Editor's Preface

by Robert C. Morris

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This past Christmas was an exciting time with a new baby in the house. I even had a few moments to catch-up on some professional reading. The 1991 PDK: Reflections: Personal Essays by 33 Distinguished Educators edited by Derek L. Burleson held a lot of my attention. What I found in that volume was a wealth of individual perceptions and insights about the occupation that links all of us who read journals such as Thresholds. The common thread woven through these individual essays is one of faith not only in our educational system, but in our society in general. These educational scholars have witnessed the emergence of an educational system that literally binds us together as one, and their "reflections" are something of a salute to that system.

One author, scholar, and distinguished educator, and probably the elder states-person of the group, did an exceptional job in analyzing and summarizing American education over the past 60 odd years. That much respected and humble gentleman is Ralph Tyler. Professor Tyler notes how in his "own teaching and in observations of other teachers, . . . how easy it is to get into a rut and no longer be actively engaged in studying the problems of education and the possibilities for improvements." Tyler himself believes that as one remains active in studying the problems of education and sharing with colleagues, that possible solutions and remedies can be explored.

Ralph Tyler believes in fact that the "public schools of the United States have been relatively effective in helping to develop citizens for a democratic society." Tyler bears witness that the schools of today do face "new demands" and "new kinds of students." But Tyler's challenge is that our schools must make lasting changes in order to remain effective. The problem is that many of the reform proposals for school improvement "are being made without considering the resources required or the constraints under which schools operate."

While reading this insightful essay by Tyler, I received a Christmas card from him congratulating my wife and I on the birth of our baby. In the card Ralph said he would not be able to write an article for this issue of Thresholds, and was very apologetic. In passing, he mentioned that he had had heart failure in November and a pacemaker installed to "keep his heart pumping properly."

As I put the pieces of this issue of Thresholds together and identified appropriate authors and topics, Ralph Tyler was on my mind and in my prayers. I don't like to think of Ralph not being there with his strong voice of optimism for our educational system. I don't like to think of young scholars not being able to converse with Ralph and walk away with a new insight or new will. But most of all, I don't like to think about Ralph not setting the example and the pace for all of us in the profession.

As the 21st century approaches and as we in education consider how educational leadership is to take place in our schools and who will set the pace, my hope is that we all remember Ralph Tyler and his teachings.

Introduction: Remembering Ralph Winfred Tyler

by Michael P. Wolfe

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During the 1960's there were several prominent educators whose writing and research influenced the way teachers worked with students. Flanders, Bruner, Medley, Combs, Hunter, Piaget, Tyler and others provided new insights for educators intent on improving their instructional skills.

One of these distinguished educators, Ralph Tyler, has remained active as author, speaker and researcher whose insights continue to impact the reform movement in education. Dr. Tyler's contributions span more than seven decades as a teacher, researcher, and administrator at four universities. Dr. Tyler's role as Director of Evaluation of the Eight Year Study, 1934-42, established him as the authority on testing and evaluation which continued in many future projects such as Director, Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences and Senior Consultant of Science Research Associates.

Perhaps Dr. Tyler's greatest legacy to education are his former students and his generous philanthropy. Many current educational leaders have been recipients of Dr. Tyler's teaching or scholarships provided in his name. In 1976, Dr. Tyler was named to the distinguished Laureate Chapter of Kappa Delta Pi. Annually, a Tyler Scholarship is awarded to a worthy doctoral student in Educational Evaluation, thus, providing a legacy which will continue forever.

Dr. Ralph Tyler's wisdom of the past continues to shape education in the present.
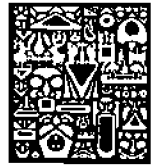
Technology, Computers and Changing the Face of Leadership

by Rodney T. Hovater and John F. Crea

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Providing quality education is arguably the single most important issue facing our country.

During this decade, technology in our schools will be one of the keys to educational quality. Technology has proven to be a tool which can help lower dropout rates, enhance student achievement and, most importantly, raise self-esteem. At the same time, technology in the classroom can inspire teachers and provide them with more time for what they do best: teaching.

Classroom technology—computers, networks, educational software and the rapidly growing number of multimedia tools—is effective because it is consistent with today's video-based, visually oriented society.

Consider that by the time a child enters school, he or she has spent an average of 6,000 hours in front of a television. Upon graduation, that student would have watched 20,000 hours, yet only spent 12,000 hours in the classroom.

Today's teachers must compete with these influences. In effect, their mission is to make learning as interesting and exciting as MTV. Classroom technology has the same visually intriguing qualities as television and captures students' attention, enabling them to keep their minds on task.

The Teacher as Facilitator

Computers and multimedia technology stimulate more senses than traditional teaching tools. Students become active workers, rather than passive listeners, and teachers become the true facilitators of learning.

Technology dramatically enhances the professional role of the teacher. The teacher becomes the manager of the educational process. Technology provides more opportunities for individualized instruction and more opportunities to teach creatively, motivate and inspire.

These benefits were cited by educators in 1989 when IBM commissioned a survey of 1,100 teachers to determine their use of and attitudes toward computers.

The survey revealed that 75 percent of those who responded believed that using computers allowed them to spend more one-on-one time with their students. In addition, 74 percent of the respondents felt that using computers in the classroom allowed them to be more creative in their instruction.

A Dynamic Combination

Teachers tell us that the proper training unlocks the doors to the world of technology for them. They become excited about using these new tools. And technology, fused with a teacher's enthusiasm, is a dynamic combination—one that motivates students to learn. Technology, fused with a teacher's enthusiasm, is a dynamic combination.

This excitement is shared by principals, administrators, and superintendents.

Technology's Second Wave

As we approach the year 2000, networked computers, quality educational software and multimedia tools used in the classroom for daily instruction in virtually all subjects will become a widely-used educational model.

We have seen the start of this trend, which builds on the past decade's model of computer laboratories. Historically, students have been taken from their classrooms to labs for computer literacy courses or to improve upon the skills they lacked. In many cases, laboratories have been used for remedial instruction. But as educators have seen the effectiveness of computers in remedial education, many also have seen the value of incorporating computers in the classroom to head off learning problems before remediation is needed.

Thus in the second wave of educational technology we see more and more networked computers being installed in classrooms and used to teach many subjects. Using these networked computers, teachers can work as classroom managers and can focus more on individualized instruction. Teachers can better challenge today's students by giving individual assignments and monitoring their success from their own computer workstations.

In every class, the makeup of students includes the fast-paced learner, the slow-paced learner and many students in between. With computers in the classroom, the advanced student can progress, limited only by his own ability. The slower learning classmate can also progress at his pace, without embarrassment or criticism. Regardless of each student's ability, they are learning. And because they are learning, their self-confidence and self-esteem are enhanced.

Tangible, measurable results in student performance are being realized every day that are directly attributable to technology.

Adapting Technology

Incorporating technology in the classroom is challenging for teachers. Rather than reciting lessons in mathematics, language arts, science and other curriculum topics, small-group instruction and interaction can take place: Some students can explore the topic at hand through a computer program while others work individually or with assistance from the teacher.

In an environment where the teacher manages the education process through computers, a great sense of satisfaction is realized not only in the amount of interest the students have in the classroom curriculum, but also in the amount of time saved in administrative duties. In this decade, classroom administrative and instructional systems will come together within a single school network. And in this environment, the teacher is rewarded.

Computers in the classroom, including a workstation for each teacher, can make necessary grading and reporting tasks much easier and less time-consuming. Educational software specific to teaching responsibilities—reporting student progress, attendance, special programs and tracking learning outcomes—can be made available at the touch of a finger on the educator's desk. Administrative computer programs can replace grade books and stacks of papers to grade that often accompany teachers to their homes at night.

Whether computers are used for administrative or instructional activities, teachers welcome technology to the classroom because it empowers them. Until recently, technology was used minimally in the classroom. Instead of being used to its fullest potential, the extent of technology's use was limited to basic audiovisual aids—filmstrips, chalkboard, and transparencies.

Today, computers equipped with vivid color graphics, sound and motion video, integrating videotape, laserdiscs, compact discs, large-screen television monitors and other technology,

enable teachers to use multimedia presentations to enhance their lessons. Students, who have become so accustomed to such fascinating technology through activities like Nintendo games, find that classroom technology stimulates their creativity and motivation.

The classroom environment also changes with the opportunities technology, such as multimedia, brings. Just as the teacher's professional role evolves to that of classroom manager, the student's function in the education process becomes that of active participant. How much more exciting it must be to explore, for example, the solar system through multimedia software tools rather than simply observing the planets through still photos and filmstrips.

Working Towards the Future

Technological advances such as multimedia and networking computers for administrative and instructional use make it apparent that the classroom is changing in many positive ways. And what more positive results could there be than students getting excited about learning and teachers becoming increasingly more motivated and creative through computer-assisted instruction?

Classroom technology is transforming education—in the way teachers teach and students learn. They have embraced the technology challenge and the classroom of the '90s is most assuredly an exciting and progressive place to be.

The Teaching Culture and Classroom Computer Use

Rick A. Breault

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Interactive video, CD-ROM, videodiscs, interstate computer networks, distance education—the future of the schools. When we think of the implications of technology for the schools, those are the ideas that come to mind. When we think of the leaders in this technological revolution in the schools we think of computer and software manufacturers, research universities, and telecommunications companies. When we think of barriers to the advance of technology in the classroom, we think of teachers and America's plodding school system. As Jesus wept over Jerusalem, so do the high-tech messiahs wail over the school's consistent reluctance to respond to the private sector's attempts to save our souls. The entertainment industry, the information industry, the government, even the fast food industry have given themselves whole-heartedly to the new religion; why do you stubborn teachers resist? The answer is simple. To extend the religious analogy, the high-tech missionaries have tried to convert educators in ways similar to those used by early explorers of the New World—convert or else.

As a result of years of outside control and unrealistic expectations, a powerful defense mechanism has evolved within the teaching profession. That defense is in the form of a teaching culture which has often been accused of being overly conservative, self-protective, lacking in creativity, and anti-intellectual (Goodlad,

1984, 1990; Jackson, 1968, 1986; Perry, 1935; Lortie, 1975; Ost, 1988). Although those traits are typical of too many teachers and schools, the problem is not as widespread as the media and other detractors would lead us to believe. Many teachers are reluctant to incorporate yet another new educational device into their classrooms because the present expectations and structure of our schools has become overwhelming and restrictive, and meaningful support is nowhere in sight. Therefore, if school leaders are truly committed to integrating new technology into the classroom, a number of conditions and concerns must be addressed. While a whole array of technology deserves attention here, for clarity's sake, I will only refer to computers throughout most of the discussion.

Becoming Critical Consumers

If we want teachers to understand the true implications of computers in the classroom, they must be given complete and honest information about the potential and limitations of that technology. Proclamations that warn us to prepare our students for the future job market by using computers in our classrooms are simplistic at best and dishonest at worst.

It [increased technology] may provide increased job opportunities

for engineers, computer operators, and robot technicians, but it also promises to generate an even greater number of low level, service jobs such as those of janitors, cashiers, clericals, and food service workers. And while many more workers will be using computers, automated office equipment, and other sophisticated technical devices in their jobs, the increased use of technology may actually reduce the skills and discretion required to perform many jobs (Rumberger & Levin, 1984).

Even within high-tech industries that manufacture devices such as computers only one-fourth of all occupations require any substantial knowledge of technology. Most jobs provided by those industries are in areas such as clerical work, production or assembly. Michael Apple (1988) has summarized the double-edged sword of technology in the marketplace with the less-than optimistic prediction that "what we will witness is the creation of enhanced jobs for a relative minority and deskilled and boring work for the majority". If the jobs for which we are really preparing our students are of a deskilled and boring nature, then the existing schools will do just fine.

Even if we dismiss the "get a job" rationale, more than enough persuasive reasons for integrating

computers into the curriculum remain. However, having granted computers an important role in the classrooms, a number of important questions remain; questions that must be asked by a critical consumer: How will we guarantee equal access to and benefits from technology to groups presently on the outskirts of the classroom computer room—minorities, women, and lower socioeconomic groups (Apple, 1988; Becker & Sterling, 1987; Anderson, Welch, & Harris, 1984; Sutton, 1991)? How can we move beyond drill and practice applications for the average or below average student? What other programs must be cut to pay for the 'glamor' of computerized education? Will yet another form of illiteracy further disadvantage students who are burdened with too many labels already? Will the technical logic of the computer endanger a more critical humanistic understanding? None of these questions are meant to encourage antagonism toward technology, but as Apple (1988)—from whose work these questions are derived—has reminded us:

> Our task as educators is to make sure that when it [technology] enters the classroom it is there for politically, economically, and educationally wise reasons. ... We should be very clear about whether or not the future it promises our students is real, not fictitious. ... It is more than a little important that we question whether the wagon we have been asked to ride on is going in the right direction.

Provide Sufficient Funding

Cost is nearly always a stumbling block in attempts to reform public education. But given the imposing pricetags on much of the new technology and the sheer numbers of students that must be served by our schools, the issue of financing is of special concern when discussing this particular type of reform. Unfortunately, some of the more outspoken critics of our "backward" schools seem to have underestimated this factor. Consider these statements made by James Mecklenburger (1990):

Those who lead the computer revolution in education must not only change the attitudes of teachers, but those of the people who pay the bills.

There are hundreds of schools and tens of thousands of teachers today who are reaping these significant benefits of information technology. But there are more than 100,000 schools and nearly three million teachers who could be doing so.

Educators seem not to have noticed, but among the breakthrough technologies coming in the 1990s and beyond will be next-generation capabilities to distribute information—including all manner of electronic learning opportunities.

Yes, there is certainly rampant mediocrity in many of our schools and as Cuban (1986) has pointed out, when it comes to technology of any sort, the school system is often resistant to change. However, resistance to change does not stop at the classroom door.

Many, perhaps a majority, of teachers have noticed the breakthroughs in technology. Their homes and cars are full of those breakthroughs. Awareness of and access to are very different things. As Mick Jagger has noted, "You can't always get what you want." Unlike the rest of the song though, many teachers do not even get what they need. When Mecklenburger and others compare the plodding pace of change in the schools to the rapid advances in technology made by specialized high-tech industries, they are comparing the proverbial apples and oranges. When those industries have to train even severely disabled employees for jobs they do not want to do, accept anyone who applies for a job, feed their employees, operate in work settings which are often restrictive and even dangerous—all with a budget determined solely by what the taxpayers will allow—then the comparison will have validity.

Those who lead the computer revolution in education must not only change the attitudes of teachers, but those of the people who pay the bills. Ultimately, taxpayers must finance whatever technological reform takes place in the classroom. If, however, the present funding dilemma facing nearly every state is any indication of the taxpayers' willingness to do so, we may have to wait a long time for that reform. Even

donations from computer companies or through local supermarket receipt programs often tease more than train teachers and students. Such programs remind me of the "thoughtful" relative who gives a young girl her first Barbie doll. From that point on it is left to the defenseless parents to provide an endless supply of clothes, companion dolls, cars, and houses to support Barbie's extravagant lifestyle. Computers do not exist in a vacuum. Unless some of these generous donors are willing to stay around to provide the extensive software and training to bring about genuine reform, I would almost be tempted to say "Thanks, but no thanks" to their gifts. If you are going to abandon your baby on our doorstep, at least keep up the child support.

Providing Support and Training

Research and theory as far back as Dewey has advocated giving the student a greater role in his or her own learning. The present revival of constructivism, cooperative learning, whole language and the like is encouraging from the perspective of improving the meaningfulness of the young learner's education. Ironically, those who have been chosen to teach those children and use those theories have not been given the same courtesy. If children were educated in the same way as their teachers are provided with inservice training we would have to broaden our definition of an at-risk student to include most everyone in kindergarten through twelfth grade.

Quality computer integration in the classroom will not result from one intensive half-day workshop or from a series of training sessions held at 4:00 every Wednesday—after a full day of teaching. Neither will teachers become excited about and apply someone else's packaged, "teacher-proof" materials. Teachers must be given a significant role in planning computer integration and adequate support in implementing their plans. High-quality training alone will not be sufficient. It must be followed by long-term support for efforts at integrating computer technology in the classroom. The kind of training and support being suggested here would have the following qualities:

1. Training should be on-going, interactive, and at the teachers' convenience to whatever extent possible.

2. Release time and/or grants should be used to encourage more in-depth training of at least a core group of teachers.

3. During training and planning, a wide range of software and hardware should be available so that the teachers can determine what best fits the other curricular goals of the school.

4. A knowledgeable consultant should become a regular fixture during most planning sessions. Giving teachers a significant role in the planning process does not imply that they should be left on their own to implement something they do not yet understand.

Once a plan of implementation is prepared and the technology is available the administration must continue to provide support for the teachers' efforts. That support should include but not be limited to:

1. Flexible daily schedules to allow more flexible planning.

2. Updated software and continued release or planning time to provide for adequate review and selection of new materials.

3. Flexible facility use so that physical access to computers is not overly inconvenient or time consuming.

4. Freedom from the tyranny of state and local testing which encourages a drill and practice approach to computer use and consumes large amounts of classroom time with relatively meaningless activity.

Teachers, especially those new to the field, are committed to the integration of technology in the classroom (Novak & Knowles, 1991); but they are also committed to surviving and thriving in an increasingly complex profession over which they have little control. Under the burden of an administration that is often restrictive or hostile, ceaseless planning and grading, an effort to be creative, the emotional and physical needs of thirty children, the struggle to build collegial relationships among staff members, and the myriad other responsibilities of the teacher, computer integration is seldom at the top of one's priority list. This does not necessarily imply a lack of ability or stubbornness an the part of the teacher. Rather, it is a form of passive rebellion which should send educational leaders the message that if something doesn't change, nothing's going to change. The technological revolution in the classroom must begin with a human revolution in the structure of the school. A revolution which provides the time, resources, and support to move teachers beyond the role of passive providers of software to one in which they see themselves as informed and creative interpreters of technology who are prepared to reflect on and reconstruct it in the best interest of their students.

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Youth-at-Risk: The Real Issue

by Deede Sharpe

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Many of society's units, including the family, the community, organized religion, and various social programs and agencies (for the lack thereof) have been targets of blame for those we now call at risk youth." Let's look at the one unit most directly influenced by educators—the school. In many ways, at risk, alienated youth are the natural by-product of the school's mentality, its culture, as defined by the school's form of governance.

At its worst, the American school is a dictatorship. Much more often, it is an oligarchy, i.e., rule by the elite. In the case of schools, the elite are those who have directly benefitted from and been most rewarded by the system they govern—the elementary, middle and secondary schools, which predominately are geared toward the values of Western culture, the two-parent middle and upper class family and those academically and intellectually talented learners who come to school already motivated to learn.

Teachers, counselors and administrators are usually from the fifteen to twenty percent of the student body who made A's and B's in this academically minded culture, went to college and majored in education to prepare themselves for employment in the same system from which they so recently emerged. No wonder they believe so strongly in perpetuating the system—look what it has done for them!

The others? The remaining fifty to eighty percent? Well, vocational programs (some of which, thankfully, are flourishing) and a program of "general studies" (which prepares no one for anything) are available for "those" students to take. But one look at graduation requirements, the courses recommended by teachers and counselors, and those students who are held in high esteem by the authorities will reveal the mission of most schools as being to hold intact the system that made those in charge successful.

Be Like Us, Or Be Gone

The Italian sociologist Robert Michels, writing at the turn of the century, coined the phrase, "iron law of oligarchy," i.e., those in power will use their power to perpetuate the system which has brought them success. Thus emerges, according to Michels, the bureaucracy. "Bureaucracy," Michels writes, "is the sworn enemy of individual liberty, and of all bold initiatives in matters of internal policy. The dependence upon superior authorities . . . suppresses individuality and gives to the society . . . a pettybourgeois and philistine stamp. The bureaucratic spirit corrupts character and engenders moral poverty. In every bureaucracy we may observe place-hunting . . . arrogance toward inferiors and servility towards superiors. . . . We may even say that the more a bureaucracy is distinguished by its zeal . . . the more it will show itself to be petty, narrow, rigid and illiberal."

Although intended as a critique of bureaucracy, Michels' work is a searching (and to some, alarming) examination of the establishment of societal values. It is frightening to read Michels and think of the youth to whom schools are saying, "Be like us, or be gone!"

If that sounds overly harsh, one need only to consider that, until a few short years ago, the dropout was supposed to drop out, and go to work. Secondary schools were intended for the "college bound." If the others really cared enough, they could get a high school diploma and then go to work. But the mission of the school was to enroll graduates in college. Even today, some schools boast their achievement only in terms of college placement, the ultimate achievement as defined by the ruling elite. Not that there's anything wrong with college placement (except that the data ought to cover the rest of the story, i.e., what happens after the student enters college), but what about the others?

Perhaps the percentages of "at risk" are not that much higher than they were for the population at large twenty, thirty or sixty years ago. One consideration is the fact that, in the past, schools were not expected to serve the total population at large. Failures were counted from among those who attended school. A large majority of whole segments of society went unnoticed in their absence.

Secondly, our data collection systems are improving. We have a better handle on the needs and

characteristics of those we are not serving. Their numbers today are truly alarming. Are the unserved youth of the '90's different from their counterparts of previous decades? Possibly not. Their emotional needs for approval, their learning styles and the correlation between their self-esteem and their learning are probably comparable.

Are the '90's different? Definitely! First, the risks for the "at risk" have expanded to include lethal drugs and diseases. Teen pregnancies and suicides have invaded the suburbs. The very lives of many "at risk" youth are now at risk. Never has there been a more crucial need to examine our delivery of educational services to the total population.

The Issue Becomes Increasingly Critical

Families, communities and other societal entities are restructuring. Adults spend less and less time talking to, reading to and praising children. Television is becoming a prime source of values and role models. "Latch key" now describes over half the nation's youth. If many children today are to learn success and self-esteem, they must do it at school. In terms of healthy, happy human lives, those we fail now have few other support systems on which to rely.

The economic burden of education's unserved is costly. Now, more than ever before, there is no place for the drop-out to drop to. More than half of the jobs of the '50's could be filled by unskilled labor. The majority of today's jobs require advanced technical skills. That's not "changing a spark plug;" that's reading a diagnostic computer. Even the military has gone "hi-tech." Vast unskilled employment opportunities are history. Those who leave school

without the qualifications for advanced learning or the skills for today's employment have only welfare or a few dead-end, low-paying jobs or illegal activities as their choices for making a living. Those we fail now are creating a significant drain on dwindling economic resources.

An even more serious threat to our society is the impact of the uneducated on a democracy.

Thomas Jefferson voiced the conviction. that "those who believe in a democracy without [a strong educational system] believe in what never was and never will be." Democracy, rule by the governed, cannot survive unless the vast majority of the governed can stand on their own two feet and participate successfully and productively in our communities, homes, workplaces and voting booths. People who are unable to read, compare, analyze and evaluate are dangerous voters. People who cannot hold a job cannot benefit from all the advantages of a democracy. One cannot be very free on a welfare check. Whether or not democracy and our economic system as we have known it can survive into the 21st Century may well depend on how well we meet the needs of all America's youth. The foremost challenge facing the U.S. today may not be global economics or global politics, as important as those are. Rather, it may be the preservation and health of its most endangered species—its op-

timistic, goal-oriented, prepared, purposeful and proud young people.

"At Risk" Force Reexamination of System And Its Purpose

So the real issue is one of philosophy—who are schools committed to serve, and how do we best serve them? If we are to serve all youth, the iron law of oligarchy must be challenged. Diversity must be valued; it must guide the learning experience of every youngster.

Perhaps the problem comes not from "at risk" youth bogging down the system, but from a system bogged down by its own definitions of success. Programs of study, course content, structure and outcomes must be diversified and individually tailored to meet the needs, talents and aspirations of the total population. The exciting new findings validating differences in learning styles and modes must find their way into the curriculum and the instruction of every classroom. Every kid, to paraphrase Leon Lessinger, must truly become a winner, extending the concept of Special Education's Individualized Educational Plan (IEP) to all learners.

Who Are The Youth at Risk and How Do We Help?

Rather than using demographic or behavioral descriptors, the author takes a "change agent" approach to defining "at risk." Through experiences at both ends of the socio-economic spectrum, the author defines "at risk youth" as those young people who have no visions for their own future, no skills or plans for getting there and

no belief in their abilities to make a difference in their own or others' lives.

What makes them "at risk?" They have, for whatever reason, been failed by the system to which their young lives have been entrusted: their dysfunctional families, communities and schools.

What can schools do to make up for the failure of other societal units? We can teach for success in a broad range of achievements. We can focus on a positive appreciation of the unique talents and contributions of each learner, first in our own minds and then in the mind of each child and his/her family. We can make every youngster aware of his/her own worth and dignity, talents and uniqueness. We can structure opportunities for youngsters to contribute to the improvement of their small corner of the world today, allowing them to demonstrate to themselves and others that they are valuable now. We can find and plan for each learner's own area of giftedness.

We can help them explore their communities and the world around and beyond them and encourage them to begin to shape a mission, a positive vision for their own lives. We can help them develop the skills and confidence to implement that vision. And we can be sure they leave our classroom, or our level of the educational system with the confidence, skills and plans they need to connect successfully with their next step in life.

Perhaps if we take learners where they are and help them develop the skills, confidence and plans for success (by whatever definition is appropriate for them), then we can eliminate the term "at risk." (Even the term itself implies a "misfit.") There will always be learners from the first grade on who face more severe challenges than others, but if the

school concentrates on each student's competencies rather than shortcomings, these challenges become merely additional considerations in creating that child's Individualized Educational Plan (IEP).

Outcome based education could become the norm, i. e. , taking the outcome of a successful productive adult and organizing the resources of the school, community, family and workplace to achieve that outcome. In this scenario, two-by-four learning (two backs of a textbook and four walls of a classroom) gives way to real-life experiences and interaction with success through productive roles in the community and workplace. Business partnerships mean more than contributing a few computers; the community is seen as an expansion of the classroom, providing sites for using school-based content to solve real life challenges, from upper elementary on.

What is being described here is already happening in some outstanding schools combining academic and vocational offerings. In a school that serves all learners, vocational options (especially considering the "hi-tech" nature of today's workplace) are given value and support equal to and integrated with academic offerings. The two become one, because success in today's world depends on both.

To mandate the same courses for all, regardless of life goals and learning styles, is to reinforce the image of success as the academically talented ruling elite have traditionally defined it. In a truly democratic educational system, there is no one definition for success.

Such schools talk about their percentages accepted into the military, post-secondary technical schools and the workplace with the same enthusiasm with which

they cite college placements. They keep track of their alumni and honor all equally. The ninth grader who moves from a fourth grade reading level to an eighth grade equivalency in six months is given an "A" with a description of his/her achievements, just as is the senior who completes a comparative analysis of political movements in the 1900's. The curriculum becomes truly competency-based.

The student who takes electronics and machine shop is encouraged to take higher level math courses to complement his/her vocational achievement, just as is the student who plans to major in physics at State U. The mechanically gifted craftsperson holds prestige equal to that of the intellectually, cognitively gifted poet. The socially gifted is rewarded and recognized for his/her talents, as is the artistically and creatively gifted. The carpentry student is valued the same as the star achiever in the world history class. In other words, those studying for technical careers are as important as the aspiring historians, scientists and doctors. To deny or belittle participation in one or more areas of endeavor is to stimulate alienation, to create our own contributions to the "at

risk" population. (John Goodlad, in alluding to the same problem, remarked that "the society that exalts philosophers and humbles plumbers is in trouble; neither their pipes nor their philosophy will hold water.")

The strong service companies, McDonald's, the Disney and Six Flags parks, as well as military and technical schools, often take rejects from the traditional educational system and train them into proud, productive citizens. They do it by giving them a vision of their own importance to a mission they collectively define as important. Using that vision of importance and productivity, they challenge and train for success. These organizations value diversity and capitalize on the strengths of each learner. They define success very broadly, in terms of outcomes, rather than processes.

"At Risk" Presents Healthy Challenge

The "at risk" population demands that schools and educators do the same, that they focus on outcomes and reexamine who is served and how well. To approach the needs of "at risk" youth by limited programs and one-shot projects is comparable to rearranging the deck chairs on the Titanic. The "at risk" population presents us with a challenge and an opportunity to rethink the whole structure of schooling in America, from the classroom in the rural community to the teacher preparation program at a prestigious university. Let's not let them down. The iron law of oligarchy, as it applies to the expectations and operations of schools, must be declared unconstitutional!

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Preventing the Child from Becoming an At-Risk Student

by Jane Hersey

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The recent announcement of the decline in SAT scores is the latest in a series of gloomy signposts as the education of young people in the United States travels a bumpy road downhill.

Thousands of eighteen year olds who will leave school without the ability to write well or solve a basic math problem remain a puzzle for the educational community. Hands are wrung and reasons are offered, but they are the same reasons suggested a decade ago. When books on this are written in the year 2001, will educators be any more receptive to new ways of looking at the problem, or will the education of American young people be in an even more desperate condition?

Americans like to throw money at problems, but that does not guarantee a solution. Business Week noted, "In recent years, a cruel paradox has been bedeviling observers of the U.S. education system: On the one hand, statistics indicate that the U.S. spends more on education on both a per-student basis and as a share of national income than virtually all of its major industrial rivals. On the other, numerous international comparisons of students' skills reveal that Americans are badly deficient in most areas of learning at a time when education and training are becoming an increasingly critical factor in determining national competitiveness" (Business Week, 1/29/90).

Suggested causes for our educational dilemma include "stress", our fast-paced life, TV, single parents, divorce, crime, drugs, and the entire litany of domestic social ills. These factors may play an important role in the decline of our children's ability to learn, but they are not the only reasons.

Instead of concentrating on the world outside the student, consider the possibility that his internal environment may be the critical factor. And rather than focus on millions of troubled adolescents, let's look at just one child at risk, and let's call him Michael. Michael's academic failure began long before the first day of school; it began even before he was born.

He may have had cards stacked against him if his father or mother was a poor student and if their problems are due to a genetic variation that was passed on to him.

Michael's mother could have exposed him to nicotine, alcohol, or even drugs while he was still in the womb. She might have been an unwed teen living in a city ghetto or an affluent suburbanite whose lifestyle included beer, cigarettes and sleeping pills.

An endless assortment of chemicals and/or occupational hazards (encountered by his father as well as his mother) could play a part in predisposing Michael to many problems as he develops.

After a difficult labor and birth, including temporary oxygen deprivation, Michael enters the world. It is a world of potential hazards for the child's vulnerable system. He is a fussy infant (and his parents are unaware he is allergic to the milk in his formula, and sensitive to the synthetic flavoring in his vitamins). He becomes a terrible two-year old (reacting to lead dust from the paint in his renovated house). At three he shows signs of a developmental delay (especially after he drinks a "punch" colored with petroleum-based food dyes).

At age four he still doesn't understand the difference between "before" and "after" (and his confusion is greatest when his preschool teacher wears perfume). At five he has night terrors (which began one winter after his parents purchased a kerosene heater).

Six year old Michael can neither stay in his chair nor stand in line. He has difficulty with even simple tasks, but is worse after lunch (especially when he drinks chocolate milk). He receives resource help, but seems to forget what he learned the last time he met with the LD specialist.

Michael faces a bleak future; he won't complete high school and will have difficulty even filling out job applications.

If we backtrack to Michael as an infant, it becomes apparent that many of the substances which

triggered his reactions were avoidable. Once these irritants are identified they can be removed, and when they are removed, Michael can function more normally. Perhaps under improved conditions he will graduate from high school, receive some additional training, and become a productive adult.

Michael is a hypothetical child, and one which is at high risk for school failure. There are thousands of real children who would have been considered to be at risk, but have overcome similar challenges to become successful students/young adults.

Stephen is a good example. His parents were horrified to hear the evaluation of their three year old son. Stephen, they were told, had "the I.Q. of a dog." They were cautioned to expect the worst and prepare for it. But the dire prediction never came about because his parents' search for answers was successful. They were able to identify and find help for their son's problems, and by the time he was eight, Stephen's superior intelligence proved to be a challenge for his teachers.

Chris was a classic hyperactive ADD child in elementary school, but he graduated from high school as a National Merit Commended Scholar with a GPA above 4.0.

Lita was a hyperactive toddler, suffering at times from hallucinations. Today she is a prelaw student at a competitive college.

Mark got all the way to fifth grade unable to read or spell. By the end of the school year he was nearly at grade level.

Kathy suffered from psychomotor seizures and often displayed violent behavior. Her parents' efforts have enabled Kathy to live normally, free of seizures, and to graduate from college.

These children have different stories, but with one common thread. Each of them had parents determined to find the cause of their child's problem and to deal with it. The parents include a physician, registered dietitian, learning disabilities consultant, physical therapist, and registered nurse. They received traditional training in their respective fields, but none found their answer in the traditional treatment of learning and behavior problems: behavior modification and stimulant medicine.

Stephen, Chris, Lita, Mark and Kathy were all found to be sensitive to certain foods and synthetic food additives—particularly those made from petroleum.

Their parents observed improvements when these things were removed, and a recurrence of symptoms when they were added back. The diet management which helped these children was not a miracle cure. It required a certain amount of effort on the part of the parents—effort they considered well spent. Some of the youngsters benefited from additional help, particularly for a residue of learning disabilities. But in each case, it was the child's inner environment, not the external world, which was the critical factor.

Parents of children such as these succeed by remaining open to new ideas. They used a program because it worked, even though scientific studies had not yet been conducted.

Today, the scientific documentation is available. Double-blind placebo controlled studies which support diet management for at-risk children have been published in respected medical journals.

A non-profit organization, composed of professionals and parents offers practical information on how their research and experience can be used to help at-risk students.

Note.

For a professional packet contact:
    The Feingold Association of the United States, P.O. Box 6550, Alexandria, VA 22306.

Discipline Through the School's Curriculum

by Robert C. Morris

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Opinion polls conducted both by public pollsters such as the Gallup Poll and educational groups like the National Education Association (NEA) continue to demonstrate that our public school's lack of consistent discipline is education's biggest problem and parents' number one concern. Survey respondents report year after year that discipline is the number one problem of the schools. The seriousness of the discipline issue is recognized throughout society. Some feel the reverberations are helping to wither away at our own citizenship and that a disciplined educational standard is essential for a more disciplined society.

Classroom discipline is also viewed as a growing problem by most educationists: administrators, boards of education, supervisors and teachers. They feel discipline is one of the more or most important responsibilities connected with school work. Without the power to control, a teacher is out of place in his/her classroom. No teacher can teach a class that is out of control, and once the students realize that the teacher cannot control the classroom, his/her reputation begins to decline.

Administrators agree that the greatest single cause of failure among teachers is poor classroom control. Studies show that beginning teachers have more problems with discipline that any other activity. Weakness in discipline accounts for 25% of all teachers' failures (Przychodzin, 1981). Supervisors of prospective teachers list problems with discipline as stu-

dent teachers' biggest headaches. Likewise, beginning teachers necessarily must place a high priority on classroom discipline.

Placing a high priority on classroom discipline is a result of its influence on two of the most important aspects of teachers' professional lives: first, how well their students develop personal and cognitive skills and second, how much they enjoy teaching. This concern of teachers over discipline is not surprising since they are usually the first to feel its effects. In the initial NEA Nationwide Teacher Opinion Poll in 1979, it was reported that an estimated 110,000 teachers, one in twenty, have been physically attacked by students at least once, and 11,000 of these teachers required medical attention for physical injury. From these attacks, ten percent were serious enough to cause teachers to miss school to recuperate. Of this group 10,000 teachers required psychological attention for emotional trauma. The report also estimated that 5,000,000 teachers, or one in four, had personal property damaged or stolen. Seventy-five percent reported that discipline problems impaired their teaching effectiveness. Many of the teachers surveyed stated that their school did not provide enough assistance in dealing with discipline problems (NEA, 1974). Other follow-up studies since 1979 have reported similar results.

The concept of discipline has greatly changed over the last 100 years. The traditional view of a

well-disciplined classroom conforms to an authoritarian view of order and discipline when children sit up straight and speak only when spoken to or recognized. One of the traditional concept's chief characteristics was the repression of students' interests and ideas through threats of corporal punishment. The success of teachers was measured by the number of whippings they gave. Parents "expected" teachers to use this type of punishment, perhaps to relinquish some of their own duty of disciplining their own children or to possibly have someone else to blame if the child was not disciplined enough. This traditional concept of discipline as the "unquestioned submission to authority" continued through the first two decades of this century.

"Progressive or New Education" emerged during the 1930s and peaked in the 1940s. During this period, school interests shifted from content-centered to child-centered. The powerful "motivation of learning" was the high point of this educational movement. For progressives, discipline was expected to come from within the child as a natural concurrence to learning (Knute and Karpas, 1963). Their philosophy and ideas of discipline survived the dreary depression years, but World War II proved to be too great a strain. During this period the steadfast influence of the family began to decline as fathers went off to war and mothers found jobs in factories. The post war period seemed to continue to

aggravate the situation as inflation pressured mothers into continuing to work while still finding time to create a baby boom. These factors compounded the problems in American education as children now had little or no source of discipline at home or in the classroom.

These circumstances spiraled until a renewed interest in American education emerged with the successful launching of the USSR's Sputnik I in the 1950s. This achievement in Soviet technology created confusion and concern in the American society. Immediately, generalizations emerged that the Soviets were beating us into space because they had more and better scientists, and that this was a result of their schools that were concentrating on science and mathematics. This dilemma ultimately led to a period of rapid change and excitement in American schools (Knute and Karpas, 1963). The U.S/U.S.S.R. technological race now entered the public schools through the vehicle of new math and "new" science. The issues surrounding discipline were once again put on the back burner.

This negligence of dealing with discipline problems continued through the "humanism" of the late 1960s and early 1970s. There were so little order and structure in the classroom arena, that chaos was often the result. Reaction to the Vietnam War, the arms race, and a general "moral loosening" of society caused many teachers during the 1970s to begin to push for more freedom within the classroom as a component of classroom instruction. The students were given freedom for self instruction and individualized activities. Educators assumed that by allowing students to follow their own interests, that they would become excited and interested by the learning experi-

ence. No wonder American educational views on discipline today are so confused when linked to the Progressives of the first half of this century and their ideas of linking learning experiences to promote discipline. By the late 1960s many educators had come to believe that little or no discipline would ultimately promote learning. Obviously, educators of the 1970s and 1980s faced disillusionment and chaos surrounding discipline issues.

Individual classroom discipline continued to receive high interest and concern during the 1980s. The major question during this past decade was which type of discipline—traditional, authoritarian, or a type of discipline geared toward behavior modification—is the best to pursue? Despite the efforts of open education, progressive education and humanistic education, the image of the classroom as a battalion command post still persists. This authoritarian view of discipline is deeply ingrained in the mythology of education (Lehmanbn, 1981). This is probably due to believing that order is necessary for teaching and can only be achieved by "taming children" and that authoritarianism does not stifle individuality and critical thinking. These individual's profess behavior modification as an approach to discipline. This, of course, is a behavior modifier, but in this article behavior modification will refer to those preventive discipline plans that encourage positive student behavior.

"Available school discipline plans run the gamut from preventive to punitive" (Gary, 1982). There are currently five major classroom discipline strategies which have successfully been used in schools. These strategies are interactive, interpersonal, problem solving, instructional and behavioristic punishment.

Table 1 is an arranged model of these approaches and their supporting educational strategies. This model format places the instructional approach to discipline in the center. It views the teachers' primary role as that of providing students with interesting, well organized individual instruction and believes that discipline is dependent upon a tight curriculum. Most educators will agree that this is a valid base for responsible discipline. To the left of the instructional approaches are the more humanistic/interactive approaches and to the right are the more structured, control-oriented methods.

The humanistic/interactive side of the continuum includes Thomas Gordon's "Interactive/ Interpersonal Strategy" and William Glasser's "Problem Solving Approach" to discipline. In his book, Teacher Effectiveness Training, Thomas Gordon proposed three methods of resolving conflictive behavior. Two methods rely on the power of struggle and result in a win or lose situation. The third method relies on the development of two-way communication between the teacher and student so that no one loses in the solution to a problem. William Glasser's article on "Ten Steps to Good Discipline" in The Education Digest proposes redirection of student misbehavior by helping students recognize an underlying problem and establishing an agreement with the teacher for solving it. An example he uses focuses on class meetings where misbehaving students are progressively isolated until the problem is resolved.

At the center of the model is the instructional approach where Madeline Hunter and Paul Carlson's book, Improving Your Child's Behavior, outlines a four-step reinforcement theory based on observation and analysis. After

Table 1

A Continuum of Classroom Discipline Strategies*				
Interactive Interpersonal	Problem Solving	Instructional	Behavioristic	Behaviorism/ Punishment
Carl Rogers	William Glasser	Madeline Hunter	Rudolph Dreikurs	Lee Canter
Tom Gordon	Frank Maple	Paul Carlson	Wesley Becker	James Dobson
William Purkey	Tom Gordon	Carl Wallen	Daniel O'Leary	
Richard Schmuck		Johanna Lemlech		

*Jones, V.F. and Jones, L.S., Responsible Classroom Discipline, Boston, Mass., Allyn and Bacon, Inc. 1981, p. 13.

the problem is identified, teachers plan a reinforcement schedule to determine

1. which positive behaviors they want the children to continue,

2. those positive reinforcements that work best,

3. those negative behaviors that need to be changed, and

4. which negative reinforcements must be avoided.

When a student is told to stop a negative behavior, a positive behavior must immediately be identified for them to follow.

To the right of the continuum are the structured, control-oriented methods. In his book, Discipline Without Tears with P. Cassel, Rudolph Dreikurs identified four misbehaviors of children that are characterized by a desire for attention, power, revenge, or a feeling of inadequacy. By diagnosing the root of the child's misbehavior, the teacher can hopefully modify the child's motivation for misbehavior rather than the behavior itself. Lee Canter's Assertive Discipline is the most rigid and control-oriented strategy of the continuum. He classifies teachers into three groups: nonas-

sertive; hostile; and assertive, and proposes a discipline management system whereby teachers can communicate their wants and needs clearly. According to the system the students are well aware of the teacher's rules and consequences for disruption and know their wants and needs clearly.

These five approaches to discipline vary widely, but research shows that teachers have been combining these methods, some successfully, and some unsuccessfully. Some of the more popular combinations of these approaches include the following three types. The first combined group simply presents instructional material geared towards the higher-achieving students' productivity. It presents a structured, punishment-oriented approach to controlling students who do not or cannot positively respond to the instruction being given. This approach is unproductive, unprofessional, and usually leaves a teacher unfulfilled. A second combination group employs interesting and individualized instructional material and implements more behavioristic methods for maintaining appropriate behav-

ior. Since this approach is based on external motivation students are often left with a major skill deficit as well as little knowledge on how to behave productively. At least, how to behave productively when strong external controls are not present. The third combined group is the most successful in managing a classroom. It focuses on implementing interesting, individualized instruction while coming to employ an interactive and problem-solving approach to classroom discipline. This method creates a positive, supportive environment which promotes learning and personal growth (Jones and Jones, 1982).

Understanding these three combined methods for incorporating the five most popular discipline strategies available is only part of the discipline puzzle for teachers. Further difficulty arises in translating these concepts into actual classroom practice. Table 2 is a possible model for outlining the factors involved in developing effective and responsible classroom discipline. The development and employment of corrective and preventive knowledge and skills is the basis for establishing responsible classroom dis-

cipline. With this basis, teachers need only to be careful when creating more positive student behaviors. By laying a solid foundation of preventive interventions at the lower end of the hierarchy and by employing corrective measures at the upper end, a kind of unified discipline can merge. Changes aim-ed at creating positive student behavior should occur in the model's hierarchial order. The caution is that when teachers intervene at the upper end of the hierarchy before laying a foundation, improvement in student behavior is usually limited and short term.

nile authorities. The aim of using these discipline approaches is to keep the majority of disruptive students in school, rather than sending them home. Many children today come from single-parent families or homes where both parents work. In any case, suspending a child to an unsupervised home creates more problems.

lis, Indiana; and High Point, North Carolina. Students are sent to these suspension centers for periods of time ranging from one period to several days, depending upon the problem. The advantage to this approach is that the troublemaker receives individual counseling while keeping up with his/her studies, and other students in the classroom are not distracted from their studies. While at a suspension center, students must maintain silence, eat lunch alone, and keep up with regular school assignments. There are counseling services available for students with serious behavior problems. Parents of youngsters at the center are required to attend conferences with their children and school officials, rather

Table 2

A Hierarchial Approach to Developing Responsible Classroom Discipline*		
Correction	Using Resource Personnel	
	Working with Parents	
	Implementing Behavioristic Interventions,	
	Employing Problem-Solving Approach	
Prevention	Improving Student's Self Concepts	
	Employing Effective Teaching Strategies	
	Establishing Positive Peer Relationships	
	Establishing Positive Teacher-Student Relationships	
	Creating Functional Classroom Norms	
Understanding	Understanding Student's Personal and Academic Needs	

*Jones, V.F., "School Discipline Problems and Solutions," Practical, 61, September 1981, p. 17.

Some New Directions for Discipline

There are many new and successful programs across the country that are witnessing long-term results to the problems of discipline. Four of these program are in-school suspension centers, alternative schools, behavior contracting, and peer counseling, which deal with disruptions such as rowdiness, insolence, tardiness and truancy. As always, infractions such as assault and drug abuse are turned over to the juve-

The fastest growing approach to handling problem students is the "in-school suspension center," also known as "crisis classrooms," "time-out classrooms," and "behavior modification centers." These centers are operating in hundreds of school districts throughout the country, including St. Petersburg, Florida; Richmond, Virginia; Columbus, Ohio; Houston, Texas; Indianapo-

than simply getting a note from the school. In 1980, at Ferndale Junior High School in High Point, North Carolina, there were three hundred traditional suspensions. In 1981 an in-school suspension center was introduced and only eighty-five incidents of disciplinary problems occurred (Kaercher, 1982).

"Alternative schools" now operate in St. Petersburg, Florida; St. Paul, Minnesota; Oxford, Massachusetts; Wilmington, Delaware; and Anne Arundel County, Maryland. They are a more intensive method of handling problem

students. It is costlier than in-school suspension centers, but the results are worth more than monetary figures. These schools offer extensive counseling services for problem children as well as remedial academic programs for children who are behind in their school work. The average student attends the alternative school for a period of six to nine months before returning to their regular school. The classes focus on basic reading and math skills while emphasizing self-discipline. Unruly students at the school fill out forms listing what they have done wrong and their plan for improving this behavior. If no progress is made, students are sent to an in-school suspension center within the alternative school. The learning center in Anne Arundel County reported that two-thirds of the students who returned to their regular classrooms over the past five years have remained out of trouble (Kaercher, 1982).

El Camino High School in Sacramento, California, is among many communities using "behavior codes and contracts" to spell out exactly what type of behavior is expected of students and the consequences of not honoring those contracts. The written behavior contract covers matters such as getting to class on time, completing homework, and obeying rules of conduct. This contract is signed by teachers, parents and students. El Camino officials say a dramatic change in the student discipline problems has occurred with the implementation of strict behavior contracts. The emphasis

here is to create an orderly environment for the majority of student in a school.

Some communities such as Seattle, Washington; Cincinnati, Ohio; and Salt Lake City, Utah, are integrating peer counseling into their discipline programs. In Cincinnati, officials report that peer counseling has helped a number of services previously limited by budget cuts. Services include volunteers that are trained in human relations workshops and offer their informal counseling services to students during lunch time. Also the use of peer counseling services has successfully averted potential problem behaviors as well as provided an outlet for those with identified behavioral problems.

These new approaches for dealing with disciplinary problems are wonderful, but at the core of the issue remains the teacher and his/her ability to identify behavioral problems. Whether a school district itself deals with these problems or not, the teacher is the first to see the problem occur. He/she must be in a position to identify what is causing the problem, what student needs are not being met, what, if anything, can be done to prevent the disruptive behavior, how the classroom environment can be changed or modified to promote more productive behaviors and what can be done to deal with those behaviors that are not being influenced by preventative methods. It is up to the teacher to answer these questions and direct

the problem student toward more appropriate behaviors.

Too often the teacher is left with the full responsibility for disciplinary action when parents should be playing more of a leading role. Understanding that many families are led by only one parent, or that both parents work, is no real excuse for not teaching children how to behave properly and respect authority. Realizing though there will never be a time when all parents are proper disciplinarians, teachers must be ready to guide and work with their students upon the first indication of behavioral problems.

As far as knowing which approach for disciplining is the best to apply in a given classroom, it remains an individual decision for the teacher. The hope is that teachers will utilize the variety of disciplinary strategies available to them. Those who rely on strict authoritarianism or on strict behavior modification may not reach all their students. By limiting the disciplinary strategies used rather than adapting strategies to emerging problems, a molding process takes place rather than a correcting. After all, a teacher's realm is not limited to the text book they use while teaching a subject area, but focuses more on how consistently their students are absorbing the material. The effective classroom manager needs to understand, to integrate when possible, and most of all be able to utilize the entire "package" of strategies available to them.

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The Facilitative Role of Leadership in Tomorrow's Schools

by Carl Martray and L. Nan Restine

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The recognition of and sensitivity to the new demands which have been placed upon school leaders in the 90's is paramount to the success of the element of educational change referred to as "school reform." A social climate which fosters participative management and teacher involvement in professional decision making will no longer permit leadership to take the form of independently initiated and directed change. Conversely, changing the school environment will require that a leader be skillful in functioning as a catalyst in facilitating the interaction and involvement of constituents.

Once viewed as the primary decision maker and manager in the educational setting, the leader in schools of tomorrow must assume the role of one who provides assistance to and collaborates with others in the making of quality decisions. The role of the leader as facilitator is confounded by the fact that it is the individual in this leadership position who will ultimately be held accountable for the quality of the decisions made, as well as the outcomes which result as products of decisions. How then can the school leaders insure or, at best, increase the probability that quality decisions are made at the local school level?

In order to deal with this critical question of accountability, the criterion on which decisions will be measured must be made clear. In the final analysis, school decisions will be measured from one major perspective—student achievement and performance outcomes. Thus, in identifying leadership qualities and behaviors of effective school leaders of the future, it is important to focus upon those characteristics and attributes which have been demonstrated as either directly or indirectly related to student and/or school achievement.

The effective schools research and school reform efforts of the 1970s and 1980s stimulated an interest in understanding exemplary school leadership. A host of descriptors are associated with strong school leadership, but much work remains to be done toward understanding leadership and its relationship to instruction and learning in schools (Blase and Kirby, 1992).

The complex nature of leadership has been the focus of theoreticians, researchers, and practitioners alike and has resulted in volumes of literature on the topic. The definitions of leadership abound, albeit as illusive a concept as love—difficult to describe or explain but readily recognized.

A review of this body of literature is beyond the scope of this article and may be found in other sources such as that prepared by McCauley (1990).

The focus of this paper is on one element of school leadership that has been the object of much recent attention. This element is the reconceptualized role of the leader in the decision making process. Decision making in schools has evolved from the autonomous function of an individual to include the constituents of schools as partners in the process. As Blase and Kirby (1992) suggest, "Instead of viewing participation and delegation as confessions of their inaptitude, effective leaders should tout them as badges of their genius." This change is difficult for some in that many school administrators have functioned as guardians of the organization and the status quo and, hence, have protected the organization against shifts in power and authority (Willower, 1991). It appears that in order to successfully enhance performance, a leader must understand the impact of authority, power, and influence. In spite of the widespread use of the term "power," other concepts such as authority and influence are often associated with power thus rendering the term definitely

indistinct. If power is defined as "influence potential" (English, 1975), this may translate power into the resource that enables the leader to induce desired performance from others.

Power, Authority, and Influence

Shifts in the degrees of power and authority into the purvue of teachers, school councils, and other representative groups are designed to increase the professionalization of teaching as well as give educators more control and flexibility in their respective classrooms (Timar, 1989). Although classroom teaching has been viewed as being a rather isolated world, where one operates independently when the doors are closed, it appears that a "zero sum game" has been in effect in regard to more comprehensive roles of the teacher in the organization. When individuals interpret the organization as limiting, problem solving and decision making capacities are reduced. The school leader facilitates opportunities for growth, influences through empowerment, and has power to delegate. Shared and accepted legitimation becomes the base from which quality decisions are made.

Professional and bureaucratic organizations differ with respect to autonomy and conformity. The emphasis on formal authority in bureaucracies clash with the professional valuing of expertise. Rosenholz (1989) distinguished autonomy in schools as being freedom from and freedom to. Teachers who were provided opportunities for learning and collaboration were more committed to their students and felt a freedom to grow and develop with fewer limitations. Empowerment requires more than providing opportunities to act, and par-

ticipatory decision making alone may not increase the power of teachers to improve schools (Blase and Kirby, 1992). As Hawley (1988) noted, the ability of schools to improve student achievement is "conditioned by the collective competence levels of the teachers involved." The reliance on existing repertoire of skills and knowledge rather than engaging in opportunities to build upon that base will not suffice (Weiss, 1990).

Empowerment and Efficacy

Professional empowerment may be defined as a set of structures, processes and/or behaviors that result in individuals believing they have increased control over their professional environment. The set of beliefs and self perceptions that teachers have about their ability to control and manage their professional world has been coined by Ashton (1985) as professional efficacy, or more specifically "teacher efficacy," when referring to the professional environment of the classroom teacher.

An assumption seems to be conveyed in some of the literature that teacher performance will be improved as a result of empowerment and its by-products (Rist, 1989). Logically, this assumption seems valid, however, little evidence exists to substantiate the contention that teacher empowerment will independently improve teacher performance. It is submitted, therefore, that school restructuring and reform efforts are doomed to failure if school leaders rely solely on teacher empowerment as the vehicle for school improvement. In addition to sound leadership practices that have been shown to influence school effectiveness, the adoption of shared decision making, school

councils, and site-based management have made the variable of empowerment even more significant. It is contended that even though empowerment seems to be a logical and critical variable in school improvement, the related variable of teacher efficacy has been significant in discussions of teacher performance and student achievement (Ashton, 1985; Ashton and Webb, 1986; de Charms, 1968; 1976). It is the thesis of this article that a major challenge for leaders in our schools is the focus on creating a climate and environment which facilitates efficacy, not merely empowerment.

Traditionally, research on the motivational construct of teacher efficacy has been based on the teacher's perceptions and beliefs about self regarding the capability to influence student learning. This focus on teachers' perceptions is not surprising because early studies conducted by the Rand Corporation involving this construct demonstrated significant relationships between teacher efficacy and student achievement (Ashton, 1985). However, the implications of this construct led to conclusions that are too simplistic because teacher efficacy and student achievement are complex constructs. Personal beliefs about one's effectiveness regarding influence on others is a multifaceted phenomenon.

Borrowing ideas proposed by Bandura (1977), Ashton (1985) in a review of the research on teacher efficacy pointed out that efficacy is a multifaceted trait influenced by one's behavior, beliefs, self-perceptions, and environment. Hence, it is proposed that the development of a teacher's sense of efficacy goes beyond classroom interaction experiences which provide feedback on teaching performance and student learning. Efficacy is influenced by additional environmental variables

such as collegial and administrator relationships and interactions, as well as familial and societal influences. Ashton used Bronfenbrenner's (1976) ecological model to illustrate numerous factors than can influence a teacher's sense of efficacy. These factors range from the teacher's immediate setting (i.e., the classroom) to the economic, educational, legal, and political institutions which might have an impact on a teacher's thoughts, feelings, and behavior. It is important for the school leader to assist teachers in identifying how schools can influence these factors which, in turn, influence cognitive views of self and personal capabilities.

Leadership, Knowledge, and Achievement

Much of the literature on school reform has been directed toward issues of governance and policy. With due respect to the importance of these elements in the design and conduct of schools, student achievement vis-a-vis teacher efficacy must consider the knowledge base(s) of leadership, curriculum and instruction, and teaching and learning. From an operational as well as philosophical standpoint, one might view the major players in schools as having discrete properties and functions as shown in Figure 1. This model suggests that interaction is linear, with little merging even though there is some degree of reciprocity and distribution of information.

The Venn diagram in Figure 2 reflects the educational enterprise as a community of learners, with information and knowledge blended. As Senge (1990) proposed, superior performance depends on superior learning. One cannot presume that student achievement and outcomes based performance is independent of the learning, effectiveness, and efficacy of those in positions of leadership and teaching in schools. From a corporate perspective, the bottom line is, indeed, student achievement. Likewise, those who serve as stewards must have strong convictions about the nature of learning organizations.
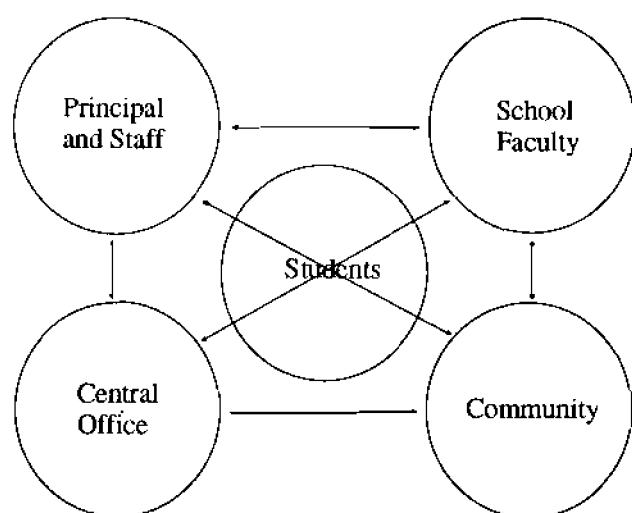
Figure 1

In presenting a "blueprint" for empowering teachers, Maeroff (1988) suggested three key areas in which teachers' sense of professional empowerment could be enhanced. These areas were teachers' (a) status, (b) knowledge, and (c) access to decision making. Strategies that are designed to involve teachers in shared decision making and in the determination of school policies and curriculum can provide the teacher with a sense of professionalism and personal dignity. The teacher's environment is often plagued by isolation, time pressures, and excessive paperwork—all of which may lead the teacher to perceive little personal control. Additional programmatic intrusions will not change these factors. If teachers are to overcome these perceptions, then opportunities for collegial interaction must be provided and encouraged. In addition, the old adage that "knowledge is power" remains true for the professional setting. Teachers need opportunities to increase their knowledge base in critical areas of their profession so that they can meet the expectations of expertise that they have for themselves and demonstrate this expertise.

Historical deficiencies in salary and benefit schedules have forced teachers out of the classroom. The result has been an accumulation of somewhat meaningless credit hours as opposed to time spent engaged in meaningful and relevant pursuits of career and life goals.
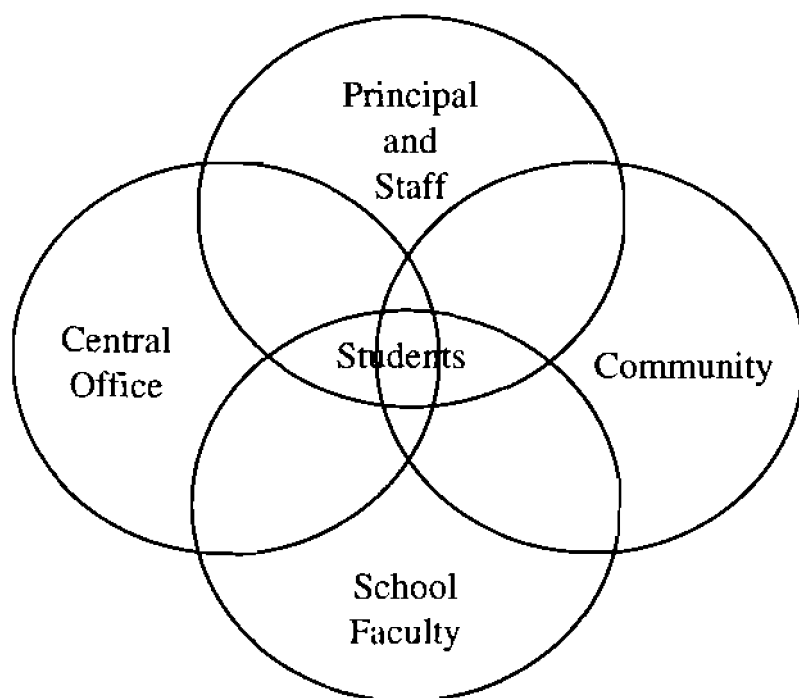
Concluding Comments

To say the least, the leader of tomorrow's schools must possess a belief in his/her own ability to facilitate a school environment which reflects shared decision making and the confidence that

Figure 2

A Model reflecting school constituents as a learning community.

collaborative efforts will result in enhanced learning outcomes and the improvement of life in schools. Inherently, if the school leader is to facilitate an environment of school efficacy, he or she must exude a personal sense of efficacy as well as confidence in the faculty and staff. Successful schools of tomorrow will reflect a team effort and the exemplary leader will be the individual who can facilitate the development of a team—a team that executes responsibilities and duties through a conviction that its members can make a difference in the achievement, performance, and lives of students. This requires will, as well as skill, in leadership.

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Refocusing and Redirecting School Leadership for the 21st Century

by Don Chalker

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Refocusing and redirecting the role of the 21st century school administrator has assumed a sense of urgency. America 2000, the ambitious education agenda unveiled by the President of the United States, is spawning the development of new and different school designs. Requested are new educational designs that break the mold of traditional education and create new and different high performance schools (Designs for a New Generation of America's Schools, 1991). New, innovative, high performance schools will require innovative, high performance leaders.

What future role changes are necessary to assure the presence of innovative, high performance school administrators? Presented in the following paragraphs is a vision of educational leadership for the 21st century. The vision is a synthesis of the author's personal experience as a building administrator and school superintendent and a personal search for a futuristic role suitable for educational leaders. The vision of tomorrow's school leadership is broad, for successful refocusing of the school administrator's role must not be timid. Tinkering with traditional patterns of management is not sufficient. Michaels (1988) claims that leaders need to sort values, develop new belief systems and ultimately create schools that foster improved learning. Clearly, improved learning in the 21st century will require school administrators with new and different skills, knowledge and values.

The future skills, knowledge and values needed by 21st century administrators are presented in two different packages. Presented first are generic changes so vital and inclusive that they must be adopted by all future school administrators. Following the presentation of general change, traditional individual administrative roles are examined and projected into the 21st century. Positions examined are the assistant principal, the principal and superintendent of schools.

Skills for All Future School Administrators

Koestenbaum (1991) identifies five issues business leaders must face in the 21st century: technology, globalization, repetition of change, cooperation and freedom. One could argue that all five issues are applicable to educational leaders. I choose to emphasize technology and cooperation, however, as two issues absolutely essential for the future success of all educational leaders. A third issue, change, permeates all the thoughts presented in this vision of new school leadership. Globalization and freedom are issues to be addressed another day.

Cooperation means overcoming alienation, learning to work together and accomplishing results through mobilizing people (Koestenbaum, 1991). Staff cooperation seems to be progressing positively in this decade and is, therefore, not addressed as a future concern. Cooperation with parents, however, is a concern with serious future repercussions. New school deigns can be created, but world class schools desired by society will not become realities until school personnel and parents cooperate to clarify the values and responsibilities of both parties.

What values must be clarified? Parents and children must assume responsibility for learning. Schools must assume responsibility for teaching. Both parties must get serious about teaching and learning. The lack of cooperation that exists today must be diminished and a super strong partnership between home and school created. School leaders of the future must attack this problem, for other parties lack understanding. In fact, society blames educators for many student failures beyond the school's control. Students often come to school with little incentive to learn, and without an established work ethic. In the future, cooperation between home and school is essential if schools

are to create a successful learning environment.

Making optimum use of rapidly changing technology is a second vital change that must be adopted by all future administrators. One of the most remarkable occurrences of the last half of the 20th century has been the development of technology. Its future potential for learning is almost unlimited (Millard, 1991). Obstacles exist, however, that must be overcome before technology can effectively improve student learning; obstacles that school administrators must be prepared to address. First, school administrators in significant numbers have not personally learned to use new technology and have not grasped the changing role of technology in the classroom. School leaders too often delegate administrative use of technology to a secretary and use of classroom technology to staff. Technology might be understood by everyone in the school organization. Administrators must serve as models for classroom teachers who resist the change promised by new technology and who fear the invasion of the sanctity of their classroom. All competent 21st century leaders must be technology specialists.

Role Reversal: the 21st Century Assistant Principal

No doubt it seems backward to introduce a model that refocuses school leadership with the position of assistant principal. After all, why start at the bottom of the administrative ladder? The assistant principal has historically been afforded little attention as a serious contributor to instructional leadership in America's schools. Tasks traditionally distasteful to the principal, discipline, attendance and extracur-

ricular supervision, are assigned to the assistant. In a given day, the assistant principal helps some teachers with classroom behavior problems and disciplines the worst student offenders.

Administrators must serve as models for classroom teachers who resist the change promised by new technology and who fear the invasion of the sanctity of their classroom.

The assistant principal encounters criminal violations that only armed law officers would encounter outside school. The assistant principal also spends valuable time locating missing students who probably should not be attending school. Other duties are equally outrageous and time consuming. In North Carolina, for example, the assistant principal supervises bus drivers and actually drives the bus when substitutes are not available. In the best of circumstances, the principal involves the assistant in some instructional matters, but meaningful involvement is limited by the assignment of many mundane responsibilities.

Can the 21st century assistant principal become a dynamic resource in improving education for youth? The answer is yes, but only if the job description changes. The future job description for assistant

principals should allow the assistant principal to make significant contributions to the general educational program of the school and the school district (NASSP's Council on the Assistant Principalship, 1991). To accomplish this, the following two role enhancers are suggested.

First, since the assistant principal is the administrator closest to students, he or she should expect to assume the role of student advocate. In many school districts, this will be a role reversal from the currently assigned role of student adversary. A new role suggests a new title for the 21st century assistant: Associate Principal for Student Growth and Development. As the title suggests, the new associate must become an expert regarding the subject of student learning and achievement. Important components of the associate principal's future role are:

- the initiation of strategies that promote student motivation,

- the application of learning theory and practice that help students succeed,

- the acquisition of expertise on students-at-risk, and the initiation of programs that help at-risk students succeed,

- the application of developmental counseling to student problems.

The associate must be responsible for refocusing the school counselor's role in this area.

A second role change also provides role enhancement for tomorrow's associate principal. Since the position will continue to be the entry level for all other leadership positions in the organization, associate principals must be socialized into the larger school leadership arena. Today's associate principals are tomorrow's site-based and school district leaders. Socialization must include practice of leadership skills needed by

principals, central office specialists and superintendents. NASSP's Council on the Assistant Principalship (1991) concludes that the assistant principalship will be enhanced by inclusion in school decision-making, involvement in teacher supervision and active participation in instructional leadership.

How can a new role be considered when the life of today's assistant principal is so hectic? Admittedly, the new associate principal will still need to share responsibility for student discipline, attendance and student activities. Student problems will not disappear in the next century, but hopefully, new social orders that stress parenting will better prepare students for school. Assistants also can be helped by other persons. Teachers must assume additional responsibility for discipline problems. Students who violate the law should become the responsibility of the police. Paraprofessionals can be trained to intercede in less serious discipline problems and parents must be held more accountable for student behavior.

To insure success, administrator preparation programs must adjust to the role change, and staff development for school administrators must be available in large doses. Change will not be easy, but the traditional mold must be broken.

The School Principal in the 21st Century

A more gentle role change is projected for the school principal in the 21st century. Today, the role of the principal is viewed variously as building manager, administrator, politician, change agent and instructional leader. Recent research suggests that the principal is an essential contribu-

tor to school improvement. Simultaneously, the emergence of career ladder plans, teacher centers and lead teachers suggest a diminished leadership role for the principal. Pilot programs have been tried that actually eliminate the principal from the governance structure.

Considering the conflict, what is the projected role for the principal? The 21st century principal will not disappear but will remain a strong site based instructional leader. Role enhancement, however, depends on the principal's acceptance of the instructional role rather than a management role. Some principals do act as instructional leaders, but others often fail to exhibit day-to-day instructional leadership. Confidence is lacking. Renewed confidence in school leadership will require the retention, recruitment, training, selection, and evaluation of a corps of school principals for the 21st century who clearly understand the meaning of schooling in a democratic society, possess leadership ability, and perform professional roles in such a manner that teachers are committed to create excellent schools (Smith & Andrews, 1989).

Earlier, the role of the assistant principal was suggested as student advocate. The principal must be an equally strong advocate and role model for teachers. The principal's role as a teacher advocate includes the following components:

- Principals must model effective teaching and learning. He/she must be prepared to bring out the best in teachers. The principal must understand new initiatives in teaching and support staff development activities.

- Principals must become clinical supervisors who diagnose teacher behavior and seek improvement. Clinical supervi-

sion has been available for some time, but teachers claim little use by principals. Peer supervision is also a worthy clinical idea that should be more effective. Better supervision of teachers should result in improved teaching but also the removal of ineffective teachers, a necessity for improvement.

- Principals must master the art of shared decision-making and consensus. Brightman (1984), studied the amount of time principals spent in decisional roles and reported that decision making consumed 50% of their time. Little change in that figure is expected in the next century, but rapid information retrieval will enable principals and teachers to make better, faster decisions.

- Principals in the 21st century must be researchers. The principal must be a consumer of effective school research and initiate site based research.

- Future principals must be highly visible site-based leaders. Legislated learning, popular in the 90's, is not producing expected results; and the local unit should become the instructional decision-maker. Future principals will lead a professional model of school governance less affected by politics.

Principals will continue to face time consuming management tasks, but instructional leadership must become a priority. Again, leadership preparation programs must help with this change and in-service efforts must be supportive.

The Superintendent: New Leadership for 21st Century Schools

The superintendent is perhaps the most important player in the design for 21st century school administration. The power of the position supports a role change

that embellishes the total educational governance system. From top to bottom, school governance must be refocused and redirected, and the superintendent must become the change agent.

The potential leadership power of the superintendent will be released only if major restructuring occurs. I suggest that the school superintendent advocate and actively work for the following changes in school governance:

- Legislated learning must be tempered. While the state must maintain legal responsibility for providing quality schooling, legislated learning has become oppressive to educators and is not producing promised improved learning. Superintendents must advocate a site-based decision making model and support local teachers and principals as primary instructional decision makers.

Superintendents have an obligation to train and support site based educators.

- At the local level the traditional board of education should be restructured as education enters the 21st century. Whether appointed or elected, the board should be advisory and should be composed of teachers, administrators, parents, community leaders and university educators. Once useful in a less complex society, the current elected lay board of education is becoming a liability. Too often, politics dominate the local board, and individual board members are not student oriented. Today's superintendent spends far too much time caring for board members who often have little impact on the instructional success of schools. Superintendents should become professional leaders rather than nurturers of a lay board of education not well prepared to make educational decisions.

Whether or not the superintendent is successful in restructur-

ing school governance, he/she will need to enhance the superintendent's leadership role.

Instructional leadership will characterize the future role of principals and superintendents.

- The 21st century superintendent will need to be a visionary far beyond the expectations of the 90s. Change will take place rapidly and the superintendent must perceive trends and react quickly. Visioning, reacting, and facilitating change in a productive way will be a major challenge for tomorrow's superintendent.

- The 21st century superintendent must be an expert at strategic planning, a process not used widely in today's schools. Strategic planning will be a vehicle used to involve all members of the school community in the decision-making process. Strategic planning will promote research based teaching and learning.

- The superintendent in the next century must provide the leadership necessary to establish site-based leadership. The roles previously outlined for building administrators become reality only if the superintendent believes in moving decisions closer to the classroom. Professional autonomy must be granted to teachers comparable to autonomy granted other professionals.

- Future superintendents must continue to be team organizers, community resource persons,

instructional leaders, and organizational managers. Organization of the central office staff must support the goals and objectives of 21st century schools. Key persons will be assigned the job of improving instruction, developing cooperative relations with parents, and providing maximum use of new technology. The greatest mission of the central office staff will be support of site based management.

Conclusion: The Art of Instructional Leadership

Education will change in the 21st century and school administration will successfully change to meet new educational designs. New knowledge will be rapidly applied to the learning process, new technology will assist learning, and new processes will be implemented to improve schooling. Cooperation will bring parents and educators closer together. Instructional leadership will characterize the future role of principals and superintendents.

But educational leadership is more than a science. Educational leadership is analogous to directing a symphony. Input must be harmoniously blended to create beautiful music. School leaders for the next century must learn the art of conducting. Hodgkinson (1991) agrees that administration is closer to an art than a science. Hodgkinson suggests, "It is legitimate for the practical leader to pursue truth and accept maxims wherever they can be found. Maxims are grounded in experience—what works. For administrators, mega maxims are:

Know the task.
Know the situation.
Know the followership.
Know oneself."

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Antisocial Behavior: A Social Learning Perspective in an Educational Context

by David Putnam, Jr., R. Alan Williams, and Dana Stolz Gray

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Public educators are inundated with students that bring a wide range of significant antisocial behaviors to the school setting. These behaviors have serious implications for the students themselves, for others in the school setting, and for the communities in which they live and will impact as adults. Furthermore, if antisocial behaviors persist into adulthood they may lead to a variety of associated problems, such as marital discord, maladaptive parenting, legal problems, substance abuse, and interpersonal communication (Robins & Ratcliff, 1979).

The present article examines the population of students referred to as "antisocial" youth. Antisocial youth are characterized by significant and enduring difficulties interacting with their environment due to their aggressive interactions and disregard for social rules and the rights of others. For the younger child, these difficulties may be manifested by defiance at home, chronic arguing with parents, and excessive fighting with siblings and peers. As these students reach middle childhood, difficulties move to the school setting. Typically, these students are defiant and disruptive in the classroom, are aggressive with peers, and frequently encounter school administrators for disciplinary actions. Moreover, these students tend to have more learning difficulties, which may be directly related to their behavioral difficulties. Finally, if the progression continues, the aggressive behavior moves to delinquent behavior in the community.

The costs to society in terms of dollars and human resources are staggering. The number of children engaging in antisocial behavior is increasing in the U.S. at a steady rate. According to the Juvenile Crime Statistics Federal Bureau of Investigation (1988) there are more crimes committed by adolescents and more violent crimes against people and property by youth under 18 than ever before. Kazdin (1985), in his review of the impact of this population, noted that over one billion dollars are spent each year to maintain the juvenile justice system, with an estimated 500 million dollars spent annually on school vandalism alone.

The Development of Antisocial Behavior

Is it possible to understand this population adequately to empower educators and related service providers to attack the problem? Though there are many contributing factors, there appears to be a reliable developmental course in cases of significant and enduring antisocial behaviors. This developmental progression has been studied most exhaustively by Patterson and his colleagues at the Oregon Social Learning Center, and has been summarized by Patterson, Debaryshe, & Ramsey (1989). They suggest that,

. . . Child behaviors at one stage lead to predict-

able reactions from the child's social environment in the following steps . . . Each step in this action-reaction sequence puts the child more at risk for long-term social maladjustment and criminal behavior.

Not only does antisocial behavior have a predictable antisocial course, but once adopted, remains highly stable over time. A review of studies indicates that instead of growing out of antisocial behavior patterns, these children grow up to be coercive, antisocial adults. Further, they often raise antisocial children (Patterson, 1982). Hence, antisocial behavior in childhood presents a remarkably stable picture for the future, not only within, but across generations.

Antisocial behavior may be predicted by:

a. coercive family processes,

b. school failure and peer rejection, and

c. deviant peer group membership.

The following description of the development of antisocial behavior is a brief summary as described by Patterson, et al., (1989).

The Coercive Family Process

The sequence of development begins at a very young age with behavioral training in the family unit. Parenting practices in such families are characterized by poor monitoring of child behavior and all emphasis on coercive (e.g., yelling, threatening, hitting) disciplinary practices. Analysis of moment to moment exchanges indicate a consistent pattern of interaction in which these children are actually taught to behave aggres-

sively (Patterson, 1982). Patterson (1982) refers to this pattern of interaction as the "coercive family process."

The number of children engaging in antisocial behavior is increasing in the U.S. at a steady rate.

In the coercive family process, model parenting typically involves noncontingent delivery of positive and aversive feedback to the child. Noncontingent feedback is coupled with parent-child interactions that model and reinforce aggressive behavior. Reduced to its simplest form, the typical maladaptive parent-child interaction is an exchange in which the parent models aggression, the child responds in kind, both escalate quickly, and the exchange ends when one party overpowers the other. Thus, in the coercive family system, the child's behavior environment is generally chaotic and often the only predictable feature is that highly charged aversive behavior results in control.

This training ground for social interactions is powerful and creates behavior that is strongly resistant to change. Typically, the child applies an aggressive interaction style outside of the home as well. Research has indicated a strong correlation between coercive parenting practices and antisocial behavior in school (Ramsey, Walker, Shinn, O'Neill, & Steiber, 1989).

School Failure and Social Rejection

Research indicates that children who display antisocial behavior have lower academic skills than non-antisocial peers (Walker, Reavis, Rhode, & Jensen, 1985). These children typically do not spend as much time on task, nor do they demonstrate compliance with social expectations that enhance classroom success and increase engaged time in learning (Walker, Reavis, Rhode, and Jensen, 1985). One might speculate that difficulties in learning may lead to further disengagement from the learning process and in turn contribute to increases in negative behavior. While directionality was not established, both children (Williams, Crabb, Batts, Hollis, and Feibelman, 1990) and adolescents (Williams, Feibelman, & Moulder, 1989) admitted for hospital treatment of serious emotional and behavioral treatment were commonly observed to have long histories of social and academic problems at school.

The child's tendency to escalate quickly often leads to short term gains in social control, but long term losses in terms of rejection by peers. Often, rejected children lack social skills to enter a group, or respond appropriately to social overtures or provocation. However, more recent research (Gray, 1989) suggests that many of these students may possess prosocial skills, but that these skills are negated by their coercive behaviors. Research described by Gray (1989) examined the social interactions of antisocial elementary aged boys and their non-antisocial peers. Specifically, the antisocial boys showed similar rates of positive interactions, but engaged in higher rates of negative behavior, such as swearing, pushing, and hitting, than their normal peers. These data indicate that high rates

of negative behavior, rather than a lack of prosocial skills, may account for the social rejection by normal peers experienced by these youth.

Deviant Peer Group Membership and Delinquency

Rejection by normal peers often is followed by the unfortunate consequence of alliance with a deviant peer group. As . . . Patterson, et al., (1989) note, it appears that involvement with the delinquent peer groups facilitates the continued growth of antisocial behavior. It is in later childhood and adolescence that the deviant peer group supports the commission of delinquent, community based acts of aggression (i.e., truancy, destruction of property, theft, substance abuse, etc.).

In summary, the developmental course of antisocial behavior is not only consistent and predictable, but also it is highly stable over time. According to Kazdin (1987):

> The stability departs from many other disorders that are often specific and remit over the course of development. Thus, when children evince consistent antisocial behavior such as aggressive acts towards others, it is unlikely that they will simply grow out of it.

Thus, effective intervention across settings and caregivers are critical to an effort aimed at impacting the current trend of antisocial behavior.

Addressing the Problem

As research has clarified the natural developmental course of antisocial behavior, interventions to address these problems have arisen. A commonality of these strategies is to rearrange the

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Schools that are well structured and organized, which focus on academic achievement, and provide greater time on lessons, tend to have better outcomes for antisocial youngsters.

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contingencies in the child's environment so that they cease to reinforce coercive behaviors that previously were functional. These techniques could be classified into four general categories:

a. Overall school climate;

b. Direct behavioral interventions in the classroom;

c. Social skills training; and

d. Parent training in behavior management.

Predictably, the likelihood of success tends to be greater the earlier the interventions are begun. This is particularly true for antisocial youth who form strong alliances in early adolescence, providing a support network for disruptive behavior.

School Climate

Kazdin (1985), in his review of the work done with antisocial children, reports that a particular school profile may be associated with greater success for these students. Schools that are well structured and organized, which focus on academic achievement, and provide greater time on lessons, tend to have better outcomes for antisocial youngsters. Additional characteristics that contribute to greater success include higher levels of praise and appreciation for positive student conduct, an emphasis on individual responsibility for behavior, consistent and clearly stated expectations for behavior, and greater opportunities for working out problems with the assistance of adults. These characteristics appear to be associated with greater overall prosocial behavior unaccounted for by structural differences in schools or types of children served. The findings suggest that "the school may have a general ethos of attitudes and behavior that helps promote prosocial behavior in the children" (Kazdin, 1985).

While a positive, well organized school climate may be associated with greater success, more intensive interventions also are required. Moreover, the intensity of the interventions will dictate the restrictiveness of the environment in which the student is placed, given the structure of service delivery found in most schools. For some students, classroom interventions may be adequate to maintain the student in the regular class setting, for others special programming in the regular education classroom with resource room assistance for academic needs may be necessary. Still others may require a self-contained classroom where contingencies can be monitored closely and where there are ongoing and im-

mediate opportunities for guided problem solving. Finally, some students may require placements in community based day treatment or residential facilities that can provide greater treatment opportunities.

Direct Behavioral Interventions in the Classroom

A great deal of empirically-based research has been conducted that supports the efficacy of behavioral strategies in the classroom for increasing appropriate behaviors and decreasing inappropriate behaviors. The use of contingent praise and attention, contingency contracting, token economies, self monitoring, and for negative behaviors that cannot be controlled, the use of punishment procedures such as response cost and time out, have all been demonstrated to be effective with the types of behaviors displayed by this population (McMahon & Wells, 1989). Also, management programs have been extended to the home through daily reports so that parents are kept informed of the child's school behavior and can deliver rewards and punishments accordingly. The interested reader may consider Alberto and Troutman (1982), Wolery, Bailey, and Sugai (1988), or O'Leary and O'Leary (1977) for extensive works in this area. Although there are a multitude of intervention strategies available, this article will describe a sample of the types of interventions that have demonstrated success.

As noted above, antisocial youth tend to be rejected by their normal peers as a result of their abrasive style of interaction. A study by Shisler, Osguthorpe, and Eisman (1987) examined an intervention intended to increase acceptance of behaviorally handi-

capped students by their non-handicapped peers. The handicapped students in a self-contained classroom were trained to provide tutoring in sign language to their non-handicapped peers. Prior to treatment, handicapped students were viewed more negatively than non-handicapped controls, supporting the notion that behaviorally disordered students tend to be rejected by their normal peers. However, ratings completed by tutees after the tutoring sessions indicated similar attitudes towards all of the behaviorally disordered students in the class in which they had been tutored and non-handicapped peers.

Modifying the home environment is a critical variable in interrupting a child's antisocial progression.

Students with significant antisocial behaviors often demonstrate academic deficits. Not only do inappropriate classroom behaviors interfere with academic engaged time and success, but academic difficulties may contribute to increased misbehavior. A study conducted by Miller, Miller, Wheeler, and Selinger (1989) examined whether behaviorally disordered students could be taught a self-instructional strategy that would improve academic performance, as well as whether improvement in academic performance would result in concommittant improvements in behavior. Two students were taught self-in-

structional strategies that led to improvements in math and reading, respectively. The students demonstrated behavioral improvement during instructional time in the targeted area. Those results led the authors to suggest that academic skills may be an appropriate primary target for intervention for students with significant academic deficits.

While self-management strategies have been proven useful in facilitating generalization of treatment gains made with more labor intensive programs, an investigation by Smith, Young, West, Morgan and Rhode (1988) suggests that a self management strategy may be useful as an initial strategy for reducing disruptive behaviors. Four junior high school students were trained to self-monitor their compliance with classroom rules using a point card and to match their ratings with that of the teacher. All four students demonstrated a functionally significant reduction in off task and disruptive behavior during treatment phases. However, treatments gains did not generalize when the experimenters attempted to apply the self-evaluation and matching procedure to the regular education classroom. In contrast to these findings, Clark and Mckenzie (1989) found that treatment gains achieved in a resource room with a self-evaluation procedure embedded within other contingency management strategies did generalize to a regular classroom setting when only the self-evaluation procedure was employed.

Skills Training

Two types of skills training programs have been used to treat antisocial children. The first is a direct behavioral approach that targets specific prosocial behavior and teaches the child, typically through didactic instruction,

modeling, and role playing, to perform these behaviors. The second approach expands upon the behavioral targets to include cognitive skills such as perspective taking and interpersonal problem solving (McMahon & Wells, 1989).

Outcome studies of direct, behavioral skills training approaches have yielded only modestly promising results. While some studies have demonstrated short term increases in rates of prosocial behaviors, few studies have looked at long term gains of generalization of skills. Those studies that have examined broader outcomes suggest that these programs may not significantly impact the child's social behavior (see McMahon & Wells, 1989, for a review). These findings make sense in light of the results obtained by Gray (1989) that suggested that high rates of negative behavior and a tendency to escalate negative interactions to a higher level, rather than a lack of prosocial skills per se, led to interpersonal problems for these students.

The second class of skills approach, which includes teaching the child to generate and apply prosocial alternatives to antisocial responses, may be better suited to the needs of this population. Kazdin (1987) has labeled these approaches Problem Solving Skills Training (PSST). Kazdin, in his review of the efficacy of PSST, reports that these approaches may lead to significant gains in social and behavioral function over time and across settings. Kazdin (1987) cautions that many of these studies have been with students identified as impulsive rather than with clearly identified antisocial children. However, significant reductions in aggressive behavior have been obtained in cases where the PSST approach has been adapted for children with highly

aggressive behaviors (Knapczyk, 1988).

Parent Management Training

The treatment strategies reviewed thus far have focused on the products of antisocial behavior, such as school related behavior problems and interpersonal problems. Parent management training (PMT) is a treatment approach that seeks to change child behavior by systematically teaching parents to alter their disciplinary practices and the coercive family processes hypothesized to be a primary contributor to antisocial behavior.

Due to the pervasive nature of antisocial behavior across settings and interactants, a multi-modal, multi-setting approach is necessary to effectively address the problem.

These programs typically are designed for application with children three to twelve years old and focus on training parents in social learning theory, skills for accurately monitoring child behavior, rewarding and attending to positive behavior, effectively consecrating negative behavior (par-

ticularly with effective use of time out), and setting up token reward systems. A number of packaged PMT programs have been developed (Barkley, 1987; Forhand & McMahon, 1981; Paterson, 1975) and extensive research on the effectiveness of such programs has consistently, yet not invariably, demonstrated dramatic improvements in antisocial behavior (see Kazdin, 1985, for a review). "No other intervention for antisocial children has been investigated as thoroughly as PMT and has shown as favorable results" (Kazdin, 1987).

Modifying the home environment is a critical variable in interrupting a child's antisocial progression. However, PMT alone is unlikely to bring about changes in all aspects of a child's life, including school. A review of research by McMahon and Wells (1989) indicates that in some cases a "Behavioral contrast effect may occur, in which deviant school behavior increases as home disruption decreases." However, addressing the problems both at home and at school may lead to improvement in both settings (Patterson, 1974).

Interagency Collaboration

Clearly, the problems posed by antisocial youth are dramatic for the families, the schools, and the communities in which they live. It is equally clear that these behaviors follow a predictable pattern that is highly stable over time and resistant to change. As this pattern emerges, the coercive behaviors are applied in multiple settings, and if left untreated, become reinforced. Reinforcement in multiple settings strengthens the behaviors and their resistance to change. Addressing the antisocial behavior in one setting will not likely reduce the child's acting

out in other settings, as the child will "be likely to engage new interactants in coercive interchanges and they will be likely to set up powerful contingencies to maintain the antisocial behavior" (Reid & Patterson, 1991).

The model of development of antisocial behavior presented herein suggests that maladaptive parent child interactions, peer relations, and academic functioning are important targets for intervention. Research has shown that intervention strategies exist that can effectively impact the child's functioning in each of these areas. Further, an emerging body of empirical evidence described by Reid and Patterson (1991) underscores the need for treatment of parenting practices that begins in early childhood and indicates that such interventions may significantly

curtail later development of associated problems.

Due to the pervasive nature of antisocial behavior across settings and interactants, a multimodal, multi-setting approach is necessary to effectively address the problem. While public school personnel may be the first social agency to confront significant levels of antisocial behavior, a comprehensive treatment plan that addresses parent child interactions will require interventions from other service providers, as well. Because the school is the primary initial point of public agency contact for most parents of young children, the school is in a key position to begin to establish relationships with families that will lead to positive involvement in their child's behavioral and educational development.

When the child begins school, every attempt should be made to induct the parents into the educational process, to explain the educational and behavioral goals and strategies, to enlist their assistance in achieving those goals, and to set up mechanisms to keep parents informed of their child's progress and problems (Reid & Patterson, 1991).

Interagency collaboration will be critical to any effort that hopes to successfully attack the problem of antisocial behavior. While public education is not equipped with the resources to single-handedly manage the complex set of behaviors presented by these youth, it may play a vital role in facilitating this process.

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