DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 236 067   SO 015 032

AUTHOR   Natriello, Gary
TITLE   Organizational Evaluation Systems and Student
                  Disengagement in Secondary Schools. Final Report.
INSTITUTION   Washington Univ., St. Louis, Mo.
SPONS AGENCY   National Inst. of Education (ED), Washington, DC.
PUB DATE   Apr 82
GRANT   NIE-G-80-0181
NOTE   362p.; For related documents, see SO 015 031 and ED
                  206 112.
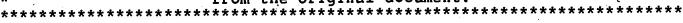PUB TYPE   Reports - Research/Technical (143)

EDRS PRICE   MF01/PC15 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS   Academic Achievement; Conflict; Educational Research;
                  Evaluation Criteria; Evaluation Methods; Evaluators;
                  High Schools; *Organizational Climate; Organizational
                  Development; Organizational Effectiveness; Power
                  Structure; Secondary Education; *Student Alienation;
                  Student Attitudes; Student Behavior; *Student
                  Evaluation; Student Motivation; *Student
                  Participation; Student Reaction; *Student School
                  Relationship; Student Teacher Relationship
IDENTIFIERS   *Student Disengagement

ABSTRACT
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from school tasks. Data for the study come from 80 teachers and
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mid-western school district. Teachers and administrators were
interviewed to determine the practices used in the schools for the
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extracurricular activities. The students completed a survey designed
to collect information on the levels of incompatibilities they
experienced in the evaluations systems for these three areas. In
addition, the students provided information on the levels of the
three forms of disengagement. Results showed that students who
experienced higher levels of incompatibilities in the evaluation
systems would also report higher levels of disengagement from school.
Implications are presented in the final chapter. (Author)

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ORGANIZATIONAL EVALUATION SYSTEMS AND STUDENT DISENGAGEMENT
IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS

FINAL REPORT

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Grant Number: NIE-G-80-0181

April 1982

Abstract

This report details the findings of a study designed to determine the impact of school authority systems on student disengagement from high school. The study, guided by Dornbusch and Scott's theory of evaluation and authority, examined the impact of four types of incompatibilities in the system for the evaluation of student performance on three forms of student disengagement: low level engagement, engagement in negative activities, and withdrawal from school tasks.

Data for the study come from 80 teachers and administrators and 293 students in four high schools in a suburban mid-western school district. Teachers and administrators were interviewed to determine the practices used in the four schools for the evaluation of student academic performance, social behavior, and extracurricular performance. The students completed a survey designed to collect information on the levels of incompatibilities they experienced in the evaluation systems for these three areas. In addition, students provided information on the levels of the three forms of disengagement.

We predicted that those students who experienced higher levels of incompatibilities in the evaluation system would also report higher levels of disengagement from school. Results of the student survey confirmed our initial prediction. Results of the teacher and administrator interviews were used to understand the problems confronting educators as they attempt to evaluate student performance in school. The final chapter of the report presents the policy implications of the study developed at a conference attended by administrators from the four high schools.

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Chapter 1

Student Disengagement: Forms and Sources

The research reported here examined two phenomena of pressing concern to educators: evaluation and disengagement. By focusing on the impact of problems in the evaluation of student performance on student disengagement from school, the study highlighted these two features of life in American secondary schools that must be attended to by teachers and administrators on a daily basis. The study focused on three forms of student disengagement -- low levels of effort on school tasks, student delinquency in school, and student absenteeism. These very different problems may all be viewed as forms of student disengagement because all arise when students are not actively engaged in school tasks. In the first part of this chapter the discussion focuses on these forms of student disengagement as they are experienced by educators.

Social scientists and educators have examined a variety of factors that might lead to student disengagement. This study was concerned with only one such factor, the evaluation of student performance. Evaluation provides a useful focus because it is a topic that lies at the very heart of the educator's role. Teachers and administrators must constantly confront the task of evaluating student performance, whether it be academic achievement in the classroom, behavior in the hallway, or more specialized performance on the playing field. Providing feedback to students is a crucial aspect of the educative process.

However, it is important to realize that problems of student

disengagement arise even when there are few problems in the system for

evaluating student performance. Other sources of student

disengagment, many of them beyond the control of educators, may

operate on the students in any school. In the second part of this

chapter the discussion concentrates on the full range of factors which

might lead to disengagement.

I. From Alienation to Disengagement

Social scientists have had a long and enduring interest in

concepts describing the estrangement of individuals from collective or

organizational forms. As Seeman (1959) observes, the concept of

alienation is a central theme in the classics of Marx, Weber, and

Durkheim. Seeman begins his discussion of alienation by quoting

Nisbet's (1953) passage on the role of alienation in the social

sciences:

> At the present time, in all the social sciences, the
>
> various synonyms of alienation have a foremost place
>
> in studies of human relations. Investigations of the
>
> "unattached," the "marginal," the "obsessive," the
>
> "normless," and the "isolated" individual all testify
>
> to the central place occupied by the hypothesis of
>
> alienation in contemporary social science.

What Nisbet said nearly thirty years ago is still true today.

Contemporary social scientists remain interested in alienation in a

variety of settings.

Although the concept of disengagement as used in this study is

derivative from the more general concern of social science with

estrangement phenomena, it differs in several important respects from

concepts such as alienation and anomie. First, disengagement is more

closely related to behavior than other terms which seem more related

to attitudes and the consequent behaviors. Disengagement is easily

contrasted with "engagement". Engagement exists when students are

participating in the tasks and activities offered as part of the

school program. A second distinguishing feature of disengagement as

used in this study is that it is meant to be task specific. That is,

while terms like alienation refer to an estrangement from a social

collective or organization, disengagement refers to an estrangement

from or lack of participation in certain tasks associated with a

social collective or organization such as the school. Thus, a student

may be disengaged from some tasks associated with the school, but not

be disengaged from other tasks. For example, a student may be engaged

in the extracurricular activities offered as part of the school

program, and not be engaged in the academic activities offered as part

of that same program. In the present study, school activities are

divided into three types: 1) those activities associated with

academic work where the emphasis is on the student as a scholar; 2)

those associated with the smooth running of the school where the

emphasis is on the student as a good citizen; and 3) those associated

with the extracurriculum where the emphasis is on the student in the

performance of some more specialized role such as athlete, leader,

dramatic performer, etc. Disengagement occurs when student active

engagement from any of these roles is low. Thus student disengagement

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may is defined as:

> Student Disengagement: The extent to which students refrain
> participating in the activities offered as part of the school
> program, activities associated with the common tasks of
> scholarship and citizenship, and the more specialized tasks
> inherent in extracurricular activities.

The interest of social scientists in the estrangement of
individuals from social or oganizational forms has led to the
development of typologies of both the forms and the sources of such
estrangement phenomena. A review of the forms of estrangement or
alienation identified by social scientists is instructive in the
development of a typology for forms of disengagement. Merton,
Hirschman, and Spady have each proposed schemes for classifying the
forms of alienation or estrangement behavior.

Merton (1957) suggests that a condition of anomie will arise in
situations such as contemporary America where the goals prescribed by
the culture are not consistent with the means available to individuals
who wish to attain such goals. Merton noted four forms of adaptation
to this means-goals incongruency in modern societies:

> Innovation - Innovation is the result of an individual's
> acceptance of the cultural goals but a rejection of the
> institutionalized means for reaching those goals. Here
> individuals adopt unorthodox or illegal means to reach
> commonly valued ends.
> Ritualism - Ritualism is the result of an individual's
> rejection of the cultural goals but an acceptance of the

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institutionalized means. Here individuals lower their

expectations for reaching cultural goals, but continue

to abide by the institutional norms.

Retreatism - Retreatism is the result of an individual's

rejection of both the cultural goals and the institutionalized

means for reaching those goals. Here individuals attempt

to escape from the requirements of the society.

Rebellion - Rebellion is the result of an individual's

rejection of current cultural goals and institutionalized

means along with an acceptance of a new set of cultural

goals and means. Here individuals attempt to bring about

a greatly modified social structure.

Hirschman (1970) poses a system for discussing the estrangement

of an individual from a declining organization consisting of two

responses: exit and voice. Exit refers to the departure of members or

customers from an organization in response to some decline in

performance, while voice refers to the expression of dissatisfaction

by members or customers to those who direct the organization.

Spady (1974) develops a typology for discussing student

adaptation to alienation from school which includes four forms:

Rebellion - "Rebellion...involves actions that violate

the legal bases of school life without providing a means

for changing them or an alternative to them. Acts of

vandalism, physical assaults on others, and flagrant

violation of school rules are examples. (p. 73)

Protest - "Protest...involves a formal challenge to the

legitimacy of the school with change and reform as its

goals...Rather than being nihilistic, as rebellion can

be, protest is inherently optimistic since it seeks to

change existing organizations precisely because their

roles and functions are recognized as important in

fulfillment of people's lives. (pp. 73-74)

Apathy - "apathy refers essentially to the passive

resignation of the individual to living with the

constraints imposed by his presumably powerless

situation. He chooses neither to strike out against

the perceived sources of his frustration nor to object

openly to his subordinate status. His typical mode

of involvement consists of continued but unmotivated

participation within the dominant social structure,

often because of the fear he has of its potential

sanctioning power. (p. 74)

Withdrawal - "Withdrawal is a response to alienation that

involves not only the physical or psychological retreat

from the onerous conditions that precipitate one's alienation,

but also from the establishment of some alternative form or

engagement with his society. In other words, in choosing

to block out the alienating circumstances that surround him,

the withdrawer seeks to create a set of conditions and

experiences that are more intrinsically meaningful and

rewarding. (p. 74)

These typologies suggest the range of forms that alienation, or

anomie may take. They suggest ways in which typical discussions of

student behavior problems in schools may combine and confuse quite

different student responses to problems in their relationship to the

school. Hirschman's distinction between exit and voice suggests that

it is important to take into consideration the difference between what

might be called 'loud' forms of disengagement and "soft" forms of

disengagement. Thus although vandalism and truancy are often lumped

together in discussions of student behavior problems, they represent

very different adaptation strategies. Vandalism provides a louder

indication of a problem than truancy, and both vandalism and truancy

provide a "louder" indication than apathetic behavior among those who

ritualistically attend school. Merton's discussion of ritualism

suggests that educators and social scientists should be particulary

sensitive to these very "soft" forms of disengagement.

In this study attention is directed to only three forms of

student disengagement -- low level student participation, student

participation in negative activities, and student non-participation.

These forms of disengagement are described in terms of the degree of

student participation in task activities since disengagement is used

to indicate a task-specific type of estrangement. Each of these forms

of student disengagement seriously interferes with attempts to educate

American youth. Each presents challenges to the authority and

effectiveness of teachers and administrators who try to engage

students fully in the activities offered as part of the school

program.

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Apathy: Low Level Student Participation

Perhaps the least understood form of student disengagement is the problem of low level student participation in school. deCharms and his colleagues (1976) have demonstrated that student motivation is much lower than it need be in schools. Dornbusch (1974) found that student effort in school can be a central variable in explaining student performance, that is, the extent to which students try in school has a substantial impact on their level of success. Further, Massey, Scott, and Dornbusch (1975) compared levels of effort put forth by students from different ethnic groups and found that White and Asian students reported putting forth more effort than Black and Spanish Surname students. Fernandez, Espinosa, and Dornbusch (1975) discussed the low levels of effort put forth by Spanish Surname students and cited it as a cause of poor performance.

Although there are few studies of student effort in school, those that have been done suggest that the problem of low-level student participation is widespread. For example, in the study reported by Massey, Scott, and Dornbusch (1975) fewer than 45% of the White students in the study reported a high level of effort in school, and White students reported higher levels of effort than Black or Spanish Surname students. Further research needs to be done on the problem of low level student participation, but existing research demonstrates that it is not a rare phenomenon.

Violence and Vandalism: Student Participation in Negative Activities

The most visible problem associated with student disengagement is

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the problem of student participation in negative activities, typically
referred to as delinquency or violence and vandalism in school. In
recent years educators, legislators, and the American public have
become increasingly concerned with the high levels of crime and
delinquency associated with students in American public schools.
Associations of professional educators have issued statements of
concern about the problem. (See the statements collected in the 1977
volume by McPartland and McDill.) The Senate Subcommittee to
Investigate Juvenile Delinquency has conducted extensive hearings on
the matter (Bayh, 1975). Public opinion as evidenced in a series of
polls (Elam, 1973; Gallup, 1974, 1975; Harris, 1969) has reflected a
growing concern with negative student behavior.

The problem, first noted amidst the student disruptions of the
sixties, has been most clearly documented in nationwide studies by the
National Institute of Education. The NIE Safe School Study (National
Institute of Education, 1978) found that:

> Twenty-two percent of all secondary students reported
> avoiding restrooms at school because of fear.
>
> Sixteen percent reported avoiding three or more places
> at school for the same reason.
>
> Three percent reported that they are afraid most of
> the time, representing around 600,000 secondary students.
>
> Four percent, or around 800,000 stayed home from school
> in the previous month because they were afraid.
>
> Twelve percent of the secondary school teachers,
> representing some 120,000, said they were threatened

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with injury by students at school.

Twelve percent of the teachers said they hesitated to

confront misbehaving students because of fear.

Almost half (48%) of the teachers reported that some

student had insulted them or made obscene gestures at

them in the last month. (p. 5)

The authors concluded that: "The statistics on incidence,

frequency, and seriousness of the problem are sufficiently compelling

to make clear the dimensions of the problem and the need for concerted

action to remedy it." Although there is some evidence that school

violence is leveling off, the overall incidence remains high (Crime

Control Digest, 1978).

Absenteeism: Student Non-Participation

Although the problem of student non-participation or absenteeism

has been with us as long as we have had compulsory schooling

(Everhart, 1977; Tyack, 1976), the situation seems to have grown worse

in recent years. Rates of absenteeism are reaching epidemic

proportions in many high schools across the nation (Birman and

Natriello, 1980). Absenteeism is seen by school administrators as

their major discipline problem (Wright, 1978; Duke, 1978; Meyer,

Chase-Dunn and Invarity, 1971). Even in suburban high schools,

absence from school is a cause of great concern (Time, 1977).

Recent public attention to problems of absenteeism in high

schools has arisen in the context of what many see as high schools'

failure to provide many students with even the most rudimentary skills

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to face the responsibilities of adulthood. This failure has been at the root of minimum competency testing programs which have been initiated in more than 40 states. High rates of absenteeism have been cited as one cause of the persistent decline in SAT scores (Wirtz, 1977). Absenteeism is also linked to school violence and vandalism. Students who are involved in delinquent behavior are those most likely to be frequently absent from school (Rubel, 1977)

Although high absenteeism rates have been a source of widespread concern among educators, parents, and the general public, accurate statistics on the dimensions of high school absenteeism are difficult to find. According to Meyer, Chase-Dunn, and Invarity (1971), school attendance records are often inflated for at least two reasons. First, teachers and students themselves tend to protect students from the negative consequences of being listed as absent. Students might attend their "homeroom" classes in order to be marked present even if they do not attend any classes, and teachers may not follow up on students who cut a few classes, but are present for part of the day. Second, school records may systematically exaggerate attendance in order to protect the school's resources, which are based on measures of average daily attendance. As a result of these two factors, "Many students who make only an occasional or brief entry into the school may be continuously listed as present..." (Meyer, Chase-Dunn, and Invarity, 1971, p. 131).

In spite of the probable overestimates of school attendance figures, it is clear that rates of absenteeism are on the rise. For example, in comprehensive high schools in San Francisco, absenteeism

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almost doubled between 1966 and 1968. In 1966, mean unexcused

absences ranged from 5.5 to 18.4 per student. In 1968, the figures

ranged from 10.6 to 36.5 per student (Meyer, Chase-Dunn, and Invarity,

1971). More recent figures indicate that the high rates of

absenteeism in these same San Francisco schools have continued. A

1974 study found that 22% of all high school students in the city had

accumulated 10 or more unexcused absences in a single year (Dornbusch,

1974). Other cities also report high rates of absenteeism. For

instance, recent figures indicate that of the 67 comprehensive high

schools in New York City, none report average daily attendance rates

of more than 84% (Garner, 1978, Brodow, in progress). Close to

one-half of the schools in the city reported ADA's between 50% and

70%. In Boston high schools, the rate of absenteeism has doubled

since 1974 to 25%, while it runs about 15% in St. Louis and

Philadelphia (Newsweek, 1979).

The increase in absenteeism is not limited to a few urban areas;

it is a nation-wide phenomenon. In 1965, 12% of the 517 high school

principals in the Equality of Educational Opportunity Survey reported

average attendance figures of 90% or less. In reply to a similar

question on a 1970 survey, 36% of the principals reported average

attendance figures of 89% or or below (cited in Meyer, Chase-Dunn, and

Invarity, 1971). At least two million students regularly cut school

without an excuse (Newsweek, 1979).

Thus student disengagement from school manifests itself in three

ways: through student non-participation, through low-level student

participation, and through student participation in negative

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activities. We believe that each can be better understood by studying

the more general phenomenon of student disengagement.

II. Sources of Student Disengagement

While it is the behavioral consequences of disengagement that are

the most noticed and most pressing problems for educators, social

scientists have been more concerned with the sources of such

disengagement both in terms of the social-psychology of the individual

and in terms of the social conditions that produce disengagement

behaviors. The present study examines the effects of one narrow

aspect of the social conditions in schools that lead to

social-psychological effects in individual students and then to the

three forms of disengagement behaviors. However, before detailing

this specific approach, it is important to briefly consider the range

of social conditions and social-psychological modes, one of which is

the focus of the present effort.

A review of the work of Seeman (1959) on modes of alienation

followed by a review of the social sources of alienation and

disengagement permits consideration of the range of phemonema related

to our present effort. Concentrating on alienation from what he terms

the "personal standpoint of the actor", Seeman (1959, p. 784)

identifies five "sources" of alienation:

> Powerlessness - ...the expectancy or probability held
>
> by the individual that his own behavior cannot
>
> determine the occurrence of the outcomes, or
>
> reinforcements, he seeks.

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Meaninglessness - ...the individual is unclear as to

what he ought to believe--when the individual's

minimal standards for clarity in decision-making

are not met.

Normlessness - a high expectancy that socially

unapproved behaviors are required to achieve

given goals.

Isolation - assign(ment of) low reward value to goals

or beliefs that are typically highly valued in the

given society.

Self-Estrangement - the degree of dependence of the

given behavior upon anticipated future rewards, that

is, upon rewards that lie outside the activity itself.

Although Seeman proposed these modes of alienation from the viewpoint

of the individual actor, they can also be used to order discussions of

the effects of social conditions. For example, Anderson (1973)

employed Seeman's categories to describe the relationship of students

to the school organization. He developed more context specific forms

of the five modes of alienation:

Powerlessness - A low expectancy of ability to determine

or control outcomes or reinforcements sought in school

Meaninglessness - A low expectancy of ability to make

satisfactory predictions about future outcomes of behavior

in the school.

Misfeasance - (Cf. Seeman's normlessness) an expectation

that the use of means which are prohibited by school

authorities is necessary in order to attain goals by the

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student.

Futility - (Cf. Seeman's isolation) Assignment of low

reward value to goals and beliefs that are highly

valued by school authorities.

Self-estrangement - Participation in school and

school-related activities is based largely upon

anticipation of future rewards rather than upon

rewards inherent to participation such as pleasure

or satisfaction.

Anderson uses Seeman's modes of alienation scheme to further specify

the effects of one set of social conditions likely to lead to

alienation, namely the bureaucratic nature of schools. His analysis

suggests the utility of examining the social-pychological dimensions

in the context of social conditions to develop an understanding of the

forces which produce the behavioral consequences discussed earlier in

this chapter.. To do this five broad themes in the literature on the

sources of student behavior problems in school can be examined. These

themes are depicted below:

2. School Policies
and Procedures

1. Student   3. School Environment   5. Anticipated
   Origins   Student
                                                  Futures

4. Community Environment

The themes are arrayed from left to right according to the
movement of individual students through time. Student origins, events
which occured in the student's life prior to entering school, appear
on the left. The contemporaneous themes — school policies, school
environment, and community environment — appear in the center. The
effects of post-school experiences, anticipated student futures,
appear on the right. Each of these themes has been applied in
attempts to explain student behavior problems in schools.

1. Student Origins

In their discussion of violence in schools McPartland and McDill
(1975) identify "damaged personalities" as one explanation offered for
the most serious cases of repeated antisocial behavior in schools. As
they note, proponents of such explanations typically point to
experiences in the family in early childhood as causes of such
behavior. Most investigators examining the effects of student origins
on student crime have found that this explanation can be used to
account for only a small fraction of delinquent acts. Since our
notion of disengagement is broader than the category of behaviors
typically defined as delinquency, we would expect student origins to
have a negligible impact on disengagement.

2. School Policies and Procedures

The impact of school policies and procedures on student
disengagement has been discussed from several perspectives. Polk and
Schafer (1972) have pointed to the relationship between school

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tracking procedures and student absenteeism, the dropout rate, student

participation in extracurricular activities, and student delinquency.

They found that compared with college prep students, non-college prep

students evidence less participation in extracurricular activities, a

greater tendency to drop out, more misbehavior in school, more

delinquency, and lower achievement. They propose a number of

explanations in discussing how school tracking contributes to these

problems of non-college prep students.

McPartland and McDill (1977) discuss school policies and

procedures in terms of the school's "responsiveness" to student

behavior. They argue that schools that are most responsive by

distributing rewards for desired behaviors, placing costs on

misbehavior, and providing access for students in school

decision-making procedures will be most successful in reducing

delinquency.

Spady (1974) points to the importance of the institutional

arrangements of schools and in particular to the perceived

illegitimacy of the evaluation and reward structure of the school in

any explanation of student disruption. For example, he cites the

"premium placed on the student's ability either to achieve fixed

standards of performance under time constraints or to meet and surpass

standards determined by the performance level of others" as aspects of

the illegitimacy of the school evaluation system. Referring to

Merton's (1957) analysis of the ways in which individuals adapt to

alienation from a given social structure, Spady notes that students in

such situations in schools may respond with rebellion, protest,

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apathy, or withdrawal. Evidence in support of his interpretation comes from the Safe School Study. Analysis of the data from a national sample of schools revealed that both the extent to which school personnel devote effort to governing students and enforcing school rules and regulations and the degree of fairness in school rules and in the administration of the rules are negatively related to the level of violence in the school (National Institute of Education, 1978).

Studies of school policies and procedures may help to explain student disengagement. Such studies typically suggest changes in school policies to alleviate school problems. Polk and Schafer (1971) call for new experimental environments of teaching-learning-living outside of public schools. McPartland and McDill (1977) advocate schools that are more responsive to student behavior. Results of the Safe School Study (Gottfredson and Daiger, 1979) suggest that some elements of schools be reorganized and that schools be run in clear explicit ways.

3. School Environment

By school environment we mean those aspects of life within schools that are not directly controlled by school policies and procedures. The most prominent force within schools that falls in this category is the adolescent peer group. Early studies by Coleman (1961) and by Becker, Geer, Hughes and Strauss (1962) have demonstrated the impact of a student's peers on student behavior in school.

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The discussion of peer groups has been supplemented with a growing body of literature on the effect of school context on students (Davis, 1966; Werts and Watley, 1969; St. John, 1971). This literature proposes that a school-related phenomenon such as average achievement affects the performance of a given studently independent of his or her individual characteristics (Meyer, Chase-Dunn, and Invarity, 1971). Although studies of school environment and its effects on student disengagement show that such environmental factors do influence student behavior, they typically don't offer much in the way of suggestions for school officials confronting problems of student disengagement.

4. Community Environment

By community environment we mean conditions (including the family) within the community that the school serves (National Institute of Education, 1978). The argument here is that between-school variation in delinquency rates is in part a reflection of conditions in the larger community. McPartland and McDill (1977) note two versions of such arguments, both of which rely on the notion of subcultural differences. The first version assumes that some groups do not aspire to the major goals of the American or middle-class dream; the second emphasizes not differences in goals and aspirations, but differences in attitudes about violence and some crimes. Both argue that the difference between the normative order of the community and that of the school will lead to student disengagement. Unfortunately this literature offers few suggestions

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that are amenable to policy control (National Institute of Education, 1978).

5. Anticipated Student Futures

Polk and Schafer (1971) review several theories of delinquency that argue that delinquency results from blockages in the attainment of highly valued success goals. McPartland and McDill (1977) review similar studies which suggest that delinquency is the result of restricted opportunities. They point out that one general empirical problem with this theory is that only a small fraction of individuals who have restricted opportunities actually take out their frustrations in a violent or illegitimate way. This problem is dealt with to some extent in the work of Stinchcomb (1964) and Farman, Natriello, and Dornbusch, 1978) which suggests that student perceptions of the articulation between school work and aspects of their future adult lives can be used to predict student effort on school tasks. Those students who perceive school work as instrumental to achieving desired future rewards tend to be less disengaged.

Although the design of the present study reflects an awareness of and an attempt to control for the effects of all five broad classes of features that are likely to affect student disengagement, we will focus our attention on the relationship between certain selected aspects of school policies and procedures and their effects on student disengagement. Specifically, we will examine the effects of features of the system for the evaluation of students on student disengagement.

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Our inquiry will be guided by the theory of evaluation and authority

in organizations developed by Dornbusch and Scott (1975). It is to a

discussion of this theory that we now turn.

Chapter 2

A Theory of Evaluation in Organizations

In the first chapter the discussion centered on the practical

problems encountered by educators and the variety of explanations for

those problems proposed by social scientists. In this chapter a

single theory will be presented to permit a more circumscribed and a

more detailed understanding of the problems that might be encountered

by students as they come into contact with the school authority

system. Although this chapter focuses on a theo: y, it should become

obvious by the end of this discussion that the. is nothing more

practical than a good theory. A good theory   ts the attention of

practitioners to critical elements in a system an. suggests methods of

dealing with those factors.

The theory upon which the present study is based was developed by

S.M. Dornbusch and W.R. Scott and is presented in detail in their

book, Evaluation and the Exercise of Authority (Dornbusch and Scott,

1975). The discussion here concentrates on those aspects of the

theory most relevant to our immediate concerns.

Several features of Dornbusch and Scott's theory make it

particularly appealing for use in the study of evaluation systems and

student disengagement. First, as will become apparent, the theory

addresses quite specifically the type of relationship between

evaluation processes and individual disengagement that forms the heart

of the present study. Second, the theory has been developed as a

general formulation to explain the processes by which evaluation and

authority operate in various kinds of organizations. Thus findings

from studies in other kinds of organizations can be used to guide our

inquiry into evaluation in schools, and the findings from the present

study can be related to evaluation processes in other organizations or

at other levels in school organizations. For example, many of the

problems we will discuss in regard to the evaluation of students also

apply to the evaluation of administrators and teachers. Many of the

problems dealt with in the present study should be familiar to anyone

who works in an organization. A third attractive feature of the

theory is that it has been developed over a long period of time

through a series of studies designed to build cumulative knowledge

about the topic. Dornbusch and Scott have worked back and forth

between theoretical development and practical application of the

theory in a variety of settings. The theory has been communicated to

a wide variety of organizational participants who have found that it

is useful in helping them to identify problems in evaluation

processes.

Scope Conditions

Although the theory has been developed in the course of studies

of many organizations, there are limits to the situations to which it

has been applied. Dornbusch and Scott specify these limits as five

scope conditions which define the conditions under which the theory

will apply:

Scope Condition 1. The distribution of organizational

sanctions to participants depends on evaluations made

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of participants.

Scope Condition 2. Evaluators who influence the distribution

of organizational sanctions attempt to base their evaluations

on the performance of organizational tasks by participants.

Scope Condition 3. Evaluators who influence the distribution

of organizational sanctions to participants are themselves

evaluated on their performance of the control task.

Scope Condition 4. The set of participants attempting to

control the evaluator differs from the set of participants

whom the evaluator is attempting to control.

Scope Condition 5. Participants consider important those

organizational sanctions whose distribution depends on

evaluations of their performance.

Each of these conditions can be considered in terms of the

organization of American high schools.

The first scope condition excludes organizations where there are

no sanctions or where sanctions are not related to evaluations of

performance. Clearly, students in American high schools are subject

to a variety of sanctions based on their performance in school.

The second scope condition emphasizes the task-specific approach

of the theory. Evaluations must be based on the performance of

organizational tasks rather than on bases unrelated to performance.

Students are evaluated on specific tasks as they pass through high

schools. These tasks are more or less clearly specified. The

clearest expression of these tasks appears on reports of student

progress where students are graded on academic performance and social

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behavior in each of their classes. Further, in extracurricular

activities students receive a variety of evaluations based on

performance and behavior. Both in-class and extracurricular

evaluations carry sanctions.

The third scope condition limits the theory to those

organizations where evaluators themselves are subject to evaluation on

their performance as evaluators. In the case of schools, this

condition is fulfilled when administrators and teachers are evalua

on their performance as supervisors and evaluators of students. There

is abundant evidence to indicate that teachers and administrators are

increasingly evaluated on their performance as supervisors of

students. (Natriello, et al., 1977).

The fourth scope condition excludes organizations where

evaluators are evaluated and controlled by those whom they are trying

to control. Thus if students in schools were the major evaluators of

teachers and administrators, schools would fall outside the scope of

the theory. As it is, teachers and administrators receive their major

evaluations from administrative superiors, not from the students they

are trying to supervise.

The fifth scope condition contains the motivational basis for the

theory. Participants must place at least some importance on

evaluations made of their performance. Dornbusch and Scott suggest

that this occurs when participants place some value on organizational

rewards and penalties. Further, they argue that over a period of

time, if evaluations are seen to be regularly linked to valued

sanctions, then evaluations themselves become valued symbols and

.sources of gratification or deprivation. High schools would seem to fill this condition since students place at least some value on the evaluations and sanctions offered by the school. Even those students most disconnected from the school would generally admit wanting the rewards offered by the school.
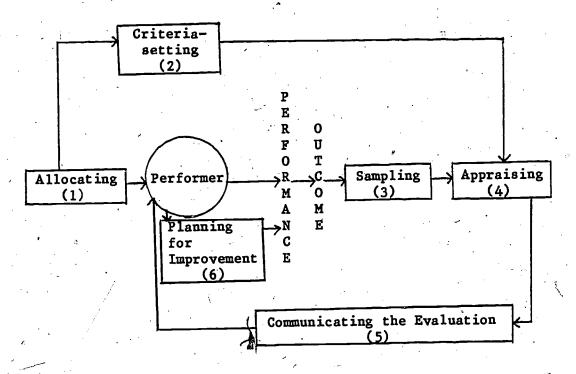
School organizations conform to all five scope conditions of the theory. Although the position occupied by students in schools is unique in several respects, we will defer discussion of features of the student role that make it unique until the end of this chapter and proceed to discuss the theory.

Model of the Evaluation Process

To clarify the evaluation process Dornbusch and Scott specify a four stage model of evaluation in organizations. In a later formulation (Roper, et al., 1976.) a six stage model is presented. The model simply presents the various phases of the evaluation system for analysis. Since this model guides our analysis of teacher and administrator strategies for evaluating student performance, it is important to understand the various components and how they may be assembled to produce a well articulated system.

The diagram below depicts the six stages of the model.

A Model of the Evaluation Process

Each of these stages in the model will be discussed in turn. A
discussion of these stages as they operate concretely when student
performance is evaluated will await the next chapter where we present
the results of interviews with administrators and teachers asked to
describe their approach to evaluating student performance.

Allocating

Allocating simply refers to the process of assigning a task to an
individual performer. Before a task performance can be appraised, it
must have been assigned. If no one is given the charge to complete
the task, there will be no one and no performance to evaluate. For
example, if a supervisor wants a classroom to be kept clean and neat,

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then the teachers and students who use the room must be notified that
they are expected to perform the task of keeping the room tidy. The
supervisor can't expect the teachers and students to perform the task
unless they know that it has been assigned to them at least
implicitly.

Criteria Setting

Once a task has been allocated performers know that they are
supposed to perform the task, but they may not know what dimensions of
the task are important. Most often supervisors are interested in more
dimensions of a task than just whether an attempt was made to perform
it. In our example, the supervisor might want to make sure that the
room is clean and neat in regard to certain aspects such as paper on
the floor, or books put away in order, etc. In order to make
assessments of task performance along desired dimensions, evaluators
must specify criteria against which the performance of the task is
assessed. The evaluator has to have some idea of what a desirable
performance would look like. The setting of criteria is the second
stage in the Dornbusch and Scott model of the evaluation process.
Criteria setting involves first, determining which properties of the
task should be considered in the assessment of the performance;
second, deciding the relative weight of each property in the overall
evaluation; and third, setting a standard for performance along each
dimension. Each of these procedures can be illustrated in terms of
our example.

For the task of keeping a classroom neat and clean, suppose that

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the evaluator decides that only two properties are important --
keeping the floor free of paper and other debrie and seeing to it that
all movable furniture such as desks and chairs is in the appropriate
place. The two criteria in this very simple example might be called
cleanliness of the floor and orderliness of the furniture.

Once these criteria are identified, the supervisor must decide
whether one is more important than the other in terms of the overall
evaluation of the task performance. Is the cleanliness of the floor
more important than the placement of the furniture? Suppose that the
evaluator decides that it is more important for teachers and students
to have the furniture in the appropriate place than to have the floor
clean. It might, for instance, be twice as important for the
furniture to be in place. In that case the evaluator might "weight"
the placement of the furniture twice as much in the overall task
evaluation as the cleanliness of the floor. Failure to keep the
furniture in place would result in a negative evaluation twice as
severe as failure to keep the floor clean.

Even with task dimensions identified and weighted in terms of
importance, it is not possible to know what performance is desired
since it is not yet determined what value of performance along each
dimension is acceptable or preferable. In terms of the example, how
will performers and evaluators know when the floor is as clean as
desired or the furniture is placed appropriately enough? This can
only be determined when the performance value is compared to some
standard for each dimension of task performance. The evaluator may
determine that the floor is clean when there are no large pieces of

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paper on it and that the furniture is in place when the desks and

chairs are in five rows of six each. These performance values would

be the standards against which performance will be judged. They

define acceptable and unacceptable performance of the task along the

two dimensions. The determination of standards is the final step in

the criteria setting stage of the evaluation model.

Sampling

Sampling is the third stage of the evaluation model. Sampling

refers to the process of collecting information on the performance of

the allocated task according to the criteria for performance that have

been set. Sampling involves two separate decisions about what

information to collect on task performance. The first decision is

over the choice of indicators for determining the performance. The

second decision is the selection of the sampling technique for

gathering the information.

The first decision is to determine which indicators will provide

the most accurate information on the performance in terms of a

particular property. In the example, a decision would have to be made

on an indicator of performance for the cleanliness of the floor

dimension. One indicator might be the number of pieces of paper that

fall upon the floor. Another indicator might be the number of pieces

of paper that remain on the floor at the end of the day. The

evaluator would have to decide which of these provides the most

accurate information about teacher and student performance in terms of

the cleanliness of the floor dimension. Let's suppose that the

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decision is made that the indicator will be the number of pieces of paper on the floor at the end of the day.

Once an indicator has been selected, a decision must still be made as to what sampling technique will be used to gather the necesary information. An evaluator may not have the time or the desire to inspect every classroom floor everyday. The decision may be to inspect the floor of any one classroom once a week or once a month or perhaps to not inspect at all unless a complaint is made by members of the cleaning crew. For a task dimension as straightforward and obvious as cleanliness of the floor elaborate sampling procedures may be unnecessary.

Appraising

The fourth stage in the evaluation model is appraisal. Appraisal is simply the act of assigning an evaluation to a performance. The appraisal stage involves bringing together the criteria set for the task performance with the sample of information collected on that performance to arrive at an evaluation. To the extent that the procedures for the criteria setting and sampling stages of the process have been spelled out, the appraisal stage will be more straightforward. Nevertheless, there are always decisions which must be made by evaluators at this stage. Evaluators must make inferences from the sample of information collected on performance to the full performance. Often the supervisor must rely on past experience and rules of thumb to make such decisions. Evaluators must also decide how the standards set for the performance are to be applied to a

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specific performance. This involves a fair amount of evaluator
discretion. Evaluators must judge how comparable the specific
performance situation is to the situations for which the standards
were developed. Evaluators must be aware of extenuating
circumstances.

In our example, the evaluator would have to decide when the
number of pieces of paper on the floor really indicated litter above
an acceptable level and what conditions represented extenuating
circumstancess. For instance, the amount of litter on the floor
during homecoming week might exceed that during regular weeks, and it
might be unfair to negatively appraise the teachers and students under
such conditions.

Communicating the Results of the Evaluation

Appraisal is an activity that takes place in the mind of the
evaluator. Obviously, if evaluators expect those they are evaluating
to react to their evaluations, the evaluations must be communicated.
The fifth stage of the evaluation model involves the communication of
the results of the evaluation by the evaluator to the subordinate. In
our example, if the evaluator determined that the performance of the
teachers and students on the task of keeping the classrooms neat and
clean was either satisfactory or not satisfactory, then the results of
the evaluation should be communicated to the teachers and students.
If the teachers and students do not receive this information, it is
unlikely that they will change their unsatisfactory performance or
indefinitely maintain their satisfactory performance.

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Planning for Improvement

Most evaluations turn up at least one area where performance is not as good as might be desirable. In such cases when unsatisfactory, evaluations are communicated to those being evaluated, it is often the case that simply communicating dissatisfaction to those being evaluated will not result in the desired improvement. Performers may not know how to improve performance or they may lack the resources to do so. Thus it is important for evaluators and performers to develop plans for improvement together. These plans may involve changes in performer behavior as well as changes in the arrangements set up by the evaluator for the performers.

In our example, suppose that the teachers and students are found to be deficient on the task of keeping the classrooms neat and clean. Once this evaluation is communicated to the performers it may be useful for the evaluator to work with the performers to plan ways to improve performance of this task. Performers may be encouraged to redouble their efforts at keeping the classrooms neat and clean. Evaluators may be asked to provide time or tools to permit performers to accomplish the task at the desired level.

The Model

This six stage model of the evaluation process is obviously arbitrary in its division of activities. Nevertheless, it represents fairly well the activities involved in the evaluation of performance in organizations. Many of these activities are not performed explicitly. In fact for many of the tasks expected of performers in

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organizations, these stages are never recognized as part of the formal

system for performance evaluation. However, observational and survey

studies of individuals in a variety of organizations, including

schools, demonstrate that the elements of this model are reasonable

means to characterize evaluation processes. Moreover, these same

studies reveal that the process of evaluation is intimately connected

to the authority system in formal organizations. It is to a

discussion of organizational authority that we next turn our

attention.

Evaluation and Authority

     The evaluation system of an organization is intimately related to

the authority system of that organization. In the case of schools,

Spady's (1974) discussion of the authority system revolves around the

evaluation of student performance. The definition of authority in

formal organizations provided by Dornbusch and Scott reflects the

close relationship between evaluation and authority. They write that:

     Authority in formal organizations is to be defined in terms

     of attempts by one set of participants (B) to control the

     performance of organizational tasks by another set of

     participants (C), the control attempts consisting of

     evaluations which affect the distribution to C of

     organizational sanctions. Further, participants engaged

     in control attempts (B) are themselves regulated in

     their exercise of power by yet a third set of participants

     (A), the regulation consisting of evaluations which

affect the distribution of organizational sanctions to B.

(pp. 193-194)

Authority systems are thus defined as sets of control attempts.
Following the model of evaluation processes, Dornbusch and Scott
identify four types of control attempts or control tasks:

1) the attempt to allocate a task to a participant;

2) the attempt to set the criteria by which a task
   performance is to be evaluated;

3) the attempt to determine the sample which is to be
   drawn of task performances or the results
   associated with them; and

4) the attempt to appraise a task performance. (p. 194)

These four control tasks together make up the control system. But
control tasks or control attempts can be exercised by any number of
individuals in an organization; only some of these attempts will be
authorized, only some of them will be consistent with the formal
system of authority within the organization. Dornbusch and Scott note
that: "An authority system may be viewed as a device by which the
organization attempts to determine for participants whose evaluations
are to be taken into account." (p. 197) They make a distinction
between power or control and authority or authorized power. They say:

...by definition that B has power over C with
respect to C's performance of a given organizational
task to that extent that B's control attempts help to
determine the organizational sanctions received by
C. This power is authorized to the extent that:

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1) B's organizational evaluators, A, if aware that

B was attempting to exercise control over C with

respect to a given task, would not negatively

evaluate B for making the attempt; and 2) the

organizational evaluators of C and of all other

participants whose compliance is necessary to

support B's attempt to control C's performance of

the task would, if aware of noncompliance, negatively

evaluate those not complying. (pp. 197-198)

These conditions stipulate that for a control attempt to be authorized

those who evaluate the evaluator (B) would not negatively evaluate him

or her for exercising the control attempt over C and that others

involved in the evaluation of C would agree with B's control attempt

and be negatively evaluated by their own supervisors if they did not.

More plainly, the control attempts of a given evaluator are authorized

to the extent that his or her supervisors and his or her peers would

not negatively evaluate him for exercising such an attempt. When this

is the case Dornbusch and Scott say that this evaluator B has an

authority right. Again following the model of evaluation they define

four types of authority rights:

1) the right to allocate a task

2) the right to set criteria by which the task
   will be evaluated;

3) the right to select the sample of work to be
   evaluated; and

4) the right to appraise the work by comparing

the sampled work with the criteria in order to

arive at a performance evaluation. (p. 198)

This discussion of control tasks and authority rights leads

Dornbusch and Scott to their definition of an authority system:

We define an authority system as a set of relationships

in which all power regularly exercised over and by a

performer (C) relevant to the evaluation of C's

performance of a given organizational task is authorized.

(p. 204)

As they note, there are three important characteristics of this

definition. First, the authority system is identified as it impinges

on a given organizational participant; for example, a student in a

school. Second, the definition holds that the authority system is

task specific. For example, the authority system for the task of

academic achievement is different from the authority system for the

task of social behavior. Finally, the system includes only those

rights which are regularly exercised over the participant.

With the notion of an authority system established we can turn to

the important question of the propriety of authority systems.

Proper Authority Systems and Soundly Based Evaluations

Of great concern to our analysis of the disengagement of students

as a result of their confronting the authority system of the school,

is the attitude of students toward that authority system. Dornbusch

and Scott use the term "propriety" to refer to participant attitudes

toward an authority system. They write:

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An authority system is considered proper to the

extent that participants approve of the system,

believing it appropriate. (p. 347)

Thus authority systems deemed more proper by participants will receive

more participant approval than those deemed less proper. Dornbusch

and Scott examine a range of factors which affect the extent to which

participants consider authority system proper. Chief among such

factors is the soundness of the evaluation system. Dornbusch and

Scott argue that:

Performers consider authority systems more proper if .

they consider evaluations of their performances more

soundly based. (p. 346)

The quality of the evaluation system will thus have an impact on the

extent to which participants believe the authority system to be proper

and appropriate. Dornbusch and Scott develop the concept of soundly

based evaluations to describe the quality of the evaluation system.

Specifically, they define "soundly based" as follows:

A participant considers evaluations "soundly based"

to the extent that he or she believes that:

a) the quality of performances or outcomes as

judged by the participant is affected by

the performer's effort, and

b) performances or outcomes considered better

by the participant receive higher evaluations.

(p. 343)

There are a number of problems that might develop in evaluation

systems to produce evaluations of individual performance that are not soundly based and which, in turn, result in authority systems thought to be improper by participants. Dornbusch and Scott refer to these problems as incompatibilities in the authority system. This study focuses on such incompatibilities in school authority systems.

Incompatibilities and Instability

Dornbusch and Scott argue that the incompatibility of authority systems is a sufficient condition for system instability. (p. 243) Although both the concept of incompatibility and that of instability are concepts at the structural level, i.e. both refer to characteristics of organizational authority systems, they involve some basic social psychological assumptions.

The first assumption involved is Scope Condition 5. It holds that the organizational participants being evaluated place some value on the performance evaluations they receive. A second assumption asserts further that participants establish an "acceptance level" for these evaluations. The concept of acceptance level is defined as:

Acceptance level is the minimum level of a performance

evaluation that is satisfactory to the performer. (p. 351)

Dornbusch and Scott assume that participants will attempt to maintain evaluations of their performance at a level that is acceptable to them. Further, they note that acceptance level is a concept which applies to present evaluations and future evaluations. Participants will thus attempt to maintain current evaluations at acceptance level and to ensure that future evaluations are held at this level. The

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reference to both present and future evaluations suggests that a
participant might receive an immediate evaluation above acceptance
level and still be dissatisfied with the evaluations received in light
of a longer term trend.

Finally, Dornbusch and Scott note that organizational evaluators
will try to influence the acceptance level of performers. Standards
established by the process of criteria setting are examples of
attempts to exert such influence on the acceptance levels of
performers. However, they point out that while ordinarily it might be
expected that the standards set by the organizational evaluators would
be highly correlated with the acceptance level of performers, the
level of performance which satisfies the supervisor need not be the
same level which satisfies the subordinate. Therefore, acceptance
level, the minimal level acceptable to the performer, must be
distinguished from standard, the level acceptable to the evaluator.

The concept of acceptance level plays a central role in the
development of the concept of authority system incompatibility.
Dornbusch and Scott define incompatibility as:

> An authority system exhibits incompatibility to the
> extent that it prevents performers from maintaining
> evaluations of their performances at or above their
> acceptance level. (p. 351)

They note further that,

> If a particular aspect of an authority system acts to
> prevent C from maintaining evaluations of performances
> of the specified task at or above C's acceptance level,

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then by definition, an incompatibility is said to exist

within the system. (p. 247)

Thus authority system incompatibility involves 1) the receipt of

evaluations by the performer below the acceptance level, and 2) the

perception that it is the authority system that keeps the performer

from attaining evaluations at or above acceptance level.

Incompatibility is a property of the authority system; it is not

a characteristic of the performer. Incompatibility entails problems

in the authority system that would affect any individual performer who

had at least the same acceptance level.

Another way to understand the concept of incompatible authority

systems is through a review of the requirements of a compatible

authority system. To paraphrase Dornbusch and Scott (p. 248), in the

simplest case, the performer in a compatible authority system would

receive an unambiguous allocation which did not conflict with other

allocations received for the same or other tasks. The performer would

have available the necessary resources and facilities. The

performer's activities would affect the values of the relevant

properties for performances and outcomes on which the performer would

be evaluated. The sample taken of the performer's work would provide

valid information as to the values actually achieved in the full

performance. Finally, the standards for evaluation of the task would

be set appropriately so that the performer could expect to receive

evaluations at the acceptance level by adjusting the level of effort.

This portrait of a compatible authority system suggests that there are

four major types of incompatibility. Dornbusch and Scott identify

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these types as: contradictory evaluations; uncontrollable

evaluations, unpredictable evaluations, and unattainable evaluations.

We will discuss each of these and their more specific forms.

Type I: Contradictory Evaluations

Dornbusch and Scott identify contradictory evaluations as one

type of incompatibility. Contradictory evaluations occur when

(Contradictory Evaluations) - performers are placed in a

situation in which the receipt of one performance

evaluation at or above acceptance level necessarily

entails receiving another evaluation below acceptance

level (p. 351).

In such situations performers are both rewarded and punished for the

same behavior.

Contradictory evaluations may arise from three sources:

conflicting criteria, conflicting samples, and conflicting

allocations. Conflicting criteria may involve either conflicting

standards or conflicting properties or both. Conflicting standards

often arise when one performer is evaluated by two different

supervisors who represent different areas of specialty or expertise.

A classic example of the case of conflicting criteria is the case

of speed and accuracy. For example, in schools students are often

expected to perform under time constraints. Yet the time limitations

on tests and other exercises may prevent students from doing their

work carefully and accurately. A student may thus either work quickly

and make mistakes or take his or her time and fail to complete the.

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work. In either case the student will fail to receive evaluations at or above acceptance level.

Contradictory evaluations may also occur in the case where conflicting samples of a performer's work are taken. This most often occurs when performers are told how to accomplish a task and then samples are taken of both their performance and the results of their performance. In such cases the prescribed way of accomplishing a task may not lead to satisfactory outcomes. The performer may thus either perform as directed and fail to achieve the desired outcomes or deviate from the prescribed procedures to achieve the outcomes. In either case the performer will receive evaluations below the acceptance level.

In schools this might occur when students are told to get to classes on time but not to run in the halls. In certain schools the physical layout and the schedule of classes may make it necessary for students to run in the halls in order to arrive at their next class on time. In such cases the students may either walk to class and be late or run to class and arrive on time. In either case they are likely to receive an evaluation below their acceptance level.

Finally, contradictory evaluations may arise from conflicting allocations when other tasks allocated to the performer conflict with the task in question. Quite often the tasks must compete for the time of the performer. The performer may be able to do one or the other task but not both. As a consequence, the performer will receive an evaluation below acceptance level for at least one of the tasks.

In secondary schools this may happen to students quite often

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since they typically receive assignments from a large number of
supervisors. A student may receive major homework assignments on the
same day from four or five teachers. Or several tests may be
scheduled for the same day. Or perhaps, a test will be scheduled on
the day following the evening during which the student must be
involved in some athletic competition. In each of these situations,
the student may have several tasks, all of which compete for a limited
amount of time. As a result, the student may receive evaluations
below acceptance level on one or more tasks.

Performers may thus be subject to contradictory evaluations which
arise from conflicting criteria, conflicting samples, or conflicting
allocations. Although contradictory evaluations often arise when a
performer is evaluated by more than one supervisor, they may also
arise when only one evaluator is involved.

Type II: Uncontrollable Evaluations

Uncontrollable evaluations are a second source of authority
system incompatibility. Uncontrollable evaluations occur when:

> (Uncontrollable Evaluations) – performers receive
> evaluations below acceptance level for performances
> or outcomes they do not control. (p. 351)

In a compatible authority system the values associated with an
individual's performance and outcome would be a regular function of
the quality of the performance. Dornbusch and Scott identify three
situations where this is not the case: coordination failure in the
control system, interdependence of performers, and those situations

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where the tasks being performed are active.

A coordination failure in the control system can arise and lead to the incorrect attribution of a performance evaluation to a performer. This might occur when an unsatisfactory performance or outcome is noted and the evaluation is incorrectly assigned to a participant whose performance did not contribute to the outcome. Dornbusch and Scott suggest that this is most likely to happen in complex authority systems where the control tasks are distributed among several supervisors. However, there are some obvious situations of coordination failure in schools involving very simple single supervisor authority systems.

For example, a teacher may hear talking in the back of a classroom and incorrectly identify the offending student. Students with histories of behavior problems may be particularly likely to receive such incorrect attributions. The student, of course, may have done nothing to contribute to the negatively evaluated performance, but receives an evaluation below acceptance level nonetheless.

The interdependence of performers may also give rise to a situation of uncontrollable evaluations. Interdependence occurs when more than one person contributes to a task outcome which is used as the basis for evaluation. It is very difficult to assess the contributions of individuals to a group product. Participants evaluated on the basis of such group products may not have control of their evaluations. Dornbusch and Scott observe that this may arise when one individual is responsible for making a decision and other individuals are responsible for implementing those decisions. It may

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also arise when two individuals are responsible for implementation.

The difficulties of assessing individual performance based on a group product often lead teachers to avoid group projects in schools. Students also sometimes seek to avoid such situations, and when they can't avoid them they often seek to control the membership of the group. Those students interested in a good evaluation will seek to minimize the risk of a negative evaluation by selecting other students whom they can count on to be in their group. Teachers typically find students requesting to select their own groups for group projects. This represents a desire on the part of students to control their evaluations on the group tasks. This process is perhaps nowhere more visible than in the selection of teams in physical education. There members of the teams are selected by team captains who attempt to maximize the team's chances of winning by selecting indivduals who will perform well and avoiding those likely to perform poorly.

Extracurricular activities often involve students in situations where they cannot control the group performance and outcome. This may occur because some students are charged with making decisions and others with implementing them or it may occur when more than one student is involved in implemtation. The evaluation of a student council leader responsible for seeing to it that other students carry out a program involves interdependence of the first sort; while the performance of members of an athletic team involves interdependence of the latter sort.

A less obvious case of interdependence of performers occurs in situations where work done individually by students is graded on a

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curve. In such cases the evaluation of student performance depends upon the performances of other students, performances beyond the direct control of the student in question. In this instance a student will receive a higher evaluation to the extent that other students perform poorly. If other students perform extremely well, the focal student may receive evaluations below his acceptance level. This is because when grading is done on a curve, "there are always winners and losers, regardless of the objective standards of performance attained." (Spady, 1975, p. 54) Thus in contrast to those situations where group products are evaluated and it is in the interests of a student to insure the good performance of his or her peers, in the situation where individual pro   are evaluated in light of group norms, it is in the interests of a student to insure the poor performance of his or her peers. Such conditions in a mild form are likely to discourage students from helping one another on class work, and in a severe form may lead students to sabatoge the work of their peers. These acts represent attempts by students to the control the evaluations of their own work.

The case of what Dornbusch and Scott call "active" tasks presents a third source of uncontrollable evaluations. Dornbusch and Scott define active tasks as ones that are low in clarity, predictability, and efficacy. Thus a great deal of uncertainty surrounds the performance of active tasks. This makes it particularly difficult to infer individual performance based on inspection of the outcomes of the task. In the case of active tasks competent performances do not always lead to successful outcomes.

To obtain accurate information on the performance of such active tasks it is often necessary to directly observe performance. Of course, with many tasks it is quite difficult to make such observations due to resistance from performers, prohibitive costs, or the impossibility of inspecting certain types of performanc.. Thus the chances of uncontrollable evaluations increase to the extent that performers are evaluated on the outcomes of their active tasks.

The academic work of students in schools is particularly susceptible to the problems associated with active tasks. Intellectual tasks, particularly those involving high levels of creativity, are often low in clarity, predictability, and efficacy. This makes it difficult for teachers to infer performance from the inspection of outcomes. Moreover, most intellectual tasks are performed in the minds of the students, making them impossible to observe. The classic teacher's injunction "show your work" is an attempt by teachers to make the performance of such invisible tasks more accessible to them for evaluation purposes. A prevailing problem for teachers who wish to assign active tasks to students is the problem of assessing student performance or effort on tasks where products or outcomes may not necessarily be a good reflection of such effort. This, of course, makes it difficult for teachers to encourage student effort in school.

Teachers have often been charged with assigning routinized, boring tasks to their students. What such criticism of teachers fails to take into account is the very real problems for the evaluation of students that confront teachers who assign active or creative tasks a

large portion of the time. In these circumstances teachers are seldom certain about the performance or effort put forth by their students. Some students may work very hard and seldom if ever produce a satisfactory product. If teachers never assign routine tasks where the relationship between effort and outcome is more straightforward, these students may never be encouraged to continue to put forth effort. Thus the assignment of what to the outsider appear to be rather dull, often mindless tasks may serve the important function of demonstrating the connection between student effort and student evaluations. Of course, when such tasks completely dominate the work of a class, they may signal a retreat by the teacher from any attempt to involve the students in the most creative aspects of the learning process.

While coordination failures in the control system, performer interdependence, and active tasks are quite different in nature, they all lead to the type of incompatibility Dornbusch and Scott have identified as uncontrollable evaluations. In each situation performers receive evaluations below their acceptance level for performances or outcomes they do not control.

Type III: Unpredictable Evaluations

A third type of incompatibility, unpredictable evaluations, occur when:

(Unpredictable Evaluations) - performers receive
evaluations below acceptance level because they are
unable to predict accurately the relationship between

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attributes of their performances and the level of

evaluations they receive. (p. 351)

For performers to understand the relationship between their

performances and the evaluations they receive they must know what

level of performance is associated with what level of performance

evaluation. When performers cannot predict what evaluation they will

receive from the quality of their performance, a situation of

unpredictable evaluations exists. Dornbusch and Scott identify three

cases of unpredictable evaluations: misunderstandings of allocations,

misunderstandings of criteria, and nonrepresentative samples of

performance or outcomes.

Misunderstandings of allocations may occur when performers are

not aware that a task has been allocated, or when the form of the

allocation is unclear. When allocations are not clear then the

performer may receive evaluations that were not expected and thus

could not be predicted.

Dornbusch and Scott note that misunderstandings of allocations

may result when an allocator forgets to communicate the allocation or

communicates it in an ambiguous way. This is likely to occur in

schools when teachers are assigning particular tasks to students for

the first time. To the extent that teachers assign new and different

tasks to students from year to year, to that extent they really lack

experience in the allocation of such tasks. The assignment of even

the simplest tasks may lead to misunderstandings on the part of

students that cannot be anticipated by the teacher. This problem is

likely to be particularly acute at the beginning of the term when

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teachers and students have no experience dealing with each other over matters of work assignment and evaluation. Students may make assumptions about the nature of a task allocation based on previous experience with other teachers only to discover the the present teacher operates quite differently.

Misunderstandings of criteria used to evaluate an individual's performance may result from insufficiently specific criteria or from the failure of evaluators to communicate the set critria. In either case performers lack the specific criteria according to which they might shape their behavior in performance of the task. At times performers may even have incorrect information about the criteria employed in evaluating their performance.

Student requests to teachers to know "What counts?" or "What are you looking for?" represent attempts to reduce misunderstandings of criteria. Given the complex nature of some academic tasks, great effort and care must be taken by teachers to specify and communicate the criteria used for evaluation of student work. When teachers assume that students should "know" what "good work" is and refuse to specify what they will be looking for when evaluating student work, they often create situations that for many students lead to misunderstandings of criteria. Of course, some students are much better than others at "reading teachers" and giving them what they want, but other students will simply be unable to predict the relationship between their performance and the evaluations they can expect to receive.

Even when task allocations and criteria are clearly communicated,

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a condition of unpredictable evaluations may arise if the samples of an individual's performance are not representative of true performance. If a performer is aware of the task allocations and criteria, it is still not possible to predict the evaluations that will be received for a given level of performance when the sample of information on performance used for the evaluation is not an accurate reflection of true performance. As a result, the individual may not be able to modify performance to receive evaluations at or above acceptance level.

Ideally, teachers should collect samples of student performance which reflect their true performance in class. Tests and exercises should be frequent enough and broad enough to accurately reflect total student performance and students should clearly perceive the connection between the total performance in a class and their performance on tests and exercises which are only samples of their performance. However, when the samples of student performance used in evaluation are very infrequent or very narrow in relation to the total performance, then such samples are less likely to be an accurate reflection of total performance, and students may come to perceive little relationship between their total performance and the evaluations they receive. In such cases, students cannot predict their evaluations from knowledge of the level of their performances.

Problems in any of the first three stages of the evaluation process, misunderstandings of allocations, misunderstandings of criteria, or nonrepresentative samples, can lead to a condition of unpredictable evaluations. In this condition, performers cannot see

the connection between what they do and the evaluations they receive.

Type IV - Unattainable Evaluations

A condition of unattainable evaluations, the fourth type of incompatibility, arises when:

> (Unattainable Evaluations) - the standards used to
> evaluate performers are so high that they cannot
> achieve evaluations at or above acceptance level. (p. 351)

Unattainable evaluations occur when the standards used to assess performance are set so high that it is impossible for participants to attain evaluations at their acceptance level under the conditions in which they must work. Dornbusch and Scott identify three cases of unattainable evaluations: inappropriately high standards, active tasks, and lack of facilities.

Inappropriately high standards may be employed in the assessment of performance when performers or tasks are new and when there are no applicable standards based on previous experience. For example, when new employees attempt to perform tasks for the first time, it is usually inappropriate to employ the same standards used to assess the performance of experienced workers. When a task is assigned for the first time, a supervisor may not know what standards to expect for performance and may set them too high. Inappropriately high standards may also occur in highly competitive situations in which supervisors seek perfection and subordinates keep trying to perfect their performances. Competent, but less able subordinates may not be able to attain the standards set by the most able.

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Inappropriately high standards may easily arise in school

situations. Students are often in a position where they are

performing a task for the first time. Teachers must constantly take

into account the lack of experience of students in performing many of

their assigned tasks. Moreover, to the extent that teachers

incorporate new material and tasks into their teaching, they must also

deal with the problem of setting appropriate standards with no

previous experience of student performance on the tasks. Finally,

given the range of abilities in any group of students teachers must

attempt to challenge students without raising the standards to the

point where many students cannot achieve acceptable evaluations.

The nature of active tasks may also lead to problems of

unattainable evaluations. Since the resistance to the performance of

active tasks is unpredictable, it is difficult to set standards at an

appropriate level. Standards may easily be set at a level that is

unattainable for most performers.

Teachers from time to time find themselves in the position of

having assigned tasks to students only to find that performing the

task was much more difficult than the teacher originally anticipated.

At times none of the students will be able to perform the task

successfully, at other times one or two students will succeed, but the

majority of the students will fall far below the previously defined

level of acceptable performance. In either case the teachers must

decide whether and how to adjust the evaluations of student

performance. One way of handling these situations is to grade on a

curve so that the maximum evaluations go to the students with the best

performance while the minimum evaluations go to those with the worst

performance. Of course, as we earlier pointed out, if teachers

regularly grade on a curve so that those students with the worst

performance always receive the minimum evaluations, those students

will experience a situation of uncontrollable evaluations due to

interdependence of performers. Our point here is that grading on a

curve solves the problem of setting standards for active tasks by

allowing the current group norm to determine the standard.

Lack of facilities may also lead to a condition of unattainable

evaluations. Facilities may refer to physical equipment or to

organizational rights such as rights to authority over others. No

matter how hard they try, performers without the necessary facilities

may not be able to attain evaluations at or above their acceptance

level.

Teachers know that they must plan lessons and assignments so as

not to require access to equipment or resources not readily available

to all their students. Still, there are times when it is not possible

to foresee all such needs. For example, an assignment to trace one's

geneology may be impossible for a student without access to family

records or older relatives. Access to equipment and resources are

often problematic as students seek to improve their performance in

extracurricular activities. Students may not have as much access to

practice rooms and equipment as may be necessary for them to improve

their performance to attain evaluations at or above their acceptance

level.

Inappropriately high standards, active tasks, and lack of

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facilities all present problems for the evaluation of performance. In each case a situation may be created where it is impossible for performers to attain evaluations at or above their acceptance level.

Instability

Dornbusch and Scott suggest that, in addition to incompatibility, another characteristic by which an authority system may be described is instability. They present a formal definition of instability:

Definition of Instability – An authority system is
unstable to the extent that it contains internal
pressures for change. (p. 350)

They note further that the pressures for change are internal in that they are generated by the operation of the authority system itself rather than from a source external to the authority system.

Dornbusch and Scott argue that incompatibility is a sufficient condition for instability of authority systems. Whenever incompatibilities are present, then authority systems will be unstable. Since other factors may also produce system instability, just because incompatibilities are not present does not mean that the systems will be stable.

When participants are subjected to incompatibilities in authority systems they are likely to be frustrated and under tension. To cope with such tension they may adopt one or more "coping responses" in an attempt to resolve the incompatibility. Each of these "coping responses" is considered by Dornbusch and Scott to be an indicator of the presence of instability.

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Dornbusch and Scott note three general ways in which participants attempt to cope with incompatibility in an authority system. First, participants may lower their acceptance level. That is, performers may decide that they are satisfied with a lower level of evaluations for participating in the authority system than they were previously willing to accept. Repeated failures to attain evaluations at acceptance level will lead individuals to lower that acceptance level to one they can attain.

Students in school may lower their acceptance level in both a general and a more specific sense. First, some students who have experienced repeated failure to attain evaluations at or above their acceptance level, may lower their overall acceptance level for evaluations of any type connected with school. Such students may be content to pass from grade to grade however they can. Second, other students may lower their acceptance level for particular tasks or for evaluations from particular supervisors. Such students may be quite happy with a D in math or a C from Mrs. Smith. These students have adapted to fairly localized incompatibilities for evaluations for particular courses or from particular supervisors. In either case, the students decide to be satisfied with less than they were previously willing to accept.

A second general method of attempting to resolve incompatibility in the authority system involves the creation of pressures for change in the authority system itself. Dornbusch and Scott specify four reactions which create pressures for change in the authority system: dissatisfaction, communication of dissatisfaction to others in the

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organization, suggesting changes to others in the organization as a result of dissatifaction with the system, and noncompliance with the exercise of an authority right as a result of dissatisfaction with the system.

Students in schools may exhibit all four reactions. First, they may simply feel dissatisfied with the system or some aspect of the authority system. Second, they may communicate their dissatisfaction with the school authority system to other students. Third, they may suggest changes in the system to others in the school. Fourth, they may fail to comply with assignments. Dornbusch and Scott suggest that to fail to comply is to notify others that the present system is intolerable. (p. 270)

While many forms of what we have earlier referred to as student involvement in negative activities would fall under Dornbusch and Scott's notion of noncompliance, it is important to note that their formulation specifically limits attention to such behavior that results from dissatisfaction with the authority system and that they view the nonconformist as one who is more likely to make his or her dissent public and to attempt to replace existing policies and procedures with alternative policies and procedures. Thus the more specifically we focus on student engagement in negative behaviors such as these, the stronger should be the relationship to incompatibilities in the authority system.

A third general way in which participants attempt to resolve incompatibility in the authority system is simply to leave the system. Dornbusch and Scott note that an individual may do this either by

moving to another position within the same organization or by leaving the organization altogether.

It is quite obvious that students may leave the school organization by just dropping out. What is somewhat less obvious is that students have considerable latitude in moving from one position to another within the school. To the extent that students can control and modify their own schedules, to that extent can they move one from position to another, at least in terms of their supervisors. Two "juniors" may in a sense occupy different positions if they have different teachers supervising their work. Not only may students move from one supervisor to another, but they even have some discretion to move from one subject or set of tasks to another. Thus students may "dropout" of some subjects and supervisors to avoid incompatibilities in the evaluation system.

Dornbusch and Scott identify three indicators of instability, lowering acceptance levels, dissatisfaction and noncompliance, and leaving the system. These correspond to the three student behavior problems identified in Chapter 1: low level student participation, participation in negative activities, and non-participation. Dornbusch and Scott's theory provides us with a systematic approach to examining the effects of incompatibilities in the school evaluation and authority system on these student problems.

Considerations When Applying the Theory to Students

Dornbusch and Scott argue that student status has an affect on the level of instability likely to arise as a result of

incompatibilities in the authority system of a school organization.

They note that despite high levels of incompatibility, students should

be less likely to display instability behavior than non-students

exposed to comparable levels of incompatibility. (p. 275) They cite

three reasons for this prediction. First, individuals occupy the

student role for only a limited period of time and therefore feel less

of a necessity to adapt to the incompatibility of the authority

system. They know that eventually they will not have to deal with it.

Second, students occupy a role in which they are not expected to be

fully competent and one in which evaluations of their performance are

seen as a major part of their training. Third, students exhibit less

instability in the face of a certain level of incompatibility because

the relationship between their evaluations and immediate

organizational sanctions is less clear than for individuals in

non-student positions.

Dornbusch and Scott sum up these points by stating that although

students do fall within the scope of their theory, they

> ...apply a somewhat different calculus in linking
>
> evaluations with sanctions, ... they place less
>
> emphasis on particular performance evaluations and
>
> as a consequence are less likely to react to
>
> incompatibilities with instability behavior. (p. 276)

Although their identification of differences between the student

role and non-student role with regard to reactions to

incompatibilities seems sound, we would question whether the total

level of instability behavior would be lower among students than among

nonstudents faced with comparable levels of incompatibilities.

Instead, we would suggest that instability behavior may be distributed

differently over the three general identified forms. Specifically,

given the transcience of the individuals in the student role, we would

expect less dissatisfaction and noncompliance behavior and more

lowering of acceptance levels among students than among non students.

Moreover, given that leaving school to take a job provides what is

sometimes perceived as a more attractive alternative to students, we

would expect less dissatisfaction and noncompliance behavior and

higher levels of withdrawal from the organization whenever possible.

Thus when faced with incompatibilities, students may exhibit

instability more through means which do not challenge the authority

system openly than do non-students.

The theory of evaluation and authority provides a useful

framework within which to examine the relationship between school

authority systems and student disengagement. Moreover, it permits the

relatively precise examination of features of the school authority

system that are likely to be problematic for students. It may serve

to guide not only our study, but also the formulation of policy

recommendations for educators. School policies set the parameters for

the authority systems under which students must function. In the next

chapter we examine the policies related to the evaluation of students

established at each of the four high schools in our study.

Chapter 3

School Policies for the Evaluation of Students

Rushton Schools

The four high schools included in our study are all part of the
Rushton School District. The Rushton District serves a sprawling
series of suburban communities located approximately 12 miles from the
center of a major mid-western city. The population of the Rushton
District numbers around 140,000 residents, most of whom have skilled,
business, or professional jobs. The district serves one of the more
affluent communities in the metropolitan area.

Since the Rushton District was formed in 1954 through the
col   idation of a number of elementary districts it has become one of
the iastest growing suburban districts in the country. Between 1960
and 1978, the peak enrollment year, 20,000 students were added to the
system. With nearly 24,000 students enrolled, the district ranks
third in enrollment in the state. Enrollment remains high in the
secondary grades in the district, but it is declining in the
elementary grades. District projections anticipate a reduction in
enrollment of over 4000 students between 1980 and 1984.

- The Rushton District contains 68.5 square miles, making it one of
the larger districts in the metropolitan area. The district
transports about 70% of its total enrollment. With only a small
number of minority students, the district has no desegregation plan,
though it is currently being asked to participate in an interdistrict
desegregation plan along with other districts in the metropolitan

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area.

The schools in the Rushton District are generally considered among the best in the metropolitan area. The district spent $2052.92 per pupil during the 1979-80 school year. With the recent period of rapid growth, most of the facilities in the district are quite new and several of them have won awards for architectural distinction. Overall, the schools of Rushton would be ranked highly in comparison with public schools nationwide.

Our study was conducted in the four senior high schools in the district. The district and the schools were selected because they represent generally successful American high schools. The goal of the study was not to expose flagrant problems in troubled schools, but to reveal more subtle trends and potential problems in the organizational arrangements of typically effective schools. These schools were also selected because we wanted to work with administrators and teachers who were not so under the gun that they couldn't participate in the study with us. We wanted to be able to rely on their help and expertise as we conducted our work. This report reflects the support and guidance they gave us at various stages of the study.

The four senior high schools in the Rushton District are Jefferson High, Lincoln High, Roosevelt High, and Washington High. Although the administrators of the schools all report to the same central office superiors, they have considerable autonomy in organizing and managing their buildings. Table 3-1 below presents basic data on the student and staff populations of the four schools.

Table 3-1

Faculty and Student Populations of the Four Rushton High Schools

Schools	Jefferson	Lincoln	Roosevelt	Washington
Faculty				
Bachelors Degrees	37	16	23	19
Masters Degrees	46	54	85	74
Doctoral Degrees	3	3	7	8
Total	86	73	115	105
Students				
Number	1,300	1,500	1,149	1,870
Mean SAT Verbal	457	471	470	475
Mean SAT Math	511	534	508	517
Percentage Who Continue Education	88%	77%	68%	91%

The table reveals that the faculty and students at each of the four

schools compare favorably to those of most public schools. The

students of the Rushton high schools perform above the national means

in both the verbal and math sections of the Scholastic Aptitude Test.

Over two-thirds of the students at each of the schools have made plans

to continue with their education beyond high school.

Thus far we have discussed the common features of the Rushton

high schools, the features that place them among the better American

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public high schools. In the sections that follow we will examine each

school in greater detail and discuss some of the features that

distinguish the schools from each other. Particular attention will be

devoted to the policies and procedures employed at the schools for the

evaluation of student performance. Data for these sections comes from

two major sources. In the course of our two years of working with the

faculty and students of the Rushton high schools we collected various

documents which describe the administrative policies of the schools.

Documents such as teacher handbooks and student handbooks are

collections of the formal rules and regulations of the four

organizations.

In addition to consulting these formal documents, we conducted

in-depth interviews with each member of the administrative staff, at

least one member of the counseling staff and at least 12 teachers at

each school. The teachers were selected to represent the various

departments and extracurricular activity groups in the school. These

interviews provide information on less formalized procedures and

methods of operation and permit us to inquire more directly about the

policies for the evaluation of student performance.

Assembling this data on the procedures for the evaluation of

student performance in the four schools permitted us to more carefully

tailor our general questions on the student survey to the particular

school environment. In addition, the data provide a portrait of the

ways in which four schools go about the process of evaluating student

performance. In no sense can these documents and interviews be

thought of as measures of our independent variable, the evaluation and

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authority system of the school. Such measures must come from the
student self-reports since it is the interaction of individual
performance with the authority system of the organization that leads
to instability according to the theory of evaluation and authority.

The format of the interviews was open-ended. (See Appendix A.)
Each administrator or teacher interviewed was asked to discuss his or
her own role in each of the six stages of the evaluation, process as
specified by the theory: allocation, criteria-setting, sampling
performance, assessment, providing feedback, and planning for
improvement. In addition, for each stage of the evaluation process,
respondents were asked to talk about any policies that are set down by
the school as an organization. These questions were asked for the
three student tasks or areas of responsibility: academic work, social
behavior, and excurricular activities. Responses of administrators
and counselors to all interview questions and teacher responses to the
questions regarding school policy were used to assemble the portraits
of the school evaluation policies reported here.

As noted earlier, the Rushton high schools are fairly autonomous
when it comes to developing procedures for the supervision and
evaluation of student performance. For example, the Administrative
Guide for the Professional Staff of the district stipulates that each
school shall develop a program or plan for dealing with student
discipline. The central district administration sets no rules but
rather delegates this responsibility to the individual buildings.
Only broad guidelines are noted in the district wide guide.
Administrators at the four buildings reported that they had wide

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latitude in developing their school program and policies. Moreover, rather than minimizing differences between the schools, administrators and teachers seemed to emphasize the ways in which the administrators at each school ran a distinctive program.

Jefferson High School

The Evaluation of Academic Work

Reviewing the comments of administrators and teachers in terms of the six stages of the evaluation process, the greatest emphasis at Jefferson seems to be on providing feedback to the students on their performance. The administrators stressed that there should be no surprises for either students or parents. They noted that teachers were urged to keep parents informed of any problems with student academic performance and that they were also encouraged to send letters home when students improved their performance. These procedures at Jefferson supplement the district-wide policies regarding reports of student progress. Teachers echoed the reports of the administrators. A number of teachers mentioned the importance of communicating evaluations and one teacher stressed the need for quick feedback, citing automated test scoring machines as a tool often used to allow speedy feedback to students.

The assessment stage also received a great deal of attention in the interviews with administrators and teachers. Several of the administrators emphasized the benefits of using a point system in compiling student grades, noting that when the point system is used,

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"people will not question your professional judgement." Eleven of fifteen teachers interviewed described specific point scales used in the evaluation of student academic work. Neither the administrators nor the teachers connected the use of a point system to the setting of criteria and standards. Thus the point system seemed to be a device advocated and used to justify a final evaluation of student performance rather than as way of repesenting the importance of certain characteristics of task performance, as our model suggests.

The emphasis on the use of a point system for compiling student grades as opposed to its use to make students aware of the weight given to various aspects of their academic tasks is consistent with the absence of administrator and teacher comments on policies for setting criteria and standards. All fifteen teachers were unable to think of a single school policy regarding the setting of standards for student academic performance. One teacher noted that this matter was sometimes discussed at the department level, but not on a school-wide basis. For the related stage of task allocation, one third of the teachers noted that district-wide goals and objectives and curriculum guides were available, but most suggested that teachers had wide latitude in interpreting such guidelines once certain core areas were covered.

Similarly, the teachers were unable to think of any school policy regarding the sampling of student academic work for the purposes of evaluation. The administrators mentioned several ways in which they sampled student performance such as standardized tests and the "junior essay" required of all students. Moreover, they noted informal ways

in which they took samples of student work such as asking for samples
of student writing and talking to teachers about student performance.
Nonetheless, one administrator felt that not enough emphasis was
placed on the day-to-day work of the students in their classes because
of the emphasis on standardized tests. Another administrator
expressed concern that grades were based on too limited a sample of
student performance.

Finally, the interviews with administrators and teachers
reflected very little emphasis on the process of working with students
to help them plan to improve their performance. Individual teachers
varied greatly in this respect, and no school policy was mentioned.
Much more emphasis was placed on communicating evaluations to students
to let them know where they stood. One counselor described this
approach as providing students with a sense of where they could stood
so they help themselves. This approach seems to be consistent with
the nature of the student body as described by the administrators and
teachers. They viewed their students as very competent individuals
from high SES backgrounds who were quite capable of addressing their
own deficiencies. In no interview did we get the sense that staff
members would leave students high and dry to fend for themselves.
Rather, there seemed to be great confidence in the capacity of their
students to handle their learning problems.

The Evaluation of Behavior

Teachers and principals alike reported that the major effort to
allocate responsibility for student behavior came at the beginning of

the school year. At that time administrators hold a meeting with each

class to outline the expectations regarding student behavior at

Jefferson for the year. Teachers also make a point of discussing

their expectations for behavior in each of their classes at the start

of the term.

Our questions about setting criteria and standards for student

behavior brought an interesting pattern of responses. A few of the

teachers and administrtors mentioned school policies regarding

attendance, parking regulations, and tardiness. For example, five

absences from class result in a note being sent to the student's

parents. Teachers also mentioned that the school makes use of a

citizenship grade for student behavior in each class. However, most

of the teachers indicated that there really weren't any specific

policies or standards for student behavior. One of the teachers said

that the administrators let the teachers run things as long as there

isn't total chaos in their classes. Administrators explained their

strategy as one of avoiding rules and the setting of specific

standards. For example, the school has no formal student handbook.

Instead, all student behavior rules are listed on a two page handout

distributed at the start of the year. One administrator explained

that they avoided setting rules because "if standards are set, kids

will live down to them." Administrators described their strategy as

one of using only a small set of rules and relying on role models of

appropriate behavior whenever possible. Although expectations for

student behavior seemed to be high, they were seldom communicated in

specific detail.

Little attempt is made to systematically sample student behavior at Jefferson High. The one exception is the requirement that teachers stand out in the hall during passing times to monitor student hall behavior. Some teachers seemed to have no problems getting sufficient samples of student behavior for purposes of evaluation. On the contrary, as one teacher put it, "it is difficult to evaluate – it's sort of a stream that flows past constantly and things get by." On the other hand, several administrators voiced concern about only being exposed to negative student behavior. One administrator portrayed his role as "fighting brushfires". To counteract this tendency, administrators have urged teachers to include them whenever they can show off the students in a positive light.

The processes of assessment and feedback are facilitated through the use of the citizenship grade. However, several teachers complained that they were very unsure of what the grade was based upon. Another teacher observed that there was no consistency among teacher expectations. One administrator reported that the citizenship grade was based on student promptness to class, but teachers reported various other criteria for determining the grade. The citizenship grade is used so that student behavior is not included in the academic grade, and the citizenship grade is not included on the student's academic transcript. One teacher found it problematic not to include student behavior as part of the overall evaluation of student performance. The citizenship grade is included in the periodic progress reports sent to parents, and parents are notified whenever there is a behavior problem.

No formal procedures were reported for helping students improve their behavior, although a number of teachers and administrators mentioned working with students individually on an informal basis. For example, one administrator reported holding conferences with students with behavior problems t get them to set goals and objectives for improving their behavior. Another administrator reported that there is a policy which forbids students sent out of class with behavior problems from making up work. However, the same administrator noted that the policy was usually disregarded in working with students with behavior problems.

The Evaluation of Extracurricular Activities

In general there is much less attention paid to setting school policy for the evaluation of student performance in extracurricular activities than in the other two areas of student performance at Jefferson High. The school-wide policies that do exist cover eligibility for membership in the various activity groups. Administrators noted that the groups set their own standards with the exception of chapters of national organizations such as the National Honor Society where national standards apply.

The lack of policy for the evaluation of student performance should not be taken to indicate a lack of interest on the part of administrators in these activities. On the contrary, they are deemed very important to the total program of the school. At least one administrator is present at every major activity so they have ample access to student performance. Although individual groups set their

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own performance standards, administrators indicated that the standards
for behavior were higher for students participating in extracurricular
activities than for students in general. Standards are higher "for
those in uniform" because they represent the school.

Teachers and administrators stressed two aspects of student
involvement in extracurricular activities as being particularly
important. First, they pointed out that such activities gave students
good experience in learning to set standards and expectations for
themselves. Thus there appears to be considerable emphasis on having
students become skilled in self-evaluation. Second, the teachers
reported that they spent a great deal of time working with students to
help them improve their performance. This appears to be in contrast
with the evaluation of academic performance and social behavior where
less attention was devoted to helping students improve.

Lincoln High School

The Evaluation of Academic Work

Two features characterize the responses of the administrators and
teachers at Lincoln High School to our questions about a school-wide
approach to the evaluation of academic work. First, the great
majority of the respondents indicated that the school had no policies
regarding the various stages in the evaluation process. For example,
none of the teachers reported a policy regarding either task
assignment or sampling of student work. Administrators noted only the
policy for dealing with cheating outlined in the student handbook and

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the monitoring of mid-quarter reports by the guidance counselors. One

administrator used a "watch list" of students with academic problems

who received more careful monitoring. They did, however, comment on

the use of statistical compilations of student grades by teacher as a

way to monitor the overall school program. One teacher reported that

the administration expected that "low kids should be rewarded for

their efforts, though minimal." Other teachers mentioned the use of

mid-term progress reports and report cards for feedback to students

and parents. Neither administrators nor teachers mentioned any

policies that might be established in particular departments, though

some teachers commented on general informal consistencies they had

noticed with one or more other teachers.

The general absence of policy regarding evaluation of academic

work was accompanied by a few complaints. One administrator, when

asked what aspects of the evaluation of student academic work were

problematic, reported being bothered by teachers who play the game:

"Can you guess what I'm going to put on the test?" A teacher was

concerned about the subjectivity of the grading process and another

teacher saw as a weakness in the system the fact that so many things

were left up to the individual teacher. Teachers also noted

inconsistencies among teachers in evaluation practices. "Living with

teachers who emphasize trivial facts" was cited as a problem by one of

the teachers interviewed, while yet another teacher saw a need for

more standards for grading.

Despite the lack of formal policies regarding evaluation of

academic work, there was considerable emphasis on setting standards.

One administrator reported that the administration set "no policy but
a level of expectation". A number of teachers reported a similar
emphasis on setting expectations in their work with students.

The Evaluation of Behavior

Administrators and teachers at Lincoln High reported using
several methods for assigning expectations for behavior to students.
They pointed to the student handbook, to the sophomore orientation
sessions, and to class meetings held at the beginning of the year as
regular strategies for allocating the task of behavior. A principal's
newsletter and individual letters home to parents communicate these
expectations to parents. The handbook deals specifically with the
issues of cheating, attendance, and parking regulations, and the use
of unassigned time. The school operates on a collegiate model with
students responsible for the apprpriate use of their unassigned time.
The handbook states that "A misuse of this privilege normally results
in a loss of unassigned study time."

Despite these few specific rules, a number of respondents noted
that rules were not a major feature of the school. One administrator
reported that "We are not a rule book school." The strategy adopted
by the administrators for dealing with student behavior was described
as a combination of setting high expectations and reinforcing positive
behavior. A teacher described the school as relying on "more a spirit
of community" as opposed to written rules.

When asked about the process of setting criteria and standards,
an administrator explained that the procedures might differ depending

upon the extent of any particular problem. When problems are confined to a small number of individuals, the strategy is to deal with them on an individual basis without formulating specific criteria and standards. Fighting was mentioned as an example of this kind of problem. However, when a problem is more widespread, involving a group of students, then rules are developed which have specific criteria and standards. The rule against smoking pot was cited as an example of how a more pervasive problem would be handled.

The pervasiveness of the problem also affects the method employed for communicating the criteria and standards. For many problems standards are set and communicated to the entire student population by the manner in which particular individual students' cases are handled by the administrators. On the other hand, with more extensive problems, the administrators sometimes discuss the matter with the student government. The problem of littering was cited as an example of an area discussed with the student government.

Finally, criteria and standards are set in some more positive ways. One administrator cited the institution of a "Dress-Up Day" on the day prior to the Christmas recess. Students dressed up and their pictures were taken. As the administrator put it, "It turned a typically horrible day into a real plus."

The sampling process appeared to receive much less attention from administrators and teachers. Administrators pointed to the daily print-out on attendance and to the use of teacher feedback forms as ways they collected information on student behavior. Teachers reported no school policies for the systematic sampling of student

behavior. One of the counselors noted that she "would like to feel

that I had a more systematic system for observing behavior."

Comments on the assessment process centered around the use of the

citizenship grade which ranges from outstanding (0) to satisfactory

(S), to needs improvement (I), to unsatisfactory (U). Teachers

differed, however, in their interpretation of these grades and no

school policy was evident in the responses to our questions.

Only a few of the administrators and teachers mentioned

procedures for providing feedback to students to help them to improve

their performance. Attendance reports, progress reports, and report

cards were mentioned as devices that provided students with feedback.

One of the guidance counselors explained that sometimes weekly

progress checks were used to report on the academic and behavioral

progress of students identified as being in difficulty.

Despite the efforts made to assign expectations and set criteria

and standards, there were a number of complaints about inconsistencies

in teacher standards. One teacher provided a graphic example of this

problem of inconsistent standards. She reported the case of the a

physical education teacher who called "down a kid to take his hat off

as he is walking through the gym to get to drivers education."

Because of conficting standards, the student was not required to keep

his hat off once he was in class. The teacher attributed this

conflict in standards to simple differences in opinion among teachers

and suggested that school guidelines be developed.

The Evaluation of Extracurricular Performance

Administrators and teachers at Lincoln High School reported very few instances of policies for the evaluation of student performance in extracurricular activities. Administrators noted that they set an overall philosophy, but little else regarding task assignment and criteria setting for extracurricular activities. They also reported little involvement in the other phases of the evaluation process, instead describing their role in such activities in terms of recruiting sponsors and serving as resource persons when questions arose. In most cases, they portrayed the administration as giving advice when called upon. The school did seem to take a somewhat more active role in providing feedback through a newsletter to parents, releases to newspapers and informal comments conveyed to students. Lincoln High School's approach to the supervision and evaluation of student performance in extracurricular activities is captured nicely in the words of one of the interviewed teachers who ended our interview by saying "the fewer policies, the better."

Roosevelt High School

The Evaluation of Academic Work

In general the administrators interviewed at Roosevelt High School were less reluctant than administrators at other schools to discuss the setting of rules for the conduct of work in the school. Responses indicated that administrators felt a good case could be made for the use of rules and structure at Roosevelt High.

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Consistent with this approach is the school policy that teachers
should make their assignments to students very specific to provide
them with the necessary structure. The school also makes use of
district-wide procedures such as the course guides, the junior essay
requirement, and board of education policies on homework.
Nonetheless, over half of the teachers failed to mention any school
policies and procedures for the assignment of academic work when asked
during the interviews.

Standards and criteria for academic performance seem to be left
up to the individual departments. One administrator reported that it
is the department's responsibility to establish criteria for
evaluation and that some departments are better than others at
actually setting such criteria.

Teachers and administrators reported no policies and procedures
regarding the process of sampling student work for purposes of
evaluation. Administrators did report making use of indicators such
as student g.p.a., class rank, and standardized test scores to keep
informed as to the overall performance of the students in the school.

Similarly, there appear to be no written policies regarding the
assessment of student performance. Several teachers did use a
prepared "grade chart" to arrive at semester grades based on quarter
grades. Another teacher reported that his department (science) used a
curve when assessing student performance and arriving at grades.
Finally, one administrator mentioned that attendance affected academic
grades at Roosevelt.

Considerable emphasis is placed on providing students with

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feedback on their performance. An administrator told us that it was school policy that "studeu.s should know their standing at all times." Teachers are encouraged to use the district progress reports and are required to do so if a student will drop two grade levels on the next report card or if the student is expected to fail. A teacher reported that the administrators urged teachers to tell students their report card grades early so that there will be no surprises.

The improvement stage has also received policy attention at Roosevelt. A teacher quoted the administrators as saying that "There has to be a way for a student not to get an "F" after the progress report is sent." Thus the emphasis on providing students with constant feedback on where they stand is coupled with the requirement that students be given the opportunity to improve their performance. Moreover, the school "Rules and Procedures" manual contains a section on student help sessions with teachers:

Conferences with Teachers: It is right and proper for
students who feel the need to do so to ask a teacher for
a conference about grades, class atmosphere, homework,
make-up work, or anything which will aid a student in his
acquisition of the required course material. However,
there is a proper and an improper manner of requesting a
conference. Thusly:
It is proper to ask a teacher to talk with you before
school, after school, during a teacher's conference period,
or (for short conferences) between periods.
It is improper to interrupt a class lesson, call a

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teacher at home (unless instructed to do so), or to accost

a teacher without making an appointment so that the teacher

can adequately prepare for the conference.

An administrator summed up Roosevelt High's approach to this matter by

stating that "The basic policy is that we can never give up on a

student. We must provide an alternative."

Administrators and teachers discussed problems with the

evaluation process for student academic work. One administrator

reported being bothered when teachers don't have objectives. Another

administrator, however, expressed concern about the attempt to

standardize academic work. A third administrator noted the problem of

"grade inflation" which he attributed to the "behavioral objectives

approach" where "awareness of what's important is dramaticaly improved

in students" and "valuable information is given". He added that

teachers "don't really teach to the test, but the highlights are

there."

Teachers expressed concern over the subjectivity of evaluations

and several of them noted that it is hard to be fair in evaluating

student creativity. One teacher noted that some teachers simply give

students grades without connecting the grades to evaluations of

student work.

The Evaluation of Student Behavior

Teachers and administrators pointed to the student and teacher

handbooks when asked to discuss the assignment of expectations for

student behavior and the criteria and standards used to evaluate

student behavior. One administrator described the treatment of student behavior in the school handbooks as "much more of a traditional approach" than at the other high schools. This traditional approach is evident in the fact that students at Roosevelt have no unassigned study time. Students are always assigned to a class and must be accounted for.

The following excerpts from a section of the teacher handbook titled "Discipline: Classroom" illustrate the school policy on student behavior:

A. Student responsibilities include regular school attendance, conscientious effort in classroom work, and conformance to school rules and regulations. Most of all, students share with the administration and faculty a responsibility to develop a climate within the school that is conducive to wholesome learning and wholesome living.

B. No student has the right to interfere with the education of his fellow students. It is the responsibility of each student to respect the rights of teachers, students, administrators, and all others who are involved in the educational process.

C. Students should express their ideas and opinions in a respectful manner so as not to offend or slander others.

D. It is the responsibility of all students to do the following, and the responsibility of the teacher to inform students

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about the following:

1. Be aware of all rules and regulations for student
   behavior and to conduct themselves in accord with them.

2. Dress and groom themselves to meet fair standards of
   safety and health; personal appearance must not cause
   substantial disruption to the education processes.

3. Assume that a rule, until waived, altered, or repealed,
   is in full effect.

4. Assist the school staff in operating a safe school for all
   students enrolled therein.

5. Be aware of and comply with national, state, and local
   laws.

6. Exercise proper care when using public facilities and
   equipment.

7. Attend school daily, except when excused, and be on time
   to all classes and other school functions.

8. Make all necessary arrangements for making up work when
   absent from school.

9. Pursue and attempt to complete satisfactorily the courses
   of study prescribed by state and local school authorities.

10. Avoid inaccuracies in student newspapers or publications
    and indecency or obscenity in spoken and written language.

Teachers and administrators also pointed to the drug and

attendance policies set by the school. The attendance policy is quite

detailed, filling an entire page of the teachers' handbook. The

policy defines truancy and specifies the procedures to be followed in

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responding to student truancy.

Truancy was prominently mentioned in administrator and teacher comments on the process of sampling student behavior for purposes of evaluation. Administrators said they made frequent use of the daily printouts on student attendance. One administrator pointed out that by watching attendance patterns very closely it was possible to identify problems.

The attendance issue was also mentioned when we asked about the appraisal process. Several respondents referred us to the policy in the handbook which states that "Not receiving instruction and non-participation in classroom activities as a result of absences may be reflected in the academic grade." Thus in contrast to the other schools behavior seems to play more of a role in academic grades at Roosevelt.

Teachers also mentioned the use of the citizenship grade in the appraisal process for student behavior at Roosevelt. The handbook explains the citizenship grade as follows:

The citizenship grade reflects a student's behavior in
class as observed by his teacher. The citizenship grade should
reflect promptness to class, co-operation, good manners,
responsibility to the class, willingness to assist teachers,
insubordination, and other overt behavior.

Citizenship grades are O, S, U, and I.

   O - Outstanding Citizenship

   S - Satisfactory Citizenship

   U - Unstatisfactory Citizenship

I - Improvement needed in citizenship

Several teachers noted that in practice O, S, I, and U had no school-wide meaning, and that individual teachers used the scales as they saw fit.

In commenting on the feedback and improvement stages of the evaluation process teachers and administrators mentioned the use of progress reports, and the citizenship grades on the report cards. They also discussed procedures for referral of students to administrators. The teacher's handbook sets down procedures for communicating to students the problems with their behavior and the steps to be taken to bring about improvement in that behavior. In the handbook, teachers are told:

Now - suppose you are having a problem with a student in

your class. The following procedure should provide you with

a guideline of steps to take in solving the problem of

the disruptive student:

1. Contact the student at an inconspicuous time during your

   class or between bells, and make arrangements to visit

   with him during your conference period. Keep an

   anecdotal record on this conference on a card or in your

   anecdotal record.

2. If the problem continues, contact the counselor. The

   counselor can make arrangements to visit with the student

   in a 2-way communication or in a 3-way communication with

   the teacher present. Keep an anecdotal record of this

   conference.

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3. The next step would be to keep the counselor informed of
   the progress and contact the father or mother at work or
   at home. Please make this a verbal phone communication -
   not a written note to the home. Arrange for a conference
   with you, the student, the counselor, and the parent.
   Keep an anecdotal record of the phone call and the
   conference.

4. At the conclusion of this conference contact the
   appropriate assistant principal and discuss with him
   the information on the anecdotal record, and future
   measures if the student's progress is not satisfactory.
   It may be necessary to leave your written anecdotal
   record with the principal so he can refer to it when
   speaking to the parents in the future.

5. Students with a behavioral disorder may be referred to
   the Special School District. Teacher records would
   be used as a reference.

6. A teacher is charged with the responsibility of supervision
   and the correction of improper student behavior during the
   school day, at school activities, and at any place in the
   building or on campus. Due process procedures must be followed
by teachers and administrators in correcting or suspending a student.
In interviews administrators added that they occasionally referred
students to outside agencies for help. For example, students with
alcohol problems have been referred to AA. Administrators also
mentioned the use of in-school suspension and after-school suspension

as procedures used to help students improve their behavior.

Neither teachers nor administrators complained about the reliance on rules at Roosevelt. There were, however, complaints about the enforcement of rules. One administrator noted that the "place was a zoo" when it opened in 1976 and that it has taken five years to create enough student loyalty to make it manageable. One administrator noted the difficulty of enforcing the rules set down in the handbook. Still another administrator felt the need for a stronger attendance policy.

Teachers too reported a problem with the enforcement of the policies. One teacher complained of not being backed up. Another teacher felt that the detentions were a waste of time since they were run in a lax manner. A third teacher, when commenting on school procedures, expressed dismay at the fact that "some faculty follow procedures, some do not."

The Evaluation of Extracurricular Performance

The extracurricular program at Roosevelt appears to be subject to almost no school policies. Membership in these activities is entirely open except for requirements set by the individual groups and sponsors. While some schools have g.p.a. requirements for participation, at Roosevelt there are no such requirements. Moreover, students have considerable opportunity to form their own activity groups. The student handbook informs students that:

> There are many school-sponsored clubs to join and all
> interested students are encouraged to participate. A
> group of ten or more interested students may form a

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club by contacting Dr. _____. He will provide the

necessary organizational materials.

A teacher commented that the school wanted groups to be self-run.
An administrator reported that he occasionally assigned fund raising
activities to various groups. Another administrator noted that he
worked with the groups to make sure their books balanced. In general,
the school takes an open approach to extracurricular groups and
specifies few policies and procedures for the evaluation of student
progress.

Washington High School

The Evaluation of Academic Work

While not always describing it in terms of school "policies and
procedures", the teachers and administrators at Washington High School
expressed greater shared understanding about the evaluation of student
·academic work than respondents at the other three schools. This was
not reported as a reliance upon many rules. Rather the emphasis was
on a model of the teacher as a professional. One administrator
reported being bothered by "teachers who add up a total number of
points a student has gotten and assign a grade on that basis. It
takes the onus off the teachers. The teacher should be able to
intellectually discriminate between students." One of the teachers
spoke of guidelines and the principal's expectations and explained
that "You're hired cause you're good, the best, a professional" and
you receive "professional respect." Administrators did mention some

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specific policies regarding task assignment such as asking teachers
not to give homework at certain crucial times during the year such as
holidays.

The model of the teacher as professional is also exemplified in
the school's approach to setting criteria and standards.
Administrators and teachers alike reported that this function was very
actively performed by the various departments under the direction of
department chairpersons. An administrator reported that setting
criteria and standards was delegated to departments, commenting that
"I don't want an Army manual." Teachers and administrators reported
considerable activity in several departments to deal with the setting
of criteria and standards. An administrator told us that "Departments
work hard developing internal consistency." For example, in English,
this involved what to look for in themes. In other departments this
might involve team teaching and developing and using similar tests.
One English teacher reported "meeting with other English teachers with
the same class to make sure we have consistent pe   ns." A
teacher in the science department noted that the "five teachers in my
department have the same daily objectives, same materials and give the
same tests for the same classes." Several teachers in the English
department mentioned using the "General Rubric" a grading standard for
themes. The Rubric specifies the level of student performance along
five dimensions required for each type of letter grade. For example,

    (A) Highly Competent Level

        a. Grasp of Subject: Recognizes and deals not only with

            the fact of the question or assignment but also to

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some degree with the implications and nuances involved.

b. Thesis: Is clear and explicit and reveals more than

average insight and complexity.

c. Paragraphing: Has topic sentences which further the

thesis and offers persuasive specifics.

d. Explanation and Justification of Specifics: Explains

and justifies the specifics with some depth in al st

all instances.

e. Style: Contains effective and appropriate transitions.

The language is clear and reflects thoughtful use of

diction.

f. Mechanics: Is generally correct in use of punctuation

and capitalization and spelling, with no major errors in

sentence structure.

Devices like this serve to reinforce shared conceptions about the

evaluation of student work. Teachers also mentioned the discussion of

standards and crit ia for student work that takes place during summer

workshops.

There are few shared understandings regarding the sampling of

student work for purposes of evaluation. A general guideline seems to

be the principal's injunction to always have enough documentation on

student performance to justify a grade. This is emphasized in

workshops for new teachers. The school also made use of a sophomore

diagnostic test for writing.

In terms of the appraisal process three school policies were

mentioned. First, administrators and teachers mentioned the

requirement that the semester grade be the average of the two quarter

grades and noted the chart for such grade averaging. Second, teachers

mentioned the school policy limiting the weight of the final exam to

25% of the final grade. Teachers also mentioned the use of a curve in

lower level classes and noted the policy that students who get

consistently high grades (above C) in such classes be transferred to

more difficult courses of study.

In response to questions about communicating the results of

evaluations to students teachers usually referred to the progress

reports sent to the homes of students. An administrator noted that

the administration stressed that evaluations of student performance

should never come as a surprise.

Little formal attention appears to be devoted to the process of

working with students to help them improve their performance, but many

of the teachers interviewed stressed the importance of working with

students in this way. One teacher noted that this is why the students

were in school — to improve.

Finally, administrators expressed concern over two problems in

evaluating student academic work. One administrator complained that

that community was too grade-oriented. Another administrator reported

that some departments graded highly in electives as an inducement to

entice students to take the courses.

The Evaluation of Student Behavior

Washington High policies for the allocation of the task of

student behavior consist of the specific policies set down by the

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district regarding drug use, parking regulations, and a building
policy regarding attendance and smoking. However, beyond these very
specific written rules and regulations, teachers and administrators
spoke of a process which they call "setting expectations." This
process seems to cover both the task allocation and the criteria and
standards setting phases of our model.

"Setting expectations" was mentioned by most administrators and
teachers. It is viewed as distinctly different from establishing
rules and regulations. One administrator told us: "A big mistake is
defining behavior. People tend to gravitate toward a minimal
acceptable behavior. It's important for us to use nebulous
expectations; to deal in generalities." Another administrator
described this as a process of not defining minimum behavior and just
setting high standards. This is further illustrated by the comments
of a teacher who gave an example of a student misbehaving in the hall.
She told us that there was "No written policy. If a student is not
doing what's expected in the hall, the student is told, 'that's not
expected.'"

An important feature of the strategy of "setting expectations" is
emphasis on discussing expectations without mentioning consequences.
This is in contrast to the form of most rules which specify the
consequences of student misbehavior. One teacher told us that the
policy was to emphasize expectations and a positive attitude in the
entire shool. Another teacher commented that the "administration
accents the positive to the point where the kids don't believe it, but
try to live up to it just to hear it."

The standards for behavior appear to be quite high. In discussing standards, one teacher noted that "the administration does not like to set rules but they want it understood." Still another teacher spoke of a "hidden message" from the administration: "don't take any crap, don't tolerate it." An administrtor reported that the administration communicates to teachers "what's unacceptable."

The strategy of setting expectations appeared over and over again in our interviews at Washington High. This strategy is unwritten. There is no student handbook. But a variety of activities serve to convey it. For example, administrators pointed to class meetings at the start of the year and school wide meetings with students. They also discussed the annual review of the approach to handling student behavior conducted by the administrators in August. They noted that faculty input was encouraged in this process. One administrator observed that it is important to note that this approach has evolved after 13 years since the opening of the school. Teachers mentioned the weekly faculty meetings where such an approach is also communicated. An administrator noted that at one point in the year, following a problem in an assembly, the principal asked teachers to discuss attitudes in their next class and how visitors should be treated.

The process of setting expectations used by the administrators is usually quite subtle but understood. The various characteristics of the Washington High approach are illustrated in an announcement read on 18, December 1980 by the principal to the students of Washington High:

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This evening and tomorrow evening...Washington High

will present its Thirteenth Annual Christmas Choral

Concert...All of you are invited to attend.

This program is always a highlight...First,

because of the its quality -- and second, because of the

special audience that attends.

More Washington graduates come back for the Christmas

Program than almost any other event...Some graduates,

and some parents, who will be here have seen all of the

previous thirteen concerts. (No other activity has this

holding power year after year.)

Because of the nature of the choral presentations --

and because of the make-up of the audience...a special

atmosphere is needed.

With that in mind -- and so Washington students who are

performing will be able to do their very best work --

I'd like to ask for your help.

If you attend the Christmas Choral Concert -- and are

sitting in the bleachers next to ... or close by ...

students from the junior high schools or elementary

schools -- please take it upon yourself to ask them

to remain absolutely quiet -- and to not leave and

return during the program.

Ask them to meet the Washington standard of dignity that

you have established so well.

Teachers and administrators mentioned few policies regarding the

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sampling and appraisal stages of the evaluation process.
Administrators noted that they were out from behind their desks during
noon to observe student behavior and that they checked the rest rooms
for cigarettes. Teachers mentioned that the appraisal process was
guided by the citizenship grading scales - O, S, I, U. One of the
teachers also noted that the administrators circulated a list of how
many students received O's so that teachers would be aware of it.
This seems to be an indirect way to communicate the standards for the
distribution of these grades.

The feedback and improvement phases of the evaluation process
were guided by the setting of expectations approach. Teachers and
administrators noted an emphasis on positive feedback. One teacher
reported that administrators require teachers to send at least 10%
positive Progress Reports. Both teachers and administrators linked
the improvement process with the setting of expectations for desirable
performance. The expectations become a guide for student efforts to
improve.

The Evaluation of Extracurricular Performance

Washington High School teachers and administrators mentioned no
policies regarding extracurricular activities. Administrators
,however, did note the importance of such activities and the
opportunity they provided for teaching students values. Thus the
absence of policies does not represent lack of interest in these
activities. One administrator noted that 80% of the students are
involved in one or more activities.

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Common Trends

There are three trends or sets of features that are somewhat
common to all four schools in the study. First, three of the four
schools employ strategies which implicitly or explicitly avoid the
setting of rules and formal policy. Second, each of the schools
adopts quite different approaches when dealing with student
performance in the three designated task areas - academic work, social
behavior, and extracurricular activities. Third, in each of the four
schools there are sources of rules and policy in addition to the
administrative staff. We will discuss each of these three trends.

Washington High School most clearly illustrates the theme of the
avoidance of formal policies and rules. Washington has no student
handbook listing the rights and responsibilities of students in
writing. Administrators at Washington talked of the virtues of
keeping things nebulous and simply setting expectations without
specifying consequences. Jefferson High also deliberately avoided the
use of a student handbook, limiting written rules and policies to two
pages. Administrators and teachers at both schools described the
understandings and the sense of community that had arisen to keep the
schools orderly.

Lincoln High School, while pursuing a somewhat less explicit
policy of avoiding rules, similarly had few of them. Despite the use
of a student handbook containing basic rules, administrators told us
that it was "not a rulebook school." Even at Roosevelt High where
administrators took a more rule oriented approach to the supervision
and evaluation of students, those interviewed spoke of "creating

enough student loyalty to make it manageable."

The entire question of rules and procedures is quite interesting as it affects student behavior. A recent reanalysis of data from the NIE Safe School Study (Gottfredson and Daiger, 1979) suggested that those schools with clearly defined systems of rules and procedures had the least difficulty with student behavior problems. This apparently arose from students feeling that the school was an organization where justice could be had. The analysis of the schools in our present study suggests that the relationship between rules and procedures and student behavior and performance is more complex.

There may be a relation between rules and procedures and student perceptions of justice in some schools but not others. For example, it may be that in schools such as Washington High where there is a strong sense of shared expectations and community that explicit rules and policies are unnecessary. It is interesting to note that the two schools in our study where rules were least in evidence, Jefferson and Washington, were the oldest schools in the district. Lincoln had a much shorter history than Jefferson and Washington. Roosevelt, where formal rules and procedures were most prominent, was the newest of the schools. Thus the schools that were more settled had the least need for formal rules and procedures, operating instead on shared understandings. As Galbraith (1973) observes, rules and procedures are developed when lack of agreement among organizational participants creates too many "exceptions" which overrun the capacity of the hierarchy to manage.

There appear to be several reasons why school administrators

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might shy away from employing specific sets of formal rules. First, administering formal rules and policies quickly becomes a complicated business and takes are great deal of administrator time. Of course, if the time it takes to handle every problem on an exception basis is great, then instituting formal rules and policies may result in a savings of administrator time. If an organization can maintain a community of consensus among participants and keep the number of exceptions low, it is likely to be less time consuming to deal with specific incidents one by one than to administor an elaborate set of rules and procedures. Of course, administrators are also affected by developments in the environment, and administrators at the Rushton schools were aware of the dangers of departing from prevailing school practices. As one school principal put it, "If we ever had to go to court, we would lose." Thus there must be other factors which encourage the school administrators to avoid explicit rules.

A second factor which appears to play a role in the avoidance of rules is the nature of many school and student tasks. Unlike tasks in production organizations, many school tasks are not completely visible. This is particularly true for academic tasks where student work often takes place in the minds of students (Natriello and Dornbusch, 1980). But it is also true for student behavior where administrators and teachers often have incomplete information on the "flow of behavior". As Galbraith (1973) notes, rules are useful where activities are repetitive and predictable, standard. They are less useful where activities are more complex and subject to change. In such cases rules may inhibit the necessary re-planning in reaction to

changing conditions. This need is often expressed by educators as a need to give students personal and individual attention and treatment. Non-educators sometimes view this approach as emotional or soft-headed. However, the approach may stem more from the nature of school and student tasks than from any sense of emotional attachment to individual students. Learning tasks are often simply too complex to be handled with great dispatch. As industry moves from production tasks to less visible and more complex tasks, it may discover a model for administration in schools, organizations that have a long history of dealing with nearly invisible and complex tasks.

The visibility and complexity of tasks may also contribute to a second trend noted in the four high schools. Despite the general lack of rules and policies, there was considerable variation in the degree to which each of the schools specified rules in the three areas of student performance. At each school administrators were more likely to have developed rules for the supervision and evaluation of student behavior than for either academic work or extracurricular activities. At each school the supevision and evaluation of student academic work seems to be delegated to teachers, while the supervision and evaluation of student performance in extracurricular activities is delegated to students under the guidance of sponsors and coaches. Meyer and Rowan (1978) have suggested why schools avoid coupling their primary activity (academic instruction) to their administrative structure. Lortie's (1969) discussion of "variable zoning" provides us with another approach to understanding why administrators choose to retain supervisory rights in certain areas and to delegate them in

other areas.

A clear understanding of the evaluative consequences of the three kinds of tasks may provide us with still another perspective on this question. Administrators are more likely to retain supervisory and evaluative rights over student behavior than over student academic performance because behavior is at once more visible and less complex than academic work. Because of these two features of academic tasks, it becomes much more difficult to centralize and standardize their supervision and evaluation. These rights are thus delegated to professional teachers even though failure to coordinate among teachers who supervise and evaluate student academic work may lead to problems as we shall see in later chapters.

The case of extracurricular activities is more complex to explain. Administrators in all four schools readily admitted to having few if any policies and rules governing the supervision and evaluation of student performance in extracurricular activities. Since extracurricular activities really fall outside the central mission of the school and since they are dependent upon the voluntary participation of the students, Lortie's variable zoning argument is an appealing explanation of the lack of centralized management of such student tasks.

However, it may also be possible to consider the almost total delegation for the supervision of extracurricular activities as a function of the nature of these tasks. It is dangerous to generalize across the variety of such activities in a comprehensive high school, but certain task characteristics seem quite common. First, such

activities involve highly visible student performance. Consider, for example, chorus, football, debate, and drama. Second, such activities involve almost constant evaluation from one or more publics whether it be the student group or the community audience. Many extracurricular activities involve formal evaluation mechanisms in the form of competitions of one sort or another -- seasons, tournaments, etc. Finally, the student groups, because they are voluntary and because of the constant social evaluation, generally adopt the standards and criteria agreed upon in the larger community. These last two characteristics distinguish extracurricular performance from student behavior.

Student behavior is not subject to the formal evaluation mechanisms inherent in many extracurricular activities, nor is it likely to be the case that all students adopt the standards and criteria of the larger community. For one thing, conforming to the standards of the larger community brings distinction in the realm of extracurricular activities, while such conformity makes a student one of the majority in the realm of student behavior. There distinction comes from ignoring the standards of the larger community. There are no awards for "best-behaved." Of course, when students in extracurricular activities depart from community standards school administrators may quickly take back the right to supervise and evaluate student performance. For example, the Roosevelt High School student handbook specifically requires students to keep school publications within the bounds of decency and good taste. Similarly, the Princeton University Band, a student organization noted for its

off-color half-time shows, was recently reigned in by University
administrators following complaints from alumni (Ponesbshek, 1981).

The general point is that when students voluntarily take on
tasks, where standards and criteria are clear and generally agreed
upon, and when tasks are so generally visible that sampling of
performance is not problematic, it may be possible to delegate
evaluation to performers themselves. The major role for sponsors and
coaches may be in helping students plan how to improve their
performance. Planning for improvement was most often mentioned by
teachers and administrators as the most important stage in the
evaluation of extracurricular activities. This may be because the
other stages happen by virture of the nature of the tasks.

A final trend in the four high schools concerns the sources of
policy mentioned in addition to the school administration. Earlier we
discussed the policies set down by the school district through the
board of education and the central administrators. In addition,
individuals at all four schools mentioned the work of coordinators in
the various subject fields. Coordinating the curriculum involves some
standardization of the tasks allocated to students and the standards
set as students move from one phase of the curricular to the next.
Teachers and administrators described the efforts of central
curriculum coordinators as providing "guidelines" for teachers.

Departments within individual schools are another source of
policies for the supervision and evaluation of student performance.
Some departments in some schools adopt rather explicit sets of
policies and rules regarding the evaluation of student academic

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performance. These cover not only the tasks allocated to students in courses in the department, but also methods for setting standards and criteria for performance as well as for sampling that performance through tests and other exercises.

Finally, we have seen that a great deal of policy for the supervision and evaluation of student work is set by individual teachers. Following our discussion of the relationship between school authority systems and student disengagement in Chapter 4, we will consider these teacher policies in Chapter 5.

Chapter 4

Incompatibility and Disengagement at the School Level

In this Chapter we present results of our efforts to assess the extent to which students experience incompatibilities in school in general and the relation between such incompatibilities in school authority systems and various forms of student disengagement. To do this we asked students questions about three areas of student responsibility in school or three student tasks: academic work, social behavior, and extracurricular activities. Data for this section are taken from a survey of students in the four high schools.

The Student Survey

To assess the extent to which students experienced incompatibilities in the authority system of the school and the relationship between such incompatibilities and student disengagement we developed a systematic student survey. In the survey we attempted to measure the various forms of incompatibility specified by the theory of evaluation and authority. Since the earlier work of Dornbusch and Scott involved the use of structured interviews administered to adult workers, we were concerned about the problems of collecting analogous data from a large number of students using surveys. We approached this problem by developing a structured interview dealing with the incompatibilities likely to arise in school authority systems. This interview form was pilot tested using sixty

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students from two of the four Rushton high schools in the Spring of
1980. The results of the pilot test were encouraging (Natriello and
Scott, 1981) and led to the development of a preliminary student
survey which after further pilot testing was refined to the form used
for this study. (See Appendix B.)

The survey was administered to 5% of the students at each of the
four Ruston High Schools. Students were selected at random from
school rosters provided by administrators at each school. We began
the administration of the student surveys in the four high schools
during March of 1981. Arrangements for administering the surveys were
worked out with administrators and appointed contact persons at each
school. In three of the four schools we were allowed to conduct an
initial group administration during the school day. In the fourth
high school we began by asking students to come in after school. Each
student selected for the sample received an invitation to participate
in the study and each was offered $10 worth of gift certificates for
completing the survey.

The survey took approximately 45 minutes to complete though
students who did not participate in extracurricular activities were
able to omit two sections and generally finished much sooner. During
group administrations members of the study team were available to
answer questions that arose about the interpretation of certain items.
Since the survey had been extensively pretested and re-worded using
language familiar to the students, there were few questions.

As might be imagined we were not successful in securing the
participation of all of the students in the sample at the initial

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administration of the survey. In each school we had to schedule

several group administrations both during and after school. In

addition, members of the research team kept returning to the schools

to administer the surveys to small groups of students and then to

individual students until we reached all of the students in the

original sample who agreed to participate. Table 4-1 below shows the

distribution of completed surveys among the four Rushton High Schools.

Table 4-1
Completed Student Surveys from the Four Rushton High Schools

School	Number of Students in Original Sample	Number of Students from Alternate Sample	Total Students Participating
Jefferson	80	1	81
Lincoln	63	1	64
Roosevelt	57	0	57
Washington	91	0	91
Totals	291	2	293

Only two students out of the original sample of 293 students

absolutely refused to complete the survey. We selected two alternates

from lists of students again randomly drawn from each school.

Incompatibilities

In attempting to assess the extent to which students in high

schools experience incompatibilities in the authority system we are

confronted with the fact that high school students, in contrast to

individuals in most organizational positions, have a large number of

potential supervisors and evaluators. The typical student in the

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Rushton High Schools has at least six different teachers who may evaluate academic work and social behavior in class. In addition, high school students are supervised by school administrators and other staff members, including teachers from whom they are not currently taking courses. Students who participate in extracurricular activities have additional supervisors who evaluate their performance and behavior in these activities.

We adopted two strategies to deal with this extreme case of multiple evaluators. One strategy was to ask students to assess their experience with evaluations overall in school for each of three areas of student performance: academic work, behavior or conduct, and extracurricular activities. A second strategy was to ask students to comment on their experience with evaluations in specific classes and activities. In this Chapter we discuss the results of our inquiry into student experience with evaluations overall in school. In Chapter 6 we discuss the results of our inquiry into student experiences with evaluations from teachers in specific classes, and in Chapter 8 we focus on student responses to our questions regarding evaluation in specific extracurricular activities.

In our questions regarding incompatibilities overall in the school authority system we asked students to comment separately for three areas of student responsibility or student tasks. The general questions in Section 1 of the survey direct student attention to one of these three areas as follows:

1. In general when your _academic work_ is evaluated in

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school certain problems may arise to cause you to

receive evaluations low enough to make you

dissatisfied. For each of the following problems,

please note how often this sort of things happens

to you. (Check one for each problem.)

2. In general, when your <u>behavior or conduct</u> is evaluated in...

3. In general, when your performance in <u>extracurricular</u>

   <u>activities</u> is evaluated in...

Parallel descriptions of incompatibilities were developed to permit us

to compare levels of incompatibilities across the three task areas.

Items were developed for each of the four type of incompatibilities

identified by the theory. We will consider each type of

incompatibility and the survey items for each student task area in

turn.

Type I: Contradictory Evaluations

Contradictory evaluations occur when students are put in a

situation where receiving one performance evaluation at or above

acceptance level necessarily means that they will receive another

evaluation below acceptance level. Four items were used to assess the

extent to which students experience contradictory evaluations.

One case of contradictory evaluations arises when students

confront conflicting criteria, either in the form of conflicting

standards or conflicting properties. We asked two questions involving

conflicting standards and one question involving conflicting

properties. For each of the three task areas students were asked to

report how frequently they had to displease one supervisor in order to

please another supervisor.

For academic work:

you are evaluated by more than one supervisor and

you find that in order to please one supervisor you

have to displease the other

For social behavior:

your behavior is evaluated by more than one supervisor

(teacher, administrator) and you find that in order

to please one supervisor you have to displease the other

For extracurricular activities:

you are evaluated by more than one coach, sponsor, or

student leader and find that in order to please one

person you have to displease the other

Student leaders were included as supervisors for extracurricular

activities, since in many extracurricular activities student leaders

play an active role in supervising and evaluating the performance of

other students.

A second question on conflicting standards also referred to

multiple supervisors, but this time the emphasis was on the conflict between evaluations by school staff (members of the school hierarchy), and student peers. For each of the three task areas students were asked how frequently they had to displease one evaluator in order to displease another.

For academic work:

your academic work is evaluated by both school officials (teachers, administrators) and other students and you find that in order to please one you have to displease the other

For social behavior:

your behavior is evaluated by both school officials (teachers, administrators) and other students and you find that in order to please one you have to displease the other

For extracurricular activities:

you are evaluated by both sponsors or coaches and other students and find that in order to please one you have to displease the other

A third item dealt with conflicting criteria in the form of conflicting properties. Students were asked how frequently they had to perform in a limited amount of time.

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For academic work:

you are given only a limited amount of time to complete

an assignment and so you receive evaluations low enough

to make you dissatisfied

For social behavior:

you are given only a limited amount of time to do

something and so you receive evaluations of your

behavior low enough to make you dissatisfied

For extracurricular activities:

you are given only a limited amount of time to

do something and so you receive evaluations low

enough to make you dissatified

A fourth item concerned conflicting allocations which we expected

to be particularly likely given the large number of evaluators to

which students must respond. Students were asked how frequently they

received so many allocations that they couldn't complete them all and

receive evaluations at or above their acceptance level.

For academic work:

you are assigned so many things that it isn't possible

to do a good job and complete them all and so you

receive evaluations low enough to make you dissatisfied

For social behavior:

you are asked to obey so many rules at the same time that

it isn't possible to observe them all and so you receive

evaluations low enough to make you dissatisfied

For extracurricular activities:

you are expected to do so many things in extracurricular

activities that it isn't possible to do a good job and

complete them all and so you receive evaluations low

enough to make you dissatisfied

No questions were asked regarding conflicting samples, a third case of

contradictory evaluations specified in the theory.

Type II: Uncontrollable Evaluations

Uncontrollable evaluations occur when students receive

evaluations below their acceptance level for performances or outcomes

they do not control. We asked two questions about uncontrollable

evaluations.

One case of uncontrollable evaluations occurs when there is a

coordination failure in the control system and a performance or

outcome is incorrectly attributed to a student. In such cases

students really have no control over their evaluation. Once again, we

asked the question for each of the three student task areas. Students

were asked to report the frequency of such misattributions.

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For academic work:

you are evaluated on academic work you had nothing to

do witn and so you receive evaluations low enough to

make you dissatisfied

For behavior:

you are evaluated on behavior you had nothing to do

with and so you receive evaluations low enough to make

you dissatisfied

For extracurricular activities:

you are evaluated on something you had nothing to do

with and so you receive evaluations low enough to

make you dissatisfied

A second case of uncontrollable evaluations occurs when there is

interdependence of student performers, that is, when more than one

student contributes to the outcome of a task which is used as the

basis for evaluation. This typically happens in group or team

situations so our questions specified group work arrangements.

For academic tasks:

when working in a group you find that although you are

doing a good job, others in the group are not and so

you receive evaluations low enough to make you

dissatisfied

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For social behavior:

when in a group you find that although you are behaving

well, others in the group are not and so you receive

evaluations low enough to make you dissatisfied

For extracurricular activities:

when working in a group or team you find that although

you are performing well, others in the group are not and

so you receive evaluations low enough to make you

dissatisfied

We asked no questions for the case of active tasks, a third instance

of uncontrollable evaluations identified by the theory.

Type III: Unpredictable Evaluations

Unpredictable Evaluations occur when students are unable to

predict the relationship between attributes of their performances and

the level of the evaluations they receive and so they receive

evaluations below their acceptance level. We asked three questions

regarding the three cases of unpredictable evaluations identified by

the theory.

Unpredictable evaluations arise when there are misunderstandings

of task allocations. Students may not know that a task has been

assigned. Students were asked to report how frequently these

misunderstandings led them to receive evaluations below their

acceptance level.

For academic tasks:

you don't know that an assignment has been made or a

test scheduled until too late and so you receive

evaluations low enough to make you dissatisfied

For social behavior:

you don't find out about a school rule until too late

and so receive evaluations low enough to make you

dissatisfied

For extracurricular activities:

you don't know about something that you are expected to

do until too late and so you receive evaluations low

enough to make you dissatisfied

In addition to misunderstanding task allocations, students may

also misunderstand the criteria by which their performance is to be

evaluated. Another set of questions asked about this second type of

misunderstanding.

For academic work:

you don't know how you are expected to perform on an

assignment, test, etc. and so you receive evaluations

low enough to make you dissatisfied

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For social behavior:

you don't know how you are expected to behave and so

you receive evaluations low enough to make you

dissatisfied

For extracurricular activities:

you don't know how you are expected to perform in

activities and so you receive evaluations low enough

to make you dissatisfied

Our third question on unpredictable evaluations concerned what

Dornbusch and Scott term nonrepresentative samples, that is an

evaluation is made of a student's performance based on an unreliable

sample of their performance. Since this was a difficult notion to

convey in a question, we provided students with an example of

nonrepresentative sampling in each form of the question.

For academic work:

you are evaluated based on work different from your usual

work and so you receive evaluations low enough to make

you dissatisfied. For example, a quiz may be given on

the one day you weren't prepared.

For social behavior:

you are evaluated based on behavior different from the

way you usually behave and so you receive evaluations

low enough to make you dissatisfied. For example, you
may get caught the one time you do something wrong.

For extracurricular activities:

you are evaluated based on performances different from the
way you usually perform and so you receive evaluations low
enough to make you dissatisfied. For example, a tryout
may be held on the one day when you aren't feeling well.

Type IV: Unattainable Evaluations

Unattainable evaluations occur when the standards used to
evaluate students are so high that they cannot achieve evaluations at
or above their acceptance level. We asked two questions about
unattainable evaluations.

Our first question involved the case where standards were set
inappropriately high.

For academic work:

standards used to evaluated your academic work are much
too high and so you receive evaluations low enough to make
you dissatisfied

For social behavior:

standards used to evaluate you behavior are much too
high and so you receive evaluations low enough to make
you dissatisfied

For extracurricular activities:

standards used to evaluate your performance are much too

high and so you receive evaluations low enough to make

you dissatisfied

A second case of unattainable evaluations involves active tasks. Since the resistance to task performance varies in the case of active tasks, it is difficlt for the evaluator to set appropriate standards for the outcomes of the tasks. This is particularly problematic when evaluators only take into account task outcomes in arriving at an evaluation. In these cases students receive no credit for the effort they put forth to accr lish what turned out to be a much more difficult task than .. acher initially imagined. Our questions stressed student effort on a task that contained greater resistance to successful performance.

For academic work:

you work hard on an assignment but are still not able to

do as well as you would like and so you receive

evaluations low enough to make you dissatisfied

For social behavior:

you try hard to behave but are still not able to behave

as well as you would like and so you receive evaluations

low enough to make you dissatisfied

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For extracurricular activities:

you work hard on something but are still not able to do

as well as you would like and so you receive evaluations

low enough to make you dissatisfied

No questions were asked regarding lack of facilities, a third case of

unattainable evaluations identified in the theory.

Levels of Incompatibilities Reported by Students

Our first task in examining student responses was to determine

just how prevalent incompatibilities were in the authority systems for

the three student tasks. In responding to the eleven items dealing

with general incompatibilities in the school authority system students

were allowed to indicate how frequently they experienced each

incompatibility. Response categories were "Always," "Almost Always,"

"Usually," "Fairly Often," "Sometimes," "Seldom," "Almost Never," and

"Never". Table 4-2 presents the percentages of students reporting

that they experienced the incompatibilities "Sometimes" or more

frequently.

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Table 4-2
Percentages of Students Reporting that they Experienced
Incompatibilities at Least "Sometimes" in School

Incompatibilities	Student Tasks		
	Academic	Behavior	Extracurricular

Type I: Contradictory Evaluations

A. Conflicting Criteria

Student has to displease one supervisor in order to please another supervisor	21.4% 62/290	15.1% 44/291	31.0% 40/129
Student has to displease either school officials or peers to please the other	22.3% 65/291	30.6% 89/291	30.2% 39/129

B. Conflicting Properties

Student is given a limited amount of time to complete an assignment	73.9% 215/291	43.6% 127/291	38.3% 49/129

C. Conflicting Allocations

Student is assigned so many things that it is impossible to do well and complete them all	73.4% 212/289	29.2% 85/291	28.7% 37/129

Type II: Uncontrollable Evaluations

A. Coordination Failure in the Control System

Student is evaluated on something which s/he had nothing to do with	31.4% 88/289	42.1% 122/290	21.7% 28/129

B. Interdependence of Performers

Student is working in a group and doing well, but has no control over performance of others	67.0% 195/291	61.5% 179/291	44.2% 57/129

Type III: Unpredictable Evaluations

A. Misunderstandings of Allocations

Student is unaware of assignment or test until it is too late	55.3% 161/291	28.2% 82/291	33.3% 43/129

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B. Misunderstandings of Criteria

Student doesn't know how s/he is expected to perform	53.3% 155/291	21.2% 62/291	20.9% 27/129

C. Nonrepresentative Samples

Student is evaluated based on a performance which is atypical	77.0% 224/291	53.6% 156/291	44.2% 57/129

Type IV: Unattainable Evaluations

A. Inappropriately High Standards

Standards used to evaluate student's performance are much too high	62.9% 183/?	35.7% 104/291	31.8% 41/129

B. Active Tasks

Student is not able to do as well as s/he would like despite hard work	72.9% 212/291	23.0% 67/291	47.3% 61/129

For academic tasks, over 70% of the students reported that they received evaluations low enough to make them dissatisfied due to conflicting properties, conflicting allocations, nonrepresentative samples, and active tasks. Our example of conflicting properties dealt with the time limitations that students often have to work under in school. Spady (1974) has noted the problems such arrangements cause. Conflicting allocations are a prevalent problem most likely because of the multiple supervisors involved in the evaluation of academic work. The high rate of problems due to nonrepresentative sampling of student work suggests that students perceive that teachers do not take samples of their work so as to get an accurate reflection of their true performance. Finally, the high rate of students receiving evaluations low enough to make them dissatisfied despite

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hard work suggests that academic tasks are highly active, that is, the connection between effort and outcome is not predictable. Students who feel that they work hard are quite likely to receive dissatisfying evaluations. Of course, such students may not have an accurate perspective on how hard they are really working (Dornbusch, 1974).

Over 60% of the students reported receiving evaluations that made them dissatisfied due to interdependence of performers and to inappropriately high standards. Thus group work appears to present problems for the evaluation of students as does the setting of appropriate standards for academic tasks.

Two other incompatibilities were reported to lead to dissatisfying evaluations by over 50% of the students. Misunderstandings of allocations and of criteria seem to be fairly common experiences for students. Over half of the students reported being unaware of an assignment or test and over half reported not knowing how they were expected to perform at least sometimes.

The remaining three incompatibilities were reported as leading to dissatisfying evaluations by fewer than one-third of the students. Instances of conflicting criteria, either between school staff members or between school staff members and student peers were reported to lead to dissatisfying evaluations by about one-fifth of the students. Nearly one-third of the students said that being evaluated on something they had nothing to do with led to dissatisfying evaluations.

If we compare the incompatibilities reported for academic tasks to those reported for the task of social behavior we find that in

general there are far fewer reports of incompatibilities for the

evaluation of student behavior. The most dramatic difference in the

level of reported incompatibilities occurs for the case of active

tasks. While nearly three-fourths of the students find the connection

between effort and evaluation uncertain for academic tasks, only

slightly less than one-fourth find it uncertain for behavioral tasks.

Clearly, social behavior is less active (i.e. the resistance to

successful performance is less unpredictable) than academic work.

Major differences are also apparent if we compare the levels of

reported incompatibilities in the case of misunderstandings of

allocation and criteria, nonrepresentative samples, and

inappropriately high standards. In each case the incompatibility is

more likely to arise in the evaluation of academic tasks than in the

evaluation of social behavior tasks.

The remaining incompatibilities are also more likely to arise in

connection with academic work than in connection with the evaluation

of social behavior except for conflicts between staff members and

student peers and for coordination failures in the control system.

Students report that they are more likely to experience a conflict

between staff members and student peers in the case of social behavior

than in the case of academic work. This may be because student peers

have stronger feelings about behavior and because behavior is readily

visible to peers, more visible than academic performance. Students

also report that they are more likely to be evaluated on something

which they had nothing to do with in the case of social behavior than

in the case of academic work. This may be due to the measures taken

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by teachers to maintain a close connection between an individual
student and his or her academic products. The flow of social behavior
may prohibit school officials from maintaining such a close connection
between student behavior and evaluations of that behavior.

Examining just the student reponses to incompatibilities
connected with the evaluation of social behavior, we find that the
most prevalent incompatibility mentioned by students as leading to
dissatisfactory evaluations is interdependence of performers. Once
again, the constant flow of social behavior may prevent school staff
from accurately attributing behavioral performances to individual
students in group situations.

Over half of the students reported that they at least sometimes
experienced a situation where an evaluation of their social behavior
was based on atypical behavior. Over forty percent of the students
reported experiencing conflicting properties, and over forty percent
reported experiencing a coordination failure in the control system at
least sometimes.

On the other hand, only 15% of the students sometimes experienced
a situation where they had to displease one supervisor in order to
please another. This suggests that the staff members are in agreement
as to the criteria for behavior. This is supported by the fact that
only 21% of the students reported a misunderstanding of the criteria
sometimes leading to an evaluation which made them dissatisfied.
Criteria for social behavior thus appear to be more consistant and
clearer than those for academic work.

When we attempt to compare the levels of reported

incompatibilities for social behavior and academic work to those for

extracurricular activities, we must consider that out of our total

sample of 291 students, only 129 or less than 45% participate in

extracurricular activities. This makes any comparisons between

academic or behavioral tasks and extracurricular tasks involving the

entire sample open to the charge that the differences for

incompatibilities in the evaluation of extracurricular tasks result

from the different samples of students who participate in those

activities. To deal with this problem we analyzed the responses for

the incompatibilities using only those 129 students who participated

in extracurricular activities. Table 4-3 presents the results for

this subgroup.

Table 4-3
Percentages of Students with Extracurricular Involvement
Reporting that they Experienced Incompatibilities at Least
"Sometimes" in School

Incompatibilities	Student Tasks		
	Academic	Behavior	Extracurricular

Type I: Contradictory Evaluations

A. Conflicting Criteria

Student has to displease one supervisor in order to please another supervisor	19.5% 25/128	14.7% 19/129	31.0% 40/129
Student has to displease either school officials or peers to please the other	20.9% 27/129	29.5% 38/129	30.2% 39/129

B. Conflicting Properties

Student is given a limited amount of time to complete an assignment	69.0% 89/129	36.4% 47/129	38.3% 49/129

C. Conflicting Allocations

Student is assigned so many things that it is impossible to do well and complete them all	71.9% 93/128	24.8% 32/129	28.7% 37/129

Type II: Uncontrollable Evaluations

A. Coordination Failure in the Control System

Student is evaluated on something which s/he had nothing to do with	28.1% 36/128	36.7% 47/128	21.7% 28/129

B. Interdependence of Performers

Student is working in a group and doing well, but has no control over performance of others	71.3% 92/129	62.0% 80/129	44.2% 57/129

Type III: Unpredictable Evaluations

A. Misunderstandings of Allocations

Student is unaware of assignment or test until it is too late	45.7% 59/129	29.5% 38/129	33.3% 43/129

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B. Misunderstandings of Criteria

Student doesn't know how s/he is expected to perform	50.4% 65/129	17.8% 23/129	20.9% 27/129

C. Nonrepresentative Samples

Student is evaluated based on a performance which is atypical	72.9% 94/129	51.2% 66/129	44.2% 57/129

Type IV: Unattainable Evaluations

A. Inappropriately High Standards

Standards used to evaluate student's performance are much too high	62.0% 80/129	35.7% 46/129	31.8% 41/129

B. Active Tasks

Student is not able to do as well as s/he would like despite hard work	66.7% 86/129	17.8% 23/129	47.3% 61/129

In comparision to Table 4-2, the proportions of students reporting incompatibilities in the authority systems for the academic and behavioral tasks in Table 4-3 are slightly lower for 10 out of eleven incompatibilities for academic tasks and for 9 out of eleven incompatibilities for behavior tasks. The proportions are equal for inappropriately high standards for behavioral tasks. In most cases the differences between the proportions for the total sample and those for the subsample of students involved in extracurricular activities are small.

For all but two incompatibilities the evaluation of academic tasks involves higher levels of reported incompatibilities than the evaluation of extracurricular tasks. Extracurricular activities seem to have associated with them higher levels of conflicting criteria.

For extracurricular activities students report more conflicts in criteria between staff members and between staff members and student peers than is the case for academic work.

If we compare the levels of incompatibilities reported for extracurricular activities with those reported for social behavior, we find that in seven out of eleven cases students report higher levels of incompatibilities for the evaluation of extracurricular activities. In most cases, the differences are small. However, the connection between effort and evaluation of outcomes is considerably more problematic for extracurricular tasks than for social behavior tasks. This suggests that extracurricular tasks are more active than social behavior tasks.

Conflicting criteria between more than one staff member also appears to be more of a problem for extracurrcular tasks than for social behavior. This may be because extracurricular tasks often involve more than one supervisor for the same activity and because there is less consensus than for social behavior.

Extracurricular tasks also appear to differ from social behavior tasks in regard to the chances for coordination failures. Extracurricular activities involve considerably fewer such failures than social behavior. This may reflect the systematic observation of student performance in extracurricular activities and the keeping of individual records in very systematic ways.

Examining the levels of incompatibilities reported for extracurricular activities alone, we find that over 40% of the students reported that they at least sometimes experienced the

incompatibilities associated with active tasks, nonrepresentative
samples, and interdependence of performers. Given the competitive
nature of many extracurricular activities and the differences in
levels of innate skill and ability among students, it is not
surprising that students who work hard are often still not able to do
as well as they would like. The limited opportunities for actual
competition where performance really "counts" may explain the
relatively high levels of reports of evaluation based on atypical
behavior. For example, a football player may perform well in practice
for five days only to perform less well when it "counts" in the game
on the sixth day. Finally, in view of the many team situations
involved in extracurricular activities, it is not hard to explain why
over 40% of the students reported that lack of control of the
performance of others in their group led to dissatisfying evaluations.

Perhaps more interesting than the relative prevalence of these
three incompatibilities in relation to other incompatibilities
associated with extracurricular tasks, is that they are mentioned
relatively infrequently in comparision to the same incompatibilities
associated with academic tasks. Thus for academic tasks the
connection between effort and evaluation of outcomes is more
problematic, the chances of being evaluated based on an atypical
performance are greater, as are the chances of receiving dissatisfying
evaluations due to lack of control over the performance of others in a
work group or team.

The greater visibility of performance in many extracurricular
activities may be one reason why these incompatibilities are less

prevalent for such tasks. For example, effort may be more visible on

many extracurricular tasks resulting in a closer correspondence

between student effort and final evaluations. Such visibility may

also mitigate the problems with nonrepresentative sampling and

interdependence of performers. There may be other reasons for the

less extensive problems with incompatibilties in evaluations of

extracurricular activities. For example, many activities involve

group work where roles of individual performers are clearly

articulated. Cohen (1980) notes that such role specification is one

key to successful group work. More generally, the levels of

incompatibilities reported for extracurricular activities are lower

overall than the levels for academic work. This suggests that

teachers may employ strategies in their roles as sponsors and coaches

that might be profitably applied in their roles as classroom teachers.

We will pay particular attention to the evaluation techniques of the

sponsors of extracurricular activities in Chapter 7.

Summary Measures of Incompatibility

Using the eleven questions on incompatibilities in the school

authority system, we created summary measures of incompatibility for

each student task: academic work, social behavior, extracurricular

performance. Three measures were created for incompatibility in the

authority systems for each task.

The first summary measure was designed to indicate whether any

incompatibility was mentioned by students as occuring at least fairly

often. If no incompatibility was reported by students as occuring at

least fairly often, the summary measure was coded as 0 to indicate no

incompatibility present. If any of the eleven incompatibilities was

reported as occuring fairly often or more frequently by students, the

summary measure was coded as 1 to indicate the presence of an

incompatibility. Since we asked about incompatibilities separately

for the three student tasks, we have measures of the presence of

incompatibility for the tasks of academic work, social behavior, and

extracurricular performance.

The second summary measure was constructed to indicate the number

of incompatibilities reported by students as occuring at least fairly

often. If a student reported no incompatibility as occurring at least

fairly often, this summary measure was coded as 0 to indicate no

incompatibilities. If a student reported that one or two

incompatibilities occurred at least fairly often, this measure was

coded as 1. If a student reported that three or more

incompatibilities occurred at least fairly often, this measure was

coded as 2. Students were thus divided into three groups. Once

again, we constructed this measure for incompatibilities associated

with each of the three student tasks.

Our third summary measure of incompatibility is a measure of the

frequency of incompatibilities. To construct this measure we first

developed two submeasures. The first submeasure was a simple additive

index of the student scores on the eleven items. The second

submeasure was a measure of the highest frequency of any of the eleven

incompatibilities. Responses to each of these submeasures were

divided at the quartiles to produce four groups on each submeasure.

Our third summary measure was produced by including those students whose responses fell into the same quartiles on the two submeasures in four final groups. This gave us a measure of the frequency of incompatibilities for each of the three student tasks.

Summary Measures of Instability

The indicators of authority system instability fell in three areas corresponding to the three forms of student disengagement discussed in Chapter 1: low level engagement or apathy, participation in negative activities, and non-participation or absenteeism. These correspond to the three forms of instability highlighted by the theory and discussed in Chapter 2: lowered acceptance level, dissatisfaction, and withrawal from the organization.

Apathy or lowered acceptance level is the first form of disengagement or instability we investigated. Our measure of apathy was based on four items on the student questionnaire. Two items asked students to report what they would consider a satisfactory report card. On the first item students were asked to note what they would consider a satisfactory grade for their academic work; responses were "Mostly A", "Mostly A and B" "Mostly B", "Mostly B and C", "Mostly C", "Mostly C and D", and "Mostly D and F". The second item asked students to note what they would consider a satisfactory grade for their citizenship; response categories were "Mostly O", "Mostly O and S", "Mostly S", "Mostly S and I", "Mostly I", "Mostly I and U", and "Mostly U". The last two items asked students to comment on how likely they would be to "pick easy courses" and how likely they would

be to "avoid teachers with a tough reputation." Response categories
were "extremely unlikely", "very unlikely", "unlikely", "it depends",
"likely", "very likely", and "extremely likely".

Three measures of apathy or lowered acceptance level were created
from responses to these items. The first measure was designed to
indicate the presence of apathy. If the student reported that he or
she would be satisfied with "Mostly B and C" or lower for academic
grade, "Mostly S and I" or lower for citizenship grade, or if the
likelihood of their picking easy courses or avoiding tough teachers
was rated as "it depends" or more likely, then they were given an
apathy score of 1 indicating a lowering of the acceptance level.
Otherwise, they were given a score of 0 indicating no lowering of the
acceptance level.

The second measure of apathy or lowered acceptance level was a
measure of the number of indications of lowered acceptance level.
Those students classified as not lowering their acceptance level
according to the first summary measure of apathy were similarly
classified on this measure. Those students who reported lowering
their acceptance level according to one of the four items were coded
as 1, representing 1 indicator of apathy. Those students who reported
lowering their acceptance level according to two or more of the four
items were coded as 2, representing 2 or more indicators of apathy.

A third summary measure of apathy was a measure of the degree of
apathy. This measure was an additive index of student responses on
the four items. Response totals were them trichotomized to produce
low, intermediate, and high apathy groups.

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Similar summary measures were constructed for the other two forms
of disengagement or instability. Five items were used in the summary
measures of student engagement in negative activities or what the
theory identifies as individual reactions which create pressures for
change in the authority system. Students were asked how likely they
would be to engage in each of the following activities if they knew
they could get away with it:

-cheat on a test

-damage school property

-steal

-yell at a teacher

-pull a fire alarm

Response categories were "extremely unlikely", "very unlikely",
"unlikely", "it depends", "likely", "very likely", and "extremely
likely". If a student answered "it depends" or more likely on any of
the five items, a score of 1 indicating the presence of negative
activities was assigned. Otherwise, a score of 0 was assigned to
indicate the absence of negative activities. This produced our
summary measure for the presence of negative activities.

The second summary measure was an indicator of the number of
negative activities for which students responded "it depends" or more
likely. Students were divided into three groups, those reporting no
negative activities, those reporting one negative activity, and those
reporting two or more negative activities. A third summary measure of
student tendency to engage in negative activities was a measure of
degree of engagement in such activities produced by summing student

responses across the five items and trichotomizing the summary scores

into low, intermediate, and high groups.

Four items were used to produce the summary measure of student

withdrawal from the school organization. The first item was derived

from two questions on the student survey. Students were first asked

how many days of school they missed in the last four weeks. Following

this students were asked to indicate on how many of the days they

missed they were actually too sick to come to school. Student

responses to the second item were subtracted from the first item to

produce an indicator of unexcused absences. Another question asked

students to indicate how often they were late for school. Response

categories were "Never", "Few Times a Year", "Once a Month", "Few

Times a Month", "Once a Week", "Few Times a Week", "Almost Everyday",

and "Everyday". In the final two items students were asked to

indicate how likely they would be to "skip school" and to "take fewer

courses" if they knew they could get away with it. Response

categories again ranged from "extremely unlikely" to "extremely

likely".

Once again, the first summary measure of withdrawal was an

indicator of the presence of withdrawal. If a student had any

unexcused absences, or if a student was late for school once a month

or more frequently, or if a student reported that the chances of

skipping school or taking fewer courses could be rated as "it depends"

or more likely, then the student was coded as showing the presence of

withdrawal. Otherwise students were coded as showing no evidence of

withdrawal.

A second summary measure of withdrawal was an indicator of the number of items on which the student showed evidence of withdrawal. Those students showing no evidence of withdrawal on the first summary measure were again coded as showing no evidence of withdrawal on this measure. Students showing evidence of withdrawal on one of the four indicators were coded as 1, indicating low withdrawal. Students showing evidence of withdrawal on two or more of the four indicators were coded as 2.

The final summary measure of withdrawal was a measure of the degree of withdrawal. To construct this measure an additive index, weighted for the various numbers of response categories was constructed. Summary scores were then trichotomized to produce low withdrawal, intermediate withdrawal, and high withdrawal groups.

The Relationship Between Incompatibility and Disengagement

With the summary measures of incompatibility and disengagement we are prepared to test the hypothesis that incompatibility in the authority system of the school leads to student disengagement. We do this by examining the relationship between various summary measures of authority system incompatibility and various summary measures of disengagement. In each case we consider these relationships for the three student tasks and examine the effect on the three forms of instability or disengagement. Table 4-4 presents the relations between the presence of incompatibility in the authority systems and the presence of instability or disengagement. Table 4-5 presents the relationship between the presence of incompatibilities and the number

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of instability behaviors. Table 4-6 presents the relationship between

the presence of incompatibilities and the degree of disengagment.

These three tables reveal a general pattern of a positive

relationship between incompatibilities in the authority system for

each of the three tasks and the three forms of disengagement. The

gammas are positive for each of the relationships with the exception

of the relationship between the presence of incompatibility in the

authority system for extracurricular activities and the presence of

evidence of student withdrawal. Of course the only students who

responded to the questions regarding extracurricular activities were

those involved in such activities and thus those least likely to

exhibit evidence of withdrawal from the school. However,

incompatibility in the authority system for student tasks seems to be

a weaker predictor of withdrawal than of the other two forms of

student disengagement - apathy and negative acts. The gammas relating

the presence of incompatibility to the various measures of apathy in

the three tables indicate a proportionate reduction in error ranging

from .25 to .59, while those relating the presence of incompatibility

to negative acts indicate a proportionate reduction of error ranging

from .33 to .57.

Table 4-4

Relation of the Presence of Incompatibility in the Authority
Systems for Three Student Tasks to the Presence of Three
Forms of Student Disengagement

Student Tasks	Form of Disengagement	Gamma	Proportion of Incompatible Authority Systems Showing Disengagement	Proportion of Compatible Authority Systems Showing Disengagement
A. Academic Work				
	Apathy	.55	.87	.67
	Negative Acts	.44	.74	.52
	Withdrawal	.14	.87	.84
B. Social Behavior				
	Apathy	.59	.91	.73
	Negative Acts	.57	.81	.54
	Withdrawal	.40	.91	.81
C. Extra-Curricular Performance				
	Apathy	.51	.91	.76
	Negative Acts	.33	.80	.67
	Withdrawal	-.03	.85	.84

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Table 4-5

Relation of the Presence of Incompatibility in the Authority
Systems for Three Student Tasks to the Number of
Reports of Student Disengagement

Student Tasks	Form of Disengagement	Gamma	Proportion of Incompatible Authority Systems Having 2 or More Reports of Disengagement	Proportion of Compatible Authority Systems Having 2 or More Reports of Disengagement
A. Academic Work				
	Apathy	.33	.56	.43
	Negative Acts	.39	.36	.19
	Withdrawal	.07	.69	.66
B. Social Behavior				
	Apathy	.25	.57	.49
	Negative Acts	.45	.41	.22
	Withdrawal	.36	.76	.59
C. Extra-Curricular Performance				
	Apathy	.24	.53	.40
	Negative Acts	.28	.40	.27
	Withdrawal	.07	.64	.59

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Table 4-6
Relation of the Presence of Incompatibility in the Authority
Systems for Three Student Tasks to the Degree of Three
Forms of Student Disengagement

Student Tasks	Form of Disengagement		Probability of High Disengagement for Incompatible Authority Systems	Probability of High Disengagement for Compatible Authority Systems
A. Academic Work				
	Apathy	.52	.34	.08
	Negative Acts	.40	.29	.10
	Withdrawal	Insufficient Data for Analysis		
B. Social Behavior				
	Apathy	.34	.35	.20
	Negative Acts	.50	.37	.11
	Withdrawal	.34	.29	.17
C. Extra-Curricular Performance				
	Apathy	.34	.28	.14
	Negative Acts	.41	.35	.13
	Withdrawal	.16	.25	.23

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Table 4-7 presents the relationship between the number of incompatibilities in the authority systems for the three tasks to the presence of the three forms of student disengagement. Table 4-8 shows the relationship of this same summary measure of incompatibility to the number of reports of student disengagement, and Table 4-9 shows the relationship of this same measure to the degree of student disengagement. The gammas for the relationships in the three tables are all positive, though those for the relationship of the number of incompatibilities to the various summary measures of withdrawal are quite low. The gammas for the relationships between the number of reported incompatibilities and the various measures of withdrawal in the three tables indicate a proportionate reduction in error ranging from .02 to .19. The corresponding range for apathy runs from .23 to .55, while that for negative acts runs from .14 to .53.

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Table 4-7

Relation of the Number of Incompatibilities in the Authority
Systems for Three Student Tasks to the Presence of Three
Forms of Student Disengagement

Student Tasks	Form of Disengagement	Gamma	Probability of Disengagement for Authority Systems With 2 or More Incompatibilities	Probability of Disengagement for Compatible Authority Systems
A. Academic Work				
	Apathy	.53	.92	.67
	Negative Acts	.34	.77	.34
	Withdrawal	.21	.90	.84
B. Social Behavior				
	Apathy	.55	.93	.73
	Negative Acts	.53	.87	.54
	Withdrawal	.35	.92	.81
C. Extra-Curricular Performance				
	Apathy	.47	.92	.76
	Negative Acts	.23	.76	.67
	Withdrawal	.02	.87	.85

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Table 4-8

Relation of the Number of Incompatibilities in the Authority
Systems for Three Student Tasks to the Number of
Reports of Student Disengagement

Student Tasks	Form of Disengagement	Gamma	Probability of 2 or More Reports of Disengagement for Systems with 2 or More Incompatibilities	Probability of 2 or More Reports of Disengagement for Compatible Systems
A. Academic Work				
	Apathy	.31	.62	.43
	Negative Acts	.30	.40	.19
	Withdrawal	.09	.70	.66
B. Social Behavior				
	Apathy	.23	.61	.49
	Negative Acts	.44	.55	.22
	Withdrawal	.32	.80	.59
C. Extra-Curricular Performance				
	Apathy	.24	.53	.40
	Negative Acts	.22	.42	.27
	Withdrawal	.12	.71	.59

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Table 4-9
Relation of the Number of Reports of Incompatibilities in
the Authority Systems for Three Student Tasks to the Degree of
Three Forms of Student Disengagement

Student Tasks	Form of Disengagement	Gamma	Proportion of Authority Systems With 2 or More Incompatibilities Showing High Disengagement	Proportion of Compatible Authority Systems Showing High Disengagement
A. Academic Work				
	Apathy	.39	.38	.08
	Negative Acts	.36	.37	.10
	Withdrawal	.11	.27	.21
B. Social Behavior				
	Apathy	.31	.44	.20
	Negative Acts	.48	.51	.11
	Withdrawal	.48	.38	.17
C. Extra-Curricular Performance				
	Apathy	.29	.29	.14
	Negative Acts	.33	.34	.13
	Withdrawal	.19	.32	.23

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Table 4-10 reports the relationships between the frequency of incompatibility in the authority systems for the three tasks to the presence of student disengagement. Due to insufficient data we were not able to examine the relationship between frequency of incompatibility and the other summary measures of disengagement. In Table 4-10, the gammas for the relationships are all positive. In each case the probability of disengagement is higher in the high incompatibility systems than in the low incompatibility systems.

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Table 4-10

Relation of the Frequency of Incompatibility in the Authority
Systems for Three Student Tasks to the Presence of Three
Forms of Student Disengagement

Student Tasks	Form of Disengagement	Gamma	Probability of Disengagement for High Incompatibility	Probability of Disengagement for Low Incompatibility
A. Academic Work				
	Apathy	.71	.98	.63
	Negative Acts	.33	.77	.54
	Withdrawal	.36	.95	.81
B. Social Behavior				
	Apathy	.59	.94	.59
	Negative Acts	.50	.85	.38
	Withdrawal	Insufficient Data for Analysis		
C. Extra-Curricular Performance				
	Apathy	Insufficient Data for Analysis		
	Negative Acts	Insufficient Data for Analysis		
	Withdrawal	Insufficient Data for Analysis		

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Conclusions

The data presented clearly demonstrate the positive relationship

between incompatibility in the authority systems for the three tasks and

the three forms of student disengagement. The relationships reported above

are somewhat weaker than those reported by Dornbusch and Scott. These

relatively weaker relationships are not surprising given the greater

complexity of the evaluation and authority system of the high school and

the greater generality of our measures of disengagement or instability.

High school students function under multiple authority systems. Authority

systems not only differ by task or area of student activity as our analysis

suggests, but also by supervisor in the multi-supervisor situations of most

high schools. To capture a broad picture of the problems in evaluation in

school in general and the relationship to general forms of disengagement we

had to ask questions and conduct our analysis of data in a way that strains

the task-specific approach developed by Dornbusch and Scott. For example,

in the case of high school students any of the three tasks might be

supervised by many evaluators. Yet we asked students to report on the

levels of incompatibilities and the levels of their disengagement without

reference to a specific superordinate-subordinate situation. In Chapter 6

we present the results of this type of more focused inquiry when we examine

incompatibility and disengagement in specific classes. Using a similar

plan of analysis, we take a close look at evaluation and disengagement in

extracurricular activities in Chapter 8.

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Chapter 5

Teacher Practices for the Evaluation of Students

Introduction

In this chapter we discuss the practices employed by teachers to
evaluate student academic performance and social behavior. Data for this
analysis comes from interviews with 57 classroom teachers in the four
Rushton High Schools. The purpose of this analysis is not to suggest any
causal linkages between teacher behavior and the student responses
described in Chapter 6, but rather to begin to develop an understanding of
the problems confronting teachers as they attempt to evaluate students.
There have been few empirical examinations of the patterns of teacher
behavior related to the evaluation of students. (See Natriello, et al.,
1977). Since the evaluation of students is a central aspect of teaching,
the collection and analysis of this type of data seems long overdue.

The 57 teachers from the four high schools were each interviewed by a
member of the research team. The interviews generally lasted about an hour
though some took as long as two hours to complete. Teachers varied
dramatically in their capacity to present a system for the evaluation of
student performance and behavior. While many teachers were quite detailed
and articulate in providing a description of their practices, others seemed
rather unconscious of their own evaluative practices.

The interview (See Appendix A.) followed the six stages of the
evaluation model presented in Chapter 2. Teachers were asked to comment on
their practices at each stage of the model for the evaluation of both
student academic performance and student social behavior. Responses were

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open-ended to permit us to assemble a full portrait of the complexities

reported by the teachers.

I. Evaluation of Academic Performance

Task Allocation: "At the Start"

Although more than a few teachers were unable to point to anything

specific that they did in the way of allocating tasks, the majority of

teachers described a variety of techniques that they employed to see to it

that students clearly understood the assignment of academic work. A number

of teachers pointed to the first day of the quarter as the time when they

make a major effort at task allocation. At this time they often

communicate the objectives of the course and make major assignments. They

spoke of distributing syllabi or schedules of course activities including a

list of important deadlines. The following handout from an industrial arts

class illustrates the use of these initial schedules.

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Power Mechanics

Lab	Unit	Time	Testbook
	Introduction	2 days	Power
			Unit 1, pg. 1
			Unit 2, pg. 5
	Safety and Power Technology	2 days	Power Tech.
			Unit 11, pg. 97
	Tool Use and Identification	2 days	Unit 11, pg. 97
	Internal Combustion Engines		
	a. 4 Stroke and 2 stroke cycle	4 days	Power Tech.
			Unit 3 pgs. 17-23
			29-54 N.B.
	b. Systems		
1	Construction of small gasoline		
	engines	10 days	Power Tech.
			Unit 3, pg. 9-17,
			29-54 N.B.
			Lab Book 1,2
			RM. Sec. 1

This type of schedule allowed students to see the entire quarter's

work at the beginning of the course.

In addition to the presentation of expectations and an overview

of the work of the course at the first meeting, teachers talked about

their techniques for making assignments throughout the course. Most

of the teachers mentioned one or more of three ways to make

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assignments: orally, on the blackboard and in a handout. One teacher

noted that students often had to receive the same assignment three

ways to make sure they got it.

Teachers also mentioned the assignments given through textbooks,

lab books, and worksheets. One teacher followed the policy of making

each student write each assignment in a notebook which was checked

periodically for completeness. Another teacher kept a notebook of

handouts for assignments that students could consult when they lost

their copy or were absent. Teachers also spoke of having students

practice assignments in class before going on with them at home and of

trying to get students to respond to the assignment with questions to

clarify their tasks.

When we asked about the allocation of tasks, several teachers

described practices to involve students in setting their own tasks. A

music teacher spoke of "stress(ing) individual responsibility for what

a student wants out of music." In physical education, a teacher

explained that students selected what they wished to do within a

framework of activities. In a creative sewing class, the teacher

reported that "each one does what they want," and added that there

were no requirements as to media, time limits, or the number of

projects per quarter.

Criteria Setting: "Spelling it Out"

As we noted in Chapter 2, criteria setting involves three

activities: determining which properties of the task should be

considered in the assessment of the performance; deciding the relative

weight of each property in the overall evaluation, and setting a
standard for performance along each dimension. During the interviews
teachers discussed each of these activities.

The actual properties of task performance were almost as numerous
as /the number of teachers interviewed. For example, a music teacher
stressed "quality, attitude, attendance, and promptness to rehearsals"
as properties important in the evaluation of members of the choral
class. A physical education teacher noted the importance of "skill,
time limits, technique, attendance, and participation" for student
performance. A Spanish teacher emphasized "fluency, phonetics,
intonation, pronunciation, and comprehension" for students of Spanish.

Other teachers shared with us handouts used in their classes to
communicate the criteria for performance to students. An art teacher
used the following criteria to evaluate art projects:

Work Habits

   - effort, amount of work and time spent on art

   - planning time wisely

   - clean-up

   - care and maintenance of materias, tools, and equipment

Creative Thinking

   - originality, ideas used are unique

   - fresh, uncopied

   - new approach for solution

Craftsmanship

   - skill at using materials, tools, techniques

- neatness of presentation

Organization

- unit of composition through variety

- how well elements are arranged

While the system developed by this teacher provides a more detailed set of criteria than those of the first group of teachers, there is still no notion of the relative importance or weight of the properties. For example, it is not clear whether "work habits" is weighted equally with "organization." They might be treated equally or work habits may be twice as important since it contains four more specific items while the organization category contains only two.

An English teacher developed the following handout describing a set of criteria for evaluating essays and giving weights to the different criteria in terms of points added or subtracted from a student's score:

Essay Evaluation

I. Introduction

Good opener	2	0
Clearly states topic and thesis	5	0
Previews subtopics	2	0
States title and author (if literature)	2	0

II. Body Paragraphs

	1st		2nd		3rd	
Good topic sentence	4	0	4	0	4	0
Development with specifics	12	0	12	0	12	0

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Unity on one topic	4	0	4	0	4	0
Logical Organization	3	0	3	0	3	0
Clearly written	4	0	4	0	4	0
Clincher	3	0	3	0	3	0

III. Conclusion

Restates Thesis	5	0
Ties up subtopics	2	0
Changes wording of introduction	3	0

Errors to Eliminate

-2 for run-on of fragment sentences

-2 for 1st or 2nd person pronouns (I, me, my, mine, we, us, our, you your, etc.)

-1 for careless spelling of common words (to-two-too, there-their-they're, a lot, etc.)

-1 for unclear pronoun (Mary told Sue "she" was sick, his father forgot him and "it" hurt his feelings, etc.)

-1 for incorrect verb or pronoun to agree with sentence (there "are" three rules, a person needs "his" chance)

-1 for use of slang or for change in verb tenses

-1/2 for errors in use of apostrophes, capitalization, or punctuation

It is clear that "Development with specifics" is three times as important as "Good topic sentence" because the former is worth three times as many points as the latter. Although this system specifies dimensions of performance and assigns relative weights to them, it still does not provide any standards. It is not clear what the

various point values mean though the higher the point value, the

better the performance.

The system used by an industrial arts teacher to evaluate an

elevation sketch moves a step closer to specifying meaningful ratings

of performance along set dimensions:

Elevation Sketch Evaluation

Items	Good	Fair	Poor	Comments

Materials

  Compatibility

  Practicality

  Feasible Number

  Symbols

Roof

  Appearance

  Overhang

  Correctly Drawn

  Building Feasibility

  Pitch Given

  Materials

Chimney

  Properly Located

  Materials

  Appearance

  Building Feasibility

Windows

  Properly Located

  Consistency of types
   and styles

Doors

  Properly Located

  Consistency of types
   and styles

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This system still does not link levels of evaluation with specific levels of performance.

The "General Rubric" mentioned in Chapter 3 makes this linkage explicit. The Rubric, a system for grading themes, describes a performance relevant to a dimension for each of the possible grades:

General Rubric

(A) 5. Highly Competent Level

    a. Grasp of Subject: Recognizes and deals not only with the fact of the question or assignment but also to some degree with the implications and nuances involved.

    b. Thesis: Is clear and explicit and reveals more than average insight and complexity.

    c. Paragraphing: Has topic sentences which further the thesis and offers persuasive specifics.

    d. Explanation and Justification of Specifics: Explains and justifies the specifics with some depth in almost all instances.

    e. Style: Contains effective and appropriate transitions. The language is clear and reflects thoughtful use of diction.

    f. Mechanics: Is generally correct in use of punctuation and capitalization and spelling, with no major errors in sentence structure.

(B) 4. Competent Level

or   a. Grasp of Subject: Recognizes the basic intent of the

(C)   question or assignment and is able to understand the

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fundamental data or issues associated with it.

b. Thesis: Should be clear and explicitly written, controlling the essay from the beginning to the end.

c. Paragraphing: Has topic sentences that relate to the thesis and sum up the specifics in each paragraph. Most sentences within the paragraph relate to the topic sentence.

d. Explanation and Justification of Specifics: Explains and justifies the majority of the specifics, extending the meaning beyond mere listing.

e. Style: Contains some appropriate and effective transitions.
Language is clear and matter-of-fact.

f. Mechanics: Is generally correct in use of punctuation and capitalization and spelling, with few major errors in sentence structure.

(D) 3. Minimally Competent Level

a. Grasp of Subject: Understands partially the issues or data of the question or assignment.

b. Thesis: Is shallow and somewhat unclear but perhaps loosely controls the essay.

c. Paragraphing: Has topic sentences that are vague and ineffective. Specifics are present, but sometimes poorly chosen and scanty.

d. Explanation and Justification of Specifics: Has minimal evidence of attempted explanation and justification.

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e. Style: Uses transitions rarely and ineffectively.

f. Mechanics: Is generally correct in use of punctuation

and capitalization and spelling, with some major errors in

sentence structure.

(F) 1. Substandard Level

a. Grasp of Subject: Has inadequate understanding of the

question or assignment.

b. Thesis: Is either absent, extremely shallow, or exerts

little, if any, control over the essay.

c. Paragraphing: Has inadequate or no topic sentences.

Specifics are absent or poorly chosen.

d. Explanation and Justification of Specifics: Has

unsupported generalizations.

e. Style: Contains no transitions and has poor use of

language.

f. Mechanics: Is rarely correct in use of punctuation and

capitalization, sentence structure, and spelling.

(F) 0. Unacceptable Level

a. Makes no serious attempt to cooperate with the assignment.

The rubric specifies a letter grade and an overall point value for

student performance along six dimensions: grasp of subject, thesis,

paragraphing, explanation and justification of specifics, style, and

mechanics, It addresses the questions of selecting relevant

dimensions and setting standards for performance along those

dimensions. It does not explicitly weight the dimensions though one

might assume that they are weighted equally or that any weighting is
left to the discretion of individual teachers.

An even more precise technique mentioned by several teachers is
the use of demonstrations or samples of desired performance. Most of
the demonstrations mentioned by teachers were designed to provide
students with an overview of the critical dimensions of their tasks.
However, some teachers have worked toward relating specific aspects of
the sample or demonstrations to particular criteria for performance.
For example, an English teacher developed a student guide for writing
essays about literature. The guide identified critical aspects of the
essay and provided examples of parts of an essay that respond to these
aspects. The guide begins with the problem of developing a thesis:

I. Formulate a Thesis

    A. Answer the question asked.

        Ex. How does Golding's use of symbolism in _Lord of the Flies_
        support his theme?

        Thesis: William Golding's use of symbolism reveals civilized
        man's hidden capacity for cruelty.

    B. Select and answer one of the generally applicable questions
       below.

       1. How does setting influence the story?

          Ex. The isolated island on which William Golding's
          characters find themselves in _Lord of the Flies_ frees
          them from social restraint, releasing the savagery
          which exists in every human personality.

2. What character types are represented and what similarities
   or contrasts become evident?

   Ex: Ralph the leader, Piggy the intellectual, Jack
   the fighter, and Simon the mystic represent the
   contrasting personalities found in the island
   microcosm created by William Golding in Lord of the
   Flies.

3. What is the fundamental conflict in the story?

   Ex: The underlying conflict in Golding's Lord of the
   Flies is a struggle between the forces of rationality
   and the forces of emotion.

4. What is the theme of the story?

   Ex: In Lord of the Flies William Golding suggests that
   even civilized man possesses a terrifying capacity for
   cruelty.

5. What irony is used and how does it add to the meaning?

   Ex: In Lord of the Flies William Golding portrays even
   those characters who criticize others' uncivilized behavior
   as participants in brutality.

6. How does symbolism add to the meaning of the story?

   Ex: The destruction or misuse of symbols of order and
   authority in Lord of the Flies emphasizes the decline
   of rationality and the rise of barbarism which William
   Golding believes occur naturally in the absence of
   social controls.

The guide goes on to present examples of essay writing under major

headings such as "Decide on an Interesting Opening or 'Grabber',"

"Bridge from the Grabber to the Thesis Statement," "Add a Summarizing

Comment or Preview," "Writing the Body," and "Writing the Conclusion."

Finally, the guide provides the following clear directions for

"Getting at Least One Grade Higher on the Paper":

1. Rewrite. Read your paper aloud. Parts that are not

   clear or do not read well will stick out. Work on

   them until they flow smoothly.

   Change order of sentences, paragraphs, or examples where

   needed to establish a sensible and easy-to-follow

   pattern of organization.

   Correct errors in spelling, grammar, and sentence

   structure.

   Beef-up weak spots. Go back to the text. Add a quote,

   example, etc.

2. Try to get someone else to read your paper to spot what you

   have missed. An objective evaluation can pinpoint errors

   or weaknesses.

3. Recopy in ink. Then proofread your final copy and make

   neat corrections.

Although some teachers developed clearly articulated systems of

criteria such as those above, other teachers appear to have more

intuitive and less systematic sets of criteria. Many of the latter

reported using wholistic "rules of thumb" instead of specific criteria. One drama teacher, describing his use of criteria and standards for evaluation, said that:

No points are given. Rather notes are written about the performance. There are no standard forms - I expect it to be better. Students must improve to get the same grade... It's fuzzy, I have nightmares about it. A point system won't work for me. The kids get caught in what's the difference between 18 and 20 points. I'm a mood person. There is no right or wrong way, just more or less effective.

A business education teacher, commenting on a typing class, simply noted that "the typing has to be mailable."

In addition to differences in the specificity with which a set of criteria is defined, there are differences in the kinds of criteria used. The major difference is the extent to which aspects of student behavior not directly related to subject matter performance are included in the criteria for evaluation. Some teachers appear to pay a great deal of attention to attendance and attitude. Others use such criteria only to make close grading decisions. Still others seem not to include them at all in the subject matter evaluation.

A more related question is the extent to which teachers take student effort into account as a criteria for evaluation. One teacher reported that effort counts 50% in her evaluation of student performance, while other teachers failed to mention effort at all. For some teachers the criterion of effort was connected to the way they aportioned credit for student performance. Two math teachers

explained that they gave partial credit to students who showed their work as a way to recognize student effort and the processual nature of the assignments. For other teachers, results seemed to determine the evaluation of the work. This is consistent with the results of the student survey where students report being evaluated totally on results in some classes and nearly totally on effort in others.

Sampling: "What Counts"

Sampling involves the collection or selection of presumably representative portions of student performance for the purposes of evaluation. Teachers mentioned a wide range of techniques for taking samples of student performance. Among those most often mentioned were such traditional methods as tests and quizzes both announced and unannounced or "pop". Teachers also frequently referred to the examination of homework, in-class worksheets, essays, lab reports in science, and notebooks as ways to collect information on student pertormance. Discussions, observations, and special projects were somewhat less often mentioned. One drama teacher used videotapes of student performances and then reviewed the tapes as part of the evaluation process.

These various techniques were employed to collect information on student pertormance. The process of selecting what information should be included in the evaluation followed one of three patterns. Most of the teachers reported that they graded those assignments designated as tests, quizes, and other special written work turned in to be reviewed by the teacher. In such cases only a portion of the work assigned to

students was designated as work to be included in the evaluation. These samples were selected by the teacher as the basis for evaluation of student performance prior to being asssigned.

One teacher reported that he would "usually cho(o)se those that meet the standards best." This strategy still involves teacher selection but the selection is adjusted after examining student performance. We suspect that many teachers adjust their sampling procedure to take into account student performance, perhaps excluding assignments where the majority of students perform very poorly, but only one of the teachers interviewed discussed this procedure.

A second major strategy for selection reported by teachers was to include all assigned tasks. A drama teacher noted that he "graded everything weighted according to importance." A home economics teacher explained that "everything I asssign I collect and give them some recognition and feedback." An English teacher reported adopting different selection strategies for classes at different levels. Observing that in honors classes there were fewer assignments, the teacher said that "students know that I grade everything," while in lower level classes where there are daily assignments "students don't know if they will be graded."

A third strategy for selection of samples of student performance is to allow students to participate in the selection process. This strategy is illustrated by the system used by an art teacher who reported that "Students generally decide which projects to hand in. I will simply say 'Give me one or more projects.'"

Appraisal: "Getting the Points"

Two major themes appear in the teacher responses to the questions about the appraisal stage of the process for evaluating academic performance. Both themes parallel the discussion by Dornbusch and Scott.

Dornbusch and Scott note that appraisal involves systematically comparing student performance examined through the sampling process with the criteria and standards established during the criteria setting process. The most prominent strategy used by teachers to make this systematic comparison is the "point system" for computing student grades. The point systems used by teachers involve assigning a point value to all evaluated assignments during the grading period. At the end of the grading period teachers add up the points from all of these assignments and establish a scale which links certain ranges of points to certain letter grades. For example, a music teacher reported using the following point scale for a quarter grading period:

> 235 points = A
>
> 210 points = B
>
> 185 points = C
>
> 160 points = D
>
> 135 points = F
> or below

Most teachers reported using a scale in which students were required to obtain 90% of the possible points to receive an "A", 80% of the possible points to receive a "B", 70% of the possible points to receive a "C", and 60% of the possible points to receive a "D".

Different assignments are given different point values depending

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upon their importance as determined by the teacher. For example, an English teacher noted that "My assignments are given the number of points I want the task to be weighted:

    notebook = 50 points

    quizzes and vocabulary tests = 15 points each

    major papers = 100 points each

    major tests = 100 points each

    more spontaneous papers = 100 points each"

Teachers appeared to adopt point systems to make their grading practices as quantitative as possible. One teacher reported that he made the assignment of the formal grade "as quantifiable as possible" and that he would "cover the grading sheet and ignore the student names" in computing the grades. Thus teachers use point systems to have more "objective" and formulaic procedures for appraising student performance.

This tendency to try to make appraisal "objective" is consistent with Dornbusch and Scott's observation that in more fully developed rational evaluation systems, the appraisal process is relatively straightforward. However, they also point out that supervisor discretion remains an important element in appraisal even in the most fully developed systems. A second theme in the teacher interviews appears to support this observation. Most of the teachers, including those who rely heavily on elaborated point systems, reported using techniques which call for their more subjective judgement in arriving at final appraisals of student performance.

The most systematic application of individual teacher judgement

in the appraisal process is the use of grading curves. Several

teachers discussed shifting the grading scale to take into account the

performance of the class as a whole. One social studies teacher spoke

of using a "class standard" in arriving at grades. A math teacher

reported that he "look(s) to see how grades cluster to find natural

breaking points." A social studies teacher who normally used the 90%,

80%, 70%, and 60% levels as cut points explained that whenever the top

grade in the class fell below 90%, then "95% of the top grade = 'A',

85% of the top grade = 'B', 75% of the top grade = 'C', and 50% of the

top grade = 'D'". Such curving schemes allow the teacher to take into

account the performance range of particular groups in arriving at

final grades.

Dornbusch and Scott note that supervisors often must exercise

judgement to take in account particular circumstances under which work

is performed. One of the teachers interviewed explained how such

circumstances affected his appraisal of student performance in auto

shop. He noted "I take into consideration class size, time devoted to

teaching the skill, budgeting...How do you reconcile doing more and

more with less and less?" Like supervisors in other contexts, this

teacher took into account the constraints under which his students had

to work.

Other teachers exercised discretion in other ways. Several

teachers pointed to class participation or homework as factors that

might influence their final appraisal. A business teacher noted that

"class participation gives the final edge." A language teacher

reported that after all points are tallied and a grade is assigned,

"homework can raise or lower a grade." A home economics teacher

explained that class discussion might change a grade from a B+ to a B-

or the reverse. Another business teacher, noting that class

participation was hard to grade, said that when students were on a

borderline between two grades, participation might be the final

determinant.

A number of teachers mentioned even more subjective approaches to

appraisal. An English teacher said that every grade contained "some

subjective element about the kid." A drama teacher spoke of a grade

"based on the total picture", and an art teacher mentioned the impact

of his "'mental image' of the student." A foreign language teacher

told of using a "fudge factor" based on participation and added that

this is a "part I wish I could be more scientific on." Clearly, the

teachers interviews found themselves caught between wanting to

appraise objectively and still exercising their own discretion.

Feedback: "Beyond Grades"

Most teachers reported the traditional methods of giving students

feedback, written comments on assignments and conferences with

students. Written comments were reported most frequently. Several

teachers reported trying to provide at least a half page of comments

on a major assignment. Teachers moved to verbal feedback in

conferences when the feedback had to be more complex. An English

teacher noted that sometimes a student's work was so confusing that it

was necessary to sit down and try to unravel what the student thought

he was doing and also to try to establish a personal rapport with the

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student.

Another English teacher combined the advantages of the written comments and verbal interaction through the use of audio casette tapes of the comments. The tapes were given to the students for them to listen to the teacher's comments on their papers. The teacher explained that when he wrote out comments there was "too much writing" and he had "started to leave things out." He also noted that through his tone of voice on the tape he could "take the threat out" of his comments and demonstrate that he was "critiqueing the work, not the person."

Teachers also mentioned giving feedback to parents on the performance of their children. In discussing feedback to parents, teachers stressed the need to provide both positive and negative feedback. One teacher spoke of "occasionally sending a 'good news note' to parents" and of "trying to make a positive remark out of a negative."

Teachers noted the importance of keeping students informed of their standing as the grading period progressed. A language teacher stressed the need to tally student averages halfway through the grading period. A home economics teacher kept a running count on the students' point standings in her classes. A physical education teacher noted that she kept an "open grade book" where students were welcome to look at their grades at any time. This same teacher used posters to chart points so students could monitor their progress throughout the grading period.

Several teachers reported on techniques for having students chart

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their own standing on a regular basis. A math teacher asked students
to keep a running total of their points. Another math teacher made
students keep a chart in their notebook of the number of problems they
"got right" so "they know where they stand all the time." An English
teacher had students "keep in a folder every test and quiz they get
back" so "they keep their own points from day 1."

A major concern of the teachers was providing fast feedback to
students. Several teachers had a policy of handing back tests the
next day. A science teacher reported that lab reports were returned
within a week. A drama teacher provided a critique of student
performances immediately after the performance. A foreign language
teacher noted that students could find out the evaluation of a
dialogue "right after class."

Teachers also used in-class techniques to provide speedy
feedback. A science teacher had students put their homework answers
on the blackboard during class. A foreign language teacher had
students exchange quiz papers and correct them so that there would be
immediate feedback. Finally, several teachers noted that machine
scoring of tests helped them provide fast feedback.

Planning for Improvement: "On the Side"

Teachers discussed a variety of techniques for working with
students to help them improve their academic performance. One popular
technique is allowing students to do extra work to improve their
performance and earn extra credit. A music teacher spoke of providing
"extra point opportunities" and a home economics teacher allowed

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students to do work for "extra credit if (they) are really concerned about a grade or have been sick." This typically takes the form of students doing research on a subject they missed. An English teacher gave students extra points for "re-doing a problem paper" and spoke of "extra credit enrichment type activities (read another book by same author, watching a relevant TV program, research, etc.") Another home economics teacher gave students the "option to redo assignments or pick additional assignments if they had a bad test." This policy was not shared by all teachers, however. An industrial arts teached noted that "I'm a stickler for not letting them do extra work to let them make up for what they should have done in the first place."

A second strategy used by teachers to help students improve their performance was to work with them to improve their study skills. A business teacher reported working with students to "show them how to outline the reading." A math teacher told of working with students by "helping them build a useful notebook of tools to study by" and of working to "teach them how to listen."

A number of teachers had arrangements for students to work with other students on improving performance. A math teacher reported that she would "have hi-level kids help others" in the class. A foreign language teacher "tried to get seniors and honor students to tutor lower level ones." A science teacher had a slightly more complex arrangement. He "let the 'swift' kids help the 'middle' groups" while he would "work with the slower kids." A cadette teacher system was used by an industrial arts teacher. The class would be broken into small groups with a cadette teacher working with each group.

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A few teachers used other resources to work with students to help them improve their performance. A physical education teacher reported occasionally coordinating efforts with guidance counselors and assistant principals to work on a performance problem. A math teacher spoke of referring students to special math tutors, high school teachers and college students in the area willing to provide special help. A music teacher mentioned recommending that certain students seek private instructions or attend summer music camps to work on improving.

Teachers reported setting up "help-sessions" where they would work with the class. An English teacher reported that such sessions were held "from time to time" as needed. A science teacher scheduled such sessions "after school the day before major unit tests." A social studies teacher reported following the same practice. A physical education teacher noted that he had "open gym" on Saturday mornings for students to come in and work on skills. An art teacher kept the art room "open one night or afternoon" a week and "at lunch" so students could come in and complete their projects.

The most prevalent practice reported by the teachers for helping students improve was that of working with individual students either before or after school. A social studies teacher spoke of "making myself available" and "encourage(ing) students to come and talk." A science teacher was available for individual conferences starting at 7:15 A.M., and a foreign language teacher arrived at 6:30 A.M. to work with students. Another science teacher had students call her at home if they had problems.

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This pattern of much of teachers' work with students on improvement—taking place outside of regular classroom hours is consistent with the obsevations made by a number of teachers that there was not sufficient time to really work with students on improving their performance. A music teacher told us that it was hard to work with a large number of students. A social studies teacher noted the "want of time for individual conferences." Finally, an English teacher with 156 students in five classes said that it was "unrealistic to teach writing to so many." In general teachers seemed very aware of the time constraints that affected their ability to work with individual students to help them improve their performance on academic tasks.

II. Evaluation of Social Behavior

Task Allocation: "Starting out Right!"

As with academic performance, teachers reported handling the task allocation in the area of social behavior at the start of the year or quarter. Teachers described two major strategies for dealing with this process.

One strategy involves a dramatic display of the teacher's demands regarding student behavior in the class. When asked how he let students know what kind of behavior was expected of them, one teacher replied: "The all time 'bad ass' first day lecture. I do it early and try to watch absences, tardies, etc." In answering the same question another teacher spoke of his "'Machiavellian' technique" and

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went on to explain: "I act like a horse's ass for the first few
weeks."·

Other teachers used other techniques to formalize this process.
An industrial arts teacher had students sign sheets that listed the
rules of behavior required for safe operation in the shop. An art
teacher described a list of things that students had to do to keep the
art room clean and safe. All of these teachers placed considerable
emphasis on the process of task allocation.

Another strategy used by a number of the teachers interviewed is
to deliberately avoid emphasizing this process. When asked how she
let students know what behavior was expected of them, a business
teacher noted that "Five minutes are taken at the beginning and thats
it." An art teacher told us that "I tell them what I expect at the
beginning but keep it to a minimum." Another business teacher
commented: "The less I say, the better...just assume they're going to
behave..."

The thinking behind this minimalist strategy was explained by a
math teacher who argued that formal discussions of expectations for
behavior are a reflection of the anticipated behavior of the students.
He noted that "Some classes have very few rules because students are
good. There are more rules in classrooms when students don't know
proper behavior."

Criteria Setting: "Keeping it Simple"

Overall, teachers described the criteria setting process as much
less precise for evaluation of social behavior than for evaluation of

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academic pertormance. When asked about the criteria and standards for soc: `. behavior, one business teacher noted that they were "not as definite as for academics." An art teacher explained that criteria and standards for behavior were "set informally."

Teachers mentioned several informal processes by which criteria and standards were conveyed. An industrial arts teacher reported that: "I tell fables regarding my past experiences with students." A home economics teacher explained that criteria were "communicated by the way the teacher acts, dresses, talks, and demands behavior in return." Modeling was also mentioned by a science teacher who pointed out that "Seniors already know, and the others learn from them."

Several teachers described strategies for communicating criteria based on organizing images of proper behavior. Some of these images are general, while others are specific to a particular class. A business teacher spoke of a standard of "common courtesy" among teachers and students. An English teacher reported using "the criteria and standards my mother gave me as a little boy." A music teacher talked of setting standards of "moral behavior."

A more specialized image of proper behavior was mentioned by an art teacher who said that "I relate standards to being able to function as an artist in this environment." A drama teacher used the image of being a "good audience" to orient the behavior of students in her classes.

Those teachers with the most systematic approach to criteria setting discussed short lists of rules for student behavior in their classes. A science teacher listed the following:

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   on task 85% of the time

   ask relevant questions

   busy

   quiet

   right materials

A drama teacher included "no cheating, no coming in during a

performance" and "be attentive during a performance" in his list of

criteria for behavior. Another science teacher listed the following:

   quiet (during lecture can sleep as long as they don't snore)

   if bored, don't bother others

   raise hands

   no tardiness

These short lists seemed to highlight the teachers' main concerns

regarding criteria and standards for behavior.

Sampling: "Selecting from the Flow of Behavior"

     When asked about their procedures for taking samples of student

behavior for the purposes of evaluation, many teachers replied that

they collected information on student behavior in an informal and

on-going manner. A business teacher noted that you "just observe it

all the time." A science teacher described the process as "on-going,

constant." A math teacher explained that she tried to develop a

"total impression." Clearly these teachers had no strategy for

systematically sampling student behavior. Instead, they worked under

the assumption that they would use all information on student behavior

in the evaluation process.

Another group of teachers did speak of using selected information on student behavior. In general these teachers noted behavior that was not appropriate. A foreign language teacher explained that he would "look at disruptive behavior and if its to an excessive degree, I note this..." A physical education teacher explained that "improper dress is recorded." An English teacher selected both negative and positive behavior, "behavior that infringes on the learning process or my own decorum, or (behavior that) is helpful."

Some teachers limited the selection of information on social behavior to student behavior in their classroom. An art teacher responded to our question about sampling student behavior by noting that "It is totally within my classroom. It doesn't matter what happens outside of it." A social studies teacher agreed, saying that "Primarily behavior in class is evaluated. Students see that as being 'behavior.'" A music teacher also limited his sampling to behavior in the classroom but added that he would "say something if (student is) misbehaving in the hall, but it doesn't influence the class grade."

Other teachers were inclined to include behavior outside of class in their evaluations. An industrial arts teacher noted that he sometimes received information from other teachers on student behavior: "We talk about students and share concerns...Background of the student is important." Another industrial arts teacher spoke of monitoring student behavior in the halls during passing. A science teacher reported that "When we recommend students for National Honor Society we get feedback from all teachers plus the students

themselves." So t.. .. :. differed in terms of the scope of behavior that might be incluaed in the evaluation process.

One practice that was fairly uniform among the teachers was that of noting absences and tardies as mandated by school policy. In these instances teachers kept records of student behavior on a regular basis, though there was more individual variation in the case of tardies where teachers might differ in their interpretation of what represented a tardie.

Appraisal: "What does it mean?"

There seems to be considerable variation in the approaches adopted by the teachers to appraise student social behavior. These differences involve the extent to which the process is considered subjective, the connection between the appraisal of social behavior and the appraisal of academic performance, and the actual meanings of the citizenship grades established by the school system.

Some teachers use systems which appear to make the appraisal process fairly objective. Most of these approaches entail point systems. A physical education teacher described her system by noting that: "I have deducted points as I've gone along for problem areas." The points are then related to the citizenship grades as follows: "O - no deductions, I - some expected problems, U - most areas not resolved." A social studies teacher reported using a slightly different point system: "Everybody starts with 75 points ("C") and either goes up or down, whether you add or detract from the discussion."

In contrast with these few teachers who used point systems in the appraisal process, other teachers took a more subjective approach. An English teacher described his appraisal of student behavior as "subjective - an overall impression of the student." A foreign language teacher described her approach in similar terms "overall general impression - (there is) no written record of behavior every day." A physical education teacher explained that her approach was "strictly subjective; an individual thing."

A second area in which we found variation in teachers' approaches to appraisal was the connection between the appraisal of behavior and the appraisal of academic work. Some teachers definitely separated the two realms of student performance. A science teacher reported that behavior was reflected in the citizenship grade and that he would "never take off a student's academic grade for behavior." The separation is reflected in the remark of an English teacher as he characterized a student who would receive an "0" for citizenship as one who is "always on time and really tries — doesn't have to be smart — (it is) rare (for) "A's" and "0's" to go together." A music teacher tried but reported that it was "hard to separate citizenship (from) academics."

Other teachers seemed more inclined to combine information on student behavior in the academic grade. Another music teacher reported that evaluations of student behavior "usually reflected almost the same as the grade. Behavior is an integral part of rehearsal technique and performance." A math teacher noted that citizenship was "closely correlated with academics." A few teachers

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even reported explicit connections between behavior and student academic grades. An English teacher followed the practice of recording a "U" in his grade book whenever a student presented a behavior problem. Five "U's" resulted in a "U" on the student's report card. After the first five "U's" the teacher would "take off points on the (academic) grade score." A drama teacher required that a student have "total command of subject area field" in order to receive an "O" as a citizenship grade.

There was also considerable variation in teacher interpretations of the citizenship grades. Most of this variation involved the meaning of an "O" citizenship grade. Some teachers awarded "O" to students who have no negative behavior. An industrial arts teacher described an "O" student as one who is "punctual, good attender, hands in all work, and goes about work quietly." A social studies teacher gave "O's to students who were in class everyday or had an excuse for being absent and who made attempts to participate and had a positive atittude. An art teacher described an "O" student as one who was "always on task, responsible, had good manners, and no detentions."

Other teachers only gave "O's" to students who went beyond the requirements of good behavior. A home economics teacher described "O" students as those who "do the extras, produce more." A business teacher would only give an "O" to a student who "puts in outside time." A math teacher portrayed an "O" student as one who was "both academically strong and an outstanding participant."

Still other teachers refused to even award "O's" A science teacher said of the "O" grade, "I don't consider that I have any of

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these." A foreign language teacher flatly stated that "I don't give

them." A business teacher, noting that she didn't give "0's", added:

"What is it? - An apple polisher? - The best students?".

Some of the teachers expressed a general distaste for having to

give citizenship grades. A math teacher told us, "I don't really care

to evaluate citizenship. It's difficult to evaluate." Two other

teachers explained that they simply don't assign citizenship grades.

One of these added: "If it's not marked, the computer gives an "S."

There is tremendous variation in teacher approaches to appraisal.

Practices range all the way from those teachers who have point systems

to record and tally student behavior to those teachers who completely

refuse to appraise behavior.

Feedback: "Good and Bad"

Many of the teachers reported that they gave students feedback on

their behavior whenever it presented a problem. A math teacher told

us that "When behavior occurs that I think is inappropriate, I come

down on it." A music teacher reported that he told students "on the

spot" when there was a problem. Some teachers waited until they could

talk to students privately. A foreign language teacher followed the

practice of "talking after class...if behavior is not appropriate." A

social studies teacher commented that she usually handled things

"privately if behavior is a problem" with "infrequent public

'nailing.'"

Another group of teachers emphasized the need to comment on

behavior when it was good as well as taking note of problems. A

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business teacher stressed the importance of "positive feedback." An
English teacher took time to "compliment them on their behavior."
Another business teacher relied on smiles and "pat(s) on the back" to
convey positive sentiments on student behavior.

Some teachers used various non-verbal methods of giving feedback.
An English teacher used "a look or a body move" to alert students to
problems with their behavior. A science teacher told us "I give them
'the evil eye' or a hand on the shoulder." Another English teacher
followed a sequence of activities: "1) look first, 2) stand by desk,
3) whisper to them..." Non-verbal techniques also included more
formal mechanisms such as a comment on a paper or on a Progress Report
form.

Planning for Improvement: "Talking First"

The most frequently mentioned strategy for helping students to
improve their behavior is simply talking with them individually.
Teachers indicated that this approach generally worked with most
students. A science teacher explained that "a personal discussion is
usually sufficient." Teachers attempted to handle these problems
without involving others. An industrial arts teacher said he met with
students one to one and that he would "try to do this myself, try to
do it without involving parents." A math teacher employed this
strategy more generally by keeping in contact with students even when
there was no immediate problem. She noted that she would "Talk to
students on the side. Sometimes students identify with me. I make
myself available." An industrial arts teacher   ual and

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group discussions as a way of keeping in touch with students. These sessions were held after school, "sometimes one to one, sometimes small groups" and included "talk about careers, problems, planning for life and 'bull' sessions."

A number of teachers reported that these conferences with students were designed to reveal the causes of student behavior problems. A home economics teacher noted that "You can't sit down and tutor a child on behavior...(you must)...get down to the 'why' of behavior." A social studies teacher had students "do a self-assessment/analysis to try to find out when and why they show this non-acceptable behavior..."

Teachers also attempted to show students the connection between their unacceptable behavior and the likely consequences. An English teacher spoke of making sure that the consequences of misbehavior were clear to students. A math teacher tried to "point out why a student's behavior is hurting him and the group." Some teachers move beyond pointing out the natural consequences of poor behavior and impose punishments in direct response to the problem. Several teachers relied on detention as a punishment for poor behavior. An English teacher explained that he reminded the students "that certain actions are affecting their grade..." and added "Most of our students respond." A drama teacher told us that misbehaving students risked "loosing the privilege of performing."

Teachers also reported involving others in dealing with student behavior problems. A number of teachers mentioned involving parents in resolving problems. This was usually done only after initial

efforts failed to lead to a satisfactory solution. A drama teacher

noted that he would "talk with parents as a last resort." A language

teacher called parents only if talking with the student failed to have

the desired effect.

If the behavior problems were chronic or severe teachers referred

them to an assistant principal. A math teacher involved the assistant

principal only when student behavior was "totally inappropriate."

The language teacher mentioned above referred students to an assistant

principal only if her efforts to solve the problem failed and if

parental involvement was ineffective.

A few teachers tried to mobilize peer influence to resolve a

behavior problem. Changing a student's seat was a typical strategy

used to remove a student from others who might encourage his

misbehavior. A science teacher spoke of "put(ting students) with

other students" and giving them extra attention. Teachers reported

that this was often an effective strategy.

III. Patterns in the Evaluation of Students by Teachers

Two general themes appear in the teacher responses to the

interview questions on the evaluation of academic work and social

behavior. First, there is considerable variation among teachers in

their approaches to the evaluation of students. Some teachers have

very well articulated systems for assigning and evaluating student

tasks. Other teachers have virtually no system at all. For these

latter teachers the supervision and evaluation of students seems to be

conducted in a very casual manner. This suggests that students might

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easily encounter evaluation and authority systems with considerably

higher levels of incompatibilities in some classes than in others.

A second general pattern in the interviews is suggested by the

inventory of techniques uses to address various aspects of the

evaluation process. A number of teachers seem to have spent

considerable time working out procedures for dealing with the

evaluation process. These teachers tended to focus on one or two

elements identified in our model of the evaluation process. Few

teachers approached the evaluation process in a comprehensive way,

paying attention to all six stages. From this we conclude that the

processes highlighted by the model are, indeed, relevant to the

concerns of practicing educators and that teachers might improve their

approach to evaluation by considering the full perspective presented

in the total model. Teachers might reduce the levels of

incompatibilities in their classroom evaluation and authority systems.

Data on the current levels of those incompatibilities in the

classrooms of the four high schools are presented in Chapter 6.

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Chapter 6

Incompatibility and Disengage·'·nt at the Classroom Level

In this chapter we present the results of the analyses of student
responses to questions regarding particular classes. For each of
their current classes, students were asked to indicate how frequently
they experienced various incompatibilities. In addition, they were
asked to comment on the likelihood that they would en:,..ze in various
kinds of behavior indicative of disengagement or in: :/ .i.ty. Data
for these analyses come from the student surveys.

Incompatibilities

Students were asked to report how frequently they experienced
various instances of incompatibility in each of their classes. We
included 11 items related to the evaluation of academic performance
and seven items related to the evaluation of social behavior.
Students indicated how often they experienced these incompatibilities
in each of their six current classes. These items covered the four
types of incompatibilities. We will consider each type of
incompatibility and the related survey items.

Type I: Contradictory Evaluations

Contradictory evaluations occur when students are put in a
situation where receiving one performance evaluation at or above
acceptance level necessarily means that they will receive another

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evaluation below acceptance level. Four items were used to assess the

extent to which students experienced contradictory evaluations.

Contradictory evaluations may occur when students confront

conflicting criteria, either in the form of conflicting standards or

conflicting properties. We asked two questions involving conflicting

standards set by multiple evaluators. The first question involved a

conflict between the standards of staff members. For each of their

classes, students were asked:

How often do you find that you are supervised by more than

one person in a class and in order to please one supervisor

you have to displease the other?

A second question referred to multiple supervisors and

conflicting standards, but this time the emphasis was on the conflict

between evaluations by school staff and student peers. For each class

students were asked:

Your course work (behavior in class) may be evaluated

by both teachers and other students. How often do you

'find that in order to please one you have to

displease the other?

A third item on the student survey dealt with conflicting

criteria in the form of conflicting task properties. Students were

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asked about those instances where an assignment had to be done in a

limited period of time. For each class students were asked:

How often do you receive an assignment that has to be done in

such a short period of time that you can't do a good job and

so you receive evaluations low enough to make you dissatisfied?

A fourth item dealt with conflicting allocations within a single

class. For each task, students were asked:

How often do you receive so many assignments in a class that you

can't do a good job and complete them all and so you receive

evaluations low enough to make you dissatisfied?

We asked no questions regarding conflicting samples, a third case

of contradictory evaluations.

Type II: Uncontrollable Evaluations

Uncontrollable evaluations occur when students receive

evaluations below their acceptance level for performances or outcomes

they do not control. Two questions were designed to determine the

frequency of uncontrollable evaluations.

Uncontrollable evaluations can occur when there is a coordination

failure in the control system and a performance or outcome is

incorrectly attributed to a student. When students are evaluated on

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things they had nothing to do with, they have no control over their evaluations. For each class students were asked:

How often do you find that you are evaluated on work (behavior)
you had nothing to do with, and so you receive evaluations
low enough to make you dissatisfied?

The interdependence of performers may also lead to uncontrollable evaluations. When more than one student contributes to the outcomes of a task that is used as the basis for evaluation, it may be difficult to identify the contributions of individual students. This typically happens in group work situations in classrooms. For each class students were asked:

When you are working in groups in class how often do you
find that although you are doing a good job (behaving well),
others in the group are not and so you receive evaluations
low enough to make you dissatisfied?

No questions were asked for the case of active tasks, a third instance of uncontrollable evaluations.

Type III: Unpredictable Evaluations

Unpredictable evaluations occur when students receive evaluations below their acceptance level because they cannot predict the

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relationship between attributes of their performances and the level of

evaluations they will receive. Three questions were asked about the

three cases of unpredictable evaluations identified in the theory.

Misunderstandings of task allocations are one instance of

unpredictable evaluations. Students may simply not know that a task

has been assigned. For each class students were asked:

How often do you find that you didn't know about an asignment

or a test until it is too late and so you receive evaluations

low enough to make you dissatisfied?

Beyond misunderstandings of task allocations, students may also

misunderstand the criteria by which their performance is to be

evaluated. A second question was used to determine the frequency of

misunderstandings of criteria. For each class students were asked:

Sometimes students don't know what a teacher considers important

on an assignment or a test and so they receive evaluations low

enough to make them dissatisfied. How often does this sort of

thing happen to you?

The form of the question for the task of social behavior was:

How often do you not know what kind of conduct or behavior

a teacher expects of you in a class and so you do something to

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cause you to receive an evaluation low enough to make you

dissatisfied?

Nonrepresentative sampling is a third source of unpredictable

evaluations. When student performance is evaluated on the basis of an

unreliable sample of their total work, students will be unable to

predict the relationship between their performance and their

evaluations. The survey question focused on the tests and assignments

used by teachers to sample student performance. For each class

students were asked:

How often do you find that the tests and assignments a teacher

gives really don't measure the things you have learned and

so you receive evaluations low enough to make you dissatisfied?

A parallel question was developed for social behavior:

How often do you find that teachers catch you behaving in

ways that you don't usually behave and so you receive

evaluations low enough to make you dissatisfied? For

example, you may get caught on one of the few times you

do something wrong?

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Type IV: Unattainable Evaluations

Unattainable evaluations arise when the standards used to evaluate students are so high that they cannot achieve evaluations at or above their acceptance level. Two questions were asked regarding such unattainable evaluations.

The first question concerned the situation where standards were set at an inappropriately high level. For each class students were asked:

How often do you find that the course work assigned to you

in your classes is just too difficult for you to do and

so you receive evaluations low enough to make you dissatisfied?

For social behavior we asked:

How often do you find that the standards for good behavior

in a class are just too high and so you receive evaluations

low enough to make you dissatisfied?

Unattainable evaluations may also arise when students are asked to complete active tasks, tasks where the resistance to successful performance cannot be predicted by the teacher. In such cases students may work hard but still fail to perform at a level which results in the receipt of evaluations at or above their acceptance level. The second question regarding unattainable evaluations

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concerned the performance of active tasks. For each class students were asked:

How often do you find yourself working hard in a class but still not able to do as well as you would like and so you receive evaluations low enough to make you dissatisfied?

For behavior we asked:

How often do you find that you are trying hard to behave well in a class but are not able to behave as well as you would like and so you receive evaluations low enough to make you dissatisfied?

No questions were asked regarding lack of facilities, a third case of unattainable evaluations identified in the theory.

Levels of Incompatibilities Reported by Students

Table 6-2 shows the average levels of incompatibilities reported by the students in the four high schools. In responding to the eleven items related to academic work and the seven items related to social behavior students were allowed to indicate how frequently they experienced each incompatibility. Response categories were "Always," "Almost Always," "Usually," "Fairly Often," "Sometimes," "Seldom," "Almost Never," and "Never". Table 6-1 presents the average

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percentages of students reporting that they experienced the

incompatibilities "Sometimes" or more frequently in each of their six

classes.

Table 6-1

Average Percentages of Students Reporting that they Experienced
Incompatibilities at Least "Sometimes" in Class

Incompatibilities	Student Tasks	
	Academic	Behavior
Type I: Contradictory Evaluations		
A. Conflicting Criteria		
Student has to displease one supervisor in order to please another supervisor	3.4%	No Question
Student has to displease either school officials or peers to please the other	9.5%	12.2%
B. Conflicting Properties		
Student is given a limited amount of time to complete an assignment	29.5%	No Question
C. Conflicting Allocations		
Student is assigned so many things in a class that it is impossible to do well and complete them all	24.8%	No Question.
Type II: Uncontrollable Evaluations		
A. Coordination Failure in the Control System		
Student is evaluated on something which s/he had nothing to do with	10.6%	13.3%

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B. Interdependence of Performers

Student is working in a group   16.8%   17.7%
and doing well, but has no
control over performance of
others

Type III: Unpredictable Evaluations

A. Misunderstandings of Allocations

Student is uanawaré of assignment   18.7%   No Question
or test until it is too late

B. Misunderstandings of Criteria

Student doesn't know what a   31.5%   15.4%
teacher considers important

C. Nonrepresentative Samples

Tests and assignments don't   24.4%   20.9%
measure what student has
learned//Atypical behavior

Type IV: Unattainable Evaluations

A. Inappropriately High Standards

Standards used to evaluate   34.2%   12.8%
student's performance are much
too high

B. Active Tasks

Student is not able to do   41.1%   14.0%
as well as s/he would like
despite hard work

In comparison with the percentages reported for incompatibilities
in the overall school experience, the percentages in Table 6-1 are
more modest. Still, an average of over 40% of the students reported
that they received evaluations of academic work low enough to make
them dissatisfied due to active tasks in a class. Over 30% were
dissatisfied, on average, with evaluations due to inappropriately high

standards and misunderstandings of criteria in a class.

The high proportion of students reporting inappropriately high standards or problems with the evaluation of active tasks suggests that teachers are not entirely successful in teaching at a level of difficulty appropriate for students of differing abilities. The problem with misunderstandings of criteria suggests that for some students teachers do not make it sufficiently clear exactly what is important in a class.

Nearly thirty percent of the students, on the average, reported that they received evaluations low enough to make them dissatisfied because of being given a limited amount of time to complete an assignment (conflicting properties). The fact that, in any given class, nearly one-third of the students experience this problem, speaks to the prevalence of problems linked to time limits on assignments and tests.

Almost one-fourth of the students reported problems with conflicting allocations. Even in individual classes, students reported receiving so many assignments that they found it impossible to do well and complete them all.

Nearly one-fourth of the students reported that the tests and assignments given in a class didn't measure what they had learned. These non-representative samples led to students receiving evaluations below their acceptance level.

On average, about one-sixth of the students received evaluations below their acceptance level due to misunderstandings of allocations.

These students were unaware of assignments or tests until it was too late. This seems to confirm the observation of one teacher reported in Chapter 7 that it is necessary to give assignments several ways and several times.

Nearly one-sixth of the students reported that working in a group in a class led to the receipt of evaluations low enough to make them dissatisfied despite the fact that their own performance was acceptable. In view of the relatively limited use of group work in most classrooms, this figure suggests that a sound system for evaluating student performance is one of the problems to be addressed by a teacher wishing to increase the amount of group work in a plan of instruction.

An average of 10% of the students reported experiencing an evaluation below their acceptance level due to a coordination failure in the control system. These students found themselves being evaluated on academic work that they had nothing to do with. A similar proportion of students reported conflict between the criteria for evaluation used by school staff and the criteria used by their peers. Only slightly more than 3% of the students found themselves in a situation where they had to displease one school supervisor in order to please another school supervisor. These three incompatibilities were also reported least frequently in the questions regarding overall evaluations.

Student responses to the items related to social behavior reveal that there are less likely to be incompatibilities associated with the

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evaluation of behavior than with the evaluation of academic work.
Nonrepresentative samples of behavior are most frequently mentioned by
students as leading to evaluations of their behavior below their
acceptance level. Over 20% of the students reported being evaluated
on samples of behavior which are atypical for them.

Interdependence of performers led to the second highest level of
reports of evaluations below acceptar   level. Over one-sixth of the
students reported problems related to their lack of control over the
behavior of other students when in a group.

Fifteen percent of the students reported receiving evaluations
below their acceptance level because they didn't understand the
criteria for good behavior used by a teacher, and 14% found themselves
unable to behave as well as they would like despite trying hard.

Coordination failures in the control system, inappropriately high
standards, and a conflict in the criteria used by school officials and
peers each led to evaluations below acceptance level for over 12% of
the students.

When we compare the average levels of incompatibilities reported
for the evaluation of social behavior with the average levels of
incompatibilities reported for the evaluation of academic work, some
not suprising patterns emerge. The evaluation of academic work seems
to lead to more problems with misunderstandings of criteria,
nonrepresentative samples, inappropriately high standards, and active
tasks. On the other hand, the evaluation of social behavior seems to
lead to slightly higher levels of problems due to the interdependence

of performers in a group, coordination failures in the control system, and conflicts between the criteria used by staff and the criteria used by peers.

Summary Measures of Incompatibility

The eleven questions on incompatibilities in the school authority system for academic tasks and the seven questions on incompatibilities in the authority system for behavior tasks were used to create summary measures of incompatibility for academic and behavior tasks respectively. Three measures were created for incompatibilities in the authority system for each task.

The first summary measure was designed to indicate whether any incompatibility was mentioned by students as occuring at least "Sometimes." If no incompatibility was reported by students as occuring at least "Sometimes," the summary measure was coded as 0 to indicate no incompatibility present. If any of the eleven incompatibilities for academic tasks was reported as occuring sometimes or more frequently, the summary measure for incompatibility in the authority system for academic tasks was coded as 1 to indicate the presence of an incompatibility. The same procedure was followed in constructing a summary measure from the seven incompatibilities in the authority system for social behavior.

A second summary measure was constructed to indicate the number of incompatibilities reported by students as occuring at least sometimes. If a student reported no incompatibility as occuring at

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least sometimes, this summary measure was coded as 0 to indicate no

incompatibilities. If a student reported that one incompatibility

occured at least sometimes, this measure was coded as 1. If a student

reported that two or more incompatibilities occured at least

sometimes, this measure was coded as 2. In this way students were

divided into three groups.

The frequency of incompatibilities was tapped in a third summary

measure of incompatibility. Two submeasures were first constructed.

The first submeasure was a simple additive index of the student scores

on the relevant items. The second submeasure was a measure of the

highest frequency of any of the eleven incompatibilities. Responses

to each of the submeasures were divided at the quartiles to produce

four groups on each submeasure. The third summary measure was

produced by including those students whose responses fell into the

same quartiles on the two submeasures in four final groups.

Summary Measures of Instability

The indicators of authority system instability covered the three

areas corresponding to the three forms of student disengagement

discussed in Chapter 1: low level engagement or apathy, participation

in negative activities, and non-participation or absenteeism. These

also correspond to the three forms of instability specified by the

theory and discussed in Chapter 2: lowered acceptance level,

dissatisfaction, and withdrawal from the organization.

Apathy or lowered acceptance level was assessed through three

sets of items. The first items focused directly on lowered acceptance level. Two items asked students to report what they would consider a satisfactory report card. On one item students were asked to indicate what they would consider a satisfactory academic grade in each of their classes. On a second item students were asked to indicate what they would consider a satisfactory citizenship grade in each of their classes. Responses to the questions were the grades used by the school district: "A", "B", "C", "D", and "F" for academic grades and "O", "S", "I", and "U" for citizenship grades.

Three measures of lowered acceptance level were created from responses to these items. The first measure was designed to indicate the presence of lowered expectations. If the student reported that he or she would be satisfied with a "C" or lower for an academic grade in a class or an "S" or lower for a citizenship grade in a class, they were given a score of 1 to indicate the lowering of the acceptance level. Otherwise they were given a score of 0 indicating no lowering of acceptance level.

The second measure of lowered expectations was a measure of the number of indications of lowered expectations. Those students classified as not lowering their acceptance level according to the first summary measure of lowered expectations were similarly classsfied on this measure. Those students who reported lowering their acceptance level on one of the two items were coded as 1, and those students who reported lowering their acceptance level on both items were coded as 2.

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A third summary measure of lowered expectations was a measure of degree. This measure was an additive index of student responses to the two items. Response totals were then divided at the quartiles to produce four groups of students.

In addition to lowered expectations, we created three parallel summary measures for each of two types of lowered student effort: lowered effort engagement and lowered self-assessment of effort. These effort measures are similar but not identical to those developed by Massey, Dornbusch, and Scott. (1975) for their study of urban high school students.

Three items were used for the measures of lowered engagement. Each item asked students to report on the frequency with which they engaged in relatively concrete behaviors related to effort in a class. Students were asked how often they came to class unprepared, how often their mind wandered in class, and how often they actively participated in class.

The items used for the measures of lowered self-assessment of effort required students to make more subjective reports of their efforts in each class. Students were asked to report on how hard they worked in each of their classes, on how hard they try to get a better grade when they get a poor grade, and on how hard they try to do better when they find they aren't learning a subject. Response categories for each of these questions were "Extremely Hard," "Very Hard," "Moderately Hard," "Slightly Hard," and "Not at all Hard."

For both lowered effort engagement and lowered self-assessment of

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effort we created three summary measures following the procedures used for creating the measures of lowered expectations. Thus for lowered effort engagement and lowered self-assessment of effort we had measures of the presence, number of indications, and degree of each of these phenomena.

Four items on the student survey were used to construct summary measures of student participation in negative activities. Students were asked to report how often they a) disturbed the teacher and disrupted the class, b) complained to the teacher about an assignment in class, c) complained about the class to other students, and d) refused to do work in class. Response categories included: "Every Day," "Almost Every Day," "Few Times a Week," "Once a Week," "Few Times a Month," "Once a Month," "Few Times a Year," and "Never." Three summary measures of presence, number of indications, and degree were constructed following the procedures outlined for the summary measures of lowered expectations.

To construct the summary measures of non-participation or withdrawal from classes, we used five items from the student survey. Students were asked to indicate how often they: a) cut each of their classes, b) would "like" to cut each of their classes, c) wished they could drop each of their classes, d) would schedule a doctor's appointment during each of their classes, and e) would come to class late on purpose. Once again summary measures of presence, number of indications, and degree were constructed.

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The Relationship Between Incompatibilities and
Disengagement from Classes

In Tables 6-2A through 6-8B we present the results of analyses of
the relationship between the summary measures of incompatibility and
the summary measures of disengagement from classes. Tables designated
witn the "A" suffix contain analyses for academic work, while tables
witn the "B" suffix present analyses for social behavior. In view of
the consistency of the results of these analyses, we first present all
of the tables and then the discussion of the results.

Table 6-2A
Relation of the Presence of Incompatibility in the Classroom Authority
System for Academic Work to the Presence of Student Disengagement

Form of Disengagement	Class Period	N	Gamma	Proportion of Incompatible Authority Systems Showing Disengagement	Proportion of Compatible Authority Authority Showing Disengagement
Lowered Acceptance Level	1	270	.36	.80	.65
	2	279	.44	.80	.61
	3	270	.19	.78	.71
	4	266	.26	.84	.75
	5	257	.54	.84	.60
	6	242	.36	.83	.69
Lowered Effort Engagement	1	278	.62	.80	.48
	2	283	.50	.80	.58
	3	278	.34	.74	.59
	4	270	.50	.79	.56
	5	258	.63	.85	.56
	6	243	.40	.78	.60
Lowered Self-Assessment of Effort	1	274	-.38	.32	.52
	2	281	-.22	.39	.50
	3	270	-.38	.34	.53
	4	270	-.46	.31	.55
	5	255	.00	.43	.43
	6	239	-.27	.37	.50
Negative Acts	1	278	.57	.61	.29
	2	283	.49	.67	.41
	3	277	.51	.64	.37
	4	270	.56	.71	.40
	5	261	.73	.73	.29
	6	242	.61	.69	.35
Withdrawal	1	279	.03	.42	.40
	2	282	.36	.49	.31
	3	277	.26	.46	.30
	4	270	.34	.46	.30
	5	261	.44	.53	.31
	6	245	.29	.58	.43

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Table 6-2B
Relation of the Presence of Incompatibility in the Classroom Authority
System for Social Behavior to the Presence of Student Disengagement

Form of Disengagement	Class Period	N	Gamma	Proportion of Incompatible Authority Systems Showing Disengagement	Proportion of Compatible Authority Authority Showing Disengagement
Lowered Acceptance Level	1	271	.20	.79	.71
	2	277	.41	.82	.65
	3	271	.01	.75	.75
	4	268	.13	.83	.79
	5	258	.36	.82	.68
	6	242	.36	.85	.73
Lowered Effort Engagement	1	279	.48	.81	.59
	2	282	.38	.81	.65
	3	280	.13	.72	.67
	4	273	.27	.78	.67
	5	260	.33	.81	.68
	6	244	.42	.82	.65
Lowered Self-Assessment of Effort	1	275	.13	.43	.37
	2	280	.21	.48	.38
	3	272	.03	.43	.41
	4	273	-.01	.37	.38
	5	256	.18	.47	.38
	6	241	.34	.51	.34
Negative Acts	1	279	.66	.72	.34
	2	282	.53	.72	.45
	3	280	.52	.69	.42
	4	273	.59	.77	.47
	5	263	.62	.75	.40
	6	243	.65	.76	.40
Withdrawal	1	280	.43	.55	.33
	2	280	.26	.50	.36
	3	279	.22	.47	.36
	4	274	.18	.45	.37
	5	263	.53	.61	.32
	6	246	.57	.70	.39

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Table 6-3A
Relation of the Presence of Incompatibility in the Classroom Authority
System for Academic Work to the Number of Reports of of Student Disengagement

Form of Disengagement	Class Period	N	Gamma	Proportion of Incompatible Authority Systems Having 2 or More Reports of Disengagement	Proportion of Compatible Authority Systems Having 2 or More Reports of Disengagement
Lowered Acceptance Level	1	270	.40	.19	.06
	2	279	.54	.23	.02
	3	270	.34	.25	.07
	4	266	.36	.25	.09
	5	257	.45	.25	.12
	6	242	.40	.29	.11
Lowered Effort Engagement	1	278	.61	.44	.11
	2	283	.53	.46	.15
	3	278	.37	.39	.17
	4	270	.44	.39	.18
	5	258	.60	.41	.12
	6	243	.41	.38	.17
Lowered Self-Assessment of Effort	1	274	-.40	.14	.35
	2	281	-.15	.26	.28
	3	270	-.36	.16	.33
	4	270	-.41	.15	.29
	5	255	-.03	.20	.25
	6	239	-.27	.16	.30
Negative Acts	1	278	.51	.27	.11
	2	283	.43	.34	.17
	3	277	.50	.36	.12
	4	270	.52	.38	.14
	5	261	.69	.42	.10
	6	242	.51	.37	.18
Withdrawal	1	279	.07	.24	.18
	2	282	.29	.22	.17
	3	277	.24	.26	.16
	4	270	.33	.27	.14
	5	261	.48	.33	.06
	6	245	.34	.33	.12

Table 6-3B
Relation of the Presence of Incompatibility in the Classroom Authority System for Social Behavior to the Number of Reports of Student Disengagement

Form of Disengagement	Class Period	N	Gamma	Proportion of Incompatible Authority Systems Having 2 or More Reports of Disengagement	Proportion of Compatible Authority Systems Having 2 or More Reports of Disengagement
Lowered Acceptance Level	1	271	.22	.19	.11
	2	277	.45	.24	.07
	3	271	-.09	.21	.15
	4	268	.19	.24	.15
	5	258	.22	.21	.18
	6	242	.26	.26	.19
Lowered Effort Engagement	1	279	.46	.47	.22
	2	282	.30	.42	.29
	3	280	.18	.38	.26
	4	273	.26	.40	.26
	5	260	.40	.45	.20
	6	244	.44	.45	.19
Sefl-Assessment of Effort	1	275	.09	.21	.21
	2	280	.24	.35	.20
	3	272	.01	.22	.24
	4	273	-.03	.17	.20
	5	256	.15	.25	.19
	6	241	.31	.28	.17
Negative Acts	1	278	.59	.35	.12
	2	282	.49	.41	.16
	3	280	.46	.39	.18
	4	273	.53	.43	.17
	5	263	.60	.48	.15
	6	243	.60	.47	.16
Withdrawal	1	280	.38	.29	.16
	2	280	.25	.15	.15
	3	279	.24	.30	.17
	4	276	.29	.31	.16
	5	263	.50	.36	.14
	6	246	.58	.44	.12

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Table 6-4A
Relation of the Presence of Incompatibility in the Classroom Authority
System for Academic Work to the Degree of Student Disengagement

Form of Disengagement	Class Period	N	Gamma	Probability of High Disengagement for Incompatible Authority Systems	Probability of High Disengagement for Compatible Authority Systems
Lowered Acceptance Level	1	280	.37	.22	.10
	2	284	.52	.26	.03
	3	279	.32	.27	.12
	4	273	.36	.28	.13
	5	263	.39	.27	.17
	6	250	.35	.30	.18
Lowered Effort Engagement	1	280	.52	.38	.15
	2	284	.56	.36	.12
	3	279	.45	.32	.15
	4	273	.42	.30	.17
	5	263	.52	.36	.15
	6	250	.36	.31	.18
Lowered Self-Assessment of Effort	1	280	-.27	.14	.38
	2	284	-.04	.25	.29
	3	279	-.27	.18	.38
	4	273	-.31	.15	.30
	5	255	.03	.30	.35
	6	250	-.31	.18	.34
Negative Acts	1	280	.52	.30	.12
	2	284	.43	.30	.16
	3	279	.49	.31	.12
	4	273	.57	.30	.08
	5	263	.70	.38	.06
	6	250	.49	.28	.17
Withdrawal	1	280	.16	.24	.20
	2	284	.31	.26	.17
	3	279	.26	.29	.16
	4	273	.35	.29	.16
	5	263	.49	.32	.07
	6	250	.37	.30	.15

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Table 6-4B
Relation of the Presence of Incompatibility in the Classroom Authority
System for Social Behavior to the Degree of Student Disengagement

Form of Disengagement	Class Period	N	Gamma	Probability of High Disengagement for Incompatible Authority Systems	Probability of High Disengagement for Compatible Authority Systems
Lowered Acceptance Level	1	282	.21	.20	.16
	2	283	.32	.25	.11
	3	282	.02	.24	.19
	4	276	.14	.27	.18
	5	265	.24	.25	.21
	6	252	.15	.28	.24
Lowered Effort Engagement	1	282	.41	.40	.21
	2	283	.31	.32	.23
	3	282	.16	.32	.22
	4	276	.27	.31	.22
	5	265	.35	.39	.20
	6	252	.45	.41	.15
Lowered Self-Assessment of Effort	1	272	.14	.22	.24
	2	283	.20	.32	.22
	3	282	-.07	.24	.28
	4	276	-.06	.18	.20
	5	256	.23	.35	.28
	6	252	.14	.27	.23
Negative Acts	1	282	.51	.37	.15
	2	283	.48	.36	.16
	3	282	.42	.33	.17
	4	276	.52	.33	.14
	5	265	.62	.43	.13
	6	252	.53	.38	.13
Withdrawal	1	282	.34	.32	.17
	2	283	.34	.27	.19
	3	282	.22	.32	.19
	4	276	.29	.31	.16
	5	265	.51	.36	.13
	6	252	.50	.38	.15

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Table 6-5A
Relation of the Number of Incompatibilities in the Classroom Authority
System for Academic Work to the Presence of Student Disengagement

Form of Systems	Class Period	N	Gamma	Probability of Disengagement for Authority Systems with 2 or More Incompatibilities	Probability of Disengagement for Compatible Authority Systems
Lowered Acceptance Level	1	270	.29	.80	.65
	2	279	.37	.81	.61
	3	270	.23	.81	.71
	4	266	.17	.83	.75
	5	257	.47	.85	.60
	6	242	.36	.85	.69
Lowered Effort Engagement	1	278	.63	.88	.48
	2	283	.48	.84	.58
	3	278	.30	.76	.59
	4	270	.44	.81	.56
	5	258	.56	.87	.56
	6	243	.43	.82	.60
Lowered Self-Assessment of Effort	1	274	-.30	.32	.52
	2	281	-.19	.37	.50
	3	270	-.37	.30	.53
	4	270	-.43	.28	.55
	5	255	-.03	.41	.43
	6	239	-.28	.34	.50
Negative Acts	1	278	.57	.68	.29
	2	283	.53	.76	.41
	3	277	.40	.69	.37
	4	270	.53	.75	.40
	5	261	.70	.77	.29
	6	242	.58	.73	.35
Withdrawal	1	279	.12	.47	.40
	2	282	.35	.53	.31
	3	277	.28	.50	.34
	4	270	.24	.46	.30
	5	261	.38	.55	.31
	6	245	.25	.59	.43

Table 6-5B
Relation of the Number of Incompatibilities in the Classroom Authority
System for Social Behavior to the Presence of Student Disengagement

Form of Systems	Class Period	N	Gamma	Probability of Disengagement for Authority Systems with 2 or More Incompatibilities	Probability of Disengagement for Compatible Authority Systems
Lowered Acceptance Level	1	271	.19	.80	.71
	2	277	.43	.89	.65
	3	271	.05	.80	.75
	4	268	.08	.81	.79
	5	258	.35	.86	.68
	6	242	.30	.84	.73
Lowered Effort Engagement	1	279	.44	.82	.59
	2	282	.38	.85	.65
	3	280	.12	.74	.67
	4	273	.28	.83	.67
	5	260	.32	.85	.68
	6	244	.36	.81	.65
Lowered Self-Assessment of Effort	1	275	.10	.42	.37
	2	280	.17	.47	.38
	3	272	.00	.38	.41
	4	273	-.06	.31	.38
	5	256	.15	.48	.38
	6	241	.22	.44	.34
Negative Acts	1	279	.60	.74	.34
	2	282	.53	.83	.45
	3	280	.49	.76	.42
	4	273	.58	.86	.47
	5	263	.63	.87	.40
	6	243	.62	.82	.40
Withdrawal	1	280	.41	.62	.33
	2	280	.23	.51	.36
	3	279	.24	.55	.36
	4	274	.17	.48	.37
	5	263	.46	.63	.32
	6	246	.55	.77	.39

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Table 6-6A
Relation of the Number of Incompatibilities in the Classroom Authority
System for Academic Work to the Number of Reports of Student Disengagement

Form of Systems	Class Period	N	Gamma	Probability of 2 or More Reports of Disengagement for Authority Systems with 2 or More Incompatibilities	Probability of 2 or More Reports of Disengagement for Compatible Authority Systems
Lowered Acceptance Level	1	270	.38	.22	.06
	2	279	.49	.27	.02
	3	270	.34	.27	.07
	4	266	.29	.28	.09
	5	257	.43	.30	.12
	6	242	.41	.32	.11
Lowered Effort Engagement	1	278	.60		.11
	2	283	.50	..	.15
	3	278	.34	.42	.17
	4	270	.39	.41	.18
	5	258	.53	.45	.12
	6	243	.45	.44	.17
Lowered Self-Assessment of Effort	1	274	-.31	.14	.35
	2	281	-.13	.26	.28
	3	270	-.36	.13	.33
	4	270	-.38	.13	.29
	5	255	-.04	.21	.25
	6	239	-.27	.16	.30
Negative Acts	1	278	.53	.34	.11
	2	283	.48	.42	.17
	3	277	.47	.41	.12
	4	270	.48	.42	.14
	5	261	.62	.46	.10
	6	242	.51	.42	.18
Withdrawal	1	279	.14	.27	.18
	2	282	.31	.27	.17
	3	277	.26	.29	.16
	4	270	.24	.28	.14
	5	261	.42	.37	.06
	6	245	.32	.37	.12

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Table 6-6B
Relation of the Number of Incompatibilities in the Classroom Authority
System for Social Behavior to the Number of Reports of Student Disengagement

Form of Systems	Class Period	N	Gamma	Probability of 2 or More Reports of Disengagement for Authority Systems with 2 or More Incompatibilities	Probability of 2 or More Reports of Disengagement for Compatible Authority Systems
Lowered Acceptance Level	1	271	.22	.24	.11
	2	277	.43	.27	.07
	3	271	.10	.23	.15
	4	268	.12	.20	.15
	5	268	.22	.23	.18
	6	242	.20	.25	.19
Lowered Effort Engagement	1	279	.43	.54	.22
	2	282	.29	.48	.29
	3	280	.16	.38	.26
	4	273	.22	.38	.26
	5	260	.37	.51	.20
	6	244	.41	.54	.19
Lowered Self-Assessment of Effort	1	275	.08	.23	.21
	2	280	.19	.35	.20
	3	272	-.02	.21	.24
	4	273	-.07	.14	.20
	5	256	.15	.30	.19
	6	241	.21	.29	.17
Negative Acts	1	279	.54	.41	.12
	2	282	.48	.51	.16
	3	280	.45	.50	.18
	4	273	.48	.45	.17
	5	263	.60	.63	.15
	6	243	.53	.49	.16
Withdrawal	1	280	.37	.36	.16
	2	280	.22	.27	.15
	3	279	.25	.37	.17
	4	274	.20	.32	.15
	5	263	.46	.46	.14
	6	246	.55	.53	.12

Table 6-7A
Relation of the Number of Incompatibilities in the Classroom Authority
System for Academic Work to the Degree of Student Disengagement

Form of Disengagement	Class Period	N	Gamma	Proportion of Authority Systems with 2 or More Incompatibilities Showing High Disengagement	Proportion of Compatible Authority Systems Showing High Disengagement
Lowered Acceptance Level	1	280	.33	.24	.10
	2	284	.46	.30	.03
	3	279	.32	.30	.12
	4	273	.26	.30	.13
	5	263	.37	.32	.17
	6	250	.36	.34	.18
Lowered Effort Engagement	1	280	.52	.44	.15
	2	284	.52	.42	.12
	3	279	.39	.34	.15
	4	273	.39	.33	.17
	5	263	.45	.39	.15
	6	250	.38	.34	.18
Lowered Self-Assess- of Effort	1	280	-.17	.14	.38
	2	284	-.03	.22	.29
	3	279	-.25	.15	.38
	4	273	-.30	.13	.30
	5	255	-.00	.30	.35
	6	250	-.26	.17	.34
Negative Acts	1	280	.54	.38	.12
	2	284	.45	.37	.16
	3	279	.46	.35	.12
	4	273	.51	.32	.08
	5	263	.63	.43	.06
	6	250	.49	.32	.17
Withdrawal	1	280	.20	.27	.20
	2	284	.34	.31	.17
	3	279	.25	.33	.16
	4	273	.25	.30	.16
	5	263	.43	.34	.07
	6	250	.33	.34	.15

Table 6-7B
Relation of the Number of Incompatibilities in the Classroom Authority
System for Social Behavior to the Degree of Student Disengagement

Form of Disengagement	Class Period	N	Gamma	Proportion of Authority Systems with 2 or More Incompatibilities Showing High Disengagement	Proportion of Compatible Authority Systems Showing High Disengagement
Lowered Acceptance Level	1	282	.21	.26	.16
	2	283	.31	.29	.11
	3	282	.04	.24	.19
	4	276	.08	.21	.18
	5	265	.23	.28	.21
	6	252	.12	.27	.24
Lowered Effort Engagement	1	282	.39	.53	.21
	2	283	.30	.37	.23
	3	282	.15	.35	.22
	4	276	.25	.30	.22
	5	265	.34	.47	.20
	6	252	.42	.49	.15
Lowered Self-Assessment of Effort	1	282	.13	.23	.24
	2	283	.18	.33	.22
	3	282	-.07	.23	.28
	4	276	-.06	.18	.20
	5	256	.19	.39	.28
	6	252	.09	.24	.23
Negative Acts	1	282	.46	.44	.15
	2	283	.48	.44	.16
	3	282	.40	.38	.17
	4	276	.49	.37	.14
	5	265	.61	.58	.13
	6	252	.47	.40	.13
Withdrawal	1	282	.33	.38	.17
	2	283	.31	.29	.19
	3	282	.22	.36	.19
	4	276	.27	.34	.16
	5	265	.46	.40	.13
	6	252	.47	.43	.15

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Table 6-8A
Relation of the Frequency of Incompatibility in the Classroom Authority
System for Academic Work to the Presence of Student Disengagement

Form of Disengagement	Class Period	N	Gamma	Probability of Disengagement for Systems Showing High Incompatibility	Probability of Disengagement for Systems Showing Low Incompatibility
Lowered Acceptance Level	1	185	.44	.89	.58
	2	Insufficient Data for Analysis			
	3	183	.24	.81	.61
	4	Insufficient Data for Analysis			
	5	Insufficient Data for Analysis			
	6	Insufficient Data for Analysis			
Lowered Effort Engagement	1	190	.56	.89	.46
	2	Insufficient Data for Analysis			
	3	191	.49	.85	.50
	4	Insufficient Data for Analysis			
	5	Insufficient Data for Analysis			
	6	Insufficient Data for Analysis			
Lowered Self-Assessment of Effort	1	186	-.35	.33	.60
	2	185	-.35	.33	.63
	3	184	-.21	.45	.58
	4	166	-.44	.28	.52
	5	172	-.13	.44	.52
	6	156	-.19	.37	.55
Negative Acts	1	190	.78	.89	.14
	2	186	.63	.87	.33
	3	189	.62	.93	.30
	4	166	.70	.89	.36
	5	178	.74	.93	.21
	6	160	.68	.88	.26
Withdrawal	1	191	.33	.64	.34
	2	186	.34	.64	.35
	3	189	.37	.68	.33
	4	166	.26	.57	.35
	5	179	.31	.63	.33
	6	161	.29	.71	.48

Table 6-8B
Relation of the Frequency of Incompatibility in the Classroom Authority
System for Social Behavior to the Presence of Student Disengagement

Form of Disengagement	Class Period	N	Gamma	Probability of Disengagement for Systems Showing High Incompatibility	Probability of Disengagement for Systems Showing Low Incompatibility
Lowered Acceptance Level	1	216	.34	.91	.64
	2	199	.50	.92	.59
	3	220	.27	.84	.65
	4	Insufficient Data for Analysis			
	5	193	.29	.81	.64
	6	Insufficient Data for Analysis			
Lowered Effort Engagement	1	224	.50	.88	.44
	2	202	.43	.85	.55
	3	228	.27	.75	.58
	4	187	.14	.83	.70
	5	186	.36	.83	.57
	6	Insufficient Data for Analysis			
Lowered Self-Assessment of Effort	1	220	-.01	.33	.39
	2	199	-.03	.40	.46
	3	221	-.04	.33	.37
	4	187	-.20	.32	.48
	5	191	.12	.45	.34
	6	174	.04	.40	.40
Negative Acts	1	224	.58	.85	.25
	2	201	.63	.89	.32
	3	229	.48	.82	.36
	4	189	.56	.88	.38
	5	198	.63	.89	.32
	6	176	.65	.90	.33
Withdrawal	1	225	.32	.65	.33
	2	201	.34	.60	.32
	3	227	.29	.61	.33
	4	188	.28	.54	.27
	5	199	.48	.69	.27
	6	179	.48	.74	.33

The analyses for academic work reveal an interesting pattern of findings related to student apathy or lowered acceptance level. First, in all analyses there is a positive relationship between incompatibilities in the authority and evaluation system and lowered student acceptance levels. Students who report experiencing the incompatibilities are more likely to also report being satisfied with a less than optimum grade.

Second, there is a strong positive relationship between incompabilities in the authority system for academic tasks and lowered student effort engagement in class. Students who experience the incompatibilities are more likely to describe themselves as putting forth less effort in class when effort is assessed by this less subjective measure.

Third, there is a negative relationship between incompatibilities in the authority system for academic tasks and lowered student self-assessments of effort. Put more directly, students who experience incompabilities are more likely to describe themselves as putting forth more effort in class when effort is assessed by this more subjective measure.

These three findings produce an interesting pattern and one which suggests a powerful explaination for student apathy. Students who experience high levels of incompatibilities in the authority and evaluation systems for academic work in their classes not only set their sights lower and engage in fewer behaviors indicative of effort; they also feel as if they are working harder and putting forth more

effort. These students are working less and feeling it more!

With this pattern in mind, it is easy to see how such students may become caught in a downward spiral. Confronted with evaluation systems that are not soundly based, these students lower their expectations and find themselves striving for much less desirable outcomes. Unable to see a clear and powerful relationship between their efforts and the evaluations of those efforts, they reduce their efforts and appear to be unphased by the evaluations they receive. Finally, because very little of their work is connected to any valued outcome, the small bit of effort they do put forth assumes great proportions in their thinking.

The relationship between incompatibilities in the authority system for academic work and student engagement in negative activities is strongly positive. Students who experience incompatibilities in the authority and evaluation system for academic work in their classes are more likely to engage in negative activities in those classes.

Finally, there is a positive relationship between incompatibilities and student non-participation or withdrawal. Students who experience incompatibilities in classroom authority systems for academic tasks are more likely to withdraw from participation in their classes.

Overall, there is strong evidence that incompatibilities in the authority system for student academic work lead to student disengagement from class. That disengagement takes the three forms outlined in Chapter 1. Students who perceive the systems for the

evaluation of their academic work as having high levels of incompatibilities are likely to lower their acceptance level, devote less effort to class tasks, engage in negative activities, and withdraw from participation in class activities. Moreover, these same students are more likely to feel that they are working harder than students who perceive the systems for the evaluation of their academic work as having low levels of incompatibilities.

Reviewing parallel analyses for the task of social behavior, we find many of the same general trends, but they tend to be somewhat weaker and less consistent. The relationship between incompatibilities and lowered student acceptance levels is positive but not as strong as it was in the case of academic work. Students who perceive incompatibilities in the authority system for the evaluation of social behavior are more likely to report that they are willing to settle for a less than optimal grade.

The relationship between incompatibilities and lowered student effort engagement is positive. Students who perceive incompatibilities in the classroom authority system for social behavior are more likely to report lower levels of effort engagement. This is consistent with the findings for academic work.

Unlike the analysis for the academic tasks, when we examine the relationship between incompatibilities and lowered student self-assessment of effort, we do not find strong and consistent evidence that students who experience incompatibilities feel that they are working harder. Although some of the gammas are slightly

negative, overall there appears to be a very slight positive
relationship between incompatibilities and lower self-assessment of
effort.

Students who experience incompatibilities in the authority system
for social behavior do lower their acceptance level and do engage in
less effort, but they don't begin to feel that they are working
harder. This may be because students don't typically conceive of
social behavior as a task at which they work.

While incompatibilities in the authority system for social
behavior in classrooms do not appear to have as powerful effects on
student apathy as do incompatibilities in the authority system for
academic work, they do have as powerful an effect on student
engagement in negative activities and student withdrawal. There is a
strong positive relationship between incompatibilities in the
authority system for social behavior and student engagement in
negative activities. Students who experience incompatibilities in the
authority system for social behavior are much more likely to engage in
negative activities than those who do not experience such
incompatibilities.

There is also a consistent positive relationship between
incompatibilities in the classroom authority systems for social
behavior and student non-participation or withdrawal from class.
Students who experience incompatibilities are more likely to withdraw
than students who do not experience incompatibilities.

While incompatibilities in the authority systems for both

academic work and social behavior are related to disengagement,

problems in the authority system for academic work appear to have a

greater effect on student apathy and problems in the authority system

for social behavior appear to have a greater effect on student

withdrawal and participation in negative activities. Further analyses

utilizing multivariate techniques should permit us to more precisely

define the complete pattern of relationships.

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Chapter 7

Teacher Practices for the Evaluation of Students

in Extracurricular Activities

Introduction

In this chapter we discuss the practices employed by teachers to evaluate student performance in extracurricular activities. Data for this analysis comes from interviews with 27 teachers in the four Rushton High Schools. Table 7-1 shows the activities in which these teachers served as coaches or sponsors.

Table 7-1
Activities Sponsored by the Teachers Interviewed
at the Four Rushton High Schools

Jefferson	Lincoln	Roosevelt	Washington
Baseball	Cheerleaders	Cheerleaders	Business Club
Cheerleaders	Fencing	Football	Concert Choir
Football	Field Hockey	Marching Band	Football
Football(asst)	Football	Pom Poms	Football(asst)
German Club	Pom Poms	Theatre	Water Polo
Musical Club	Theatre	Track	
Pep Club			
Swimming			
Theatre			
Track			

As with the questions on the evaluation of student academic
performance and social behavior, the questions on teacher practices
for evaluating student performance in extracurricular activities
followed the six stages of the evaluation model. Since there are few
school policies regarding the supervision and evaluation of students
in extracurricular activities, we expected greater variation in
teacher approaches in this area.

Task Allocation

Four major practices appeared in teacher accounts of the task
assignment process. Auditions and try-outs were used by teachers
sponsoring teams and clubs with a limited membership. Auditions and
try-outs allow teachers to assign tasks to students and to assign
students to tasks by appointing them to roles and positions. Each of
the drama teachers relied on auditions to select students for
particular parts in dramatic presentations. One teacher noted that
with their selection for a part students are "assigned specific
responsibilities." A baseball coach used tryouts both to select
students to be members of the team and to determine which members of
the team would play. He explained that of the three students on the
team who can play a position, the "one with the best record plays."

This selection practice involves students in the task allocation
process. Students must select themselves to tryout for a task, and
teachers then complete the selection process. This is unlike any
practice for task allocation in the areas of academic performance or

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social behavior.

A number of teachers reported on several formal ways in which
they communicated task expectations to students during and after the
selection process. One sponsor of a cheerleader group distributed a
"book of regulations and expectations...try(ing) to emphasize the time
and cost..." before students even tried out. A football coach sent a
letter to the parents of all students trying out for the team. The
letter emphasized his expectations. The water polo coach distributed
a letter to the teachers of all team members and asked to be notified
of "academic or behavior problems." A football coach noted that once
the team was selected, "We assign tasks through the playbook and
repetitive drills." All of these techniques clearly notified students
of the task expectations.

Task allocation was also determined by the regular schedules of
extracurricular events. Scheduled concerts clearly communicated task
expectations to members of the choir. Members of the track team were
given the schedule of meets at the start of the season as were members
of other teams. The members of the Pep Club organized their tasks
around homecoming weekend in the Fall. The German Club was
responsible for the Octoberfest in the Fall and Foreign Language Day
in the Spring. In addition, most teams had regularly scheduled
practice sessions which all members were expected to attend.

Several teachers reported that the process of task allocation was
determined by the students themselves. The sponsor of the Business
Club noted that "students assume (this) responsibility." The sponsor

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of the Musical Club, a club formed to raise money for school musicals, reported that "The club president is in charge of running the operation...Basically, they draw on what's been done before, what the kids' interests are, and faculty approval." The sponsor of one of the Pom Pom groups told us that the group, lead by two co-captains, set its own expectations. The fencing coach reported that the "Students run it themselves...They, in turn, evaluate student performance." The variation in task allocation practices is great, running from formal tryouts and auditions where teachers assign student candidates to positions using very formalized procedures to situations where students themselves determine what tasks will be done.

Criteria Setting

Many of the teachers explained that the criteria most emphasized centered around skills. A football coach cited skill as the most important criterion, noting that he focuses on performance in a particular position. A baseball coach mentioned the importance of skills and added "those with better skills play the most...the object is to win." Another football coach talked about "break(ing) down individual plays and put(ing) them together." A third football coach reported that his strategy was to "teach technique by part and by whole and evaluate it all."

Several teachers listed the criteria actually used in evaluating student performance in their activity. The field hockey coach included "stick work, endurance, and team sense" in the list of most

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important criteria. The sponsor of a cheerleading group listed "enthusiasm, appearance, voice, splits, 2 types of jumps, and overall co-ordination" as criteria for a good cheerleader. A football coach explained the criteria used in the evaluation of player performance by noting the areas covered in regular practice sessions:

1. agility - quickness and balance

2. fundamental skill (in individual positions)

3. timing and plays

4. fundamental group work

He also noted the work done with particular groups:

5. tackles

6. tackles and lineman

7. kicking game

8. passing game.

Teachers seemed to have clear conceptions of the fundamental aspects of student performance in most extracurricular events. This was particularly true of the coaches of competitive teams. This may be the effect of very public performance. The marching band director explained that the standards for student performance in the band were "based on other performances outside of this school...what other schools are doing." A drama coach noted the impact of the ballots for forensics competition, ballots which list the criteria for performance.

Criteria and standards for performance were also conveyed through peers. A football coach explained that "We set up a first and second

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string, and they know who they have to model themselves after." A drama teacher noted that there was "some socialization...handing down experience from one student to another...I put a lot on students...they see and know what quality is...it's self-maintaining."

Sampling

Teachers reported several different opportunities to collect samples of student performance. Perhaps the most systematic was the use of game films by the football coaches. These films are used to record the performance of students during the actual games and as a way of holding the action to isolate the performance of individual members of the team. One football coach reported that the coaches would "...look at game films and identify good blocking and bad blocking."

Other teachers also used performance in actual competition as a sample of student performance. A baseball coach reported picking a team and then waiting to "see how they react to specific game situations." A drama coach noted that performance in front of an audience was the important sample of student performance.

Teachers also used the occasions of rehearsals and practice sessions to sample student performance. A field hockey coach told us that samples of student performance were obtained "daily at practices" as part of a process of "always re-evaluating." A swimming coach and a track coach both mentioned time trials as an opportunity to collect systematic information on student performance. A drama coach used

rehearsals where advanced students were paired with beginners as a way
to collect information on student performance.

Sponsors of clubs could not rely on competitions and practice
sessions to sample student performance. They did, however, attend to
student performance at club meetings. The sponsor of the German Club
noted student performance at the weekly club meetings. The sponsor of
the Business Club payed attention to "How meetings are conducted,
records (kept), etc."

The water polo coach made an observation that probably holds true
for most of the the other sponsors. He explained that a coach "knows
from (the) previous year's teams who's doing what." and added that it
is "that way on every team if you know your people." Since students
are often on the same team under the same coach for several years,
coaches should have a longer period of time to collect information on
performance. This is in contrast to the classroom where a teacher may
have the same students for only a semester.

Several teachers reported that they had no particular strategy
for sampling student performance. The sponsor of the fencing team
explained that no sampling procedures were developed because the team
was "just for fun." Many of the teachers who had no system of
sampling were those who ran clubs as opposed to competitive teams.

Appraisal

A number of sponsors relied on point systems in appraising
student performance. One sponsor of a cheerleading squad rated the

cheerleaders on a five point scale in seven categories and used the

cumulative score for purposes of appraisal. A football coach used a

point system and worked with the total number of points to "let kids

know what they did" and to explain those instances when they "felt

good but didn't do the job." A track coach used a point system and

required members of the team "to get a certain number of points to get

a varsity letter." A baseball coach reported that "statistics are

kept at every game" for each player.

Teachers also relied on more subjective methods of appraisal.

The baseball coach mentioned above also relied on what he termed a

"more subjective" method of deciding whether a student was really

putting out maximum effort. A student who was "playing well" but "not

hustling" would be told to "sit and think" about his performance. The

coach stressed the importance of getting the "most out of everybody."

Other sponsors also relied on their impressions of student

attitudes in the appraisal process. A football coach explained that

he would "...look at attitude...can tell right away who wants to be

there and who doesn't." The sponsor of the Pep Club took into account

the "...folow through and response of the kids." The sponsor of the

German Club noted that the members "have to be responsive."

Some teachers stressed student self-appraisal. The sponsor of

the Concert Choir arranged for students to "evaluate themselves by

listening to tapes" after concerts. A track coach observed that in

track you "compete against yourself" and the objective is to "develop

self-discipline...set a goal and work on a task and achieve the

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goal..."

Feedback

In discussing the process of providing students with feedback on their performance teachers pointed to a variety of mechanisms built into the operation of the activities. A track coach observed that the measurement on a tape or the falling of a bar provided the most direct feedback to members of the track team. The water polo coach mentioned game statistics and films as mechanisms of feedback. Another track coach told us that students learned about their performance from the time trials, but that the "main communication is when I make out the meet roster." The field hockey coach confirmed this, noting that "I think it (feedback) comes from whether they're playing or not." An analogous situation, the posting of the cast list, was mentioned by a drama coach. Teachers also pointed to public reactions as a source of feedback. One drama coach claimed that "Audience response is the biggest evaluation...a sell out crowd."

Beyond these feedback mechanisms built into the nature of the activity, teachers used a host of more direct and personal means of giving feedback. One drama coach made a point of saying that "When I cut, I talk with them individually and (explain) why; others put up a list." Individual conferences and informal discussions were often cited as means of giving feedback. Often these discussions were held after an event, but one football coach explained how this was also done during a game: "I will pull them out, give them feedback, and

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send them back in...take them out if performance continues downhill."

The sponsor of the marching band combined regular verbal feedback with visual feedback through drawings on the chalkboard and the review of a film of the routine. A football coach also spoke of using the chalk board to review student performance and provide feedback. Another football coach used a "depth chart" which was updated daily to let students know where they stood. He also reported holding a "'ceremony' for kids who move up."

Overall, when compared to the feedback process for academic performance, the feedback for extracurricular performance seemed to be more varied and more integrated into the rhythm of the work. A math teacher who was also a football coach provided an insightful comparison of the feedback process in the two areas:

Football - immediate, constant supervision, constant

feedback. I'm with the student all the time.

Math - feedback (is given) but the student does work on

his own out of my supervision.

The greater visibility of performance in extracurricular activities seems to permit increased opportunities for more sensitive feedback to students.

Planning for Improvement

When asked about working with students to help them plan to improve their performance, teachers frequently mentioned working with individual students to help them improve their skills. A football

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coach followed the very simply stategy of having students "re-do (things) until (they were) right." This kind of work typically was carried on during practice and rehearsal sessions held with the entire team or club. In contrast to the improvement activities for student academic performance, these practice and rehearsal sessions were regularly scheduled for the entire group and were a regular part of the teacher's work day. For example, one football coach had scheduled practice from 2:40 to 4:45 P.M. five days a week. Practice and rehearsal sessions were required for all who wished to participate.

In addition to team practice and rehearsal sessions, sponsors also recommended that students seek opportunities to improve their performance in other organized settings. The sponsor of the Marching Band "suggest(ed) individual practice on their own, attend camps to improve technique, and viewing of TV or live performances." A sponsor of a cheerleading squad suggested that members of the squad attend a cheerleading camp or take outside gymnastic classes. A football coach recommended that students engage in weight training or running. Another football coach urged team members to attend a football camp and to use the school's weight room which was kept open from 7-9 P.M. four nights a week.

The opportunities for working to improve performance in extracurricular activities were more varied, more structured, and more regularly scheduled than the opportunities for working on improvement in academic performance. Moreover, improvement seemed to be a more recognized part of the teachers' work day.

Conclusions

The evaluation of student performance in extracurricular
activities differs in several important ways from the evaluation of
in-class performance. Evaluation seems to be a more integral part of
most extracurricular activities. The formal selection processes that
characterize the task allocation phase, the specification of criteria,
systematic sampling through films of performance, the feedback
provided by competition, and the formally scheduled opportunities to
work on improvement all seem to be a more integral part of the
sponsor's role than they are of the classroom teacher's role.

The greater integration of evaluation processes in
extracurricular activities may be a result of the greater visibility
of student performance in such activities. Student performance is
more visible not only to sponsors, but also to other students whose
own performances and evaluations are closely related to the
performance of their teammates, and to the larger "publics" within the
school and the community who witness extracurricular competitions.

These factors seem to make for a situation where students can
take more responsibility for their own evaluation. Students allocate
tasks to themselves when they try out for teams and clubs. In so
doing they come to understand the criteria and standards expected.
They engage in visible performances which serve as samples. They
compete against clear standards, their own and others. They receive
direct feedback from their efforts, and they take major responsibility
for improvement through participation in practice and rehearsal

sessions. Evaluation of student performance in extracurricular

activities comes from teachers, peers, the public, and, in a very

substantial way, from the students themselves.

Chapter 8

Incompatibility and Disengagement in Extracurricular Activities

In this chapter we present the results of the analyses of student responses to questions regarding extracurricular activities. Students were asked to indicate how frequently they experienced the various incompatibilities in extracurricular activities. In addition, they were asked to comment on the likelihood that they would engage in various kinds of behavior indicative of disengagment or instability. On the student survey respondents were asked to answer these questions in regard to two extracurricular activities in which they participated. Of the 291 students in the sample, 117 reported participating in 1 extracurricular activity. In addition, 64 reported participating in a second extracurricular activity. The data reported in this chapter come from these student surveys.

Incompatibilities

Students were asked to report how frequently they experienced various instances of incompatibility in each activity. We included 11 items related to the evaluation of performance in extracurricular activities and eight items related to the evaluation of social behavior in extracurricular activities. Students indicated how often they experienced these incompatibilities in the most important one or two activities. As with the earlier questions, these items covered the four types of incompatibilities. We will consider each type of

incompatibility and the survey items for performance and behavior.

Type I: Contradictory Evaluations

Evaluations are contradictory when students must receive one evaluation below acceptance level in order to receive another performance evaluation at or above acceptance level. Four items were used to determine the extent to which students experienced contradictory evaluations in extracurricular activities.

Contradictory evaluations can occur when students are confronted with conflicting criteria in the form of conflicting standards or conflicting properties. Two questions were asked involving standards set by multiple evaluators in extracurricular activities. One question involved a conflict   the standards of staff members. For each extracurricular activity, students were asked how often the following sort of thing happened to them:

> you are evaluated by more than one coach, sponsor, or
> student leader and find that in order to please one you
> have to displease the other

Student leaders were included as staff members in this question since in many clubs students serve in leadership positions in roles distinctly different from those of peers.

A second question dealt with conflicting standards between staff members and student peers. For each activity students were asked how

often the following sort of thing happened to them:

you are evaluated by both sponsors or coaches and
other students and find that in order to please one
you have to displease the other

This question was asked in regard to evaluations of both student
performance and student social behavior in the activity.

Conflicting criteria in the form of conflicting task properties
was the subject of another item on the survey. To assess the extent
of the conflict between the task properties of time and thoroughness
students were asked to report how often the following sort of thing
happened to them:

you are given only a limited amount of time to
do something and so you receive evaluations low
enough to make you dissatisfied

A conflict in allocations or assignments was the topic of another
item on the survey. For each activity, students were asked to
indicate how often the following happened to them:

you are expected to do so many things in this activity
that it isn't possible to do a good job and complete
them all and so you receive evaluations low enough

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to make you dissatisfied

No questions were asked about conflicting samples, a third case of contradictory evaluations.

Type II: Uncontrollable Evaluations

When students do not control performances or outcomes for which they receive evaluations, they are subject to Type II or uncontrollable evaluations. We asked two questions to determine the frequency of uncontrollable evaluations. The first question concerned the misattribution of performance or behavior due to a coordination failure in the control system. In such cases students may be evaluated on things in which they were not involved. For each activity, students were asked to indicate how frequently the following happened to them:

you are evaluated on something/behavior you have

nothing to do with and so you receive evaluations

low enough to make you dissatisfied

One form of the question was asked for performance, the other form for behavior.

Uncontrollable evaluations may also occur in situations where performers are interdependent such as the team situations inherent in extracurricular activities. It may be difficult to identify the

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contributions of individuals when many students work together to achieve a common outcome. For each activity, students were asked how often this sort of thing happened to them:

> when working in a group or team you find that
> although you are performing/behaving well, others in
> the group are not and so you receive evaluations low
> enough to make you dissatisfied

One form of the question was asked for performance, the other form for behavior.

Type III: Unpredictable Evaluations

When students cannot predict the relationship between attributes of their performances and the level of evaluations they will receive and so they receive evaluations below their acceptance level, then a condition of unpredictable evaluations exists. We asked three questions related to unpredictable evaluations.

Unpredictable evaluations can occur when students are unaware that an assignment or a rule has been made. Such misunderstandings of allocations leave students unaware of the relationship between their performance and evaluations. For each activity, students were asked to note how often the following sort of thing happened to them:

> you don't know that you are expected to do something

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(you don't know about a rule for behavior)

and so you receive evaluations low enough to make

you dissatisfied

One form of the question dealt with performance, the other form dealt

with behavior.

A second instance of unpredictable evaluations is when students

misunderstand the criteria by which their performance is to be judged.

This leaves students, once again, unable to predict the relationship

between their performance and their evaluations. A question was asked

to determine the frequency of misunderstandings of criteria. For each

activity, students were asked how often the following happened to

them:

you don't know how you are expected to perform/behave

in this activity and so you receive evaluations low

enough to make you dissatisfied

Again, one form of the question pertained to performance, the other

form pertained to behavior.

Unpredictable evaluations may also arise from nonrepresentative

sampling of student performance or behavior. When students are

evaluated based on an unrepresentative sample of their total work,

students will be unable to predict the relationship between their

performance and their evaluations. Students were asked about

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evaluations based on atypical performances. For each activity,
students were asked how often the following sort of thing happened to
them:

> you are evaluated based on performances different from
> the way you usually perform and so you receive
> evaluations low enough to make you dissatisfied. For
> example, an important event may be held on a day
> when you aren't feeling well.

A parallel question was asked for student behavior:

> you are caught acting in a way that you usually
> don't act and so you receive evaluations low
> enough to make you dissatisfied

Type IV: Unattainable Evaluations

When students are subjected to standards so high that they cannot
achieve their acceptance level, a condition of unattainable
evaluations exists. We asked two questions designed to determine the
extent of unattainable evaluations in extracurricular activities.

One question dealt with the situation where standards were set at
an inappropriately high level. For each activity, students were asked
to note how often the following sort of thing happened to them:

standards used to evaluate your performance/behavior

are much too high and so you receive evaluations

low enough to make you dissatisfied

A condition of unattainable evaluations may also arise when

students are asked to engage in active tasks, that is, tasks in which

the resistance to successful completion cannot be predicted by the

teacher. Obviously, such tasks are difficult for teachers to

supervise and evaluate since they cannot tell beforehand just how much

difficulty students will encounter. In attempting active tasks

students may work hard but still fail to perform at a level which

results in their receiving evaluations at or above their acceptance

level. We asked a question dealing with unattainable evaluations due

to active tasks. For each activity, students were asked to report how

often the following sort of thing happened to them:

you work hard (on something)(to behave) and are still

not able to do/behave as well as you would like

and so you receive evaluations low enough to make

you dissatisfied

One form of the question was asked for performance, the other form for

behavior.

Levels of Incompatibilities Reported by Students

Table 8-1 shows the average levels of incompatibilities reported by the students who participated in extracurricular activities in the four high schools. In responding to the eleven items related to performance and the eight items related to social behavior students were allowed to indicate how frequently they experienced each incompatibility. Response categories were "Always," "Almost Always," "Usually," "Fairly Often," "Sometimes," "Seldom," "Almost Never," and "Never." Table 8-1 presents the average percentages of students reporting that they experienced the incompatibilities "Sometimes" or more frequently in the extracurricular activities.

Table 8-1

Average Percentages of Students Reporting that they Experienced
Incompatibilities at Least "Sometimes" in Extracurrular Activities

Incompatibilities	Student Tasks	
	Performance	Behavior

Type I: Contradictory Evaluations

A. Conflicting Criteria

Student has to displease one coach/sponsor in order to please another	22.3%	No Question
Student has to displease either activity sponsors or student peers to please the other	19.5%	18.2%

B. Conflicting Properties

Student is given a limited amount of time to complete something	31.8%	No Question

C. Conflicting Allocations

Student is expected to do so many things in an activity that it is impossible to do well and complete them all	21.9%	No Question

Type II: Uncontrollable Evaluations

A. Coordination Failure in the Control System

Student is evaluated on performance /behavior which s/he had nothing to do with	24.5%	21.8%

B. Interdependence of Performers

Student is working in a group and doing/behaving well but has no control over the performance/ behavior of others	39.2%	34.5%

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Type III: Unpredictable Evaluations

A. Misunderstandings of Allocations

Student is unaware that s/he is   23.8%   14.2%
expected to do something until
it is too late

B. Misunderstandings of Criteria

Student doesn't know how s/he   16.6%   14.2%
is expected to perform/behave
in this activity

C. Nonrepresentative Samples

Student is evaluated based on   23.9%   25.8%
atypical performance/behavior

Type IV: .Unattainable Evaluations

A. Inappropriately High Standards

Standards used to evaluate   28.0%   17.9%
student's performance/behavior
are much too high

B. Active Tasks

Student is not able to do as   35.2%   14.4%
well as s/he would like despite
hard work

   Examination of the pattern of responses to incompatibilities in

the authority and evaluation system for performance in extracurricular

activities reveals that nearly forty percent of the students

experienced difficulty due to the interdependence of performers. In

view of the many team situations in extracurricular activities this is

not surprising.

   The second most often mentioned incompatibility was the problem

of the evaluation of active tasks. Over 35% of the students found

themselves unable to do as well as they might l..e despite hard work.

Performance in extracurricular activities seems to involve a fair

number of tasks where resistance to completion is unpredictable.

Over 30% of the students experienced the incompatibility of

conflicting properties. The limited amount of time available to

complete a given task caused them to receive evaluations below their

acceptance level. Only slightly less than 30% of the students

reported that the standards used to evaluate their performance were

much too high.

Nearly 25% of the students found themselves being evaluated on

something they had nothing to do with. Over 23% of the students

reported being evaluated on atypical performance, while a similar

percentage were unaware that they were expected to do something until

it was too late. Over 22% reported that they had to displease one

coach or sponsor in an activity in order to please another coach or

sponsor, and nearly that many found that they were expected to do so

many things in an activity that it was impossible to do well and

complete them all.

Fewer than 20% of the students reported a conflict between the

criteria of peers and the criteria of sponsors. Only 16% of the

students found that they misunderstood the criteria used to evaluate

their performance and so received evaluations below their acceptance

level.

Table 8-2 presents the average percentages of students

participating in extracurricular activities who reported that they

experienced incompatibilities at least "sometimes" in their classes.

It permits us to compare the levels of reported incompatibilities in
activities with those reported in classes.

Table 8-2

Average Percentages of Students Participating in Extracurricular
Activities Who Report that they Experience Incompatibilities
at Least "Sometimes" in their Classes

Incompatibilities	Student Tasks	
	Academic	Behavior
Type I: Contradictory Evaluations		
A. Conflicting Criteria		
Student has to displease one supervisor in order to please another supervisor	4.0%	No Question
Student has to displease either school officials or peers to please the other	8.5%	15.2%
B. Conflicting Properties		
Student is given a limited amount of time to complete an assignment	27.9%	No Question
C. Conflicting Allocations		
Student is assigned so many things in a class that it is impossible to do well and complete them all	24.4%	No Question
Type II: Uncontrollable Evaluations		
A. Coordination Failure in the Control System		
Student is evaluated on something which s/he had nothing to do with	10.2%	15.8%
B. Interdependence of Performers		
Student is working in a group and doing well, but has no control over performance of others	18.5%%	20.3%

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Type III: Unpredictable Evaluations

A. Misunderstandings of Allocations

Student is uanaware of assignment   19.4%   No Question
or test until it is too late

B. Misunderstandings of Criteria

Student doesn't know what a   30.6%   15.8%
teacher considers important

C. Nonrepresentative Samples

Tests and assignments don't   25.6%   21.6%
measure what student has
learned//Atypical behavior

Type IV: Unattainable Evaluations

A. Inappropriately High Standards

Standards used to evaluate   34.9%   11.2%
student's performance are much
too high

B. Active Tasks

Student is not able to do   37.4%   16.3%
as well as s/he would like
despite hard work

When we compare the responses to the questions about

incompatibilities in the authority and evaluation system for

performance in extracurricular activities to those for academic work

in classes, a rather unsurprising pattern emerges. Students were much

more likely to be subjected to conflicting criteria, both between

staff members and between staff members and student peers, in

extracurricular activities than in classes. This probably reflects

the fact that students are more likely to be supervised by multiple

staff members in activities than in classes and the fact that peers

are more likely to be highly involved in activities than in classwork.

Students were also much more likely to experience uncontrollable evaluations due to the interdependence of performers and coordination failures in the control system in extracurricular activities than in classes. Extracurricular activities are more likely to involve students in tasks where they must work interdependently. The higher levels of coordination failures in extracurricular activities may be because teachers are less likely to be able to link performances with students in activities than in the classroom.

Students in extracurricular activities are far less likely than the same students in classes to report that they misunderstand the criteria by which they are evaluated. Apparently, the criteria for evaluation in extracurricular activities are better understood by students.

Less dramatic differences appear when we compare the levels of the other incompatibilities between classes and extracurricular activities. Unattainable evaluations due to inappropriately high standards and active tasks appear to be somewhat less likely to be reported by students in extracurricular activities than in their classes. On the other hand, misunderstandings of allocations were more likely to be reported in classes than in extracurricular activities.

Table 8-1 shows that the levels of incompatibilities in the evaluation system for social behavior in extracurricular activities were generally lower than the levels for performance. When we compare

the levels of incompatibilities for the evaluation of performance and
behavior in extracurricular activities, the most notable differences
are the lower reported levels of incompatibilities due to
inappropriately high standards, active tasks, and misunderstandings of
allocations in the evaluation of behavior.

Among the incompatibilities in the evaluation system for behavior
in activities, the most frequently cited by the students was that of
uncontrollable evaluations stemming from the interdependence of
performers. Nearly 35% of the students reported that they received
evaluations below their acceptance level because they couldn't control
the behavior of other students in their group.

The second most frequently mentioned incompatibility was due to
nonrepresentative sampling of student behavior. Over 25% of the
students experienced this problem at least sometimes. Uncontrollable
evaluations due to coordination failures in the control system were
cited as leading to evaluations below acceptance level by over 20% of
the students.

Over one-sixth of the students reported that they sometimes
received evaluations below acceptance level due to conflicts between
the criteria of staff and peers, and due to inappropriately high
standards. One-seventh of the students received such evaluations
below acceptance level due to active tasks, misunderstandings of
allocations, and misunderstandings of criteria.

When we compare the levels of incompatibilities in the evaluation
and authority system for social behavior in activities with those in

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classes, we find that the levels are somewhat higher in

extracurricular activities. The most dramatic difference occurs for

the case of interdependent performers. Students are almost twice as

likely to cite the interdependence of performers as leading to

evaluations below their acceptance level in extracurricular activities

as in classes. Coordination failures in the control system leading to

students being evaluated on someting they didn't do are also more

likely in extracurricular activities than in classes.

Although the differences are more modest, students are also more

likely to report inappropriately high standards, nonrepresentative

sampling, and conflicting criteria between staff and peers in

extracurricular activities than in classes.

mary Measures of Incompatibility

The eleven questions on incompatibilities in the authority system

for pertormance in extracurricular activities and the eight questions

on incompatibilities in the authority system for social behavior in

extracurricular activities were used to create summary measures of

incompatibility. Three measures were created for incompatibility in

the authority and evaluation system for each task.

One summary measure was designed to indicate whether any

incompatibility was reported by students as occuring at least

"sometimes." If no incompatibility was reported as occuring at least

"sometimes", the summary measure was coded as 0 to indicate no

incompatibility present. If any of the eleven incompatibilities for

performance in extracurricular activities was reported as occuring

sometimes or more frequently, the summary measure was coded as 1 to

indicate the presence of an incompatibility. This same procedure was

followed in constructing a summary measure from the eight

incompatibilities in the authority system for social behavior in

activities.

A second summary measure was developed to indicate the number of

incompatibilities reported by students as occuring at least sometimes.

This measure was constructed just as the first measure except that if

a student reported that two or more incompatibilities occured at least

sometimes, this measure was coded as 2. In this way students were

divided into three groups: those reporting no incompatibilities, those

reporting one incompatibility, and those reporting two or more

incompatibilities.

A third measure captured the frequency of incompatibilities. To

arrive at this measure two submeasures were first developed. One

submeasure was a simple additive index of the student scores on the

relevant items. A second submeasure was a measure of the highest

frequency of any of the relevant items. Responses to each of the

submeasures were divided at the quartiles to produce four groups on

each submeasure. The third summary measure was produced by including

those students whose responses fell into the same quartiles in the two

submeasures in the four final groups. Other cases were dropped from

the analysis.

Summary Measures of Instability

Like the measures of instability in the classroom authority systems, the indicators of instability in the authority systems for extracurricular activities covered the three areas corresponding to the three forms of student disengagement: low level engagement or apathy, participation in negative activities, and non-participation or absenteeism.

Apathy was assessed through two measures of lowered student effort, lowered effort engagement and lowered self-assessment of effort. Effort engagement was composed of a single item. Students were asked to note how often they show up for the activity unprepared. The response categories for this item and all items in this section were: "Always," "Almost Always," "Usually," "Fairly Often," "Sometimes," "Seldom," "Almost Never," and "Never."

Two summary measures were created for effort engagement. The first summary measure was designed to indicate the presence of lowered effort engagement. If a student reported that s/he came to the activity unprepared more frequently than "Almost Never" we coded lowered effort engagement as a 1 indicating the presence of lowered effort engagement. If not, we coded effort engagement as 0 to indicate no lowering of effort engagement.

A second summary measure was designed to tap the frequency of lowered effort engagement. Responses to the item on being prepared for the activity were divided into four categories. A 0 indicated no lowering of effort engagement while a 3 indicated the most lowering of

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effort engagement.

The three items used for the measure of lowered self-assessment of effort required students to make more subjective reports of their effort in each activity. Students were asked to report how often they did the following things in each extracurricular activity: a) try hard to improve after you receive a poor evaluation, b) try hard to improve when you are not successful, and c) work really hard at an activity.

Three summary measures were constructed from these items. One measure was developed to indicate the presence of a lowering of self-assessment of effort. If a student indicated that he did any of the three things indicated in the items less frequently than "Almost Always," the response on the summary measure was coded as 1 to indicate a lowering of self-assessment of effort. If not, the measure was coded as a 0 to indicate no lowering of self-assessment of effort.

A second summary measure was a measure of the number of indications of lowered expectations. If students reported that they did the things mentioned in the three items at least "Almost Always," then the summary measure was coded as 0 to indicate no lowering of self-assessment of effort. If students reported that they did one of the things mentioned in the items less than "Almost Always," then the measure was coded as 1 to indicate one instance of lowering of self-assessment of effort. If students reported that they did two or more of the things mentioned in the items less than "Almost Always," then the summary measure was coded as 2 to indicate two or more

instances of lowering of self-assessment of effort.

Four items were used to construct summary measures of student participation in negative activities in extracurricular activities. Students were asked to report how often they did the following in an activity: a) complain to the sponsor or coach about something you are asked to do, b) complain to other students about the activity, c) refuse to do things that you are asked to do, and d) disturb the teacher and disrupt the activity.

Three summary measures of involvement in negative activities were created. A measure of the presence of involvement in negative activities was coded as 1 whenever a student reported engaging in one or more of the four activities "sometimes" or more frequently. Otherwise, it was coded as 0 indicating the absence of involvement in negative activities.

A measure of the number of instances of involvement in negative activities was coded like the measure of the presence of involvement except that it was coded as 2 whenever students reported engaging in two or more of the four activities at least "sometimes." Finally, a measure of the frequency of involvement in negative activities was constructed by creating a simple additive index of the student responses to the four items and dividing the final distribution at the quartiles.

A measure of withdrawal or nonparticipation was created using four additional items from the student survey. Students were asked to indicate how often they did each of the following in each activity: a)

skip practice sessions or meetings, b) show up late for an activity,

c) wish you could skip a practice session or a meeting, and d)

schedule another meeting or appointment as an excuse to miss a

practice session or a meeting. Summary measures of presence, number,

and frequency were constructed following the procedures used for the

summary measures of participation in negative activities.

The Relationship Between Incompatibilities and Disengagement in Extracurricular Activities

In Tables 8-3 to 8-5 we present the results of the analyses of

the relationship between the summary measures of incompatibility and

the summary measures of disengagement from extracurricular activities.

All three tables use the summary measure of the presence of

incompatibilities. The limited number of students participating in

extracurricular activities prevented us from using the summary

measures of number and degree of incompatibilities. We were, however,

able to make use of all three summary measures of disengagement,

presence, number, and degree.

Table 8-3
Relation of the Presence of Incompatibility in the Authority System
in Extracurricular Activities to the Presence of Student Disengagement

Form of Disengagement	Activity Rank	N	Gamma	Proportion of Incompatible Authority Systems Showing Disengagement	Proportion of Compatible Authority Systems Showing Disengagement
Performance					
Lowered Effort Engagement	1	117	.60	.26	.08
	2	63	.67	.33	.09
Lowered Self-Assessment of Effort	1	117	-.11	.51	.57
	2	63	.02	.58	.57
Negative Acts	1	113	.48	.69	.17
	2	64	.72	.56	.17
Withdrawal	1	110	.61	.73	.40
	2	62	.22	.59	.48
Social Behavior					
Lowered Effort Engagement	1	114	.29	.26	.16
	2	62	.80	.39	.07
Lowered Self-Assessment of Effort	1	114	.00	.52	.52
	2	62	.00	.58	.58
Negative Acts	1	110	.71	.74	.32
	2	63	.57	.56	.26
Withdrawal	1	107	.35	.71	.55
	2	61	.09	.56	.52

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Table 8-4
Relation of the Presence of Incompatibility in the Authority System
in Extracurricular Activities to the Number of Reports
of Student Disengagement

Form of Disengagement	Activity Rank	N	Gamma	Proportion of Incompatible Authority Systems Having 2 or More Reports of Disengagement	Proportion of Compatible Authority Systems Having 2 or More Reports of Disengagement
Performance					
Lowered Self-Assessment of Effort	1	117	-.08	.33	.35
	2	63	.05	.35	.30
Negative Acts	1	113	.76	.22	.06
	2	Insufficient Data			
Withdrawal	1	110	.53	.28	.11
	2	Insufficient Data			
Social Behavior					
Lowered Self-Assessment of Effort	1	114	-.01	.31	.32
	2	62	.09	.39	.29
Negative Acts	1	110	.67	.26	.06
	2	63	.56	.25	.07
Withdrawal	1	107	.22	.25	.22
	2	61	.18	.28	.14

Table 8-5
Relation of the Presence of Incompatibility in the Authority System
in Extracurricular Activities to the Degree of Student Disengagement

Form of Disengagement	Activity Rank	N	Gamma	Probability of High Disengagement for Incompatible Authority Systems	Probability of High Disengagement for Compatible Authority Systems
Performance					
Lowered Effort Engagement	1	117	Insufficient Data		
	2	63	Insufficient Data		
Lowered Self-Assessment of Effort	1	117	-.05	.21	.30
	2	63	Insufficient Data		
Negative Acts	1	113	.77	.30	.06
	2	64	Insufficient Data		
Withdrawal	1	110	.33	.21	.14
	2	62	Insufficient Data		
Social Behavior					
Lowered Effort Engagement	1	114	.20	.14	.07
	2	62	Insufficient Data		
Lowered Self-Assessment of Effort	1	114	.02	.19	.25
	2	62	.15	.23	.29
Negative Acts	1	110	.66	.33	.09
	2	63	.55	.38	.10
Withdrawal	1	107	.20	.20	.20
	2	61	.14	.28	.21

The pattern of results suggests a fairly consistent portrait of the major relationships. Incompatibilities in the system for the evaluation of student performance in extracurricular activities are strongly related to lowered effort engagement among students. Those students who report incompatibiities in the evaluation of their performance are much more likely to also report reducing the effort they devote to the activity.

No such positive relationship was found between incompatibilities in the evaluation and authority system and lowered self-assessment of effort. Student self-assessment of effort appears to be unaffected by the levels of incompatibilities in the evaluation system.

The relationship between incompatibilties in the evaluation system and student participation in negative activities is strongly positive. Students who report experiencing incompatibilities in the system for the evaluation of their performance, are much more likely to report engaging in negative activities related to the extracurricular activity.

The relationship between incompatibilities in the evaluation system and student withdrawal from the activities is only slightly less positive. Still, those students who report incompatibilities in the authority system are more likely to report withdrawing from the activity in some form.

When we examine the relationships between incompatibilities in the evaluation system for social behavior in extracurricular activities and the forms of disengagement, we find the same pattern of

results although the relationships are a bit weaker.

The relationship between problems in the evaluation of student

performance and behavior in extracurricular activities and student

disengagement from those activities is positive and consistent with

the pattern of results found in our analysis of the same relationship

at the school and classroom level. Thus we have consistent and

convincing evidence that the predictions we made at the beginning of

our investigation are, in fact, confirmed. Further analyses will

allow us to investigate complicating factors.

Chapter 9

Policy Implications

In this chapter we present some of the policy implications of the study. Toward the end of the project period in November of 1981 we held a one day conference for the administrators of the four Rushton high schools. At the conference we presented the major themes in the results of the study. The administrators were asked to respond to the themes in two ways. First, we wanted to know if our findings "made sense" to them as school administrators. That is, we wanted to learn if they could identify practical problems that contribute to or result from the theoretical phenomena we described in our study. Second, we wanted them to try to derive some practical implications from our findings. We wanted to know if our study had provided them with information and perspectives that they could use to guide their work as administrators.

In the sections that follow we present their answers to these two major questions. The information presented comes from comments made by the administrators at the time of the conference and from interviews with the administrators mu h later in the school year. The first section presents examples of existing features of the high schools that contribute to or alleviate the kinds of incompatibilities identified in our study. The next three sections on implications for administrators, teachers, and students present suggestions for improving the evaluation systems in the schools. These suggestions

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came from different members of the administrator group and represent
different approaches to the problem. We have assembled them in a
single multi-faceted approach to suggest the range of options open to
administrators as they think about problems in the evaluation of
students in schools.

Existing Practices Related to the Evaluation of Students

Most of the discussion about existing practices centered around
perceived weaknesses in current arrangements. An administrator from
one of the high schools noted chat the school had no overall building
plan for handling the evaluation of student work. He went on to say
that administrators at the school met with teachers to review goals
and objectives, and then very little was mentioned on the topic of
evaluation until grade time when report cards went out and the phone
started to ring with people complaining. An administrator from
another school reported that he had witnessed very little if any
policy discussion on the matter of the evaluation of students. Still
another administrator may have identified one cause of this pattern
when he observed that it was hard for administrators to actually
observe the process by which teachers evaluate students. Overall, the
administrators agreed that little formal attention had been given to
the full process of the evaluation of students.

The administrators went on to note that some policies had been
used to coordinate school activities and that these policies might
minimize some of the incompatibilities experienced by students. For

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example, at one high school the biology department schedules four

field trips during the Spring. However, the teachers in the math

department had objections when students missed their classes because

of the field trips. The administration adopted a policy of support

for the field trips to signal to other teachers that this was a

legitimate activity for which students should be excused.

This particular example led to a discussion of the barriers to

implementing such policies. The administrators from this school noted

that although there was a policy in support of the field trips, it was

another matter to get the math teachers to welcome students who had

been on the trips back into their classes with "open arms." As one

administrator added: "Just because we extablish a policy doesn't mean

it will get done."

Other barriers were also noted. Perhaps the most important was

that of teacher resistance to administrators making policy in an area

that is so central to the teaching process. One administrator pointed

out that his school's philosophy was that the teacher in the class has

the best sense of how to evaluate students in the class. Moreover,

"some seem to get their identity from their own system" of evaluation.

Another barrier cited to school-wide policy was the fact that the

process of evaluation is tied into the specific subject matter being

taught. Some of the administrators expressed doubts about setting up

a policy which cut across the subject areas.

A third barrier noted by the administrators was the limited time

which teachers had to actually do the work required by the evaluation

process. An administrator suggested that many teachers were pressed
for time and seemed "to be looking at the economy of evaluation, not
the appropriateness of the evaluation device relative to the kind of
knowledge" they were teaching.

The administrators also noted problems at the classroom level due
to the lack of a systematic approach to evaluation. One administrator
expressed the opinion that teachers sometimes don't have a clear
theory or conception of learning as it affects their classes. He went
on to note that he often observed a low correlation between what was
taught and what was tested. Another administrator observed that
departments seldom even used the same grading scale and approach to
testing. Finally, someone expressed the opinion that too much
attention was placed on testing without sufficient attention to the
rest of the evaluation process.

In addition to the problems with current practices, the
administrators were able to point to some things currently done that
are consistent with a soundly based system of evaluation of students.
Several administrators pointed to the rubric used by the English
departments throughout the system as a tool for insuring consistency
in the evaluation process. The rubric functioned to get teachers to
agree on how to get to a desired end point, how to review student
progress, and how to work with students to improve their performance.
An administrator from one of the high schools noted that several
departments in the school have teachers who work closely to see to it
that the evaluation procedures used by members of the department are

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consistent. An administrator from another high school noted that this

occurred in one of the departments in his school.

Administrators also pointed to the sharing of preparation

materials among teachers as a way to work toward an articulated and

consistent approach toward evaluation. One of the administrators

noted that this kind of sharing will only take place when teachers in

the school are secure.

Implications for Administrators

The administrators attending the conference discussed three types

of administrative initiatives that might be taken to improve the

evaluation of student performance in high schools. The first type of

initiative might be termed policies and practices of administrators.

These were things that administrators could immediately do by

themselves. The most discussed example was the development of a

master schedule of academic events to complement the schedule of

non-academic events. Administrators felt that they could keep a

master schedule of events such as field trips, and major tests that

could be distributed or posted so that the entire staff would be aware

of the demands being put on students by other teachers. This would

encourage teachers to avoid conflicts in scheduling major assignments

and tests.

A related suggestion was that departments might be encouraged to

adopt certain days of the week as normal test days. So, for example,

English tests might be held on Mondays, while math tests would be

scheduled for Fridays. It was realized that individual teachers might

find it difficult to tailor and plan their schedules to always test on

these days, but it was noted that such a system might better be

thought of as a set of traditions rather than a set of rules and thus

leave teachers flexibility if they needed it.

Several other suggestions were made. One administrator suggested

that the school adopt a policy on standardized testing so that

response categories would be used consistently throughout the school.

For example, if "0" is used as a low value in one department or class

it should not be used to represent a high value in another. Such

shifts in the use of response categories might be confusing to

students who must take tests from many different teachers as they pass

through the school.

Another administrator noted that it might be possible to monitor

and control the use of certain technologies used in the evaluation

process. The scantron automatic/scoring machine was one example

mentioned. Administrators might make certain that the machine was not

being used in an inappropriate manner, i.e. to score tests which

really should not be fixed choice.

A second type of administrative initiative noted by the

conference participants involved strengthening subject matter

departments within the schools. Administrators felt that department

chairpersons were in the best position to function as instructional

leaders. The administrators saw a role for the departments in setting

goals and standards in a reasonable and consistent manner. They felt

that such work could only be done by teachers working closely together in teams. The task of administrators would be to enhance the role of the department chairpersons to permit them to function as effective team leaders.

The third type of administrative initiative could be classified as structural. The conference participants noted several examples of such structural arrangements. One possibility would be an advisory system where time was provided in the school schedule for teachers to work more intensely with a small group of advisees in the student body. Such advisory sessions would be used by the teachers to help students deal with the multiple tasks and supervisors they confront throughout the school day and week. A second possibility might be a restructuring of the school to have teaching teams or a house plan where a group of teachers would be responsible for planning and delivering the instructional program of a group of students. These structual modifications would minimize some of the incompatibilities currently experienced by the students.

Implications for Teachers

The administrators mentioned two kinds of advice that they might give to teachers in view of our findings. First, they felt that teachers should spend time setting student expectations in the classroom. Several techniques were discussed along these lines. One administrator noted that teachers should make an effort to preview the tasks that were coming up in the near future, perhaps laying out the

work for a week at the beginning of the week. This might allow students to plan ahead and reduce scheduling conflicts. Another administrator stressed the importance of reviewing the tasks that had recently been completed and explaining the linkage to future work.

A second piece of advice was related to the first. Administrators felt that teachers should devote more attention to communicating criteria and procedures for evaluation. One administrator noted that teachers must be made to realize that clearly communicating evaluation procedures to students would make life better for students in school. In addition, the administrators expressed the opinion that teachers presently spent a lot of time explaining the grading system to students, i.e. the system by which scores on tests and quizzes would be summed to produce a final grade. Several administrators felt that teachers might spend less time defining a grading system and more time clarifying the entire evaluation process from task allocation to improvement.

Implications for Students

One of the administrators suggested a strategy for dealing with problems in the evaluation system that was oriented to students. He advocated working with students to help them develop skills in managing and dealing with multiple supervisors and incompatibilities in the evaluation system. Part of this training would include skills in negotiating with teachers. For example, students might be taught how to respectfully communicate to a teacher that three other tests

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were scheduled for a day when s/he was planning to give one also.

Conclusions

The phenomena highlighted by the theory of evaluation and authority appeared to be quite relevant to the concerns of the administrators. Moreover, they were able to identify practical strategies for alleviating at least some of the incompatibilities experienced by students. Continued presentations of our findings and subsequent discussions among educators should result in additional policy recommendations designed to improve the evaluation and authority systems in schools.

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Appendix A

Teacher and Administrator Interview Guide

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Washington University

Graduate Institute of Education

Study of School Evaluation Systems and Student Involvement

Interview Guide

December 1980

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Introduction

We are here to conduct a study of the ways in which schools
evaluate student performance. When we talk about evaluation of
student performance we are talking not only about grades, but
also about a whole variety of ways in which teachers and administrators
comment on student performance and behavior in schools. So, for
example, evaluation would include such things as a grade on a math
test, a comment made by an administrator on student behavior in
the hall, remarks made by a coach about student performance in
extracurricular activities, or a smile of approval from a guidance
counselor.

To find out about the ways in which schools evaluate students we
are interviewing a number of administrators and teachers in this
school. Through informal conversations with teachers and
administrators in an earlier study we found that they use a
variety of approaches to evaluation. Many reported that they were
concerned about the adequacy of their methods for evaluating
student performance. Almost all reported that evaluation was a
constant feature of their work. The questions that follow touch
on the aspects of the evaluation process mentioned by those
in the earlier study. Please feel free to answer each of these
questions in whatever way you feel is most appropriate. At the
end of the interview we will also ask you to tell us about any
important aspects of the school evaluation system that you think
we have overlooked.

1. Interviewer: Note name of school _____

2. Please describe your position in the school?

    ___administrator ___teacher ___counselor ___activity sponsor

    Interviewer: Note the nature of the position more specifically:

3. Please describe the settings in which you come   contact with
    students in this school? (E.G. classes, office, halls, etc.)

In order to discuss the evaluation of student performance we have
divided student performance into three major areas: academic work,
social behavior or conduct, and extracurricular activities. We would
like to ask you about the evaluation of student performance in each
of these three areas.

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Section I - The Evaluation of Academic Work

4. Could you please tell us about the situations in which you are
   involved in the evaluation of student academic work? (E.G. classroom,
   guidance office, administrator's office)

5a. One part of supervising and evaluating student academic work in school
    is actually assigning work or tasks to students. Could you tell u.
    about some of the ways in which you assign academic work to students,
    that is, how do you communicate to students that they are expected
    to perform certain academic tasks?

5b. What policies are set down by the school (administrators) regarding
    the assignment of academic work (tasks) to students? How are these
    policies communicated to teachers? How are these policies communicat
    to students?

6a. A second part of supervising and evaluating student academic
performance in school involves developing criteria and standards
by which such work can be evaluated. Setting criteria and standards
goes beyond just the assignment of tasks in that it involves telling
students how to approach the task. Could you tell u some of the
ways in which you set criteria and standards for academic work? How
do you communicate such criteria and standards to students.

6b What policies are set down by the school (administrators) regarding
the setting of criteria and standards for academic work (tasks)
for students? How are these policies communicated to teachers?
How are these policies communicated to students?

7a. A third part of supervising and evaluating student academic performance in schools involves taking samples of such performance. It is usually impossible to consider all student academic work in an evaluation so we typically collect samples of student performance and products. Could you tell us some of the ways in which you decide what samples of student academic work to use for the purposes of evaluating students? (Interviewer: More specific follow-ups: What do you sample in terms of academic performance? How do you determine what samples of student academic work to use?)
Do you communicate such decisions to students?

7b. What policies are set down by the school (administrators) regarding the sampling of student academic work for the purposes of evaluation? How are these policies communicated to teachers? How are these policies communicated to students?

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8a. A fourth part of supervising and evaluating student academic performance
    is the actual appraisal of such performance. By appraisal we mean the
    process by which you compare a student's performance with your
    previously established criteria or standards. (E.G. When you actually
    sit down with the information on student performance and try to arrive
    at an evaluation.) Could you tell us about the strategies you use
    for appraising student academic performance? Do you communicate
    such strategies to students?

8b. What policies are set down by the school (administrators) regarding
    the appraisal of student academic work? How are these policies
    communicated to teachers? How are these policies communicated to
    students?

9a. A fifth part of supervising and evaluating student performance is
     communicating evaluations of such performances to students, that is,
     providing students with feedback on their performance. Could you
     tell us about the ways that you communicate evaluations to students?

9b. What policies are set down by the school (administrators) regarding
     the communication of evaluations of student academic work? How are
     these policies communicated to teachers? How are these policies
     communicated to students?

292

10a. A final element in the supervision and evaluation of student
     academic performance might be working with students to help them
     plan to improve their level of performance. Could you tell us
     about the ways that you work with students to help them plan to
     improve their academic work?

10b. What policies are set down by the school (administrators) regarding
     the role of teachers in helping students to plan to improve their
     academic work? How are these policies communicated to teachers?
     How are these policies communicated to students?

291

11. We have mentioned six steps in the evaluation of student academic work:

    -assigning work (tasks)
    -setting criteria and standards
    -sampling student work
    -appraising student work
    -communicating evaluations to students
    -helping students plan to improve their academic work

    Of the steps identified, do you emphasize one more than others in working with students? If so, in what ways? How? Why?

12. Are there aspects of the way that you evaluate student academic work that seem to work really well for you? If yes, what are they?

13. Are there things that bother you about the evaluation of student academic work? Things that make you feel uncomfortable? If yes, what are they?

292

14. Are you aware of anyone else in the school whose approach to the supervision and evaluation of student academic work differs from your approach? If yes, how would you describe these other approaches?

Section II - The Evaluation of Student Behavior or Conduct

15. A second major area of student performance in school concerns student behavior or conduct. Could you please tell us about the situations in which you are involved in the evaluation of student behavior or conduct? (E.G. classrooms, halls, playing fields, other)

295

293

16a. One part of supervising and evaluating student behavior is actually letting students know what kind of behavior is expected of them. Could you tell us about some of the ways in which you let students know that there are expectations regarding their behavior?

16b. What policies are set down by the school (administrators) regarding the communication of expectations for student behavior? How are these policies communicated to teachers? How are these policies communicated to students?

294

17a. A second part of supervising and evaluating student behavior in school involves developing criteria and standards by which such behavior can be evaluated. Setting criteria and standards goes beyond just informing students of expectations for their behavior in that it involves telling students how to approach the matter of conduct. Could you tell us some of the ways in which you set criteria and standards for behavior? How do you communicate such criteria and standards to students?

17b. What policies are set down by the school (administrators) regarding the setting of criteria and standards for student behavior? How are these policies communicated to teachers? How are these policies communicated to students?

18a. A third part of supervising and evaluating student behavior
in schools involves samples of such behavior. No one person
in a school is able to observe a student's behavior in its
entirety; each staff member is only exposed to small portions
of a student's behavior. Could you tell us some of the ways
you decide what samples of student behavior to use for the
purposes of evaluating students? (Interviewer: More specific
follow-ups: What samples of student behavior do you typically
observe? Do you actively seek such observations or is your
exposure inadvertant?)
Do students know when their behavior is likely to be observed by
you?

18b. What policies are set down by the school (administrators) regarding
the sampling of student behavior for the purposes of evaluation?
How are these policies communicated to teachers?
How are these policies communicated to students?

296

19a. A fourth part of supervising and evaluating student behavior is the actual appraisal of such behavior. By appraisal we mean the process by which you compare a student's behavior with your previously established criteria or standards. Could you tell us about the strategies you use for appraising student behavior? Do you communicate such strategies to students?

19b. What policies are set down by the school (administrators) regarding the appraisal of student behavior? How are these policies communicated to teachers? How are these policies communicated to students?

297

20a. A fifth part of supervising and evaluating student behavior is
communicating evaluations of such behavior to students, that is,
providing students with feedback on their behavior. Could you
tell us about the ways that you communicate evaluations to students?

20b. What policies are set down by the school (administrators) regarding
the communication of evaluations of student behavior? How are
these policies communicated to teachers? How are these policies
communicated to students?

298

21a. A final element in the supervision and evaluation of student behavior
might be working with students to help them plan to improve their
behavior. Could you tell us about the ways that you work with students
to help them plan to improve their behavior?

21b. What policies are set down by the school (administrators) regarding
the role of teachers in helping students to plan to improve their
behavior? How are these policies communicated to teachers? How
are these policies communicated to students?

299

22. We have mentioned six steps in the evaluation of student behavior:

    -assigning expectations for student behavior
    -setting criteria and standards
    -sampling student behavior
    -appraising student behavior
    -communicating evaluations to students
    -helping students to plan to improve their behavior

Of the steps identified, do you emphasize one more than others in working with students. If so, in what ways? How? Why?

23. Are there aspects of the way that you evaluate student behavior that seem to work really well for you? If yes, what are they?

24. Are there things that bother you about the evaluation of student behavior. Things that make you feel uncomfortable? If yes, what are they?

25. Are you aware of anyone else in the school whose approach to the supervision and evaluation of student behavior differs from your approach? If yes, how would you describe these other approaches?

Section III - The Evaluation of Student Extracurricular Performance

26. A third major area of student performance in school concerns student performance in extracurricular activities. Could you please tell us about the situations in which you are involved in the evaluation of student performance in extracurricular activities? (E.G. as sponsor of one or more activities, a monitor on extra duty assignment, other)

27a. One part of supervising and evaluating student performance in
extracurricular activities is actually assigning work or tasks
to students. Could you tell us about some of the ways in which you
assign extracurricular tasks to students, that is, how do you
communicate to students that they are expected to perform certain
tasks in extracurricular activities?

27b What policies are set down by the school (administrators) regarding
the assignment of tasks in extracurricular activities? How are these
policies communicated to teachers? How are these policies communicated
to students?

28a. A second part of supervising and evaluating student performance
in extracurricular activities involves developing criteria and
standards by which such work can be evaluated. Setting criteria
and standards goes beyond just the assignment of tasks in that
it involves telling students how to approach the task. Could you
tell us some of the ways in which you set criteria and standards
for student performance in extracurricular activities? How do
you communicate such criteria and standards to students?

28b. What policies are set down by the school (administrators) regarding
the setting of criteria and standards for student performance in
extracurricular activities? How are these policies communicated to
teachers? How are these policies communicated to students?

305

29a. A third part of supervising and evaluating student performance in extracurricular activities involves taking samples of such performance. It is usually impossible to consider all student performance in an evaluation so we typically collect samples of student performance and products. Could you tell us some of the ways in which you decide what samples of student performance in extracurricular activities to use for the purposes of evaluating students? (Interviewer: More specific follow-ups: What do you sample in terms of student performance in extracurricular activities? How do you determine what samples of student performance to use?
Do you communicate such decisions to students?

29b. What policies are set down by the school (administrators) regarding the sampling of student performance in extracurricular activities for the purposes of evaluation? How are these policies communicated to teachers? How are these policies communicated to students?

304

30a. A fourth part of ___ supervising and evaluating student performance
in extracurricular activities is the actual appraisal of such
performance. By appraisal we mean the process by which you compare
a student's performance with your previously established criteria
and standards. Could you tell us about the strategies you use for
appraising student performance in extracurricular activities? Do you
communicate such strategies to students?

30b. What policies are set down by the school (administrators) regarding
the appraisal of student performance in extracurricular activities?
How are these policies communicated to teachers? How are these
policies communicated to students?

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31a. A fifth part of supervising and evaluating student performance in
     extracurricular activities is communicating evaluations of such
     performances to students, that is, providing students with feedback
     on their performance. Could you tell us about the ways that you
     communicate evaluations to students?

31b. What policies are set down by the school (administrators) regarding
     the communication of evaluations of student performance in
     extracurricular activities? How are these policies communicated to
     teachers? How are these policies communicated to students?

32a. A final element in the supervision and evaluation of student
performance in extracurricular activities might be working with
students to help them plan to improve their level of performance.
Could you tell us about the ways that you work with students to help
them plan to improve their performance in extracurricular activities?

32b. What policies are set down by the school (administrators) regarding
the role of teachers in helping students to plan to improve their
performance in extracurricular activities? How are these policies
communicated to teachers? How are these policies communicated to
students?

33. We have mentioned six steps in the evaluation of student performance in extracurricular activities:

  -assigning tasks
  -setting criteria and standards
  -sampling student performance
  -appraising student performance
  -communicating evaluations to students
  --helping students plan to improve their performance

Of the steps identified, do you emphasize one more than others in working with students on extracurricular activities? If so, in what ways? How? Why?

34. Are there aspects of the way that you evaluate student performance in extracurricular activities that seem to work really well for you? If yes, what are they?

35. Are there things that bother you about the evaluation of student performance in extracurricular activities? Things that make you feel uncomfortable? If yes, what are they?

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36. Are you aware of anyone else in the school whose approach to the
    supervision and evaluation of student performance in extracurricular
    activities differs from your approach? If yes, how would you describe
    these other approaches?

37. Thank you for your responses to our questions. Is there anything
    else that you would like to add? Anything that you think we missed
    that might be important?

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Appendix B

Student Questionnaire

STUDY OF SCHOOL EVALUATION SYSTEMS AND STUDENT RESPONSES

Student Questionnaire

Introduction

We are conducting a study of the ways in which schools evaluate stu-
dents and how students feel about it. When we talk about evaluation
of students we're talking not only about grades, but also about a
whole variety of ways in which schools and teachers and administrators
comment on student performance and behavior in school. So for example,
evaluation would include such things as a grade on a math test, a com-
ment made by an administrator about your behavior in the hall, remarks
made by a coach about your performance in an extracurricular activity,
or a comment from a guidance counselor. Anytime someone in the school
tells you something about what they think of you and your performance,
they are evaluating you.

To find out about the ways in which you are evaluated in school we are
asking a number of students in your school some questions. We hope to
be able to use this information to make schools better places for stu-
dents. We appreciate your cooperation in answering our questions. Be-
fore we begin, we want to assure you that no one at your school will
know how you answer these questions, and they will have no effect on
your grades.

Section 1

EVALUATION OF STUDENT PERFORMANCE IN THREE AREAS

IN ORDER TO ASK YOU SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT HOW YOU
ARE EVALUATED IN SCHOOL WE HAVE DIVIDED STUDENT
PERFORMANCE INTO THREE MAJOR AREAS:

        1) ACADEMIC WORK

        2) BEHAVIOR OR CONDUCT

        3) EXTRACURRICULAR ACTIVITIES

IN EACH OF THESE AREAS YOUR PERFORMANCE IN SCHOOL
IS SUPERVISED AND EVALUATED BY ONE OR MORE MEMBERS
OF THE SCHOOL STAFF (TEACHERS, ADMINISTRATORS, ETC.)

IN THE QUESTIONS THAT FOLLOW WE WILL ASK YOU ABOUT
SOME TYPICAL PROBLEMS WITH EVALUATIONS IN THESE THREE
GENERAL AREAS TO SEE HOW OFTEN THEY HAVE HAPPENED TO
YOU. LATER WE WILL ASK YOU ABOUT SPECIFIC CLASSES AND
ACTIVITIES, SO JUST GIVE US YOUR GENERAL IMPRESSIONS
IN THIS SECTION.

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1. In general when your <u>academic work</u> is evaluated in school certain problems may arise to cause you to receive evaluations low enough to make you dissatisfied. For each of the following problems, please note how often this sort of thing happens to you. (Check one for each problem.)

	Always	Almost Always	Usually	Fairly Often	Some-times	Seldom	Almost Never	Never
a. standards used to evaluate your academic work are much too high and you receive evaluations low enough to make you dissatisfied								
b. you don't know how you are expected to perform on an assignment, test, etc. and so you receive evaluations low enough to make you dissatisfied								
c. you are evaluated on academic work you had nothing to do with and so you receive evaluations low enough to make you dissatisfied								
d. when working in a group you find that although you are doing a good job, others in the group are not and so you receive evaluations low enough to make you dissatisfied								
e. you are assigned so many things that it isn't possible to do a good job and complete them all and so you receive evaluations low enough to make you dissatis-fied								
f. you are evaluated by more than one supervisor and you find that in order to please one supervisor you have to displease the other								

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Please continue to note how often each of the following problems occurs when your academic work is evaluated in school.

	Always	Almost Always	Usually	Fairly Often	Some-times	Seldom	Almost Never	Never
g. you are evaluated based on work different from your usual work and so you receive evaluations low enough to make you dissatisfied. For example, a quiz may be given on the one day you weren't pre-pared								
h. you are given only a limited amount of time to complete an assignment and so you receive evaluations low enough to make you dissatisfied								
i. your academic work is evaluated by both school officials (teachers, administrators) and other students and you find that in order to please one you have to displease the other								
j. you don't know that an assignment has been made or a test scheduled until too late and so you receive evaluations low enough to make you dissatisfied								
k. you work hard on an assignment but are still not able to do as well as you would like and so you receive evaluations low enough to make you dissatisfied								
l. you aren't challenged by the academic work you are asked to do and so you receive evaluations that don't mean anything to you								

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2. In general, when your <u>behavior or conduct</u> is evaluated in school certain problems may arise to cause you to receive evaluations low enough to make you dissatisfied. For each of the following problems, please note how often this sort of thing happens to you. (Check one for each problem.)

	Always	Almost Always	Usually	Fairly Often	Some-times	Seldom	Almost Never	Never
a. standards used to evaluate your behavior are much too high and so you receive evaluations low enough to make you dissatisfied								
b. you don't know how you are expected to behave and so you receive evaluations low enough to make you dissatisfied								
c. you are evaluated on behavior you had nothing to do with and so you receive evaluations low enough to make you dissatisfied								
d. when in a group you find that although you are behaving well, others in the group are not and so you receive evaluations low enough to make you dissatisfied								
e. you are asked to obey so many rules at the same time that it isn't pos-sible to observe them all and so you receive evaluations low enough to make you dissatisfied								
f. your behavior is evaluated by more than one supervisor (teacher, ad-ministrator) and you find that in order to please one supervisor you have to displease the other								

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Please continue to note how often each of the following problems occurs when you are evaluated in school.

	Always	Almost Always	Usually	Fairly Often	Some-times	Seldom	Almost Never	Never
g. you are evaluated based on behavior different from the way you usually behave and so you receive evaluations low enough to make you dissatisfied. For example, you may get caught the one time you do something wrong								
h. you are given only a limited amount of time to do something and so you receive evaluations of your behavior low enough to make you dissatisfied								
i. your behavior is evaluated by both school officials (teachers, administrators) and other students and you find that in order to please one you have to displease the other								
j. you don't find out about a school rule until too late and so receive evaluations low enough to make you dissatisfied								
k. you try hard to behave but are still not able to behave as well as you would like and so you receive evaluations low enough to make you dissatisfied								
l. expectations for student behavior are so low that you don't take them seriously								

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3. In general, when your performance in <u>extracurricular activities</u> is evaluated in school, certain problems may arise to cause you to receive evaluations low enough to make you dissatisfied. For each of the following problems, please note how often this sort of thing happens to you. (Check one for each problem.)

	Always	Almost Always	Usually	Fairly Often	Some- times	Seldom	Almost Never	Never
a. standards used to evaluate your performance are much too high and so you receive evaluations low enough to make you dissatisfied								
b. you don't know how you are expected to perform in activities and so you receive evaluations low enough to make you dissatisfied								
c. you are evaluated on something you had nothing to do with and so you receive evaluations low enough to make you dissatisfied								
d. when working in a group or team you find that although you are performing well, others in the group are not and so you receive evaluations low enough to make you dissatisfied								
e. you are expected to do so many things in extracurricular activities that it isn't possible to do a good job and complete them all and so you receive evaluations low enough to make you dissatisfied								
f. you are evaluated by more than one coach, sponsor, or student leader and find that in order to please one person you have to displease the other								

Please continue to note how often each of the following problems occurs when your performance in extracurricular activities is evaluated in school.

	Always	Almost Always	Usually	Fairly Often	Some-times	Seldom	Almost Never	Never
g. You are evaluated based on performances different from the way you usually perform and so you receive evaluations low enough to make you dissatisfied. For example, a tryout may be held on the one day when you aren't feeling well.								
h. you are given only a limited amount of time to do something and so you receive evaluations low enough to make you dissatisfied								
i. you are evaluated by both sponsors or coaches and other students and find that in order to please one you have to displease the other								
j. you don't know about something that you are expected to do until too late and so you receive evaluations low enough to make you dissatisfied								
k. you work hard on something but are still not able to do as well as you would like and so you receive evaluations low enough to make you dissatisfied								
l. you aren't challenged by the things you are asked to do and so you receive evaluations that aren't important to you								

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Section 2

EVALUATION OF STUDENTS IN CLASSES

IN THIS SECTION WE WILL ASK YOU SOME
QUESTIONS ABOUT THE WAY YOU ARE EVAL-
UATED IN YOUR CLASSES.

PLEASE LIST THE CLASSES YOU ARE NOW
TAKING AND CHECK WHETHER EACH IS RE-
QUIRED OR ELECTIVE.

1st Period _____ _____ required   _____ elective

2nd Period _____ _____ required   _____ elective

3rd Period _____ _____ required   _____ elective

4th Period _____ _____ required   _____ elective

5th Period _____ _____ required   _____ elective

6th Period _____ _____ required   _____ elective

IN EACH OF THESE CLASSES YOU ARE SUPERVISED
BY ONE OR MORE TEACHERS.

IN THE QUESTIONS THAT FOLLOW WE WILL ASK YOU
ABOUT SOME TYPICAL PROBLEMS WITH SUCH EVALU-
ATIONS TO SEE HOW OFTEN THEY HAVE HAPPENED
TO YOU.

REMEMBER THAT WHEN WE TALK ABOUT EVALUATIONS
WE ARE TALKING NOT ONLY ABOUT GRADES, BUT AL-
SO ABOUT A VARIETY OF WAYS IN WHICH SCHOOLS
AND TEACHERS AND ADMINISTRATORS COMMENT ON
YOUR WORK AND BEHAVIOR IN SCHOOL.

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5. How often do you find that the course work assigned to you in your classes is just too difficult for you to do and so you receive evaluations low enough to make you dissatisfied? (Check one for each class.)

	Always	Almost Always	Usually	Fairly Often	Some-times	Seldom	Almost Never	Never
1st Period								
2nd Period								
3rd Period								
4th Period								
5th Period								
6th Period								

6. How often do you find that you didn't know about an assignment or a test until it is too late and so you receive evaluations low enough to make you dissatisfied? (Check one for each class.)

	Always	Almost Always	Usually	Fairly Often	Some-times	Seldom	Almost Never	Never
1st Period								
2nd Period								
3rd Period								
4th Period								
5th Period								
6th Period								

7. How often do you receive so many assignments in a class that you can't do a good job and complete them all and so you receive evaluations low enough to make you dissatisfied?

	Always	Almost Always	Usually	Fairly Often	Some-times	Seldom	Almost Never	Never
1st Period								
2nd Period								
3rd Period								
4th Period								
5th Period								
6th Period								

8. Sometimes students don't know what a teacher considers important on an assignment, or a test and so they receive evaluations low enough to make them dissatisfied. How often does this sort of thing happen to you? (Check one for each class.)

	Always	Almost Always	Usually	Fairly Often	Some-times	Seldom	Almost Never	Never
1st Period								
2nd Period								
3rd Period								
4th Period		✓						
5th Period								
6th Period								

9. How often do you find yourself working hard in a class but still not able to do as well as you would like and so you receive evaluations low enough to make you dissatisfied? (Check one for each class.)

	Always	Almost Always	Usually	Fairly Often	Some-Times	Seldom	Almost Never	Never
1st Period								
2nd Period								
3rd Period								
4th Period								
5th Period								
6th Period								

10. How often do you receive an assignment that has to be done in such a short period of time that you can't do a good job and so you receive evaluations low enough to make you dissatisfied? (Check one for each class.)

	Always	Almost Always	Usually	Fairly Often	Some-times	Seldom	Almost Never	Never
1st Period								
2nd Period								
3rd Period								
4th Period								
5th Period								
6th Period								

11. How often do you find that you are supervised by more than one person in a class and in order to please one supervisor you have to displease the other? (Check one for each class.)

	Always	Almost Always	Usually	Fairly Often	Some-times	Seldom	Almost Never	Never
1st Period								
2nd Period								
3rd Period								
4th Period								
5th Period								
6th Period								

12. How often do you find that the tests, and assignments a teacher gives really don't measure the things you have learned and so you receive evaluations low enough to make you dissatisfied? (Check one for each class.)

	Always	Almost Always	Usually	Fairly Often	Some-Times	Seldom	Almost Never	Never
1st Period								
2nd Period								
3rd Period								
4th Period								
5th Period								
6th Period								

13. When you are working in groups in class how often do you find that although you are doing a good job, others in the group are not and so you receive evaluations low enough to make you dissatisfied? (Check one for each class.)

	Always	Almost Always	Usually	Fairly Often	Some-times	Seldom	Almost Never	Never
1st Period								
2nd Period								
3rd Period								
4th Period								
5th Period								
6th Period								

14. Your course work may be evaluated by both teachers and other students. How often do you find that in order to please one you have to displease the other? (Check one for each class.)

	Always	Almost Always	Usually	Fairly Often	Some-times	Seldom	Almost Never	Never
1st Period								
2nd Period								
3rd Period								
4th Period								
5th Period								
6th Period								

15. How often do you find that you are evaluated on work you had nothing to do with, and so you receive evaluations low enough to make you dissatisfied? (Check one for each class.)

	Always	Almost Always	Usually	Fairly Often	Some-Times	Seldom	Almost Never	Never
1st Period								
2nd Period								
3rd Period								
4th Period								
5th Period								
6th Period								

16. How often do you find that you aren't challenged by the course work you are asked to do and so you receive evaluations that don't mean anything to you? (Check one for each class.)

	Always	Almost Always	Usually	Fairly Often	Some-times	Seldom	Almost Never	Never
1st Period								
2nd Period								
3rd Period								
4th Period								
5th Period								
6th Period								

17. How often do you not know what kind of conduct or behavior a teacher expects of you in a class and so you do something to cause you to receive an evaluation low enough to make you dissatisfied? (Check one for each class.)

	Always	Almost Always	Usually	Fairly Often	Some-times	Seldom	Almost Never	Never
1st Period								
2nd Period								
3rd Period								
4th Period								
5th Period								
6th Period								

18. How often do you find that the standards for good behavior in a class are just too high and so you receive evaluations low enough to make you dissatisfied? (Check one for each class.)

	Always	Almost Always	Usually	Fairly Often	Some-Times	Seldom	Almost Never	Never
1st Period								
2nd Period								
3rd Period								
4th Period								
5th Period								
6th Period								

19. How often do you find that teachers catch you behaving in ways that you don't usually behave and so you receive evaluations low enough to make you dissatisfied? For example, you may get caught on one of the few times you do something wrong? (Check one for each class.)

	Always	Almost Always	Usually	Fairly Often	Some-times	Seldom	Almost Never	Never
1st Period								
2nd Period								
3rd Period								
4th Period								
5th Period								
6th Period								

20. How often do you find that you are trying hard to behave well in a class but are not able to behave as well as you would like and so you receive evaluations low enough to make you dissatisfied?

	Always	Almost Always	Usually	Fairly Often	Some-times	Seldom	Almost Never	Never
1st Period								
2nd Period								
3rd Period								
4th Period								
5th Period								
6th Period								

21. When you are working in groups in class, how often do you find that although you are behaving well, others in the group are not and so you receive evaluations low enough to make you dissatisfied? (Check one for each class.)

	Always	Almost Always	Usually	Fairly Often	Some-Times	Seldom	Almost Never	Never
1st Period								
2nd Period								
3rd Period								
4th Period								
5th Period								
6th Period								

22. How often do you find that you are evaluated on behavior you had nothing to do with and so you receive evaluations low enough to make you dissatisfied? (Check one for each class?)

	Always	Almost Always	Usually	Fairly Often	Some-times	Seldom	Almost Never	Never
1st Period								
2nd Period								
3rd Period								
4th Period								
5th Period								
6th Period								

23. Your behavior in class may be evaluated by both teachers and other students. How often do you find that in order to please one you have to displease the other? (Check one for each class.)

	Always	Almost Always	Usually	Fairly Often	Some-times	Seldom	Almost Never	Never
1st Period								
2nd Period								
3rd Period								
4th Period								
5th Period								
6th Period								

24. How often do you find that the expectations for student behavior in a class are so low that you don't take them seriously? (Check one for each class.)

	Always	Almost Always	Usually	Fairly Often	Some-Times	Seldom	Almost Never	Never
1st Period								
2nd Period								
3rd Period								
4th Period								
5th Period								
6th Period								

IF YOU PARTICIPATE IN EXTRACURRICULAR ACTIVITIES, TURN TO THE <u>NEXT PAGE</u>

IF YOU DON'T PARTICIPATE IN EXTRACURRICULAR ACTIVITIES, TURN TO PAGE 26.

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Section 3

EVALUATIONS OF STUDENTS IN EXTRACURRICULAR ACTIVITIES

IN THIS SECTION WE WILL ASK YOU SOME QUESTIONS
ABOUT THE WAY YOU ARE EVALUATED IN EXTRACUR-
RICULAR ACTIVITIES.

PLEASE LIST YOUR EXTRACURRICULAR ACTIVITIES
IN ORDER OF IMPORTANCE TO YOU:

1. _____

2. _____

3. _____

4. _____

5. _____

IN EACH OF THESE ACTIVITIES YOU ARE SUPERVISED
AND EVALUATED BY ONE OR MORE MEMBERS OF THE
SCHOOL STAFF (COACHES, SPONSORS, ADVISORS).

IN THE QUESTIONS THAT FOLLOW WE WILL ASK YOU
ABOUT SOME TYPICAL PROBLEMS WITH SUCH EVALUATIONS
TO SEE HOW OFTEN THEY HAVE HAPPENED TO YOU.

FOR EACH ACTIVITY WE WILL ASK YOU TO TELL US
ABOUT PROBLEMS IN THE WAY YOUR <u>PERFORMANCE</u> IS
EVALUATED AND THEN ABOUT PROBLEMS IN THE WAY
YOUR <u>BEHAVIOR</u> OR CONDUCT IS EVALUATED.

REMEMBER THAT WHEN WE TALK ABOUT EVALUATIONS
WE ARE TALKING NOT ONLY ABOUT GRADES, BUT AL-
SO ABOUT A VARIETY OF WAYS IN WHICH SCHOOLS
AND TEACHERS AND ADMINISTRATORS COMMENT ON
YOUR PERFORMANCE AND BEHAVIOR.

the next few pages we will ask you questions about the activity you listed as <u>first</u> in importance
you.

When your performance is evaluated certain problems may arise to cause you to receive evaluations
low enough to make you dissatisfied. For each of the following problems, please note how often this
sort of thing happens to you in the activity you listed as <u>first in importance</u>.

	Always	Almost Always	Usually	Fairly Often	Some-times	Seldom	Almost Never	Never
standards used to evaluate your performance are much too high and so you receive evaluations low enough to make you dissatisfied								
you don't know how you are expected to perform in this activity and so you receive evaluations low enough to make you dissatisfied								
you are evaluated on something you had nothing to do with and so you receive evaluations low enough to make you dissatisfied								
when working in a group or team you find that although you are performing well, others in the group are not and so you receive evaluations low enough to make you dissatisfied								
you are expected to do so many things in this activity that it isn't possible to do a good job and complete them and so you receive evaluations low enough to make you dissatisfied								
you are evaluated by more than one coach, sponsor, or student leader and you find that in order to please one you have to displease the other								

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Please continue to note how often each of the following problems happens to you when your <u>performance</u> is evaluated in the activity you listed as <u>first</u> in importance.

	Always	Almost Always	Usually	Fairly Often	Some- times	Seldom	Almost Never	Never
you are evaluated based on perform- ances different from the way you usually perform and so you receive evaluations low enough to make you dissatisfied. For example, an important event may be held on a day when you aren't feeling well								
you are given only a limited amount of time to do something and so you receive evaluations low enough to make you dissatisfied								
you are evaluated by both sponsors or coaches and other students and find that in order to please one you have to displease the other								
you don't know that you are ex- pected to do something until too late and so you receive evalua- tions low enough to make you dissatisfied								
you work hard on something and are still not able to do as well as you would like and so you re- ceive evaluations low enough to make you dissatisfied								
you aren't challenged by the things that you are asked to do and so you receive evaluations that aren't important to you								

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Now we would like you to tell us how often some of these same problems arise when your behavior or conduct is evaluated in this activity you listed first in importance. For each of the following problems, please note how often this sort of thing happens to you when your behavior is evaluated.

	Always	Almost Always	Usually	Fairly Often	Some-times	Seldom	Almost Never	Never
standards used to evaluate your behavior are much too high and so you receive evaluations low enough to make you dissatisfied								
you don't know how you are expected to behave and so you receive evaluations low enough to make you dissatisfied								
you are evaluated on behavior you had nothing to do with and so you receive evaluations low enough to make you dissatisfied								
when working in a group or team you find that although you are behaving well, others in the group are not and so you receive evaluations low enough to make you dissatisfied								
you are caught acting in a way that you usually don't act and so you receive evaluations low enough to make you dissatisfied								
you don't know about a rule for behavior and so you do something to receive evaluations low enough to make you dissatisfied								
you try hard to behave but are not able to behave as well as you would like and so you receive evaluations low enough to make you dissatisfied								
your behavior is evaluated by both sponsors or coaches and other students and you find that to please one you have to displease the other								

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For this same activity that you listed first in importance, how often do you do the following things in this activity.

	Always	Almost Always	Usually	Fairly Often	Some-times	Seldom	Almost Never	Never
complain to the sponsor or coach about something you are asked to do								
skip practice sessions or meetings								
show up for the activity unprepared								
try hard to improve after you re-ceive a poor evaluation								
complain to other students about the activity								
show up late for the activity								
try hard to improve when you are not successful								
refuse to do things that you are asked to do								
work really hard at the activity								
disturb the teacher and disrupt the activity								
wish you could skip a practice session or a meeting								
schedule another meeting or ap-pointment as an excuse to miss a practice session or a meeting								

IF YOU PARTICIPATE IN A SECOND EXTRACURRICULAR ACTIVITY, GO ON TO THE NEXT PAGE.

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the next few pages we will ask you questions about the activity you listed as <u>second</u> in importance you.

When your <u>performance</u> is evaluated certain problems may arise to cause you to receive evaluations, low enough to make you dissatisfied. For each of the following problems, please note how often this sort of thing happens to you in the activity you listed as <u>second in importance</u>.

	Always	Almost Always	Usually	Fairly Often	Some-times	Seldom	Almost Never	Never
standards used to evaluate your performance are much too high and so you receive evaluations low enough to make you dissatisfied								
you don't know how you are expected to perform in this activity and so you receive evaluations low enough to make you dissatisfied								
you are evaluated on something you had nothing to do with and so you receive evaluations low enough to make you dissatisfied								
when working in a group or team you find that although you are performing well, others in the group are not and so you receive evaluations low enough to make you dissatisfied								
you are expected to do so many things in this activity that it isn't possible to do a good job and complete them all and so you receive evaluations low enough to make you dissatisfied								
you are evaluated by more than one coach, sponsor, or student leader and you find that in order to please one you have to displease the other								

Please continue to note how often each of the following problems happens to you when your <u>performance</u> is evaluated in the activity you listed as <u>second in importance</u>.

	Always	Almost Always	Usually	Fairly Often	Some-times	Seldom	Almost Never	Never
you are evaluated based on performances different from the way you usually perform and so you receive evaluations low enough to make you dissatisfied. For example, an important event may be held on a day when you aren't feeling well								
you are given only a limited amount of time to do something and so you receive evaluations low enough to make you dissatisfied								
you are evaluated by both sponsors or coaches and other students and find that in order to please one you have to displease the other								
you don't know that you are expected to do something until too late and so you receive evaluations low enough to make you dissatisfied								
you work hard on something and are still not able to do as well as you would like and so you receive evaluations low enough to make you dissatisfied								
you aren't challenged by the things that you are asked to do and so you receive evaluations that aren't important to you								

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we would like you to tell us how often some of these same problems arise when your <u>behavior</u> or <u>conduct</u> evaluated in this activity you listed <u>second</u> in importance. For each of the following problems, please e how often this sort of thing happens to you when your behavior is evaluated.

	Always	Almost Always	Usually	Fairly Often	Some-times	Seldom	Almost Never	Never
standards used to evaluate your behavior are much too high and so you receive evaluations low enough to make you dissatisfied								
you don't know how you are expected to behave and so you receive evaluations low enough to make you dissatisfied								
you are evaluated on behavior you had nothing to do with and so you receive evaluations low enough to make you dissatisfied								
when working in a group or team you find that although you are behaving well, others in the group are not and so you receive evaluations low enough to make you dissatisfied								
you are caught acting in a way that you usually don't act and so you receive evaluations low enough to make you dissatisfied								
you don't know about a rule for behavior and so you do something to receive evaluations low enough to make you dissatisfied								
you try hard to behave but are not able to behave as well as you would like and so you receive evaluations low enough to make you dissatisfied								
your behavior is evaluated by both sponsors or coaches and other students and you find that to please one you have to displease the other								

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For this same activity that you listed _second_ in importance, how often do you do the following things in this activity.

	Always	Almost Always	Usually	Fairly Often	Some-times	Seldom	Almost Never	Never
complain to the sponsor or coach about something you are asked to do								
skip practice sessions or meetings								
show up for the activity unprepared								
try hard to improve after you receive a poor evaluation								
complain to other students about the activity								
show up late for the activity								
try hard to improve when you are not successful								
refuse to do things that you are asked to do								
work really hard at the activity								
disturb the teacher and disrupt the activity								
wish you could skip a practice session or a meeting								
schedule another meeting or appointment as an excuse to miss a practice session or a meeting								

Section 4

THOUGHTS ABOUT YOUR SCHOOL

IN THIS SECTION WE WILL ASK YOU HOW MUCH
YOU AGREE WITH CERTAIN STATEMENTS ABOUT
YOUR SCHOOL AND HOW LIKELY YOU WOULD BE
TO DO CERTAIN THINGS AROUND THE SCHOOL.

32. Please indicate how much you agree or disagree with the following
statements about your school.

		strongly agree	agree	no opinion	disagree	strongly disagree
a.	My school has a long history of educating students in this community.					
b.	My school has very little effect on our community.					
c.	My school is unique in many ways. It is unlike other schools in the area.					
d.	My school faces stiff competition in academics from other schools in the area.					
e.	Students who graduate from my school really don't do much.					
f.	My school certainly is in no danger of being closed down.					
g.	Nothing is the same from one year to the next at my school.					

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Please continue to indicate how much you agree or disagree with the following statements about your school.

	strongly agree	agree	no opinion	disagree	strongly disagree
h. My school has very little effect on our nation.					
i. My school faces stiff competition in athletics from other schools.					
j. My school is just like every other high school					
k. My school prepares students to take important posi- tions as leaders in the community					
l. Other schools never really pose a threat to my school.					
m. My school is rather new and unsettled.					
n. My school has special programs which make it a particularly interesting place to go to school.					
o. My school faces difficul- ties from the community.					
p. My school has many tradi- tions that have been passed down from one class of stu- dents to the next.					
q. There is really nothing very special about my school.					
r. My school has positive ef- fects on all aspects of the lives of its students and on the community in general.					
s. My school prepares stu- dents to take important positions as leaders in the nation.					

33. Please indicate how willing you would be to do each of the following.

		definitely would	probably would	probably would not	definitely would not	don't know
a.	stay after school to help get the school in shape for a parents meeting. You would put up decorations and would help clean up the school.					
b.	work on a carwash on a school holiday? The money earned would be used to buy new equipment for the science department.					
c.	help sell refreshments during evening school events? The money earned would be used to buy new athletic equipment for your school.					
d.	serve as a guide on a parent's night? You would help parents find the teachers with whom the parents wanted to talk.					
e.	work on a student committee that was formed to decorate the school cafeteria? The committee would do its planning and decorating on Saturdays.					
f.	help some teachers for two nights after school put up a display of school awards in the window of a nearby shopping center?					
g.	take part in a program for new students about school activities and to show them around the school?					
h.	be one of your school's representatives at a conference of all schools in your area? At the conference you and the representatives from the other schools would discuss ways of improving your schools. The conference would meet Friday evening and all day Saturday.					

Section 5

STUDENT BEHAVIOR AND ATTITUDES

IN THIS SECTION WE WILL ASK YOU SOME QUESTIONS
ABOUT YOUR BEHAVIOR AND ATTITUDES IN SCHOOL.

34. On your last report card, what were your grades?

Academic Work (check one)	Citizenship (Check one)
_____ Mostly A	_____ Mostly O
_____ Mostly A and B	_____ Mostly O and S
_____ Mostly B	_____ Mostly S
_____ Mostly B and C	_____ Mostly S and I
_____ Mostly C	_____ Mostly I
_____ Mostly C and D	_____ Mostly I and U
_____ Mostly D and F	_____ Mostly U

35. What would you consider a <u>satisfactory</u> report card?

Academic Work (check one)	Citizenship (check one)
_____ Mostly A	_____ Mostly O
_____ Mostly A and B	_____ Mostly O and S
_____ Mostly B	_____ Mostly S
_____ Mostly B and C	_____ Mostly S and I
_____ Mostly C	_____ Mostly I
_____ Mostly C and D	_____ Mostly I and U
_____ Mostly D and F	_____ Mostly U

36. In the last <u>four weeks</u> of school how many days of school did you miss?

_____none _____1 day _____2-3 days _____4-5 days _____6-7 days _____over 7 days

37. On how many of these days listed in question #36 above were you too sick to come to school?

_____none _____1 day _____2-3 days _____4-5 days _____6-7 days _____ over 7 day

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38. How often are you late for school? (Check one.)

Every Day	Almost Every Day	Few Times A Week	Once A Week	Few Times A Month	Once A Month	Few Times A Year	Never

39. How many times have the following things happened to you this year?

	never	once	2 Times	3 Times	4 Times	5 Times	6 Times	Over 6 Times
a. been suspended								
b. given detention								
c. parents called about a problem with your behavior								
d. parents called about a problem with your academic work								
e. arrested								

40. How likely would you be to do any of the following if you knew you could get away with it?

	extremely likely	very likely	likely	it depends	unlikely	very unlikely	extremely unlikely
a. skip school							
b. cheat on a test							
c. damage school property							
d. steal							
e. take fewer courses							
f. pick easy courses							
g. avoid teachers with a tough reputation							
h. yell at a teacher							
i. pull a fire alarm							

41. What would you consider a satisfactory grade in each of your classes?

Academic Work

	A	B	C	D	F
1st Period					
2nd Period					
3rd Period					
4th Period					
5th Period					
6th Period					

Citizenship

	O	S	I	U
1st Period				
2nd Period				
3rd Period				
4th Period				
5th Period				
6th Period				

42. In a typical week how much time do you put into homework on each of your classes? (Check one for each class.)

	None	About 15 Minutes A Week	About 30 Minutes A Week	About an Hour a Week	About 2 or 3 hours A Week	About 4 or more hours A Week
1st Period						
2nd Period						
3rd Period						
4th Period						
5th Period						
6th Period						

43. When you find you aren't learning a subject, how hard do you try to do better? (Check one for each class.)

	Extremely Hard	Very Hard	Moderately Hard	Slightly Hard	Not at all Hard
1st Period					
2nd Period					
3rd Period					
4th Period					
5th Period					
6th Period					

44. How often do you come to class and find yourself unprepared, that is, without books or notebook or without your homework? (Check one for each class.)

	Almost Every Day	Few Every Day	Few Times A Week	Once A Week	Few Times A Month	Once A Month	Few Times a Year	Never
1st Period								
2nd Period								
3rd Period								
4th Period								
5th Period								
6th Period								

45. How often do you disturb the teacher and disrupt the class? (Check one for each class.)

	Almost Every Day	Few Every Day	Few Times A Week	Once A Week	Few Times A Month	Once A Month	Few Times a Year	Never
1st Period								
2nd Period								
3rd Period								
4th Period								
5th Period								
6th Period								

46. How often do you cut each of your classes? (Check one for each class.)

	Almost Every Day	Few Every Day	Few Times A Week	Once A Week	Few Times A Month	Once A Month	Few Times a Year	Never
1st Period								
2nd Period								
3rd Period								
4th Period								
5th Period								
6th Period								

47. How often would you <u>like</u> to cut each of your classes? (Check one for each class.)

	Almost Every Day	Few Times A Week	Once A Week	Few Times A Month	Once A Month	Few Times a Year	Never
1st Period							
2nd Period							
3rd Period							
4th Period							
5th Period							
6th Period							

(column headers: Every Day / Almost Every Day / Few Times A Week / Once A Week / Few Times A Month / Once A Month / Few Times a Year / Never)

48. How often do you argue with or complain to the teacher about an assignment in class? (Check one for each class.)

	Almost Every Day	Few Times A Week	Once A Week	Few Times A Month	Once A Month	Few Times a Year	Never
1st Period							
2nd Period							
3rd Period							
4th Period							
5th Period							
6th Period							

(column headers: Every Day / Almost Every Day / Few Times A Week / Once A Week / Few Times A Month / Once A Month / Few Times a Year / Never)

49. Everyone gets a poor grade sometimes. When you get a poor grade, how hard do you try to get a better grade? (Check one for each class.)

	Extremely Hard	Very Hard	Moderately Hard	Slightly Hard	Not at all Hard
1st Period					
2nd Period					
3rd Period					
4th Period					
5th Period					
6th Period					

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50. How hard do you work in each of your classes? (Check one for each class.)

	Extremely Hard	Very Hard	Moderately Hard	Slightly Hard	Not at all Hard
1st Period					
2nd Period					
3rd Period					
4th Period					
5th Period					
6th Period					

51. How often do you wish you could drop each of your classes? (Check one for each class.)

	Every Day	Almost Every Day	Few Times A Week	Once A Week	Few Times A Month	Once A Month	Few Times a Year	Never
1st Period								
2nd Period								
3rd Period								
4th Period								
5th Period								
6th Period								

52. During class time, how often do you complain about the class to other students? (Check one for each class.)

	Every Day	Almost Every Day	Few Times A Week	Once A Week	Few Times A Month	Once A Month	Few Times a Year	Never
1st Period								
2nd Period								
3rd Period								
4th Period								
5th Period								
6th Period								

53. How often do you refuse to do work in class? (Check one for each class.)

	Every Day	Almost Every Day	Few Times A Week	Once A Week	Few Times A Month	Once A Month	Few Times a Year	Never
1st Period								
2nd Period								
3rd Period								
4th Period								
5th Period								
6th Period								

54. How often does your mind wander in class? (Check one for each class.)

	Always	Almost Always	Usually	Fairly Often	Some-times	Seldom	Almost Never	Never
1st Period								
2nd Period								
3rd Period								
4th Period								
5th Period								
6th Period								

55. How often do you participate in class? (Check one for each class.)

	Every Day	Almost Every Day	Few Times A Week	Once A Week	Few Times A Month	Once A Month	Few Times a Year	Never
1st Period								
2nd Period								
3rd Period								
4th Period								
5th Period								
6th Period								

56. If you had to schedule an appointment with a doctor during school hours, how likely would you be to schedule it so that you would miss a class? (Check one for each class.)

	Extremely Likely	Very Likely	Somewhat Likely	Somewhat Unlikely	Very Unlikely	Extremely Unlikely
1st Period						
2nd Period						
3rd Period						
4th Period						
5th Period						
6th Period						

57. How often do you come to class late on purpose? (Check one for each class.)

	Almost Every Day	Few Times A Week	Once A Week	Few Times A Month	Once A Month	Few Times a Year	Never
1st Period								
2nd Period								
3rd Period								
4th Period								
5th Period								
6th Period								

58. How often are you evaluated in each of your classes? (Check one for each class.)

	Almost Every Day	Few Times A Week	Once A Week	Few Times A Month	Once A Month	Few Times a Year	Never
1st Period								
2nd Period								
3rd Period								
4th Period								
5th Period								
6th Period								

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59. Your grades may be based on how much _effort_ you put into a class and on the _results_ of your work on assignments and tests. What are your grades based on in each of your classes? (Check one for each class.)

	Totally on Effort	Mostly on Effort	Effort Counts a Bit More	Effort & Results Equally	Results Count a Bit More	Mostly on Results	Totally on Results
1st Period							
2nd Period							
3rd Period						✓	∿
4th Period							
5th Period							
6th Period							

60. How would you rate yourself as a student compared to other students in your school?

Far Above Average	Above Average	Average	Below Average	Far Below Average

61. We know that students are involved in activities in addition to those connected with school. Please list your outside activities and the number of hours you spend in these activities each week.

Outside Activity 1 _____ _____ hours per week

Outside Activity 2 _____ _____ hours per week

Outside Activity 3 _____ _____ hours per week

Outside Activity 4 _____ _____ hours per week

Outside Activity 5 _____ _____ hours per week

62. How often do you find that these outside activities interfere with your ability to do a good job on your school work so that you receive an evaluation low enough to make you dissatisfied?

Every day	Almost Every day	Few Times a Week	Once a Week	Few Times a Month	Once a Month	Few Times a Year	Never

64. Please indicate your year in high school?

_____ Freshman   _____ Sophomore   _____ Junior   _____ Senior

65. Please indicate your sex.

_____ male   _____ female

66. Please indicate your race.

_____ Asian   _____ Black   _____ Spanish   _____ White
                                      Surname

THANK YOU FOR YOUR HELP IN OUR STUDY.