of class	--	--	.69	.66
2. "Life in this class with your regular teacher. . . "				
1. "Has all good things;"				
2. "Has mostly good things;"				
3. "Has more good things than bad;"				
4. "Has about as many good things as bad,"				
5. "Has more bad things than good;"				
6. "Has mostly bad things."	.31	.08	.25	.24
3. "How hard are you working these days on learning what is being taught at school?"				
1. "Very hard;"				
2. "Quite hard;"				
3. "Not very hard;"				
4. "Not hard at all."	.23	.19	.22	.35
4. "When I'm in this class I. . ."				
1. "Usually feel wide awake and very interested;"				
2. "Pretty interested, bored part of the time;"				
3. "Not very interested, bored a lot of the time;"				
4. "Don't like it, usually feel bored."	.34	.05	.31	.19
5. "This school. . . . "				
1. "Is my idea of a good school;"				
2. "Is O.K. but it could be better;"				
3. "Isn't very good;"				
4. "Is pretty bad—I don't like it."	.38	.33	.40	.46

* Gamma is a measure of correlation for ordinal variables. Considering all pairs of cases in a bivariate table, it measures the proportionate excess of pairs where both variables are ordered in the same direction over pairs where one member is higher on one variable, the other member higher on the other variable, with ties on either variable not counted. Gamma is zero when the variables are statistically independent, plus one when for all untied pairs the same member is higher on both variables, and minus one when for all untied pairs the member higher on one variable is lower on the other. For a double dichotomy gamma reduces to the familiar Yule's Q. On this measure see Goodman and Kruskal (1954).

III
RESULTS

The data in Table 1 show that more than one-third of the 11th Grade boys in this sample have been sent out of class at one time or another for disciplinary reasons, and more than one-fifth have been sent out of class at least twice for these reasons. Thus, a large fraction of these boys have misbehaved at some time in such a way that their teachers have been unable to cope with them unassisted. On the other hand, only 10% of the girls admitted having ever been sent out of class at all, and only 3% have been sent out more than once. The difference between the sexes is much smaller when misbehavior outside the classroom is considered. About 33% of the boys skipped school with a gang of kids at least once, 22% more than once, while 23% of the girls skipped with a gang at least once and 12% more than once. Girls are much less likely than boys to confront directly the authority of the teacher, but they are only somewhat less likely than boys to avoid publicly the authority of the school.

It is tempting to explain the difference between the sexes in terms of typical personality patterns and normative expectations for the sexes. However, we have no evidence to support this argument, and it should not be accepted without evidence. For an ingenious explanation of the sex differences in terms of career expectations see Stinchcombe (1964, pp. 64-81); we shall return to this point below. It is clear, however, and no surprise, that boys present the major threat to the authority system of the school.

SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS AND COLLEGE ASPIRATIONS

The socioeconomic status of a child, as indicated by the occupational status or income of his father, is one of the best predictors of academic success and attainment (Sewell & Shah, 1968). There have been many speculations and some investigations to interpret this association; some of these speculations imply that the same processes leading to low academic attainments of students from low socioeconomic status (SES) origins will lead these students to be behavior problems in the schools. While these arguments may have some validity in explaining different levels of academic aspiration and success, there has been no good evidence to support their validity in explaining different levels of student misbehavior. The data in the present study lend no support to the idea that social class of origin is a major determinant of student misbehavior. The zero-order association between father's occupation and misbehavior is shown in Table 4. The data show the highest rates of misbehavior for the middle SES groups, lower rates for the highest and lowest groups. Table 5 shows similar data for the relation between skipping and SES for girls; here there is essentially no correlation.

(In originally coding father's occupation an attempt was made to produce categories that would be ordered according to level of living; hence, farmers were included in the other occupational categories. In retrospect it would be desirable to have data stated separately for children of farm origins, but recoding would be too costly. We were also interested in differences among the 10 high schools in our sample with respect to the association between SES and rebelliousness. In what types of social settings, if any, are children of lower SES origins more rebellious? Unfortunately, meaningful conclusions cannot be reached because of the small numbers in some SES categories in many of the schools.)

If social class of origin is not associated with rebelliousness, social class of destination is. Our indicator of this latter variable is intention to go to college. Sewell and Shah have shown (1968) that high school students'

Table 4

Rates of Being Sent Out of Class for Disciplinary Reasons, by Socioeconomic Status and Sex

Father's Occupation	Percentage sent out of class more than once for disciplinary reasons (Number of cases in base of percentage)* Boys	Girls
Professional, managerial, owner of large business or large farm	15% (104)	3% (96)
Sales and clerical, owner or operator of medium-sized farm	29% (84)	2% (94)
Skilled worker or foreman, service, small business or farm**	23% (303)	4% (307)
Semi-skilled or unskilled worker, unemployed	18% (154)	1% (164)
Total	22% (645)	3% (661)

* Non-responses to questions about being sent out or skipping excluded here and in following tables.

** A small number of cases where father's occupation was not ascertained has been included in this category.

Table 5

Rates of Skipping School with a Gang of Kids by Socioeconomic Status for Girls

Father's Occupation	Percentage of girls skipping with a gang of kids: More than once	Once	Never	(N = 100%)
Professional, managerial, owner of large business or farm	12%	11%	76	(96)
Sales and clerical, owner or operator of medium-sized farm	9%	9%	83	(93)
Skilled worker or foreman, service, small business or farm	12%	13%	74	(306)
Semi-skilled or unskilled worker, unemployed	11%	8%	80	(166)
Total	12%	11%	77	(661)

stated intentions to go to college are well correlated with actual attendance, and attendance at college is highly correlated with later SES (Blau & Duncan, 1967). The data in Table 6 show a strong association between college expectations and rebelliousness; those boys for whom high school is not a means to the end of college admission are far more likely to misbehave than the others.

There is a moderate positive correlation between social class origins and plans to attend college (gamma = +.33 for boys and +.28 for girls). This might be expected to produce a negative correlation between SES and rebelliousness. We have shown that this is not the case, and the data in Tables 7 and 8 show why: within categories of students equally likely to attend college, SES is positively related to rebelliousness. The data from the present study do not enable us to interpret this relationship, but Stinchcombe (1964, Ch. 6) presents data supporting the following argument. High school student rebellion is a reaction to failure to succeed—an overt rejection of the identity given the student by the school. This reaction will be stronger if there is greater pressure to succeed. Since parental pressure to go on to college is positively associated with social class (see Stinchcombe, 1964; Sewall & Shah, 1968), the student of higher social status origins who is doing poorly in school and unlikely to attend college will be more likely than others to display rejection of the identity conferred upon him in school by rebelling against the school. This social class effect will be less important for girls than for boys, since girls are less likely to have parental pressure or support to attend college (Sewell and Shah, 1968), and the data in Table 9 do show in fact little correlation between SES and skipping for girls when college expectations are controlled.

With cross-sectional data such as we have here the hypothesis that failure causes rebellion cannot be positively supported. It is also plausible to argue that misbehavior in school leads to poor performance and little desire to go on to college. Both processes may occur, and an examination of the effects of intelligence on rebellion can present some evidence in support of both lines of reasoning.

INTELLIGENCE

Intelligence is an excellent predictor of success in school examinations and grades. It is not a very good predictor of student misbehavior in school. The overall results are curvilinear:

Intelligence[6]	% of boys sent out of class at least twice for misbehavior
less than 100	20% (155)
100-106	29% (147)
107-114	22% (109)
115 or higher	14% (90)

[6] Intelligence was measured when the student was in 10th or 11th Grade with the Henmon-Nelson Test of Mental Ability (Henmon-Nelson, 1942). This was taken from school records for seven of the eight school systems in our sample; only Lorge-Thorndike IQ scores were available for students in the eighth system, and they have not been included in these tabulations.

Table 6

Rates of Being Sent Out of Class for Disciplinary Reasons by College Expectations and Sex

"How likely do you think it is that you will go on to a college or university?"	Percentage sent out of class more than once for disciplinary reasons (N)	
	Boys	Girls
Definitely will go on	12% (222)	2% (218)
Probably will go on	22% (115)	2% (116)
May go on but not sure	21% (115)	2% (125)
Probably will not	23% (117)	4% (107)
Definitely will not	47% (79)	5% (97)

Table 7

Rates of Being Sent Out of Class for Disciplinary Reasons by Socioeconomic Status and College Expectations, for Boys

Father's Occupation	Percentage sent out of class more than once for disciplinary reasons (N) Expectations to attend college: Definitely plan	Probably will go on	Not sure, probably not, or definitely not
White collar, owner or operator of large business or large or medium-sized farm*	13% (111)	34% (35)	34% (41)
Skilled worker, foreman, service, small business or farm	12% (75)	18% (51)	30% (177)
Semi-skilled or unskilled worker, unemployed	9% (34)	14% (29)	23% (91)

* Two highest SES groups in Table 4 are combined here to assure enough cases for reliable percentages.

Table 8

Rates of Skipping School with a Gang of Kids by Socioeconomic Status and College Expectations, for Boys

Father's occupation	Percentage skipping school with a gang of kids more than once (N) Expectations to attend college: Definitely plan to	Probably will go on	Not sure, probably not, or definitely not
White collar, large business, large or medium-sized farm	13% (112)	31% (35)	17% (41)
Skilled worker, foreman, service, small business or farm	11% (75)	22% (51)	35% (176)
Semi-skilled or unskilled worker, unemployed	9% (35)	11% (28)	24% (92)

Table 9

Rates of Skipping School with a Gang of Kids by Socioeconomic Status and College Expectations, for Girls

Father's Occupation	Percentage skipping school with a gang of kids more than once (N) — Expectations to attend college: Definitely plan to	Probably will go on	Not sure, probably not, or definitely not
White collar, large business large or medium-sized farm	8% (99)	9% (32)	16% (58)
Skilled worker, foreman, service, small business or small farm	5% (85)	14% (52)	16% (168)
Semi-skilled or unskilled worker, unemployed	6% (33)	0% (32)	17% (101)

The highest rate of misbehavior occurs for boys of average intelligence; rates are lowest for the highest intelligence category and next lowest for the lowest intelligence category. This suggests that it is not low intelligence or resulting poor performance in school that gives rise to misbehavior but the meaning given to poor performance by the student and his significant others.

We have suggested above that parental expectations of sons' academic performance are positively correlated with social status. Given these differential parental pressures, the high social status parent of the low IQ son can be expected to find his poor school performance more distressing than the low IQ son of a low status parent. This implies that SES and rebellious behavior will be positively correlated at low IQ levels, but not necessarily at high IQ levels; the data in Table 10 show this to be the case. Among those with IQ's less than 100, sons of white collar parents are more than

Table 10

Rates of Being Sent Out of Class for Disciplinary Reasons by Socioeconomic Status and Intelligence, for Boys

Father's Occupation	Percentage sent out of class more than once for disciplinary reasons (N) — Intelligence*: Less than 100	100-106	107-114	115 or higher
White collar, owner or operator of large business or large or medium-sized farm	43% (21)	18% (40)	20% (41)	15% (40)
Skilled worker, foreman, service, small business or small farm	16% (70)	31% (71)	26% (38)	14% (28)
Semi-skilled or unskilled worker, unemployed	9% (47)	32% (25)	17% (24)	14% (22)
Total	20% (155)	29% (147)	22% (109)	14% (90)

* Henmon-Nelson Test of Mental Ability

twice as likely than sons of manual working parents to have been sent out of class more than once for disciplinary reasons. On the other hand, for those with IQ's greater than 114, there is no association between SES and this indicator of rebelliousness. Stated the other way around, only for sons of white collar workers is IQ negatively correlated with rebelliousness. (These conclusions must be especially tentative because of the small number of cases in some of the cells in Table 10. Small cell sizes are produced by the usual positive correlation between SES and IQ; the correlation can be seen by inspecting the distribution of bases of percentages in Table 10, where, for example, sons of white collar workers account for 44% of those with IQ's over 114 but only 16% of those with IQ's less than 100. Furthermore, unreliability in response to the question about being sent from class may increase as IQ decreases.)

Other aspects of Table 10 are not readily interpreted. The negative or curvilinear association between SES and rebelliousness for boys whose IQ's range between 100 and 114 does not appear in other subgroups in this table or elsewhere. Looking at the data the other way, it is difficult to explain the strong curvilinear relation between IQ and rebelliousness for sons of manual workers. Perhaps those with low intelligence and low SES have very low levels of aspiration and find failure unthreatening, while those of very high intelligence and low SES are not frustrated—it turns out that almost 80% of the boys in this category expect to go to college. Thus it is the boys of average intelligence and low SES who may have high aspirations that are frustrated by their school experiences and who rebel as a result of this frustration.

This consideration of the joint effects of SES and IQ on rebellion supports the line of reasoning that rebellion is a consequence of failure, not an antecedent. However, an examination of the joint effects of IQ and college expectations does not provide data that seem consistent with this line of reasoning. If low intelligence leads to low expectations to attend college [and it does], and if rebellion occurs when boys find school irrelevant to their futures and a threat to their identities, then one might expect to find that there is little association between IQ and rebelliousness within categories of boys equally likely to attend college. Table 11 shows that this is not the case. Among those not expecting to attend college there is a strong positive correlation between IQ and rebelliousness. The data seem more consistent with the line of argument that some boys become alienated from school (for reasons not known but not as a result of poor performance) and then decide not to continue to more of the same in college and also express their alienation in ways that lead to their expulsion from class. The data from Table 11 have been percentaged differently in Table 12 to provide support for this argument; rebels are less likely than non-rebels to plan to go to college, especially among those with high intelligence.

In summary, intelligence is not associated with rebelliousness in any simple fashion. Consideration of the joint effects of intelligence and SES supports the idea that rebellious

Table 11

Rates of Being Sent Out of Class for Disciplinary Reasons by College Expectations and Intelligence, for Boys

"How likely do you think it is that you will go on to a college or university?"	Percentage sent out of class more than once for disciplinary reasons (N) Intelligence		
	Less than 100	100-106	107 or higher
Definitely will go on or probably will go on	13% (30)	20% (64)	13% (150)
May go on but not sure	14% (36)	24% (37)	28% (18)
Probably will not or Definitely will not	25% (89)	43% (46)	40% (30)
Total	20% (155)	29% (147)	19% (199)

Table 12

College Expectations by Intelligence and Rebelliousness, for Boys

Intelligence	Percentage definitely or probably planning to attend college or university (N)	
	Rebels, those sent out of class more than once for disciplinary reasons	Non-rebels, those not sent out of class or sent out only once for disciplinary reasons
Less than 100	13% (31)	21% (124)
100 to 106	31% (42)	49% (105)
107 to 114	50% (24)	73% (85)
115 or higher	62% (13)	93% (73)

behavior is a consequence of failure, while consideration of the joint effects of intelligence and college expectations supports the idea that both rebellion and lack of interest in going to college are the consequence of prior alienation. Both types of causal processes probably occur, but the data from this study do not enable us to evaluate their relative importance.

PEER RELATIONS AND REBELLION

We have shown the relations between rebellious behavior and a student's social class of origin and his likely social class of destination. But the acts of rebellion we are examining here always occur in the context of a school classroom, and the position of a student in the prestige system of the classroom can also be expected to affect his conforming or rebellious behavior. The rebel may be aggressive against his classmates as well as his teacher, or, conversely, he may be rebelling against his teacher on behalf of his class. The rebel threatens the prestige and authority of the teacher, and the teacher's reaction to this may be contingent upon the student's social position among his classmates.

We measured sociometric status in the classroom by asking each student the following questions:

> Who are the 4 students in this classroom group who you think most often get other students in this class to follow them?

The number of choices received by a student on this question (which may range from zero to about 30, the number of students in the average classroom) is taken here as an index of his leadership status.

> Which 4 students in this classroom group do you like the most?

The number of choices received by a student on this question, which also may range from zero to about 30, is taken here as in friendships, or popularity.

Before presenting the results of our analysis, two limitations must be noted. First, our dependent variable of being sent from class refers to behavior in the past in either the classroom where the questionnaire was administered or other classrooms in the same or preceding years, while the leadership and friendship indexes apply only to the specific classroom. In what follows we shall assume that sociometric status in a particular class is a satisfactory index of sociometric status in the larger school setting and that it is relatively stable over time. Our measurements will be invalid to the extent that these assumptions are mistaken; it seems likely that this will be especially problematic among those students with few or no choices received in the particular class. Second, in the tables to follow we pool students from many different classrooms without standardizing for size of classroom. The larger the classroom, the larger the number of possible choices; in addition, the most important leader in one classroom of 30 students may receive many fewer leadership choices than the most important leader in another classroom with the same number of students, since the distribution of choices received may vary greatly among different classrooms.

Despite these measurement problems, the data show interesting correlations between sociometric status and rebellious behavior. The

relationship is shown in Figures 2 and 3. It is clear that sociometric rejects are not more likely than others to be rebellious. Neither are sociometric stars: the boys most likely to be rebellious are those with eight or nine leadership choices or five to eight friendship choices; those in these categories are about twice as likely to have been sent out of class more than once for disciplinary reasons than those with the fewest or those with the most choices.[7]

These curvilinear associations can be interpreted in the following way. First, some peer support is necessary before boys will have the courage to challenge authority; social isolates lack this support. Second, teachers are more apt to react to disobedience with expulsion when the offender has a following in the classroom than when the offender is an isolate, for the isolate's actions are less likely to be contagious. Third, boys with many leadership choices are probably secure in their leadership statuses and are probably confirmed in them by both peers and teachers; it is unlikely that rebellion will help enhance their statuses. But boys with a small following (say eight or nine who would choose them as leaders) may contest for leadership of classrooms by challenging the authority of the teacher. A dramatic illustration of how something that may be similar to this occurs in violent gangs has been presented by Short and Strodtbeck (1963). In a study of street gangs in Chicago they noted numerous instances where gang leaders precipitated acts of aggression against outsiders when their leadership statuses were threatened, and they suggest that "leaders resort to this action because of the limited resources they have for internal control of their group—particularly when their status is attacked."[8] High school students

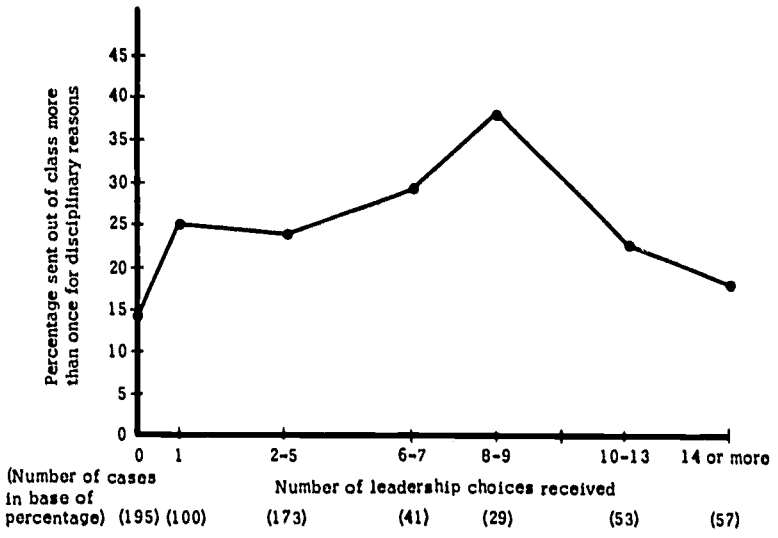

Fig. 2. Rate of Being Sent Out for Disciplinary Reasons by Number of Choices Received as Leader, for Boys

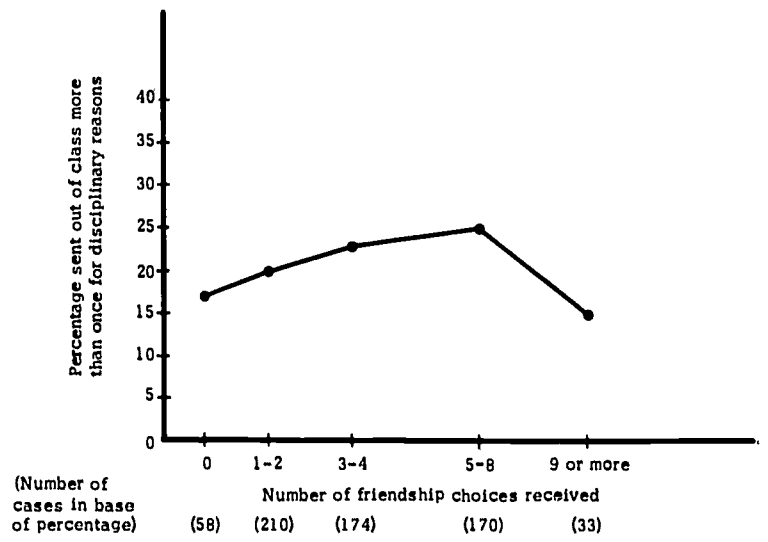

Fig. 3. Rate of Being Sent Out for Disciplinary Reasons by Number of Choices Received as "Like Most," for Boys

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[7]These data are for boys. A similar curvilinear relationship between friendship status and rates of skipping can be observed for girls, with the exception of a slightly higher skip rate among girls with no friends than among girls with one or two friends in the classroom; isolation evidently leads to physical avoidance of the setting.

[8]A study of a women's ward in a mental hospital also illustrates this differentiation of leadership, with some inmates popular and also respected by the hospital staff, other inmates popular with the patients <u>because</u> they expressed hostility to the staff. See Perrucci (1963).

are ordinarily ambivalent toward authority, and high school classrooms often include different leaders, some of whom express tendencies to conformity and others of whom express the students' alienation.

This picture can be made clearer if one considers the student's perception of how he stands in the social life of the school as well as his objective leadership position. We asked the following question about this. (Taken from Coleman, 1961; see that volume for other interesting uses made of the responses.)

> The people in this school who are most important and most looked up to could be called the leading crowd. Suppose the center circle below represented the leading crowd. How far out from the center are you? (Place a check in the circle where you think you are.)

The response categories to this question were represented by five concentric circles. Table 13 shows that those boys who perceive themselves to be either in the leading crowd or far from the center are most likely to be rebellious. Those who perceive themselves as part of the leading crowd include some of those contesting for leadership in the school, while those perceiving themselves far from the leading crowd include some who reject the status structure of the school and lead others against it.

The contest for leadership can be expected to be most significant to those boys for whom the school is not a means to an end such as entrance to college and higher occupational status. For them especially school has value in terms of the immediate status gratifications they can gain from their peers. The plausibility of this line of reasoning is shown by the data in Table 14 and Figure 4. Among those definitely planning to go on to college, leadership status has little association with rebelliousness, while the association is very strong among those who do not expect to go on to college—and among them the curvilinearity noted above almost disappears. Conversely, college expectations influence the rebellious behavior of leaders far more than that of nonleaders: the difference in percentage rebellious between those definitely planning on college and those not planning on college ranges from 7 percentage points among those with no leadership choices up to 28 percentage points among those with 10 or more leadership choices. (This suggests a way in which the original curvilinear relation may arise, although the small number of cases does not enable us to test this reasoning in detail. Suppose leadership status is uncorrelated with rebelliousness among those expecting to go to college and has a linear positive correlation with rebelliousness among those not expecting to go to college, and that the number of leadership choices received is strongly correlated with college expectations. The following hypothetical figures show how this could give rise to the curvilinearity observed:

Table 13

Rates of Being Sent Out of Class for Disciplinary Reasons by Perceived Distance from the School's "Leading Crowd," for Boys

Perceived distance from "leading crowd"	Times sent out of class for disciplinary reasons				
	More than once	Once	Never	Total	(N)
1 Member of the leading crowd	36%	27	36	100	(75)
2	16%	19	65	100	(203)
3	19%	12	69	100	(251)
4	17%	16	67	100	(59)
5 As far as possible from the leading crowd	41%	11	48	100	(46)

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Table 14

Rates of Being Sent from Class for Disciplinary Reasons by Leadership Status and College Expectations, for Boys

How likely do you think it is that you will go on to a college or university?	Percentage sent out of class more than once for disciplinary reasons (N) Number of leadership choices received: None	1 to 4	5 to 9	10 or more
Definitely will go on	11% (46)	13% (82)	12% (32)	10% (60)
Probably will go on	10% (40)	26% (35)	36% (22)	22% (18)
May go but not sure, probably will not, or definitely will not	18% (108)	31% (129)	42% (40)	38% (32)
Total	14% (194)	24% (247)	31% (94)	20% (110)

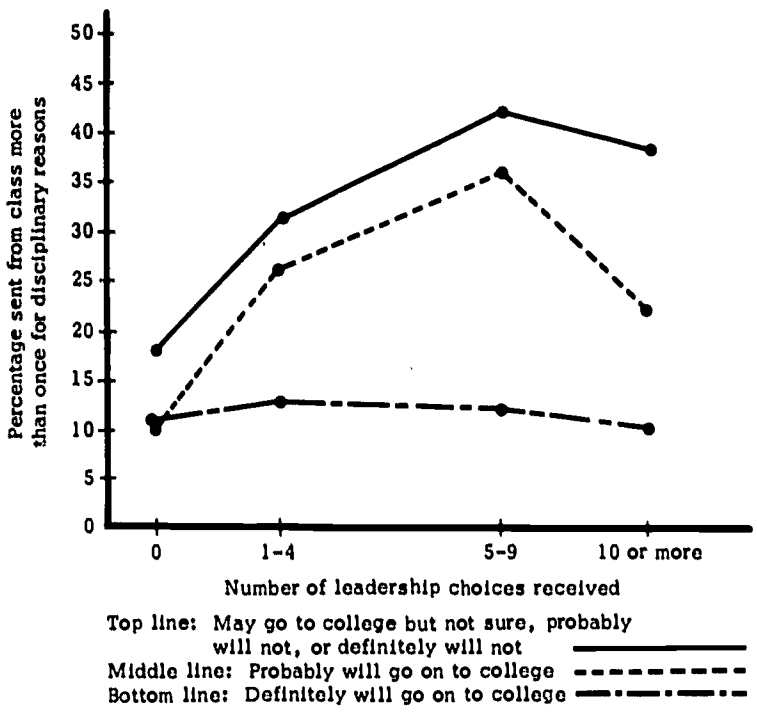

Fig. 4. Rates of Being Sent Out of Class for Disciplinary Reasons by Leadership Status and College Expectations, for Boys

Leadership Status	Rebelliousness Among the College Bound	Rebelliousness Among Those Not College Bound	% of row who are College Bound	Rebelliousness Weighted Average
1 - lowest	.10	.10	.50	.10
2	.10	.25	.60	.16
3	.10	.40	.70	.19
4	.10	.55	.80	.19
5 - highest	.10	.70	.90	.16

To make this kind of model fit the data available one would have to assume that those saying they aren't sure about their college plans are a mixture of the other two types: one can conceive of this kind of "mixing" existing within a single boy unsure of his plans and of his feelings about school.

The data we have presented here suggest that peer support tends to be a necessary condition for student misbehavior, and the data are consistent with the theory that the rebellious student contests for leadership by expressing shared feelings of alienation from authority. These effects are important only for those boys not expecting to go to college, because for them the peer group is a relatively more important aspect of life in the school.

IV
SUMMARY AND IMPLICATIONS

In this report we have described the location of rebellious students, those who openly challenge the authority of the school, in the population of high school students. Rebels are far more likely to be boys than girls, and they are especially likely to be those boys who do not expect to attend college. There is no clear correlation between father's occupation and rebellious behavior, although SES and college expectations do interact in affecting rebellion: boys and girls from high SES families who do not expect to attend college are most likely to become disciplinary problems. Students of average IQ are more likely to be rebellious than those with either low or high IQ. Intelligence interacts with SES and college expectations to affect rebellion; those of high SES origins and low intelligence, and those of high intelligence and low expectations of attending college, are more likely to be rebellious than other students. Boys of marginal leadership status, who have some followers but are not among the top leaders, are more likely to be behavior problems in high school than either non-leaders or the top leaders, although this is true only for those not expecting to attend college. The rebels are likely to perceive themselves either as in the leading crowd of their school or as remote from the leading crowd.

These results are consistent with Stinchcombe's (1964) in all respects. They serve decisively to refute the idea that rebellion in high school comes primarily from working class youth. The data support but do not prove Stinchcombe's theory that student rebellion is a reaction to failure: that school, for the student not planning to attend college, is not only irrelevant but such a threat to self esteem that open expression of alienation is necessary to preserve integrity of the self. Other results presented above support the contrary theory that alienation from school is prior to both rebellion and failure. The data further support but do not prove the theory that rebellion in the classroom requires peer support and is used to enhance leadership among fellow students.

RESEARCH IMPLICATIONS

Although socioeconomic status is not correlated with rebellion in the Wisconsin high schools studied here or in the Northern California community studied by Stinchcombe, it seems quite likely that if a national survey were conducted it would show that schools serving communities of working class or poor people would have more problems in controlling behavior. That is, while there may be no correlation between SES and rebellion within particular schools, there might be among schools. The data here did not allow us to test this hypothesis, although we hope to be able to do so when data from the larger COPED survey become available. (We might note that in the Wisconsin community studied that had two high schools, the one with the higher proportion working class had markedly higher rates of rebellion than the other.) Further studies are needed, then, to ascertain the effects of class segregation and race segregation on rates of student rebellion.

Further studies of student disciplinary problems should also include other types of deviance. It is easy to suggest hypotheses relating the independent variables studied here to these other types of deviance, and these hypotheses need testing to establish a good picture of deviance and assure that policy changes to control one type of deviance do not produce other types. For example, it seems likely that parental pressure to succeed is correlated with both SES and cheating,[9] that

[9] See the study of college student cheating reported in Bowers (1964).

non-leaders are more likely than leaders to engage in passive withdrawal in the classroom or to drop out of school, that girls are more likely than boys to be overdependent upon their teachers, and that high SES students and top leaders are more likely than others to attempt to manipulate school authorities.

It seems likely that longitudinal studies will be necessary to firmly establish theories of the genesis of deviance. The same students must be observed at different points in time to ascertain the temporal and causal priority of frustrated aspirations, failure, and alienation and to show how variables such as these are related to status in peer groups.

We also need additional studies to show how the background characteristics of students enter school situations in such a way as to generate stress. Since rebellion occurs in group settings, we need to relate characteristics of individual disruptive students to the characteristics of the groups in which they act. In our next paper in this series we shall present some data on this point as well as showing how other characteristics of classrooms and teachers influence the amount of disorder in classrooms.

POLICY IMPLICATIONS

If frustrated aspirations lead to aggressive behavior in schools, as we have suggested, then it might be thought that what is needed is a way of gently reducing the degree of frustration before it produces aggression. That is, just as the confidence man "cools out" the mark, his victim, after initially giving him high expectations of gain (Goffman, 1952), so the school as confidence man must find ways of cooling out students after it has helped motivate them to have high aspirations of success. Burton R. Clark (1960) has shown how many of the procedures used in junior colleges, such as extensive testing, counseling, and courses in occupational selection, can be interpreted as ways of gently reducing the aspirations of students who want but will not be able to obtain 4-year college diplomas. High school guideance counselor. porbably do not serve this function very often; ordinarily they work to raise aspirations by directing qualified students to appropriate colleges. It seems unlikely that high school counselors could be as successful as junior college counselors in cooling out high aspirations, since the former, unlike the latter, have few choices to offer the student who will not succeed academically.

Ralph Turner (1960), in comparing British and American education, suggested that the former blunted the aspirations of students who would not be permitted to enter colleges at a much earlier age than the latter; this, he suggested, would produce stability in a system of "sponsored mobility." The English procedures leading to lower levels of aspiration include early determination (at age 11 plus) of who shall be permitted to enter college and an early segregation of the college bound from other students. It seems unlikely to us that such procedures serve to reduce classroom disorder. In fact, Hargreaves (1967) attributes rebellion in the English school he studied in large part to just such segregation. In future reports we hope to present more data relevant to this point.

If cooling-out procedures are not likely to be effective in reducing school disorder in the American context, then policy changes to be considered might include making school more relevant and rewarding for those students most likely to become rebellious. School can be made relevant to the student not bound for college by giving instruction that has clear value for the sorts of jobs he can in fact obtain. Stinchcombe (1964, Pp. 107-109) presents impressions of apprentice training programs for the manual trades and suggests that students in them are committed and conforming. These programs include training in skills that are clearly relevant to work being performed, they give the student rights in a labor market that are at least as valuable as the right to attend college, and they give students symbolic rewards that are clearly important to them. Ordinarily nothing like this exists for students in vocational training programs in public schools. (However, we do need studies of vocational schools, good and bad, to see what can be accomplished in such settings to get committed and orderly student bodies. Martin Mayer (1963, Pp. 363-369) gives anecdotes indicating that at their best vocational schools for lower class students can be very effective.) Vocational programs are often irrelevant and unrewarding, and it will require much additional financing to change them.

If, for some students, school cannot be made relevant as a means to aid in achieving future ends, perhaps they can be made rewarding in the present as places in which every student can gain significant social responses for the expression of whatever skills he does possess. American schools have long recognized this and have emphasized the value of art, music, athletics, and social activities in the school program. These activities help ameliorate the

tendency of schools to become unbearably meritocratic institutions (where "Merit = IQ + Effort"),[10] for they demonstrate that an individual's value is not only a function of narrowly defined academic talents. However, since there tend to be strong correlations among the various abilities mentioned, e.g., book learning, artistic expression, athletic skill, social skills, etc., and since some of them often clearly lack significance, they do not compensate for the injuries inflicted by the school upon those likely to become rebellious. Students alienated from school also tend to be alienated from athletics, school social clubs, and other non-academic activities associated with the school. (Cf. Stinchcombe, 1964, pp. 93-100, where it is shown that rebellious students are more alienated from and less likely to participate in school social activities and athletics than non-rebellious students.)

Still other ways of making schools more rewarding for those most likely to become rebellious would be to grant adolescents certain adult privileges at an earlier age, privileges of symbolic and hedonistic value such as drinking, smoking, sex, and car ownership (cf. Stinchcombe, 1964, pp. 178-185 and passim). It is unlikely that this will be done. Thus, it seems unlikely that any of the possible policy changes discussed here would be successful in removing the stresses that lead to student rebelliousness. If rebellion and disorder are to be minimized it is likely that it will be done by controlling student behavior in already stressful situations. Teachers and other school authorities vary greatly in their abilities to effectively exercise such control, and in a future report we shall discuss the characteristics associated with such effectiveness and the policy implications of them.

IS THE NATURE OF STUDENT REBELLION CHANGING?

We have the uneasy feeling that the data we collected in 1967, and the theories relating to them, are becoming obsolete. In the Sixties it seemed that one could make a sharp distinction between the rebellion typically occurring in high schools and that providing serious threats to the order of college campuses. In universities the individual offender as described here seemed to be absent; students are not constrained to go to college. Instead, the major threats to order have been more or less political: student movements have claimed legitimacy, and they have been led by superior students and students who have higher educational expectations than the average. [See, e.g., Somers (1965) on the Berkeley student revolt and Peterson (1968) for summaries of other studies.] While high school disruptors have been rebels, neither claiming legitimacy nor attempting to change the system, university disruptors appeared to be revolutionaries. Since the initial revolt at Berkeley there have been some signs of change. High school students have been increasingly politicized. They have come to question the basic legitimacy of adult authorities who pursued what seemed to them to be an immoral foreign war and participated in what seemed to be immoral repression of domestic minorities. This alienation from adult authority in general has been applied to adult authorities in school settings. There is now an ideology of "participatory democracy" that justifies student demands for more power, and some tenets of this ideology are widely shared. Thus, a Louis Harris poll of U.S. students (1969) found that 58% wanted more student participation in school policy making and that 54% of them thought that this was a "very important" matter.

As demands for "student power" have grown so also has a tendency to use disruptive tactics to achieve this goal and other goals. A National Association of Secondary School Principals poll found that "Three out of five principals report some form of active protest in their schools" in the 1968-69 school year (Herbers, 1969). Alan F. Westin found 348 newspaper accounts of high school disruption in the period from November 1968 through February 1969; about 37% were racial protests, 22% political (including Viet Nam), 20% against dress regulations, 17% against discipline, and 17% for educational reforms. If less active protests are considered, they are even more widespread; thus the NASSP survey reported that 82% of the schools have some form of protest against school regulations (Herbers, 1969).

The change in the nature of student alienation and the ways in which it is expressed has perhaps been most extensive in Negro schools. We need studies of these new expressions of alienation in all settings to determine if high

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[10] Cf. Young (1961). Our major objection to the policies suggested by James Coleman in The Adolescent Society (1961) are that they would tend to make schools even more unbearably meritocratic. In a sense, the rebellion we have depicted in this report is a rebellion against the meritocracy having some of the characteristics of the societal revolution described in Young's novel.

school student revolutionaries are, like their college counterparts, superior students with high aspirations, and we need to know what relations exist between the newer kinds of revolutionary behavior and the rebellious behavior discussed in this report. Does the rebel become enlisted into the revolutionary movement and use its ideology to justify disobedience? Or do the different types of alienation from authority exist parallel to and perhaps in conflict with one another?

At the same time, the ideologies of university radicals increasingly include anti-meritocratic aspects, such as an opposition to testing, grading, admission policies based upon tests and grades, and the appointment of professors on the basis of scholarly productivity alone. In many respects university and high school students have become more similar. High school students have become more sophisticated (for which superior instruction may be partly responsible), an increasing proportion of all students attend college, and students increasingly feel constrained to attend college in order to escape military service and to assure themselves of white collar jobs.

Disorder in schools is increasing, frequently to the point where armed police officers must be present in school buildings to control it. School authorities probably will have to become more adept in the techniques of repression. Yet repression is inconsistent with education, and no amount of naked power can assure order in schools. The authority of school professionals depends on the willing assent of students.

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