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AUTHOR Brophy, Jere; Bohrkemper, Mary
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ABSTRACT

Experienced elementary teachers (N=98) nominated by their principals as either outstanding or average at dealing with problem students described their general strategies for coping with shy/withdrawn students and told how they would handle incidents depicted in two vignettes portraying shyness and withdrawal problems at school. Most of the teachers' intuition- and experience-based responses emphasized bringing shy students along slowly but surely by making them feel comfortable and secure in the classroom, reassuring them of their ability to handle academic challenges, providing special instruction or help if necessary, and applying consistent but gentle and largely indirect pressure for change (in the form of invitations and encouragement rather than demands or direct confrontations). For withdrawn students, the teachers mentioned direct appeals for improved attention; cueing, shaping, environmental engineering, and other support of assistance in sustaining such attention; and attempts to identify and work on the underlying problems that led such students to become withdrawn in the first place. Within these general trends, the higher rated teachers mentioned a greater range of relevant strategies and expressed greater confidence in their ability to respond effectively to shy or withdrawn students than did the lower rated teachers. (Author/JD)

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The Institute for Research on Teaching was founded in 1976 at Michigan State University and has been the recipient of major federal grants. Funding for IRT projects is currently received from the U.S. Department of Education, Michigan State University, and other agencies and foundations. IRT scholars have conducted major research projects aimed at improving classroom teaching, including studies of classroom management strategies, student socialization, the diagnosis and remediation of reading difficulties, and school policies. IRT researchers have also been examining the teaching of specific school subjects such as reading, writing, general mathematics, and science and are seeking to understand how factors inside as well as outside the classroom affect teachers. In addition to curriculum and instructional specialists in school subjects, researchers from such diverse disciplines as educational psychology, anthropology, sociology, history, economics, and philosophy cooperate in conducting IRT research. By focusing on how teachers respond to enduring problems of practice and by collaborating with practitioners, IRT researchers strive to produce new understandings to improve teaching and teacher education.

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Abstract

Experienced elementary (K-6) teachers nominated by their principals as either outstanding or average at dealing with problem students described their general strategies for coping with shy/withdrawn students and told how they would handle incidents depicted in two vignettes portraying shyness and withdrawal problems at school. Transcripts of these responses were coded and analyzed for general trends and group differences. Consistent with recommendations drawn from the research literature, most teachers' intuition- and experience-based responses emphasized bringing shy students along slowly but surely by making them feel comfortable and secure in the classroom, reassuring them of their ability to handle academic challenges (and providing special instruction or help if necessary), and applying consistent but gentle and largely indirect pressure for change (in the form of invitations and encouragement rather than demands or direct confrontations). For withdrawn students, the teachers mentioned direct appeals for improved attention; cueing, shaping, environmental engineering, and other support or assistance in sustaining such attention; and attempts to identify and work on the underlying problems that led such students to become withdrawn in the first place. Within these general trends, the higher rated teachers mentioned a greater range of relevant strategies and expressed greater confidence in their ability to respond effectively to shy or withdrawn students than the lower rated teachers did.

TEACHERS' STRATEGIES FOR COPING WITH SHY/WITHDRAWN STUDENTS

Jere Brophy (with Mary Rohrkemper)[1]

This report provides information about elementary grade (K-6) teachers' reported strategies for coping with chronically shy or withdrawn students. This is one of 12 types of problem students addressed in the Classroom Strategy Study (Brophy & Rohrkemper, 1988), a large-scale investigation of elementary school teachers' perceptions of and reported strategies for coping with problem students (students who present chronic problems involving unsatisfactory achievement, personal adjustment, or classroom behavior). Information about strategies for coping with other problem student types (underachiever due to alienation, low achiever, hostile-aggressive, defiant, hyperactive, distractible, immature, and rejected by peers) will be given in other reports in currently in preparation. The hostile-aggressive type is discussed in Brophy and Rohrkemper (1987), the underachiever due to low self-concept/failure syndrome in Brophy (1989a) and the underachiever due to perfectionism in Brophy (1989b).

Shy/Withdrawn Students

Most of the problem student types addressed in the Classroom Strategy Study are readily identifiable in classrooms because they frequently behave in ways that are salient as well as undesirable. In contrast, shy/withdrawn

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[1]Jere Brophy is coordinator of the Classroom Strategy Research Project and is a professor of teacher education at Michigan State University. Mary Rohrkemper, former IRT intern with the project, is associate professor in the Department of Human Development at Bryn Mawr College. The authors wish to thank Jane Smith, Janis Elmore, Carolyn Rettke, Jean Medick, Lonnie McIntyre, Susan Rubenstein, Stephen Katz, and JoAnn Hite who assisted in project planning and data collection; and Jane Smith, Lynn Scott, Patricia Linton, Carolyn Wainright, Linda Ripley, and Sheba Dunlap who coded the data; Suwatana Sookpokakit, Neelam Kher, and Frank Jenkins who assisted with data preparation and analysis; and June Smith who assisted in manuscript preparation.

students rarely call attention to themselves and may not even be recognized as problem students unless they also are low achievers or display extreme anxiety or withdrawal symptoms. Among students who are relatively inactive in the classroom, there is a range from those who are well adjusted academically and socially but relatively quiet and content to work independently, through those who are problematically shy or withdrawn in varying degrees, to those who are autistic or schizophrenic. Our research focused on the middle range of such students, those who display symptoms of shyness or withdrawal serious and chronic enough to constitute a problem calling for special remedial actions by the teacher but who are not severely disabled with autism, schizophrenia, or related disorders that indicate the need for placement in a special treatment facility. Such children would commonly be described as shy (inhibited, lacking in confidence, socially anxious) or withdrawn (unresponsive, uncommunicative, daydreaming, "spacy," out of it).

Caspi, Elder, and Bem (1988) have noted that a degree of shyness is normal in novel social situations where interpersonal or role requirements are new and ambiguous, but that shyness can begin to emerge as a problem if it becomes not merely situational but dispositional, so that a child begins to be labeled as shy. Especially if the child internalizes this label, a generalized pattern of shyness may become well established and begin to include such additional symptoms as diffidence about entering social situations, discomfort and inhibition in the presence of others, exaggerated self-concern, passive or "wait and hover" patterns in social situations, limited social skills development, and increasingly negative social self-concepts. Longitudinal research indicated that dispositional shyness patterns that became well established in childhood tended to persist throughout life. Lifelong shyness patterns were particularly problematic for men: Compared to their peers, shy boys typically showed later entry into marriage, parenthood, and stable careers, reduced occupational

achievement and stability, and (when late in establishing stable careers) reduced marital stability. Shy girls were more likely than their peers to follow a conventional pattern of marriage, childbearing, and homemaking, but were less likely to develop careers outside the home (Caspi et al., 1988). Thus, to the extent that shyness becomes noticeable as a generalized disposition, it can be considered a problem, especially in boys.

Zimbardo (1977) presents the following portrayal of shy students in the classroom. They are reluctant to volunteer, tend to speak softly, do not initiate suggestions or interactions with the teacher, spend more time at their seats and less time wandering around than other students, tend to obey orders and rarely get in trouble, rarely are selected for special errands or duties, and get fewer social rewards and give fewer in return than other students. Their unwillingness to ask for help often means that they perform below their abilities and get perceived by the teacher as less talented than they really are. Also, they are especially sensitive to being evaluated, so that when they sense that they are being monitored or evaluated they may have difficulty attending to anything else, and thus may perform poorly even when they possess the knowledge or skills needed to succeed.

Many shy or withdrawn children were included among those that Brophy and Evertson (1981) labeled "invisible" because their teachers had nominated them as the least noticeable students in their classes. Classroom observation revealed that these invisible students (in grades 2 through 5) showed low rates of interaction with their teachers and a general pattern of passivity in the classroom. They seldom made contributions to public discussions, and when they did, it was usually because the teacher called on them even though they had not raised their hands to volunteer. Furthermore, they seldom initiated private interactions with teachers, and when they did, it was usually because they needed help with their work. The teachers usually reached out actively toward

these invisible students by trying to involve them in lessons and discussions, praising them when they did respond or do good work, minimizing criticism, responding positively to the initiatives that did occur, and communicating positive affect. Nevertheless, the invisible students generally persisted in avoiding teachers except when they needed help, and in responding to the teachers' overtures with passivity rather than positive affect. In other words, they not only avoided initiating interactions with their teachers, they also responded to teacher initiations in ways likely to extinguish rather than reinforce such initiations.

Thus, teachers interested in reaching shy or withdrawn students face a dual problem. First, these students seldom call attention to themselves or initiate interactions, so teachers must make proactive efforts to reach out to them, get to know them, and involve them in activities. Second, teachers must be prepared to sustain these outreach efforts indefinitely without enjoying reciprocation or reinforcement in the form of gratitude, warmth, or other positive affect from the student.

Varieties and Causes of Shyness and Withdrawal in the Classroom

Symptoms of shyness or withdrawal may appear as part of a general personality trait or as situation-specific responses to particular stress factors. Buss (1980, 1984) developed a conception of shyness as a generalized personality trait. He defined shyness as discomfort, inhibition, and awkwardness in social situations, especially with people who are not familiar. Shyness includes a behavioral component (withdrawal, reticence, and inhibition) and an emotional component (fear, self-consciousness, or both). When fear predominates, the person experiences panic in the immediate situation and worry about future social encounters. When self-consciousness predominates, the person feels naked, vulnerable, inept, and concerned about saying or doing something foolish.

Different combinations of these three elements (behavioral indicators, fear, and self-consciousness) occur among different types of shy people.

Buss classified shyness as a subcategory of social anxiety (along with audience anxiety--fear of performing or making a presentation in front of a group). Shyness is not just low sociability. Shy people usually want social contact but feel awkward or tense during social interactions. Buss believed that any of three genetic factors could predispose children to shyness: a general tendency toward fearfulness (that becomes attached to particular social situations), low sociability (leading to limited social interaction and development of social skills), and physical unattractiveness (which may lead to being ignored or mistreated by others). He also identified three primary personal history determinants of shyness: lack of social experience (and thus limited knowledge of how to respond in particular situations), low self-esteem, and public self-consciousness. Children are especially susceptible to acute self- consciousness in social situations that make them feel conspicuous and psychologically unprotected, leading to blushing and bashfulness.

Buss identified the following as potential immediate causes of such reactions: novelty of the social situation (the child is not sure how to act), formality of the situation (the child realizes that particular behavior is expected and does not feel confident about being able to meet these expectations), either too little or too much social attention (the child either is ignored or becomes the focus of attention), and breaches of privacy (the child becomes embarrassed because actions intended to be private inadvertently become public or are made public by others). Other potential immediate causes include recognition that one is different from or occupies a status subordinate to others in the social situation, awareness that one's behavior will be evaluated, and a prior history of failure and anxiety in similar situations (McCroskey, 1984).

Zimbardo (1977, 1980) reported that shy individuals have poor self images and negative expectations. They feel less intelligent, attractive, or popular than their peers, and feel that others will not like them if they get to know them. Strauss, Forehand, Smith, and Frame (1986) reported similar findings for students identified by their teachers as low-frequency interactors. Shyness rates are affected by social training in risk taking. Shyness is more frequent in countries such as Japan where others get credit for the child's success but the child is held responsible for failure, and it is less frequent in countries such as Israel where the child gets credit for success but failure is attributed to external or situational causes. Within countries, shy children are more likely to come from families in which the parents are authoritarian than from families in which the parents use more inductive socialization techniques (Maccoby & Martin, 1983).

Shyness is also more common in first-born children, possibly because they are monitored more closely and evaluated with higher standards than later-borns tend to be. Also, later-borns are at a power disadvantage in dealing with older siblings, so they may develop more effective interpersonal skills (negotiation, ingratiation, persuasion, compromise) than first-borns do. In addition to this general trait of shyness, there are several types of social unresponsiveness that appear to result from specific experiences or environmental causes. Some children have not developed effective conversational skills simply because their parents do not often converse with them or respond positively to their verbal initiations and they have not had much opportunity to interact with peers. Such a reduced opportunity to develop social skills may explain much of the shyness or social ineptitude displayed in kindergarten and first grade, especially by children who also have been either rejected or overprotected by their parents.

Social anxiety can also develop as a continued reaction to repeated failure or mistreatment in particular situations. Children who have come to expect rejection or abuse from peers may become socially isolated as a defense against such treatment. Children who have been abused at home may come to expect trouble from people in general and adults in particular. Fearing punishment for unacceptable behavior, such children may become inhibited in the presence of adults. Other children, even if not inappropriately punished or physically abused, may come to fear rejection for failure and thus adopt inactivity as a defense if pushed beyond their limits by parents who continually express high expectations for accomplishment and dissatisfaction when these expectations are not met.

Some students are unresponsive at school because they are preoccupied with anxiety stemming from trauma experienced at home (or worry about anticipated trauma). Such troubled students may also lapse into daydreaming as an escape from their anxieties (Koplow, 1983). This withdrawal syndrome is different from the behavior seen in distractible/short attention span students, because the unresponsiveness stems specifically from reactions to traumatic events occurring outside of the classroom. Such students show sustained preoccupation with (or attempts to escape from) their troubles rather than flitting and unfocused attention.

Some students show shyness or withdrawal symptoms that are specific to particular situations. Children starting school for the first time may exhibit school phobia (although this is usually due to fear of the unknown or unwillingness to be separated from the parent rather than to a specific negative reaction to the teacher or to the school). Other students show good peer group adjustment and ability to interact socially with the teacher, but display communication apprehension (Daly & McCroskey, 1984) or unresponsiveness (Friedman & Karagan, 1973) when asked to answer academic questions, perform in public, or

engage in activity that they know will be evaluated. When such reactions occur only in the classroom rather than as part of a more generalized social anxiety problem, they probably stem from prior traumatic experiences in classrooms (being criticized by a teacher or teased by peers following poor performance). Finally, many students experience at least temporary social adjustment problems because they are starting school for the first time, have recently moved into the district, are repeating a grade, or have skipped a grade. Grade repeaters and children whose families move frequently are especially likely to be among the social isolates in a classroom (Byrnes & Yamamoto, 1983).

Suggested Strategies for Coping with Shy or Withdrawn Students

Given the causal factors just reviewed, common sense suggests the following teacher strategies for coping with shy or withdrawn students: (a) develop a supportive, trusting relationship so as to be seen primarily as a helper rather than an authority figure; (b) visit with these students often in order to monitor their work and speak "privately" with them; (c) talk to the parents to get information about what these students are like at home and about outside interests that might be useful in drawing them out at school; (d) when calling on them in class, use a soft, invitational tone--do not shock or "bark" at them; (e) praise and encourage their contributions; (f) involve the peers through buddy system assignments and small-group cooperative activities.

Johnson (1956) compiled a similar list based on interviews with first- and second-grade teachers asked to describe ways to bring withdrawn students into the group. These interviews yielded 137 suggestions that Johnson grouped into seven categories, beginning with the most frequently mentioned:

1. Enhance self-esteem and confidence. Fifty-five percent of the suggestions fell into this category, mostly in the following subcategories.

    a. Take every opportunity to praise such children.

b. Give them recognition by talking "to" them during group sessions (looking directly at them from time to time). Perhaps use their names to designate groups ("Tom's group," "Mary's group," etc.).

c. Give them responsibility by assigning them important tasks.

d. Find areas or activities in which they feel secure enough to participate (some may be drawn out through art activities, others may feel comfortable talking about their families or pets, etc.).

e. Ask their advice when this may be helpful (such as teacher-pupil planning).

f. Give them objective descriptions of any progress that they make (such as ability to do things that they were not able to do before).

g. Help them when they need help to avoid traumatic failure.

2. Encourage contact with peers. Thirteen percent of the responses mentioned some form of peer involvement, such as placing withdrawn children in group activities with friendly peers, encouraging peers to play with them, or seating them near outgoing classmates.

3. Gently move them toward participation. Ten percent of the responses suggested allowing such children to remain relatively quiet at first and yet to participate in the group. Later, when they seem more ready for individual participation, encourage them to become more active.

4. Discuss directly with these children the importance of participating in class activities and sharing with peers.

5. Help them to feel secure and "at home" in the classroom (talk with them about familiar topics, assure them that they are needed and loved by the teacher and the rest of the class, develop a personal relationship).

6. Develop a climate of relaxed calmness in the classroom (move at a moderate speed, speak in soft but clear voice tones).

7. Other methods. These included setting a good example of accepting and communicating with the withdrawn children.

Just as Johnson (1956) collected suggestions from teachers, Blanco (1972) collected information from school psychologists about the recommendations they made to teachers for dealing with shy or withdrawn students. For coping with general shyness or withdrawal, the psychologists suggested the following strategies: (a) Encourage shy or withdrawn children to join volunteer groups or

recreational and social organizations outside of school; (b) involve them frequently in small-group activities during school, especially activities that involve cooperative interaction with peers; (c) use them as peer tutors; (d) praise frequently and minimize criticism; (e) wait patiently for them to respond if they do not do so immediately; (f) let them practice answers beforehand; (g) call on them only when you believe that they know the answer; (h) tell them ahead of time what you are going to ask questions about so that they can rehearse privately; (i) involve them in games that require verbal responses; (j) talk to them privately about things of interest to them; (k) do an analysis of peer preferences and seat the shy children near preferred peers; (l) lead but don't force them to communicate; (m) avoid putting them in situations that would be embarrassing or frightening; (n) assign them to messenger or helper tasks that require communication; (o) encourage expression through dolls, puppets, or stuffed animals.

For students whose withdrawal symptoms include excessive daydreaming in school, the psychologists recommended the following strategies: (a) call on them frequently; (b) stand near them or touch them to ensure attention; (c) draw up contracts that allow them to earn rewards by completing a specified amount and quality of work within a specified time frame; (d) go to them at the beginning of work time in order to make sure that they have heard the directions and get started successfully on their assignment; (e) maximize their involvement in active participation tasks and minimize their involvement in silent listening or reading activities that encourage daydreaming; (f) do not scold them for daydreaming but stress the need for attention and participation in classroom activities; (g) assign partners to work with them and help keep them involved. Various sources of expert advice to teachers offer generally similar suggestions, although they differ in their relative emphasis on the

degree to which the teacher should be purely supportive of shy or withdrawn children versus making performance demands on them.

General Advice

Koplow (1983), writing from a psychoanalytic perspective and primarily for early childhood educators, interpreted classroom unresponsiveness as an attempt by an anxious child to exert control and avoid feared catastrophies. She urged that teachers "follow that child into his hiding pace, to discover the source of his fears and then to make the world of the classroom a safer place for him." (p. 127). Cautioning against getting into power struggles by demanding that withdrawn students respond, she advised teachers to build close relationships with these students, encourage their development of good relationships with peers, prepare them ahead of time for situations that demand verbal response from them, and at other times make comments that invite but do not require response ("I'll bet that's a new shirt.").

Writing from an applied behavior analysis perspective, Spaulding (1983) suggested that teachers (a) emphasize specific, concrete academic tasks and clear structuring of demands in making assignments for passive or withdrawn students; (b) assign them to work near supportive peers; (c) provide structure and support while they work on assignments; (d) reinforce all emerging active, prosocial, or productive behavior; (e) minimize criticism or punishment of inappropriate behavior.

Writing from a more general social learning perspective, Apter and Conoley (1984) suggested that teachers build personal relationships with shy students by talking with them privately each day; get them talking by scheduling sharing times, story telling, or small group projects for which they can be made the group reporters; be responsive and rewarding when they make contributions; gradually increase response demands as they begin to gain confidence; and train

them in relevant social skills (initiating and sustaining conversations, making introductions, giving compliments, asking for help, giving help, joining in, convincing others).

Unresponsiveness

Several authors have contributed suggestions about dealing with unresponsiveness (sometimes called "elective mutism"). Good and Brophy (1987) suggested developing supportive personal relationships with inhibited students but also exerting consistent pressure on them to condition them to become more responsive (indirectly rather than by criticizing them). They suggested that teachers question these students in ways that communicate that they expect an answer (use a friendly and informal tone but ask questions directly rather than preface them with stems such as "Do you think you could. . . ") and then look at the students expectantly after asking the question. If they answer appropriately, praise or give feedback. If they answer too softly, praise and then ask them to repeat the answer louder. If they appear to be about to answer but hesitating, prompt them by nodding the head or encouraging verbally. If waiting for several seconds does not yield a response, simplify through rephrasing or clues or else give the answer and then repeat the question or ask the student to repeat the answer. Occasionally follow up by asking additional questions or asking the student to elaborate on the response. Instruct these students to say "I don't know" rather than remain silent when they cannot respond. If necessary, temporarily avoid calling on them in whole-class situations while bringing them along slowly by working with them in individual and small-group settings. In general, Good and Brophy stressed the importance of teacher patience and support for unresponsive students, but also urged teachers to get some kind of response from these students each time that they call on

them so that they do not establish themselves as individuals who do not answer (and thus end up conditioning teacher behavior rather than vice versa).

Friedman and Karagan (1973) suggested the following guidelines for working with electively mute children: (a) Do not use punishment or bribery to force speech, because this will only increase the child's insecurity; (b) involve these children in all regular group activities; (c) whenever they seem to be at ease, encourage them to speak through such tasks as reading or story telling; (d) invite but do not force them to speak during class activities (use a normal tone of voice when addressing them); (e) encourage gradual development of normal responsiveness by beginning with easy response demands (nonverbal responses or single-word answers) and proceeding gradually toward more extended response demands and by beginning with private interactions and proceeding through small-group interactions to whole-class settings.

Hosford (1969) showed that mild unresponsiveness can be improved in a short time merely with contingent reinforcement. In this study, teachers identified students who seldom participated in class discussions and for three weeks gave these students immediate verbal reinforcement whenever they asked a question, answered a question, or contributed to class discussion. This treatment led to a significant increase in participation by experimental students, whereas no change was noted in control students. Durlak (1977) also described successful treatment of classroom withdrawal through reinforcement of incompatible behaviors.

Social Skills Training

Most behavior modification or social learning approaches, however, combine reinforcement techniques with modeling of desired behavior (Keller & Carlson, 1974; O'Conner, 1972; Walker & Hops, 1973; Weinrott, Corson, & Wilchesky, 1979) and/or various forms of social skills training (Allen, Chinsky, Larcen,

Lochman, & Selinger, 1976; Bornstein, Bellack, & Hersen, 1977; Clark, Caldwell, & Christian, 1979; Hops, 1981; and Ladd, 1981). The social skills training may include such components as exposure to filmed models (with or without commentary about what is going on), instruction or coaching in social skills, training in general problem-solving strategies, and opportunities to practice skills and get feedback. Unfortunately, social skills training studies have focused on interactions with peers in recreational settings rather than on responsiveness to the teacher during academic activities. Also, investigators frequently failed to distinguish between students who were merely neglected by their peers because of their own passivity or withdrawal and students who were more actively rejected because of aggression or other socially inappropriate behavior.

One approach to social skills training was reported by Oden and Asher (1977) who coached children in four social interaction principles: participation (playing with others, paying attention to them), cooperation (taking turns, sharing), communication (talking, listening), and validation-support (offering help or encouragement). The children were first instructed individually, then given opportunities to practice by playing with a classmate. Then the instructor and the child reviewed the play experience in the light of the four principles. This treatment that included coaching in social interaction principles produced better results than either a control treatment in which children played alone or a peer-pairing treatment in which they played games with a peer but did not receive the coaching. In principle, these social skills training techniques that have been used effectively with peer interaction principles could also be used effectively with principles for participation in classroom activities (attending actively and thoughtfully, volunteering to answer questions, asking questions when confused, contributing relevant comments to discussions).

Cognitive Restructuring

Most shy and withdrawn individuals, however, are not lacking in fundamental social skills. Instead. they are inhibited by unnecessary anxieties or unjustifiably low self-concepts (Biemer, 1983; Glass & Furlong, 1984), and they need cognitive restructuring more than social skills training. Two of the better known approaches to cognitive restructuring are rational emotive education and cognitive behavior modification.

Rational emotive therapy was developed by Albert Ellis (1977) as a method of working with clients in clinical practice, but its principles have been reinterpreted for use by teachers as rational emotive education (Knaus, 1974) and used to treat aspects of shyness such as communication apprehension (Fremouw, 1984). Rational emotive education focuses on identifying and eliminating underlying irrational beliefs or expectations that cause students to behave counterproductively. Common irrational beliefs related to shyness include "Everyone must love me all the time or I am a bad person," "I must be confident or successful in all situations or I am a bad person," and "When life is not the way I want it, it is awful and upsetting." Once such irrational themes are identified, the teacher challenges, questions, and logically analyzes them with the student in order to replace them with more rational ones. Thus, the first statement above would be replaced with "Although I would prefer that people like me, it is impossible to please everyone all the time, so I will try not to focus on others when I am talking but instead on what I want to say." Similarly, the idea that mistakes or unforeseen difficulties are horrible and crippling would be replaced with the idea that they are unfortunate but tolerable and should be treated as temporary or minor setbacks to be overcome rather than as catastrophes. Finally, the idea that it is easier to avoid difficulties rather than face up to them would be replaced with

recognition that the consequences associated with the seemingly easier response make it the harder way to go in the long run.

Butler, Miezitis, Friedman, and Cole (1980) reported partial success using a cognitive restructuring approach to teaching fifth- and sixth-graders manifesting depressive symptoms (withdrawal, self-deprecation) to recognize self-deprecating automatic thoughts and adopt more viable alternatives. However, the cognitive restructuring treatment was not as effective as a role-play treatment in which the students focused on a problem (rejection by peers, failure, self-blame, loneliness) by discussing situations in which the problem occurs, enacting role plays involving such situations, discussing successive enactments, and carrying out "homework" assignments calling for them to apply newly learned skills and monitor the results. The authors suggested that the cognitive restructuring program was not as appealing because students of this age have a relatively limited capacity for verbal mediation and the dramatic enactments of the role-play treatment offered periodic respite from too much verbalization. Also, role play may have provided relief from tension that can arise during discussion devoted to challenge of unrealistic or self-deprecating ideas.

Cognitive behavior modification strategies, as developed by Meichenbaum (1977), focus less on analyzing irrational thoughts and more on developing effective coping responses to such thoughts. Meichenbaum used a three-stage process: (a) teach clients to become good observers of their own thoughts, feelings, and behaviors; (b) make the process of self-observation the occasion for emitting adaptive cognitions and behaviors (c) alter the person's internal dialogues so that changes can be generalized. Problem situations are role played so that the person can practice using coping statements before, during, and after these situations.

Combining rational emotive and cognitive behavior modification approaches, Fremouw (1984) suggested four steps for treating communication apprehension in the classroom: (a) introduction (provide a thorough rationale for the training; explain that communication apprehension is a learned reaction and set of behaviors that can be modified by spending a few hours learning new skills); (b) identify negative self-statements (provide examples of self-statements commonly made by shy or anxious people and get the students to recognize their own negative self-statements and related social inhibitions); (c) teach adaptive coping statements that can replace the maladaptive negative self-statements (I'm part of a small group of students who are just like me; speak slowly; so far so good; continue to speak slowly and ask questions); (d) practice (role play that involves making these coping statements; group discussion of topics of increasing controversy; keeping a diary describing stressful situations and coping statements used during them).

Harris and Brown (1982) developed a treatment involving several of these elements working with shy fourth, fifth, and sixth graders. It began with cognitive restructuring. Through group discussions and modeled examples, students were helped to recognize any negative and maladaptive self-statements, images, and self-instructions that they produced before or during interpersonal or public speaking situations. Next, they were taught to replace these statements with task-relevant coping and self-reinforcing statements. Then, they were taught to tolerate and counteract anxiety through deep muscle relaxation and systematic desensitization. While deeply relaxed, they would first imagine that a feared event was about to occur and would visualize responding to it with coping self-statements and behaviors, then imagine that the situation was actually happening and that they were handling it successfully. If they became anxious during this step, they were instructed to gain deep muscle relaxation through slow, deep breaths, self-instructions, and coping statements. Finally,

after successfully imagining the situation, the students were taught to produce self-reinforcing statements. Offered as a class entitled "Self-Confidence in Speaking," which met for ten 45-minute sessions spread out over five weeks, the treatment was successful in reducing self-reported communication apprehension (no behavioral data were collected in this study).

Peer-Oriented Strategies

Several authors have suggested treating shyness and withdrawal through peer involvement. Lazerson (1980) reported significant improvement among withdrawn students involved in a cross-age tutoring program (students from grades five through eight tutored students from grades two through four). Good results were obtained whether the students acted as tutors or as tutees, so long as the withdrawn students were paired with more outgoing or assertive students rather than with other withdrawn students.

Furman, Rahe, and Hartup (1979) reported that opportunities to play in pairs with younger children, even without special structuring by the teacher, increased the sociability of withdrawn preschool children. Play sessions with same-aged peers produced less improvement. The authors suggested that interactions with younger children provide withdrawn students with opportunities to be assertive under conditions in which their assertive behaviors meet with higher probabilies of success than they do with same-aged peers.

Strain, Shores, and Timm (197?) enlisted peers as confederates in a treatment designed to draw out withdrawn children. During treatment phases, the peers made frequent social initiations with the withdrawn students, and it was observed that these increases in social initiations by peers increased the frequencies of the target students' positive social behaviors.

Lew, Mesch, Johnson, and Johnson (1986) increased the social attractiveness of socially withdrawn students by involving them in small-group,

cooperative classroom activities designed so that students within groups had to cooperate in order to meet requirements and would be rewarded as a group for their performance. Other small-group cooperation studies (reviewed by Slavin, 1983) have also shown improvement on sociometric or classroom social behavior measures. These approaches that involve enlisting peers in drawing out withdrawn students may be of special interest to teachers because they are less time-consuming and easier to integrate into everyday classroom activities than are most of the approaches reviewed earlier.

Combinations of Strategies

The strategies we have reviewed tend to complement one another, so that combinations of them probably will be more effective than any single strategy. More specifically, remediation tactics should vary with the nature and causes of the symptoms (Arnkoff, Glass, McKain, Shea, & Sydnor-Greenberg, 1984; Buss, 1984; Fremouw, 1984). Where fearfulness predominates, systematic desensitization procedures would be most useful. Similarly, social skills training would be indicated for students who are deficient in behavioral skills, rational emotive education or other insight therapy for students who lack insight into their own negative self-statements, cognitive behavior modification for students who need to learn adaptive coping statements to replace counterproductive self-deprecating statements, and peer-oriented strategies for students who lack friendships or social experience.

An integrated approach that takes these complexities into account is the shyness control program described by Biemer (1983), which draws heavily on the work of Zimbardo and his associates (Zimbardo, 1977; Zimbardo & Radl, 1981). Developed for use with groups of children (typically 11- to 15-year olds), the program involves meeting either in a series of four to six two-hour sessions or else in a single marathon four-hour session. Although the agenda is serious,

the meetings are kept light, upbeat, and positive, with liberal use of humor, graphics, and handouts. The program begins with inventory of the types of events and people that precipitate shyness reactions. Participants respond to a prepared checklist or make their own list of shyness-inducing people and events. Then they study these lists to consider the consequences of the shyness problems listed, decide which ones are worth trying to overcome, and identify the changes that will be needed to do so successfully. They are encouraged to work on one problem at a time, beginning with one that they see as serious enough to be worth investing effort on and yet amenable to solution with relative ease.

Once the target problem is identified, the participants specify the particular form of impairment involved and enter into corresponding remedial efforts. If the problem is a skills gap (the person does not know how to perform needed skills), the training goal will be to acquire these skills. If the problem is nervousness that interferes with performance, the goal will be to acquire relaxation skills for remaining calm in social situations. If the problem is excessive self-consciousness and negative self-talk that interfere with performance, the training goal will be to replace such negative thinking with more positive, rational thinking.

Trainees with skills gap problems identify (with the help of fellow participants) alternative ways of responding to their targeted situations. When apparently effective strategies have been identified, a role play is set up in which the group leader models appropriate behaviors. Then the participants practice the same role play segment, and performance is critiqued. Feedback focuses on voice quality (firmness, absence of stammering, calmness, steadiness of tone), nonverbal behaviors (eye contact, posture, gestures, fidgeting), and content (open- and closed-ended questioning, minimal encouragements, paraphrasing and feedback comments). Each of these elements is critiqued with an eye

toward the effectiveness with which the participants initiate, maintain, and bring to a suitable conclusion the conversations or transactions being role played.

Participants who suffer from excessive nervousness in social situations are taught relaxation methods that are incompatible with anxiety reactions. They learn to recognize when various body parts are becoming tense and to counteract this through muscle relaxation techniques. Self-esteem problems are dealt with through cognitive restructuring techniques such as rational emotive therapy (Ellis, 1977) or cognitive behavior modification (Meichenbaum, 1977). Through discussion and writing exercises, participants are taught to recognize irrational pessimistic or self-deprecatory statements and replace them with more rational and positive self-talk. The role play, discussion, or writing exercises done in the group are followed by "homework" assignments calling for participants to carry out specific tasks outside of the group situation and to monitor their performance and note results on record keeping forms written as contracts. Then, at the beginning of the next meeting they relate to the group their experiences in trying out new skills in what have been stressful situations. Work on those situations continues until the participants master them, at which point they then pick new target situations to work on.

Few classroom teachers would have the time to implement desensitization, cognitive restructuring, or social skills training treatments to the extent that they are implemented in shyness clinics. However, teachers who know the basic principles underlying these treatments could use them to some extent both during group activities and during individual interactions with students. In addition, teachers are in an especially strong position to use peer-oriented strategies, because they have continuing access not only to shy students themselves but to these students' peer groups. Finally, teachers have the opportunity to improve the school adjustment of shy and withdrawn students not only by

helping them learn to cope more effectively with stressful situations but also by building personal relationships with them and establishing the classroom as a supportive learning environment so as to minimize the stress that these students encounter there in the first place. With this literature review and synthesis as background, we now turn to the perceptions of and strategies for coping with shy/withdrawn students reported by the teachers interviewed in the Classroom Strategy Study.

Classroom Strategy Study: Design and Data Collection Procedures

The Classroom Strategy Study was not an experiment, but a systematic gathering of self-report data from experienced elementary teachers who varied in grade level, types of students taught, and rated effectiveness at dealing with problem students. Teachers who had been nominated by their principals as either outstanding or average in ability to cope with problem students responded to interviews and vignettes designed to elicit their attitudes and beliefs about 12 types of problem students and their strategies for coping with the problems that each type presents. Responses were transcribed and coded, yielding scores reflecting the teachers' reported beliefs, attitudes, expectations, and coping strategies. The scores were analyzed to yield two general types of information: descriptive data indicating the frequency of each response in the sample of teachers as a whole and in subsamples differing by grade level and geographic location, and correlational data indicating relationships between interview or vignette responses and ratings of the teachers' effectiveness in coping with problem students. Taken together these data describe the strategies currently used by teachers for coping with problem students in their classes and provide suggestive (correlational) information about the relative effectiveness of these strategies.

Source and Nature of Data

The teachers were presented with descriptions of key personal characteristics and behaviors of commonly encountered problem student types, and with vignettes depicting incidents of the troublesome behavior that such students present. The teachers were asked to describe their general strategies for responding to each type of problem student and their specific strategies for responding to the incidents depicted in the vignettes.

The data are self-report, and thus open to memory failure and distortion, social desirability responding, and all of the other threats to reliability and validity that are involved in asking people to report on their own behavior (Ericcson & Simon, 1980; Nisbett & Wilson, 1977). However, several features were built into the study to guard against such problems. First, experienced teachers were asked about familiar aspects of their work that usually had involved some prior conscious thinking and decision making. Second, the teachers were asked open-ended questions and encouraged to speak at length in their own words (rather than to choose among fixed alternatives). Self-report data tend to be largely accurate when people are asked about familiar matters that they have experienced and thought about, and when they are allowed to respond in their own words (Ericcson & Simon, 1980; Shavelson & Stern, 1981).

The Teachers

All teachers interviewed were regular classroom teachers (i.e., not resource room teachers or other specialists) with at least three years of experience. Most taught in self-contained age-graded classrooms, although a few taught in team teaching or semi-departmentalized arrangements. Of the 98 teachers, 54 taught in public schools of a small city, and 44 in the inner-city public schools of one of the nation's largest cities. Both cities are in the midwest (they will be referred to as Small City and Big City). Small City's

schools are representative in many ways of the schools in the nation at large. Major employers in the area include the state government, a major university, and several automobile parts and assembly plants, so Small City has a diversified economy that provides a variety of white collar and blue collar jobs. The majority (over 60%) of its students are Anglos, but there are significant black (25%) and Hispanic (10%) minorities, as well as smaller percentages of Asians and Native Americans. Many of the minority students attended naturally integrated schools, although some were bused from areas of concentrated minority residence to schools in predominantly Anglo neighborhoods.

Small City does not contain an extensive economically depressed area, so that it does not have "inner-city schools." Yet, the need for information about coping with problem students appears to be greatest at such schools, and it is possible that the strategies that work most effectively in inner-city schools differ from the strategies that work best elsewhere. These considerations led us to include the inner-city schools of Big City as a second site for data collection. Within Big City, we worked in three districts that served the most economically depressed inner-city areas. The vast majority of students attending these schools were from black families and most were poor. Readers should bear in mind that, although for convenience we refer to the "Big City" subsample when reporting results, this subsample was confined to inner-city schools and thus is not representative of the Big City school system as a whole.

In summary, the 98 teachers included 54 in Small City and 44 in the inner-city schools of Big City. The Small City subsample contained 28 teachers in the lower grades (K-3) and 26 in the upper grades (4-6), of whom 7 were male and 47 were female. The Big City subsample included 22 teachers in the lower grades and 22 in the upper grades, of whom 10 were male and 34 were female. All 50 of the teachers in the lower grades were female; 17 of the 48 in the

upper grades were male. Information about grade level, location, and gender differences in teachers' responses to our interview questions and vignettes is given in Brophy and Rohrkemper (1988).

Effectiveness Ratings

Ratings of the effectiveness of teachers in coping with problem students were obtained from principals and from classroom observers. Principals' ratings were collected in the process of identifying appropriate teachers for potential involvement in the study. Principals were informed about the nature of the study and told that we wished to interview teachers who had at least three years of experience and fit one of the following descriptions.

A. Outstanding Teacher(s)

> Do you have a teacher whom you consider to be truly outstanding in effectively handling difficult students--minimizing their problem behavior and responding to it effectively when it does occur? Please note the name of this teacher below (Note another if you believe that more than one teacher at your school is truly outstanding in this regard, but bear in mind that we seek to identify the top 10% or so of these teachers).

B. Other Experienced Teacher(s)

> For each "outstanding" teacher included in the study, we want to include another teacher with at least three years of experience who is not as outstanding in effectiveness in dealing with the 12 types of problem students that we have identified for focus. We do not seek teachers who are overwhelmed with problems and cannot cope with difficult students. Instead, we seek the 80% or so of teachers who are neither outstanding nor notably ineffective in this regard--teachers who maintain satisfactory classroom control and who usually can cope with the problems that difficult students present, even though they are not as outstanding as the teacher(s) named above. Teachers who teach at the same grade level as the teacher(s) named above are especially desirable.

Note that the questions called for principals to judge teachers on their general effectiveness in dealing with problem students, rather than to rate their effectiveness with each of the 12 types separately. We would have preferred 12 separate ratings, but pilot interviews revealed that principals could

not make such ratings validly, even though they did have general impressions of teachers' success in handling problem students.

We excluded principals who were in the first year of assignment at their present schools and thus had not had much time to gather information about their teachers. Even so, some principals had much more information than others, because of differences in length of contact with their teachers or in frequency and purpose of classroom visits and faculty meetings. Most principals appeared to have little direct (observational) knowledge of teachers' strategies and to judge teachers according to general impressions gleaned from personal interactions with them, the frequency and nature of their disciplinary referrals, and their reputations with other teachers and with students and their parents. We believe that most principals rated teachers primarily on their success in handling disruptive, aggressive, and defiant students and that they placed more emphasis on their success in containing these students' undesirable behavior than on their success in developing more desirable behavior patterns. This is understandable in view of the limited information that most principals have available to them and the fact that maintaining safety and discipline in the school is one of their primary responsibilities.

The teachers were recruited volunteers who were paid a modest honorarium in partial compensation for their out-of-class time spent responding to the interview and vignettes. During recruitment they were informed about the purpose and methodology of the study, but not about their principals' having rated them as either outstanding or average in coping with problem students. Since there were more comparison teachers than "outstanding" teachers, the recruiting strategy was to first obtain a commitment to participate from an "outstanding" teacher and then recruit a comparison teacher working under similar conditions (ideally, in the same grade level at the same school). The teachers were informed that they would be visited for two half days in their classrooms (to

allow us to observe them in action and see what the students and the daily routine were like) and then interviewed during private meetings.

Recruited teachers were assigned to an observer/interviewer for data collection. These individuals were well acquainted with the purpose and design of the study, but they never knew whether the teachers they observed and interviewed had been designated as outstanding or as average by their principals. Consequently, they were in a position to give ratings of the teachers that would be independent of the principals' ratings and were asked to rate the teachers on the following scale:

> Teacher's group designation. Based on information from the principal, each teacher has been designated as being either outstanding or average at dealing with problem students. Into which group do you think this teacher is nominated?
>
> 5. I am confident that this teacher is in the outstanding group.
> 4. I think that this teacher is probably in the outstanding group.
> 3. I cannot decide.
> 2. I think that this teacher is probably in the average group.
> 1. I am confident that this teacher is in the average group.

These ratings were made after two half-days in the classroom but prior to the interviews, so they were based on what the observers saw of the teachers interacting with all of their students rather than on what the teachers said about coping with problem students.

We had anticipated positive but only moderate correlations between the principals' and the observers' ratings, because teacher effectiveness in coping with problem students is complex and difficult to rate and because neither group of raters was working from a detailed information base (especially not the observers). However, the correlation between the two sets of ratings was even lower than expected (r = .11). Analyses of the relationships between these two sets of ratings and other measures developed in the study (Brophy & Rohrkemper, 1988) suggested that the principals' ratings were based primarily on the teachers' reputations for successfully managing their classes and

controlling student behavior (especially disruptive and aggressive behavior), whereas the observers' ratings placed more emphasis on the teachers' success in creating a positive classroom atmosphere and obtaining willing compliance from their students. The two sets of ratings appear to convey reliable (but different) information, but the principals' ratings appear somewhat more reliable and more focused on teachers' success in dealing with problem students.

Data Collection

Teachers were interviewed at times and places of their convenience. Interviews averaged from three to four hours each, spread over at least two sessions. Interviews were audiotaped so that teachers' verbatim responses to questions were preserved for later transcription and coding. Teachers were allowed to respond to questions in their own words. If they asked for clarification, or if they were not addressing the questions asked, the interviewer would repeat or rephrase the question. Once teachers had made their initial free responses to questions without interruption, interviewers probed to clarify ambiguous points, address questions that had been omitted, or stimulate the teacher to elaborate on matters that had not been explained fully. Probing was confined to such clarification and elaboration questions, however; interviewers did not ask teachers about matters that they did not bring up themselves.

Interviewing began with the vignettes, which had been constructed to depict behaviors typical of each of the 12 problem student types, described so that the depicted events would seem familiar and realistic to the teachers. The problem behavior was described as sufficiently troublesome that most teachers would feel compelled to take immediate action in response to it and as characteristic of the student rather than as an isolated event. In other words, the vignettes made it clear that the depicted incidents were parts of larger, chronic behavior patterns. To ensure that all teachers could easily imagine

the incidents as occurring in their classrooms, we restricted the depicted problems to those judged likely to occur within the K-6 grade level range and eliminated all references to student age, geographical location, or other context factors that might not apply to certain teachers. Also, the students in the vignettes, although identified by gender (through their names) and by the nature of their chronic behavior problems, were not identified by race, social class, or other status characteristics. The identification of students by name (and thus by gender) was not done as part of a systematic attempt to include gender of the problem student as an independent variable (this would have required many more vignettes per teacher). Instead, the names were included because pilot work had revealed that this was necessary for realism. Teachers found it easy and natural to talk about "Tom" or "Mary," but not about someone known only as "a student."

There were two vignettes for each problem student type (rather than just one) because we wanted to see if teachers' responses to a particular class of problem behavior would differ according to the specifics of the situation. Thus, the two vignettes in each pair depicted the same general type of problem behavior but differed in the context in which the behavior appeared and in the particular nature of the behavior itself. We would have preferred to have several vignettes for each problem type, but financial constraints limited us to two. Names (and thus, gender designations) were assigned according to the base rates of the problem behavior. A male name was assigned to one of the shy/withdrawn vignettes and a female name was assigned to the other, because no major gender difference has been established in the rates at which shy/withdrawn patterns are observed among school children.

We anticipated that the interview would elicit general and proactive (planned and initiated by the teachers themselves) strategies for dealing with problem students, whereas the vignettes would elicit descriptions of how the

teachers would react to unplanned (and undesirable) behavior that occurred in specific situations. To simulate situations in which unexpected events occur that require immediate response, we required the teachers to respond to the vignettes "cold," without having had a chance to think about them or make notes beforehand. The vignettes were printed on separate sheets and presented one at a time. The instructions were as follows:

> This is a series of vignettes depicting classroom events involving problem students. Read each vignette and tell me what you would say and do in the immediate situation if you were the teacher. After telling me what you would say and do, you can elaborate by explaining your goals, the rationale for your goals and behavior, or any other details that you might wish to add.

Following completion of the vignettes, the teachers were given descriptions of the 12 problem student types and told that they would be interviewed a week or two later. In the meantime, they would be free to gather their thoughts and make notes if they wished to do so. The instructions were as follows:

> Attached is a list of 12 types of problem student that elementary teachers often identify as time-consuming, frustrating, and/or worrisome to teach. For the interview, you will be asked to draw upon your knowledge and teaching experience in order to tell how to handle each of these 12 types of problem student.
>
> We are interested in whatever you have to say about each problem student type, so that we will schedule as many appointments as we need. For each problem student type, first explain your general philosophy about dealing with this kind of student, indicating why you favor this approach over alternatives that you may be aware of. Then, list the specific strategies you would use. Try to be as richly descriptive as possible, including any step-by-step sequences that might be part of your larger strategy, as well as any back-up strategies that you would use if your preferred method did not work. Explain exactly what you mean or give examples when you use terms like "reward" or "punishment."
>
> In addition to describing your strategies, include an explanation of the rationale for each one (the assumptions upon which it is based; the reasons why it should work). Also, evaluate the relative success of various strategies you recommend. How likely are they to succeed, both in the short run and in the long run? Are certain strategies more successful than others? (We are also interested in strategies that do not work or why your recommended strategies are better.) Include any important qualifications about particular strategies (Are

some especially successful or unsuccessful with certain kinds of student? Are some feasible only if certain conditions are present? Are some successful only if used as a part of a broader approach?)

Interviewers were encouraged to probe more actively than during the vignette administration, but again without interrupting the teacher's train of thought (unless it had gone into irrelevant material). If teachers did not spontaneously cover questions included in the instructions, the interviewers would prompt them. Also, the interviewer would ask for elaboration if the teacher mentioned some special program (token reward system, Magic Circle meeting, etc.) or unfamiliar concepts or procedures. In general, the interviewer's task was to elicit everything that the teacher had to say about dealing with each type of problem student and to be sure that the teacher's comments were clear and complete enough for us to understand and code accurately.

Data Preparation and Coding

The teachers' comments were transcribed and edited for correctness and for elimination of personal or institutional names. Responses to the 12 interviews and 24 vignettes then were content coded (separately) using categories that were developed by the authors (from a review of the literature and inspection of a sample of 20 transcripts) and refined until they yielded at least 80% agreement when used independently by two staff members who had not been involved in their development. The transcripts were identified only by numbers, so that coders did not know how the teachers had been rated by the principals or the observers. The coding involved presence versus absence decisions in which teachers whose transcripts included mention of the concepts or strategies subsumed within a coding category were scored "1" for that category and the other teachers were scored "0." Once their reliability was established on a subset of transcripts, the two staff members then coded all of

the remaining transcripts in the larger set. Codes that they agreed upon were used as is, and disagreements were discussed until they were resolved.

Data Analysis and Display

Data on the frequencies with which categories were coded and on the relationships between these category codes and ratings of teachers' effectiveness in coping with problem students are shown in Table 1 (interview data) and Table 2 (vignette data). These tables are a reduced set of the total findings available, with reductions being achieved primarily by eliminating low-use categories that were not coded for at least six teachers. A few such categories do appear in the tables because they have theoretical importance or because (in Table 2) they were coded for fewer than six teachers for one vignette but six or more teachers for the other vignette.

The numbers to the left of the category descriptions in the tables indicate how many teachers were coded for each category. The maximum possible numbers were 95 for Table 1 and 97 for Table 2 (because codable transcriptions of interview responses were available for 95 teachers and codable transcriptions of vignette responses were available for 97 teachers). Since these numbers approach 100, the absolute numbers of teachers coded in the various categories also approximate the percentages of teachers coded in these categories.

Some of these numbers are followed by a plus sign, which indicates that coding of that category was positively associated with teacher effectiveness ratings (that is, that teachers who were coded "1" for the category had significantly higher effectiveness ratings than teachers who were coded "0" for the category). Similarly, minus signs following these numbers indicate that the category was negatively correlated with effectiveness ratings. Where a number appears without either a plus sign or a minus sign, no significant relationship between the category and the teacher effectiveness ratings was observed.

Table 1

Interview Responses: Number of Teachers Coded for Each Category and Directions of Significant Relationships With Effectiveness Ratings

N	Coding Category
	A. General Problem-Solving Strategies
1	1. Control/suppress undesirable behavior (as sole approach)
31	2. Shape desirable behavior
71	3. Solve problem: Instruction/training/modeling/help (to eliminate the problem entirely
0	4. Help student cope with problem (but not eliminate entirely)
1	5. Identify and treat external causes
1	6. Insight (help student to recognize and understand the problem behavior)
9	7. Appeal/persuade/change attitudes
48	8. Encourage/reassure/build self-concept/provide supportive environment
	B. Specific Problem-Solving Strategies
12	9. Not a problem (teacher does not consider shyness or withdrawal to be a problem and thus would not try to do anything about it)
9	10. Nothing can be done (teacher sees a problem but believes that nothing can be done about it)
33+	11. Minimize stress/embarrassment to the problem student
18	12. Support through physical proximity/voice control/eye contact
13+	13. Prescribing/telling/instructing/eliciting guidelines for appropriate behavior
26+	14. Praise
11	15. Reward (promised as incentive or delivered as reinforcement)
19+	16. Encourage/express positive expectations
13	17. Kid gloves treatment (teacher makes special exceptions or allowances for shy students so as not to pressure them)
29+	18. Build self-concept
20	19. Build a close personal relationship with the student
44	20. Change peer relationships/create new social roles
9	21. Group meetings for social skills or problem solving

Table 1 (cont'd.)

N	Coding Category
10+	22. Involve peers for support
11	23. Involve parents for support or problem solving
23	24. Involve school-based authority figures or professionals to support or problem solve
23	25. Ensure success/prepare for positive class participation experiences
13	26. Demand student's participation in class
38	27. Encourage or shape responsiveness (call on often, reinforce effort)
7	28. Get the student off the spot quickly when anxiety sets in
13	29. Work the student's interests into the activity or discussion
9	30. Conference to discuss the problem with the student
27	31. Adapt to the student's needs (e.g., minimize demands for overt participation, accept a nod for a yes, etc.)
	C. Methods for Drawing the Student Out
16	32. None
31+	33. Supply extra attention, friendly initiatives, greetings
39	33. Frequent private talks with the student (informal conversations)
43+	34. Special activities (involves student in class leadership roles, running errands, peer tutoring, dramatics, etc.)
10	35. Humor (to put student at ease or elicit a verbal response)
8	36. Artificial aids (puppets, dolls, tape recorders, etc.)
	D. Methods of Involving the Peers or the Class
34	37. None
15	38. Class activities (whole-class activities or games that allow the student to participate in low-pressure situations)
11	39. Environmental engineering (moves student closer to the teacher, seats student among friendly peers, etc.)
31	40. Promote peer support (assigns peer as buddy, asks peers to make friends)
20+	41. Small-group activities (for students who are anxious in whole-class activitie
9+	42. Promote an attitude of acceptance and friendliness in the class
7	43. Public recognition of the student's accomplishments

Table 1 (cont'd.)

N	Coding Category
	E. General Approach to Changing Behavior
7-	44. Leave alone/reinforce
11	45. Provide only indirect support
55	46. Encourage change but only indirectly
13+	47. Encourage change directly
4	48. Force change
	F. Strategies Identified as Ineffective
33	49. None
12+	50. Ignore the problem
9	51. Scold
34	52. Force/push student to participate
28	53. Put on spot/embarrass
	G. Reasons Given to Explain Shyness/Withdrawal
25	54. None
23	55. Family modeling/has been ignored or not taught social skills
14	56. Innate/"born that way"
44+	57. Fear of failure/ridicule
	H. Miscellaneous
85+	58. Teacher's response includes long-term prevention or cure strategies
31+	59. Teacher's response includes different strategies for differentiated subtypes of the problem
60+	60. Teacher would try to get more information about the problem
51	61. Teacher anticipates that improvement will occur only slowly over a long time period
21	62. Teacher states that this problem is easy to overlook

Table 2

Vignette Responses: Number of Teachers Coded for Each Category and Directions of Significant Relationships With Effectiveness Ratings

Vig. A	Vig. B	Coding Category
		A. General Problem Solving Approaches
46	31	1. Improve mental hygiene or coping skills
64	53	2. Shape through successive approximations
9	23+	3. Control through threat or punishment
		B. Attributional Inferences
66	74	4. Locus of causality: internal to student
11	21	5. Controllability: student can control problem behavior
7	6	6. Intentionality: student acts intentionally
92	66	7. Stability: problem is stable over time
72	68	8. Globality: problem is generalized across situations
87	88	9. Locus of causality: external to teacher
74+	78	10. Controllability: teacher can effect change
63+	50	11. Stability: teacher expects stable improvement
49	42	12. Globality: teacher expects generalized improvement
		C. Types of Reward Mentioned
71	95	13. None
14+	2	14. Special privilege
8	0	15. Teacher reward (special time spent with teacher)
		D. Types of Punishment Mentioned
96	91+	16. None
		E. Types of Supportive Behavior Mentioned
0	19-	17. None
21	5	18. Specific behavioral praise
9	0	19. Global personal praise
23	5	20. Encouragement

Table 2 (cont'd.)

Vig. A	Vig. B	Coding Category
45	33	21. Kid gloves treatment
16-	7	22. Involve peers in providing support or help
11	9-	23. Involve parents in providing support or help
6	12	24. Involve other adults in providing support or help
30+	22	25. Instruction (in better means of coping)
		F. Types of Threatening or Pressuring Behaviors Mentioned
96	83	26. None
0	8-	27. Sarcasm/ridicule
		G. Specific Strategies for Responding to the Depicted Problem
11-	5	28. No response/avoidance of problem
11	3	29. Postpone (move on with the activity now, speak to the student privately later)
19	46+	30. Brief management response to the incident
6+	9	31. Humor or other tension release comment
43	42+	32. Prescribes or models better coping strategies
3	9	33. Change physical environment (seat location, group size, etc.)
29	7	34. Change social environment (enlist peer support, assign to special roles, etc.)
17-	31-	35. Identify and eliminate source of problem
1	6	36. Catharsis
7	10	37. Develop student's insight into the problem
53+	6	38. Build student's self-concept
23	2	39. Develop personal relationship with student
8	7	40. Involve the parents
		H. Rationales or Justifications for Behavior Change Demands
47	26	41. No behavior change demands made
24	45-	42. Offers no rationales or justifications for demands
2	7	43. Cites school or classroom rules

Table 2 (cont'd.)

Vig. A	Vig. B	Coding Category
17-	8+	44. Makes personal appeal
10-	18	45. Logical analysis linking withdrawal behavior to outcomes that are contrary to the student's best interests
9	3	46. Appeals to student's pride or positive self-concept
		I. Methods of Handling the Immediate Incident
31	9	47. Minimize or delay response (to minimize further embarrassment or pressure, end this interaction quickly and get back to student later)
5	31	48. Repeat or rephrase the question
17		49. Get Linda talking (not necessarily in answer to the original question)
17		50. Get eye contact with Linda
13		51. Allow Linda to whisper or speak privately to the teacher
28+		52. Reassure Linda or praise her successes (so far on the assignment)
27		53. Tell Linda to speak up
7		54. Confront Linda directly (ask why she is not responding)
13+		55. Tutor or assist Linda's learning efforts
	9	56. Ask John a new question
	11	57. Humor or other tension release response to John
	28	58. Tell John to pay attention
	14	59. Explain to John what happened (teacher thought he was paying attention but he didn't hear his name called)
	20	60. Get John's attention by touching him or moving closer to him
	7	61. Teacher would introduce a gimmick to maintain John's attention
	30	62. Call on John frequently thereafter to keep him alert, accountable, and involved
	8	63. Bring John up to date on the lesson
		J. Methods for Following up on the Incident
15	34-	64. None
54	19	65. Encourage or shape greater responsiveness
7	10	66. Build student's interests into activities

Table 2 (cont'd.)

Vig. A	Vig. B	Coding Category
11	28+	67. Probe for personal or emotional problem
24	3	68. Use peers to support or draw out the student
19		69. Praise or reward Linda's successes
17		70. Build a close relationship with Linda
14		71. Ensure success experiences and avoid putting Linda on the spot
	6	72. Teach John better listening skills
	12	73. Demand or appeal for better attention from John
	7+	74. Change John's seat (closer to teacher)
		K. Reasons Given for Linda's Unresponsiveness
27		75. Linda is shy/withdrawn
24		76. Linda has poor self-concept
33		77. Linda fears embarrassment
11		78. Problems in the teacher-student relationship
6+		79. Parental ignoring
8		80. Emotional or personal problem
		L. Reasons Given for John's Unresponsiveness
	64	81. He is sleepy/daydreaming/thinking about something else
	28	82. He is preoccupied with a problem
	20	83. He is distractible or immature
	23	84. He lacks interest in the content
		M. Miscellaneous
18-	24	85. Teacher would gather more information before taking action
24	20+	86. Teacher mentions using nonverbal communication methods
83		87. Teacher does not mention involving the parents
6-		88. Teacher would involve parents but only to get information
8		89. Teacher would enlist the parents' help in developing a solution to the problem

Table 2 (cont'd.)

Vig. A	Vig. B	Coding Category
29	8	90. Teacher believes that student needs kid gloves treatment
14	33	91. Teacher believes that student needs to be pushed or prodded for improvement
81		92. Teacher believes that it will take a long time to get Linda to respond freely
	17	93. Teacher views daydreaming as normal or even desirable activity
	29	94. Teacher views daydreaming as abnormal or negative

Finally, where no information at all appears in the column for either Vignette A or Vignette B in Table 2, the category applied only to the other vignette.

The plus and minus signs reflect significant relationships that appeared in either or both of two analyses relating the coding categories to teacher effectiveness ratings. The first analysis correlated teachers' scores (0 vs. 1) for the coding categories with numbers reflecting their principals' opinions of their effectiveness in coping with problem students (1 = average, 2 = outstanding). For these analyses, correlations that reached the .05 level of statistical significance (typically corresponding to r's of $\pm$ .37 or higher) were considered significant.

The second set of analyses involved comparing extreme groups identified by considering the principals' and the observers' ratings in combination. Specifically, these analyses involved comparing the 23 teachers who were both classified as outstanding by the principals and rated high (either 4 or 5 on the 5-point scale) by the observers with the 20 teachers who were both classified as average by the principals and rated low (1 or 2 on the 5-point scale) by the observers. For these extreme groups analyses, the numbers of teachers in each group that were coded for a particular category were expressed as proportions of the total numbers in the group (e.g., 23 or 20), and then a one-way analysis of variance was run to test the statistical significance of the difference in proportion scores. When the F-values from these analyses were large enough to reach the .05 level of statistical significance, the relationships they reflected were identified by inserting plus or minus signs into the tables.

Thus, plus or minus signs in the tables indicate that the signified relationship was supported by statistically significant findings from the correlations with principals' ratings, the analysis of variance comparing extreme groups, or both. We chose to include significant extreme groups differences along with significant correlations with the principals' ratings when reporting

our findings because although we believe that the principals' ratings were generally more valid and based on more directly relevant information than the observers' ratings, we also believe that some principals put too much emphasis on the teachers' abilities to control disruptive students during conflict situations and not enough on teachers' abilities to help such students develop better attitudes and coping skills or to help problem student types (failure syndrome, perfectionist, immature, shy/withdrawn) that appear to require sympathy and encouragement more than control or discipline. The observers' ratings appear to have taken these teacher characteristics into account, so that this perspective is reflected in the extreme groups analyses (which reflect the observers' as well as the principals' opinions).

In addition to the analyses run for the total sample, correlations of coding category scores with principals' effectiveness ratings were also computed separately for teachers working in the early grades (K-3) versus the later grades (4-6) and for teachers working in Small City versus Big City. These subsample correlations generally paralleled the correlations for the sample as a whole, although occasionally contrasting patterns were observed suggesting that what is effective in the early grades or in Small City differs from what is effective in the later grades or in Big City. These grade-level and location differences are not shown in the tables but are described in the text.

Responses to the General Strategy Interview

Shy/withdrawn students were described to the teachers as follows:

> These children avoid personal interaction, are quiet and unobtrusive and do not respond well to others.
>
> 1. quiet and sober
> 2. does not initiate or volunteer
> 3. does not call attention to self

The categories for coding responses to the interview questions about coping with such students are shown in Table 1, which also shows the number of

teachers who were coded "present" for each category and the direction (plus or minus) of the relationship between the teachers' presence-absence scores for the category and their ratings on effectiveness with problem students.

General Trends in the Teachers' Responses

The first eight categories (Section A) in Table 1 reflect the teachers' general problem-solving approaches. Although substantial numbers of teachers were coded in all or almost all of these eight categories in the data on certain problem student types (hostile-aggressive students, for example), the responses concerning shy/withdrawn students were concentrated in just three of the categories. A large majority (71) of the teachers mentioned providing some form of instruction, training, modeling, or help designed to enable shy students to become more participatory or responsive. In addition or instead, 48 mentioned attempts to encourage, reassure, build the self-concept of, or provide a supportive environment for shy students, and 31 mentioned attempts to shape increased responsiveness through incentives or contract systems. Thus, instruction, support, and shaping strategies predominated in teachers' responses to shy/withdrawn students; there was little or no emphasis on attempting to control or suppress undesirable behavior through threat or punishment, teaching of strategies to help the student cope with the problem (as opposed to getting rid of the problem entirely), identifying and treating external causes, or developing the student's insight.

These same trends can be seen in the frequencies with which the teachers mentioned more specific problem-solving strategies (Section B). The most commonly mentioned strategies were changing the social environment (44), encouraging or shaping increased responsiveness (38), trying to minimize the stress or embarrassment experienced by the problem student (33), building the student's self-concept (29), adapting instructional methods to the student's needs

(27), praising (26), involving school-based authority figures or professionals to help solve the problem (23), trying to ensure that shy students would achieve success or enjoy positive experiences when they did participate in class (23), building a close relationship with these students (20), communicating encouragement and positive expectations (19), and providing support through physical proximity, voice tone, or eye contact (18). Smaller numbers of teachers were coded for mention of prescribing, telling, instructing, or eliciting information about more effective coping in the classroom (13), supplying kid gloves treatment to shy students (13), demanding that they participate more often (13), building their interests into the curriculum (13), stating that shyness or withdrawal is not serious enough to call for any special response by the teacher (12), offering rewards as incentives for improved behavior (11), involving the peers to provide support (10), group problem-solving meetings (9), stating that nothing significant can be done about the problem (9), and making it a point to get the student off the spot quickly during times of anxiety or stress (7). Responses that do not appear on the table because they were mentioned by fewer than six teachers included threatening punishment, referring the student to outside medical or mental health professionals, attempting to extinguish the problem through ignoring, criticism and limit setting, and time out.

The data in Section C concern methods for drawing out shy or withdrawn students. These data indicate that 43 teachers mentioned special activities, 39 mentioned frequent private talks, 31 mentioned supplying extra attention, 10 mentioned humor, and 8 mentioned artificial aids such as puppets.

Section D concerns methods of involving individual peers or the class as a whole. Commonly mentioned strategies here included working to develop peer understanding of and support for shy or withdrawn students (31), assigning these students to small groups where they would feel more comfortable participating

overtly (20), scheduling class meetings or other activities designed to work on the problem (15), environmental engineering (moving shy students closer to the teacher or seating them among friendly and outgoing peers (11), promoting an attitude of acceptance and friendliness (9), and providing public recognition of their accomplishments (7).

The categories in Section E reflect summary ratings of the teachers' reported attempts to change the behavior (e.g., increase the responsiveness) of shy or withdrawn students, based on consideration of everything the teachers said in the interviews. The obtained ratings approximate a normal distribution, with most teachers rated toward the middle of the scale rather than at the extremes. Only 7 teachers would do nothing to try to make shy/withdrawn students more response, 11 would confine their efforts to providing indirect support, 55 would pressure these students to change but only through gentle and indirect means, 13 would encourage change directly but back off if they met resistance, and only 4 would try to force change even if they met resistance.

Section F provides data on the strategies that the teachers rejected as ineffective. The most frequently mentioned of these were attempting to force or push shy students to become more responsive (34), calling on them in ways that would put them on the spot or cause embarrassment (28), simply ignoring the problem (12), and scolding (9).

Section G provides data on the reasons offered as explanations for shy or withdrawn behavior. The most commonly mentioned reasons were fear of failure or ridicule (44), family modeling of similar behavior or lack of socialization concerning relevant social skills (23), and innate dispositional factors (14).

The remaining data (Section H) indicate that a heavy majority (85) of the teachers mentioned long-term prevention or cure strategies in addition to or instead of strategies for immediate response to specific incidents, 31 mentioned different strategies linked to differentiated subtypes of shy or withdrawn

students, 60 mentioned getting more information about the problem, 51 mentioned that improvement probably would occur only gradually over a long time frame, and 21 mentioned that shyness or withdrawal problems are easy to overlook.

Taken together, the frequency data in Table 1 indicate that the teachers' responses to the interview concerning shy/withdrawn students stressed strategies calling for applying gentle pressure for change but within a context of kid gloves treatment, support, and encouragement over strategies calling for direct confrontation or attempts to force change.

Relationships Between Interview Responses and Effectiveness Ratings

Compared to the lower rated teachers, the higher rated teachers had longer, richer protocols that gave more details about specific strategies. The significant relationships between teacher strategy codes and teacher effectiveness ratings shown in Table 1 form the pattern that would be expected given the fact that most teachers favored a general approach of applying gentle pressure for change but within a context of support and encouragement for shy/withdrawn students. That is, there was no evidence that the higher rated teachers favored one method and the lower rated teachers favored a contrasting method for responding to these students. Instead, both groups stressed the same basic principles but the higher rated teachers had many more ideas and reported using a broader range of strategies.

In particular, the higher rated teachers were more likely to go beyond indirect methods (building a relationship, providing support and encouragement, environmental engineering) in order to mention direct methods of stimulating change. The higher rated teachers would make a point of providing extra attention to shy/withdrawn students, praising their efforts or progress, and trying to build up their self-concepts. They also would try to stimulate change directly through specific instruction, scheduling of special activities or

small-group experiences for the benefit of shy/withdrawn students, and assigning these students to helper or messenger roles that would provide them with opportunities to communicate with others.

In summary, the higher rated teachers mentioned more of every kind of strategy except for pressuring strategies. Their responses indicate that they would take the problem of shyness/withdrawal seriously and attack it on several fronts simultaneously (improving their relationships with these students, calling on them frequently but at times likely to produce a successful experience, using small groups and involving peers, assigning them to special helper or messenger roles), although they would stop short of trying to force change and would remain prepared to back off if their efforts produced significant anxiety or resistance.

Grade Level and Location Comparisons

The data for the study as a whole (e.g., considering all 12 types of problem students) revealed several consistent grade level and location differences in the teachers' interview and vignette responses, including those concerning shy/withdrawn students (Brophy & Rohrkemper, 1988). Teachers i the lower grades more often mentioned behavioral shaping and environmental engineering strategies, as well as strategies for providing support, assistance, or counseling to problem students. Teachers in the upper grades were more likely to mention making demands or threatening punishment, as well as trying to change attitudes through logical appeal or persuasion. Small City teachers gave longer and more detailed responses and mentioned more of most types of strategies that call for time-consuming and individualized attention to problem students. In contrast, Big City teachers were more likely to restrict their interventions to strategies designed to control problem behavior on the spot (without including long-term prevention or cure strategies).

Correlational analyses done separately within grade-level groups yielded no direct contradictions (e.g., cases where the same coding category showed a significant positive correlation with the principals' effectiveness ratings in the lower grades but a significant negative correlation in the upper grades, or vice versa). However, a few variables yielded positive correlations of .30 or greater in one of the groups but near-zero correlations in the other group. Specifically, providing support through physical proximity, voice tone, or eye contact, placing shy students into small groups, and stating that ignoring the problem is an ineffective response were correlated with principals' ratings only in the lower grades; and communicating encouragement and positive expectations, trying to build up self-concept, and getting more information about the problem were correlated only in the upper grades. Some of these differences conform to a pattern frequently observed in the data from the larger study indicating that indirect methods are more feasible and effective in the early grades but direct resocialization methods become more feasible and effective in the later grades. In general, the grade-level differences in these interview data were limited and relatively unremarkable, suggesting that what constitutes effective teacher response to shyness and withdrawal problems is much more similar than different across grades K-6.

There were two contradictions between the Small City findings and the Big City findings in the correlations with principals' effectiveness ratings. Adapting to shy students' needs by making special allowances for them was correlated positively with the principals' ratings in Small City but negatively in Big City, and assigning shy students to perform special activities was correlated positively in Big City but negatively in Small City. In addition, several variables correlated $\pm$ .30 or more in one location but had negligible correlations in the other. Most were variables that correlated with principals' ratings in Big City but not in Small City. These included a negative

correlation for shaping as a general approach and positive correlations f r offering rewards as incentives and for trying to encourage, reassure, build self-concept, or provide environmental support as a general approach.

These contrasts in patterns of correlation with the principals' ratings reflect differences between Small City and Big City in the degree to which shyness was considered a serious problem and addressed through systematic personalized treatment of the shy student. In Small City, effective responses to shyness were more direct and intensive, to the point of adapting to shy students' needs by making special allowances for them. This may have been because the Small City teachers had greater opportunity to engage in intensive and individualized interactions with their problem students than the Big City teachers did. In Big City, the higher rated teachers did not adapt to shy students' needs to the extent of making special allowances for them, but they did go beyond relatively minimal and impersonal shaping attempts to the extent of providing personalized support to shy students and assigning them to perform special activities (running errands, performing helper roles, etc.) designed to increase their visibility and comfort in the classroom.

Responses to Vignette A

Vignette A reads as follows:

> Linda is bright enough, but she is shy and withdrawn. She doesn't volunteer to participate in class, and when you call on her directly, she often does not respond. When she does, she usually whispers. Today, you are checking seatwork progress. When you question her, Linda keeps her eyes lowered and says nothing.

Data on responses to Vignette A are shown in Table 2.

General Trends in the Teachers' Responses

The data in Section A indicate that 64 teachers mentioned influence attempts designed to shape Linda's behavior through successive approximations, 46 reported attempts to improve her mental hygiene or coping skills, and only 9

reported attempts to control her behavior through insistent demands. Thus, the vast majority of the teachers stressed support and encouragement in describing how they would try to increase Linda's responsiveness.

The attributional inferences data (Section B) indicate that most teachers saw the problem as stable over time (92) and as generalized across situations (72). Furthermore, although the majority (66) attributed her behavior solely to causes internal to Linda, a few saw her as able to control her behavior if she tried to do so (11) or as misbehaving intentionally (7). Thus, the teachers tended to see Linda as a victim of circumstances beyond her control. A heavy majority (87) saw the problem as caused by factors external to themselves (and usually internal to Linda), yet most (74) were confident that they could improve the situation through their own interventions. Smaller majorities, however, believed that the improvements they could achieve would be stable over time (63) or generalized across situations (49).

The Section C data indicate that only about one-fourth of the teachers mentioned offering rewards as incentives to Linda, typically special privilege rewards (14) or teacher rewards (8). Only one teacher mentioned threatening Linda with punishment (loss of privilege) if she did not speak up (Section D). Thus, offers of reward and threats of punishment were not major factors in the teachers' reported responses to Linda.

In contrast, every teacher mentioned at least one supportive behavior (Section E), with the most frequently mentioned forms being kid gloves treatment (45), instruction (30), encouragement (25), specific behavioral praise (21), involving peers to provide support (16), involving the parents to provide support (11), and global personal praise (9). Finally, only one teacher mentioned a threatening or pressuring behavior (specific behavioral criticism) in response to Vignette A (Section F).

Data on commonly mentioned strategies for responding to Linda are given in Section G. Most of these involve supporting or helping Linda in some way. The most frequently mentioned strategies were trying to build up her self-concept (53), prescribing or modeling better coping strategies (43), changing the social environment, typically by enlisting peer support for Linda (29), developing a close personal relationship with her (23), brief management responses to the depicted incident (19), trying to identify and eliminate the source of her problem (17), and postponing action until a more opportune time (11). Eleven teachers stated that they would ignore or make no response to Linda's behavior, however. Only seven teachers mentioned attempts to develop insight in Linda, indicating that most teachers believed that it would be unproductive or even counterproductive to confront her with her problem directly.

The data in Section H indicate that about half (47) of the teachers would make no demands on Linda and that about half of those teachers who would make demands would not offer rationales to justify them (24). Among those who would offer rationales, most would appeal to Linda's desire to please the teacher (17), to logical analysis of her self-interest (10), or to her sense of pride or self-concept (9).

The data in Section I concern methods for handling the depicted incident. Thirty-one teachers reported that they would minimize their response or delay responding until a better time, 28 would reassure Linda or praise the success she had achieved so far on the assignment, 27 would tell her to speak up, 17 would try to get eye contact, 17 would try to get her talking (about anything, not necessarily the original question), 13 would invite her to whisper the answer or speak it privately, 13 would see that she got tutorial help, 7 would confront her directly by asking her why she had not responded, and 5 would simply repeat the question. Most of these responses featured sympathy and

accommodation to Linda rather than attempts to pressure her to respond to the question.

The data in Section J indicate that most (all but 15) of the teachers mentioned at least one prevention or follow-up strategy. These included attempts to encourage or shape increased responsiveness (54), enlisting the peers in attempts to provide support or draw her out (24), praising or rewarding her accomplishments (19), building a close relationship with her (17), trying to ensure success experiences and avoid putting Linda on the spot when called on (14), probing to discover an underlying emotional problem (11), and finding out about her interests and then building these into activities (7).

All teachers gave at least one reason for Linda's unresponsiveness (Section K), although 27 merely stated that she was genuinely shy or withdrawn. Concerning more specific causes, 33 mentioned fear of embarrassment, 24 mentioned poor self-concept, and 11 mentioned teacher-student relationship problems. Only a few attributed Linda's unresponsiveness to personal or emotional problems, parental ignoring, ridicule or scolding, or a physical problem.

The data in Section M indicate that most (81) of the teachers believed that it would take a long time to get Linda to begin to respond freely, but much smaller numbers of teachers mentioned gathering information before taking action (18), using nonverbal communication methods (24), or contacting Linda's parents to involve them in seeking solutions (8) or just to get more information (6). Among teachers who expressed extreme rather than balanced views on the issue, 29 indicated that Linda needed patient, supportive kid gloves treatment whereas 14 believed that Linda needed to be pushed to become more responsive.

In summary, a heavy majority of the teachers saw Linda as fearful, inhibited, and in need of being brought along slowly through encouragement, shaping of increased responsiveness, and kid gloves treatment. A minority of the

teachers saw her problem more as a bad habit that needed to be corrected, but even these teachers stressed relatively benign behavioral shaping and cueing strategies rather than strategies featuring pressure or demands backed by threats of punishment.

Relationships Between Vignette A Responses and Effectiveness Ratings

Within the context of the findings for the complete set of 24 vignettes included in the larger study, the data for Vignette A yielded a relatively short list of significant relationships between teacher strategy codes and teacher effectiveness ratings. We believe that this reflects the fact that Vignette A depicted a situation that all of the teachers found familiar and that the vast majority had developed immediately accessible (and similar) strategies for handling; that is, the vast majority of the teachers immediately interpreted Linda's behavior as inhibition due to anxiety and stated that they would respond to it by providing her with support, assistance, verbal and nonverbal communication designed to draw her out, reassurance of her abilities, praise for her successes, and so on. The higher rated teachers spoke with greater confidence of achieving significant improvements, and they more often mentioned strategies that go beyond general positive treatment and emotional support (building up Linda's academic self-concept and confidence in her work by calling her attention to her accomplishments and providing tutorial help or other assistance to enable her to achieve consistent success in her school work). In general, however, the modal responses of both the higher rated and the lower rated teachers were similar and centered on the need to provide Linda with support and encouragement.

The data contain several initially surprising negative relationships that became understandable after examination of the correlations between the teacher strategy codes involved and other variables included in the study. For

example, the negative relationships for gathering information before taking action and for getting more information by talking to the parents apparently were obtained because teachers who mentioned these strategies tended to be among the small minority of teachers in the sample who lacked immediately accessible strategies for responding to incidents such as those depicted in Vignette A; that is, we believe that the negative relationships for these two strategy codes occurred not because there is something inherently counterproductive about gathering information before taking action or talking to parents, but because effective teachers will have developed immediately accessible strategies for responding to the kind of problems depicted in the vignette. Such teachers might well want to gather more information about the student in planning their long-term treatment, but in the short run they would possess and be able to access immediately when needed a repertoire of strategies for responding to situational unresponsiveness such as that displayed by Linda in the vignette. Experienced and effective professionals are able to immediately diagnose and respond to everyday problems of professional practice; they do not need to laboriously gather information and work through alternative hypotheses before deciding on a course of action (Elstein, Shulman, & Sprafka, 1978).

Negative relationships with effectiveness ratings are also seen for teacher reports of making personal appeals or offering logical analysis rationales in justifying demands on Linda. Here again, we believe that the problem is not with rationales or justifications as such (ordinarily it is more appropriate to explain one's demands than to make such demands without explanation). Instead, we believe that the negative relationships appeared because it would not be productive to make demands on Linda in the first place, and in particular to do so in such a way (discussing the demands at length and backing them with rationales or justifications) that they amount to a strategy of directly confronting Linda about her anxiety and inhibition problem. It appears

that such situations are better handled through the less direct yet personalized and supportive methods recommended by the majority of the teachers (lower rated as well as higher rated) that we interviewed.

The negative relationship for trying to identify and eliminate the source of Linda's problem was not surprising because this strategy is commonly mentioned by teachers who have only a few vague ideas about how to handle problems (Brophy & Rohrkemper, 1988). The negative relationship for involving peers to provide support or to help draw out Linda was more surprising, because this strategy usually shows positive relationships with effectiveness ratings. However, the depicted problem centered around Linda's confidence in her ability to handle her work assignments or around her relationship with the teacher (i.e., not her peers). Thus, it appears that teachers who spoke of involving the peers misinterpreted the problem or failed to mention other strategies that are more specifically responsive to it and more crucial to its successful solution (establishing themselves as supportive helpers rather than critical authority figures, and helping Linda to develop greater confidence in her ability to handle assignments).

Grade-Level and Location Comparisons

The grade-level contrasts in correlations with the principals' ratings yielded two contradictions: mention of specific behavioral praise as a supportive strategy and mention of attempts to get Linda talking as a response to the depicted incident were both correlated positively in the early grades but negatively in the later grades. Although not specifically expected, these contrasting findings make sense: Behavioral praise and attempts to get Linda talking do seem more appropriate for younger students (who are likely to have global inhibitions and to respond to general encouragement strategies) than for older

students (who are likely to have more specific problems calling for more specific response strategies).

In addition, two strategy codes showed only negligible correlations with principals' ratings in the upper grades but correlations ± .30 or greater in the lower grades: There was a positive correlation for instruction (in better methods of coping) and a negative correlation for mention of teacher-student relationship problems as a cause of Linda's unresponsiveness. These two relationships would appear to make sense at any grade level; it is not clear why they were statistically significant only in the data for the early grades in the present study. Location comparisons (Big City vs. Small City) yielded no contradictions or noteworthy contrasts.

Responses to Vignette B

Vignette B reads as follows:

> John often seems to be off in his own world, but today he is watching you as you lead a discussion. Pleased to see him attentive, you ask him what he thinks. However, you have to repeat his name and he looks startled when he realizes that you have called on him. Meanwhile, you realize that he has been immersed in daydreams and only appeared to be paying attention.

Data on the responses to Vignette B are also shown in Table 2.

General Trends in the Teachers' Responses

The data in Section A indicate that 31 teachers mentioned attempts to improve John's mental hygiene or coping skills as a general problem-solving approach, whereas 53 mentioned attempts to shape improved attention through successive approximations and 23 mentioned making demands or threatening punishment. This is a less supportive, more demanding pattern than was observed with Linda in Vignette A, although the majority of the teachers still stressed positive (support, shaping) methods over negative (demand, threat) methods.

The attributional inferences data in Section B indicate that most teachers saw John's problem as stable over time (66) and generalized across situations (68). Most (74) also attributed his behavior solely to causes internal to John, but only a minority saw him as able to control his behavior if he tried (21) and only 6 saw him as acting intentionally. Even though most (88) teachers saw the problem as caused by factors external to themselves (and usually internal to John), most (78) were confident that they could improve the situation through their own interventions. As with Linda, however, considerably fewer were confident that these improvements would be stable over time (50) or generalized across situations (42).

Only two teachers (Section C) mentioned offering rewards to John (about one-fourth mentioned rewards as incentives to Linda), and only six teachers mentioned threatening John with punishment (Section D). Thus, offers of reward and threats of punishment were not major factors in the teachers' reported responses to John. All but 19 of the teachers mentioned at least one supportive behavior (Section E), most frequently kid gloves treatment (33), instruction (22), and involving other adults to provide support (12). In contrast, only 14 teachers mentioned threatening or pressuring behaviors as responses to John (Section F), typically remarks coded as sarcasm or ridicule (8). Thus, the teachers' responses indicated that they would be supportive of John, but not as supportive as they would be of Linda.

The Section G data indicate that the most commonly mentioned specific strategies were brief management responses (46), prescribing or modeling better coping strategies (42), trying to deepen John's insight (10), humor or other tension release comments (9), and changing John's physical environment (9). Thus, in contrast to the supportive responses that emphasized building up Linda's self-concept, most responses to John were brief management responses or

demands for better attention. Only five teachers would ignore or make no response to John's behavior.

Most (71) teachers spoke of making demands on John for improved behavior (Section H), but only a minority (26) mentioned associated rationales (perhaps teachers assumed that the rationales underlying demands for attention to lessons are obvious to students). The most frequent rationale was logical analysis indicating that John would not learn if he did not pay attention (18).

The Section I data on methods of handling the immediate incident indicate that 31 teachers would repeat or rephrase the question to John, 30 would question him frequently to keep him involved, 28 would tell him to pay better attention, 20 would use touch, physical proximity, or movement toward John to gain his attention, 14 would explain to him what had happened, 11 would use humor or tension release comments, 9 would ask him a new question, 9 would minimize or delay responding until a more opportune time, 8 would bring him up to date on what he had missed, and 7 would use some gimmick to maintain his attention (such as asking him to hold up a picture for the class to see). In short, most teachers would make a brief management response designed to regain John's attention and then would continue with the lesson.

The data in Section J indicate that fewer than two-thirds of the teachers mentioned prevention or follow-up strategies. These included probing for personal or emotional problems (28), trying to encourage or shape John's responsiveness (19), demanding or appealing for better attention (12), trying to make the work more interesting or to capitalize on John's interests (10), changing his seat (7), and teaching him listening skills (6).

The data in Section L indicate that a majority (64) of the teachers suggested that John may have been unresponsive because he was sleepy, daydreaming, or thinking about something else. Other commonly mentioned causes included

preoccupation with a personal problem (28), lack of interest in the content (23), or general distractibility and immaturity (20).

The Section M data indicate that 24 teachers mentioned gathering more information before taking action, and 20 mentioned using nonverbal communication methods to attract and hold John's attention. Only 8 teachers saw John as needing kid gloves treatment, whereas 33 believed that he needed to be pushed to pay better attention. Finally, only 17 viewed daydreaming as normal or even desirable, where as 29 viewed it as abnormal or negative.

In summary, the majority of the teachers would deal with the incident through brief management responses designed to regain John's attention, then continue with the lesson, and then follow up later by pressuring John to pay more careful attention in class or by probing to find out what might underlie his tendency to tune out. Except for the minority who spoke of the possibility of personal or physical problems, most teachers confined their responses to ideas about either helping or pressuring John to pay better attention or making lessons more interesting to him.

Relationships Between Vignette B Responses and Effectiveness Ratings

The higher rated teachers made more proactive and organized responses, in terms of both responding to the immediate incident and following up later. Instead of just regaining John's attention at the time and perhaps urging him to pay better attention in the future, the higher rated teachers would help him to maintain attention by moving his seat closer, providing instructive suggestions, or using nonverbal communication methods designed to make it easier for John to focus on them when they were teaching. Instead of these relatively specific responses, the lower rated teachers tended not to speak of following up the incident at all or to speak vaguely of involving the parents or seeking an underlying cause of the problem. They also were more likely to respond to

John with sarcasm or ridicule (although only eight teachers were coded for such responses).

The higher rated teachers were more likely to demand attention from John, but also less likely to accompany such demands with threats of punishment for repeated inattention. In general, in addition to the modal response to the vignette (do something to restore John's attention and then continue with the lesson), the higher rated teachers were more likely to mention following up the depicted incident by taking actions designed to prevent repetition of the problem in the future (demand or appeal for better attention, use behavior modification or environmental engineering strategies such as changing John's seat to place him closer to the teacher, or probe for underlying personal or emotional problems).

Taken together, the data suggest that, in contrast to the lower rated teachers whose ideas about following up the incident were limited and vague, the higher rated teachers mentioned a variety of specific strategies for improving John's attentiveness. Most of these involved providing support or assistance to John in the form of advice, seat reassignment, or intensified nonverbal communication, although some involved pressuring him by demanding that he change his behavior.

Grade-Level and Location Comparisons

Grade-level contrasts in correlations with the principals' ratings revealed no contradictions or noteworthy contrasts. The location comparisons revealed one contraction: expression of confidence in being able to effect significant improvements through one's own interventions was correlated positively with the principals' ratings in Big City but negatively in Small City. The Big City pattern is typical for our data; the Small City findings are anomalous and we have no explanation to offer for them.

Comparison of Findings From the Two Vignettes

The events depicted in the two vignettes apparently were familiar enough so that most teachers could respond with immediately accessible (and for the most part similar and apparently effective) strategies. Consequently, almost all teachers mentioned strategies for handling the immediate problem (getting Linda to talk and restoring John's attention), and the majority (especially the higher rated teachers) suggested follow-up strategies designed to prevent recurrence of the problem in the future. Typically, only the least effective teachers spoke of gathering more information before taking action, involving the parents or other adults in developing a solution, or trying to identify an underlying cause in lieu of ideas about what could be done immediately.

The teachers overwhelmingly viewed the students in each vignette as possessing a problem and being in need of assistance rather than as deliberately misbehaving and thus deserving blame or punishment. However, there were differences in the tone and nature of the responses to the two vignettes. The teachers were overwhelmingly sympathetic toward and willing to be patient with and supportive of Linda, and they stressed the need to build up her academic self-concept by praising her successes and providing encouragement. In contrast, they were less sympathetic toward and more demanding of John. Some would remain essentially supportive, attempting to help him by changing his seat, directing nonverbal communications toward him, or providing helpful instruction or modeling (but not the encouragement or self-concept support provided to Linda). Others spoke of placing pressure on John in the form of demands for improved attentiveness.

These teachers were less sympathetic when unresponsiveness stemmed from withdrawal/daydreaming problems than when it stemmed from shyness/inhibition problems. The depicted behaviors were not disruptive and were not seen as intentional, so teachers typically would make only brief responses to them,

concentrating on restoring engagement (getting Linda to talk about and then work on her assignment, regaining John's attention). Later, however, they would follow up with strategies designed to address the larger underlying syndromes of shyness/inhibition or withdrawal/ daydreaming.

Codes reflecting rationales or justifications for demands (especially personal appeals or appeals to logic, which were the most frequently occurring rationales) were correlated negatively with effectiveness ratings for Vignette A but positively for Vignette B. This difference reflected a more fundamental difference in whether or not making demands on the depicted student was appropriate in the first place. For Vignette B, where demands for improved attention were appropriate (although such demands were not strictly necessary to effective handling of the problem), those higher rated teachers who made such demands tended to accompany them with appropriate rationales or justifications, whereas those lower rated teachers who made such demands did not. In contrast, the data for Vignette A indicate that it was not productive to confront Linda about her problem directly or to demand that she speak up, even if such demands were accompanied by well intended (and in most other circumstances, effective) rationales and justifications. This difference is part of a larger set of findings suggesting that shyness/inhibition problems call for relatively indirect and highly supportive treatment, whereas withdrawal/daydreaming problems call for more direct treatment that may (but not necessarily must) include direct appeals for improved attention.

Qualitative Impressions and Examples

Rereading and reflection upon teachers' interview and vignette responses has suggested several qualitative impressions that supplement the information contained in the tables. It has also led us to identify instructive examples of strategies h etofore discussed only in more general terms, as well as ideas

or strategies mentioned by only one or two teachers that seemed worth including in this report (even though they did not occur often enough to allow statistical analyses of their relationships to effectiveness ratings).

Qualitative Impressions

Compared to responses concerning other problem student types addressed in the larger study, the interview and vignette responses concerning shy/withdrawn students show remarkable similarity across teachers. Except for the subgroup of teachers who interpreted John's behavior depicted in Vignette B as reflecting merely a bad habit of inattentiveness rather than a more serious underlying withdrawal problem, the teachers' responses concentrated almost exclusively on strategies for providing support, encouragement, and assistance to shy/withdrawn students. Furthermore, the differences between the more effective and less effective teachers' responses were mostly in the scope, number, and relevance of the strategies mentioned rather than in sophistication of language, technical detail, or other qualitative aspects of the description of particular strategies. Apparently, shyness and withdrawal problems (at least as described in our interview questions and illustrated in our vignettes) are familiar to teachers and easy for them to understand and respond to (even though most are working from intuition rather than codified knowledge). This is especially the case with shyness problems, which tend to elicit sympathy from teachers and thus orient them naturally toward supplying shy students with precisely the kinds of treatment that they most need (support, encouragement, and assistance).

Many teachers stressed the value of opening up shy or withdrawn students by working through their interests, using them both as conversation starters and as the topics of classroom activities. Such teachers would capitalize on student interests in academic content by assigning shy students to do special

projects in their areas of interest, especially projects that would require them to work together with other students or would culminate in some kind of presentation to the class. They also would capitalize on nonacademic interests by encouraging the student to bring things from home for Show and Tell or to write about the topic in book reports or composition assignments. Another common theme was cautioning against trying to move too quickly. Many teachers mentioned the need to give shy students time to warm up to the teacher, to develop confidence in themselves, and to have some input into how much should be expected of them. Such teachers often recommended strategies such as calling on shy students whenever they raise their hands but not often otherwise (unless one is sure that they can answer successfully).

Except for the rare punitive response, the responses that seemed unlikely to be effective tended to involve either strategies that were largely irrelevant to the basic problem or relevant strategies that were poorly implemented rather than strategies that were completely inappropriate. Some teachers who favored the use of humor to release tension or get the student "off the spot," for example, would undermine their good intentions by making humorous comments more likely to increase rather than decrease the student's embarrassment. Similarly some teachers who spoke of creating special roles or assignments for shy students to encourage them to interact more in the classroom mentioned roles ("police officer") or assignments (act as messenger to tell peers that the teacher wants them to quiet down) that such students might find threatening or that might do their peer relationships more harm than good. Finally, some teachers started with a basically sound idea (such as capitalizing on the student's interest in a particular cartoon superhero) but then spoke of relying on it to the extent of overkill or carrying it to extremes whe discussing implementation.

Examples and Unique Suggestions

The following are noteworthy as examples of commonly mentioned strategies or of unique suggestions made by individual teachers.

Advance preparation: Meet with shy students privately and tell them that you want them to volunteer during an upcoming activity; prime them by asking questions today during private informal conversations that are similar to the questions you will ask during tomorrow's lesson (such as questions about comprehension of or reactions to a story read today that will be discussed tomorrow); when students are to give speeches, have them practice at home in front of a mirror, or better yet, have them use a tape recorder so that they will hear that they sound okay.

Special roles and assignments: Placement on bulletin board committees or other groups that require decision making and interaction with others; letting them choose a game to play and be captain; work with a partner to do pantomime; share experiences with the class or a small group (when one knows that the student has something to share and can make a leading suggestion about it); allow (but not require) them to read to the class from a favorite book or story (reading is less stressful than speaking extemporaneously); assign them to work with younger students by tutoring, leading them in games, or reading to them; give them jobs that require them to talk or to be in front of the class frequently (greeter of visitors, messenger, cleaning the boards); have the class read or sing in unison so that they can hear themselves speaking out.

Peer and recreational activities: Pair them with a peer for tutoring or cooperative learning activities; place them among peers who are outgoing but not too boisterous; assign a "considerate, kind-hearted" child to act as a buddy; ask peers to invite them to play, giving them guidelines about how to do so (one or two students ask quietly--don't mob the shy student); suggest to parents that they enroll the child in a group therapy situation with other shy

children or in extracurricular activities such as choir, scouting, gymnastics, or dancing.

Medical tests or hypotheses: Check Linda's hearing; check John for possible epilepsy; consider that John could be on medication that would render him groggy; "put the earphones on" John to see how he does at listening skill diagnosis and development activities.

Puppets: Puppets are good for drawing out shy students because, unlike drama, they do not put the students on the spot or require them to "get face-to-face" with others. Also, people aren't looking at your face when you use puppets.

Humor: "A penny for your thoughts, John--they must be better than mine." "Was it a good sleep? That's the first time I've seen someone sleep with his eyes open."

Parents: Encourage parents to talk more with their child and especially to draw him out and listen to him; find out if the parents have warned the child to be "good" (e.g , quiet) at school; ask them if the child has said anything about being afraid of the teacher (and if so, why).

Maintaining contact with shy students: Make a note (literally) to check with these children at least once each day; keep a set of cards with the students' names and make it a point to visit with the student on the top card, then put that card on the bottom.

Miscellaneous: Model icebreakers and social initiation talk for shy students; be aware that certain black or Native American students may be taught at home to avoid eye contact and remain quiet around adults; reinforce participation in class activities but through expressions of appreciation rather than public overkill ("Oh my goodness--Linda spoke up today! Let's all cheer!"); develop a relationship by corresponding with the student (using actual letters sent through the mail); if the class is reading, have John use his finger to

keep track; otherwise, tell him to keep his eyes (not just his ears) trained on the teacher at all times and check to make sure that he does so; bend or stoop to get down to Linda's level to establish eye contact with her.

General Discussion

The data suggest that shy/withdrawn students and the problems that they present are familiar to most teachers and relatively easy for them to respond to using easily accessible strategies. This is understandable because such students primarily need support, encouragement, and personalized assistance. These teacher behaviors not only mesh well with the nurturant, student-oriented role definitions and attitudes that are common among elementary grade teachers, but also tend to appear as part of a naturally occurring sympathetic reaction to children who are seen as victims of forces beyond their control that are causing them problems (see Brophy & Evertson, 1981).

Even so, codes reflecting positive expectations and confidence in ability to respond effectively to shy/withdrawn students were among the most consistent correlates of effectiveness ratings. These included both positive relationships for variables indicating confidence in one's ability to elicit significant improvements in shy/withdrawn students and negative relationships for variables suggesting a lack of immediately accessible strategies for handling the problems depicted in the vignettes (so that the teacher needed to gather more information before taking action or to involve the parents or other adults in developing solutions).

The data from the interview and from Vignette A showed similar distributions of types of responses and similar patterns of correlation between these responses and the effectiveness ratings. Apparently this was because the teachers responded to the interview primarily with problems of shyness or inhibition (such as those illustrated by Linda in Vignette A) in mind, as opposed to

problems of withdrawal or daydreaming (as represented by John in Vignette B) or other shyness/withdrawal problems such as social unresponsiveness to peers. Consequently, both the interview data and the Vignette A data suggest that teachers respond effectively to shyness or inhibition problems by taking them seriously and working to change the students' behavior but doing so in relatively indirect and highly supportive ways (private talks and special activities or assignments designed to draw the student out, minimizing stress or embarrassment, praising accomplishments and encouraging efforts, and where necessary, building up the student's academic self-concept). The teachers would use these methods routinely to apply consistent pressure for change, but would avoid direct confrontations or overly sharp prodding involving demands or threats, would back off if they met resistance, and would be prepared to accept the possibility that it might take several months of patient work to achieve substantial improvement.

The higher rated teachers mentioned in their interviews that different subtypes of shy/withdrawn students require different treatment, and the contrasts in the findings for the two vignettes illustrated this. Linda showed shyness/inhibition problems that yielded responses focusing on support, encouragement, and build up of academic self-concept, whereas John showed withdrawal/daydreaming problems that yielded responses focusing on strategies for making it easier for him to sustain attention to lessons (changing his seat, improving the nonverbal communication directed at him, etc.) or for demanding or appealing for increased concentration.

There were a few contrasts between the interview data and the vignette data that reflected the different mind-sets adopted by the teachers in responding to the general problem behavior description that was the basis for the interview versus the specific incidents depicted in the vignettes. Many interview responses included mention of strategies for involving the peers to

support or interact with shy students, for example, but these strategies were rarely mentioned in response to the vignettes because the situations depicted in the vignettes did not lend themselves well to peer involvement. Similarly, many teachers mentioned teaching shy students in small groups in their interviews, but this did not come up in response to the vignettes (it probably would have if Linda's inhibition about responding to the teacher's question had been portrayed as occurring during a whole-class recitation rather than during seatwork time). A contrast in the opposite direction was seen with seating the student closer to the teacher to make it easier for him to pay attention. This strategy was mentioned by several teachers in response to Vignette B (which depicted John as withdrawn and prone to daydreaming), but was never mentioned during the interviews (which focused more on shyness/inhibition problems than on withdrawal/daydreaming problems).

The vignette data also illustrate the importance of several relatively subtle situational response strategies and seemingly minor environmental engineering and behavior modification strategies that tend not to be highlighted during interviews (because inteview responses focus on the big picture by addressing such topics as building up a student's academic self-concept). For example, the data from Vignette A indicate the value of tension release strategies for defusing situational anxiety or embarrassment and of praise/reward strategies for encouraging and calling attention to the successes of shy/inhibited students such as Linda. Similarly, the Vignette B data indicate the value of brief management responses that are effective for refocusing the attention of withdrawn/daydreaming students such as John without causing them unnecessary embarrassment or breaking the flow of the lesson, as well as the value of relatively subtle but important nonverbal communication methods for gaining and maintaining the attention of such students.

The grade-level and location comparisons were relatively unremarkable, suggesting that the same general principles and strategies for dealing with shy or withdrawn students applied in both locations and in both grade-level groups (although more global and indirect supportive methods appear most applicable in the early grades, whereas more direct socialization methods appear most applicable in the later grades).

In summary, the data show that the teachers' intuition-based responses to shy and withdrawn students mesh well not only with common sense but with expert recommendations based on previously developed theory and research (at least to the extent that the latter recommendations apply to the particular forms of shyness and withdrawal that we described to the teachers--we did not say anything about peer adjustment problems that might call for social skills training or about counterproductive self-talk that might call for rational-emotive education or other cognitive restructuring strategies). Thus, both the literature review and the present data suggest that shy students should be brought along slowly but surely by making them feel comfortable and secure in the classroom, reassuring them of their ability to handle academic challenges (and providing special instruction or help if necessary), and applying consistent but gentle and largely indirect pressure for change (in the form of invitations and encouragement rather than demands or direct confrontations). They also suggest that withdrawn students need direct appeals for improved attention; cueing, shaping, environmental engineering and other support or assistance in sustaining such attention; and attempts to identify and work on the underlying problems that have led these students to become withdrawn in the first place. (See appendix for selected excerpts from transcripts.)

Applying these strategies in the classroom is likely to be much more difficult for teachers than stating them in our interviews was, however, not only for the usual reasons (limited time to spend with individual students,

classroom management and instruction responsibilities, etc.), but also because the passivity of shy and withdrawn students tends to render them relatively invisible to their teachers. Consequently, the teachers may not even be aware that such students have problems, or if they are aware, may not formulate diagnoses nearly as clear and specific as the ones presented to the teachers interviewed for this study. Also, some students are relatively unresponsive to their teacher's questions, not because they are shy or withdrawn as described here, but because they are unmotivated or alienated from the process of classroom learning and have discovered that unresponsiveness is one way to condition teachers to lower their expectations, minimize their demands, and gradually reduce the frequency with which they call on them or initiate individual contact with them (Brophy & Evertson, 1981).

It is important for teachers to be aware of and able to distinguish the differences between shy or withdrawn students and these unmotivated or alienated students, because the latter students require a different (more confrontational and demanding) response, and treating one type as if it were the other type is counterproductive. The similarity of their behavior sometimes makes these types difficult to distinguish, however, even for teachers who are aware of the need to do so. Where this is the case, it is best to initially assume that the student has a genuine shyness or withdrawal problem and respond accordingly, because this will produce less serious and more reversible consequences than mistakenly beginning by assuming that the student is faking such a problem. In any case, support, encouragement, and sincere communication of concern and willingness to provide any needed assistance are likely to be helpful in coping with almost any type of problem student.

Conclusion

One cannot directly infer policy guidelines from these data (and could not even if they were experimental rather than correlational) because one must consider teachers within the context of their interests and abilities in working with problem students, the school milieu, the quality and availability of school-based professionals who might be able to help, and so on. One could argue, for example, that teachers who possess only vague and poorly organized ideas for responding to shy or withdrawn students should always refer such students to the principal or to school-based mental health professionals rather than try to handle them personally. Thus, our findings should not be taken as evidence that the responsibility for handling such students should rest primarily with individual teachers or that such teachers should not involve the principal or school-based mental health professionals in developing comprehensive responses to them. However, there is reason to believe that continuing problems that manifest themselves in the classroom must be dealt with at the classroom level, at least in part. To the extent that it is possible for teachers to divert time and energy from their primary instructional goals to work on students' chronic personal and behavioral problems, we believe that teachers who possess effective student socialization strategies should use them and that other teachers should develop them.

In the case of shy and withdrawn students, our data suggest that teachers may be able to effect considerable improvement using strategies that are relatively easy to implement and well matched to the teacher's basic role as a helpful instructor to the students. These include providing self-concept support, encouragement, and opportunities to develop confidence and comfort in the classroom to shy and inhibited students, as well as closer monitoring, improved nonverbal communication, environmental engineering, and instructive suggestions or demands for improved concentration designed to maintain the

attention of students prone to withdrawal or daydreaming. Most teachers apparently develop at least an intuitive understanding of basic principles for responding to shy or withdrawn students, but many could meet the needs of such students much more effectively by systematically learning and applying the principles and strategies highlighted in the present report.

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Appendix

Selected Excerpts from Transcripts

This appendix contains excerpts from the raw data (i.e., the transcripts from the teachers' interview and vignette responses), selected to show representative examples of apparently more effective and apparently less effective responses.

I. Interview Responses

A. A More Effective Example

The first action I would take is to find out why such a student is exhibiting these behaviors. A number of these students are afraid for one reason or another to call attention to themselves. They are shy, they are insecure, they have a poor self-image. . . . You must look for his reasons for becoming uninvolved. They probably will be rather serious problems within the student. My strategies would be to make the child feel as important and comfortable in the room as possible so that he would feel secure enough to become more outgoing, more involved. . . . Is the child happy within himself in his place in society and specifically within the classroom society? If I find unhappiness, uncomfortableness, I take any steps I can to alleviate it. If I find the child is quite comfortable with the situation, of course I leave it alone. The child who doesn't volunteer is almost always the child who is very shy, who is very quiet, who perhaps hasn't been invited to a great deal of participation at home in family decisions and so on. I think it has to be a long-term strategy rather than short-term, and it has to be a constant encouragement, a warmth in the classroom, a feeling of being relaxed or being free here, and almost always these students will make some measurable progress in interacting with their peers or perhaps even to the point of volunteering to get up in front of the group and present something which is a major step.

But I think it has to be brought along in a very easy, slow manner, in no way putting pressure on the student to "you must by next week be able to give a five-minute report in front of the class, it's good for you." That type of thing. That's going to drive them right back into the shell even further. Again, I guess I would have to say the room atmosphere, the feeling of being relaxed and a part of the group where your contribution is just as important as someone else's. Seeing your peers enjoying giving a play, talking in front of the class. Seeing that the class is not going to make fun of them. Eventually, you will make some measurable progress. A student who is shy in first grade, quite likely might still be shy in sixth grade. Maybe that is the nature of people, but you can modify it, you can make them feel that they have an important contribution for the class. . . . I have never yet had a student that hasn't been able to voluntarily make some contribution in front of his peers without feeling like the walls are going to cave in and that he will disappear forever. I guess I have some empathy because as an elementary student myself, I was very quiet and very shy and very unsure of myself. I can remember often having the right answer in my head but being afraid of raising my hand because "What if it was the wrong answer?" So I have a lot of empathy for these types of students and I want them to feel that if you make a mistake . . . so what? No one is going to censor you for it, no one is going to be angry about it. If they can indeed feel this sort of atmosphere and be free to make mistakes, these are the kind of students I think who will make progress you can certainly see and almost measure over the span of a school year. . . .

I try to include such students, when they are ready, just in being part of the large group and being free to contribute or not as they wish. Then I start working with them on a smaller group basis where they don't feel quite as threatened if there are four or five rather than a classroom of thirty. Almost

always you can get them to contribute to some extent in that situation. Usually we have four or five plays a year within the classroom at the initiation of students. Quite often it comes from a reading group, and I have yet to have a student say "I'm afraid to be in the play, I don't want to appear in front of my classmates." They get so wrapped up in the play that they don't even think about the fact that they are going to be appearing in front of a group of people. For those who have a particularly strong case of withdrawal, I often suggest a puppet show to a group that they are part of. You can hide behind a puppet and you can talk but you don' have to actually appear in person. This is very successful. If they find success in having a puppet doing their acting and talking for them, often the next time they can come out and do it as a real live actor and find that indeed it was a fun experience rather than a threatening one.

B. A More Effective Example

I would talk to the parents and ask if the child is this way at home. Sometimes I've found that children are this way in school and yet at home they're very active, they take part in things. If the parent says "This doesn't sound like my child at all," there may be some reason. Maybe a teacher has really sat down hard on this child at one time and they feel frightened of a teacher and afraid to do anything in class. If this is the case, I try to talk to the child and see if I could just find out about the way they felt. I think the teacher needs to encourage them to develop their own feelings and a personality of their own. One way would be giving them a chance to make decisions, perhaps putting them on a bulletin board committee where they can do some of the planning, where they really have to involve themselves. Sometimes it's really hard to get them to do that. Even putting them on the committees doesn't mean they're always going to participate but I think if you try to involve them with one or two children that will listen, that will kind of be a leader, but will try to guide them into making some decisions too, I've found that this begins to bring them out so that they participate a little more.

Also, try to seat them within a group of children, not in the back or on the edge of the room, but try to involve them right in the room so that there are things going on around them and they just naturally become a part of what's going on. Also I might give them a chance to choose a game. I've found this really works with children, this would be a short-term thing because you wouldn't have them do it time after time, but if they're able to select a game for that particular day and be a captain and choose a team, that this is one way to involve them for that particular time. . . . It's important to plan small-group activities where they can take a part and also when you work in small groups to change the groups for these particular children to have them be involved with different kinds of children, and to rotate the leadership so you don't always have the same leaders. Then if they realize this, they would know that possibly they would have the responsibility of being the leader of a particular group some of the time, but I think this is usually a slow thing to work into.

I think it's good to do a lot of creative activities, especially pantomime. We do a lot of miming where they can choose one partner and mime things together as if they're mirroring what the other child is doing. This begins to get them involved in activity where they're not doing it by themselves. The activity is going on all around them so that they're just conscious of what the other person is doing. They feel like they're apart from the group and yet they are a part but nobody is really focusing on them. I think it's important to do those kinds of activities where they don't feel so

self-conscious. That's when children like this will really begin to come out. They look around and see that other people are doing it so they do it, too. But I don't force them to do it. . . . It's hard to force this kind of child into volunteering. I hate to call on them unless they do volunteer, but I always watch especially and call on them whenever they do want to volunteer, or if they do want to share something with the room, to give them that opportunity. I think that's very important, that at times when they've chosen to come out off their shell to be sure to watch for those opportunities. I think it's especially important that a teacher take time, for instance, maybe first thing in the morning when this child comes in, to talk to them and just ask them how they are today and maybe what did you do last night or on the weekend, especially after a weekend, any way in which you can get them to have more interaction with you. Then, sometimes you might share that with another child. Say, "Did you know so-and-so did that for the weekend? Doesn't that sound like fun? Maybe you'd like to hear about it." Sometimes instead of sharing times in front of the whole class I've had either small-group sharing or where they could share with just one person. Give them 5 or 10 minutes as individual sharing time where you pick a person and share something you'd like to. I think this has helped this type of child.

C. A Less Effective Example

I have one and I don't know what to do with her. She won't talk to me from a distance and in a reading group she doesn't read out. She came to me I think in November and the mother brought her in and the first thing that the mother said to me is, "She doesn't talk very much.". . .The son told me that she talked at home, but in school she didn't talk. She didn't do it at her other school. There were days that I tried to talk with her and she just wouldn't say anything. I'm good at letting students alone, so I let her alone. Finally one day I had had all I could take and I said to her, "One of these times you're going to want to do something real bad and you're going to ask me if you can do it and I'm going to act like you. I'm not going to answer." It didn't even bother her. . . . Anyway, that was just a threat that I couldn't carry through.

I'm just unable to reach her. . . . The other day during reading, I told her, "You don't talk to me enough for me to know what you really can do, and you don't do your work as much as you should or as well as you should, so you have from now until May to open your mouth to start reading where I can hear, start talking where I can hear and understand, and start to do more work." We went back to reading and she read so that we could hear her, but she only did it twice. Today she was right back where she started. I didn't say anything to her, except "There's a truck out there that's making a lot of noise so you're going to have to read a little louder so I can hear you." She upped her voice just a little bit but not much. . . . I can't talk to her to find out her reasons for being like this because she won't talk to me. The only reason she'll talk to me is to ask if she can go to the bathroom, or get a drink, etc. but other than that if I try to talk to her about why she isn't doing her work, I have to almost put my ear in her mouth. I can't cope with this so I just let her be. I check on her when she's trying to do her work to see if she understands what she's doing. She's a helpless kid. I really feel sorry for her but I don't know what to do to reach her.

D. A less Effective Example

I call them wallflowers. They are so quiet. They do their work. They are very unobtrusive but you have to deliberately single them out. Once I have located my little wallflowers who have decided they aren't going to participate, for the next week or so, every lesson I teach, I pick on them. I call on them. I call on them so much that they know I have memorized their names and that I know who they are and usually they will come out of it. That is my technique for it.

II. Responses to Vignette A

A. A More Effective Example

I would probably kneel down at her desk and ask her the question again, checking on the seatwork. I might take ahold of her chin and try to get some eye contact so that she realizes that I'm talking directly to her, "I asked you a question, would you give me an answer?" And find out that she could verbalize it and say it to me so that I could hear it. I would encourage her then too, I would ask the question out loud and then ask her to give the answer, praising her and giving her self-confidence, that yes you did have the right answer and I know you can do it. My goal would be for Linda to talk and to volunteer and participate. I think she needs to feel part of the class. Linda seems bright enough from what it says. She has a problem with being shy. I don't know if something happened to make her shy. Maybe she feels uncomfortable, maybe she might be new, maybe she's had problems with people laughing at her. She seems insecure and I think she needs a lot of encouragement, a lot of praise.

B. A More Effective Example

I would pull a small chair up to Linda's desk and ask her the question again about her work, and if she didn't answer I would start reading through what she had done and ask her to read what she had done. If she still didn't do anything then I would ask her if she was afraid to answer the question. If that is not the case, then I would try again calmly to read through what she had done with her and hopefully she would read it for me and then we could work on, I could help her with the next problem. I feel that if she realizes that I am going to take the time to be with her for just a few minutes by herself that maybe she would be willing to talk to me, if she knows I am not going to rush off to someone else and that she can feel safe in responding to me. I would try to reassure her so that she would not be as shy with me another time. . . . If her work was nearly correct I would say, "You have this much right, let's see what we can do to fix this so that it answers the question." If the work is correct, I could say, "You have done this very well, let's see what the answer would be for the next one or how would you begin to work the next one." I would characterize her as withdrawn and I would hope that after a few weeks she would begin to feel more comfortable if the situation was consistent and supportive.

C. A Less Effective Example

I take it here that she would be doing what was expected of her. I would praise her, maybe try to ask her a question about something interesting about it. Rather than just trying to get an answer to some work question, I would

try to ask her something about it or compliment her. And then, maybe try to get close enough to her that I could hear her soft answers and then praise her, just to try to encourage her. It sounds to me like she needs encouragement. . . . I'd wonder, I'd like to find out why she keeps her eyes lowered and says nothing. If she hadn't done it before in my class, I would try to figure out whether I had hurt her feelings or done something that I would have to make right with her. I would hope that she would have enough confidence in me and I would certainly try to build that up.

D. A Less Effective Example

Since the child is bright although she's shy and withdrawn, I would start off with a simple exercise, simple games or some activity that she could do right off the bat with everyone to look and say "This is great!" Something like that. I would just keep working on that until I got her to have some progress.

III. Responses to Vignette B

A. A More Effective Example

I would remind John that we are discussing something very important. . . . "John, we're talking about this subject. I need you to listen and pay attention to me." I might have someone repeat the last couple of things we have talked about. Then I would continue the discussion, but ask him questions every so often to make sure that he is paying attention. I might even move him up close to the front so I could have more eye contact with him. I could look directly at him and repeat things and remind him and keep the eye contact going. My goal would be for John to not only listen but participate in the discussion too. . . . He needs to learn to concentrate. It's important in school and whatever situation you might be in. He seems to have a lot of things on his mind. I'm not sure if he's bored with what we're talking about or if there are a lot of pressures. He might have some problems that he needs to sit down and talk with somebody about.

B. A More Effective Example

Probably I would say first, "I'm sorry, John, you were looking at me, and I thought you were paying attention. I'm sorry you didn't hear," then I would go back to John and say, "Do you think you can answer my question now?" Later, I would talk with John, and say, "John, would it be easier for you if your desk is closer to me when I am talking to the whole class, so that I can tap on your shoulder or speak your name quietly so that you know that you need to pay attention?" He needs to learn to attend, maybe with some reminders at first.

C. A Less Effective Example

I would try and draw him back into the discussion, and maybe start with something little--what television program do you most enjoy. this sort of thing. Maybe he'd be able to tell me that and then what's the favorite character that you like, and maybe then he'd be more interested in discussion and we could veer him back to what we're really talking about.

D. A Less Effective Example

If I know that this particular kid does daydream like this but not quite that often, I'd ask him to share his thoughts with the class if he didn't think they were too personal. Maybe we could travel away with him to that never-never land that he's gotten into or what great touchdown did he just score, how much money did he just make. Whatever it is that you have this daydream about that takes you completely away from what we're doing, share it with us. Then, of course, devote some of your time to what we're doing here in class. Don't reprimand him.