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ABSTRACT

This report presents a description of the activities and findings of a research team providing consulting services to Princeton High School in the areas of classroom management, leadership and organizational development, and race relations. The predominately middle-class white school was merging with a predominately black working-class school. Existing and anticipated problem areas were to be identified in the analysis. The team approached its task by fragmenting and then interviewing personnel who were thought most likely to be able to provide information in each of the team member's area of expertise. These areas included management, leadership, and small-group effectiveness; instructional methodology and contingency management technique applications; cross-cultural and cross-ethnic values, goals, and aspirations content. The findings consist mainly of what the team found to be the existing perceptions among teachers, students, and administrators regarding their relative roles and how these roles are performed. The section on findings is followed by recommendations for possible changes. (Author/MLF)

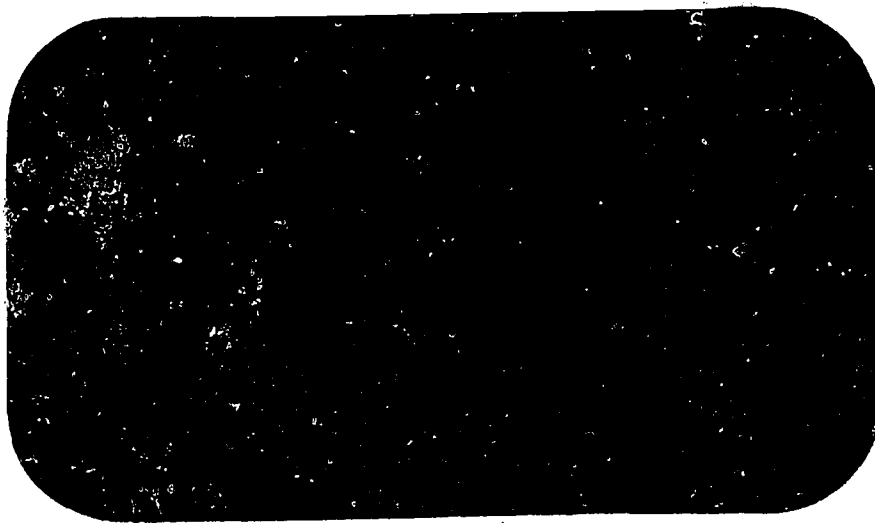
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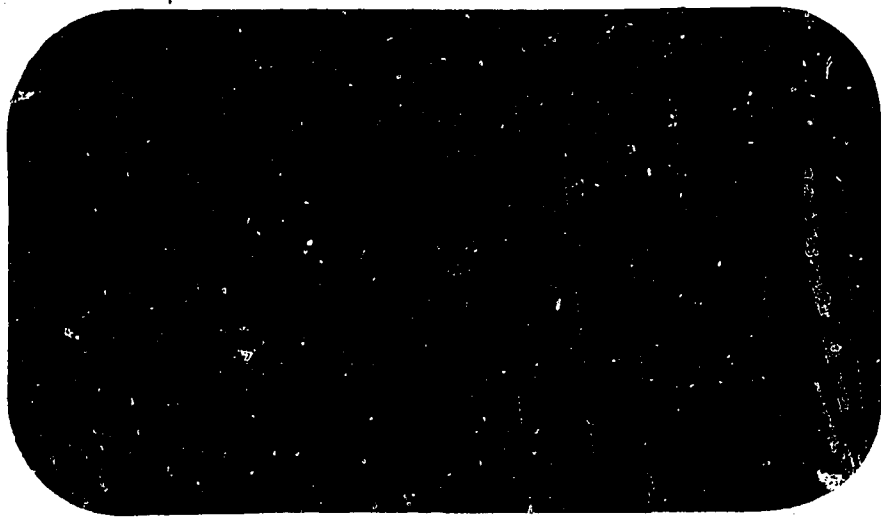
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Consulting Report

PRINCETON HIGH SCHOOL: A NEEDS ANALYSIS

by

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HUMAN RESOURCES RESEARCH ORGANIZATION

PREFACE

This report presents a description of the activities and findings of a research team from the Human Resources Research Organization that visited Princeton High School, Cincinnati, Ohio, at the request of its principal, Dr. Donald V. Johnson.

The purpose of the visit was to provide consulting services to the School in the areas of classroom management, leadership and organizational development, and race relations.

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PRINCETON HIGH SCHOOL: A NEEDS ANALYSIS

INTRODUCTION

This report presents a description of the activities and findings of a research team from the Human Resources Research Organization during a visit to Princeton High School, Cincinnati, Ohio, during the period 26-27 May 1971. The research team was invited to visit Princeton High School by its principal, Dr. Donald V. Johnson, in order to conduct a needs analysis of the Princeton High School System. This analysis was to include identification of existing problem areas, both as they resulted from the merger during the preceding year with the Lincoln Heights System, and as they might be anticipated from the more complete merger of student bodies projected for the following year.

APPROACH

The research team itself was integrated, and was composed of researchers with a wide variety of backgrounds and content expertise. These areas included management, leadership, and small group effectiveness; instructional methodology and contingency management technique applications; cross-cultural and cross-ethnic sensitivity and communication training; and lower socio-economic values, goals, and aspirations content. The team approached its task at Princeton by fragmenting and then interviewing personnel who were thought most likely to be able to provide information in each of the team member's area of expertise. While no claim can be made for comprehensiveness of coverage of varying viewpoints within the administrative group, the

teachers, and the student body, representatives of each of these groups were interviewed during the period of the visit. Further, the team felt it desirable that data be obtained from the "south campus" as well as from the "north campus" and achieved this objective by splitting during the second day of the visit, with two members of the team visiting the south campus and interviewing both students and representatives of the administrative and teacher groups there.

The findings and recommendations presented in this report were developed from consultation among the members of the team in reviewing their individual notes at the end of the visit, and through a more lengthy consolidation of notes from individual team members at the time of writing of the present report. Thus, while it is possible that the problem areas identified will not be presented in the exact order of their relative importance, there is a good basis for believing that most of the major problems within the Princeton System will have been identified, at least insofar as they lie within the areas of expertise described above for the individual team members.

FINDINGS

In broad overview, the team's findings are based on information obtained from students, teachers, and administrators within the system. Thus, the findings are based, indirectly, on the perceptions of members of each of these groups about its relationship with the other groups, and about each group's function within the total system. It is important at the outset to emphasize that such perceptions are almost never totally

accurate. Just as there are communication problems between ethnic groups (a point to be emphasized later), there are communication difficulties between such diverse elements in a total system as teachers, administrators, and students. Expectations are never communicated with complete accuracy from one group to another, and perceptions of actual behavior are often inaccurate, especially where the total perception is based in part on an inference as to the motivation behind these behaviors. Recognizing this as a problem, the team attempted to make estimates about the probable "true state of affairs," based on experience with other school systems and with other organizations than school systems. However, where these adjustments have been made, they will be so labeled as they occur in the findings.

Because the effectiveness of operation of a total system depends on how each element sees its role within the system, and how it performs this role in relation with other elements, the findings will consist mainly of what the team found to be the existing perceptions among teachers, students, and administrators at Princeton regarding their relative roles and how these roles are performed. The section on findings will then be followed by a section containing recommendations for possible changes to deal with the problems identified.

The Faculty

Orientation

The team's impression of the faculty at Princeton High School was that, overall, they probably were as professionally qualified as any such group the team has ever encountered before. Teachers are strongly oriented toward

academic excellence and personal growth as professional objectives. This is a tradition which has been developed and encouraged over the previous ten years or so, during which time a very strong faculty has been assembled. The present merit system reinforces this orientation, as does the system of "expectancies" which seems to emphasize self-development more than any other single thing. These emphases have led to the development at Princeton of an institution which resembles a small junior college (in content, climate, and teacher behavior) more than it does a high school.

It is judged that this probably has been a highly effective climate and orientation, at least until the time of the present merger with Lincoln Heights. To the extent that a substantial portion of the previous student body was college bound, the more highly prepared the graduating student could be for his entrance into the next step of his education, the more effectively the school system would have discharged its responsibilities to him. Accomplishment of these responsibilities, in all likelihood, was strongly facilitated by ability grouping practices that permitted the higher caliber students to be given even more directly relevant experiences to pave the way for their transition into college.

However, with the merger, the needs of the student body will become more diverse, and the dominant academic orientation of the faculty may become somewhat less effective in meeting the total needs of the student body than before. Incoming students from Lincoln Heights will, in all likelihood, be considerably less strongly oriented toward college as a next step, and thus will be less responsive to the implicit assumption that this

academic orientation fills the students' fundamental needs.

This alone could be expected to produce some degree of noncooperation among these lower achievement level students. However, even more serious problems may result from interaction of this academic orientation with reduction or elimination of ability grouping. There can be little doubt that the teacher's task with a homogenous ability group is easier, because it is then easier to target the level of instruction to the level of ability of the students being taught. However, ability grouping also results in stereotyping some students as "B" or "C" students, or worse, something the students themselves strongly resent. They feel, and with some justice, that once labeled, they cannot escape the typing; they consequently have much less incentive for excelling after having been labeled, and some may even reject the whole educational experience. However, the movement toward more heterogeneous groupings will, in all likelihood, intensify classroom management problems which presently exist and will be discussed under the heading of disciplinary practices. According to some estimates, the incoming students from Lincoln Heights may test as much as four to five years below the "old" Princeton students in terms of grade level achievement. The dilemma then is how to accommodate such staggering ability differences within the classroom, on the one hand, and how to avoid continued segregation of the student body through ability grouping on the other hand.

It is felt that a new approach toward individualization of instruction may well be the only feasible way of escaping this dilemma. However, as will be noted later, this will require a shift in the dominant orientations

of faculty members from that of a pure "product" orientation, wherein the "product" is the instruction itself and the student is assumed to be there to learn, toward a more facilitative or "client" orientation, in which the motives and objectives of the student himself must be considered to a greater extent.

CONCLUSION: The dominant orientation of the Princeton faculty presently is strongly toward content, and much less strongly toward the student as a person. This emphasis needs to be shifted.

Disciplinary Practices

In any large institution, a certain degree of inertia can be expected. That is, change is usually resisted and, indeed, change must for this reason be initiated in gradual increments--hopefully also through the use of positive incentives--if it is not to create more problems than it solves. Analysis of the classroom disciplinary practices of the faculty at Princeton reflects a substantial degree of resistance to beneficial change already initiated by the administration at Princeton; this is reflected particularly in the area of classroom disciplinary practices and control methods. It should be pointed out that the teachers' preoccupation with control in the classroom reflects both the product orientation described above and a lack of knowledge of more effective techniques for obtaining control than those presently being used. The product orientation is insidious in its effect. If the teacher assumes that the student is there solely to learn content, and that the student is obligated to make the major effort insofar as motivation is concerned, then it would logically follow that the motivated student would be quiet, well behaved, and attentive to the information being

transmitted by the teacher. Unfortunately, the same surface appearance can also be produced by application of aversive stimuli which reduce the student to a passive, "turned-off" state.

It is judged that the use of aversive classroom control techniques has not created a major problem at Princeton until this time because the needs of the students and the desires of the faculty have coincided to a substantial degree. However, with the complete merger of student bodies, this will no longer be the case to the same extent. Further, because interests and prior achievement are going to be strongly correlated with race after the merger of student bodies has been completed, there is going to be a strong basis in apparent fact for blacks from Lincoln Heights to assume that they are being discriminated against as a group because of race.

The basic problem arises from the fact that some teachers apparently use fairly strong aversive stimuli to suppress misconduct of relatively trivial nature. Unfortunately, it is probable that teachers who use these techniques are not fully aware of the impact they have on the student, but rather only of the apparent impact. Teacher behavior that causes the student to "lose face" with his peers is, admittedly, effective in the short run. Thus, the teacher may be deceived into believing that such techniques are desirable for classroom management purposes in the long run. However, a principal characteristic of such aversive stimuli is that they produce avoidance and aggressive behavior. (Frustration typically leads to aggression.) Thus, when the teacher uses such techniques to suppress trivial misconduct, the student may either respond with verbal or physical aggression

toward the teacher, become alienated from the purposes of instruction, or displace the hostility and aggression toward others in different settings.

When the aggression is turned toward the teacher, this is viewed as very serious misconduct, with the result that what began as a minor problem can quickly become a major one. This results, in the Princeton System, in the grade level administrator ("Dean of Boys" as one teacher referred to him) being turned to by the teacher to solve the resulting problem which may have grown to large proportions. Incidents of such "build-ups" were obtained in discussions with both deans and students.

It was a feeling of the deans that many teachers viewed discipline as a treatment to be applied by the deans to students outside of the classroom. This is not an optimum philosophy for two reasons. First, referring discipline problems to the deans saturates them with this particular type of problem and reduces their effectiveness in dealing with other problem areas. For the dean, this becomes a problem of fighting brush fires continuously. Further, as the size of the student body increases, there will come a point at which the deans no longer have enough time to handle the problem, and this will be a quasi-crisis point for the system. The teacher will then of necessity be forced to handle at least some of these problems but without the preparation for doing so well. The second reason why such a control philosophy is not maximally effective is that the application of disciplinary measures by the dean is separated by a substantial period of time from the behavior which created the problem. Such measures are inherently less effective than measures which occur quite soon after the

undesired behavior. Thus, the disciplinary action by the dean is simply less likely to result in replacement of the behavior with more constructive and desirable behavior, though it may result in suppression of the undesired behavior.¹

A group of truant students provided information which supported these observations regarding teachers' attempts to control trivial classroom misconduct. For example, the administration has rescinded the practice of requiring hallway passes and enforcing a dress code. In the view of the research team, these are excellent steps toward creating a climate wherein the student can learn to assume greater social responsibility. However, the students report that many teachers still attempt to enforce the dress code within the classroom. Further, they may react to dress, or to student behavior, with verbal abuse that is personally denigrating to the student. While the students may be misinterpreting the comments of the teachers, it was reported by both truant and non-truant students, and by administrators that teachers make comments which students interpret as insults, labeling them as lazy, barbaric, savage, piggish, or animalistic in one way or another.² It was the feeling of the team that blacks are

¹The key point here is that the objective of an effective educational system should be to produce long-term desirable behavior and not just suppression of undesirable behavior, leaving a "vacuum" as it were.

²This is one of the most difficult of all areas in which to determine the truth of a claim. Teacher statements may be of the type, "You dress like a pig." However, the student will interpret this to mean, "You are a pig." Thus, it is almost impossible ever to know what has actually been said, and teachers generally cannot understand why the student reacts as he does.

more sensitive to such comments than whites, particularly when they come from white teachers. Thus, while the problem is a difficult one now, it can be anticipated that it will be considerably worse after complete merger of the student body.

Even at present, black students complain that they are discriminated against in the classroom. They report that when a white student talks in class, he might be met with a mild rebuke or even ignored. However, a black student who does the same thing may be put out of class. A wide-spread student complaint dealt with the late arrival of "south campus" students because of the requirement for bussing from the south campus between classes. It was mentioned that some teachers, though instructed to review for ten minutes or so until south campus students arrived, presented new content from the beginning of the hour, and greeted south campus students with impatient reactions when they finally did arrive.

It was felt by the team that the real world may lie somewhere between the two strongly opposed positions which seem to be represented. First, it may well be that the black students from the south campus are not as diligent as they should be in moving from the bus to the class. However, there can be no doubt that at least some teachers have not been as tolerant of a difficult situation as they should have been.

There is another reason, probably not perceived by either students or faculty, for the discrimination which apparently does exist toward classroom misbehavior by south campus students. When teachers have a strong content orientation, as do Princeton teachers, they frequently are trapped in a motivational position of getting strong personal reinforcement from the rate of progress of their students. That is, the very bright students who learn

enormous amounts of material and gain important insights about the material being taught constitute a source of strong intrinsic rewards to the teacher for his teaching behavior. Conversely, the student who does not learn rapidly constitutes a "drag" on getting this kind of reinforcement within the classroom. It is a fact of middle class nature that one person tends to be tolerant of deviant behavior in someone who at the same time behaves commendably in other ways. Thus, the middle class teacher has a tendency to be tolerant of trivial misconduct among his high achievement students. In fact, he may not even notice such trivial misconduct, because he cannot "afford" to notice it psychologically. Conversely, he may be highly critical of such misconduct among the student who constitutes a continuing source of frustration for him by not achieving in class. Because achievement rate at Princeton is correlated, and is going to be more strongly correlated, with race, the result is de facto discrimination against blacks in the classroom, probably done unwittingly by the teacher and maybe also by the students themselves. It is to this kind of discrimination that the black is sensitive and will remain sensitive. It can be counted on to constitute a major source of trouble as the merger of student bodies becomes more complete next year.

CONCLUSION: Princeton teachers have inadequate classroom management skills, particularly for substituting desirable behavior for trivial misconduct, and rely too strongly on grade level administrators for support in this area.

Communication

One question of major concern to the research team and which was asked of teachers, students, and administration alike was whether (a) teachers

presently have a problem communicating with black students, and (b) whether such a problem was anticipated. The Princeton teachers who had not taught at Lincoln Heights uniformly reported that they did not think communication with Lincoln Heights students either had been difficult or would be in the future. To an extent, this is not surprising, from the point of view that it was expected by the team. There is a common misperception among middle class whites who have had only superficial face-to-face communication with low income blacks. Usually, it is found that they do not communicate well; this state of affairs was confirmed regarding the Princeton faculty by interviews with both administrators and students.

Such communication difficulties are caused by a lack of awareness that much of the behavior of the middle class white unwittingly reflects middle class assumptions and values, many of which are not shared by members of other socioeconomic levels, whether white or black. These assumptions and values constitute a frame of reference within which the middle class, white teacher's behavior is meaningful to himself. This is another way of saying that communication is never totally explicit. There are certain kinds of meanings that are "telegraphed" by code phrases or words, or by nonverbal behavior. When communicating with others who share the same frame of reference, the total communication is meaningful. However, when dealing with persons who do not share this frame of reference, the significance of what is said may not be perceived, or, indeed, may be even misperceived. These are communication problems that exist whether one is communicating across class levels, between ethnic groups, or between cultural groups. It may even exist when communicating across such relatively minor barriers as political affiliation. The result, insofar as the Lincoln Heights student is concerned, is

that sometimes he does not understand the words used by his white teachers, and sometimes he does not understand the significance of what is said, even though the words are familiar.

This lack of awareness and the difficulties it creates are generally not recognized by teachers. When they experience the consequences of such communication problems, e.g., poor achievement, they are likely to attribute the problem to other causes, such as low intelligence, low English ability, or low motivation. This then initiates another vicious circle in which the teacher expects less of the student, behaves in a manner that elicits a lower degree of effort, and thereby confirms the initial expectation. Because these communication problems presently are strongly correlated with race, this again provides a de facto racial discrimination which is perceived by the black and bitterly resented.

Interviews with other teachers who had more experience with blacks from Lincoln Heights, e.g., from going to the south campus to teach classes there, indicated varying degrees of awareness of communication problems that were likely to exist. Some teachers reported communication problems that had been encountered, though these centered primarily on the necessity for avoiding key words toward which blacks are hostile but which whites would not expect them to resent.

In the view of the team, this constitutes only a beginning awareness of the actual communication problems that exist. Interviews with teachers, students, and administrators familiar with the south campus students yielded quite a different picture. A rather universal theme which ran through these conversations was that black students, as a group, simply have more problems

than white students. These problems come with them into the classroom, and the teacher must overcome them before he can accomplish his teaching function. This requires enormous effort by the teacher, and must be rewarded in some way for it by the system of which he is a part. (It was the feeling of the research team that this would constitute the "client" orientation to which reference was made previously, which is to some extent antithetical to a "product" orientation.)

The typical mode of interaction between Princeton teachers and their students is highly intellectualized, highly verbal. It is to a substantial extent devoid of emotion and feeling. This reflects the middle class tendency toward depersonalization of interaction and de-emotionalization of experience. This is interpreted by blacks as rejection. The black students from Lincoln Heights already feel "inferior." They feel that neither the Princeton students nor the Princeton teachers want them in the school system, and therefore are naturally defensive and perhaps over-sensitive. The Lincoln Heights students are accustomed to a more personal relationship with their teachers than the Princeton teachers are accustomed to giving. Further, Lincoln Heights students are accustomed to having frequent nonclass interaction with their teachers which Princeton teachers are probably not prepared to encourage.

These basic cultural differences between black Lincoln Heights students and white Princeton teachers will affect the learning process. As was just noted, the blacks desire more personal attention and a more personal relationship in the classroom. Indeed, a personal relationship may be required

in order for the teacher to be effective in teaching them. Further, the black student is likely to be more emotional than the middle class white student, which the teacher probably is not prepared for. It is quite likely that the white teacher will be rejected by the black student if he is not able to face confrontations while at the same time retaining emotional control (not "losing his cool").

There was substantial feeling among teachers familiar with the Lincoln Heights students and from the students themselves that the black students, especially juniors and seniors, will complete their physical merger next year with a substantial feeling of hatred and resentment toward the white teachers, the white students, and the Princeton School System. This will constitute a wall between the students and the teachers. This wall can be broken but the majority of the work to do so will rest with the white teacher; if he does not make the effort, the wall cannot be breached.

Communication between white teachers and black students consequently seems certain to encounter a multitude of barriers. Among these are (a) the insensitivity of the white teacher to his own frame of reference, within which he unwittingly acts, (b) the frame of reference used by the black student, and, to a major extent, (c) the relative inability of the deprived black student to reward the white content-oriented teacher through achievement in the classroom. It should be emphasized that race is not the barrier to communication. However, it is a surface variable that is strongly correlated with the real barriers. It serves both as a convenient explanation for observed problems, and as a rallying point for dissident behavior

oriented toward rectifying apparent injustice. It is judged that the Princeton teacher presently has only a dim awareness of the magnitude of this problem.

CONCLUSION: The Princeton teacher without experience on the south campus has major communication problems with south campus students, but is unaware even of the fact that the problem exists, much less the reasons why. This will probably lead to strong resentment of south campus blacks (and whites alike, when of the same socioeconomic status level), and the mistaken conclusion that racial discrimination exists in the classroom, unless teacher sensitivity to their own frames of reference can be increased.

Methods of Instruction and the Need for Relevance

When a dominant goal of the educational system was to prepare the student for entrance to college, the current teaching methods and approach to the instructional process at Princeton were highly pertinent. Most teachers use a lecture approach, with a result that, in the estimation of many students, the teacher talks 90 percent of the time or more. This makes teaching easier, of course. However, it violates the black student's need for relevance in the content he receives, and requires self motivation in order to be effective. Many students, including white students, fall short on this last requirement. Princeton has already made several excellent, innovative steps to alleviate these problems. Among these are the English electives program, the new "thematic" U.S. history course, and certain changes in requirements for graduation that will have the effect of stimulating innovation by the faculty to produce courses which simultaneously accomplish the principal purpose of the educational process, to transmit knowledge,

while at the same time preparing the student more effectively to assume a higher degree of responsibility for behaving as a mature citizen.

However, it was judged by the research team that these steps cannot in themselves solve the problem. There is a need for developing a much higher level of teacher skills in eliciting and using student participation in the classroom to contribute creatively toward both of these goals. At present, it appears that students are actively discouraged from participating in many classrooms. In all probability, this is a result of the fact that a large amount of student participation is difficult to control, and a threat to classroom control is perceived by the teacher as a threat to the accomplishment of educational objectives. Consequently, control measures are applied to a sufficient extent in some classrooms that students are even discouraged from asking questions to clarify misunderstandings. Since it is probable that this occurs more frequently with questions that appear less and less relevant to the content at hand, it is probable that this practice penalizes underachievers to a greater extent than high achievers. Since race is correlated with underachievement in the combined student bodies, this constitutes another basis of apparent racial discrimination in the classroom which is strongly resented by black students.

CONCLUSION: The Princeton teacher needs training in classroom management techniques that will permit greater student participation without loss of classroom control.

The Student Bodies

Polarization and Tension

The principal focus of the research team in talking with students was on behavior of the administrative staff towards the students, behavior of

teachers toward the students, and feelings between students both from different locations and different races. Caution should be exercised in interpreting the findings presented in this section, because of two factors. The first is that complaint is universal among student groups. The real art in analyzing complaints then is to try to determine if there are any particular foci of complaint that might be attributable to real problems, or if there is an unusually high level of complaint, which might reflect real discontent. It is the opinion of the research team that the type of complaints found in the Princeton student body reflect an unusual level of satisfaction with the status quo,³ perhaps a direct result of the excellent steps taken by the administration to increase the extent to which the student can exercise self determination with regard to course content, as well as with regard to such variables as the dress code and the requirement for hallway passes.

It is fundamental that a requirement to assume greater responsibility and to attain a higher level of emotional maturity in itself requires the opportunity to do so. These, in fact, constitute developmental objectives set by the students for themselves, though they may sometimes not know how to achieve them. However, they strongly resent being confronted by both their own personal desire and the desire of adults that they accomplish these objectives, while at the same time being denied the opportunity to exercise the freedom for self determination required to learn how to do so. It is possible that the relatively high level of overall satisfaction that

³In comparison with other student bodies.

appeared to exist (an inference) in the Princeton student body, in comparison with other student bodies, may reflect the unusually mature approach found at Princeton toward allowing the student an opportunity to demonstrate his greater maturity and responsibility at least in these areas. Whatever the cause, it was the definite impression of the research team that the student body did show an unusually high level of maturity, self control, and self discipline.

Within this general framework, however, it does appear that there are certain potential sources of discontent and potential friction.

At present, the Princeton student body is relatively homogeneous with regard to socioeconomic status and frame of reference. When the merger with Lincoln Heights is physically completed, this will be much less the case. Just as there are communication problems between middle class, white teachers and lower socioeconomic status blacks, there will be communication problems between students at the same age levels, between such groupings. There will be invidious comparisons based on clothing, behavior, and manner of speech, among other things. Unless student groups are made aware of the potential problems, and of techniques for overcoming these problems, it is possible that greater polarization and tension will result next year than currently exists. It is the judgment of the research team that such tension can be held within the limits defined by the present desirable levels only if a means exists for south campus students to attain parity with north campus students at least on some criteria. The need for parity, especially with juniors and seniors, results from the fact that south campus

students presently are intensely ego-involved with their school, and strongly identified with its purposes. The Lincoln Heights School "boot-strapped" itself over a relatively short period of years from a virtual nonentity to a school that, with its present level of economic resources, is very successful in serving community needs and earning recognition for the community as a whole. The juniors, and especially the seniors, are thus the standard bearers of a prestigious institution and by virtue of this fact have substantial prestige of their own while at Lincoln Heights. The merger with the Princeton System will cause them to be submerged in a larger student body, with a resultant substantial loss in prestige for themselves. This constitutes a major deprivation which is a probable source of at least a proportion of the intense feelings of the juniors and seniors toward white teachers and the white student body at Princeton.

Interestingly, the resentment of the black student toward the white is probably going to impact on the effectiveness with which the white can teach the black. The mere fact of teaching implies a status differential of sorts. Because the black student already feels insecure with regard to status, he is less capable of receiving instruction from the white teacher because of the implied status differential between teacher and student, which thus constitutes a further status deprivation that he may not be prepared to accept. This will be reinforced by any aversive classroom management technique exercised by the white.

This is perhaps nowhere more evident than in the bitter resentment by the black student of low expectations held by some white teachers for the

black student's achievement. One particularly strong comment was addressed toward a white teacher who had a practice of never failing a black. However, the black student is confronted with a dilemma because while he cannot tolerate the implication of lower status contained in lower expectations, he is handicapped in the extent to which he can compete on equal terms with the present Princeton student, whether white or black, and will probably find it difficult to accept the classroom motivational techniques currently used by Princeton teachers to produce a higher level of achievement.

Interestingly, as an aside, there is evidence that the resentment of the south campus students is based on invidious status and socioeconomic level comparisons between themselves and students from the north campus. It was an observation that at least some of the black north campus students were rejected by south campus students as strongly as were the whites. However, because these invidious comparisons are strongly correlated with race, as has been noted earlier, there is a superficial impression that discrimination and polarization exists on the basis of race. Race thus itself becomes a major issue.

One of the questions to which the team addressed itself was that of attempting to develop a feel for the probability that violent protest might occur during the subsequent school year. Such conflict had been anticipated during the present year, but had by and large (with two notable exceptions) failed to materialize. It was felt by the research team that the failure for such incidents to occur probably reflects the intense and rather unique effort by the administration, including the Superintendent of Schools, to achieve understanding and cooperation among parents from the various

communities involved in the merger. It is felt by the team that student unrest is highly likely to be a function of parental attitudes, and that to the extent that parents are supportive, student unrest may be held to a minimum. One potential source of trouble lies in a very small group of black Princeton students who were in favor of the merger because they thought it would give them more clout. These students may become a source of tension if, as expected, Princeton blacks generally are rejected by south campus blacks, and a north campus black then attempts to assume a position of general leadership among the blacks by becoming quite extreme in his behavior, in order to obtain the approval of and influence over the present south campus black.

CONCLUSION: There is a need for the development of a student self-governing mechanism that is more effective than the large and diffuse system that presently exists. Such a system would require, as a prerequisite, training for the students in problem solving techniques, and, in particular, in how to separate their emotions about events from the facts describing those events.

The Administration

Administrators--Teachers

Discussions with grade-level administrators led to a feeling that polarization exists between teachers and deans, principally with regard to teacher management of the classroom environment and their disciplinary practices. As was mentioned earlier, it appears that at least some teachers rely on the grade-level administrators to serve as disciplinarians. Among

the grade-level administrators interviewed, there was a feeling of resentment that teachers "just go into the classroom and start dispensing knowledge," leaving discipline to others.

Analysis of the management system within Princeton suggests, however, that teachers probably have been rewarded in the past for doing just this. In the same way that contingency management techniques are effective in the classroom, they also are effective in the supervision of teachers. That is, everyone uses contingency management techniques in interacting with others all the time. The problem is that unless there is an awareness of what is going on, the contingencies that are unwittingly manipulated may produce undesired behavior, sometimes even the opposite of that which is desired.

One important potential source of "contingencies" was identified in the teacher management system, the "expectancies" which are used during annual evaluations. Because this appeared to be a potentially effective means for influencing teacher behavior, a substantial effort was expended by the team to learn what kinds of expectancies are generated and how the system rewards achieving them. Analysis of typical expectancies indicated that teachers generally set goals oriented toward individual growth and self development of a professional nature. Because the system operates to reinforce the attainment of whatever expectancies are set, the teacher then tends to be rewarded for personal professional growth. The Princeton merit plan also focuses almost exclusively on professional growth objectives.

The "expectancies" system appears to be an adaptation of McGregor's¹ "Management by Objectives" approach to increasing organizational effectiveness.

¹McGregor, Douglas. The Human Side of Enterprise, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York, 1960.

A key ingredient in McGregor's approach, however, was that supervisor and subordinate identify target goals for the subordinate in terms of how the subordinate can contribute to the attainment of organizational objectives.

To the extent that personal growth serves as a means of attaining school system objectives, the present use of the expectancies system appears reasonable. However, it was the research team's judgment that personal growth by the instructional staff is by no means all that is required for achieving the objectives to the total system. It consequently appears to the research team that training for grade-level administrators in contingency management techniques that could be employed with the teachers they evaluate would be quite useful. Further, it appears that this training should include communicating with teachers and aiding them to set individual growth objectives that would further the other-than-professional-stature objectives of the Princeton System, such as aiding the development of student maturity. An interesting observation about grade-level administrator behavior vis-a-vis the teacher illustrates this need. In response to the question of how he rewards teachers for good behavior, one grade level administrator responded that he does not do this a lot. He thought they knew he would tell them when they are out of line.

Disciplinary Practices

Though it was felt by the research team that the entire burden of discipline should not rest with the administrative staff, it appeared equally inviting to conclude that one reason why present reliance on administrators exists may be that they seem unusually effective in performing

this function. First, it is difficult to overemphasize the probable positive benefits from elimination of the dress code and the hallway pass requirement. Second, the practices of using house arrest and in-school suspension as ways of dealing with classroom disruptive behavior, but without the accompanying rewards of escaping having to deal with the content itself, are excellent.

The feeling of the research team that administrators are effective in relating to students was supported by the students themselves. Further, student comments specifically indicated the feeling that the principal does listen to student problems. However, most students interviewed felt that the administration faced problems itself, which made consistency in administration-student relationships difficult.

RECOMMENDATIONS

A proper assessment of an educational system, such as the Princeton System, requires, first, an elaboration of its purposes. In the view of the research team, there probably are three general purposes that an educational system should attempt to achieve:

- (1) Preparation for further learning.
- (2) Preparation as a worker in society.
- (3) Preparation as a member of society.

An effective educational system, it would seem, must recognize that all students have all of these needs, though each perhaps to a different extent. The recommendations to be discussed in this section will reflect the desirability of holding all of these to be legitimate goals of the

educational process. With these objectives in mind, it appears that priority should be given to at least five areas of effort:

(1) Sensitivity training for teachers. It is quite difficult to conceive of a teacher effectively accomplishing any of the above listed goals in the absence of an ability to understand his own frame of reference and communicate adequately to someone who does not share it. That this is described as a need should not be construed as a criticism of the Princeton faculty alone. While the Princeton faculty does appear to be overbalanced in the direction of product orientation, as opposed to client orientation, the inability to communicate across cultural boundaries applies to virtually all members of this culture. It is recommended that training be developed for teachers, which will sensitize them to the ways in which their own cultural values impact on their communication behaviors, and develop in them an ability to communicate both verbally and nonverbally, with individuals who do not share the same cultural values.

(2) Contingency management training for classroom control. As was noted earlier, the practice of referring disciplinary problems to grade-level administrators is marginal in its effectiveness. It is the practice because the Princeton faculty, and teachers everywhere, generally lack skills in the manipulation of contingencies to obtain control of student behavior through the use of positive incentives. When punishment for deviant behavior is separated in time from the behavior itself, the effectiveness of the punishment is severely diminished. Further, punishment is quite ineffective as a technique for inducing students to substitute more desirable behaviors for deviant ones. Through training in classroom

management techniques that involve the manipulation of contingencies, teachers will acquire the capacity for developing classroom control that will produce desirable behaviors. It is recommended that this training also be developed for the Princeton faculty.

(3) Individualization of instruction. Because of the extreme range of ability levels that will be found within classes after the physical merger of student bodies has been accomplished, and assuming ability grouping will not continue to be a practice, it is going to be quite difficult for teachers to continue using a lecture approach at a fixed level of difficulty for all students. It appears that the answer to this problem is a program for individualizing instruction. This would require, first, teaching teachers how to develop behavioral objectives for course content, and then teaching them to write enabling objectives and course material to support the behavioral objectives themselves. It is almost a requirement that such a project be started on a small scale. It is therefore recommended that a pilot project be established at Princeton, working toward individualization of instruction, and using volunteer teachers if possible. It may be desirable for this training to be established outside the presently established departments.

(4) Contingency management training for grade-level administrators. It is felt that the present system of defining goals for teachers and shaping their behavior to attain these goals could be improved. The research team feels that it would be desirable to prepare and present training to grade-level administrators which would provide them skills in applying contingency management techniques to the modification of teacher behavior, as well as permitting them to serve as resources for teachers in the

application of contingency management techniques to their own classrooms. In fact, it would be desirable to have at least one grade-level administrator involved in any pilot project for individualization of instruction, and for training teachers in contingency management techniques. One of the grade-level administrators currently seems knowledgeable in such techniques, and could serve as a resource for the rest of the staff.

(5) Student training for leadership. In order to provide the opportunity for the development of social maturity, it seems desirable that students be given greater responsibilities than they presently have for self governance and self determination. However, the research team feels that students cannot be given such responsibilities without training that would specifically orient them toward their responsibilities and provide them with skills for accomplishing these responsibilities. At a minimum, such training should include practice in the application of problem solving techniques by student leaders, sensitivity training to enable whites and blacks to communicate across subcultural lines, and training which will enable the student to separate his emotions about events, problems, and issues from facts relevant to them. It is recommended that such training be developed and given to student leaders of both races in the combined Princeton School System.

SUMMARY

This report has described the activities and major findings of a needs assessment research team from the Human Resources Research Organization

during a visit to Princeton High School. The needs identified by the team reflect, by and large, the facts that the needs of the student body itself are going to change (and have changed) as a result of the merger with the Lincoln Heights High School, and that the faculty at Princeton is not really prepared now -- as few faculties would be -- to satisfy these new needs.

The fact that needs do exist should not, of course, obscure the fact that the Princeton system is an excellent system. That no more incidents occurred during the present year is probably attributable to the excellence of the system, and to the actions of one of the most progressive school administrations this team has ever found. In particular, the actions of the administration to seek favorable parental involvement, and actions to enable students to assume more responsibility for their own behavior are highly commendable.

However, even so, without progress in the ability of the faculty to communicate with blacks, and to deal individually (after development of behavioral teaching objectives) with students of widely differing ability levels, it is feared by the team that some of the major objectives of the merger (especially from the point of view of those on the south campus) will not be attained. Thus, the suggestions for change contained in this report should not be taken as criticisms of the existing system, which is really one of the most excellent this research team has ever encountered. Rather, it is hoped that the report will be interpreted as an analysis of how the system needs to grow, in order to meet new challenge and maintain what appears to be a position of leadership in educational innovation.