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ABSTRACT

Originally presented at a 1986 conference on student discipline strategies, this collection of papers represents highlights of the conference proceedings. Each paper has since been revised and updated. An introduction by Oliver C. Moles discusses the nature, extent, and academic effects of student misbehavior. In "Classroom Management Techniques," Walter Doyle argues that order is not so much determined by the teacher's reactions to misbehavior as it is conditioned by the way teachers organize the system of classroom activities and academic work. In "School Organization, Leadership, and Student Behavior," Daniel L. Duke presents a model of how key organizational elements of schools and school leadership may affect student conduct. The paper "Courts and School Discipline Policies," by Henry S. Lufler, Jr., examines the link between court decisions and changes in school discipline practices and suggests ways that current research findings can be used to enhance the legal education of school personnel. In "Developing Effective Organizations to Reduce School Disorder," Denise C. Gottfredson discusses attempts to reduce disruptive behavior by changing school practices in ways guided by research. In the final paper, "School and Classroom Discipline Programs: How Well Do They Work?," Edmund T. Emmer and Amy Aussiker examine research on four widely used discipline programs--Assertive Discipline, Teacher Effectiveness Training, Reality Therapy, and Adlerian-based approaches. An appendix contains an annotated list of federally supported research reports on school crime and student misbehavior for the period 1977-86. (MLF)

Strategies to Reduce Student Misbehavior

Edited by Oliver C. Moles

Office of Research

Office of Educational Research and Improvement
U.S. Department of Education

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Foreword

The papers in this volume were first presented at a November 1986 conference on student discipline strategies sponsored by the Office of Research in the Office of Educational Research and Improvement, U.S. Department of Education. The conference brought together a wide range of researchers, educators, and program administrators to present and discuss papers on ways to ameliorate student discipline problems in elementary and secondary schools. The papers in this collection represent highlights of the conference proceedings. A larger set of thirteen papers from the conference will be published by the State University of New York Press in 1990.

The papers in this collection have been revised, some of them extensively, since the conference. Each reviews a broad area of practice with a focus on the related research, or discusses specific programs and practices that may be useful for educators, program developers and policymakers.

These papers represent the "best evidence" approach to summarizing and synthesizing research findings. That is, the findings selected depend on the reviewer's judgment of the strongest studies available, including unpublished works. To ensure sound judgment to the extent possible, those who wrote papers were chosen for their depth of relevant professional experience and for their reputation as thoughtful, objective analysts.

This approach differs from meta-analysis, wherein all relevant studies with a sufficient degree of methodological rigor are used to calculate the average strength of the effects of interventions or conditions (Glass, 1977). The wide range of discipline strategies considered in these papers would have been quite unwieldy, and also thin in many places, if turned into a series of quantitative summaries. Moreover, meta-analysis has been criticized for combining studies of uneven quality and different emphases (Slavin, 1984).

Given the current state of knowledge on student discipline strategies, it seemed prudent to rely on the best evidence identified by recognized scholars. As a check on the adequacy of this approach, each paper was reviewed by at least three other experts, and their recommendations considered in writing the final version of the papers which appear here.

Milton Goldberg
Director
Office of Research

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Acknowledgments

This work could not have come to fruition without the diligent and creative efforts of many persons. The conference from which these papers spring was suggested by Ronald P. Preston, former Deputy Assistant Secretary for Policy and Planning in the Office of Educational Research and Improvement, U.S. Department of Education. Chester E. Finn, Jr., former Assistant Secretary for OERI, gave valuable guidance during its development.

The conference was organized and moderated by the editor of this volume under the general guidance of Sally B. Kilgore, Director of the Office of Research in OERI at that time. Amy L. Schwartz helped plan the meeting. She, Keith Baker, and Joan Greer, all formerly of the U.S. Department of Education, led discussion groups during the conference which elucidated various issues regarding student discipline strategies.

Bringing these conference papers into print would not have been possible without the perceptive and constructive comments of anonymous reviewers commissioned by OERI, and the further revision and updating of these papers by the authors. The full set of conference papers will be published commercially.

My special thanks go to our secretaries Frances Clark and Dorothy James who carefully and cheerfully typed and reformatted numerous revisions of this material. Mark Travaglini of Information Services in OERI made very helpful editorial comments on all these papers.

CONTENTS

Introduction

Oliver C. Moles

This collection of research reviews emphasizes the influence of the social organization of schools and classrooms, and the processes of staff-student interaction on the behavior of students in schools. It also includes a paper on court decisions and school discipline practices. These areas are treated by a diverse set of scholars in order to show various ways these influences bear on issues of student discipline.

These papers were originally presented at a conference on student discipline strategies sponsored by the Office of Research in the Office of Educational Research and Improvement, U.S. Department of Education. Each paper has since been revised and updated. Together they represent highlights of the conference proceedings.

A feature of this collection is the broad range of student ages and grade levels considered; strategies applicable to both elementary and secondary school situations are discussed. The contributing educational researchers have dealt with student discipline problems in-depth professionally, and offer important insights to guide teachers, administrators, and program developers.

Several topics covered below may help orient the reader to this collection. First is a discussion of the nature, extent, and academic effects of student misbehavior. This raises several questions. Is the problem serious enough to warrant concern with strategies of amelioration? Does misbehavior affect student learning? Second, discipline strategies themselves are considered--their defining properties, some common types of strategies, and their uses. Finally, the content of each paper is outlined, and some concluding thoughts are presented about the uses of this volume and the development of discipline strategies. An appendix lists other research reports on school crime and student misbehavior supported by this agency.

Student Misbehavior

Student misconduct and how to promote better discipline in schools are serious concerns not only of educators and the public, but also of students. National studies indicate that up to a quarter of students in secondary schools fear for their safety, with more students fearful in junior high than senior high schools (Gallup, 1985; Wayne and Rubel, 1982). School staff are also apprehensive. In a national survey of public school

teachers, 11 percent in urban schools mentioned fear of student reprisal as a major limitation on teachers' ability to maintain order in their schools, whereas only small proportions of teachers feared student reprisals in suburban or rural areas (3 percent and 5 percent respectively). Almost a third (29 percent) of all teachers nationwide said they seriously considered leaving teaching on account of student misbehavior (National Center for Education Statistics, 1987).

In another national survey, secondary school principals reported an average of 10 suspensions during a school year for every 100 students, again with more in urban (18.8) than in suburban (10.9) or rural areas (6.6). Smaller schools and those with fewer low-income students had fewer suspensions (National Center for Education Statistics, 1986). In addition, many large school districts now employ a school security force.

Less serious but more widespread forms of disruptive behavior are also reported in the previously mentioned national survey of teachers (National Center for Education Statistics, 1987). In just the previous week, over half of all teachers had a student talk back to them (55 percent), pass a note or whisper (85 percent), or show up late for class (82 percent) -- behaviors which disrupt the normal flow of teaching. Student behavior was seen to interfere with their teaching at least to a moderate extent by 35-42 percent of teachers at different grade levels.

Persistent concern has also been expressed by the public. When asked what were the biggest problems facing their local schools, respondents to Gallup polls have cited discipline first almost every year back to the early 1970s. In 1986-88 discipline was second to use of drugs, itself a discipline-related problem (Gallup & Elam, 1988). When the public was asked to interpret "discipline," over half said obeying rules and regulations (Gallup, 1982). Hence, the public has a broad view of discipline, and does not think exclusively of serious incidents such as vandalism, violence, and theft.

The public's broad view of discipline is adopted in this volume also. Discipline problems may range from crimes in school committed by students or intruders, such as robbery and drug dealing, to lack of respectful behavior toward teachers and classmates. The spectrum from crimes to disrespect is discussed here. While disciplinary code infractions are much more common, both infractions and crimes represent disobeying rules and regulations. The essential difference is that crimes refer to breaking of laws, even though some school administrators treat incidents like theft and assault as disciplinary problems rather than as crimes.

Amid this somewhat bleak picture, there is some encouraging word about serious forms of student misbehavior. Using annual surveys of teachers and students, it has been possible to observe trends of theft, assault, and other crimes in schools from the

early 1970s to the mid-1980s. Except for an increase in attacks on teachers in the late 1970s, all other indicators have remained level or declined. Thefts against students showed a marked and continuous drop (Moles, 1987).

These and other data lead to the conclusion that there has been some decrease in serious disciplinary incidents from the 1970s to the 1980s (Baker, 1985; Moles, 1987). While many public school teachers (44 percent) have recently reported more disruptive classroom behavior in their schools than 5 years before (National Center for Education Statistic, 1987), this difference may be due in large part to faulty memory of events far in the past. Still, it would seem that many schools, particularly junior highs and schools in urban areas, confront unacceptably large amounts of disruptive behavior. The problem is far from solved.

Misbehavior and Achievement

It should be clear from the foregoing discussion that student misbehavior affects the learning environment of schools. Various kinds of minor disruptive behavior occur frequently. A large proportion of teachers at all grade levels believe student misbehavior interferes with their teaching. Even more over half, think it interferes with effective student learning (National Center for Education Statistics, 1987). In fact, a major tenet of the effective schools movement, based on much research, is that a safe and orderly school is necessary before learning can take place (Edmonds, 1979). The situation seems far removed from that ideal for too many schools and teachers.

Student misbehavior also discourages teachers at a time when the country is trying desperately to upgrade the quality of education, including the retention and development of highly capable teachers. Almost a third of public school teachers have considered leaving teaching because of student misbehavior (National Center for Education Statistics, 1987). Among those who had actually quit in the 5 years before 1986, 15 percent complained in one large-scale survey of discipline problems (Metropolitan Life Survey, 1986). Thus teacher turnover and the loss of good teachers due to concern for student discipline also hampers the educational mission of schools.

Individual victims are also fearful, as noted already. For both teachers and students this may lead to avoiding situations and absence from the classroom. One might also question the level of academic performance among student offenders. The correlation between juvenile delinquency and student achievement is well established, although the direction of causation has been the subject of much theory and dispute. A recent national study of high school students indicates that misbehavior predicts a drop in grades and achievement test scores, but that low grades also lead to greater misbehavior (Myers et al., 1987). Thus

causation seems to work in both directions, at least for older students. The common practice of removing students from the classroom and suspending them for serious misbehavior no doubt contributes to their lower achievement as they miss periods of instruction, and their motivation for school work diminishes.

By its effects on teachers, the school learning environment, and individual students (both victims and offenders), misbehavior can have a profound influence on student achievement. It should be clear that an improvement in student behavior could reap large benefits for learning.

Discipline Strategies

These working papers explore various strategies educators might use to maintain order and bring about student compliance with school rules and regulations. They do not systematically analyze the causes of student misbehavior. These may involve, among other factors, personal dispositions, perceptions of the future, social background, family life, and peer group influences the student brings to school (Gottfredson, 1987; Johnson, 1979). To understand them in any detail is beyond the scope of this volume. But the organization of schools and classrooms, and the interactions between students and staff can ameliorate or exacerbate student propensities toward misbehavior, and it is these manipulable features of schooling that are the subject of these papers.

Thinking of strategies as careful plans or methods to deal with student discipline problems, it is clear that strategies can vary immensely in specificity, scope, complexity, target students and behaviors, and a host of other dimensions. What strategies have in common by this view is a stated and systematic course of action based on a thoughtful analysis of existing conditions. Those conditions might include the specific kinds of misbehavior of concern, student social characteristics, school organization, climate and operation, and the larger community environment. Each condition can be important in shaping an appropriate strategy.

This broad view of strategies leads to the point made in several places that there is no one best strategy, and that successful strategies in one context cannot be expected to work automatically in another. Local conditions may simply dictate a different approach, although some approaches may be preferable to others.

Strategies may be classified in different ways, such as prevention versus intervention. Most principles of classroom management, as explained in Walter Doyle's paper, would emphasize prevention, whereas some of the packaged teacher training programs, such as Assertive Discipline discussed by Edmund Emmer

and Amy Aussiker, would stress intervention strategies, as well as prevention.

Another set of distinctions is between direct strategies designed to curb specific misbehaviors, indirect strategies aimed at presumed underlying student problems such as low achievement and non-student strategies concerned with school and classroom conditions thought to affect student conduct (such as improving teacher effectiveness).

Finally, it should be noted that none of these writers recommends suspension or expulsion of students as a general strategy for dealing with discipline problems. There are few well-designed studies of suspension. Suspension has been overused in the past, sometimes giving truants the free time they want, and applied more often against minority students than others (Garibaldi, 1979). While removing students can relieve the school of troublemakers, it shortchanges them educationally and only shifts the problem to the community, and sometimes the police.

The lack of support for suspension and expulsion does not mean that there is no role for punishment in strategies to reduce student misbehavior. On the contrary, one of the best established research findings is the link between firm, fairly administered and consistent discipline, and lower levels of discipline problems in schools (Metz, 1978; Gottfredson and Gottfredson, 1985; National Institute of Education, 1978). Knowing that misbehavior will not be tolerated and that no special exception will be granted seems an effective deterrent. Punitive responses have a place among discipline strategies, and they are discussed in the papers by Doyle, and by Emmer and Aussiker. But some authors at least implicitly raise the question of whether punishment should be considered the central means of solving discipline problems.

Thus, a number of different kinds of strategies are presented in the papers of this volume. The strategies can be classified by classroom, school, and school-community level, by emphasis on prevention or intervention, and by whether they focus on changing the student or the organization, to reiterate some of the main distinctions identified. Keeping these distinctions in mind should help the reader sort out the strategies of most interest to him or her and how they apply in specific circumstances.

Overview of the Papers

The scope of each paper is described below in the order of its appearance. Walter Doyle's paper reviews various concepts and research findings on classroom management techniques, beginning with strategies for monitoring and guiding classroom activities. He argues that order is not so much determined by the teacher's reactions to misbehavior as it is conditioned by

the way teachers organize the system of classroom activities and academic work, even from the first few days of school. Doyle also discusses the importance of classroom rules, issues in developing rules, types of misbehavior, and punishments ranging from reprimands to suspension. The paper ends by suggesting ways to use knowledge for more effective practice. The conditions for using different forms of punishments and their effects on students also are explored.

In the second paper, Daniel Duke examines the contribution of school leadership and key organizational elements of schools to maintaining student discipline. He presents a model of how these elements and school leadership may affect student conduct. In so doing, he reviews several sources of information: studies of school effectiveness, reanalyses of large data sets, survey and case study research, and studies of alternative schools. He also examines over a dozen district-sponsored evaluations of local discipline programs. Duke then relates the research findings to the needs of practitioners, and concludes that implementing effective change is very dependent on the quality of school leadership.

The paper by Henry Lufler examines the link between court decisions and changes in school discipline practices, especially the question of whether school personnel sometimes refrain from enforcing discipline rules for fear of lawsuits. He reviews key court decisions, the scant body of school law, and the role of legal and educational commentators on court decisions. The paper notes that key decisions did not open a floodgate of litigation, and argues that changes in the behavior of school personnel come more from the impact of commentaries than from the court decisions themselves. Lufler proposes various specific studies to increase our knowledge in this area, and suggests ways that current research findings can be used to enhance the legal education of school personnel.

In her paper on developing effective organizations, Denise Gottfredson discusses attempts to reduce disruptive behavior by changing school practices in ways guided by research. The first part of her paper describes a collaborative project between researchers and practitioners to design, implement, and assess school practices to reduce disorder based on an organizational development approach. This project led to changes in various areas, particularly classroom management and instruction. Other approaches with high-risk youth (a pull-out program, an alternative class, and an alternative school) are also described, along with evidence about the efficacy of each strategy. Gottfredson sees as essential for any change a solidly grounded and well-understood theory about the causes of the problems, and how strategies might be adapted to local circumstances. While it is focused on only one approach to discipline problems, this paper is included because it portrays the evolution of a program of studies by an evaluator who has worked extensively with schools and school districts.

The final paper by Emmer and Aussiker examines research, much of it unpublished, on four widely used discipline programs--Assertive Discipline, Teacher Effectiveness Training, Reality Therapy, and Adlerian-based approaches. Emmer and Aussiker look for effects on the attitudes, perceptions, and behavior of teachers and students, and find only limited support for training teachers in these programs. Some differences in effects among the programs are noted. They conclude that training in discipline programs should be viewed as supplemental to a more comprehensive approach to discipline and classroom management.

An appendix contains an annotated list of research reports on school crime and student misbehavior for the period 1977-88. Some topics in the list, such as classroom management strategies, school management and effectiveness, and student suspensions, are closely related to themes in this volume. A final section describes the extensive set of papers on delinquency, discipline, and school improvement produced by an OR-supported research center at The Johns Hopkins University, and presents a short overview of this program of studies.

Concluding Comments

This collection should be useful to social scientists and educational researchers who study school organization and improvement, school-community linkages, classroom environments, staff-student interaction, and the nature and extent of student discipline problems. A number of ideas for future research are presented in these papers.

These papers should be equally useful to educators who need to understand how specific and manipulable features of schools, classrooms and their surrounding environments affect the course of student behavior and prospects for sustained improvement in the discipline climate in schools. The information in these working papers provides many practical ideas, as well as some cautions, for trying new approaches to make schools more orderly learning environments for all students.

Many student discipline strategies, and issues in the development and application of such strategies, are presented within these pages. But which strategies are best? The answer is bound to vary by local needs and circumstances. After weighing these conditions, one might try a strategy for a sufficient period and evaluate its utility with well-designed research. In this way, the answer will come from local experience guided by the best available evidence from other settings.

One test is to see whether the strategy can change student behavior on a sustained basis without the commitment of excessive resources. Staff time and energy, retraining, equipment, and facilities costs are part of this equation. So is the need to

demonstrate that change is real and enduring. For more recalcitrant and serious discipline problems, a larger commitment of resources would be warranted.

The ideal situation is for students to become self-disciplined, following rules and regulations without the need for surveillance, so that fewer school resources are necessary. To move toward this state, organizational studies point to the need to involve a wide range of staff and students themselves in the development and implementation of school rules and school improvement programs (see Fullan, Miles & Taylor, 1980; Furtwengler, in press; and paper by Gottfredson). Other principles underlying discipline strategies could be extracted, and many good ones are set forth by these authors. But among the most important, a genuine and continued involvement of staff and students would appear necessary to win their cooperation toward reducing discipline problems.

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Classroom Management Techniques

Walter Doyle

The purpose of this chapter is to review concepts and research findings on classroom management techniques with special attention to how these techniques are related to student discipline strategies. The discussion opens with a survey of the descriptive and experimental research recently accumulated on classroom management processes, with special attention to strategies for monitoring and guiding classroom activity systems. The second section focuses on classroom rules and procedures and on common forms of classroom discipline, particularly reprimands and other techniques teachers use to sustain order. The bulk of these first two sections is drawn from an extensive and detailed analysis of research (see Doyle, 1986). In the third section, a sampling of the literature on punishment and suspension is examined in order to assess their effectiveness as discipline strategies for serious classroom disruptions. In this section, the applicability of behavior modification procedures to classroom setting is also discussed briefly. In the concluding section, the general state of research on classroom management and discipline is assessed and implications for research and practice are identified.

Because of space limitations, an exhaustive review and analysis of the relevant literature is not feasible in this chapter. The focus, therefore, is on studies that were judged to be representative of the main lines of inquiry in classroom management and to reflect the general findings in the field. Where possible, previous reviews are cited if they were judged to be sufficiently comprehensive to be reliable and to reveal broad trends in the development of knowledge. Given the state of research in this area, a quantitative synthesis of the effects of classroom management practices is not possible. Special attention is given, therefore, to conceptual coherence and consistency across studies. Finally, the emphasis throughout is on management in ordinary classrooms. No attention is given, therefore, to special management systems such as mastery learning or cooperative learning.

Classroom Activities: The Core of Management

Classrooms are crowded and busy places in which groups of students who vary in interests and abilities must be organized and directed in ways that maximize work involvement and minimize disruptions. Moreover, these groups assemble regularly for long periods of time to accomplish a wide variety of goals. Many events occur simultaneously, teachers must react often and immediately to circumstances, and the course of events is frequently unpredictable. Teaching in such settings requires a highly developed ability to manage events.

Traditionally, "misbehavior" has been the dominant theme in discussions of classroom management. This emphasis is understandable since the need for management and discipline is most apparent when students are misbehaving. Yet, order in classrooms is not a consequence of reactions to misbehavior but a condition established and sustained by the way a teacher organizes and guides a complex system of classroom activities and academic work. Moreover, the effectiveness of interventions to restore order when misbehavior occurs depends upon the existence of structures of orderliness in the first place. To understand management, therefore, it is necessary to examine what teachers do to structure and monitor classroom events before misbehavior occurs.

Classroom Activities

From an organizational perspective, the central unit of classroom order is the activity. An activity can be defined as a segment of time in which participants are arranged in a specific fashion and communication follows an identifiable pattern (see Gump, 1969). A segment of classroom time, such as a spelling test, writing lesson, or study period, can be described in terms of: its temporal boundaries or duration; the physical milieu, that is, the shape of the site in which it occurs, the number and types of participants, the arrangement of participants in the available space, and the props or objects available to participants; the behavior format or program of action for participants; and the focal content or concern of the segment.

The concept of "program of action" is key to modern understandings of classroom management and order. Each activity defines a distinctive action structure that provides direction for events and "pulls" participants along a particular path at a given pace (see Gump, 1982). In seatwork, for example, students are usually expected to work privately and independently at their desks, attend to a single information source such as a textbook or worksheet, and finish within a specified time. In whole-class discussion, on the other hand, students are expected to speak publicly and monitor information from multiple sources. To say a classroom is orderly, then, means that students are cooperating in the program of action defined by the activity a teacher is attempting to use. Misbehavior, in turn, is any action by students that threatens to disrupt the activity flow or pull the class toward an alternative program of action. If order is not defined in a particular setting, that is, if an activity system is not established and running in a classroom, no amount of discipline will create order.

Major findings from research on classroom activities, most of which has been conducted in elementary classes, can be summarized as follows (for details, see Doyle, 1986):

1. Types of activities are systematically related to thebehavior of students and thus place different classroom management demands on teachers. In a study of third-grade classes Gump (1969) found, for instance, that involvement was highest for students in teacher-led small groups and lowest for pupil presentations. Between these extremes, engagement was higher in whole-class recitation, tests, and teachers presentations than in supervised study and independent seatwork.

2. The physical characteristics of a classroom, including the density of students, the arrangement of desks, and the design of the building (open space vs. self-contained) also affect the probability of inappropriate and disruptive behavior as well as the difficulties a teacher encounters in preventing or stopping such behavior (Gump, 1982; Weinstein, 1979). In general, the more loosely structured the setting and the weaker the program of action, the higher the probability that inappropriate behavior will occur. Similarly, the greater the amount of student choice and mobility and the greater the complexity of the social scene, the greater the need for overt managing and controlling actions by the teacher (Kounin & Gump, 1974).

3. The type of work students are assigned affects classroom order (see Carter & Doyle, 1986). When academic work is routinized and familiar to students (e.g., spelling tests or recurring worksheet exercises), the flow of classroom activity is typically smooth and well ordered. When work is problem-centered, that is, students are required to interpret situations and make decisions to accomplish tasks (e.g., word problems or essays), activity flow is frequently slow and bumpy. Managing higher-order tasks requires exceptional management skill.

Establishing Classroom Activities

Recent classroom studies have shown that the level of order created during the first few days of school reliably predicts the degree of student engagement and disruption for the rest of the year (see Emmer, Evertson, & Anderson, 1980). Most studies indicate that successful classroom managers rely on three basic strategies to establish order at the beginning of the year: simplicity, familiarity, and routinization (for a summary, see Doyle, 1986). Early activities, in other words, have simple organizational structures which are typically quite familiar to students (e.g., whole-class presentations and seatwork rather than multiple small groups). The first assignments, in turn, are easy for the students to accomplish in relatively short periods of time, have clear specifications, and are run at a brisk pace.

Moreover, they are often based on work the students can be expected to have done the previous year. A significant chunk of the management task, then, is solved by selecting appropriate activities and assignments for the opening of school.

Proper selection is supplemented by routinizing the activity system for the class (see Yinger, 1980). Teachers repeat the same activity forms for the first weeks to familiarize students with standard procedures and provide opportunities to rehearse them. This routinizing of activities helps sustain classroom order by making events less susceptible to breakdowns because participants know the normal sequence of action.

Monitoring and Guiding Classroom Events

Monitoring plays a key role in establishing and maintaining classroom activities. Teachers must be aware of what is going on in a classroom and be able to attend to two or more events at the same time (see Kounin, 1970). The content of monitoring--what teachers watch when scanning a room--includes at least three dimensions. First, teachers watch groups, that is, they attend to what is happening in the entire room and how well the total activity system is going. Localized attention to individual students must be scheduled within the broader framework of the group activity. Second, teachers watch conduct or behavior, with particular attention to discrepancies from the intended program of action. This enables teachers to recognize misbehavior early, stop it before it spreads, and select the appropriate target for intervention. Third, teachers monitor the pace, rhythm, and duration of classroom events. Several studies have shown that pace, momentum, and rhythm are key factors in maintaining an activity in a classroom (Arlin, 1982; Erickson & Mohatt, 1982; Gump, 1969). Excessive delays in the flow of classroom events or abrupt shifts in direction are often associated with inappropriate or disruptive student behavior.

Obviously, situational factors influence the monitoring and guiding processes in classroom management. The more complex the arrangement of students in a class and the greater the demands on the teacher as an actor in the activity system, the more difficult monitoring and cuing become and, thus, the greater the probability of a breakdown in order.

In summary, teaching in classrooms demands an ability to predict the direction of events and make decisions rapidly. For this reason, management is fundamentally a cognitive activity based on a teacher's knowledge of the likely trajectory of events in classrooms and the way specific actions affect situations (see Carter, 1986). Specific management skills are, for all practical purposes, useless without this basic understanding of classrooms.

Rules and Reprimands: The Core of Classroom Discipline

Because classrooms are populated by groups of students assembled under crowded conditions for relatively long periods of time to accomplish specified purposes, life in these settings is governed by a variety of explicit and implicit rules and procedures (see Blumenfeld, Hamilton, Wessels, & Falkner, 1979, on elementary schools and Hargreaves, Hester, & Mellor, 1975, on secondary schools). The rule making process is especially salient in the present chapter because most incidents of misbehavior and discipline involve the violation of classroom or school rules.

The Importance of Rules

Classroom rules are usually intended to regulate forms of individual conduct that are likely to disrupt activities, cause injury, or damage school property. Thus, there are rules concerning tardiness, talking during lessons, gum chewing, fighting, bringing materials to class, and the like. In addition, there are a large number of implicit rules (e.g., patterns of turn-taking in discussions or conventions for social distance between pupils) that affect social interaction and interpersonal relationships in classrooms (see Erickson & Shultz, 1981). Finally, there is typically a set of classroom procedures, that is, approved ways of taking care of various responsibilities and privileges, such as handing in completed work, sharpening pencils, getting a drink of water, going to the restroom, or forming groups for reading or math.

Studies at the Research and Development Center for Teacher Education (Emmer, Evertson, & Anderson, 1980; Emmer, Sanford, Clements, & Martin, 1982; Emmer, Sanford, Evertson, Clements, & Martin, 1981) have indicated that effective classroom managers in elementary and junior high school classes are especially skilled in establishing rules and procedures at the beginning of the year. In elementary classes, the investigators found that nearly all teachers introduced rules and procedures on the first day of school. In classes of effective managers (selected on indicators of management processes and student achievement), however, rules and procedures were concrete and explicit and covered matters directly related to work accomplishment. In addition, effective managers deliberately taught their operating systems to the students. They clearly explained rules and procedures to students, established signals to indicate when actions were to be carried out or stopped, and spent time rehearsing procedures. In addition, effective managers anticipated possible interruptions or problems and had procedures readily available to handle these situations. Finally, effective managers monitored classes closely, stopped inappropriate behavior promptly, and continued to remind students of the rules and procedures during the first weeks of school. In contrast, less effective managers either

failed to anticipate the need for rules and procedures covering important aspects of class operation or tended to have vague and unenforceable rules (e.g., "Be in the right place at the right time"). Moreover, they neither explained their rules and procedures clearly to students nor monitored and enforced compliance. They seemed, rather, to be preoccupied with clerical tasks and disoriented by problems and interruptions.

In junior high school classes, the researchers found that all teachers presented rules and procedures at the beginning of the year, and there were few differences across teachers in the time spent on these matters. Differences were found, however, in the clarity and thoroughness of presentation and in the monitoring and enforcement of compliance. Successful managers, in contrast to their less effective colleagues, anticipated problems, communicated rules and expectations clearly, watched students closely, intervened promptly, and invoked consequences for behavior. These results were consistent with those for elementary classes, but less time was spent teaching and rehearsing rules and procedures at the junior high level.

Rule Making and Enactment Processes

Creating a rule system in a classroom is a difficult task to accomplish for at least three reasons. First, classroom rules are situational: different rules apply to different phases of lessons (see Bremme and Erickson, 1977; Hargreaves, et al., 1975). Quiet talk among peers, for example, is allowed during entry and seatwork but not during teacher presentations or recitations. Similarly, orderliness in group activities that involve speaking, listening, and turn-taking differs substantially from that required for seatwork. Second, order is "jointly constituted" by the participants in activities (see Erickson & Shultz, 1981; Sieber, 1979). That is, order is achieved with students and depends upon their willingness to follow along with the unfolding of an event. Whether or not students play an official role in defining or choosing classroom rules, they shape, through cooperation and resistance, the rules that are actually established in a particular class. Finally, teachers must balance activity management with rule enforcement. Time taken to deal publicly with rule violations distracts attention away from the main activity system. And, if rule violations are frequent, misbehavior rather than academic work can become the operating curriculum in a class. For this reason, experienced teachers tend to push ahead with activities and endeavor to make reprimands brief and private (see Carter, 1986). [This point will be discussed more fully in the following section on misbehavior and interventions.]

Research suggests that rules and procedures in classrooms must be both announced and enforced and rule making involves complex processes of interaction and the negotiation of meaning.

The implication here is that rule making cannot be easily captured in a list of directives or techniques. To be effective participants in the rule making process, teachers must understand what they are attempting to orchestrate and how situations shape actions.

Misbehavior and Interventions

The central message of modern research on classroom management is that misbehavior and actions teachers take to stop it are embedded in the activity system of a classroom. This viewpoint has implications for understanding the nature of misbehavior and the character of appropriate disciplinary strategies for classroom use.

Misbehavior. Despite popular reports of violence and crime in schools, most problems of misbehavior in classrooms are related to attention, crowd control, and getting work accomplished (see Duke, 1978). The key to understanding misbehavior in classrooms is to view what students do in terms of its consequences for the main program of activity for the class. From this perspective, misbehavior is any student act that initiates a competing vector or program for the class. Vectors perceived as misbehavior are likely to be public, that is, visible to a significant portion of the class, and contagious, that is, capable of spreading rapidly or pulling other members of the class into them. For classes in which the primary vector is weak (i.e., students are easily distracted from academic work) and actions outside the primary vector are frequent, misbehavior is likely to be common (see Felmlee & Eder, 1983; Metz, 1978).

By this definition, not every infraction of a rule is necessarily misbehavior. Talking out of turn is not misbehavior if it advances the lesson at a time when moving forward is essential. Similarly, inattention during the last few minutes of a class session will often be tolerated because the activity is coming to an end. On the other hand, consistent delays in conforming to directives can slow down activity flow and irritate a teacher (Brooks & Wagenhauser, 1980).

Interventions. McDermott (1976) has documented that students in both high and low ability groups respond almost immediately to departures from the primary program of action and begin to signal through posture and glances their awareness of "disorder." Nevertheless, the teacher is the primary custodian of order in a class and must frequently decide when and how to intervene to repair order.

In a study of third and fifth grade classes, Sieber (1976) found that interventions to stop misbehavior occurred at a rate of about 16 per hour. Despite their frequency, such interventions are inherently risky because they call attention to

potentially disruptive behavior, and, as a classroom event, they initiate a program of action that can pull a class further away from the primary vector and weaken its function in holding order in place. There is, in other words, a "ripple" effect for interventions (Kounin & Gump, 1958). Because of these risks, interventions often have a private and fleeting quality that minimizes their effect on the flow of events. Successful interventions occur early in response to misbehavior, are often quite brief, and do not invite further comment from the target student or students. Thus, teachers tend to use a variety of unobtrusive nonverbal signals (e.g., gestures, direct eye contact, and proximity) to regulate misbehavior, and the majority of spoken interventions consist of simple reprimands: "Shh," "Wait," "Stop," or "No" (Humphrey, 1979; Sieber, 1976).

Decisions to intervene are necessarily reactive and problematic. Most studies indicate that teachers decide to intervene on the basis of their knowledge of who is misbehaving, what the misbehavior is, and when it occurs (see Doyle, 1986). Hargreaves and his colleagues (1975) noted that early cues of possible misbehavior (e.g., concealment) are ambiguous and yet the teacher has little time to form a judgment and act. To reduce uncertainty, teachers classify students in terms of such factors as their persistence and their visibility in the social structure of the group.

School Discipline Strategies

Management effectiveness studies have established that successful managers plan for and invoke consequences for rule violations (see Emmer et al., 1981). In most instances, a simple reprimand or similar intervention is sufficient to correct a violation, especially in a well managed class. Indeed, teacher interventions to restore order are remarkably soft primarily because most misbehavior in classrooms is not a serious threat to order or safety and is only weakly motivated. Most students appear to misbehave to create opportunities for "goofing off" (Cusick, Martin, & Palonsky, 1976), test the boundaries of a teacher's management system (Doyle, 1979), or negotiate work requirements (Doyle & Carter, 1984). In some instances, however, serious and chronic misbehavior, such as rudeness or aggressiveness toward the teacher, consistent avoidance of work and ignoring of common rules, or fighting, occurs in elementary and secondary classrooms. In the face of these behavior problems, common classroom forms of management--activity systems and reprimands--are often ineffectual and stronger consequences are needed.

Several comprehensive discipline models have been proposed that deal in part with serious behavior problems (see Charles, 1981; Hyman, Bilus, Dennehy, Feldman, Flanagan, Lovoratano, Maital, & McDowell, 1979). In another chapter in this book,

Emmer examines these models in considerable depth. In this paper, attention is given to two forms of discipline: (a) the traditional practices of punishment and suspension; and (b) behavior modification.

Punishment and Suspension

Historically, punishment (extra work, detention, paddling) and suspension or even expulsion have been the most common techniques for handling serious behavior problems in schools (see Doyle, 1978). It appears that these practices are still used widely in American schools today (Rose, 1984). In this section, I attempt to delineate the issues and research findings related to punishment and suspension as classroom management strategies.

At an immediate level, suspension is "effective" for removing a threat to order from the classroom. Similarly, punishment can sometimes inhibit or suppress misbehavior (see O'Leary & O'Leary, 1977), although it is often difficult to administer during class time. But are suspension and punishment effective consequences to use in response to serious rule violations in classrooms? Unfortunately, very little systematic empirical research exists to answer this question (see Hapkiewicz, 1975). Rather, most of the literature on these techniques addresses legal or moral issues and, thus, either ignores or assumes efficacy. How, then, can the strategies be assessed in light of present knowledge?

Decisions about punishment and suspension need to be based on at least two considerations: for whom are they effective and what are the effects. Serious misbehavior is usually exhibited by two types of students: (a) those who are, for a variety of reasons, strongly motivated to be disruptive; or (b) those who, because of ability or inclination, do not readily engage in academic work. The latter type of students are not necessarily strongly motivated to misbehave, but they are not easily "caught" by the typical programs of action in classrooms. Clearly different decisions about the appropriateness of punishment or suspension are likely to be made depending upon which type of student is misbehaving. It is important to add that minority students are often disproportionately represented among students who are targets for punishment or suspension (see, for example, Leonard, 1984; Parents Union for Public Schools, 1982; Stevens, 1983).

The effects of punishment depend in part upon the type and consistency of the punishment used. Mild forms, such as loss of privileges, demerits, or detention can effectively communicate seriousness and a concern for civility in classrooms (see Brophy, 1983). Emmer (1984) reviewed laboratory studies by Parke and associates (Duer & Parke, 1970; Parke & Duer, 1972; Sawin & Parke, 1979) on the importance of consistency in the

administration of punishment. In these studies it was found that inconsistency in punishing young boys for hitting a doll inhibited the behavior in some subjects but increased it to an extremely high level in others. Moreover, once the response to inconsistent punishment was established, it was very difficult to change by improving consistency.

Stronger punishment, especially corporal punishment, is more controversial. Evidence indicates that corporal punishment is widely used in schools and appears to have considerable "practical" appeal for administrators and teachers (Rose, 1984). Indeed, Hyman (1981) has documented instances of school punishment that are quite extreme: hitting students with sticks, arrows, belts, and fists; cutting their hair; confining them to storerooms; withholding food; and throwing them against walls. Yet most commentators, and especially those who draw upon behavioral psychology, argue that: (a) the effects of corporal punishment are unpredictable, that is, it can actually be reinforcing because the student gains attention and status among peers; (b) corporal punishment creates resentment and hostility in the target student, thus making it more difficult to establish a working relationship in the future; and (c) severe punishment inhibits unwanted behavior but does not itself foster appropriate behavior (Brophy, 1983; Hapkiewicz, 1975; O'Leary & O'Leary, 1977). Bongiavanni (1979) reviewed evidence that frequent use of corporal punishment is associated with such undesirable consequences as increased school vandalism. He also reported preliminary results of a survey indicating that most school districts which had eliminated corporal punishment did not experience an increase in school behavior problems.

A similar argument can be made for suspension from school as a discipline strategy. Suspension is widely used (see Stevens, 1983), but there is little evidence that suspension is, by itself, educative. Indeed, suspension denies educative opportunities for precisely those students who need them the most. Moreover, suspension can be inherently rewarding, a vacation from a setting the student is likely to find aversive. Under such circumstances, little long-term effectiveness can be expected from suspension. It is frequently argued that suspension or expulsion makes a school more orderly and effective for the rest of the students who suffer from a disruptive environment. Unfortunately, little systematic research exists to support or refute this hypothesis.

Studies of suspension in Cleveland (Stevens, 1983) and Philadelphia (Parents Union for Public Schools, 1982) indicate that there is wide variation across schools in suspension rates. In the Philadelphia study it was found that schools with low suspension rates had high levels of community involvement, emphasized instruction rather than control, and had a student-centered environment. In high-rate schools, suspensions

were used as a means of bringing parents into the school and school administrators concentrated primarily on standards and control rather than instruction.

Several schools and school districts have established alternative or in-school suspension programs. In many instances these programs emphasize punishment rather than academic work or remediation of behavior problems (see Garibaldi, 1979; Short & Noblit, 1985). More elaborate programs, such as the Portland PASS program (see Leonard, 1984), which include parent and community involvement and student training in academic survival skills appear to be successful in reducing suspension rates and improving student behavior. The message of these programs is clear: for suspension to have a long-term effect on students' conduct, significant resources must be invested in dealing with the problems that led to the need for suspending a student.

Analysis of the effects of punishment and suspension suggest that these strategies are not, by themselves, educative. To be effective, they must be invoked within a clear system of rules and standards so that appropriate behavior is the essential focus.

Behavior Modification

Techniques derived from laboratory studies of contingencies of reinforcement have been researched extensively and advocated widely as discipline strategies. Controlled studies, often in special settings have indicated that behavior modification techniques are remarkably successful. Nevertheless, there has been considerable controversy surrounding this approach and questions have been raised about its practicality for classroom teachers.

Several useful studies, reviews, and collections on behavior modification techniques have appeared recently (see Brophy, 1983; Elardo, 1978; Emmer, 1984; McLaughlin, 1976; O'Leary & O'Leary, 1977; Thompson, Brassell, Persons, Tucker, & Rollins, 1974). The weight of the evidence suggests that most of the early recommendations for elaborate and complex systems of token economies, systematic contingency management, and ignoring undesirable behavior while praising desired behavior are impractical for individual classroom teachers who lack the assistance of independent observers and support personnel and who work with large groups of students in noncustodial settings. Moreover, using rewards for desired behavior or for academic performance can have deleterious effects when intrinsic motivation is moderate to high (see Leeper & Greene, 1978). Moreover, there are problems of generalizing the effects of behavior modification interventions across settings and maintaining their effects over time (see Phillips & Ray, 1980).

Attention has recently turned to systems for teaching students social skills (Cartledge & Milburn, 1978), coping strategies (Spaulding, 1983), and participation skills (Cohen, 1979) in which appropriate behaviors for classroom settings are identified and systematically taught to students. Along similar lines, some investigators have advocated that students be taught self-monitoring and self-control strategies which enable them to guide their own learning in classrooms (see Anderson & Prawat, 1983; Brophy, 1983). The emphasis, in other words, is moving toward helping students learn to cope with classroom processes rather than having teachers implement behavior modification programs in their classrooms. Such an approach would seem to be especially useful for students who do not readily participate in academic activities and are not strongly motivated to be disruptive. There is less evidence that such an approach will be successful with students who are strongly motivated to be disruptive in school.

Appraisal and Conclusion

The need for management and discipline is most apparent when order is disrupted. As a result, interventions to stop misbehavior have often been the primary focus of theory and research in classroom management. Evidence accumulated in the last two decades suggests, however, that interventions are best viewed as ways order is repaired rather than created. The quantity or quality of intervention will not predict the degree of order in a classroom unless a program of action has already been established. Moreover, stopping misbehavior involves complex decisions about the probable consequences of particular actions by particular students at specific moments in the flow of activity in a class. And, because misbehavior and a teacher's reaction to misbehavior are themselves vectors of action in a classroom, successful managers are able to insert interventions skillfully into the activity flow. They keep everyone focused, in other words, on the primary vector that sustains order in classrooms.

The research summarized in this paper clearly indicates that substantial progress has been made in identifying effective classroom management practices and delineating the knowledge structures which underlie the use of these practices in classrooms. Two important limitations of this work need to be pointed out, however. First, much of the research on classroom management has been conducted in elementary classrooms. Some junior high school and a few senior high school studies exist, particularly in research on managing academic work. Nevertheless, more needs to be known about classroom management processes and strategies at the secondary level and about differences between elementary and secondary classrooms on dimensions relevant to classroom management and order. Second, the vast majority of management studies have been conducted in

relatively "normal" or "plain vanilla" school settings. I am not aware of classroom studies that have been done in schools with serious problems of violence and crime or research that has focused on serious school disruption as a factor in achieving classroom order. Indeed, there are few studies (e.g., Metz, 1978) that have given attention to connections between classroom and school level dimensions.

More field-based research on the effects of school discipline strategies such as punishment and suspension is clearly needed. In particular, we need to know more about:

1. The effects of punishment and suspension on the students who receive them. Which students are most likely to be punished or suspended? Do these students modify their attitudes or behavior when they return to the classroom? What is the rate of "repeat" offenders?

2. The effects of punishment and suspension on classrooms and schools. Does the use of punishment or suspension "improve" classroom order and school safety? Under what circumstances? How do school discipline programs affect teachers, students, and classroom processes?

Before these questions can be answered, however, there is a need to understand more about school discipline processes themselves. How is punishment or suspension carried out? What conditions trigger a need for such actions? Existing evidence suggests that there is considerable variability between schools serving similar populations on rates of punishment and suspension and that individual schools vary across time? Why is this so? How does it happen? To gain this knowledge we need more detailed case studies of incidents in which school discipline practices are applied.

In planning research on school discipline strategies, however, at least three cautions are in order. First, one wonders how researchable many questions of school discipline are. Discipline problems are emotionally charged and surrounded by legal and moral issues. In such a climate, the disinterested manipulation of variables or passive observation of behavior is not likely to happen. Second, discipline strategies such as corporal punishment and suspension are likely to be applied to cases of serious and strongly motivated misbehavior. In such situations, the probability of success is necessarily quite low. Thus, resolving questions concerning the effectiveness of these discipline strategies is extremely difficult. Finally, one of the clear messages of modern classroom management research is that the search for specific, transportable strategies is misdirected. Classroom researchers found that the answer to management problems lies first in understanding the problem. The knowledge of most use, then, is that which empowers teachers to

interpret a situation appropriately so that whatever action is taken, whether in establishing conditions for order at the beginning of the year or in responding to misbehavior, will address the problem at hand.

In the end what is needed most are more disciplined ways of thinking about school discipline problems, ways that are consistent with emerging knowledge of how classrooms and schools work and grounded in a greater understanding of the texture of school order and disruption.

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School Organization, Leadership, and Student Behavior

Daniel L. Duke

A perennial concern for educators, student behavior has been examined and addressed from a variety of perspective. Some have dealt with behavior problems clinically, investigating the origins of dysfunctional student conduct and developing highly personalized treatments. Some have adopted instructional approaches in which students are taught how to behave appropriately and teachers are encouraged to regard good instructional practice as the first line of defense against misconduct. Some have sought to control student behavior through cooperative action involving school authorities, parents, community agencies, government programs, juvenile justice offices, and the like. Some have invested energy in providing organizational structures to reduce the likelihood of inappropriate student behavior. This paper takes an in-depth look at the last set of approaches, which henceforth will be referred to as organizational approaches to student behavior, and the leadership functions needed to implement and maintain them.

The first objective entails a review of research studies that attempt to link elements of school organizational structure with student behavior. The elements that will be addressed include the following:

- School goals--Desired outcomes targeted for special emphasis by school personnel.
- Control structure--The mechanisms by which schools ensure that organizational goals are pursued. Mechanisms include evaluation, supervision, rewards, and sanctions.
- Complexity--The degree of specialization and technical expertise required to achieve school goals.
- Centralization--The extent to which school decision making is open to participation by individuals other than school officials.
- Formalization--The extent to which the behavior of students and/or teachers in constrained by rules and regulations.
- Stratification--The distribution of status and privilege within schools.

In addition to these six basic elements of organizational structure, school climate and size will be investigated. While not a structural element per se, school climate--or school culture, as some prefer--embodies norms, expectations, and collective aspirations that are closely related to aspects of school organization. Similarly, school size--in terms of the numbers of students and employees--frequently influences the nature of school organization.

Following the review of research on school organization and student behavior, the focus shifts to leadership. Assuming that schools can be structured in ways that minimize the likelihood of inappropriate student behavior, how should school leaders proceed to create and maintain orderly environments in which teaching and learning can occur? The model which emerges from this investigation of school organization and student behavior presumes that school leaders' primary influence on student behavior is exercised indirectly through efforts to shape and define elements of school organization and climate. This model is depicted in figure 1.

Research on Leadership, School Organization, and Student Behavior

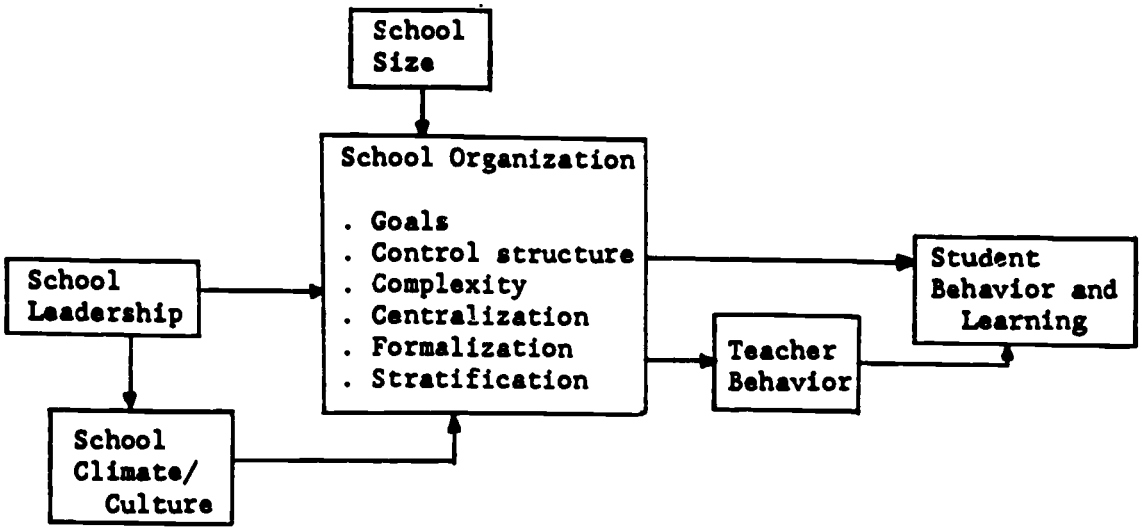
Compared to clinical and instructional approaches to student behavior, organizational approaches have not been research extensively. The only comprehensive review of organizational research related to student behavior was conducted by the author and a colleague in 1983 (Duke and Seidman). The present review covers research studies since 1983 along with important prior investigations. Studies were identified through a comprehensive ERIC search, solicitations of school district research directors, and consultation with leading authorities in the field of school discipline. To facilitate the review, studies will be organized according to focus and methodology. Categories include school effectiveness studies, reanalysis of large data sets, survey and case study research, research on alternative schools, and district-sponsored evaluation studies of local discipline programs.

School Effectiveness Studies

Undertaken to challenge the conventional wisdom that schools explain very little of the variation in student achievement, the so-called school effectiveness studies compared the characteristics of schools with relatively high and relatively low levels of student achievement. The schools tended to be urban elementary schools serving large numbers of disadvantaged students. In the wake of these studies came prescriptive syntheses, cautionary reviews, and documented efforts to implement school effectiveness findings.

FIGURE 1

A Model of School Leadership, School Organization, and Student Behavior



School effectiveness research is pertinent to the concerns of this chapter because an orderly environment has emerged from syntheses of findings as a consistent characteristic of schools with relatively high levels of student achievement (Duke, 1982; Stedman, 1985). Furthermore, many other factors associated with high student achievement represent aspects of school organization, thereby raising the possibility that orderly environment and school organization are closely related.

Effective schools tend to be characterized by such organizational factors as frequent and systematic evaluation of students, goals linked to the acquisition of basic skills, and clear rules for student conduct (Stedman, 1985). The cultures of effective schools encompass norms of collegiality among staff members and pervasive caring for students (Anderson, 1985). Student stratification is minimized as a result of efforts of utilize fluid ability grouping strategies (Stedman, 1985).

Syntheses of findings from school effectiveness research invariably have led to prescriptions for practitioners. These prescriptions consist of a variety of strategies, suggesting that improving schools is not a simple matter of one or two changes. Hundreds of school districts in the mid-1980s have rushed to implement school effectiveness recommendations, prompting a second wave of research and research reviews. The reviews have been much more cautionary in tone than the initial prescriptive syntheses. Questions have been raised about the extent to which generalizations concerning school improvement can be made from studies of urban elementary schools. Cuban (1983) warned that the criteria for determining whether schools are effective--namely student performance on standardized tests of basic skills--were too narrow. Stedman (1985) noted that researchers did not use systematic procedures to observe schools, but relied on the impressions of observers who knew, in advance, which schools were effective and ineffective.

Despite the warning, school administrators saw in the school effectiveness findings practical guidelines for school improvement. While researchers might debate the quality of data, educators still had to make daily decisions about the operation of schools. The latter could not afford to wait for the perfect school effectiveness study to be conducted. Local school effectiveness projects therefore continued to proliferate, followed by studies of implementation efforts. In one of the most detailed investigations, Purkey (1984) examined one urban district's efforts to incorporate thirteen elements of effective schools research in six high schools. For present purpose, what is intriguing about Purkey's research is not that the project failed, but that attention tended to be focused primarily on student discipline, building security, and attendance. School

improvement goals concerning academic achievement, student recognition, and the like failed to command the time and energy of school personnel. Purkey attributed this unofficial narrowing of project goals to inadequate district policies and the native belief that resolving discipline-related concerns alone would produce student achievement gains.

One study with more encouraging findings involved efforts to implement school effectiveness strategies in tow troubled Baltimore, Maryland, junior high schools (D. Gottfredson, 1986b). One Effective Schools Project was successful and led to decreased school disorder, enhanced school climate, and increased social development and perceived relevance of school. A study of the school improvement process suggests that the introduction of new classroom management and instructional strategies may require supporting organizational development, including systematic training for supervisors as well as teachers and a commitment by organization officials to minimize staff turnover. The failure of the second Effective Schools Project was attributed, in part, to a change in school leadership mid way through the intervention and the subsequent unwillingness of staff members to regard the project as more than a pilot effort.

A similarly comprehensive intervention, also under the auspices of the Center for Social Organization of Schools, took place over a 3-year period in Charleston County (SC) public schools (D. Gottfredson, 1986a). Aimed at reducing delinquency and increasing student attachment to school, Project PATHE ("Positive Acting Through Holistic Education") consisted of organizational innovations (planning and trouble-shooting teams, policy revision, curriculum development, and staff development), instructional innovations, career exploration activities, and special student services.

Since it was impossible to create a true control group, it is not known whether changes identified by researchers attributable to Project PATHE. The study does indicate, however, that disruption decreased and student attachment to school increased in project schools. Particular schools reported fewer suspensions, greater belief in school rules, decreased victimization, and less drug involvement. What the Charleston County and Baltimore studies seem to suggest is that the creation of more orderly and productive learning environments is a function of comprehensive school improvement rather than isolated innovations. Since student behavior is the result of numerous factors and conditions, no single strategy is likely to produce widespread changes in school climate.

Re-analyses

The availability of several large data bases has provided rich opportunities for researchers interested in student behavior and school organization.

In 1976 McPartland and McDill reanalyzed data collected a decade earlier from 900 principals by James Coleman and his associates. They found that school size was positively correlated to reports of the extent and seriousness of student misconduct. While the relationship was small in terms of the total variance explained, it was statistically significant. Further, the re-analysis controlled for student ability level, racial composition, and socioeconomic status. The researchers concluded that "all behavior is more visible in smaller schools and naturally subject to greater control".

A second finding related to school organization concerned student involvement in school decision making. A measurable positive impact on attitudes opposing violence and vandalism was found in schools where students played a role in deciding such things as school rules. This finding is supported by studies of alternative schools, where student involvement tends to be extensive. Research on alternative schools will be discussed later in this chapter.

The Safe School Study, commissioned by Congress and conducted by the National Institute of Education, has proved to be one of the most fertile grounds for reanalysis. It consisted of three components: a mail survey of principals in several thousand public elementary and secondary schools; an intensive study of 642 public junior and senior high schools in which thousands of students and teachers completed questionnaires; and case studies of ten schools (National Institute of Education, 1978).

Wu, Pink, Crain, and Moles (1982) used Safe School Study data to look at the relationship between suspensions and the way schools organize and operate disciplinary activities (control structure). They recognized the fact that schools differ in the degree to which discretionary authority is delegated to teachers in disciplinary matters. Using teacher responses from the Safe School Study, the researchers found that a high rate of suspension was positively correlated with a high degree of perceived administrative centralized of discipline. They went on to indicate that a high rate of suspension was not a desirable outcome or an indication of effective control structure.

To demonstrate the undesirability of a high suspension rate, the researchers constructed a Good Governance Scale made up primarily of student perceptions of school disciplinary

practices. Well-governed schools were schools that did not suspend frequently. Students in these schools perceived their principals to be firm and fair. High suspension rates appeared to be indications that less severe control mechanisms had failed.

The Gottfredsons (1979; 1985) re-analyzed part of the Safe School data and found that student victimizations in 600 schools were related to teacher confusion over how school policies were determined (coordination); the fairness and clarity of school rules as perceived by students. Lower levels of victimization were associated with effective communications, both between administrators and teachers and between teachers and students. The Gottfredsons challenged a finding of McPartland and McDill (1976) when they reported that teacher preference for student involvement in school decisionmaking was related to larger numbers of reported victimizations. Both studies were cross-sectional in nature and thus pose problems of cause and effect.

A major objective of the Gottfredsons' work was to identify organizational characteristics that help explain differences among schools in amounts of personal (teacher and student) victimization, disorder, and disruption. Characteristics found to be correlated with some form of discipline problem included school size, coordination, teacher resources, leadership, and formalization. The Gottfredsons recommend the following organizational strategies for reducing discipline problems:

- Create schools of smaller size, where "teachers have extensive responsibility for and contact with a limited number of student" and "where steps are taken to ensure adequate resources for instruction"
- Consider breaking down large schools into smaller components, such as schools-within-schools
- Encourage a high degree of cooperation between teachers and administrators
- Clarify rules, consequences for breaking rules, and disciplinary policies so that confusion is minimized
- Encourage school leadership that is firm and visible

A third target for re-analysis has been the High School and Beyond Study (Peng et al., 1981). Data were gathered from 30,000 sophomores and a similar number of seniors in 1980, with a follow-up questionnaire having been administered to both sets in 1982. Initial data analysis yielded the most extensive profile of the American high school student ever produced.

Several re-analyses of the High School and Beyond study have focused on school dropouts. Since dropping out and discipline problems are often related, these re-analyses are pertinent to the present study. Prior to leaving school, dropouts frequently become frustrated and resentful, thereby contributing to school disorder. The organizational conditions that contribute to early school departure also may influence unproductive student behavior in school. Wehlage and Rutter (1986), for example, found that "marginal students" from the High School and Beyond Study tended to perceive the effectiveness of school discipline as relatively poor. Students were even more negative about the fairness of discipline. In addition, they felt that teachers were not particularly interested in them. Natriello, Pallas, and McDill (1986) concluded from the data that smaller schools were more likely to be responsive to the needs of "marginal students." One clear message from these and other studies has been that organizational strategies for reducing the number of school dropouts also are likely to foster a climate more conducive to productive student behavior. Little support can be found for strategies that would reduce school size by making life uncomfortable for certain groups of students.

Survey and Case Study Research

While the capacity for generalization from large data bases cannot be matched by small-scale surveys and case studies, the latter often produce valuable insights into the relationships between organizational characteristics and student behavior.

Hollingsworth, Lufler, and Clune (1984) utilized an interdisciplinary approach to examine discipline in five public secondary schools in a mid-size Wisconsin city during the 1977-78 school year. Methods used to collect data included extensive non-participant observation, interviewing, surveys, and document review. Data analysis was focused on describing how control structure was linked to other elements of school organization. No systematic effort was made to draw causal inferences.

The researchers found little consensus regarding the desired goals and practices of school discipline. Enforcement of rules was "very decentralized," with teachers differing widely in perceptions of misbehavior, orientations toward punishments, and desire to be involved in discipline. Students and teachers alike believed that high achieving students were favored when disciplinary issues arose. The sanctions used by school personnel were not imposed systematically nor did they appear to be very effective. On the other hand, the researchers noted that variations in classroom management among teachers did not create problems. Little justification for uniform classroom management practices could be found.

Cheryl Perry (1980) conducted interviews and administered questionnaires in 12 California high schools in order to identify organizational and community-based correlates of student behavior problems. Student behavior problem were defined in terms of attendance, disciplinary referrals,a nd perceptions of the principal. Schools were divided into those with relatively few and those with relatively many behavior problems. High degrees of absenteeism were correlated with the existence of a school-sanctioned smoking area, programs to deal with drug use, and student uncertainty about consequences for rule-breaking. The number of disciplinary referrals was positively correlated with the percentage of students in vocational education stratification), the existence of a school-sanctioned smoking area, consistent rule-breaking. Principal judgment of the seriousness of behavior problems was positively correlated with the existence of a school-sanctioned smoking area, consistent rule enforcement by administrators, and the percentage of teachers who determined classroom rules.

As in much of the previous research, it is difficult to separate cause and effect in Perry's findings. For example, did school-sanctioned smoking areas contribute to behavior problems by providing opportunities for students to congregate under poorly supervised conditions or did smoking areas result from administrative acknowledgement that smoking by students could not be prevented? Perry's research nonetheless is noteworthy because it raises the possibility that consistent rule enforcement and teacher firmness, under certain conditions, actually may contribute to student behavior problems.

Whereas Perry spent a relatively brief time gathering data in 12 schools, Metz (1978) took over a year to conduct a field study of 2 desegregated junior high schools. She sought to understand the ways that schools as organizations addressed the "twin tasks of pursuing effectiveness and maintaining civility, safety, and order." Because students in the two schools behaved quite differently, despite being matched racially and socioeconomically, Metz was able to make some causal inferences. She identified differences in faculty culture and leadership as prime contributors to differences in behaviors at the two schools.

At Hamilton, the school with a higher level of disorder, there was no commonly accepted set of behavioral norms and expectations among faculty members. Teachers disagreed on almost everything, from how to approach children to goals for disciplinary practices. The faculty at Chauncey, the less troubled junior high, shared a common understanding of school discipline. The expected to have to work to maintain order, and they did not waste time finding people to blame for behavior problems. Students at Hamilton quickly perceived their

misconduct would not be dealt with consistently, while their counterparts at Chauncey confronted teacher unanimity about how disobedience would be handled. Metz's study is important because it indicated that classroom management should not be considered apart from school discipline. What happens in the corridors has a direct effect on behavior in classrooms. A similar point had been made earlier by Cusick (1973), in a participant-observer study of student culture in a high school. Cusick also found that the overarching commitment to order by administrators and teachers seemed to interfere with efforts to achieve academic goals and respond to student concerns.

A decade later, Cusick (1983) conducted case studies of three integrated high schools--two urban and one suburban. His basic finding was that the organizational structure of secondary schools accounted for much of the general pattern of student behavior. They key element of school structure was commitment to the goal of equal opportunity--or what Cusick termed the "egalitarian ideal." Were it not for this commitment, Cusick maintained that schools simply could dismiss unruly and unmotivated students, thereby reducing the need for a pervasive control structure. To have abandoned the egalitarian ideal, however, would be to threaten the very legitimacy of public schooling as an institution. The character of American high schools in shaped, Cusick argued, by the fact that they must make every effort to serve the needs of the disadvantaged and the uncooperative. As a result, such organizational functions as teacher evaluation, scheduling, and student activities came to be dominated by a concern for order. This concern is elevated to the level of obsession when racial tension among students is a possibility.

Crawford, Miskel, and Johnson (1980) and Duke and Meskel (1980) also conducted studies of racially mixed urban secondary schools, but their concerns differed from Cusick's. The former tried to account for the success of a school improvement project, while the latter investigated factors contributing to the persistent failure of school discipline strategies.

Faced with high rates of withdrawal, suspension, and academic failure among black students, a first-year high school principal worked with university researchers to develop an intervention program (Crawford, Miskel, and Johnson, 1980). The program consisted of various organizational strategies, including faculty agreement on a set of basic school goals, peer counseling, an independent study center, career education opportunities, and development of a school cadre. Data on implementation efforts and outcomes were collected over a 3 year period. Data analyses revealed that the rate of minority withdrawals, suspensions, and failures decreased following the intervention.

While the researches were reluctant to generalize from a single case, they were prompted to speculate on the key role of leadership in the project's success. Besides ensuring that school goals were always on the faculty's agenda, the principal coordinated the collection and analysis of survey data from students and dealt with unanticipated problems which threatened the intervention. An additional factor in the project's success was the training received by staff members. As a result of extensive staff development effort, teachers were able to deal with the increased complexity occasioned by new responsibilities (for example, student advisement and career counseling).

Duke and Meckel (1980) addressed a somewhat different concern. While involved in a large school improvement project, they noted that various efforts by school authorities to deal with truancy, class-cutting, and other attendance problems failed to have a lasting impact. Over the course of one school year they gathered data in a high school and a junior high school, noting the effects on absenteeism of such strategies as a new detention room, an independent study program for chronic truants, use of plainclothes police personnel, and a mid-year amnesty arrangement. As each new strategy was tried, absenteeism would decline for a brief period of time and then return to previous levels or higher.

In their attempt to explain the apparent failure of these strategies, the researchers identified several organizational factors. One problem was increased complexity, as represented by the proliferation of special roles associated with school discipline. Coordination became more difficult as the task of handling student attendance was spread among attendance clerks, school administrators, special security personnel, counselors, community liaisons, and detention supervisors. A second problem involved over-reliance on sanctions to produce important attendance. School personnel failed to recognize the benefits of more positive strategies, such as increased student involvement and rewards for good attendance. Some of the sanctions upon which they relied--such as suspension--hardly seemed appropriate for students whose problem was truancy! A third obstacle concerned how attendance policies were developed. Rarely were students and teachers consulted by school administrators prior to introducing a new policy. In many cases, now policies were unknown to large numbers of each group. In other cases, policies were regarded as meaningless or misguided.

In an effort to understand the school factors affecting rates of suspension, Bickel and Qualls (1980) selected four high-suspension and four low-suspension secondary schools in the Jefferson County (Kentucky) School District. Classroom observations were conducted, and questionnaires were administered to students and staff members. Data analyses indicated that

several organizational factors discriminated between the low-and high-suspension schools. Regarding leadership, administrators in low-suspension schools were more visible in and around the school. Their presence had a positive impact on staff morale and student behavior. Low-suspension schools appeared to be more positive environments, characterized by greater concern for human relations and mutual respect between faculty and students. The study is flawed, however, by the fact that observers knew that the schools differed in suspension rates before observational data were collected.

Figueira-McDonough (1986) conducted case studies of two suburban high schools in the same community in order to understand the relationship between school characteristics, discipline problems, and gender. Both schools were characterized by a high degree of academic success, a low dropout rate, and similar expenditures per student. Self-report data were obtained from a random sample of 10th graders at nine schools. From this set, a subsample of 350 students attending two suburban high schools was selected. The two schools differed markedly, however, in the frequency of minor disciplinary offenses.

In trying to account for this difference, the researcher noted that the less troubled school was characterized by greater student attachment to the school. The more troubled school was described as a more competitive environment, with academic achievement--as measured by grades--serving as the paramount goal. The singular focus on a narrow notion of academic success ensured that the experiences of many students would be unsatisfactory, a consequence that could have contributed directly to misbehavior. The less troubled school, with its more diverse opportunities for success and greater regard for the nonacademic and vocational interests of students, provided a setting in which a larger proportion of students could feel that their needs were accommodated.

Research on Alternatives

The studies referred to so far have focused on conventional public schools. Since the mid-1960s, however, alternative schools have been available in many locations for students unable to function effectively in conventional settings. Alternative schools very widely in purpose, make-up structure, and curriculum, but they share a common desire for an identity separate from conventional public schools. A small body of research on these alternatives exists and provides an opportunity to examine the impact on student behavior of different organizational structures.

In 1977-78, Duke and Perry (1978) sought to determine whether student behavior was as great a problem in a sample of eighteen California alternative high schools as it was reported to be in neighboring regular high schools. On-site observations and interviews with students and teachers revealed that student behavior was rarely a major concern in alternative schools. This finding came as a surprise, since many students in these alternatives had been forced to leave regular schools because of discipline problems. The researchers identified a variety of possible explanations for the general orderliness of the alternatives.

The small size (average enrollment was 111 students) of the alternatives was one factor. With fewer teachers, students were less likely to confront conflicting expectations. Smallness also meant teachers more could recognize and interact with a larger percentage of students. Another factor was the absence of stratification among students. With fewer students, it was less easy for cliques and in-groups to develop. Classes were not organized into homogeneous groups nor were there separate "tracks." Additional factors included a low degree of formalization (few rules and procedures), greater tolerance for certain behaviors (tardiness, smoking), substantial student involvement in school decision making, emphasis on consequences rather than punishment, and ample opportunities for conflict resolution. Students indicated that they appreciated being treated like adults.

Gold and Mann (1984) investigated three alternative high schools to determine how effectively they dealt with delinquent and disruptive students. Students attending the alternatives were compared to students at the conventional schools from which the former group had come. While the behavior of both groups improved over the course of the study, the researchers concluded that the alternative schools were more effective in utilizing social-psychological processes to reduce discipline problems. The alternatives tended to have the greatest positive impact on students who were neither overly anxious nor depressed.

In trying to account for the success of the alternatives, Gold and Mann noted that students praised the flexibility of these schools. Teachers in the alternatives were perceived to take account of the fears, moods, and needs of individual students. This finding supports a relatively low degree of formatilization, since an abundance of rules and procedures tends to limit the capacity of teachers to respond to individual differences.

The principals in the three alternative schools refrained from playing the role of disciplinarian. Leadership that symbolizes firmness and order may work with most students, but

those who are referred to alternatives often have experienced difficulty dealing with authority. For them, principals with a non-confrontative style may be more effective.

A problem with most studies of alternatives is the lack of a control group. Because the New Haven alternative school studied by Trickett, McConahay, Phillips, and Ginter (1985) had more student applicants than openings, a control group could be constituted from the non-admitted applicants who remained in conventional high schools. Modeled after Philadelphia's Parkway Program, the New Haven High School in the Community offered students individualized learning experiences with experts in the city. The school was divided into two autonomous units, each with approximately 150 students and ten 10 staff. The per pupil cost during the 2 years of the study were equal to or lower than that for students in conventional New Haven high schools.

When compared to controls, alternative school students reported greater general satisfaction with school and more cordial relations between teachers and students. Controls perceived they had less influence over school policies. Students at the High School in the Community regarded persons of other races and belief systems with less prejudice than controls. Furthermore, achievement, as measured by the Sequential Tests of Educational Progress (Educational Testing Service), was comparable for both groups.

District-Sponsored Research

A final type of research related to student behavior involves evaluation studies sponsored by local school districts. Districts frequently allocate considerable resources to efforts to improve student behavior. As a consequence, they often are expected to determine whether resources have been used responsibly. In order to review the results of district-sponsored research, requests were mailed to the directors of 108 district research and evaluation units. This list of directors was compiled by S. D. Melville of the Educational Testing Service and shared with the author by Walter Hathaway of Portland Public Schools. Directors were asked to send any studies conducted within the last five years that examined organizational approaches to student behaviors.

A total of 13 studies from 12 districts were found to involve organizational strategies or variables. Given the political environment in which district-sponsored research typically is conducted, it is likely that many of these evaluations tend to portray results in as positive a manner as possible. Caution should be used in interpreting these studies. Table 1 presents an overview of the district-sponsored studies.

Studies conducted in Akron, Atlanta, Baltimore, Jefferson County (Louisville, Kentucky), Memphis, and Winston-Salem/Forsythe County dealt with several components of school control structure, including in-school suspension, Saturday school, and after-school detention. These sanctions generally were perceived to reduce behavior problems. While Atlanta and Austin also reported positive impacts on student self-control, Akron noted that student grades were perceived to improve. Winston-Salem/Forsythe County found, however, that student attitudes did not improve appreciably. Only Akron, Austin, and Baltimore analyzed actual disciplinary referrals. The other studies relied on student, teacher, and parent perceptions.

Montgomery County, Maryland, and Oklahoma City studies investigated the desirability of school discipline plans. Such plans represent a formalization of policies related to appropriate student behavior and the consequences of misconduct. Both studies supported the continued use of school discipline plans. In neither case, however, were data gathered prior to the implementation of school discipline plans or from control schools. A study by Jefferson County (Kentucky) Public Schools found that school discipline plans for middle schools and high schools were being implemented in accordance with the leadership's Uniform Code of Student Conduct. Data were not systematically gathered, however, on the impact of these plans on student behavior.

Austin and the District of Columbia evaluated special programs designed to deal with discipline-related concerns. Austin found that a residential center providing counseling and tutoring to court-adjudicated students produced modest results in terms of attendance and academic performance. The main benefit of the School-Community Guidance Center may have been to discourage "at-risk" youngsters from dropping out of school. The District of Columbia study gave high marks to its Youth Awareness Program, a multifaceted effort to provide students with information and counseling related to drugs, and other adolescent concerns. The behavior of participants was perceived by some school personnel and parents to have improved as a result of the intervention.

Promising Organizational Strategies

Having reviewed a variety of studies in which efforts have been made to link organizational characteristics of schools to student behavior, it is now necessary to consider the relevance of this body of data for practitioners. While some of the research would not meet the most rigorous standards of good empirical investigation, it is still better in most cases than no research at all. Practitioners are required to deal with problems on a daily basis, whether or not there is high-quality data available.

Table 2 summarizes the major findings of the preceding studies in terms of the primary elements of school organization described at the beginning of the chapter. The first of these elements is school goals. Orderly school environments have been linked to a schoolwide commitment to appropriate student behavior and to a diversity of school goals reflecting the varied interests of different groups of students. Several researchers warn, however, that school discipline can become and end in itself, rather than a means to productive learning. The goal of good behavior is necessary, but not sufficient to ensure academic growth. One study pointed out that too narrow a definition of academic growth also can be counterproductive, since it limits the number of students whose needs can be well-served by the school.

Research on the impact of school control structure reflects some diversity of opinion. Several researchers, having discovered that rules and consequences are applied inconsistently, urge educators to become more consistent disciplinarians. One researcher found, though, that consistent discipline is associated with a high degree of perceived misconduct. Disagreement exists over the effectiveness of certain sanctions, particularly suspension. District-sponsored research tends to support the use of in-school suspension and detention.

Part of the confusion generated by conflicting findings could be cleared up if researchers agreed on a common conception of effective discipline. At present, some think of effectiveness in terms of creating conditions under which students who wish to learn can do so. Others judge discipline to be effective when the behavior of those who disobey rules improves. Is the purpose of school control structure to minimize the likelihood of irresponsible behavior or to maximize the likelihood of responsible behavior? The organizational strategies required to achieve one goal can differ markedly from those required to achieve the other.

Researchers acknowledge that school discipline is becoming to keep educators apprised of new strategies for handling behavior problems. One study warned, however, that the spread of specialists is not necessarily the antidote to growing complexity. More specialists can mean more coordination problems. The willingness of teachers and administrators to play active roles in discipline may be undermined by the proliferation of discipline-related support staff.

Numerous studies looked at the relationship of centralization to student behavior. A high degree of actual or perceived behavior problems is linked to apparently contradictory conditions: centralized disciplinary decision making by school

administrators; teacher determination of classroom rules; student involvement in decision making; and lack of student and teacher involvement in decision making. Researchers do not always distinguish clearly between types of disciplinary decisions, thereby making the results of this research even less illuminating. Studies are needed of schools where students and/or teachers help determine school rules, classroom rules, consequences for misconduct, disciplinary procedures, and guilt or innocence of accused rulebreakers. Is student or teacher involvement appropriate for certain types of decisions but not others? What is the impact of parental involvement in disciplinary decisionmaking?

Research on formalization supports the conclusion that student and teacher uncertainty regarding rules and policies contributes to behavior problems. There is evidence in district-sponsored studies that school discipline plans and classroom management plans help eliminate uncertainty. The experience of alternative schools, however, indicates that long lists of rules and elaborate disciplinary procedures may not be necessary to maintain order, at least in settings where teacher-student relations are open and positive and school size is small.

The relationship between student stratification and behavior has yet to be investigated systemically. One study found that disciplinary referrals were positively related to the percentages of students in vocational tracks. A study of alternative schools with relatively minor behavior problems revealed an absence of student cliques and a homogeneous grouping of students.

School culture and climate are identified by various studies as key factors in the maintenance of order. Among the important aspects of culture and climate are pervasive caring for students and staff collegiality. Small school size was found to contribute to orderly, caring environments.

In summary, what is known about the organization of orderly schools is that they are characterized by a commitment to appropriate student behavior and clear behavioral expectations for students. Rules, sanctions, and procedures are discussed, debated, and frequently formalized into school discipline and classroom management plans. To balance this emphasis on formal procedure, the climate in these organizations coveys concern for students as individuals. This concern manifests itself in a variety of ways, including efforts to involve students in school decision-making, school goals that recognize multiple forms of student achievement, and de-emphasis of homogeneous grouping.

The research to date transmits one additional message to practitioners--orderly organizations involve more than rules and punishments. Determining the exact configuration of

organizational mechanisms most likely to foster appropriate student behavior is likely to depend on a variety of factors, such as level (elementary or secondary), locale, and student body make-up. No single organizational strategy seems capable of producing safe, orderly, productive environments for all schools or even for a particular school.

The Vital Role of Leadership

It is one thing to identify the organizational characteristics of orderly schools and quite another to transform a troubled school into one in which students behave appropriately and learn what they are expected to learn. This latter task is the challenge facing many contemporary school leaders. Various studies reviewed in this chapter strongly suggest that the implementation of organizational characteristics conducive to learning is highly dependent on the quality of school leadership (Bickel and Qualls, 1980; Gold and Mann, 1984; D. Gottfredson, 1986b; Metz, 1978). School effectiveness studies, in particular, stress the vital role played by school principals in shaping productive schools. In closing, then, it is necessary to ask how are school leaders to go about the task of creating orderly schools.

Elsewhere the author has conducted an extensive review and analysis of research on effective school leadership (Duke, 1987). Seven critical leadership functions were identified:

- Teacher supervision and development
- Teacher evaluation
- Instructional management and support
- Resource management
- Quality control
- Coordination
- Troubleshooting

Supervision represents administrative efforts to monitor teacher performance, while teacher evaluation is the process by which the acceptability of teacher performance is determined (Duke, 1987, p. 104). These two functions, when performed ably, allow school leaders to hold teachers accountable for school goals and policies. In the event that particular teachers experience difficulties, school leaders may be called upon to provide opportunities for teacher professional development. Should these efforts fail, school leaders may be compelled to take disciplinary action. Teacher professional development also provides a means for helping teachers deal with increased complexity, represented by new policies, technological change, and growing student diversity.

Instructional management and support encompass the development, implementation, and enforcement of policies and procedures for dealing with predictable or recurring instructional concerns; and all efforts designed to establish and maintain school climates conductive to student and teacher growth (Duke, 1987, pp. 182-200). These functions require school leaders to see that policies are in place to ensure the attainment of school goals. Such policies may range from rules governing student conduct to regulations governing student grouping for instructional purposes. The creation of safe and productive school climates may involve keeping school facilities clean and inviting, encouraging teachers to be accessible to students, and recognizing students for achievement (Rutter, Maughan, Mortimore, and Ouston, 1979, pp. 195-196).

Resource management necessitates allocating and monitoring the use of school resources to ensure the accomplishment of school goals (Duke, 1987, pp. 204-216). The primary resources with which school leaders work are personnel, time, and learning materials. They must see that these resources are utilized equitably, thereby minimizing the negative impact of stratification on opportunities for student success.

The quality control function calls for determining the extent to which school goals are being achieved (Duke, 1987, pp. 219-234). Assuming a central goal of schools is to provide a safe environment in which student can learn, school leaders regularly must gather an analyze data on student behavior and the effectiveness of disciplinary policies. Since students who are not learning up to expectations frequently grow frustrated and exhibit inappropriate behavior, school leaders also must monitor student achievement and encourage corrective action, if they are to promote order.

The final two functions--coordination and troubleshooting--cut across all the others (Duke, 1987. pp. 236-255). Coordination encompasses activities designed to reduce the need for organizational control through better communications and internal integration. It is of little value, for example, to develop school goals and expectations pertaining to student behavior if students, staff, and parents are unaware of or unclear about them. Involving these individuals in the process by which goals and expectations are determined is one means by which school leaders can enhance coordination and increase the likelihood of compliance.

Troubleshooting entails processes and procedures designed to anticipated and minimize the impact of problems that threaten to interfere with the accomplishment of school goals. "Management by walking around" is one of the most valuable sources of troubleshooting data for school leaders. The greater their

visibility and the more accessible they are to student and staff, the more likely school leaders are to hear of concerns before they grow into major problems. The fulfillment of supervisory and quality control functions often provides important troubleshooting information.

The seven functions of school leadership provide a framework to assist administration in thinking about the implementation of organizational structures that help reduce the likelihood of student behavior problems. What have not been discussed, but what is equally critical for the creation of orderly schools, are the personal dimensions of leadership, including attributes such as judgment, sensitivity, and fairness. Ineffective schools probably are transformed into effective schools as much as a result of who leaders are and what they stand for as of their technical competence.

Table 1. Summary of recent district-sponsored studies of school discipline

District	Organizational variable	Methods	Findings
Akron Public Schools	Saturday detention	Review of referrals; staff questionnaires	Suspension rate did not change appreciably, but 96% of teachers and 69% of students felt behavior improved after referral.
Atlanta Public Schools	After-school detention; In-school suspension	Review of referrals; Teacher and student questionnaires	Detention and in-school suspension perceived by majority of teachers and students to reduce repeat offenses and encourage self-control.
Austin Independent School District	School-Community Guidance Center	Review of referrals; Analysis of student outcome data	Student attendance and school performance improved after enrollment in SCGC, but number of absences still exceeded acceptable number.

Table 1 - (continued)

	Project ASSIST (crisis classroom)	Review of referrals; Teacher questionnaires; principal interview	Number of disciplinary actions was reduced; most teachers perceived that student self-control improved.
Baltimore County Public Schools	Time-out room (in-school suspension) at one high school	Review of referrals over four years; teacher and student questionnaires	Suspension rate did not change appreciably, but 96% of teachers and 69% of students felt behavior improved after referral.
District of Columbia Public Schools	Youth Awareness Program	Review of referrals; various data collection forms; student outcome data	Student attitudes toward specific subjects improved.
Jefferson County (Louisville, KY) Public Schools	Uniform Code of Student Conduct (UCSC)	Interviews of school administrators and random selection of teachers and students in 12 randomly-selected secondary schools	Data indicated that school discipline plan conformed to the UCSC and were being implemented consistently. No data on student conduct were collected.
	In-school suspension (In-school Adjustment Program)	Teacher and student interviews; observations of in-school suspension facilities	Most teachers felt in-school suspension contributed to improved behavior by students in

Table 1 - (continued)

			general and suspended students in particular.
Memphis City (TN) Schools	In-school suspension	Student, staff and parent questionnaires at 3 high school	76% of parents indicated their children had been helped by in-school suspension. 55% of homeroom teachers perceived student behavior improved as a result of program.
Montgomery County (MD) Public Schools	School discipline plan and discipline committee	Survey of staff at randomly-selected schools	98% of schools report having a school discipline plan and discipline committee. School staff report having sufficient authority to maintain discipline. Effective elements of discipline plans include detention, referral to principal, parental contact, out-of-school suspension and in-school suspension.
Oklahoma City (OK) Public Schools	Discipline plans (based on Assertive Discipline)	Public hearings: questionnaires to all district teachers, bus	Continued use of Assertive Discipline was indicated.

Table 1 - (continued)

		drivers, and administrators	All schools should have a written school discipline plan. Every teacher should have a classroom management plan annually approved by the principal. District should provide Assertive Discipline training to all new teachers, substitutes, and bus drivers.
Winston-Salem/ Forsythe County (NC) Schools	In-school suspension; Classrooms for Development and Change	Questionnaires given to students, parents and schools staff	Student attitudes were not positively affected. Parents valued the instructional benefits of in-school suspension. Staff members preferred in-school suspension. Total number of out-of-school suspensions declined.

Table 2. Summary of studies of school organization and student behavior

Organizational variable	Study	Finding
School goals	Various "school effectiveness" studies	An "academic focus" is associated with an orderly school environment.
	Cusick (1973)	School commitment to maintenance of order interferes with academic and other goals.
	Cusick (1983)	School commitment to equal opportunity forces schools to concentrate on maintaining order.
	Figueira-McDonough (1986)	Diverse school goals that acknowledge a wide range of student academic and non-academic needs are associated with lower frequency of discipline problems.
Control structure	Wehlage and Rutter (1986)	School discipline perceived by marginal students to be ineffective and unfair.
	Perry (1980)	Consistent rule enforcement by administrators correlated with high degree of perceived behavior problems.
	Duke and Meckel (1980)	Suspending students with attendance problems fails to have a positive impact. Detention also is an ineffective sanction.

Table 2 - (continued)

Control structure (continued)	Hollingsworth, Lufler, and Clune (1984)	Sanctions for misbehavior are not applied systematically, and they do not appear to be very effective.
	Duke and Perry (1978)	Relatively orderly alternative schools stress consequences rather than punishment.
	Studies by Atlanta, Austin, Memphis, Baltimore, Jefferson County, Winston-Salem/ Forsythe County	In-school suspension and student detention can be effective sanctions and can lead to reduced behavior problems, improved self-control, and higher grades.
Complexity	Crawford, Miskel, and Johnson (1980)	Staff development helps school personnel deal with new roles involved in a program to assist minority students.
	Duke and Meckel (1980)	Proliferation of disciplinary specialists increases coordination problems and reduces accountability.
Centralization	Wu, Pink, Crain, and Moles (1982)	High degree of administrative centralization of discipline is correlated with high rate of suspension.
	McPartland and McDill (1976)	Student involvement in school decision-making is positively related to attitudes opposing violence and vandalism.

Table 2 - (continued)

Centralization (continued)	Gottfredson and Daiger (1979)	Teacher preference for student involvement in decision-making is associated with higher levels of victimization.
	Perry (1980)	Teacher determination of class rules is correlated with high degree of perceived behavior problems.
	Duke and Meckel (1980)	Lack of student and teacher involvement in making attendance policies is related to failure of strategies to reduce absenteeism.
	Hollingsworth, Lufler, and Clune (1984)	Lack of uniformity in classroom management practices among teachers was not found to be a problem.
	Duke and Perry (1978)	Relatively orderly alternative schools involve students in decision-making and conflict resolution.
Formalization	Gottfredson and Daiger (1979)	Student victimizations related to teacher confusion over school policies and student uncertainty regarding rules.
	Perry (1980)	Student uncertainty about consequences for rule-breaking are correlated with absenteeism and disciplinary referrals.
	Duke and Perry (1978)	Relatively orderly alternative schools have few formal rules.

Table 2 - (continued)

Formalization (continued)	Gold and Mann (1984)	Alternative schools are perceived by students to be more flexible and responsive to individual differences.
	Studies by Montgomery County (MD) and Oklahoma City School systems.	School discipline plans are perceived to contribute to orderly schools.
Stratification	Perry (1980)	High percentage of students in vocational education is correlated with large number of disciplinary referrals.
	Duke and Perry (1985)	Relatively orderly alternative schools have few student cliques and virtually no homogeneously grouped classes or "tracks."
Culture and climate	Anderson (1985)	Effective schools are more likely to be characterized by pervasive caring for students and collegiality among staff members.
	D. Gottfredson (1986a, 1986b)	Improved school climate is linked to staff training in classroom management and cooperative learning, curriculum development, community support, parental involvement, and stable leadership.
	Wehlage and Rutter (1986)	Marginal students perceive that teachers are not interested in them.

Table 2 - (continued)

Culture and climate (continued)	Metz (1978)	Faculty culture -- including expectations for students and norms for discipline -- influences student behavior.
	Bickel and Qualls (1980)	Positive school climate is associated with lower rate of suspensions.
	Trickett et al., (1985)	Alternative high school is associated with greater student satisfaction with school, greater perceived influence over policies, and lower levels of prejudice.
School Size	Gottfredson (1985)	Small school size is correlated with lower rate of victimization.
	McPartland and McDill (1976)	School size is positively correlated with reports of serious discipline problems.
	Duke and Perry (1978)	Small size of alternative schools permits teachers to get to know students and minimizes likelihood of conflicting expectations.

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Courts and School Discipline Policies

Henry S. Lufler, Jr.

This paper examines what we know about the link between court decisions and changing school discipline practices.* Little research has directly addressed this question, though the preponderance of academic commentary, as distinct from research findings, suggests that school personnel enforce discipline rules less than they did in earlier times, in part because of the threat that someone will file suit. Because of the lack of research looking at this important question, this paper also proposes a variety of studies to supplement our knowledge in this area. The paper's final section contains suggestions on ways that existing research findings can be used to improve the ongoing legal education of school personnel.

At the outset, the paper reviews the literature, mostly from the field of political science, that has looked at the impact of education decisions. This literature yields a variety of testable hypotheses useful to contemporary impact researchers and to those debating the appropriate role of courts.

Traditional Impact Studies

Research projects studying the impact of U.S. Supreme Court education decisions were conducted in the 1960s. Made possible by substantial grants, these studies had a methodological complexity not seen in the last 10 years. This research offers evidence that the key to changed behavior lies not so much in what court decisions have said as in how they have been interpreted by school personnel.

Local interpretations are derived from legal and education commentators who filter information from courts to education practitioners. To the extent that these intermediaries are overly pessimistic about future court intervention in education, it can be argued that these commentators have caused school personnel to become overly cautious when dealing with discipline and other issues. This paper, then, will suggest that the contention by some educators that courts have too much to do with schools is, in part, a self-imposed phenomenon.

Note:* The author assumes the responsibility for any errors and omissions in this paper. Helpful comments on an earlier draft were received from James A. Rapp, Ivan B. Gluckman, Oliver C. Moles, Robert A. Kohl, Amy L. Schwartz, Perry A. Zirkel, Michael W. Apple, and Michael R. Olneck. Ann K. Wallace made helpful editorial suggestions and Claire A. Shaffer supervised the manuscript preparation.

In today's discussions about the impact of courts on discipline or other education issues, little reference is made to early judicial impact studies conducted by political scientists and sociologists. Most earlier studies focused on the impact of Supreme Court decisions concerning three topics, two involving education: school prayer and school desegregation. The third area focused on the rights of criminal defendants, such as the impact of Miranda v. Arizona[1] on the behavior of police and prosecutors.

This impact research began with the simple, testable proposition that Supreme Court decisions in these controversial areas might be ignored or evaded. As is often the case with new lines of research, research questions became much more complicated when social scientists discovered that there were shades of compliance or noncompliance and that many individuals whose behavior was expected to change, such as police officers or principals, had no idea what the Supreme Court actually had said about the matter at hand.

Early impact research determined that numerous variables, such as the nature of the decision and the parties at whom it was directed, affected short-term compliance.[2] It was also learned that educators had an incomplete understanding of what was required by the school prayer[3] and other Supreme Court education decisions of the 1960s.[4] Compliance with decisions, especially in the short run, was found to depend in large measure on the activities of third-party groups, such as civil liberties associations, which worked to see that distant court decisions were complied with locally.[5] Such groups also played a key role in transmitting information about the content of decisions, as

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1. 384 U.S. 436 (1966).

2. See Stephen Wasby, The impact of the United States Supreme Court, (Homewood, Ill: Dorsey Press, 1970) and, generally, Theodore Becker and Malcolm Feeley, eds., The impact of Supreme Court decisions (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973).

3. Engel v. Vitale, 370 U.S. 421 (1962) (school prayer); Abington School District v. Schempp, 374 U.S. 203 (1963) (Bible verses read at the beginning of the school day).

4. See Kenneth Dolbeare, The public views the Supreme court, in Herbert Jacob, ed. Law, politics, and the federal courts (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1967); Thomas Barth, perception and acceptance of Supreme Court decisions at the state and local levels, 17 Journal of Public Law 308 (1968).

5. See, for example, Stuart Scheingold, The politics of rights (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974).

few individuals read Supreme Court decisions and fewer still presume to understand their local impact. It was in the 1960s, then, that the role of intermediaries in shaping local responses was first studied.

Researchers found that some administrators who understood the content of decisions decided to avoid changing their behavior until told to do so by school boards or until threatened with lawsuits. Others, however, moved to comply with instructions to end school prayer or Bible readings shortly after a Supreme Court ruling. Resistance to or acceptance of the early prayer decisions was found to be related to geographic region. Dolbeare and Hammond, for example, surveyed elementary school teachers and found that, before 1962, 87 percent of the teachers in the South, and 93 percent of the teachers in the East had morning prayers. Two years after the prayer decision, the figure had fallen to 11 percent in the East but only to 64 percent in the South.[6] Resistance or compliance also was found to be related to the actions taken in neighboring school districts and to an individual administrator's respect for the Court as an institution. Researchers hypothesized that resistance to Supreme Court prayer decisions in the South was related to a lower level of respect for the Court and to a pattern of resistance seen in desegregation cases.

Two key variables were found to be helpful in predicting local response to the school prayer decisions--the personal attitudes of school administrators and the role of community elites in deciding how to respond. Frank Sorauf, after studying all 67 cases involving church-state separation decided between 1951 and 1971 in Federal and State high courts, found that personal attitudes were the key factor in determining compliance once a school district lost a court decision.[7] Community elites, such as school board members, also played a significant part in determining whether their school district would comply in places when it was not a direct party to the litigation.[8]

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6. Kenneth Dolbeare and Phillip Hammond, The school prayer decisions: From court policy to local practice (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1971), p. 32.

7. Frank Sorauf, The wall of separation (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976).

8. See Henry Rodgers, Jr., and Charles Bullock III, Coercion to compliance (Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath, 1976).

The early impact studies, taken as a group, led to a number of findings useful in today's debate on the role of the courts in discipline or other educational practices. Some of these conclusions, which could be hypotheses for further study, are the following:

1. decisions requiring changed behavior in large bureaucracies, such as school systems or police departments, require active support from administrators if compliance is to occur;

2. compliance is easiest to obtain if changed behavior is required of only a few actors in a bureaucracy;

3. State and local school boards and community political elites help determine which court rulings will be followed;

4. local compliance to a Supreme Court ruling is more likely to occur if a local group demands its implementation;

5. intermediary organizations, such as national teacher unions, associations of school boards, administrators and legal groups, transmit the content of court decisions;

6. information about court decisions often is garbled and misinterpreted when it is absorbed at the local level, especially when the message is received by those not having a direct responsibility to comply;

7. the behavior of individuals in large, bureaucratic organizations may change as the result of misperceptions of legal requirements;

8. positive attitudes about the Supreme Court, or courts in general, increase the likelihood of individual compliance, while negative attitudes more likely result in resistance;[9]

9. individuals are more likely to comply with decisions with which they agree;

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9. See William K. Muir, Jr., Prayer in the public schools, law and attitude change (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967).

10. administrators in large organizations may use the court decisions as the justification for establishing new policies or prccedures actually unrelated to the decision;[10] and

11. social groups may use a court decision in one area to push for changes in other unrelated areas (e.g., the generally unsuccessful attempt to link desegregation and the suspension of minority students).[11]

Compared to recent education research on the law that has focused on legal knowledge, employing true-false quizzes about the content of court rulings, or mail surveys about perceived court impact, these early impact studies had a methodological richness that far surpasses current efforts. They also were more substantially funded, making it possible to conduct surveys combined with on-site data acquisition and observations. There was a former willingness, as well, to gather data through in-depth case studies in a single location.

It is important to note that more recent research on courts and schools has addressed a larger question untouched in earlier studies--the cumulative impact of all education cases. A key issue today is the increased control of school operations by administrative rules and legal decisions generally, rather than the impact of single cases.

The Content of Contemporary Education Decisions

Early impact research employed relatively simple measures of compliance, such as whether defendants were read their rights or whether schools began the day with a prayer. Today, however, we are interested in studying the impact of more complex decisions, or the effect of groups of decisions within unsettled areas of the law. Contemporary cases involving religion in the public schools illustrate this point. Early research asked whether or not schools still had Bible readings or prayers. Today's cases involving religion in schools focus on such issues as holiday observances, after-school prayer groups, or invocations before ceremonies. Case law in these areas is still unsettled, with conflicting decisions as yet unaddressed by the Supreme Court. Lower-court decisions in these cases, however, still have both a direct and indirect effect on school policies.

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10. See, for example, Larry Cuban, Hobson v. Hansen: A study in organizational response, 2 Educational Administration Quarterly 15 (1975).

11. For an example of this, see David Bennett, The impact of court ordered desegregation: A defendant's view, Schools and the courts (Eugene, OR: ERIC Clearinghose on Educational Management, 1979).

Assessment of compliance or the impact of decisions is made more complicated by such decisions as Tinker v. Des Moines,[12] Wood v. Strickland,[13] or Goss v. Lopez.[14] While Tinker applies to a constitutional right of free expression, the nondisruptive wearing of a protest armband, it is impossible to survey principals with regard to compliance. Tinker, after all, is more than a case about armbands; it establishes the principle that students do not "shed their constitutional rights at the schoolhouse door." There is a great distance, however, between saying that students have a limited right to free expression in school and determining what the boundaries of that right might be. It therefore is no surprise that one legal commentator referred to Tinker as marking "the emergence of school law as a discipline."[15] Legions of school lawyers and academic professionals have made careers out of advising schools on a reasonable interpretation of cases like Tinker, and in following and reporting on lower court decisions as judges wrestled with the same question.

Wood v. Strickland, held that school officials may be liable for denying students their constitutional rights, but does not and could not elaborate what those rights might be or what would constitute a "denial." The case was made even more difficult by the conclusion that school officials would be liable for damages for the denial of constitutional rights, even if they "should have known" those rights but did not. It is helpful to remember that the earlier studies on impact found that compliance was most likely if a court directive spoke clearly about intended behavior.

Goss v. Lopez found that students had property and reputational rights that must be protected in even a short suspension from school. Therefore, the Supreme Court required schools to conduct a brief "hearing" before a suspension. The Court reasoned that students would be less likely to be suspended erroneously if principals gave the student a chance to learn why the suspension was occurring and to tell his or her side of the story. As will be detailed below, calling this brief exchange between the principal and student a "hearing" caused numerous educators to wonder how much due process might be extended to students in other school-student exchanges.

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12. Tinker v. Des Moines Independent Community School District, 393 U.S. 503 (1969); see also Bethel v. Fraser, 478 U.S. 675 (1986) regarding free speech at a student assembly.

13. 420 U.S. 308 (1975).

14. 419 U.S. 563 (1975).

15. Thomas Flygare, Is Tinker dead?, 68 Kappan 2 (October (1986), p. 165.

A number of important Supreme Court education decisions in the 1970s, then, created constitutional rights without offering clear signals as to how those rights might be defined or where the Supreme Court was leading. This opens up a question only touched on in contemporary research. "Legal uncertainty," and its impact on school operations, remains a fruitful topic. One study, for example, found that teachers felt they engaged in less discipline of students than they used to because they thought that courts had gone further in advancing student rights than was actually the case.[16] In case law areas where decisions conflict or the law is unsettled, the role of school law "experts" in offering interpretations became more important.

The Role of Commentators and Local Responses

Following Tinker, Wood, and Goss, there was no shortage of predictions by commentators, discussing where court decisions might lead, or decrying the unhappy state of affairs that necessitated the speculation in the first place. This created what now should be seen as a new impact research question, the effect of legal commentators on the behavior of school personnel. Commentators not only wrote about a particular decision but, using crystal balls of varying clarity, also predicted future decisions based on the case they described.

The cases that commentators discussed had the greatest impact on school administrators, requiring, for example, that principals give students a pre-suspension hearing. In addition, commentaries had an impact on the way teachers behaved, even though teacher behavior was not the subject of the court decisions. This phenomenon created a new level of impact analysis, the study of the secondary or unintended consequences of court decisions. It is important to remember, then, that there is a difference between studies of compliance with education court decisions, generally focusing on administrators, and studies of the impact or aftermath of decisions, which is a much broader question.

Writers in legal publications also used cases like Goss to debate larger issues, such as the appropriate role of the judiciary in hearing public school cases. Some argued, for example, that Goss was an unnecessary intrusion into the operation of educational institutions.[17] In a similar vein, courts

16. Henry Lufler, Jr., Unintended impact of Supreme Court school discipline decisions, M. A. McGhehey, ed., Comtemporary legal issues in education (Topeka: National Organization on Legal Problems of Education, 1979).

17. See. for example J. Harvey Wilkinson III, Goss v. Lopez: The Supreme Court as school superintendent, P. Kurland, ed., 1975 Supreme Court Review (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976).

were seen as an ineffective vehicle for bringing about social change in large-scale social organizations, such as schools.[18] It was even suggested that courts had a finite degree of public acceptance and that the ability of courts to bring about social change was limited. Under this theory, courts have political capital that must be expended carefully.[19] Finally, some wrote about what future cases might look like if the decisions in Goss or other cases were extended to other school practices.[20]

Educators writing in publications distributed to administrators and teachers also wrote about these decisions. They generally adopted the philosophical perspective that courts had gone too far in regulating the in-school behavior of education professionals. They also argued that courts were likely to go further.[21]

While many commentators had predicted that Goss and similar cases would open a floodgate of litigation, leading to a further intrusion into school administration, this did not, in fact, occur. A number of post-Goss cases involving due process were heard by lower courts, but these generally resulted in rulings favoring no expansion of hearing rights.[22] In addition, the Supreme Court itself limited Goss by ruling that only nominal

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18. Donald Horowitz, The courts and social policies (Washington: The Brookings Institution, 1977).

19. See, generally, the arguments in Fred Graham, The self-inflicted wound (New York: Macmillan, 1970).

20. David Kirp, Proceduralism and bureaucracy: Due process in the school setting, 28 Stanford Law Review 841 (1976); Mark Yudof, Procedural fairness and substantive justice: Due process, bureaucracy, and the public schools, Jane Newitt, ed., Future trends in education policy (Lexington: D.C. Health, 1979); William Hazard, The law and schooling: Some observations and questions, 8 Education and Urban Society 433 (1976).

21. See, for example, M. Chester Nolte, The Supreme Court's new rules for due process and how (somehow) schools must make them work, American School Board Journal, March, 1975, p. 47. Nolte followed this piece with How to survive the Supreme Court's momentous new strictures on school people, American School Board Journal, May, 1975, p. 51. See also W. Richard Brothers, Procedural due process: What is it?, NASSP Bulletin, March, 1975, p. 1.

22. See the analysis in Henry Lufler, Jr., Past court cases and future school discipline, 14 Education and Urban Society 2 (1982), pp. 175-77.

damages would be available to suspended students who had not received a hearing, absent any proof of actual injury.[23] Likewise, the Court ruled that corporal punishment, even in a case where injury had resulted, was not cruel and unusual punishment in violation of the eighth amendment, nor was a hearing of any sort required before its imposition.[24]

Awareness of decisions that regulate school administrator autonomy, however, seemed to travel more quickly than information about cases that did not.[25] In general, the alarmist arguments about an overaggressive judiciary, common in the 1970s, received greater attention at national school conventions and in the popular press than the news about decisions that supported school personnel. More recently, however, there have been some exceptions to this observation, with pieces bearing this positive theme appearing in popular publications.[26]

The nature of some of the Supreme Court education decisions in the late 1960s and early- to mid-1970s, then, led to two related phenomena. First, the role of legal commentators in exploring and interpreting complex decisions became more crucial. For better or worse, commentators began to suggest where the courts were headed, often offering disquieting predictions. Second, from a research perspective, it became more difficult to design judicial impact studies because what needed to be studied could not be addressed effectively by the simple compliance study methodology used in earlier research. "Impact" became a broader concept and one more difficult to limit for analysis.

The Litigation Explosion

At the same time that writers were discussing the increased number of court cases directed at public schools, there was a

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23. Carey v. Piphus, 435 U.S. 247 (1978). See also Smalling v. Epperson, 438 U.S. 948 (1978).

24. Ingraham v. Wright, 430 U.S. 651 (1977).

25. See Ellen Jane Hollingsworth, Henry Lufler, Jr. and William Clune III, School discipline: Order and autonomy (New York: Praeger, 1984), especially Chapter 5; see also, generally, Classroom discipline, testimony before the Senate Subcommittee on Education, Arts and Humanities, Senate Hearing 98-820 (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1984).

26. Julius Menacker, The courts are not killing our children, 67 Public Interest 131 (Spring 1982); Ivan Gluckman and Perry Zirkel, It's the law: Is the proverbial pendulum swinging? NASSP Bulletin (September, 1983); Larry Bartlett, Legal responsibilities of students: Study shows school officials also win court decisions, NASSP Bulletin (March, 1985).

general discussion in the popular and academic press concerning there was a general discussion in the popular and academic press concerning the "litigation explosion" that was occurring in all areas of the law.[27] It was argued that many aspects of society were moving toward overregulation by the judiciary[28] and that the use of the courts to resolve disputes threatened traditional modes of political and social discourse. Both Time, in 1963, and Newsweek, in 1973, established "Law" feature sections, and the filing of cases involving such issues as educational malpractice and even "malparenting" was popularly reported.

While the discussion of unusual education cases proceeded in the popular press, school lawyers and administrators meeting in conventions also discussed such cases as a challenge to National Honor Society selection practices, attempts by students to secure advanced places in the school band, and other litigation with unusual fact situations. Professional education groups began offering liability insurance to their members, further contributing to the feeling that lawsuits were an immediate threat to educational professionals.

Unusual education cases were widely publicized, but what was heard less often, especially in popular publications, was information on final outcomes. That the plaintiffs in novel cases invariably were unsuccessful was less well publicized than that the cases were filed in the first place. This point seems to apply most to popular newsmagazines, such as Time, or to daily newspapers, and less so to journals, such as the Kappan, that describe decisions themselves.

What also went largely unchallenged during this debate was the assumption that increased litigation was a permanent state of affairs. One critic of the litigation "explosion" literature observed, "[a]ppearing in prominent law reviews, publications in which, notwithstanding their prestige, there is no scrutiny for substantive as opposed to formal accuracy, these polemics were quickly taken as authority for what they asserted."[29] At the very least, the contours of increasing litigation needed to be studied.

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27. Michael Fleming, Court survival in the litigation explosion, 54 Judicature 109 (1970).

28. Nathan Glazer, Towards an imperial judiciary, 41 The Public Interest 104 (1975).

29. Marc Galanter, Reading the landscape of disputes: What we know and don't know (and think we know) about our allegedly contentious and litigious society, 31 UCLA Law Review 4, 62 (1983). See also, Marc Galanter, The day after the litigation explosion, 46 Maryland Law Review 1, 3 (1986).

Though the increasing number of lawyers as a proportion of the population leads to the suggestion that they may be increasing marginal or frivolous lawsuits to advance their practices, it is less clear that the increasing number of attorneys actually had resulted in a proportional increase in litigation.[30] The number of court cases filed per thousand people has increased only in some jurisdictions, including Federal district courts, but the number going to trial per cases filed apparently has diminished.[31] It may therefore be useful to view lawyers as participating in "supervised bargaining," rather than as agents who seek a resolution of issues in courts.[32] Studies examining the impact of courts on schools therefore need to expand their research agenda to include a larger focus--the impact of the legal profession as one group that bargains on behalf of students.

Regardless of whether attorneys actually file suit, school officials increasingly reported in the 1970s that they worried about litigation. Threats of lawsuit, often made by parents having little understanding of the probability of prevailing with such challenges, combined with uncertainty about the actual content of education decisions to make life more complicated for school teachers and administrators.

Research conducted in the 1970s focused on the narrow question of legal knowledge. The surveys, however, did not seek to measure the consequences of a lack of knowledge or of the fear of litigation. Nor did research in this period consider the broader question of how the law was used in bargaining to obtain changes in behavior from school personnel.

Surveys on School Law Knowledge

Research in the 1960s on the impact of courts found that the public did not have a particularly clear understanding of the

30. The number of attorneys doubled in number in the United States between 1960 and 1980. See David Clark, Adjudication to administration: A statistical analysis of federal district courts in the twentieth century, 55 Southern California Law Review 65, 94 (1981).

31. Joel Grossman and Austin Sarat, Litigation in the federal courts: A comparative perspective, 9 Law and Society Review 321, 325 (1975).

32. See, for example, Richard Lampert, Exploring changes in the "dispute settlement function" of trial courts, 13 Law and Society Review 91 (1978). For encouragement to use informal dispute resolution rather than lawsuits, see Perry A. Zirkel, The minor suit award, 66 Phi Delta Kappan 8, 576 (April, 1985).

areas in which the Supreme Court had rendered major decisions.[33] Perry Zirkel, the leader of the education law survey movement in the 1970s, again found a low level of awareness with regard to the content of major education court cases.[34] Of the 20 questions he asked concerning Supreme Court decisions, the average teacher respondent answered 10 correctly.

Other research, conducted in 1977, found that more than half of the teachers in six Wisconsin schools believed that students had more rights than courts actually had conveyed. For example, 53 percent of those surveyed believed that students had the right to legal counsel before being suspended. It is not surprising, therefore, that 45 percent of the teachers thought that "too much interference from courts" was an important cause of discipline problems.[35] The same study found that the students responsible for most of the schools' discipline problems, the 10 percent of the student body responsible for 90 percent of the rule infractions, also believed that the courts had gone further in protecting them than was actually the case.

A study of 125 Chicago area school teachers, published in 1984, found that having had a school law course increased correct response percentages, but that significant percentages of respondents did not know the provisions of state law and the basic elements of court decisions.[36] In another questionnaire study concerning 10 Supreme Court decisions, researchers found that administrators generally were better informed than teachers, but that the results for both groups were "disappointing."[37]

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33. See John Kessel, Public perception of the Supreme Court, 10 Midwest Journal of Political Science 167 (1966).

34. Perry Zirkel, A checklist based on Supreme Court decisions affecting education, 7 School Law Journal 2 (1977); findings reported in A test on Supreme Court decisions affecting education, 59 Kappan 521 (1978).

35. Hollingsworth, Lufler and Clune, supra, pp. 124-25. Disagreement on the role of the courts in school cases reflects the philosophical positions of teachers on the basic question of student rights. For a discussion of such differences among counselors and administrators, see James Schwab, The perceptions of Pennsylvania principals and counselors on the issue of student rights, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Walden University, 1979.

36. Earl Ogletree and Willie Garrett, Teachers' knowledge of school law, 6 Chicago Principals Reporter (Spring 1984).

37. Julius Menacker and Ernest Pascarella, How aware are educators of Supreme Court decisions that affect them, 64 Kappan 424 (1983).

A much more involved "Survey of Children's Legal Rights" was administered to university sophomores, seniors and practicing teachers. The authors found that "teachers and education students alike appear to have only a limited knowledge of children's legal rights."[38] The respondents did better in some areas (exclusionary discipline, juvenile criminal rights and school attendance) and less well in others (child abuse, special education and corporal punishment). It is important to note that teachers did better in understanding the law in areas where they might be expected to have more personal responsibility and less well in areas where administrators or specialized education personnel, such as counselors, might be expected to take the lead. A failure to match case content with typical job responsibilities is a shortcoming in much of this survey research.

Research conducted in 15 Indiana high schools in 1981 found that 71 percent of the principals, but only 30 percent of teachers and counselors, were able to list all the rights granted to students in short suspensions.[39] As might be expected, principals were also much more informed about expulsion cases, as they were more likely to have firsthand experience with them. About two-thirds of the teachers and administrators felt that procedural rules governing discipline imposed restraints on their actions.[40]

The most recent and broad-based of this research involved a stratified national survey of 900 junior and senior high school administrators. It was conducted by the National Center for Education Statistics in 1985 and addressed the question of compliance with the Goss decision presuspension hearing requirement, among other issues. The survey revealed that almost all schools (more than 99 percent) followed the procedures. Many schools went further, allowing parents to attend a hearing if the charges were denied (88 percent), by providing an appeal process (95 percent) or by allowing some questioning of witnesses (73

38. Lynn Sametz and Caven McLoughlin, Educators, children and the law (Springfield, Ill.: Charles C. Thomas, 1985).

39. Susan Hillman, Knowledge of legally sanctioned discipline procedures by school personnel. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association (Chicago, 1985).

40. Lee Teitelbaum, School discipline procedures: Some empirical findings and some theoretical questions, 58 Indiana Law Journal 4 561 (1983).

percent). Only 3 percent of the respondents thought that the Goss hearing requirement placed a significant burden on schools.[41]

In a companion report on the same survey, "teacher fear of being sued" was reported by fewer than 10 percent of the administrators to be a significant factor in limiting the schools' ability to maintain order.[42] In a later report, fear of being sued for disciplining students was seen by only 18 percent of teacher respondents in a national survey as being "very much" or "much" a factor in limiting teachers from maintaining order.[43] These data suggest that fear of litigation may have been overstated as a source of changed teacher behavior, that "change" in discipline practices should be made a research hypothesis, or that fear of litigation may be ebbing in the 1980s.

Needed Research

Recent knowledge surveys of school personnel still show some uncertainty among respondents with regard to the holdings of key court cases. Not all these surveys, however, have used specialized questions for teachers, administrators and counselors. There is no reason why a knowledge of the same legal areas, however, should be expected from each group. Likewise, there needs to be a stratification of survey questions based on the grade level of teachers.

The legal issues that arise in secondary schools are significantly different from those present when children are in the early grades.[44] Most educational materials on the law,

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41. School discipline policies and practices, National Center for Education Statistics, OERI, U.S. Department of Education (CS 86-226b), September, 1986. See also Douglas Wright and Oliver Moles, Legal issues in educational order: Principals' perceptions of school discipline policies and practices. Paper presented at the Annual Meetings of the American Educational Research Association, 1985.

42. Discipline in public secondary schools, National Center for Education Statistics, OERI, U.S. Department of Education. (CS 86-224b), September, 1986.

43. Public school teacher perspectives on school discipline, National Center for Education Statistics, OERI, U.S. Department of Education (CS87-387), October, 1987.

44. See, generally, Hillary Rodham, Children under the law, 43 Harvard Educational Review 4 (1973).

however, have been written with secondary schools in mind.[45] In the research area, we do not know whether elementary school teachers have the same level of concern about lawsuits and their personal rights as secondary teachers. Unresearched changes also may have occurred in the way elementary teachers use discipline as a result of this concern.

A research project involving teacher surveys, stratified by grade level, could be conducted at relatively low cost. Beyond questions related to substantive legal knowledge, such a survey also could begin to probe the question of the origins of legal understanding. In designing new forms of legal information for teachers--whether in-service programs, courses or written materials--it would be useful to know how teachers currently acquire information. Information may also be acquired in different ways, depending on the subject area. Some areas may have a higher salience for teachers based on their personal situation.

This paper has discussed the role of "intermediaries" at several different points. Our understanding of the transmission of legal knowledge, however, is incomplete. We need to know, for example, how administrators receive legal information, both in the general sense, such as what they read or study, and in more specific cases, such as how they relate to their school district's legal counsel. Almost nothing is known about the frequency of such contacts, the content, the extent to which the counsel is more risk averse or more assertive than the administrator, and the effectiveness of various forms of client-attorney relationships in reducing the overall cost of litigation. We also need to develop theories to guide this research,[46] since there is little research on attorney-client relationships, generally.[47]

We need to know more about attorney-school district contact. In general, we can imagine a variety of legal system contacts, starting with "threats" of lawsuit, often hollow and without substance, to more serious cases where some injury to a student has occurred. As was discussed, we need to know more about the ways attorneys "bargain" on behalf of clients with school districts. Whether attorneys for plaintiffs represent individuals or special interest groups may also be important.

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45. For a bibliography source focusing on both elementary and secondary teachers, see Perry A. Zirkel, Educational research relating to school law: Educators' knowledge of school law, 20 NOLPE Notes 7, 3 (July, 1985).

46. See, generally, Mark Yudof, Educational research relating to school law: An appraisal, 21 NOLPE Notes 7 (July, 1986).

47. See Austin Sarat and William L. F. Felstiner, Law and strategy in the divorce lawyer's office, 20 Law and Society Review 1, 93 (1986).

Similarly, we have little knowledge of the actual contours of litigation in school districts. In fact, there are very few formal, written opinions in the case law areas discussed in this paper.[48] We also know that school systems are the more frequent "winners" in published cases.[49] But we know nothing about the litigation "iceberg" below the published opinions--the number of cases initiated and settled out of court or dropped.

Research in a few selected school districts, using records and data generated contemporaneously, could begin to address the actual boundaries of public school disputes. It would be useful at the outset to distinguish among types of cases in such research: injury-based tort cases, probably the largest group; issues regarding handicapped students, arising either out of the Federal Education for All Handicapped Children Act or related State laws; cases asserting federal or state constitutional rights, usually involving Title 42, 1983 of the U.S. Code; and employment cases.

It is also important to focus on case outcomes, with special attention to the cases settled. We do not know, for example, how many cases are compromised as a function of case type. At the very least, it would be useful to discover how many cases a school district settles just to avoid litigation and whether this was done when the facts suggest the district would prevail.

New research should also consider a return to the hypotheses and the methods of earlier impact studies, as detailed previously.[50] A number of subject areas could be used for this intensive, community-based research. The impact of school discipline procedural requirements is an obvious possibility.[51] Such a study could examine intensively the link between court decisions and teachers who report they engage in less discipline. A number of conflicting hypotheses related to the decline in discipline are present: 1) teachers discipline less because they know the law in this area and find it to be an impediment; 2) teachers don't know the law and imagine, incorrectly, that courts

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48. See Table 1 attached to this paper

49. See Table 2 attached to this paper

50. NOLPE Notes, published by the National Organization on Legal Problems of Education, has featured a series of articles on impact research that are helpful in setting this research agenda. See, for example, Elizabeth Quigley, Anne C. Redding and Perry A. Zirkel, Empirical research relating to school law: Impact studies in special education, 21 NOLPE Notes 6, 2 (June, 1986).

51. For background on this topic, see David Schimmel and Riachard Williams, Does due process interfere with school discipline, The High School Journal (Dec./Jan., 1985), 47.

have limited their power to control discipline; 3) failure to discipline because of legal threat is an alibi allowing teachers to reduce their level of involvement in an activity they didn't like anyway; 4) there really has been no significant change in the way teachers discipline students, but only a change in what people have written about the subject; or 5) there's been a change, but it has nothing to do with subsequent increases or decreases in student misbehavior.

It would also be possible to do a before-and-after impact study of some new law or court decision in a particular jurisdiction. It would be useful to focus on a particular school group, such as teachers or administrators, in such a study. As with the litigation study just proposed, substantial funds would be needed because an in-depth study in the field would be needed. Some flexibility also would be needed to focus on a recently decided case because research would need to start quickly. A new avenue of school law, such as the right of students to a safe educational environment, might also be the focus of research.[52]

Whatever the subject area, further large-scale research on school discipline and the law would be helpful. This is an area where there has been much national concern and much written that makes major assumptions about linkages among the courts, schools and individual behavior. It is also an area where there has been almost no social science research.

Changes to Improve Disciplinary Climates

This paper argues that the existence of an "explosion of litigation" should be rendered a research hypothesis rather than accepted as fact. It has also suggested that we don't really know whether teachers or administrators have changed their behavior regarding enforcement of school discipline rules and, if they have, if this change can be attributed to court activity. However, regardless of one's positions on these issues, or the outcome of future research, there should be agreement on the need for additional exposure to school law issues for all school personnel.

School law materials need to be specialized. Doctors are not specialists in every major medical issue; likewise we should not expect teachers to know or be interested in all areas of school law. Materials especially need to be tailored to meet the special issues that are common to particular positions, such as superintendents, principals, counselors or special education teachers.

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52. Perhaps an act such as California Proposition 8. See Kimberly Sawyer, The right to safe schools: A newly recognized inalienable right, 14 Pacific Law Journal 4 (1983).

At the same time, the assumption is too often made among teachers that knowledge of school law is "someone else's job." This assumption contains an element of truth, insofar as administrators have the major responsibility for handling difficult cases. But teachers cannot ignore the fact that a significant percentage of lawsuits involve staff members. This means that teachers should not be able to avoid learning basic principles of school law. Likewise, public school students would benefit from a similar discussion, perhaps in the context of a social studies class. To the extent that students have a greatly exaggerated sense of their legal rights, such instruction can reduce disorder.

While there are a large number of education law texts, some written for teachers, almost no study has been undertaken to determine those courses of instruction or approaches that are most effective. Neither do we know the extent to which disorder is reduced in a school where both students and teachers have been exposed to legal issues, though such projects were funded recently by the U.S. Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention.

While there are other steps a school can take to reduce disorder, remaining outside the purview of this paper, there is one final perspective on legal education worthy of note. It is necessary that school personnel learn of the outcomes of controversial cases involving such issues as educational malpractice. The dismissed case never seems to receive the same attention as the big settlement, or the preliminary outrageous demand. Popular publications should make a systematic effort to report the cases in which the plaintiff's request is held to have no merit.

Table 1

Federal courts and State courts of appeal cases reported 1979-87: Search and seizure and discipline

	Year Decided								
	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987
Search and Seizure									
Sniff dogs	1	0	2	1	1	0	0	0	0
Strip searches	2	0	0	0	2	1	0	1	0
Lockers and cars	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	3	0
Possession searches	1	1	1	4	5	2	4	1	3
Drug tests	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Total	5	1	3	6	9	3	4	5	5
Discipline									
Expulsion	2	1	5	8	1	4	6	9	2
Substantive rule issue	1	3	2	2	2	0	2	0	2
Grade/credit reduction	0	0	0	0	2	2	0	2	0
Suspension	4	1	0	3	2	4	2	6	6
Discipline of handicapped	5	0	2	3	1	1	2	1	5
Corporal punishment	4	4	1	1	0	3	2	2	2
Total	16	9	10	17	8	14	14	20	17

Source: Pupils and Handicapped chapters, Yearbook of School Law, published annually by the National Organization on Legal Problems in Education (Topeka, Kansas).

Table 2

Prevailing parties in search and seizure and school discipline cases 1979-87: Federal courts and State courts of appeal

	School District Prevails	Plaintiff Prevails	Remanded
Search and Seizure			
Sniff dogs	4	1	0
Strip searches	2	4	0
Lockers and cars	4	2	0
Possession searches	14	7	1
Drug tests	0	2	0
Total	24 (58.5%)	16 (39.0%)	1 (2.4%)
Discipline			
Expulsion	23	9	6
Substantive rule issue	11	2	1
Grade reduction	4	2	0
Suspension	22	6	0
Discipline of handicapped	10	7	3
Corporal punishment	12	6	1
Total	82 (65.6%)	32 (25.6%)	11 (8.8%)

Source: Pupils and Handicapped chapters, Yearbook of School Law, published annually by the National Organization on Legal Problems in Education (Topeka, Kansas).

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Developing Effective Organizations to Reduce School Disorder

Denise C. Gottfredson

School disruption and concerns about lack of discipline among school-aged youths have long been among the most pressing problems facing schools (Bahner, 1980; National Commission on Excellence in Education, 1983). Disruptive behavior is an obstacle to learning. It robs instructional time not only for the disruptive students, but also for the nonoffending youths as the teacher interrupts the learning process to handle the disruption.

What contributes to school disruption? An analysis of national data from over 600 secondary schools (Gottfredson & Gottfredson, 1985) showed that schools with discipline problems are schools where the rules are not clear, fair, and firmly enforced; schools that use ambiguous responses to student behavior -- by lowering grades in response to misconduct, for example; schools where teachers and administrators do not know what the rules are or do not agree on responses to student misconduct; schools that ignore misconduct; and schools where students do not believe in the rules. Large schools, schools that lack resources needed for teaching, schools with poor teacher-administration cooperation or with inactive administrations; and schools where teachers tend to have punitive attitudes also experience more disruption than other schools. These school characteristics are related to school disruption even when characteristics of the community -- urbanicity, racial composition, socioeconomic status, and level of crime -- are held constant.

In addition to these school-level correlates of disorder, a number of individual-level correlates of disorderly behavior have been identified. Individuals at high risk for engaging in unsocialized behavior display less academic competence, have limited career and educational objectives, dislike school, have more delinquent friends, and have lower levels of belief in conventional social rules than do more conforming youths (Empey, 1982; Gottfredson, 1981; Hirschi, 1969). Understanding the characteristics of misbehaving students can help focus efforts aimed at reducing disorder.

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The research on correlates of disorderly schools and disruptive youth implies that there is much schools can do to reduce disorder. The combined sets of correlates help focus attention on specific risk factors for disorder. These risk factors converge in suggesting the need for clear, fair, and consistent rule enforcement that is implemented in a way that promotes liking for school and belief in the validity of the rules among delinquency-prone youths. The research suggests the need for educational strategies that promote academic success among low achievers and that motivate these youths to attend school on a more regular basis. The research suggests the need for strategies that encourage attachments to pro-social others -- both teachers and peers. And the research suggests the need to strengthen schools as organizations -- to increase communication, consensus, and cohesion.

This paper summarizes work attempting to reduce school disruption and disorderly behavior by altering school practices in ways suggested by research. The first section describes a collaborative effort between researchers and practitioners to design, implement, evaluate, and refine school practices aimed at reducing school disorder. The next section describes focused attempts to reduce school disorder among high-risk youths using three different approaches -- a pull-out program, an alternative class, and an alternative school. The final section discusses implications for practice.

Organizational Development in Schools

The last decade has taught us important lessons about the process of creating beneficial change in schools. Attempts to "install" effective practices identified by research have been far less successful than expected. These attempts have usually resulted in incomplete, inadequate, or sporadic implementation (Berman & McLaughlin, 1978; Gottfredson, Gottfredson, & Cook, 1983; Grant & Capell, 1983; Hall & Loucks, 1977; Johnson, Bird & Little, 1979; Sarason, 1971). Indeed, Sarason (1971) has characterized many educational innovations as "nonevents" and Miles (1981) has described innovations as "ornaments" when goals and success criteria are vague.

Studies on improvement efforts have provided insight into schools' failures to effectively adopt effective practices. This research was summarized in Corcoran (1985). Some characteristics of school improvement efforts that have impeded innovation are the assumptions that technological advances can be transported from school to school and district to district with little or no alteration to fit each environment and that effective implementation of new practices can result from "one-shot" training sessions. Teachers are often expected to return to their schools and implement new ideas or practices with little or no

support. Unclear school missions, reward structures, and role definitions also impede effective implementation. For example, teachers may be rewarded for maintaining order in their classrooms, even when the increase in orderliness is gained at the expense of limiting opportunities for learning.

Yet another source of implementation failure is the top-down approach to decision making and planning that fails to seek the advice of the primary implementers of the new practices in designing the intervention. This practice generally results in flawed program plans and alienated staff.

Bringing about beneficial change in schools requires an organizational development (OD) approach to school change. This kind of approach focuses attention on the school as an organization -- it examines the organizational culture and climate and it seeks to improve the systems and procedures used by the organization. It usually focuses on improving communication, building trust and cooperation, enhancing the organization's problem-solving and decision-making capabilities, and strengthening its planning processes.

Program Development Evaluation (Gottfredson, 1984; Gottfredson, Rickert, Gottfredson & Advani, 1984) is an organizational development method intended to help schools and other organizations define problems and set organizational goals, specify theories of action on which to base the school improvement program, define measurable objectives based on the theory, select interventions with a high likelihood of achieving these objectives, identify and plan to overcome the obstacles to the implementation of the interventions selected, and develop detailed implementation standards to serve as blueprints for the interventions. Using the Program Development Evaluation (PDE) method, educators and researchers work together to evaluate their programs and use the resulting information to further improve the program. Planning and program development become part of the everyday routine in the school, creating a spiral of improvement.

The PDE method makes the following assumptions about organizational change:

1. Projects guided by explicit theories that can be translated into action will be most effective.

2. Projects will be implemented with most enthusiasm, be strongest, and contribute most to knowledge of school improvement if the theory on which the project is based is regarded as sensible by project implementors and accords with evidence from previous research and evaluation.

3. Effective implementation of an intervention or innovation is more likely if blueprints for the intervention are available and if implementation is guided by data about the extent to which project activities accord with the blueprint.

4. Effective adoption of an innovation is more likely when explicit plans for adoption are available and when these plans are likely to overcome obstacles to organizational change.

5. Projects will become more effective in the presence of "evaluation pressure." Evaluation pressure takes many forms, some of which are pressure to focus on theory, and to heed relevant information from previous research and evaluation and from current data about program strength, fidelity and effectiveness.

6. Organizations that internalize these principles will be more effective than those that simply comply with them (Gottfredson, 1984; pp. 1101-1102).

The method translates each of the above assumptions into concrete steps that school personnel can take to increase the likelihood of strong implementation and effective adoption of new practices. The method is rational. It assumes that the effectiveness of organizations will increase as rational behavior increases. It recognizes that schools often work as loosely coupled systems (Weick, 1982) using ad hoc management methods, but it assumes that loose coupling often inhibits school effectiveness. The PDE method attempts to tighten management by developing explicit standards for performance, communicating these standards, assessing compliance or noncompliance with the standards, and adjusting interventions when necessary.

We have used the PDE method in several studies in a variety of school settings, some of which will be described in the following pages. These studies yielded useful knowledge about the conditions necessary for effective implementation of the PDE method to enhance organizational effectiveness. The following section describes one of these tests -- The Effective Schools Project, in which the PDE method was used to structure a collaborative effort by researchers and school personnel to implement change in a demoralized urban public school.

The Effective Schools Project

Two junior high schools were selected by central administrators of the Baltimore City Public School system to collaborate with researchers at The Johns Hopkins University to

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NOTE: This section is taken from a more detailed account of the Effective Schools Project (Gottfredson, 1987a).

improve their schools using the PDE method. The schools were selected because they had experienced considerable disorder in the recent past, were believed to be in need of help, were expected to be receptive to the project, and were expected to reain stable in terms of their student, teacher, and administrator populations for the 3-year period beginning in fall 1982.

One of the two schools never implemented a strong program. The original principal, who did not support the program, was replaced at the beginning of the second year along with two of the three assistant principals. The new administrative staff did not fully support the program. Attempts to build commitment to the project failed, and although some minor changes in the school were implemented, the staff never fully backed the program. Readers interested in what was implemented in the school and in a more detailed account of the obstacles to implementation should refer to Gottfredson (1986a). This report concluded that organizational development methods will not work without administrative backing. The remainder of this report focuses on the second school, in which attempts to plan, implement, and evaluate strategies to reduce disorder were successful.

First, a word about the community context of the school is in order. Gottfredson (1987a) showed census data describing the school's community characteristics. The school is located in an impoverished inner-city neighborhood. The school district is predominantly minority, and has a high percentage of female-headed households, persons in low status occupations, and families below the poverty level. The community falls well below The national average on these measures of socioeconomic status, placing the school at especially high risk for school disorder.

Measures of the school environment and the behavior and attitudes of teachers and students in the school taken during the first year of the project (a planning year) indicated severe problems. Teachers regarded the school as unsafe and their classrooms as disorderly. They reported that they were victimized frequently, were dissatisfied with their jobs, and that morale was low. They also had a low opinion of the effectiveness of the school administration. Students' reports of school safety were also below average, and a scale measuring the level of punitive action taken against students indicated that the school was characterized by extremely high levels of punishment. This picture of poor discipline in the school is corroborated by disciplinary removal records showing that, during the 3 years prior to the intervention, an average of 39 percent of the student population was suspended from school each year at least once in response to disciplinary infractions. Many students were sent home more than once, so that for every 100 students in the school, 72 removals from school were recorded in the average year. The school assessment also showed that students felt more alienated, did not frequently receive rewards or recognition for their work in school,

felt that they were treated disrespectfully by the school staff, and engaged in somewhat more delinquent activities than school children in similar schools.

The Improvement Process

The principal, after being oriented to the program, selected a school improvement team composed of teachers, a guidance counselor, administrators, a social worker, a school psychologist and a parent liaison worker. The team was oriented to the project and trained in the PDE method, and spent the 1982-83 school year planning for implementation the following fall.

The planning included specification of program goals, consideration and prioritization of major sources of the schools' problems, and specification of program objectives directed at the primary sources of the problems. Measures were developed for every goal and objective and surveys were designed to assess progress towards these goals and objectives. The planning team administered surveys to all teachers and students in their school to obtain baseline information and to provide information for refining program plans. It also developed plans for program components targeted at each objective, oriented the entire school staff, and generated considerable staff enthusiasm for the project.

Eight program components were developed as part of the project, and standards for both the intensity and fidelity of the components were established. During the 2 intervention years that followed, these standards were monitored on an on-going basis using various sources of information about implementation including teacher logs, teacher observations, interviews with school staff, questionnaires completed by school staff, and reports of program implementers. The school improvement team met formally once a month to review the status of each component and modify plans to strengthen the program.

The following paragraphs describe the two strongest program components. These components received the most attention from the implementors throughout the implementation period and were implemented with the most integrity.

Classroom management innovations. Two classroom management techniques were used -- Assertive Discipline (Canter & Canter, 1976) and Reality Therapy (Glasser, 1969). The techniques are intended to promote a calm, orderly classroom atmosphere.

Assertive Discipline teaches teachers to set clear, consistent limits and specify consequences for students; provide uniform follow-through; and offer students warmth, support, and rewards for appropriate behavior.

Reality Therapy also stresses clear rules and consistent application of consequences, but it places more emphasis on getting the student to make a commitment to change his or her behavior. Structured classroom meetings encourage students to present their views on a topic without fear of being ridiculed by other students or the teacher. The meetings are designed to promote positive interactions in the classroom and to increase attachments to others. They are also expected to promote introspection about values and attitudes.

All participating teachers were trained to use both techniques. Implementation surveys and observations showed that by the end of the second year, 73 and 79 percent of the trained teachers were using the Reality Therapy and Assertive Discipline techniques, respectively. The average teacher held classroom meetings with three different classes, and held between two and three meetings with each class each semester. This translated into an average of seven meetings per student in the last semester.

The project staff emphasized positive reinforcement of appropriate behavior in their implementation of Assertive Discipline. Rewards were given to the classes with the best and the most improved attendance and behavior, and the winning classes were announced and displayed on a prominent bulletin board. The nine most troublesome classes were targeted for an intensive positive reinforcement program. The 19 teachers involved received training in basic principles and specific strategies of positive reinforcement. They were told that rewards should always be contingent on the students' behavior, that students must always be aware of exactly how they could earn rewards, and that tokens should be coupled with social reinforcers such as teacher praise. The teachers developed positive reinforcement plans that specified which behaviors would be rewarded, how frequently, and with how many tokens. They awarded points throughout each week according to their plan and recorded the points won on a chart visible to the students. Tokens were dispensed weekly and students were able to redeem them for food treats, school supplies, admission into a game room, and special events including parties and trips.

Teachers implemented the Assertive Discipline techniques with considerable fidelity. A technical report for the project (Gottfredson, 1986a) showed that the frequency of traditional responses to misbehavior (sending the student to the office and detention) declined, and the use of alternative responses (parent conferences, removal of privileges and behavior contracts) increased. The most striking improvement was in the use of positive reinforcements. The percentage of teachers reporting that they usually used awards, special privileges, material rewards and positive notification of parents increased by between 15 and 25 percent (depending on the particular positive response).

Classroom instructional innovation. Student Team Learning (STL; Slavin, 1980) techniques were used to change the classroom climate from a social to an academic one and to increase student motivation to master academic material. The STL techniques provide incentives for students to learn academic material by establishing competitions for team reward or recognition. Teams are composed of four or five students of differing ability. The team members study together and coach one another in preparation for class-wide tournaments or individual tests. Points are awarded to teams on the basis of their members' improvement over their own past performance or on the basis of their performance in a tournament in which students compete against individuals of similar ability levels.

Teacher observations and logs implied that STL was implemented with considerable strength and fidelity. All participating teachers were trained, and 78 percent tried at least one of the STL methods. About one-third of the trained teachers tried more than one of the methods. By the end of the second year, 58 percent of the teachers were using the technique consistently (i.e., for at least six lessons during the semester). This level of implementation is much higher than the typical level of implementation achieved when training is provided but no organizational development assistance is given (John Hollifield, personal communication). Observation data confirmed that the techniques were implemented as recommended in the STL manual for the most part.

Other interventions. Other interventions included an intervention designed to inform the students' parents about classroom behavior frequently and consistently, a parent volunteer program designed to increase involvement of parents in school activities, a community support program designed to increase community support and advocacy for the school, and an extracurricular activities program directed at increasing students' attachment to school, sense of school pride, and the extent to which they were rewarded for nonacademic talents. A school discipline review and revision component succeeded in establishing a standard set of school rules, consequences for breaking school rules, and a disciplinary referral system to be used by all school staff members. And a career exploration intervention took students on career-related field trips, provided instruction on career-related topics, and exposed students to positive community role models who volunteered to inform students about the skills required to obtain and perform jobs in their fields.

Outcomes

The data and methods used to evaluate the effectiveness of the project were described in detail in Gottfredson (1986a). Briefly, data from school records on attendance and disciplinary responses

and teacher and student survey measures of organizational health, school disorder, and student attitudes and experiences targeted by the program were used to measure change over the 3-year project period. The surveys were based on the Effective School Battery (Gottfredson, 1985) but supplemented with items necessary to assess all goals and objectives. Change in the school that successfully implemented a program was compared to change in the school that did not. Also, the school planning team's decision to pilot most innovations in one "unit" (a grade level physically located in a separate wing of the building) allowed comparisons of outcomes for students in the experimental unit with measures of comparable students from the previous cohort. That is, data collected from the experimental eighth graders at the end of the 1984-85 school year were compared to data collected from the previous eighth-grade cohort at the end of the 1983-84 school year. (This comparison involved post-tests only. Examination of pretest measures and demographic characteristics suggested that the cohorts were equivalent.)

The intervention school improved dramatically on measures of organizational health. Teacher morale rose from the 7th percentile on the Effective School Battery norms to the 40th percentile ($p < .01$); teacher reports of innovation rose from the 38th to the 63rd ($p < .05$); and teachers' perceptions of the school administration rose from the 3rd to the 31st percentile ($p < .01$). Two of the three measures of disorder (classroom orderliness and student delinquent behavior) showed significant improvement. These positive outcomes were accompanied by significant increases in students' sense of belonging in the school ($p < .01$) and in their reports of rewards in school ($p < .01$). School discipline records showed that fewer students were suspended for disciplinary infractions over the course of the project.

The comparison of the experimental and nonexperimental cohorts yielded similar results. On all measures taken from the student survey, the experimental students answered more often in the desired direction. Significant differences were found in areas directly targeted by the program: Student sense of belonging ($p < .01$); and their reports of rewards ($p < .01$). Other nonsignificant differences between the two cohorts favored the treatment: Experimental students were less rebellious ($p = .18$), more attached to school ($p = .11$), and reported more positive peer associations ($p = .20$).

NOTE: Measures of administrative response to misconduct are at best ambiguous measures of student behavior. Measures of disciplinary removals are included here to show that increases in school orderliness measured more directly by reports of students and teachers did not come about simply by removing more troublesome students from school.

Measures of disciplinary action taken against students revealed that experimental students were referred to the office much more frequently than were nonexperimental students. This increase in referrals to the office was due to the increased pressure for consistent rule enforcement in the experimental unit. The increase in office referrals was not accompanied by an increase in the more serious responses involving removal from school. Instead, the experimental students were suspended significantly less often than the prior cohort. This decline in suspensions could not be attributed to the program implemented in the experimental unit because suspensions declined school-wide in the 1984-85 school year. These results based on measures of responses to student behavior illustrate the danger of interpreting results based on such measures as if they measured student behavior. Measures of administrative response are highly sensitive to changes in policies and practices and do not adequately measure student behavior.

Conclusion

The Effective Schools Project was a study of what happens to the students and staff in a demoralized inner-city school when it becomes engaged in a collaborative undertaking with researchers to examine its problems, propose solutions, and implement those solutions. It was not a rigorous test of the PDE method, and it was not a rigorous test of any of the specific interventions attempted. It was a case study.

We can conclude that some combination of innovations implemented in this Baltimore junior high school -- including changing the school and classroom environment to increase predictability in the responses of teachers and administrators to disciplinary infractions, increasing rewards for appropriate behavior, and increasing prosocial peer and teacher support -- probably increased students' sense of belonging in school and reduced disruptive behavior.

The implementing organization also became healthier during the experience. We expected to see the most dramatic effects in our measures of teachers' feelings of efficacy and the levels of trust, communication and cooperation among the administrators and staff. We expected that as these indicators of organizational health improved, so would indicators of the strength and fidelity of implementation. We expected that as implementation of plausible program components was strengthened, we would begin to see change in the targeted student outcomes. These expectations were met.

The modest improvements reported here demonstrate the potential of an organizational development approach in schools to bring about positive change even in the most disadvantaged and demoralized schools. More rigorous tests are needed to determine the essential ingredients of the approach.

Specific Strategies for At-risk Youth

The foregoing section described an organizational development approach to reducing school disorder. The approach calls for focusing improvement efforts on those factors that research implies are the primary causes of disruption. These risk factors include school and classroom-level characteristics as well as a number of characteristics and experiences that place certain individuals at especially high risk for disorderly behavior. Effective strategies for reducing disruptive behavior, especially in secondary schools, should focus on increasing academic competence, broadening career and educational objectives, increasing liking for school, decreasing involvements with delinquent companions, and increasing belief in conventional social rules for individual students in addition to focusing on school-level risk factors.

The remaining pages briefly summarize evidence about the efficacy of specific strategies which focus on one or more individual risk factor to reduce disorder among high-risk individuals. Three examples from the School Action Effectiveness Study (Gottfredson, Gottfredson & Cook, 1983), the national evaluation of the Office for Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention's Alternative Education initiative (OJJDP, 1980), are helpful for pinpointing the effect of interventions designed to enhance the schooling experience for youths identified as at-risk for delinquent behavior, drug abuse, school failure and other undesirable outcomes.

The first was a "pull-out" program that offered counseling and tutoring to students identified as at-risk for academic failure. A second was a year-long alternative English and social studies class that used innovative teaching strategies. The third was an alternative school that drew students who were not succeeding in the public school system into a small, orderly environment featuring individualized instruction and a token economy system. A summary of evaluation results will follow the description of the three models.

The first model was the direct service component of project PATHE (Gottfredson, 1986b). Approximately 10 percent of the students in each school were identified on the basis of school records and teacher referrals as in need of special services for either academic or conduct problems, or both. Specialists reviewed each target student's school records, interviewed the student and sometimes his or her teachers and parents, and developed treatment plans specifying behavioral treatment objectives. Academic and counseling services consistent with

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NOTE: This section is taken from a more detailed account of these strategies (Gottfredson, 1987b).

these objectives were prescribed, and progress towards the objectives was frequently monitored. Students were scheduled to meet with program specialists about three times a month to receive tutoring and counseling services, and they were deliberately included in school-wide project activities such as the student leadership team and extracurricular activities. Implementation records showed that the actual contact with specialists varied from school to school. In one school the average target student met with the specialist only 7.5 times during the 1982-83 year, in another about 33 times. The average across all schools was about twice per month.

The second program (Gottfredson & Cook, 1986) altered the curriculum and teaching strategies in alternative English and social studies classes to increase commitment to school by making school more relevant to students. The curriculum was highly2 structured, including lessons on coping with authority, responsibility, and family problems. Teachers relied heavily on nontraditional teaching methods to promote student participation. Audio-visual presentations, field trips, guest speakers, role-playing, and simulations were frequently used.

The scheduling of the classes was novel. A 2-hour block of time was set aside for combined English and social studies instruction. This extended-time block enabled field work activities, community volunteer work, and class trips.

The class was taught by a team of teachers and aides who were trained to use heterogeneous student learning teams for tutoring and support, individualized learning plans, and frequent rewards both for group and individual progress.

The third program model (Gottfredson, 1986c) was a small alternative school -- only about 100 students were enrolled in the school at any one time. The academic component of the program focused on basic skills acquisition. Students were placed in an intensive basic skills class until they mastered basic skills. Participation in desirable elective courses and in the prestigious "professional/vocational track" were made contingent upon mastering basic skills. Standards in the academic classes were high. Students were expected to be able to meet the graduation requirements for the county upon completion of grade 12 in the alternative school.

The professional/vocational track consisted of highly structured apprenticeship experiences in community businesses. Eligible students spent as much as half of their day in career training classes and in volunteer work. Those students placed in apprenticeship positions were held to high performance standards. Supervisors rated the students daily and communicated the ratings to school counselors. Students kept daily logs of their work experiences.

Discipline was managed with a token economy system. Students earned tokens for meeting agreed-upon behavior and academic objectives. The tokens were exchanged for material goods.

All three programs were successful at increasing academic performance for the participating students. Program participants when compared with similar control students, learned more academic material. The measures of academic performance varied from project to project. Credits earned, persistence in school, attendance, grades, and standardized achievement test scores were affected. But only the alternative English and social studies class reduced other important risk factors of delinquent behavior: Negative peer influence, disattachment from school, and punishing experiences in school. Students in the alternative classes also reported significantly less drug use and serious delinquent involvements than the control group.

The PATHE "pull-out" program appears to have been too weak and not sufficiently focused on theoretical risk factors for disruptive behavior to have been expected to reduce disruptive behavior. Although the design called for equal emphasis on academics and "affective needs," most of what occurred was tutoring. The alternative school was intensive, but it suffered from over-control. Students' behavior was under control in the school and they learned more. The atmosphere was calm and orderly. But the controlled atmosphere was gained at the expense of students' attachment to school. The students in the alternative school became significantly less attached to school, and their level of delinquent behavior increased. The atmosphere appears to have been overly controlled, offering few opportunities for youths to develop attachments to prosocial others.

The alternative English and social studies class intervention was at the same time intensive and comprehensive. It increased student participation not only in activities aimed at increasing academic success, but also at broadening the base of social control. Students were actively involved in their own education and in their schools and communities. They became more committed to and attached to school, and reported higher levels of involvement in school activities and less involvement with delinquent peers. Their delinquent behavior declined significantly.

In summary, the results of these evaluations of specific strategies to reduce disruptive behavior among high-risk youths suggest that it is possible to alter the schooling experience for high-risk youths in ways that reduce their level of disruptive behavior. But not every strategy works. Two well-defined and well-implemented programs failed to reduce delinquent behavior even though they succeeded at increasing academic performance. Reducing serious problem behavior among youths who have already

developed a pattern of problem behavior may require attention to nonacademic factors such as the influence of peers and prosocial attachments as well as to academic experiences.

Implications for Practice

The results imply that organizational development in schools can increase the likelihood of strong implementation of new practices and that specific strategies targeted at-risk factors implied by research are effective for reducing school disorder. The results also imply that some well-intentioned and well-implemented practices are not effective for reducing disorderly behavior.

The studies reviewed did not enable an examination of the relative effects of the different components included in each school improvement effort. Such studies are critical if we are to understand why some efforts succeed and others fail. My personal experience in working with schools and districts as they attempt self-renewal implies that the most effective elements include program design that is guided by theory and evidence about the causes of the problem the organization is attempting to resolve, sensitivity to particular constraints within the implementing organization, and a long-range perspective.

Theory guidance is critical. In this context, a "theory" is a well-specified idea about the causes of the problem the organization is attempting to solve. The theory should be consistent with the results of prior research and evaluation, and it should be clearly understood by the program implementers so that it can guide implementation decisions. We have found it useful to engage school personnel in a discussion about their perceptions of the sources of the problem, and to invite the participation of individuals who have knowledge of the research in the area. This researcher-practitioner exchange is useful because it allows the practitioners to retain ownership of the program while encouraging them to consider seriously only those ideas showing most promise.

Sensitivity to the differences across implementing organizations is also essential. Although the sources of misbehavior and school disorder may be similar in different environments, the obstacles to implementing new practices directed at those common sources are likely to differ widely from school-to-school. Strategies for implementing new practices which fail to consider specific local obstacles are bound to fail. We have found it helpful to engage implementers in an open and honest discussion of the organizational force field (Lewin, 1951) for the purpose of anticipating obstacles to progress. Only by openly confronting potential roadblocks can strategies for overcoming them be developed and implemented.

Finally, school personnel must take a long-range perspective. Many attempts to bring about lasting improvements fail because they are embedded in unrealistic expectations about how much change can be expected how soon. Real change may take many years, and first tries seldom work (Fullan, Miles, & Taylor, 1980; Klausmeier, 1985). Although the political arena may continue to publicize instances of "turned-around" schools, most schools are remarkably stable organizations and if they have problems, these problems are likely to persist until they embark upon a persistent and long-term effort to improve conditions. Schools must develop their own internal structures for improvement. We have found that teams of school personnel can substantially improve their schools over time when they are guided by an explicit structure for developing, implementing, evaluating and refining school practices. When school staff adopt such a structure, unrealistic expectations and low morale give way to an experimenting attitude and a belief that every failure brings new knowledge about what does and does not work. This change in school climate increases the likelihood that refined future practices will be effective.

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School and Classroom Discipline Programs: How Well Do They Work?

Edmund T. Emmer and Amy Aussiker

This paper reviews research on four approaches to preparing teachers in the area of classroom discipline: Gordon's Teacher Effectiveness Training, Glasser's Reality Therapy, Canter's Assertive Discipline, and Adlerian-based approaches. These systems have been used widely for inservice teacher education for a decade or more, although their use at the preservice level has been more recent, and each has adherents and practitioners who support its efficacy. But testimony and endorsement are subject to expectation effects and other biases--and school districts, teachers, and teacher educators should have better evidence upon which to base decisions about adoption or teacher training.

In addition to a concern about general efficacy, numerous other questions and issues are of interest to the potential user: What types of educationally desirable outcomes does a particular approach produce? For example, does training affect mainly teacher or student attitudes, perceptions, or behavior, or some combination of these variables? If a program has effects, how large are they? What components of a discipline system are essential in achieving desired results? Are the training programs offered to teachers effective in producing long-term changes in teacher and student behavior? For what types of teachers does an approach seem to be most effective (or ineffective)? This paper will summarize research on the four models of classroom discipline in order to determine what is known about these and other relevant questions, and to identify areas needing further research. Before examining the evidence, however, a brief description of the four systems will be presented.

Teacher Effectiveness Training (TET)

Developed by Thomas Gordon (1974), TET emphasizes a variety of communication and human relations skills derived from a psychotherapeutic model (Brophy and Putnam, 1979). The approach distinguishes two types of classroom situations: those in which the teacher "owns" a problem (e.g., cannot teach effectively because of student behavior) and those in which a student owns the problem (e.g., a student is upset because of a poor grade or personal problem). In the case of a student-owned problem, the teacher is trained to use various listening skills in order to facilitate student understanding and resolution of the problem. In the case of teacher-owned problems, "I-messages" and problem solving are stressed. I-messages require the teacher to specify the problem that the student is causing the teacher and then to negotiate a solution to the problem, so that, ideally, both the teacher's and the students' needs are met. The goal of this

approach is to resolve problems in ways that are neither authoritarian nor submissive, but rather respect each party's rights.

Other aspects of TET include avoiding barriers to communication and structuring the environment to prevent problems. The former aspect specifies a series of common responses, such as reprimands, lecturing, moralizing, or praising, that may interfere with open communication. Such responses should be avoided in situations when the student expresses a problem or the teacher is engaging the student in problem solving. Structuring the environment to prevent problems is also suggested. Teachers are encouraged to analyze the classroom environment to determine whether reducing, rearranging, enriching, or otherwise modifying it might avoid problems.

Teacher training in TET is often conducted by representatives of Effectiveness Training, Inc., founded and directed by Gordon, using a prescribed course outline and related materials (Miller and Burch, 1979). Typical training sessions total thirty hours, conducted in ten three-hour classes. Participants read the TET text as background for the training, which consists of lectures over key concepts, demonstrations, listening to tapes modeling desired behavior, practice of skills with other participants, and workbook exercises. Teachers may also be asked to tape-record their interaction with students to use as a basis for self-critique and feedback.

Although teacher education conducted by formally trained TET instructors is no doubt the most common inservice route, other avenues are possible. College faculty, with or without training in TET, might order the Gordon text and use it as the basis for all or a portion of a course. In such cases, of course, there is less likelihood that all components of TET will be covered or that the course activities will correspond to the recommended ones.

Reality Therapy

Reality Therapy is an approach to education that was developed by William Glasser (1969, 1978). It assumes that behavior is the result of choices, and that inappropriate and disruptive behavior derive from poor choices made by students. Poor choices occur because of failure in one or another form, and because students do not think through the consequences of their actions. Persons who fail develop maladaptive identities through withdrawal or delinquency. The teacher's task is to help students make good choices by making clear the connection between student behavior and its consequences. The teacher also needs to develop a classroom in which students can succeed and which supports good choices, and in which memory tasks are de-emphasized and critical thinking is stressed. The grading system also needs restructuring, according to Glasser, in order to decrease failure. Glasser's principles are

operationalized through the use of class meetings, clear specification of rules and associated consequences, the use of plans or contracts, and a series of steps to guide the teacher's actions when dealing with problem behavior.

Class meetings are used for several purposes: They help the teacher become involved in the concerns and lives of the students, they are used to solve problems, and they help students learn to think about and take responsibility for their own behavior. Meetings can focus on social problems, on educational matters, or be open-ended. Glasser recommends that they be frequent--as often as daily in elementary school and two or three times per week at the secondary level.

Classroom rules should be clearly stated and developed with students. Violations of rules should be followed by consequences, and the teacher should make the connection clear. Students who continue to misbehave are dealt with using a prescribed series of steps, including getting the student to admit responsibility for the behavior, using whatever consequences have been specified and requiring the student to develop a plan for change. Students who repeatedly misbehave are removed from the classroom until they develop a satisfactory plan. The use of Reality Therapy by individual teachers will probably be enhanced by school-wide adoption of the approach, because consequences for repeated misbehavior and temporary removal from the classroom may need to be coordinated with the principal, counselor, or others in the building.

A variety of teacher training materials, in addition to books by Glasser, are available. These materials include film strips, films, and video cassettes, which illustrate applications of Reality Therapy, elaborate the concepts, or present the basic components of the approach.

Glasser has recently modified his approach (cf. Glasser, 1986), chiefly by recommending the use of learning teams or cooperative learning groups as a means of helping students accomplish content objectives as well as to satisfy major social needs. It is important to note that the present paper does not include reviews of research based upon Glasser's recent revision of his model.

Assertive Discipline

This system of classroom discipline has as its basic premise, the right of the teacher to define and enforce standards for student behavior that permit instruction to be carried out in a manner consonant with the teacher's capabilities and needs.

Teachers who do this are assertive rather than hostile or submissive. Canter (1976) describes such a teacher as:

> "One who clearly communicates her wants and needs to her students, and is prepared to reinforce her words with appropriate actions. She responds in a manner which maximizes her potential to get her needs met, but in no way violates the best interests of the students." p. 9).

Assertive Discipline begins with a series of actions that are directed at clearly specifying expectations for student behavior. These actions include the teacher developing a discipline plan that meets his/her preferences for student behavior. These expectations are then translated into a set of rules that specify acceptable and unacceptable behavior. At the same time, the teacher develops a set of punishments to use as consequences for rule violations. The most widely used punishment is a penalty system of names and check marks recorded on the chalk board, with detention, a note home, time out, or a referral to the principal being assigned in progression, as check marks accrue. Teachers are also instructed to identify rewards for compliance with the rule system. After receiving the principal's approval for the system, it is explained to the students and implemented in the classroom. Not all behavior is responded to using the preceding system; teachers are encouraged to first try hints, questions, directions, and demands.

Teacher training in Assertive Discipline is usually done in workshops conducted by Canter or his trainers (Canter and Associates). In addition, books by the Canters (1976, 1981) as well as a number of film strips and videotape cassettes make the approach easily accessible to both pre- and inservice teacher educators. A typical training course is 6 hours long and consists of lectures, discussions, workbook exercises, and role plays on the topics of basic concepts; roadblocks (e.g., labeling, excusing) to effective discipline; establishing rules, consequences, and rewards; and presenting the system to students.

Adlerian Approaches

This approach to classroom discipline emphasizes understanding the individual's reasons for maladaptive behavior. The basic conception is based upon Adlerian principles of individual psychology as interpreted by Dreikurs, Corsini, and others: Individuals develop identities within their social groups (e.g., family, community, school) that help them satisfy the basic needs of love and belonging. When they are unable to meet their basic needs in constructive, socially acceptable ways, students turn to maladaptive behaviors, such as attention seeking, engaging in power struggles, revenge, or withdrawal. When dealing with a student

who exhibits inappropriate behavior the teacher's task is to diagnose the problem, to avoid unknowingly reinforcing it, and then to help the student find constructive ways to get his or her needs met. Teacher strategies include helping students understand the reasons for their behavior and skillful use of natural and logical consequences. Order is achieved through rules and limits that are determined by the group. The teacher's role is that of a leader who guides students and wins their cooperation, rather than one who dominates and punishes. An essential aspect of the approach is the skillful use of group discussions, which have the goals of helping students develop a positive sense of belonging, of solving problems, and of enhancing learning.

Dreikurs' system is described in books for teachers by Dreikurs, Grunwald, and Pepper(1982); and by Balson (1982). Other teacher training materials are available on film, filmstrip, or videotape cassette; a list is supplied in Wolfgang and Glickman (1986), pp. 103-106.

Applications of Adlerian principles to school-wide development have been made using the title: Corsini Four-R Schools (formerly called Individual Education Schools). In such schools students are encouraged to make responsible choices about learning and behavior. Upon entry, students are tested and provided with feedback so they can choose where to begin their studies in an individualized program. Students are allowed choices of how to proceed in their academic program, but mastery of units is required before starting new units. Class meetings are conducted as part of homeroom periods that begin and end the day, and students also participate in a "small group" within the homeroom to encourage discussion. Three rules govern behavior school-wide, and a specified series of non-punitive steps are used to deal with rule violations. The teacher's role in carrying out the school and classroom discipline plan is very carefully delineated, and is designed to maximize the time available to teach. Information about this approach is available in Corsini (1985) and in publications of the North American Society of Adlerian Psychology.

Study Design

Data sources for this review were articles, reports, and dissertations describing the results of research or evaluations of the four approaches. References were sought by searching several data bases: ERIC, Dissertation Abstracts, and the School Practices Information File. In addition, letters were sent to directors of research and evaluation in 120 school districts in the United States and Canada, requesting information about pertinent evaluation studies that might have been conducted in their districts. Similarly, letters requesting relevant reports were sent to developers of three of the systems under study (Canter, Glasser, and Gordon). Most of the studies identified by this process were dissertation projects. Surprisingly, only a few

of the school districts reported evaluation research on the models, in spite of their widespread use (e.g., estimates cited in the literature indicate over 400,000 teachers trained in the use of Assertive Discipline).

Once obtained, each study was read and summarized (see tables 1, 2, 3, and 4). Basic information in the tables includes the number of teachers participating in the study and their level (elementary, secondary, student teachers, etc.). A short summary of study procedures is provided, along with a specification of the type of research design. Most studies were one of three types: a single group study with pre- and post-test assessment; a 2-group experimental (E) vs. control (C) comparison with randomization; or an E vs. C comparison without randomization.

Results of the studies are presented separately for teacher outcomes and student outcomes. Differences are noted in the table by a + (if a difference for the outcome measure was statistically significant at the $p < .05$ level), by an NEG (if the significant difference favored the control group), or NS (no significant difference). NA indicates that a significance test was not reported. Effect sizes were calculated by computing the difference between the experimental and control group means on the criterion variable, or the pre-post difference, divided by the standard deviation of the measure. Effects were considered small if they were less than 1/2 standard deviation, moderate if they were between 1/2 and 1 standard deviation, and large if greater than 1 standard deviation; these effects are noted as S, M, and L in the tables. In most cases effect sizes could be determined directly or by calculation from the reported results; in a few cases, noted NA, data were insufficient to estimate the effects. The purpose of presenting effects is to convey an idea of the amount of difference a training program might make. Significance tests, of course, do not do this. A highly significant result could be obtained for a small effect if a study used a large sample, while a small sample size might produce a moderate or large effect and yet not result in statistical significance. In the tables effects are reported except for the case when a non-significant difference was found and the effect size was small; this latter case is noted with a "-" in the effect column.

Results for TET

A summary of results for research on Teacher Effectiveness Training is given in table 1.

All eight studies that examined the effects of TET training on teacher behavior, knowledge, or attitudes found significant changes from pre- to post-testing, or between experimental (E) and comparison (C) groups after training, on at least one teacher variable. Not all results were consistent, however; for example,

two studies (Dillard, 1974; Walker, 1982) found no effects on the Minnesota Teacher Attitude Inventory (MTAI), while Chanow (1980) did find a significant increase from pre- to post-testing, on this instrument. Studies (Dennehy, 1981; Blume, 1977: Thompson, 1975) that assessed teacher behavior after training generally found evidence that teachers increased their ability to use recommended TET skills. Effect sizes ranged from small to large, with large effects common. Although a variety of research designs was used, no apparent bias toward stronger effects was noted in the weaker studies. The results support the conclusion that TET training can change teacher attitudes and behavior in a direction more consistent with the assumptions of the TET model: toward a more democratic view of the use of authority and more concern for student perceptions and feelings, and toward behavior that reflects acceptance of students.

The case with regard to effects on students is not as convincing. Six of the studies examined possible impact on students (Dennehy, 1981; Laseter, 1981; Nummela, 1978; Huck, 1975: Thompson, 1975; Chanow, 1980); and among the studies the results are mixed. Dennehy (1981) found significant effects on only one of five observed student behaviors, and in only one of the two E groups. Nummela (1978) found a small effect on student attitudes, although not on student locus of control. Thompson's study (1975) assessed the effect of I-messages (compared to reprimands) on disruptive behavior in two classes. In one class, no effect of I-statements on disruptive behavior could be detected. In the other class, I-messages seemed to decrease disruption initially, but a functional relationship between such teacher statements and reduced student disruptions was not demonstrated, because of a failure to reverse effects during the reversal phase of the experiment. The strongest results for effects on students appear in Chanow (1980), and Laseter (1981). Chanow found that students of teachers trained in TET significantly increased their evaluations of their teachers (e.g., on general impression, interest, competence) more than did students of teachers in a comparison group. However, teachers in the TET group were volunteers, so a self-selection bias is a serious limitation. Laseter's results have the same limitation. In his study, some teachers (but not a randomly assigned group) received TET training while others did not. Laseter found significant differences in achievement gains of students, related to the number of classes taken from TET-trained teachers. Students having more classes with TET teachers gained more on California Achievement Test (CAT) reading and math achievement than students having fewer classes whose teachers had received TET training. As with the Chanow study, teacher self-selection into training contributes an unknown amount to the effect; also, the absence of separate results for math and reading-relevant classes and the failure to observe teacher behavior further limits our ability to interpret the results. Finally, most of the effect sizes for student variables were small.

Thus, TET training was shown in most studies to have discernible effects on teachers. Effects on students were less convincing, in part because fewer studies examined student outcomes; in part because student results were less consistent and showed relatively small effects. For most studies of TET, the absence of random control groups further limits confidence in the results, as does the general lack of follow-up studies, beyond the immediate post-testing.

Results for Reality Therapy

A summary of studies of Reality Therapy can be found in table 2. The most thorough evaluation of Reality Therapy was reported by Masters and Laverty (1977). In this research, five matched pairs of schools in a Pennsylvania school district were identified and randomly assigned to an experimental or to a control (delayed treatment) group. E teachers and their students were assessed after 1 and after 2 years of implementation, and then were compared to the control group teachers and students at the end of their first year, before this latter group participated in RT training. Effects on teachers were assessed by classroom observations, which identified important differences in some (but not all) of the targeted instructional behaviors (e.g., greater amounts of questions and acceptance of student ideas, but no differences on acceptance of feelings). Two teacher scales measuring attitudes consistent with the RT philosophy revealed no significant group differences. Other data, however, indicated that many teachers were implementing some RT methods (e.g., conducting class meetings). Effects on students were, for the most part, not found by Masters and Laverty. Student achievement and attitude scores (except one subscale for part of the sample) showed no between group differences. An effect was found on referral rates, with the C group rate being nearly twice the E group's rate. This latter result has many possible interpretations: It could mean that a substantial improvement in behavior had occurred as a result of the use of RT methods. It could also mean, as the authors note (p. 43), that teachers became more adept at handling the problems in their own classes. It might also simply indicate an administrative difference in handling problem behaviors, rather than either an improvement in student behavior or an increase in teacher competence.

An evaluation of a long-term project using Reality Therapy is reported by the Johnson City (NY) Central School District (undated). Between 1972 and 1984, this district's programs were extensively redesigned, with RT as a part of the model, along with objectives-based evaluation, curriculum redesign and the use of a mastery model for instruction. (Because RT was only one of several components in the model, this study is not listed in table 2 in order to avoid the implication that all of the effects are mainly attributable to RT.) Substantial improvement in math and reading achievement was found using both cross-sectional and panel data,

between 1976 and 1984. How important a role Reality Therapy played in producing the effects cannot be estimated, because of the absence of control groups and the lack of documentation of implementation of the various components. However, the application is worth noting because it does suggest that RT can be combined with program renewal efforts so that, as a whole, the program produces positive effects.

Six other studies examined the effects of RT using a pre-post, E vs. C design, although none of these studies used random assignment to groups. Lynch (1975) found no effects on math achievement for students of teachers trained in RT (however, the training was of shorter duration than is usually provided and implementation may have been weak). Welch and Dolly (1980), in a study of elementary classes, found no evidence for effects either on teacher or student variables. Although the measured teacher behaviors did not seem to match very well with RT objectives and therefore might not have allowed a good test of program effects on teachers, the student behaviors were very appropriate (i.e., on-task behavior, discipline referrals, absence rate). Browning (1978) conducted a study in eighth-grade classes and obtained mixed results. RT-trained teachers developed more positive attitudes toward school and discipline concepts than comparison group teachers; students of RT-trained teachers also developed more favorable attitudes, and also gained more in GPA over the course of the study (a 6-week period). This latter result could be a function of changes in teachers' grading policies during the study, rather than due to improved achievement. Contrary to expectation, there was a slight increase in disciplinary referral rates in the E group and a substantial decline in referrals in the C group.

Matthews (1972) studied the effects of Reality Therapy in four elementary classes over a 5-month period. Treatment implementation was monitored by taping class meetings. No significant differences between classes of RT-trained and untrained teachers were found on either the Metropolitan Achievement Test or on subscales of the California Test of Personality. Fewer behavior problems were reported by teachers in the trained group; however, the lack of independent validation (for example, via direct observation) combined with the fact that the teachers were aware of the nature of the study weakens the finding. Houston-Slowik (1982) found a moderate reduction in anxiety and an increase in academic interest for students in two junior high classes whose teachers utilized Reality Therapy for 11 weeks, compared to two classes in a "matched" school. However, the small number of teachers and the lack of randomization are limitations. Cady (1983) found substantial increases in MTAI scores and in measures of knowledge and ability to use RT concepts in groups given RT training in a summer course. A follow-up assessment 3 months later showed that much of the effect persisted. No assessment was made of whether classroom behaviors of the teachers or students were affected by the training.

Most of the other studies examined the behavior of a single group of RT-trained teachers or their students across baseline and treatment implementation phases. Moede and Triscari (1985) found evidence for a substantial drop in disciplinary referrals in four elementary schools whose teachers were given Reality Therapy training. However, it is not clear whether these results were a function of RT or of other programs in the schools; in addition, it is not clear whether the drop in referrals represents a change in student behavior, or if it was a result of an administrative change in the way the schools handled student behavior problems.

Other positive evidence was obtained in several studies that used RT components to address specific problem students and their behavior. These focused applications appeared to be effective, at least in terms of producing immediate effects. Marandola and Imber (1979) demonstrated a sharp reduction in student arguing after a series of class meetings focused on this issue. Gang (1974) showed that using RT strategies with highly disruptive students was effective in substantially reducing their problem behavior and increasing their desirable behavior; the effect persisted for at least several weeks after the end of the direct treatment phase. Brandon's (1981) study of the effects of RT on absence rates was conducted using counselors instead of teachers. It is worth noting for several reasons. First, by using random assignment of chronically absent students to E and C groups, the design permits more confidence about causal inferences. Second, the results showed a significant effect on absence rates, which persisted 1 month after the end of the group meetings (but not for 2 months). However, no effect was noted on students' locus of control, which may help explain the loss of effect 2 months after treatment. A similar study by Atwell (1982) also used RT as the basis for counseling four highly disruptive students. Follow-up classroom observations of these students indicated significantly improved on-task rates.

In summary, many of the studies of Reality Therapy that assessed effects on student variables had at least one student outcome variable that differed significantly for the E and C groups or from pre- to post-test assessment. Only a few of the studies attempted to assess effects on teacher behavior or attitudes. Findings from these studies were mixed, with two indicating large effects on various attitudes, while two others found little or no effect on teacher behavior. In general, monitoring of implementation after training was weak, with numerous studies providing no evidence of continuing teacher use. Applications of Reality Therapy ranged from the modification of disruptive behavior of selected students to incorporation as a component in a longitudinal design of a school district's programs. The two evaluation studies that suggest long-term effects (Johnson City, undated; Moede and Triscari, 1985) did not use control groups nor was Reality Therapy's effect separated from

other program components. A better designed and more extensive evaluation (Masters and Laverty, 1977) found no effects on student achievement and very little evidence for effects on student attitudes. A positive finding was that the RT schools in this study did have substantially lower numbers of disciplinary referrals, but the result, as noted earlier, has multiple interpretations.

Results for Assertive Discipline

Studies of the effects of Assertive Discipline (AD) training are summarized in table 3. Ten of these studies included teacher variables, although these were mostly assessed by questionnaires rather than direct observation of classroom behaviors. Barrett (1985) found no change in student teachers' pupil-control emphasis, anxiety, or concern levels as a result of AD training. However, Henderson (1982) found that AD-trained teachers had less custodial concepts of pupil control and a more internal locus of control, although he did not find that these teachers had more positive self-concepts or assertive personality characteristics. Other studies (Allen, 1983; Bauer, 1982; Ersevas, 1980) found effects on teachers' perceptions of various aspects of discipline problems. Only one study of teacher perceptions found no effects: Kundtz (1981) reported no significant differences in the self-reports of management skills of teachers trained in Assertive Discipline, compared to teachers who had little exposure to AD.

Effects on teacher behavior were assessed in only two studies, both of student teachers. Furthermore, these studies used ratings rather than direct assessment of specific behaviors. Barrett and Curtis (1986) found small, though significant, effects, and Smith (1983) noted moderate effects on supervisor ratings of student teacher performance in the area of management and discipline. Unfortunately, neither of these latter two studies examined student behavior, nor did the studies identify what specific teacher behaviors were affected by AD training.

The 10 studies that included measures of student behavior produced results which were decidedly mixed. Only two studies assessed student attitudes or perceptions. Ersevas (1980) found no change in students' opinions of their classroom climate after implementation of AD throughout a school; however, students' perceptions of school climate improved. A negative finding was reported by Bauer (1982), whose ninth-grade subjects in a school using AD had significantly lower school morale scores than their non-AD school counterparts.

Student suspensions or referrals were a frequently used criterion variable, but these results, as a whole, are equivocal. Terrell (1984) carefully matched 11 schools using AD (generally for 2 years) with 11 other schools. Comparisons of the schools on several student variables showed no significant differences for

truancy rates, referrals, detentions, and suspensions, except for a significant drop favoring the AD school in the number of in-school suspensions from 1983 to 1984. However, a moderate (but nonsignificant) effect favoring the non-AD schools was noted in the post-only number of disciplinary referrals and detentions. Parker (1984) found a greater number of referrals in grades 7-9 after implementation of AD, and no change in grades 10-12. Bauer (1982) compared effects for teachers in a school using AD to teachers in other schools and found no differences in student absence or suspension rates. At the same time, fewer boys, but a greater number of girls, received disciplinary referrals in the AD school. Finally, Vandercook's study (1983) found no significant reduction in referrals for discipline problems after teachers received AD training.

Two other studies produced no support for AD. Sharpe (1980) found no significant between-group differences in the achievement scores of students whose teachers had received AD training, compared to students of teachers who had not received it. Kundtz (1981) found no significant change in the number of teacher-reported student behavior problems of teachers who had more extensive AD training, compared to teachers with less exposure to AD.

Generally positive effects on students were reported in three studies. Allen (1983) examined changes in discipline referral rates after an AD program was implemented in a junior high school and found a significant reduction in referrals for class disruptions: the magnitude of the effect was small, however, and equivalent to approximately 0.2 fewer referrals per student per year. Ward (1983) found a significant pre-post decline in the frequency of teacher reported disruptions after teachers received AD training. The absence of a control group and the lack of validation of the measure of teacher-perceived disruption make conclusions based on these data tenuous. The best evidence for positive effects of AD on students comes from McCormack (1985), who found lower rates of off-task behavior in AD-trained teachers' classes, compared to classes whose teachers did not use AD. Statistical controls were used to equate the groups on several variables, including student reading ability and teacher qualifications. However, no observations of the teachers occurred before they received AD training, and without random assignment it is possible that the AD teachers initially were better managers. Certainly the result needs replication. More generally, studies of AD would do well to use direct observation of both teacher and student behavior to assess effects.

In summary, studies of Assertive Discipline shows consistent evidence of effects on teachers' perceptions of various aspects of discipline, including reduced problem behaviors. However, the evidence suggests only a small effect on teacher behavior itself. Evidence for effects on student behavior and attitudes is not

supportive of AD training; that is, more studies found no effects, or mixed and negative effects, than found that AD training resulted in improved student behavior and attitudes.

Results for Adlerian Approaches

The empirical literature on uses of this approach by teachers and schools is very sparse in comparison to studies of the other three models. Evaluations of effects of Adlerian programs on teachers were done by Cady (1983), Hartwell (1975), and Willingham (undated). Willingham found, in a follow-up survey of individuals trained in Adlerian principles, that all respondents (1/3 of his sample) could describe specific examples of the successful use of the approach in their subsequent work. However, Hartwell (1975) found no evidence of change in teacher attitudes or self-reported behavior as a result of participation in a graduate course based on Adlerian principles. Hartwell did find that the teachers reported having fewer problems with selected students after the completion of the course. Unfortunately, neither of the preceding two research studies obtained independent validation of the teachers' perceptions. In the study by Cady (see also the description in the Reality Therapy section), teachers participating in an 8-day summer workshop made significant changes on the Minnesota Teacher Attitude Inventory, in the direction of a student-focused, non-authoritarian perspective, and on tests of knowledge and application of Adlerian concepts. These gains had diminished only slightly after 3 months, indicating a reasonably permanent change had taken place. Self-selection of the teachers into the instructional groups poses a threat to internal validity, particularly because the control group classes had somewhat lower MTAI scores on the pre-test. However, the Adlerian groups' gains were substantial, compared to no gain in the control groups, even after statistically partialing out initial differences among participants. It should be noted that the Adlerian groups' gains were not as great as for teachers in the Reality Therapy groups; however, this effect was small compared to treatment vs. control-group differences.

Studies of effects on student achievement and attitudes are reported by Pratt (1985), Kozuma (1977) and Krebs (1982). However, these studies are single-site case studies of applications, and even when data from a comparison school are presented (e.g., in Krebs' report), the absence of pre-test data makes meaningful comparisons impossible. In Krebs' report, two separate evaluations are reported. In one, a researcher administered the Barclay Climate Inventory in an Individual Education (i.e., Adlerian) elementary school and in a "traditional" elementary school. The reader is told that the comparison school students were ". . . similar in terms of age, grade level, family socioeconomic status, racial and ethnic backgrounds . . ." and that teachers in the two schools had similar levels of tenure, education, and training. Unfortunately, supporting data for these assertions are not presented, nor are

conditions of test administration described. Krebs' study of achievement differences indicated that one year after returning to traditional schools, students who had been in an IE school for one year had greater gains than their control group counterparts. This result has several interpretations, however, because the control group students did not differ from the experimental group at the end of the IE year (i.e., the differential gain occurred when both groups were in non-IE settings) and because no pre-IE achievement data were presented to demonstrate initial group equivalence. Moreover, none of the studies provides observational data documenting the existence of program components and relating them to student achievement or to other outcomes.

Thus, although frequently described as a disciplinary model for teachers, the Adlerian approach is greatly in need of better evidence corroborating its effects on teachers and students.

Discussion

Considered as a whole, the research on the four models provides some evidence for positive effects on various teacher attitudes, beliefs, and perceptions, such as are assessed by the Minnesota Teacher Attitude Inventory, the Pupil Control Ideology inventory, and teachers' self-perceptions and reports of classroom behavior problems. The studies of Teacher Effectiveness Training are most convincing with regard to teacher attitudes, because all of those studies which included such a measure obtained a significant result for at least one (and often more than one) attitude scale or dimension. Several studies of Assertive Discipline also found evidence of changes in teacher attitudes and perceptions following training, although some did not. Studies of the other two approaches did not include measures of teacher attitudes and perceptions as frequently as did studies of TET; when they did so, results were mixed but on the whole tended to be positive.

When the outcome measures were teacher behaviors, results were mixed, although TET studies, particularly--and to a lesser extent, Assertive Discipline--did find at least short-term changes. Overall, fewer studies attempted to assess teacher behavior, and when they did so, smaller effects, or non-significant ones, were found. The relative paucity of results for teacher behavior indicates, at the very least, a need to monitor teacher implementation more closely and to study those factors that may impede or facilitate program adoption and use. The fact that several of the studies of TET found significant effects for some teacher behaviors (e.g., empathy, I-messages) must be viewed with caution, because the assessments were usually not done under normal classroom circumstances. For example, assessments were made of tape-recorded conversations with children, or were done during a specially designated treatment phase. Thus, it is possible to conclude only that teachers had an increased

capability for exhibiting particular behaviors, but not that they necessarily would do so in their normal classroom environment. In the case of Assertive Discipline, the assessment of teacher behavior was limited to global ratings, and the significant effects tended to be small. Therefore, it is not clear from this research what types of teacher behaviors were changed by the AD training, nor whether the changes occurred on aspects most central to the AD model.

Studies of effects on students produced variable results across the models. For TET, some small but significant effects were noted on pupil evaluations of their teachers and on self-concept. Generally, however, little attention was paid in TET research to changes in student behavior, and when it was included among the dependent variables, effects were inconsistent. For Reality Therapy, the strongest and most consistent effects on students were noted in several studies that were directed at specific students who were exhibiting inappropriate behaviors. Evidence with regard to effects on long-term student behavior change and on student achievement is less convincing, in part because relatively few studies examined these outcomes and also because studies reporting positive results tend to be methodologically weaker than studies reporting no effects.

Studies of Assertive Discipline's effects on students did not show a consistent pattern of positive results for either attitudes/perceptions or for behavior. A few studies obtained positive results but others found negative or no significant effects on students. Neither was there a tendency for moderate but nonsignificant effects favoring the AD-trained groups, reducing the likelihood that small sample sizes might account for the lack of positive findings. Thus, in spite of teacher and administrator perceptions that are often positive, there is no evidence that AD training results in improved student behavior.

A difficulty in interpreting much of the research on these models is determining whether a given study is a reasonable test of a model's effectiveness. To do so, one must be able to answer the question of "effective for what?" and the answer is likely to depend on a set of values and assumptions about what constitutes educationally desirable outcomes. Differences in value oreintations are evident among the studies when one considers the range of variables used as outcome measures. For this reason, our review has grouped variables into several categories. It is assumed that readers will select or weight those most central to their purposes when evaluating the effectiveness of a particular model.

Another difficulty in dealing with this body of studies is that most failed to use any explicit model or theory base for predicting what effects would occur and why. As a consequence, there are often rather startling gaps in the chain of assessment that would enable the researchers to understand and interpret

their findings. A relatively simple model for understanding how an inservice training program might affect student behavior could include: description of the training process; determining whether and to what degree the participating teachers accepted or made a commitment to use the model presented in the program; observation and verification of the teacher' attempts at implementation of various components of the model; obtaining the teacher's evaluation of implementation after trial use; and assessment of student response during and after implementation. Although many studies contained adequate descriptions of the training procedures, few included assessments of mediating links to outcome measures. Nonsignificant results could, therefore, be the result of the inability of the model to produce the intended effects, an ineffective training program, and/or inadequate implementation of the model. Another unfortunate consequence of the lack of formative evaluation is that no empirical basis exists for identifying which components of a program are effectively used, why they might be effective, or how the teacher might have altered the approach during the process of implementation. Another limitation is an absence of theory undergirding the conception of most of the studies. For example, many of the studies focused on teacher attitudes without considering how changes in attitudes might result in behavior change (e.g., use of a particular discipline approach). In spite of the widespread use of measures of teacher and student attitudes and self-reports, little use was made of the substantial body of social psychological theory on attitude development and its relationship to behavior change (e.g., Feather, 1982; Fishbein and Ajzen, 1975).

Nearly all the research reported on the impact of a total program, whereas only a few studies examined specific program components' effects (e.g., I-messages, classroom meetings). The global approach has the advantage of providing an estimate of over-all impact, but it offers no information on how various aspects of the program contribute to the total effect. Neither does it offer insights that might be helpful in program improvement. An alternative research strategy is to examine effects of specific program components. Consider, for example, if more research had been conducted of the same type as Thompson's (1975) study of the TET I-message component. Thompson found that, for elementary students emitting high levels of inappropriate behaviors, the I-message strategy was only marginally effective in reducing their rate of occurrence. Follow-up studies might have led to the development of modifications of I-messages or to alternative procedures that would be more effective, and to a greater understanding of contextual dimensions that enhance or interfere with I-message effects.

The emphasis on evaluating the effects of the total programs has also inhibited the accumulation of data that could lead to their re-design. Thus, there is a static quality to these models, and the user is left with the option of electing or discarding the

whole approach, or "free-lancing" a variation without a substantive base for the modification. An alternative research strategy would be to assess both the global effects of a program and its specific components. For example, researchers could observe teachers during early and later phases of implementation, using naturalistic observations and interviews to identify and document program components that teachers and students are able to utilize easily and those which are problematic and in need of modification.

The contents of the training programs themselves have received very little attention in this research. The studies did not usually report the teachers' perceptions of different training activities or model components (see Detmer, 1974, for an exception to this general rule), nor were variations of a model compared. Also, the context in which the approach was used was given scant attention. For example, studies of student teachers did not consider the effects of the cooperating teachers' perceptions or use of the model under study, a factor that would surely have important effects on the student teachers' ability to implement a program. Another contextual feature that needs greater consideration is the school setting, including factors such as the degree of administrative and collegial support for adopting an approach, the type of school organization, and characteristics of students attending the school.

The absence of comparative studies and the great variety of teacher and student outcome variables that were used make conclusions about one or another program's superiority tenuous. Only one study (Cady, 1983) was found that compared two of the approaches (Reality Therapy and Adlerian). Examining the results for the total set of studies, it is apparent that the net effects of Reality Therapy and Teacher Effectiveness Training are positive for certain types of outcomes, although adoption of either approach would depend upon whether the types of outcomes for which the approach is effective are consistent with the user's objectives. It is also the case that except for some of the Assertive Discipline research, no studies indicate negative effects. Thus an optimistic conclusion would be that these programs are at least equal to and probably represent a net improvement over "traditional" classroom discipline methods. The danger in acting on such an inference and in using these "packaged" approaches is that they may be viewed (incorrectly, in our opinion) as a solution for the many problems that teachers and schools face in the area of discipline, when in fact any given approach addresses only a limited set of problems and offers strategies that are effective, at best, only in some cases. Thus, a school district planning inservice work for new teachers or teacher educators planning a preservice teacher education program should view any one of these approaches as no more than supplemental to a more comprehensive treatment of the knowledge and competencies necessary for teachers to acquire in this domain.

In varying degrees, these four models focus on guiding student behavior through rule clarity, use of consequences, and a variety of communication strategies to gain student commitment to behavior change. To a considerable extent, they are concerned with managing and correcting student behavior, solving problems, and the like. While this focus is an important one, it does not encompass the full range of the teacher's role in creating and preserving order (Doyle, 1986). Effective discipline requires that considerable attention be paid to classroom management, to instructional functions, and to preparation and planning. To cite two examples, research (Emmer, Evertson, and Anderson, 1980; Evertson and Emmer, 1982) has highlighted the importance of the initial phases of the school year in establishing a classroom setting that facilitates appropriate behavior and that prevents problems. Also, Kounin's research (1970; 1975) shows the importance of the degree to which a teacher keeps activities on track and prevents interruptions from slowing down lessons in order to promote high rates of student on-task behavior and freedom from deviancy. These examples suggest that discipline will be enhanced by teacher attention to planning, preparation, and the conduct of activities at the beginning of the year, and by conducting activities in efficient, interesting, and comprehensible ways throughout the year. Such concepts are not addressed by the four models, except in very limited ways. Yet it is through such concepts that teachers can <u>prevent</u> much misbehavior and thus reduce the need for "disciplining" students. Therefore, this review's inability to demonstrate strong evidence for effects on student behavior may result not so much from weak research designs and limited measures of student outcomes as from the failure of these models to address the day-to-day classroom management <u>skills</u> needed to engage students in productive activities and to prevent minor problems from becoming major ones.

Teachers or school administrators considering the use of any one of these models and its associated training program should carefully consider what function it will have in their overall scheme of instructional and behavioral management. If a program's goals are consistent with theirs and the summary of research evidence supports the program's efficacy in the goal area, then adoption might be reasonable. At the same time it is important to realize that none of these models adequately addresses the complex set of preventive and supportive functions necessary for effective management and discipline. Thus the overall plan for classroom management and discipline will need to be analyzed carefully in order to assure adequate coverage of areas not included in a chosen model.

These systems <u>do</u> provide teachers and administrators with some strategies for dealing with major threats to school and classroom order and/or they provide rational, systematic means of communicating with students about expectations and consequences. These features may help explain the positive effects sometimes obtained when specific types of student behaviors were targeted

for treatment. Therefore, these models might play a limited though useful role in a comprehensive system of classroom management and discipline.

TABLE 1. SUMMARY OF TEACHER EFFECTIVENESS TRAINING STUDIES

Study	Subjects	Procedures	Design	Teacher Measures	Sig[a]	Eff.[b]	Student Measures	Sig	Eff.	Comments
Walker (1982)	84 STs (elem.)	E groups received a 24 hour TET course at the beginning of student teaching. The C groups received variations of traditional student teaching supervision and seminars.	E: Pre-Post C_1 & C_2: Pre-Post (not random)	Teacher attitudes: MTAI Dogmatism	 NS +	 - L	NONE			E group STs were volunteers. Pretest differences among the groups on the outcome measures were small and nonsignificant.
Dennehy (1981)	18 Ts (elem)	Two groups (n=9) received 30 hours of TET training over 10 weeks. Classes were observed using Flanders' IA and Spaulding's CASES.	E_1. Pre, Post, Follow-up E_2: Pre-Post	Flanders' IA. Observed behavior: Accepts feelings Praises Accepts ideas Gives directions I-messages You-messages	 +/0 +/0 +/0 +/0 NS +/0	 L L L L - L	Spaulding's CASES Observed behavior: Self-directed Pays attention Sharing and helping Social interaction Seeks/receives support	 NS NS NS NS +	 - - - - L	Significant effects observed only in E_2. Tendency toward opposite effects in E_1.
Laseter (1981)	22 Ts (7th, 8th)	Teachers received 30 hours of TET training; an unspecified number of teachers were untrained. For each student, the number of classes taught by TET-trained Ts was the predictor; adjusted S gain on the CAT over a year was the criterion.	E: Pre-Post	NONE			S achievement: CAT reading CAT math	 + +	 NA NA	Statistical controls for entering achievement, grade, race, sex, and SES.

Ewing (1980)	30 Ts (elem)	E group received 30 hours of TET training over 7 weeks. Post-tests were given one week after training	E, C: Pre-Post (not random)	Teacher attitudes			NONE			Control teachers were volunteers from the same district, similar to the E group in sex and age but with more teaching experience.
				State Anxiety	+	L				
				Trait Anxiety	NS	-				
				Tennessee Self Concept	NS	-				
				Teaching as a Career	NS	-				
				Attitude Toward Coworkers (post only)	+	L				
Chanow (1980)	28 Ts, 140 Ss (7th, 8th)	E group received 8 weeks of TET training, 2 1/2 hrs. per week. S outcome was an evaluation of their teachers:	E: Pre-Post C: Pre-Post (non random)	Gain on Teacher Attitudes:			Gain in student attitudes:			Ts in the E group were volunteers.
				MTAI	+	M	4 of 5 subscales of the ITEQ	+		
				PARI	+	M				
				ATE	+	M				
McBee (1979)	198 Ts (K-12) in 14 Schools	All Ts received a 2-day workshop on TET. Teacher knowledge of TET content and Pupil Control Ideology (PCI) were assessed before and after the workshop.	E: Pre-Post,	Affective knowledge PCI	+ / 0	L S	NONE			PCI scores became less custodial after some workshops; no change after others. No control group.
Nummela (1978)	6Ts, 104 Ss (Elem.)	E Ts received TET training before school began. S measures were obtained in early Sept. and in March.	E,C Pre-post, (not random)	NONE			Student attitude scale (Battle)	+	S	Groups did not differ on the Sept. pretest. All classes were taught in a campus lab school.
							How I See Myself questionnaire	+	S	
							IAR questionnaire	NS	-	
Blume (1977)	73 pre-service Ts	The E group received four 1 hour sessions on active listening skills. Tapes of the Ts' conversations with children were scored for empathy	E, C: Pre-Post, Follow-up (random)	Rating of empathy	+	L	NONE			Effect size was moderate on a 6 week follow-up assessment.

Huck (1975)	Ss of 20 Ts (7th-12th)	E teachers received 30 hours of TET training. Student perceptions of classroom environment were assessed in Oct. and in May.	E, C: Pre-post (not random)	NONE			Student perceptions: Classroom Environment Index (multiple scales)	NS	-	Absence of significant differences was consistent in both junior high and senior high classes.
Thompson (1975)	2 Ts (elem) 6S	Both Ts were given 6 hours of training in the use of I-messages. Ts then attempted to reduce high rates of inappropriate behavior of target Ss.	E: Pre-Post; Double-Reversal,	Observed behavior: I-messages and reprimands	+	L	Observed behavior: Disruption	+/0	S	Failure to achieve control of disruptive rates during reversal indicates weak effects on student behavior.
Dillard (1974)	16 graduate Ss in education	All grad Ss participated a 12 week TET course, 3 hrs./wk. Outcomes were assessed using the MTAI and by analyzing tape recordings of grad Ss interviews with children.	E: Pre-Post	MTAI	NS	-	NONE			Interviews were conducted with individual pupils in non-classroom settings.
				Tape analysis: Facilitative responding	+	S				
				Non-facilitative responding	+	S				

[a] Significance level. NS: Not significant; + : $p < .05$, favoring the E group or post over pretest; +/0 significant differences for only a subset of variables or groups; NEG: $p < .05$ but the effect favors the control group; NA: significance test not reported.

[b] Effect size symbols: L:large; M: Moderate; S: small (see text for explanation). NA: effect size was not given and could not be calculated. Unless otherwise indicated, effects favor the E over the C group, or the post over the pretest.

NOTE: The following abbreviations are used in this and in subsequent tables: Teacher (T), Student (S), Student teacher (ST), Trained or experimental group (E); Comparison group (C), Assertive Discipline (AD), Attitudes Toward Education (ATE), Barclay Classroom Climate Inventory (BCCI), California Achievement Test (CAT), Coping Analysis Schedule for Educational Settings (CASES), Illinois Teacher Evaluation Questionnaire (ITEQ), Intellectual Achievement Responsibility questionnaire (IAR), Interaction Analysis (IA), Minnesota Teacher Attitude Inventory (MTAI), Parental Attitude Research Instrument (PARI), , Pupil Control Ideology (PCI), Reality Therapy (RT), Socioeconomic Status (SES), Teacher Effectiveness Training (TET).

TABLE 2. SUMMARY OF REALITY THERAPY STUDIES

Study	Subjects	Procedures	Design	Teacher Measures	Sig	Eff.	Student measures	Sig	Eff.	Comments
Moede & Triscari (1985)	Ts, Ss at 4 schools (elem)	All teachers received RT training; schools began using ISS rooms with instructional monitors. Program effects were assessed by monitoring disciplinary actions over 3 years.	E: Pre-Post, Follow-up	Teacher perceptions of effects on Ss	NA	NA	Number of "disciplinary actions"	NA	L	Discipline actions declined from 142 before the program began to 23 after 3 years.
Houston-Slowik (1982)	4 Ts, 74 Ss (7th, 9th)	After participating in an 8 hour workshop, two teachers used class meetings twice a week for 11 weeks. Effects were assessed on self concepts and locus of control of Mexican-American students.	E, C: Pre-Post. (not random)	NONE			Self-Concept			MANOVA indicated sig. post-test effects. E and C classes were in two different schools; groups were matched on "pertinent socioeconomic, ethnic, and academic characteristics" (p. 52).
							Aspiration	NS	-	
							Anxiety	+	M	
							Academic interest	+	M	
							Leadership	NS	-	
							Identification	NS	-	
							Locus of control	NS	-	
Cady (1983)	142 Ts (K-12)	Teachers in summer workshops received 8 one-half day training sessions on RT, Adlerian, or subject matter topics.	E_1, E_2, C: Pre, Post, & 3 mo. Follow-up (not random)	MTAI	+	L	NONE			After 3 months, effects were still significant. RT group had significantly higher means than the Adlerian groups, but differences were generally small.
				Test of knowledge of RT, Adler concepts	+	L				
				Case study analysis	+	L				
Brandon (1981)	14 Counselors 110 Ss (9th-12th)	Counselors were trained to use RT with chronically absent Ss, during 8 or more group sessions. Effects were assessed on absence rate and locus of control.	E, C: Pre, Post, Follow-up (1 & 2 mo.), (random)	NONE			Absences	+/0	L/S	Sig. differences for absenteeism favored E on posttest and 1 mo. follow-up. Effect was smaller and not significant at the 2 mo. follow-up.
							Locus of Control	NS	-	

Welch and Dolly (1980) and Welch (1978)	16 T (elem)	8 Ts received 24 hours of RT training and 8 matched comparison group Ts did not. Classroom observations were made during 3 weeks pretraining and 3 weeks posttraining.	E, C: Pre, Post (not random)	Teacher affective behavior	NS	-	On-task Discipline referrals Absences	NS NS NS	- -	
Marandola and Imber (1979)	1 T 10 Ss (elem)	Ten learning disabled boys participated in classroom meetings held on 8 consecutive days. Intervention focus was always related to argumentive behavior. Effect was assessed using observations of arguing behavior.	E: Pre-Post	NONE			Classroom observation: Rate of arguing	+	NA	Compared with baseline observations, substantial reductions occurred in the amount of arguing.
Browning (1978)	28 Ts, 668 Ss (8th))	After receiving 20 hours of RT training, the E teachers used RT procedures for the last 6 weeks of school. Effects were assessed on T attitudes and on S attitudes, behavior, and grades.	E, C: Pre-Post (not random)	Teacher attitudes: Various semantic differential items (e.g. rules, school, discipline)	+	NA	Student attitudes (same as teacher) Discipline referrals Grades	+ NEG +	NA NA M	ANCOVA used to equate groups on pretest variables. E and C teachers were selected from different schools. Discipline referrals declined in C group, and showed little change for E group students.
Masters and Laverty (1977)	150 Ts, 3500 Ss (elem)	RT was adopted at 5 schools. Extensive training provided for Ts. Effects were assessed by comparing E and C schools after 1 and 2 years of implementation, using a variety of teacher and student outcomes.	E,C: Pre-post, (Schools random)	Classroom observation: Modified Flanders, a Reciprocal Category System) Teacher attitudes (questionnaire)	+/0 NS	L -	Disciplinary referrals Student attitudes Student achievement	+ 0/+ NS	L - -	C group schools received RT program after 1 year i.e., delayed treatmont. Post differences of attitudes between E and C favored E students on one subtest, but only for the intermediate grade level.

Lynch (1975)	11 Ts, 240 Ss (9th)	E teachers received 5 hours of RT training at the beginning of the school year. S achievement was assessed in Sept. and Jan.	E, C: Pre-post (not random)	Supervisor rating of use of RT	NA	Mathematics achievement test	NS	-	Ratings of teacher use of RT components do not indicate much treatment impact.
Gang (1974) (elem)	2 Ts, 6 Ss a seminar periods	The teachers, concurrently enrolled in on RT, were given additional instruction. Ts also selected 3 Ss who were serious behavior problems. Effects of teacher application of RT were studied by observing the target students.	E: Pre-Post, Follow-up	NONE		Student behavior: Sustained schoolwork Oppositional	NA NA	L L	Significance tests comparing percentages of outcome behaviors during baseline, implementation, and follow-up were not conducted; however, change percentages were large.
Matthews (1972)	8 Ts 221 Ss (4th, 5th)	E group teachers received 5 1&1/2 hr. workshops. Class meetings were taped twice monthly. Treatment period: Jan.-May.	E, C: Pre-Post (not random)	NONE		Metropolitan Achiev. Calif. Test of Personality Walker Problem Behavior Checklist	NS NS +	- - S	Treatment implementation was monitored. Because the Behavior Checklist was completed by the Ts, potential bias may have occurred favoring the treatment group.

Note: See Table 1 footnotes for abbreviations.

TABLE 3. SUMMARY OF ASSERTIVE DISCIPLINE STUDIES

Study	Subjects	Procedures	Design	Teacher measures	Sig	Eff.	Student measures	Sig	Eff	Comments
Barrett and Curtis (1986)	536 STs	E STs participated in a 6 hour AD workshop prior to student teaching. Program effects were assessed by comparing student teacher evaluations of training and supervisor's evaluations to the prior year's ST assessments	E, C Post only (not random)	ST rating of preparation for discipline Supervisor's rating of ST's discipline	+ +	S S	NONE			
McCormack (1985)	36 Ts (3rd)	Off-task rates in classes taught by 18 Ts using AD were compared to 18 Ts not using AD.	E, C, post only (not random)	NONE			Off-task rate	+	L	Use of AD was a stronger predictor of off-task rates than student ability level. Use of AD was verified via questioning of the T, Ss, and principals.
Barrett (1985)	102 STs	E STs received a 6 hour workshop on AD prior to student teaching. Effects were assessed on PCI, teacher anxiety, and teacher concerns.	E, C Pre Post (random)	PCI Anxiety Concerns	NS NS NS	- - -	NONE			Part of the E group received follow-up supervision and feedback based on AD concepts, but no effect of supervision on outcomes was detected.
Parker (1984)	46 Ts (7th-12th)	After 3 years of use, AD was evaluated by administering questionnaires to groups of administrators, teachers, students, and parents.	E: post only	Questionnaire Multiple items	 NA		Referral rates (change from prior yr) Grades 7-9 Grades 10-12 Questionnaire Multiple items	 NEG NS NA	 S -	Teachers, students, and parents were mixed in their assessment of AD. Less experienced Ts were more positive in their evaluations of AD.

Terrell (1984)	22 schools (sec)	Eleven schools using AD were compared with 11 other schools, matched on SES, enrollment, ethnic mix, and location. Outcome variables were assessed by administrator responses on questionnaires.	E, C: Pre-Post (not random)	NONE		<u>Change from 82-83 to 83-84</u>			Matching process was carefully done. Most AD schools had used the program for 2 years. Moderately greater numbers of detentions and referrals occurred in AD schools, although in-school suspensions declined, compared with non-AD schools.
						Truancy rates	NS	-	
						Discipline referrals	NS	-	
						Detentions	NS	-	
						Suspensions from school	NS	-	
						In-school suspensions	+	M	
						<u>Post only: 83-84</u>			
						Truancy rates	NS	-	
						Discipline referrals	NS	M(NEG)	
						Detentions	NS	M(NEG)	
						Suspensions from school	NS	-	
						In-school suspensions	NS	-	
Allen (1983)	353 Ss, all Ts (8th)	E teachers received AD training. Referral rates were compared before and after one year of implementation.	E: Pre-Post	Questionnaire: Perceptions of AD effects	NA	Changes in discipline Referral rates for class disruptions	+	S	Teacher perceptions of AD effects were positive. Average number of referrals declined only slightly, by about 0.2 per student per year.
						5 other categories	NS	-	
Ward (1983)	22 Ts (elem. & sec.)	After receiving AD training, Ts recorded the frequency or disruptive behaviors for one day. They then used AD for 4-6 weeks and recorded disruptive behaviors one more day.	E: Pre-Post	NONE		Student disruptions	+	M	Use of teacher reports of disruptions, without a validation check, is a serious limitation.

Vandercook (1983)	25 Ts (elem)	All Ts received 15 hours of AD training. Effects were assessed by a questionnaire on attitudes toward discipline and by comparing referrals with the previous year's.	E: Pre-Post	Attitude toward discipline	+	L	Referrals: Discipline problems	NS	-	Referrals declined from Pre to Post but not below prior year's level.
Smith (1983)	98 STs	E group received a 6 hour AD workshop. Outcomes assessed using the Rathus Assertiveness Schedule (RAS) and supervisor ratings of the STs.	E, C: Pre-Post (random)	Attitude: RAS Supervisor ratings: Assertiveness Over-all evaluation Classroom managment	+ + NS +	S S - M	NONE			Classroom management rating was taken from a subscale of a statewide assessment form.
Henderson (1982)	75 Ts (elem)	E group received a 6 hour AD workshop. Effects were assessed after one year of implementation using teacher questionnaires.	E, C: Post only. (not random)	Teacher attitudes: PCI Locus of Control Self-concept Assertive personality characteristics	 + + NS NS NS	 NA NA - - -	NONE			Assertiveness was assessed using sub-scales of Cattell's 16 PF. E and C groups were matched on teacher age, sex, grade taught and certification status.
Bauer (1982)	68 Ts (9th)	Ts, Ss in a school using AD were compared to Ts, Ss in other schools over 1 and 2 year periods. Assessment was based on referral rates, suspensions, teacher perceptions.	E, C: Post only (not random)	Teacher perceptions (multiple items assessing extent of problems)	+/0	NA	Referrals Suspensions Student morale questionnaire Absences	+/NEG NS NEG NS	S - L -	Fewer boys, more girls referred at the AD school. Absence of preassessment of T perceptions limits the interpretation of differences. Student scores on school attitude were lower in AD school.

Kundtz (1981)	62 Ts (elem)	Teachers in two school districts were compared. In one district all Ts had 1 or more years of experience using AD; in the second district, Ts had much less or no exposure to AD.	E, C: Post only (not random)	Self report of various management skills	NS	-	Behavior problems	NS	-	S behavior problems were assessed by T reports. A majority of teachers in both groups reported that problem frequencies had decreased.
Sharpe (1980)	7 Ts, 83 Title I, Ss only, (5th, 6th)	Achievement scores of Ss whose Ts had received 6 hrs. of AD training were compared to scores of Ss whose Ts who had not had AD training.	E, C: Pre-Post. (not random	NONE			Metropolitan Achievement Tests:			Pre-post testing was one year apart. ANCOVA
							Reading	NS	-	was used to control for
							Mathematics	NS	-	pre achievement.
Ersevas (1980)	57 Ts 169 Ss (elem)	Ts at 4 schools received AD training. Pre and post survey questionnaires assessed T and S (grade 5 only) perceptions.	E: Pre-Post	Assertive Discipline Teacher survey:			Assertive Discipline Student survey:			Survey of parents found no changes in their perceptions of discipline at the schools.
				About your class	+	L	About your class	NS	-	
				About your school	+	L	About your school	+	M	

NOTE: See Table 1 footnotes for abbreviations.

TABLE 4. SUMMARY OF ADLERIAN STUDIES

Study	Subjects	Procedures	Design	Teacher Measures	Sig.	Eff.	Student measures	Sig.	Eff.	Comments
Pratt (1985) and Kozuma (1977)	NA	Both authors report several case studies of schools using an Adlerian approach. Achievement and attitude test results are compared to "traditional" schools or to expected status or gain.	Case studies of individual schools	NONE			Achievement: various measures Attitudes: various measures	NA NA	S M/L	Many uncontrolled factors in the studies were not considered by the authors in their discussion of the results.
Cady (1983)	142 Ts (K-12)	Teachers in summer workshops received 8 one-half day training sessions on Adlerian, Reality Therapy, or subject matter topics.	E_1, E_2, C: Pre, Post, and 3 mo. follow up. (not random)	MTAI Test of knowledge of Adlerian, Reality Therapy concepts Case study analysis	+ +	L L	NONE			Adlerian groups had higher means than the comparison groups, but had significantly lower means than the RT groups on the outcome measures.
Krebs (1982)	NA (Elem)	Krebs reports two studies evaluating schools using an Adlerian program. In one study the BCCI was used to compare student perceptions with a matched control school. In the second study, Ss were compared one year after the E group Ss returned to "traditional" schools.	Study 1: E,C Post only Study 2: E,C Post, Follow-up. (not random)	NONE			Attitudes, Perceptions: BCCI Achievement-Iowa Test of Basic Skills: Six Subscales	+/0 +	M M	On the BCCI instrument, 3 of 6 factors significantly favored the Adlerian schools. On the Iowa test, significant differences were found on all 6 subscales. Many uncontrolled factors limit the generalizability of. this study.

Hartwell (1975)	14 Ts, 42 Ss (K-4th)	Teachers participated in a graduate course on Adlerian principles. Each teacher completed questionnaires and behavior check lists for 3 students.	E: Pre-Post.	Knowledge test Self assessment of attitudes and behavior	NA NS	NA -	Walker Problem Behavior Checklist	NA	NA	Ts rated their Ss as having fewer problems after taking the course, but significance tests were not reported.
Willingham (undated)	NA	Teachers and counselors who received graduate coursework in Adlerian techniques were surveyed 1 to 3 years after training to assess their use of the model.	E: Followup survey	Teacher perceptions	NA	NA				One-third of the Ts surveyed from 7 different courses responded and all of these Ts indicated successful use of the model.

NOTE: See Table 1 footnotes for abbreviations.

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Appendix

School Crime and Student Misbehavior

Annotated List of Research Reports 1977-88

Supported by
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
and the National Institute of Education
U.S. Department of Education

This compilation contains several sections in the following order:

- Overviews of the Area
- The Safe School Study and Derivatives
- Classroom Management Strategies
- School Management and Effectiveness
- Absenteeism and Student Disengagement
- Suspension and Alternatives to Suspension
- Alternative Schools for Disruptive Youths
- Research on Delinquency, Discipline, and School Improvement at Johns Hopkins University

Each of these sections is organized chronologically, from earliest to latest report. Many of the study annotations are based on abstracts in the Educational Resources Information Center (ERIC) clearinghouse system. The ED number (educational document) after such titles is a key to microfiche copies of the complete article on file with institutions which have the ERIC collection. An EJ number where it appears can be used to trace a paper to an educational journal through the Current Index to Journals In Education. For National Institute of Education publications and where another source is not indicated, copies and/or further information on the studies cited may be obtained by contacting:

Oliver Moles, Ph.D.
Office of Research, OERI
U.S. Department of Education
555 New Jersey Avenue NW - Room 627
Washington, DC 20208-5649
Phone: (202) 357-6207

This list was compiled and edited by Oliver Moles and Patricia Mikos. The material or the John Hopkins University reports was prepared by Gary D. Gottfredson.

Violent Schools--Safe Schools. The Safe School Study Report to the Congress. Executive Summary.
National Institute of Education, Washington, D.C. Dec.1977. ED149466

A summary of the Safe School Study which outlines the study methodology, seriousness and extent of the problem, location of offenses, factors associated with school violence and vandalism, and the effectiveness of measures of prevention. (Limited copies available)

School Crime and Disruption: Prevention Models.
Wenk, Ernst. International Dialogue Press, Davis, CA. Jun.1987. 197p. (out of print) ED160710

The focus of this anthology is on practical approaches to school crime prevention and control. The first part outlines a strategy for basing prevention programs on the findings of research tailored to a particular school. The second part includes articles on current theories of causation as well as suggestions for altering conditions in schools or society which contribute to school crime. The third category of papers concentrates on specific programs or actions which can be taken to reduce school crime.

Behavior Problems in Secondary Schools.
Feldhusen, John F. Purdue University, Lafayette, IN. Oct.1978. 29p. ED165253

This paper reviews the various forms of antisocial student behavior in schools, tries to identify causes, examines programs and procedures for remediating and preventing such behavior, and makes recommendations for action by educators.

Aggression, Deviance, and Personality as Antecedents and Consequences of Alienation and Involvement in High School.
Kulka, Richard A; and others. Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan. Dec. 1979. EJ273682

An analysis of the incidence, sources, consequences, and process of involvement and alienation from the social system and the educational process in high schools. Report also includes conceptual development and empirical support for a person-environment fit theory of school crime and disruption.

Discipline, Order and Student Behavior in American High Schools.
DiPrete, Thomas A. National Center for Education Statistics, Washington, D.C. 1981 229p. ED224137

The data and analyses presented are from the first (1980) data set of the High School and Beyond study. The findings include the distribution of misbehavior by student and school characteristics, the relationship between discipline, misbehavior and school characteristics, as well as students' perceptions of school discipline and the accuracy of perceptions of school problems, rule enforcement, and misbehavior.

Studies in the History of Early Twentieth Century Delinquency Prevention.

Schlossman, Steven. National Institute of Education, Washington, D.C. Jan. 1983. ED231730

This report is divided into two discrete essays on the historical antecedents of modern day ideas, practices, and policies in the field of delinquency prevention. The first examines the writings of seven prominent commentators on juvenile delinquency and links their ideas to broader currents in American social thought. The second examines the emergence of state prevention policies specifically in California and Ohio.

The Marginal High School Student: Defining the Problem and Searching for Policy.

Wehlage, Gary G. Children and Youth Services Review, Vol. 5, pp.321-342 1983.

This paper describes the general ineffectiveness of specialized and remedial programs aimed at making marginal students more employable. An analysis is offered which links delinquency and adolescent development theory; the concept of adolescent social development is also explored. The effects of alternative education programs are viewed as context for stimulating development.

Trends in Interpersonal Crimes in Schools.

Moles, Oliver. Spectrum, Vol. 2, No. 4, Fall 1984. 8p.

This paper examines national data from 1972-1982 in order to identify trends in student and teacher victimization in schools. Attention focuses on serious and unlawful rule breaking such as physical attacks, robbery, theft and property destruction.

High School Order and Academic Achievement.

Gaddy, Gary, D. Wisconsin Center for Education Research, University of Wisconsin-Madison. 1987. ED303434

This paper explores the idea that failure to distinguish order as a product of coercion from order as a manifestation of self-discipline may result both in the failure of research to clarify the relationship between order and

achievement and in the failure of schools to foster their highest purposes. Suggestions for further research are made.

Trends in Student Misconduct: The '70s and '80s.
Moles, Oliver. U.S. Department of Education, Washington, D.C. July 1987. 34p. ED286954

This paper documents concerns over student discipline in schools and examines the basis for this concern. Data on school crime and student misbehavior are presented from four large cities and from national teacher and student victimization surveys between the mid 70s and mid 80s.

Youth Indicators 1988: Trends in the Well-being of American Youth.
Office of Educational Research and Improvement, U.S. Department of Education, Washington, D.C. Aug. 1988.

This book consists of 55 charts and tables on how young Americans live, learn, earn and think. It provides a long-term and comprehensive perspective on the welfare of young people. Student dropouts, drug use, criminal victimization and school misbehavior as well as changes in family structure, economic well-being and employment prospects are among the issues addressed. (Available from U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402-9325 for $7.00. Stock #065-000-00347-3.)

THE SAFE SCHOOL STUDY AND DERIVATIVES

Violent Schools--Safe Schools. The Safe School Study Report to Congress. Volume 1.
National Institute of Education, Washington, D.C. Jan. 1978. 357p. ED149464

Based on a mail survey of over 4,000 schools, an onsite survey of 642 schools, and case studies of 10 schools, this study determines the frequency, seriousness, and incidence of crime in elementary and secondary schools in all regions of the United States; the cost of material replacement and repair; and means by which more effective crime prevention may be achieved.

Safe School Study; Volume 2, Methodology.
National Institute of Education, Washington, D.C. Dec. 1977. 489p. ED149465.

This volume describes the sample design, data collection instruments and procedures, and data analysis methods used in the Safe School Study. It also contains the data

collection instruments, a literature review, and other supplementary materials and study procedures.

Safe School Study; Volume 3. Data Files Documentation.
National Institute of Education, Washington, D.C. Feb. 1978. 438p. ED153327.

This volume provides information about the data files. Included are a description of the data tape and its files, record layout information, special coding techniques, anomalies, problems within the data, advice on analyzing the data, and guidelines for merging and aggregating.

Disruption in Six Hundred Schools.
Gottfredson, Gary D.; Daiger, Denise C. Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, MD. Center for Social Organization of Schools. Nov. 1979. 262p. ED183701.

Rates of teacher and student victimization are examined in a sample of public junior and senior high schools using the Safe School Study questionnaire data from teachers, students, and principals, and 1970 census data about the communities within which the schools are located.

Measuring Victimization and the Explanation of School Disruption.
Gottfredson, Gary D.; and others. Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore MD. Center for Social Organization of Schools. March 1981. 109p. ED206702.
Reports by students and teachers of their experiences of personal victimization in a national sample of public junior and senior high schools are used to analyze the correlates and causes of school disorder.

The Chicago Safe School Study.
Center for Urban Education, Board of Education, City of Chicago. Aug. 1981. 232p. ED219888.

This study, modeled after the NIE Safe School Study, examines victimization rates for both students and teachers in Chicago. Recommendations are presented for dealing with the problems of crime and violence.

Student Fear in Secondary Schools.
Wayne, Ivor; Rubel, Robert J. The Urban Review. Vol 14, No. 3. Nov. 1982. 85p.

This report focuses on how students are affected by their perceptions of dangerous or threatening situations at school. A review of studies on student fear provides the theoretical framework for an analysis based on data from the Safe School Study of the most probable victims of fear, the conditions or events correlated with fear, and its side-effects.

Reducing School Crime and Student Misbehavior: A Problem-Solving Strategy.

Rubel, Robert J. and Ames, Nancy L., National Institute of Justice, Washington, D.C. June, 1986. 120p. ED282971

This report is based on a joint effort between the U.S. Departments of Education and Justice to design and test an interagency approach to dealing with the problems of crime, violence and misbehavior in schools. It offers a carefully developed set of procedures to help school administrators, teachers and others analyze these problems via incident profiling, and implement appropriate corrective action including agreements between schools and law enforcement agencies.

CLASSROOM MANAGEMENT STRATEGIES

Proceedings: Conference on Corporal Punishment in the Schools: A National Debate (Washington, D.C., February 18-20, 1977).

National Institute of Education, Washington, D.C. Feb. 1977. 59p. ED144185

The papers in this volume include a review of research on the effects of corporal punishment, an analysis of state legislation regulating corporal punishment in the schools, as well as papers for and against the use of corporal punishment. Some are by contestants in the subsequent Supreme Court case.

"Is That Really Fair?"

Lincoln, William F. and Enos, Sandra L., Eds. National Institute of Education, Washington, D.C. 15 April 1978. ED172309

This set of papers by specialists in student grievance processes was designed to indicate the range of thinking in the field rather than to reach a consensus. A variety of opinions concerning grievability, outside review, student and parent participation, and implementation of strategies are addressed and recommendations for policy are made.

An Analysis of Studies on Effectiveness of Training and Staffing to Help Schools Manage Student Conflict and Alienation. A Report.

Hyman, Irwin A. National Center for the Study of Corporal Punishment and Alternatives in the Schools, Temple University, Philadelphia, PA. Jan. 1979. ED176378

This report examines the effectiveness of recruitment and selection procedures for identifying and retaining administrators and school staff who are effective in

managing student conflict and alienation. A classification scheme devised to fit approaches to school discipline within several theoretical frameworks is reviewed and available research cited.

The Institute for Research on Teaching: Classroom Strategy Project.

The Institute for Research on Teaching, Michigan State University, East Lansing, MI. 1980.

This report describes ways in which effective teachers thought about and managed students identifying by their teachers as "problem students". Includes reference to numerous other publications.

School Discipline: A Socially Literate Solution.

Alschuler, Alfred S. McGraw-Hill Book Co., New York. 1980. 215p

This book describes an approach to discipline problems which looks to the system of school rules and relationships for the causes of student misbehavior and places to attempt change. Book also contains exercises.

Academic Failure, Student Social Conflict and Delinquent Behavior.

Pink, William T. Urban Review, Fall 1982.
This paper explores the relationship between various forms of academic failure in schools and a range of critical student attitudes and behaviors. It is argued that both the process of schooling, and the assumptions which support that process, serve to create negative student attitudes and anti-social behaviors.

Classroom Organization and Management

Brophy, Jere. Elementary School Journal, Mar. 1983 p265-85.

Research is reviewed and principles extracted from studies of the last 10-15 years on how successful teachers organize and manage their classrooms. Group management techniques from behavior modification and counseling approaches are included.

Effective Classroom Management and Instruction: An Exploration Model.

Evertson, Carolyn. Instructional Systems, Inc., Little Rock, AR. June 1985. ED271423

This study examines classroom management and behavior control research in order to develop more effective procedures. The outcome of this research is the identification of a series of models of effective and less effective presentations of content, which can be used to inform future teacher training and research.

Classroom Discipline and Management in Japanese Elementary School Classrooms.

Taniuchi, Lois. Office of Educational Research and Improvement, U.S. Department of Education, Washington, D.C. Oct. 1985. 49p. ED271392

Major early influences and training methods establishing classroom management routines and behavioral control strategies in first grade Japanese elementary schools are examined. The nature of preschools and day care centers as environments for acquiring basic classroom routines and attitudes are also examined, as are the methods used by Japanese first grade teachers to establish efficient and orderly classroom routines and expectations for appropriate classroom behavior. Some observations on the relevance of the Japanese approach to the United States system are offered.

Public School Teacher Perspectives on School Discipline.

National Center for Education Statistics, U.D. Department of Education, Washington, D.C. Oct. 1987. 25p. ED289259

This bulletin presents results from a nationally representative sample of public elementary and secondary school teachers. Topics include the impact of student behavior on teaching and learning, major infractions observed or experienced, and evaluation of school discipline policies. Also included are comparisons with a survey of principals conducted in 1985, and with teacher opinion polls conducted between 1980 and 1982.

Management of Classroom Discipline in Japan and the Role of the Elementary School Teacher.

Taniuchi-Peak, Lois. U.S. Department of Education, Washington, D.C. 1986. ED271392

This research analyzes the nature of preschool preparation, the transition from home to school, teacher methods of classroom management, and discipline and learning routines at the elementary school level.

SCHOOL MANAGEMENT AND EFFECTIVENESS

Strategy Development for Managing Selected Educational Conflicts. A Conceptual Report Related to Conflict and Its Management in the Areas of Student-Student, Student-School, and School-Community Relations.

Francis M. Trusty. University of Tennessee, Knoxville, TN. March 1978. 132p. ED158372

This study describes three areas of educational conflict in detail and suggests strategies for managing each kind of conflict.

The Educated Ear. Schools and Rules: The Place of A Student Conduct Code in a School Discipline Program.
National Institute of Education, Washington, D.C. July 1981.

This audio tape for elementary school principals was developed to disseminate research findings and expert advice to school managers more effectively. The tape is composed of discussions of elementary school principals, researchers, a lawyer, and representatives of professional organizations. (Limited copies available)

The Principal Makes the Difference.
Persell, Caroline. New York, N.Y. Nov. 1981.

This paper discusses research on a number of topics including discipline and violence, and examines related research in terms of what insight it provides on the role and effective behaviors of school principals. Suggestions for further research and training programs for principals are offered.

Successful Schools for Young Adolescents.
Lipsitz, Joan. Transaction Books, New Brunswick, N.J. 1984. 223p. ED240209

This book identifies and examines effective middle schools that "foster healthy social development". It includes case studies of four middle schools. The framework for studying these schools includes adolescent development, school effectiveness studies, and public policy concerns.

An Examination of Student Discipline Policy in Three Middle Schools.
deJung, John, and Duckworth, Kenneth. CEPM Publications, College of Education, University of Oregon, Eugene, OR. 1984. 125p. ED256018

This report uses three case studies to explore variation in school policies on student discipline and the effectiveness of such policies. Policies, rates and effectiveness of disciplinary action regarding absenteeism, tardiness, detention, and suspension are included.

Reaching for Excellence: An Effective Schools Sourcebook.
Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402. 1985. 244p. ($9.50). ED257837

This document summarizes knowledge on school effectiveness in seven chapters written by nationally recognized scholars. Chapters are on effective classroom practices and effective school practices at both the elementary and secondary levels, on policies at the district and state levels that might influence school effectiveness, and on criteria for measuring school effectiveness. Central to all effective school studies is the importance of order and discipline. Several dimensions of an affirmative discipline policy are reviewed. The Sourcebook also contains an up-to-date directory describing a number of successful effective schools projects currently being implemented around the country.

Discipline in Public Secondary Schools.
National Center for Education Statistics, U.S. Department of Education, Washington, D.C. Sept. 1986. 19p.

This study, based on a national survey of 837 secondary school principals, presents information on administrators' reports of disruptive student classroom behavior, the number of occurrences of selected infractions of the law, and selected disciplinary actions, and the administrators' assessments of the effectiveness of programs for the improvement of discipline.

School Discipline Policies and Practices.
National Center for Education Statistics, U.S. Department of Education, Washington, D.C. Sept. 1986. 19p.

This study, a companion to the above CES report, describes due process procedures followed before short term suspension of students in public secondary schools. It also explores the perceived burden of these procedures some of which stem from Federal regulations and court decisions, lawsuits against educators, in-service training, and corporal punishment of students.

Identification of Policies and Practices That Assure Institutionalization of Successful Improvement Processes in Secondary Schools.
Klausmeier, Herbert. Wisconsin Center for Education Research, University of Wisconsin, Madison WI. Sept. 1986.

This project was concerned with improvement in the effectiveness of schools including their discipline, and the quidelines used in that process. Cooperative improvement-oriented research was conducted in five middle schools and five high schools. All ten schools made substantial gains in student outcomes, including discipline.

Organizing and Managing the Junior High Classroom.
Emmer, Edmund T. and others. The Research and Development Center for Teacher Education, University of Texas at Austin. ED223564

This manual is based on results of the Junior High Classroom Organization Study, a descriptive study of 54 teachers in 11 schools. Data include observations, teacher interviews and questionnaires, and school district records of student achievement test scores. This manual can help teachers organize their classes and draws attention to the beginning of the school year.

School as a Workplace: The Realities of Stress. Volume 1, Executive Summary.
Schwartz, Henrietta, and others. Educational Issues Department, American Federation of Teachers, Washington, D.C. ED239009

The first of a three volume report which includes a brief literature review, a description and analysis of stressful conditions in the schools studied, conclusions regarding the significance of findings, and a set of recommendations for educational policy-makers and practitioners concerned with reducing stressful conditions. Reference is made to teacher fears related to older students and racism.

Staff Development for Effective Secondary Schools: A Synthesis of Research.
Stevenson, Robert B. National Center on Effective Secondary Schools, Madison, WI. Sept. 1987. EJ362957

This review argues that the purpose, governance and process of implementation of staff development programs are central to their contribution to school effectiveness. Nine research studies have reported one or more of seven effective school characteristics as an outcome of staff development. A second analysis focuses on constraints in targeting staff development for effective schools.

ABSENTEEISM AND STUDENT DISENGAGEMENT

Reducing Student Alienation in High Schools: Implications of Theory.
Newmann, Fred M. Harvard Education Review Vol. 51, No.4 Nov. 1981.

Theory in sociology and the social psychology of organizations suggests that public comprehensive high schools can reduce student alienation by allowing more student-parent choice, setting clear and consistent goals, keeping school size limited, reducing hierarchies,

increasing student input and contact with teachers, and various other means. Analysis of fourteen innovative efforts and four main reform ideologies suggests that these are not likely to reduce alienation in a comprehensive way.

Organisational Evaluation Systems and Student Disengagement in Secondary Schools.
Natriello, Gary. Washington University, St. Louis, MO. April 1982. 351p. ED236067 and ED242077

This report examines the impact of school authority systems on student disengagement from high school. Data came from 80 teachers and administrators, and 293 students in four high schools in a suburban mid-western school district. Low level engagement, engagement in negative activities, and withdrawal from school tasks were evaluated.

High School Procedures for Managing Student Absenteeism: Staff Implementation and Satisfaction and Student Response.
deJung, John; Duckworth, Kenneth. Center for Educational Policy and Management, University of Oregon, Eugene, OR. May 1986. ED267502

Information is presented on the policies and procedures used to manage absenteeism in six high schools including taking attendance, differentiating excused and unexcused absences, dealing with unexcused absences, and staff satisfaction with procedures. The final section draws implications for school improvement.

Variation in Student Skipping: A Study of Six High Schools
deJung, John; Duckworth, Kenneth. Center for Educational Policy and Management, University of Oregon, Eugene, OR. May 1986. ED267503

This second of three reports from the same project investigates factors influencing individual students' frequency of unexcused absences. The authors of this study report that they did not succeed in accounting for much of the variation in student skipping at any of the schools in their study.

High School Teachers and Their Student's Attendance.
deJung, John; Duckworth, Kenneth. Center for Educational Policy and Management, University of Oregon, Eugene, OR. May 1986. ED266557

This report focuses on classroom absence rates such as interdepartment differences and class period differences, and on comparisons between teachers with high and low student absences including teacher characteristics and attendance monitoring practices.

Programs for At-risk Students: A Research Agenda
Wehlage, Gary and Smith, Gregory, National Center on Effective Secondary Schools, Madison, WI. Sept. 1986.

At-risk students have social, personal or academic problems serious enough to make them likely to drop out of school. This paper discusses some of the complex and longstanding causes of dropping out, including school conditions which may interact with family background. The main focus here is on school-based interventions that are effective with at-risk students and can be broadly implemented. Early identification, special programs and systemic school change are discussed.

Identification and School Related Attitudes and Expectations of At-risk High School Students.
deJung, John. College of Education, University of Oregon, Eugene, OR. April 1988. 84p.

This longitudinal study examined the school experiences and concerns of 2000 students in three high schools who were at risk of not finishing high school. More at-risk students held negative and non school oriented attitudes and expectations. Friends who quit were also seen as having a "poor attitude" and "not caring". Early high school absence was a strong predictor of dropping out, and needs to be monitored.

SUSPENSION AND ALTERNATIVES TO SUSPENSION

In-School Alternatives to Suspension: Conference Report.
Garibaldi, Antoine M., Ed. National Institute of Education, Washington, D.C. April 1979. 174p. ED173951

This publication covers such considerations as legal issues in the discipline process, effective implementation and organization of programs, and the status of discipline in public education.

Directory of In-School Alternatives to Suspension.
Cooney, Sandra, and others. JWK International Corporation, Annandale, Va. Sept. 1981. 121p. ED218548

These are short descriptions of almost 100 programs culled from nationwide contacts. Program types include alternative schools, counseling services, in-school suspension centers, ombudspersons, and time-out rooms.

Student Suspension: A Critical Reappraisal.
Wu, Shi-Chang and others. The Urban Review. Vol. 14,, No.4. 1982. p.245-303.

This study examines correlates of suspension among secondary school students using data from the Safe School Study. The effects of the following variables are studied: student misbehavior, teacher judgments and attitudes on administrative structure, perceived academic potential, and racial bias.

In-School Alternatives to Suspension: A Description of Ten District Programs.
Chobot, Richard B., Garibaldi, Antoine. JWK International Corporation, Annandale, Va. 1982. 33p. EJ276953

This study describes program history, philosophy and goals, organizational structure, operations including staffing and referral procedures, financing and other external supports of in-school suspension programs.

In-School Alternatives to Suspension: Stability and Effects.
Moles, Oliver. National Institute of Education. Washington, D.C. April 1984. 13p.

This paper draws on a directory of in-school programs operating in 1980 (see above) to determine their present status and reasons for change. Inferences are also drawn from local studies and statistics on the programs.

Coerced Community Service as a School Discipline Strategy.
Toby, Jackson and Scrupski, Adam. Rutgers University. New Brunswick, N.J. 1988.

This paper examines the research on suspensions and the rationale for negative sanctions. It presents the need and rationale for coerced community service as an alternative to suspension or expulsion of students for serious school offenses, and describes the operation of such a program. Related research is also suggested.

ALTERNATIVE SCHOOLS FOR DISRUPTIVE YOUTHS

Alternative Schools for Disruptive Youth.
Arnove, Robert F.; Strout, Toby. National Institute of Education, Sept. 1978. 70p. ED162413

This paper analyzes the uses and misuses of alternative education programs for disruptive youth. It describes the positive and negative aspects of existing alternative schools, suggests further areas of study, and outlines a set of conditions that contribute to the success of alternative programs.

Alternative Schools for Disruptive Secondary Students: Testing a Theory of School Process, Students' Responses, and Outcome Behaviors. Executive Summary.

Mann, David W., Gold, Martin. Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI. June 1981. 18p. ED208275

This report is a longitudinal study of the effectiveness of alternative schools for changing student behavior and improving scholastic performance. The schools were effective for the two-thirds of the students who were not extremely depressed or anxious at the outset. Essential characteristics of the programs, and the social psychological processes by which the programs achieved their goals are described. (See also Alternative Schools for Troublesome Secondary Students by Martin Gold and David W. Mann. The Urban Review Vol. 14, No. 4, 1982. p. 305-316. For a full exposition of this study, see Expelled to a Friendlier Place, University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, MI. 1984)

Reducing the Risk: Schools as Communities of Support

Wehlage, Gary and others. Falmer Press, Philadelphia, 1989.

Based on an extensive search for promising programs, this study examines fourteen special or alternative programs across the nation. It shows how creative high school staffs develop unique approaches to the many problems in educating at-risk youth, and identifies common principles across the programs especially in the social qualities of schooling. A theory of factors important in school membership and engagement in schoolwork is developed.

RESEARCH ON DELINQUENCY, DISCIPLINE, AND SCHOOL IMPROVEMENT

The Program in Delinquency and School Environments
Center for Social Organization of Schools
and the School Improvement Program
Center for Research on Elementary and Middle Schools

The Johns Hopkins University
3505 N. Charles Street
Baltimore, MD 21218
(301) 338-8466/338-7570
(Ask for Publications Dept. or Lois Hybl)

Overview

The Program in Delinquency and School Environments has focused on both theoretical and applied research on the causes of delinquency and on school arrangements and practices that (a) increase or decrease the risk of delinquent behavior or student misconduct for individual students or (b) contribute to safe, orderly school environments.

The Program's research between 1978 and 1985 was supported in part by grants from the National Institute of Education (NIE) to conduct programmatic research, and this support was supplemented by grants from the National Institute for Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (NIJJDP), the National Institute of Justice (NIJ), or local justice agencies. This supplementary support made it possible to conduct ambitious field research that would not have been possible with NIE support alone. The largest of these projects, the School Action Effectiveness Study, combined theory-based fundamental research with the evaluations of school-based interventions to reduce the risk of delinquent behavior and make schools better and safer places.

The work begun in the Program in Delinquency and School Environments continues with project support from NIJ and NIJJDP and as projects of the School Improvement Program of the Center for Research on Elementary and Middle Schools with support from the Office for Educational Research and Improvement (OERI). In these continuing efforts we are examining the influence of community contexts on delinquent behavior, developing and evaluating classroom management and school discipline systems, and conducting research on dropout prevention.

The following partially annotated list contains selected references to most of our work on delinquency, school environments, discipline, and school improvement. Items

primarily sponsored by NIE or OERI are marked by an asterisk. The list is organized in five categories: (a) research and evaluation methodology, (b) policy, (c) delinquency theory and research, (d) research based on the Safe School Study, and (e) school improvement and alternative education.

Research and Evaluation Methodology

Gottfredson, G. D. (1978).
Practical and ethical concerns in collaborative research with criminal justice decision makers. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Psychological Association, Toronto, 29 August. (ED 166 606)

*Gottfredson, G. D. (1978).
Using the randomized response technique to estimate the extent of delinquent behavior in schools. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Psychological Association, Toronto, 29 August. (ED 164 655)

*Gottfredson, G. D. (1979).
Models and muddles: An ecological examination of high school crime rates. Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency, 16, 307-331.

*Gottfredson, G. D. (1984).
A theory-ridden approach to program evaluation: A method for stimulating researcher-implementer collaboration. American Psychologist, 39, 1101-1112.

Reprinted in D. S. Cordray & M. W. Lipsey (eds.), Evaluation Studies Review Annual: Vol. 11 (Chap. 28). Beverly Hills, CA: Sage, 1986.

Describes a rational yet flexible approach to school improvement through the analytical specification of problems and ideas about their causes, selection of appropriate interventions and overcoming obstacles to their implementation, and the management of innovation in schools to improve performance over time. Illustrated with examples of school improvement and delinquency prevention programs.

*Gottfredson, G. D., Rickert, D. E., Gottfredson, D. C., & Advani, N. (1984).
Standards for Program Development Evaluation. Psychological Documents, 14, 32. (Ms. No. 2668)

*Gottfredson, D. C., Hybl, L. G., Gottfredson, G. D., & Castaneda, R. P. (1986). School climate assessment instruments: A review (Report No. 363). Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University, Center for Social Organization of Schools. (ED 278 702).

Critically reviews the school climate assessment instruments used in recent school improvement projects, finds many but not all of them lacking in scientific and practical merit, and provides suggestions for the use of some promising instruments. Abridged version reprinted in J. Freiberg (Ed.), (1987), School climate. Bloomington, IN: Phi Delta Kappa, Center on Evaluation, Development and Research.

Policy

Daiger, D. C., Gottfredson, G. D., Stebbins, B., & Lipstein, D. J. (1978).
Explorations of parole policy (Report No. 256). Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University, Center for Social Organization of Schools. (ED 164 655).

Gottfredson, G. D. (1980).
Testimony before the Subcommittee on Elementary, Secondary, and Vocational Education, Committee on Education and Labor, U.S. House of Representatives, on the topic of school discipline at the secondary level, Washington, DC, 6 February 1980. Pp. 529-584 in Oversight Hearings on American Secondary Education. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1980.

Gottfredson, G. D. (1980).
Penal policy and the evaluation of rehabilitation. In A. W. Cohn & B. Ward (eds.), Improving management in criminal justice. Beverly Hills: Sage.

Gottfredson, G. D. (1984).
Testimony before the Subcommittee on Elementary, Secondary, and Vocational Education, U.S. House of Representatives, on the topic of school discipline. In Oversight on school discipline (Hearings before the Subcommittee on Elementary, Secondary, and Vocational Education, Ninety-Eighth Congress, Second Session, pp. 3-45). Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office.

Reprinted in F. S. Calhoun & M. L. Carnes (Eds.), Discipline in the public schools: Educator responses to the Reagan administration policies. Arlington, VA: Educational Research Service, School Research Forum, April, pp. 64-87.

*Gottfredson, G. D. (1984).
Preventing repeat delinquency. In R. P. Gowen (Ed.), Proceedings of the Conference on Juvenile Repeat Offenders (pp. 121-136). College Park, MD: Institute for Criminal Justice and Criminology, University of Maryland.

*Gottfredson, D. C. (1985).
School size and school disorder (Report No. 360). Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University, Center for Social Organization of Schools. (ED 261 456).

Gottfredson, G. D. (1986).
Crime policy with benefit of hindsight (review of American violence and public policy, L. A. Curtis, Ed.). Contemporary Psychology, 31, 666-668.

Gottfredson, G. D., Reiser, M., & Tsegaye-Spates, C. R. (1987).
Psychological help for victims of crime. Professional Psychology: Research and Practice, 18 (4), 316-325.

Gottfredson, G. D. (1987).
American education -- American delinquency. Today's Delinquent, 6, 5-70. (Reprinted as CREMS Report No. 23)

A review of research and theory on delinquency prevention and educational programs preschool to grade 12.

Gottfredson, G. D. (1989).
The experiences of serious and violent victimization. In N. Weiner & M. Wolfgang (Eds.), Pathways to Criminal Violence. Beverly Hills: Sage.

Gottfredson, G. D. (in press).
Socializing the children of the undeserving poor. Contemporary Psychology.

Delinquency Theory and Research

*Hansell, S., & Wiatrowski, M. D. (1980).
Competing conceptions of delinquent peer relations. In G. G. Jenser (Ed.), The sociology of delinquency: Issues for the '80's. Beverly Hills: Sage. (ED 209 568).

*Gottfredson, G. D. (1981).
Schooling and delinquency. In S. E. Martin, L. P. Sechrest, & R. Redner (eds.), New directions in the rehabilitation of criminal offenders. Washington, DC: National Academy Press.

A comprehensive review of theory and empirical findings on the relation of school experiences and delinquent behavior. Explains why the school is a key locus of interventions to reduce the risk of delinquent behavior.

*Wiatrowski, M. D., & Swatko, M. K. (1981).
Social control and delinquency: A multivariate test. American Sociological Review, 46, 525-541.

*Gottfredson, D. C. (1981).
Black-white differences in educational attainment. American Sociological Review, 46, 542-557.

*Gottfredson, G. D. (1982).
Role models, bonding, and delinquency: An examination of competing perspectives (Report No. 331). Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University, Center for Social Organization of Schools. (ED 230 888).

Examines competing conceptions of delinquent peer influence, some of which assign causal importance to delinquent associations and others of which regard the association between delinquent peers and individual delinquent behavior as spurious. Results imply that peer group interventions may be important in reducing the risk of delinquent behavior.

*Wiatrowski, M. D., et al. (1982).
Curriculum tracking and delinquency. American Sociological Review, 47, 151-160.

Finds no evidence that tracking leads to delinquent behavior.

*Gottfredson, D. C. (1982).
Personality and persistence in education: A longitudinal study. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 43, 532-545.

Some risk factors for dropping out of school are similar to risk factors for delinquent behavior.

*Gottfredson, D. C., & Gottfredson, G. D. (1984).
The validity of self-reports. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Society of Criminology, Cincinnati, November.

*Gottfredson, D. C. (1985).
Is work beneficial to teenagers? NASSP Bulletin, 69 (478), 66-72.

*Gottfredson, D. C. (1985).
Youth employment, crime, and schooling: A longitudinal study in a national sample. Developmental Psychology, 21, 419-432.

Empirically examines the influence of youth employment on delinquency and school-related behavior and finds little support for some contemporary claims that employment has negative influences on youths.

Gottfredson, G. D. (1987).
Peer group interventions to reduce the risk of delinquent behavior: A selective review and a new evaluation. Criminology, 25, 1001-1043.

Critically reviews the history of evaluations of Guided-Group Interaction, Peer Group Counseling, Positive Peer Culture, and Peer Culture Development as interventions to reduce the risk of subsequent delinquent behavior. The review finds most evaluations lacking in scientific merit, but that those evaluations which are credible have produced evidence of mixed--and sometimes harmful--effects of these peer group interventions.

*Gottfredson, G. D. (1986).
Explorations of family influences on adolescent male delinquent behavior. Unpublished manuscript, Johns Hopkins University, Center for Social Organization of Schools.

Levels of parental supervision and the nature of parental role models appear more important than family structure in accounting for adolescent male delinquent behavior. Results imply the importance of parental behavior and skills in restraining youths against delinquent behavior.

*Gottfredson, G. D. (1986).
Some consequences of personal victimization in school: A longitudinal study in an unselected sample. Unpublished manuscript, Johns Hopkins University, Center for Social Organization of Schools.

Gottfredson, D. C., McNeil, R. J., & Gottfredson, G. D. (1987, November).
Community influences on individual delinquency: A multilevel analyses. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Society of Criminology, Montreal.

Empirically examines the effect of community characteristics on adolescent delinquent behavior.

Gottfredson, D. C. (1987).
Examining the potential of delinquency prevention through alternative education. Today's Delinquent, 6, 87-100.

Gottfredson, G. D. (1988, August).
Explorations of adolescent drug use (Final report, Grant No. 87-JN-CX-0015). Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University, Center for the Social Organization of Schools.

Students in schools where drugs are available use drugs more than students in other schools, and this greater use is not explained by individual predispositions to use drugs.

Research Based on the Safe School Study

Gottfredson, G. D. (1981).
Review of Violent schools--Safe schools: The safe school study report to Congress, Contemporary Sociology, 10, 233-234.

*Wiatrowski, M. D., Swatko, M. K., & Gottfredson, G. D. (1983).
Classifying school environments to understand school behavioral disruption. Environment and Behavior, 15, 53-76. (ED 203 466).

*Gottfredson, G. D., & Gottfredson, D. C. (1985).
Victimization in schools New York: Plenum.

A painstaking analysis of the correlates and causes of school disorder. Using a sample of over 600 public junior and senior high schools, this book shows that schools located in disorganized communities tend to experience higher rates of disorder, but that the ways schools are run contribute to or ameliorate disorder. Specifically, smaller schools, schools characterized by fair, firm, and clear rule enforcement, and schools with more teacher-administration cooperation tend to be safer than schools that fail to demonstrate these features. The final two chapters, written in a nontechnical manner, are intended to guide policy makers contemplating alternative approaches to the improvement of schools and take issue with some misleading approaches to increasing school orderliness.

School Improvement and Alternative Education

Gottfredson, G. D. (Ed.) (1982).
The School Action Effectiveness Study: I (Report No. 325). Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University, Center for Social Organization of Schools. (ED 222 835).

Reviews the rationale for school-based interventions to reduce the risk of delinquent behavior and the record of accomplishment in delinquency prevention programs; describes the measurement of school disorder, delinquent behavior, and risk factors for delinquent behavior in the SAES; provides a perspective on primary prevention and secondary prevention taking both organizational and individual approaches; and introduces the program development and evaluation approach taken in the SAES.

*Gottfredson, G. D. (1983).
Schooling and delinquency: Some practical ideas for educators, parents, program developers, and researchers. Journal of Child Care, 1 (3), 51-64.

Describes an organizational approach to school improvement and delinquency prevention.

*Gottfredson, G. D. (1983).
School crime: It's a board problem. American School Board Journal, 170 (6), 19-21.

Gottfredson, G. D., Gottfredson, D. C., & Cook, M. S. (Eds.).
The School Action Effectiveness Study: II (Report No. 342).
Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University, Center for Social Organization of Schools. (ED 237 892)

Summarizes program development and evaluation of the first two years of the SAES, including an interim account of the effects of the programs on school climates, school safety, and student outcomes. Schools participating in the initiative became safer places.

*Gottfredson, G. D. (1985).
Effective School Battery: User's manual. Odessa, FL: Psychological Assessment Resources.

Documents and makes available for schools and school systems a systematic school climate assessment inventory for use in diagnosing problems, setting school improvement priorities, and evaluating school improvement programs. The Effective School Battery assesses school psychosocial climate (e.g., morale, safety, planning and action, fairness and clarity of rules) from both student and teacher points of view and also assesses the characteristics of both teachers and students in a school (e.g., belief in conventional social rules, social integration, attachment to school, job satisfaction).

Gottfredson, D. C. (1985).
Project PATHE: A school-based model for primary prevention of adolescent drug use (Summary). In Drug abuse, mental health, and delinquency (Proceedings of Practitioners' Conference on Juvenile Offenders with Serious Drug, Alcohol, and Mental Health Problems). Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office.

*Gottfredson, G. D. (1986).
Using the Effective School Battery: Assessing effective schools. Odessa, FL: Psychological Assessment Resources. (Earlier version, Eric No. EA 018 778) (ED 273 041).

Illustrates how the ESB is used in diagnosing school problems and shows the relation between the scales of the ESB and the language used in the effective schools literature.

Gottfredson, D. C. (1986).
An empirical test of school-based environmental and individual interventions to reduce the risk of delinquent behavior.
Criminology, 24, 705-731.

Summarizes the development and evaluation of an ambitious and effective school-based delinquency prevention program.

*Gottfredson, D. C. (1986, November).
Promising strategie for improving student behavior. Paper presented at the Office of Education Research and Improvement's Conference on Student Discipline Strategies, Washington, DC.

*Gottfredson, G. D. & Gottfredson, D. C. (1987).
Using organization development to improve school climate (Report No. 17). Baltimore: Center for Research on Elementary and Middle Schools, Johns Hopkins University (ED 295 283).

*Gottfredson, D. C. (1987).
Changing the schooling experience to reduce delinquent behavior among high-risk youths. Paper prepared for presentation at the National Center on Effective Secondary School's Symposium on Structural Change in Secondary Education, Madison, WI.

*Gottfredson, G. D., & Hybl, L. G. (1987).
An analytical description of the school principal's job (Report No. 13). Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University, Center for Research on Elementary and Middle Schools. (ED 297 418).

*Gottfredson, D. C. (1987).
An evaluation of an organization development approach to reducing school disorder. Evaluation Review, 11, 739-763.

Describes the evaluation of an organizational development approach to school improvement and increasing school orderliness in two especially difficult urban schools. The program was highly effective in one of these two schools

*Gottfredson, G. D. & Hollifield, J. H. (1988).
How to diagnose school climate. National Association of Secondary School Principals Bulletin, 72 (506), 63-71.

Gottfredson, G. D. (1988).
You get what you measure--you get what you don't: Higher standards, higher test scores, more retention in grade. (Report No. 29). Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University, Center for Research on Elementary and Middle Schools. (ED 301 325).

*Gottfredson, G. D. & Gottfredson, D. C. (1988, April).
An approach to reducing risk through school system interventions. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, New Orleans. (ED 301 959).

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