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Technical Report #41

THE EXPANSION OF THE AUTONOMY OF YOUTH:
Responses Of The Secondary School To
Problems Of Order In The 1960s

* by

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* This document is the final report of a research project supported by the National Institute for Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice. (Grant Number NI 70-063). The fact that the National Institute furnished financial support to the activities described in this publication does not necessarily indicate the concurrence of the Institute in the statements or conclusions contained herein.

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PREFACE

This study was undertaken to survey the problems of crime and disorder in secondary schools, and to find out whether increased community support and involvement might play some part in reducing such problems. We used evidence from two nationwide surveys of school principals, and engaged in extensive field investigations and interviews with school administrators in the San Francisco Bay Area of California in order to study these problems. Our conception of the problem changed greatly in the course of the research. It became clear to us that the schools have by and large been able to adapt to the problems of the present turbulent period (problems of student behavior which seem objectively to have considerably increased) in ways which permit them to organizationally and perhaps educationally operate in reasonably orderly fashion. Their adaptations, however, have by and large externalized the problem of the social control of young people – have left it for other agencies to deal with. And their adaptations have created a new educational problem – a problem of school non-participation (including, among other forms, greatly increased truancy). The changes we describe make it increasingly clear that the problem of crime and order among young people must be seen as a problem in the relation of youth and society, not primarily one located in (or to be dealt with in) the schools.

We are indebted to a number of people for help in conducting the study: A large number of Bay Area school and district administrators, who must for reasons of anonymity remain nameless, gave generously of their time and attention. Officials of the Oakland Police Department went out of their way to provide help. We also gratefully acknowledge the permission of the United States Office of Education to obtain the data from the Equality of Educational Opportunity Survey of school principals, and the help of Mrs. Nancy Karweit of The Johns Hopkins University in actually obtaining it. Similarly, we are grateful to Dr. Robert Cohen, of Syracuse University, for releasing to us the data from the Disruption in Urban Secondary Schools Survey of school principals.

Our own intellectual progress in planning and carrying out the study owes a great deal to the advice of Drs. William Bowers and Frank Furstenberg of the National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice, to several leads suggested by Mr. Albert Bergesen of Stanford University, and to the informed suggestions of Mr. Bernard Greenberg of SRI. We gratefully acknowledge their help.

SUMMARY

In this study we set out to survey the problems of crime, violence, and disorder in contemporary American secondary schools. The impression has arisen in both popular and informed opinion that a number of problems of these kinds have become major ones for secondary schools, and indeed that the problem of maintaining social order in these schools has reached or passed the crisis stage. This study was thus of some urgency, since it seemed plausible that major changes -- perhaps reinforced at the national level -- were required to maintain the peace in at least some types of secondary schools. In fact, many different social changes have been suggested to accomplish this end, running from a massive increase in the level of police presence and the development of technologically sophisticated alarm mechanisms in secondary schools to an increase in student (or community) rights and power within the school (and perhaps society) which might increase student loyalty and conformity to the school.

The study has two major aspects. First, we wanted to survey the problem, using available questionnaire data covering large samples of high schools. This involved three major tasks: (1) Discovering the extent -- or at least the extent perceived by responsible school administrators -- of such problems as student violence and disorder, drug use, attacks on teachers, vandalism and theft, and racial conflicts; (2) Discovering the degree to which each of these problems had increased in magnitude in the recent turbulent period; and (3) Finding out the types of high schools in which each of the problems is especially located.

The second basic aspect of the study was to investigate the types of social control which are being used in high schools, or which might be used, to deal with the problems of student crime and disorder. In this part of the study we concentrated on field investigation, and interviews with school administrators, to see what conceptions they had about how to deal with their various problems of order, and what experience they could report. We approached this part of our investigation with a basic hypothesis in mind, on which we hoped to gather information. We suspected that student crime and disorder in schools might be related to – and potentially controlled by – the degree of community involvement in and loyalty to the school. Perhaps, in other words, the level of student-created disorder in the schools reflected to some extent the general alienation of the community in which the school was located, and could to some extent be modified by increasing the social ties between the school and community. Thus we were looking for evidence (1) that student disorders were greatest in schools which could be seen as poorly integrated with their communities; and (2) that school efforts to involve the community in the school appeared (according either to objective evidence, or the perceptions of administrators) to have some effect on modifying the levels of problems of disorder.

As we proceeded, the evidence led us in an unexpected direction. First, it was clear that a number of problems of student crime and disorder existed, and that many have increased in scope in recent years. Student political and ethnic disorders and protests have greatly increased (though they may have decreased somewhat during the last year or so). Drug use is increasingly widespread. Racial conflicts among students are fairly common. Vandalism and theft may have increased – though this may reflect a secular trend, not peculiar events in the structure of schools. Physical confrontations between students and teachers or administrators are not common, but have clearly increased in frequency in the last few years.

Second, problems of student control continue to be greatest in the types of schools which can be seen as most poorly tied to their student and community constituencies. Schools with working class, and especially minority-group, constituencies report more problems of attacks on teachers, drug use, vandalism and absenteeism. Minority-group schools tend to have more protests and political conflicts. Racial conflicts among students are most common in racially-mixed schools. However, all of these relationships (except perhaps the last) are less strong than might have been anticipated from the popular and case-report literature on the subject. We did not find that one or another general type of high school could be peculiarly set apart as the main locus of a crisis situation. The various problems of student control which we identified tend to be interrelated, but not so much so as to define a particular set of schools as completely distinctive.

The findings reported above tend to suggest that there is indeed a general crisis in social control in secondary schools. Our interviews with administrators, however, and our field investigations, suggested that this perspective does not accurately describe the situation. Objectively, many types of problems have increased in magnitude. But the secondary schools seem to have adapted to these problems in ways which permit the schools to continue to operate, by and large, in what all parties seem to consider an orderly way. The crucial observation of our study is that school administrators do not experience their primary problem as one of discipline and order. They have been able — with the aid of some broader social changes in recent years — to deal with the problems they experience in ways which make these problems seem to be of secondary importance in the conduct of the school.

The crucial idea which is necessary to understand what has taken place is the concept of externalization. The schools have come to terms with the idea that contemporary secondary school students have interests, roles, qualities, or commitments, entirely outside of both their families and the schools themselves. This development is greatly aided by changes in our wider society. Most Americans – partly because of all the public discussion about the problems of young people, and the problems of controlling them – have come to see a series of youth problems as quite general in our society, and in no way the particular responsibility of a given set of schools or school administrators.

Thus young people take drugs, probably in increasing numbers. This may be a massive problem among youth and in their relation with society, but it does not cause overwhelming problems in the relation – which is now conceived on narrower grounds – between students and the school. Most students have learned to regulate their drug consumption so as not to make it impossible for them to conform to school rules. And administrators have learned to handle exceptional problems on a case-by-case basis. The drug problem exists, but is externalized – in the definitions of practically all parties – from school to society.

Similarly, the political and ethnic commitments of the students have been defined by administrators as legitimate (or partly legitimate) external interests of students. Instead of seeing these as threats to the school, administrators try to adapt to them. And since these student commitments are primarily directed toward issues in the outside society, adaptation through negotiation is often easy. When the protests are directed toward the school, administrators also usually try to adapt, and since students are now seen as having legitimate commitments to their political and ethnic identities, the adaptation is defined by most administrators as reasonable and proper.

Externalization also continues to define the school's response to most cases of vandalism and theft. There is usually no proof that these are student behaviors, or are in any way related to the school organization. They are, therefore, seen as a part of a more general crime problem of youth in society, not of students in school.

Similarly, racial conflicts among students are defined by administrators (and apparently others) as stemming from societal problems. The schools are not seen as a target of these conflicts, and respond by adapting to them (creating cooling-off mechanisms, and so on).

Finally, direct attacks on the school, on teachers, or on administrators, are quite rare, and are not defined by the schools as a crucial problem.

In each of the cases discussed above, the schools cannot be seen as having solved a wider social problem. They have rather come to terms with what they see as societal problems, and since there is some agreement on this in the wider society, have been able to accomplish this change in perspective. Thus, young people are widely seen as independent persons, or citizens. The drug problem, the race problem, the political problem - all are seen as problems of young people in society. The schools adapt to these.

We believe that a major social change is occurring in the position of young people in society. They are increasingly asserting, and tacitly being allowed and encouraged to assert, their independence from familial and school controls. The schools have by and large been forced to acknowledge much of this independence, and have developed more limited controls and demands on student behavior.

The surrender of paternalistic authority by the schools of which we find so many examples creates two potential problems. First, it means that social attempts to regulate the behavior of young people are less and less able to work through the schools as mechanisms. The political, ethnic, and cultural (including drugs) tastes of young people, if they are to be defined as a problem, are a societal problem: the schools are making fewer efforts to restrict and control them. This creates a strain on all sorts of social control mechanisms outside the school. The contemporary conflicts between young people and the police reflect this strain - issues which the police and others used to turn over to families and schools for management can no longer be treated in this way.

The second problem created by the social change we are describing is not primarily a crime, or social control, problem at all. It is an educational problem - the schools have acknowledged the legitimate independence of young people, and now have to find more and more ways to appeal to this newly-defined constituency. We have discovered that there have in recent years been great increases in student absenteeism, and other forms of student non-participation in secondary schools. Most of the administrators with whom we talked, in fact, discussed this rather than the problem of disorder as their major concern. Young people are seen as having the right to make many more choices than in the past. Large numbers of them are choosing non-participation in schools - so many that the truancy control system in many areas has completely broken down. In any case, it is no longer completely legitimated by anyone, since young people are now seen as having more authority to decide their own behavior.

Our original hypothesis was that the traditional resort of the schools - closer ties with the surrounding community - might continue to be an effective means of regulating students. We find no evidence that this is so - or that most administrators think it is so. The school's problem now is not establishing ties with its external community constituency. It is rather that a new constituency has been defined and made legitimate - the students as an independent group. The new problem of the school is to establish better relations with this new constituency. In fact, administrators move in this direction by trying to improve communication with potentially dissident student groups (exactly as in the past they tried to relate to potentially dissident community elements), by developing mechanisms for handling grievances, and by symbolically or actually responding to student demands for changes in the school organization or curriculum.

These changes, so far as we can see, tend to solve many of the school's immediate problems of order. And in fact, violent protests and disorders directed at the schools seem to be subsiding - in part because administrators are more responsive. But many of the problems of young people in society outside the school are in no way resolved, and indeed may even be increased, by this change.

Thus the schools have adapted to the present turbulence by limiting their authority over the total lives of their students, and by responding to these students as independent persons and groups. They have, in a period of increasing youth turbulence, managed to get out of the line of fire. This has created an educational problem of new dimensions - how to appeal to the educational interests of young people - and has left many aspects of the problem of controlling the relation of young people with the wider society to other agencies or mechanisms.

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INTRODUCTION AND REVIEW OF THE RESULTS OF THE STUDY

1. The Original Problem of the Study

In the last few years, an extraordinary amount of public attention and concern has been focused on problems – especially "discipline" problems – in the schools. There have been many reports of difficulties in a wide range of areas. A general impression prevails that theft, vandalism, arson, assaults on teachers, students, and administrators, and related crimes have greatly increased in high schools, and have become major problems. It seems absolutely clear to everyone that drug use, racial conflicts, and political and other collective disorders have greatly increased in high schools since the quieter years of the early 1960s. It has appeared to many that these problems of crime and disorder have posed an overwhelming problem to the ordinary conduct of affairs in schools – particularly high schools – which required the active intervention of outside agencies. Some have proposed regular police intervention or participation in the maintenance of order in the schools. Others have proposed the creation of major support programs by which state or even federal agencies played a more active role in dealing with the problems of the schools.

The common feeling that the schools are under massive attack has been accompanied by at least some sophisticated public sentiment that perhaps they should be under attack. There has been a concentrated review, in the last few years, of the various failures of the American system of public education. This review has noted failures of internal structure: the mass bureaucratic processing of students – especially those who differ in important respects from the majority – in ways which conform neither to their real nor to their perceived interests, and which may violate some basic aspects of their rights as citizens. And failures in the outputs of the schools have also been noted: the extraordinary number of students, especially in the minority groups which are now concentrated in central cities, who appear to learn very little in the schools, who find little that is experienced as relevant to their needs, and who leave schools with neither the appropriate substantive education nor the appropriate credentials for further occupational or educational achievement. Many people have argued that the apparent breakdown in social control in the American high school reflects and results from the failure of the schools as convincing and legitimate educational institutions.

This line of argument leads to the idea that one way in which high schools might effectively deal with (and control) some of their problems of crime and disorder might be to try to improve their ties with, and perceived relevance for, their basic constituencies - the students and their parents in the surrounding community. This is by no means a new idea for American schools. Historically, the basic way in which the American system of education expanded to its extraordinary extent, and maintained its high level of support from many sectors of the institutional structure, was by being extremely adaptive to the educational demands made by the environment. A system of local control has been dominant, creating continuous inputs from the community to the school. All sorts of liaison organizations - most notably the system of Parent-Teachers Associations - have been developed. The schools, even including the universities, have been very quick to adopt new sorts of technical and vocational instruction which might appeal to constituency groups in the student body and in the surrounding community. And a whole system of "extra-curricular" activities have been sponsored by the school system, in good part to maintain the loyalty of the community and the mass of the students. Athletic activities of the most highly developed sort, with only a modicum of formal educational justification, have clearly played this role. All in all the idea that the American high school structure might once again be able to control its internal problems by adapting to and incorporating the demands of its basic constituencies seemed very reasonable.

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In our study, we thus began with several straightforward aims:

We wanted to document the extent of the problems in the high schools – the degree to which problems of crime and disorder had increased, and had become major issues in the conduct of affairs in the school.

2. It was also important to see which kinds of high schools seemed to be experiencing the greatest difficulties. To what extent did it seem likely that those schools which for one reason or another had the weakest support in their student and community constituencies were experiencing the greatest difficulties with increased problems of social control?
3. We wanted to study the responses of the high schools to their increased levels of problems of control. To what extent were the schools responding to problems of control by employing direct methods of control, and to what extent were they responding by increasing their attempts to gain the broader support of their students and communities, presumably by extending the basis of student and community control?

We did not expect to be able to prove that particular school responses to problems of crime and disorder were clearly successful. It was, however, important to obtain what evidence we could that school attempts to incorporate the loyalties and interests of their constituencies seemed to have some effects on reducing their levels of problems.

These, then, were the original aims of our study. We attempted to accomplish them by collecting two types of information, which are described in great detail in the section on Methods, below. First, we obtained the data from two recent nationwide surveys of schools. Both of these studies obtained nationwide questionnaire responses of high school principals, and included some questions asking the principals about problems of social control and crime in their schools. Using these data, we tried to get evidence on the extent of problems of crime and disorder, the extent to which these problems had increased in recent years, and the types of schools which seemed to be having the most difficulties of specific kinds.

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Second, we interviewed a good many principals, district officers, and student control administrators in a number of high school districts in the San Francisco Bay area of California. From both the comments of these people, and from their formal records, we attempted to survey the problems of social control they were experiencing as well as their efforts to deal with these problems. We were interested in their experience in trying out various methods of control, ranging from those involving the police to those involving the good will of students and the surrounding community.

2. An Overview of the Findings of the Study as Originally Conceived

The detailed findings on our study's original problems are contained in the two chapters which follow. We can outline them, however, here.

A number of behavior problems in high schools clearly increased during the period of the late 1960s. Student drug use became more common. Political and racial protests increased. Group racial conflicts in integrated schools may have increased to a lesser extent. Assaults on, and confrontations with, teachers and administrators also seem to have increased, though few schools report these among their major problems.

Problems of vandalism, arson, and theft are more difficult to generalize about. Really comparable data over time are hard to acquire. There seems to have been some increase in problems in these areas, but the extent to which they are primarily school-related is in some question. Much vandalism and theft is not seen by administrators as closely related to the school organization itself, but is believed rather to be part of a general pattern of crime. It is thus similar, not to problems of control in schools, but to police problems related to business and residential property generally.

The common opinion has it that problems of crime and disorder in high schools are concentrated in the working class and ghetto schools in central cities. To some extent our data confirm this widely held view, but the correlations between school characteristics (or school location) and the types of problems which principals report are smaller than had been expected. Problems of vandalism, theft, drug use, and assault do tend to be most commonly mentioned in large, big-city schools with primarily minority student bodies, but the differences between these and other schools are not always great. Racial conflicts are most commonly found in schools which have substantial numbers of both blacks and whites in their student bodies, and are much less common in primarily black and primarily white schools. Political (and to some extent racial) protest activities are more widely distributed.

A wide variety of control methods can be found in the high schools we studied. Some schools are quick to take issues of crime and disorder to the police, while others attempt to deal with them internally. In dealing with conspicuous problems created by drug use, for example, we found schools which turn all such cases over to the police immediately, and other schools which attempt to deal with the student using the regular counselling structure.

In searching for evidence that the schools were trying, in dealing with problems of crime and disorder, to strengthen their ties with their student and community constituencies, we found only a little direct evidence. Practically all the schools we studied had evolved ways of dealing in this way with organized pressures and conflicts in their own student bodies. Principals and disciplinary officers have learned to keep their doors open to student political and racial group leaders. They have found that specific requests from such groups – demands for the right to hold a given meeting, for changes in the curriculum, and so on – can frequently be dealt with through direct communication, which can head off; more extreme protest activities. Similarly, schools with racially mixed student bodies have learned to deal with racial group conflicts by various mechanisms designed to cool off the actual or potential participants. We also found that in general administrators were attempting to find ways to incorporate at least nominally or respond to student opinion in a variety of areas. Few special efforts of this kind seem to have been directed toward the wider community, however, and few administrators seemed to regard such efforts as a useful way to deal with problems of school crime and disorder.

Administrative efforts to lower student protest by incorporating student views in decision-making processes, however, do not seem to have gone very far in most high schools. They seem to be a way of adapting to a few rather limited problems, and a way of acknowledging that students have interests and activities which lie entirely outside the school structure.

3. The Redirection of the Study: A Changed View of the Situation

We began our study with the view that a potential crisis of social control was to be found in the high schools. We interviewed school administrators and disciplinary officials with the expectation that they would perceive themselves and their schools as under a kind of attack or siege. And some of our formal data - showing the striking increase in drug use or political activity, for instance - seemed to confirm this commonly-held picture of the situation of the American high school in 1971.

There is a good deal of evidence that all sorts of student behaviors which may be seen as disorderly or even criminal may have increased in the past few years. But our interviews with school administrators did not seem to indicate that they found the social control of their student bodies a primary problem in running the school. Evidence on teachers shows similar results. Everett (1971) in an analysis of teacher job satisfaction, found that teacher reports of problems in the behavior of their students were not the most central determinants of satisfaction with their work. Thus, while objective measures of student "problem" behaviors seem to indicate that they have increased, the schools do not seem to experience these problems as their most difficult ones. Much of our discussion in this report is given over to an explanation of why this is so.

One explanation can be ruled out immediately. School personnel were not particularly attempting to conceal evidence of problematic behavior among their students. When we brought up these subjects, they seemed quite willing to discuss them, to show the evidence they had relative to the problems, and so on. In only a very few cases did we find any indication that these subjects were uncomfortable, or that interviewees were attempting to conceal problems. One reason for this – and one reason why school personnel may not be as sensitive as in the past about the problems of social control or discipline they face – is that it is widely understood in the country that young people are involved in many behaviors which others consider criminal or disorderly. Thus school administrators can be more open about the problems they face, precisely because these problems are understood to be not of their own creation or special responsibility, but rather nationwide.

The most important finding of our study is that the picture of the American high school as under siege, or in a state of crisis of law enforcement, is not shared by those within the schools with whom we talked. We expected constant discussions of police problems and problems of order, and participants were, in fact, willing to talk about such problems. But usually the discussion would shift to a discussion of their "real problems." And what were these? The major problems reported by school administrators – including disciplinary officials – had to do, not with student attacks on the school, but with student indifference to it. "Our students don't seem very interested in what we have to offer." "We have a problem of finding ways of making their studies relevant to the students." "We have an attendance problem." "We have trouble getting the students to go to class." It soon became clear to us that school leaders were facing what they saw as an educational problem, much more than a problem of crime and order.

While it was not our primary aim to investigate the educational problems of the high schools, discussions of these problems helped us to formulate and deal with a revised version of our basic problem. In view of the fact that many types of high school student behavior which could be seen as criminal, disorderly, or both, have apparently increased considerably in recent years, why were these behaviors not seen in the high schools context as an organizational problem of great magnitude? Students are involved in drug use; they engage in all sorts of political and racial protests; to an increased extent they make a variety of demands on the school, and in many ways assert their independence. How has the high school structure changed such that these behaviors are not seen as overwhelming school problems?

The basic answer to this question is extremely important. It leads directly to our ultimate recommendations. The relation between the high school student and his school has come to be recognized by both parties as a very limited one. During the recent period, high school students have been responding to political, ethnic, cultural, and age-group interests and tastes which lie quite outside the structure of the school. While these external pressures have created some problems for the school, the basic school response to them has been to externalize them - to adapt to them without attempting to manage or control them. Thus the high school and its students have, in the last few years, adapted to a relationship in which the school is seen as having a limited and partial place in the life of the student, and only a very limited responsibility to control broader aspects of his behavior. In dealing with drug problems, racial conflicts, and political pressures, schools and students have responded by working out adequate ad hoc arrangements to permit the school organization to go on, while the problems are acted out elsewhere. The problems still exist, but neither the students nor the school administrators see them as primarily relevant to the school.

The importance of this basic change in the relation of the high school and its students lies in the fact that what a few years ago might have been conceived as a variety of social control (or "crime") problems among high school students - problems to be dealt with in and by the school - are not seen as problems of youth in society. Racial, political, and drug use problems are seen by both the students and the ~~odn-in-fet-rat-nrts~~ as behavior relevant to, directed at, and to be managed by the wider society, not particularly the high school. They are thus problems in American politics, law, and race relations, not primarily problems in the school. The school simply adapts by trying to get out of the line of fire. In the chapters which follow, we discuss some aspects of this process in detail.

At this point, we turn to a general review of the social change in position or status of the high school student, which has been at the root of the school's solution to its problems of social control, and which has created the newer "educational" problems about which administrators were so concerned.

4. The Student as an Independent Person

In trying to explain what has happened to the position of high school students in the school, and in American society, we can make an analogy with the long process by which another subordinate group – the working and lower classes – achieved relative independence over a long period of time in the modernization and industrialization of Western society. In many respects the analogy is close – just as workers came to be seen as citizens, dependent not on the authority of their landowners or supervisors but on their own choices and desires, college and now high school students have increasingly been defined as having rights of their own. Students have acquired, that is to say, an increased level of citizenship. To understand what this means, we can briefly consider the process by which the working classes acquired the broader rights of citizenship in the 18th and 19th centuries – a process which also involved a considerable amount of social turbulence and disorder.

The commercial and industrial revolutions of the 18th and 19th centuries brought huge numbers of rural dependent poor people to the cities and to the market economy. Great social instabilities resulted, including riots, revolutions, arson, vandalism, inter-group conflicts of all sorts, attacks on factory structures, extremist political ideologies and practices, and very high levels of crime. This period produced, in fact, the social invention of the civilian police force (Silver 1967). In developing countries, the same processes are going on now, with many of the same consequences (including the development and expansion of police forces).

Along with police forces, industrialization produced a whole welter of other institutional arrangements defining ordinary (or, in the language of the times, "poor") people as independent, autonomous, and legitimate members of society. Thus the broad concept of the rights of citizenship developed and expanded (see the classic reviews of this process by Marshall 1948 and Bendix 1964). Beginning with a narrow conception of civil rights (that is, the individual's protection from the coercive power of the state) all the other rights which we now take for granted, and which acknowledge the individual's standing as an independent being, developed. Thus the right to vote, to an education, to health and welfare services, to a job, to free expression, to free assembly and organization, and so on.

The creation of the network of rights and obligations which define the ordinary working person as an independent, autonomous and responsible citizen can be seen, just as much as the creation of the police system, as a mechanism of integrating, stabilizing, and controlling large groups of people in modern society.

Some elements of this same process – the extension of what we call "citizenship" – have been occurring in the high schools in response to the difficulties and pressures of recent years. Students, teachers, administrators, and to some extent members of the wider society, have come to see high school students as persons having autonomous rights, duties, interests, and so on, entirely apart from those qualities created by, maintained in, and controlled by the formal structure of the high school.

In our view, the recent changes in perspective on student-school relations have been drastic, even though the changes in ordinary school routine may actually have been quite minor. In order to make the changes clear, we describe their impact on some specific problems of social control:

1. Drugs: Students take all sorts of drugs. If the school assumes responsibility for the whole social behavior of the student, drug use can be seen as a frightening school problem. In the early years of the present wave of drug use, some schools took this perspective. Now, however, few schools or school administrators seem to look at the situation this way. So long as students conduct themselves reasonably in relation to the school organization, the fact that they sometimes consume drugs is not seen as primarily a problem for which the school can take responsibility. Drug use may be a youth problem, but it has become less distinctively a school problem. This social change has occurred among students as well as among school administrators. Students, by and large, have learned to regulate their private patterns of drug use so as not to disturb too greatly their participation in the routine of the school.

Of course, school administrators must still occasionally deal with a problem of wildly inappropriate behavior on the part of an individual student created by drug use, but this is not very difficult. Administrators must also deal with the problem of drug sales on school grounds (a situation for which the schools typically still continue to assume their historic wider paternalistic responsibility.)

Thus, students as citizens choose to consume drugs. Administrators and students, however, have learned to see this as private behavior on the part of the students, and as lying in good part outside the responsibility of the school. Thus, while drug use may be a nationwide youth problem, we did not find it to be a school problem of overwhelming magnitude, as the situation was defined by administrators. Simply by learning to live with student drug use, and by teaching a generation of students to control their drug use on school grounds during school hours, the schools have been able to continue routine operations.

Political and racial protests: Administrators have similarly learned to manage the problems created by student political and racial activity by redefining this activity as part of the autonomous interests and rights of the students. In the past, political and racial organizations, meetings, and protests have been seen as an attack on the school. The typical school, that is, has frequently treated student attempts to organize dissident political groups, publish dissident political or group ideas, organize political or racial protest meetings, or organize racial or ethnic protest organizations, as if they were illegitimate. School administrators tended to assume responsibility for managing the entire public lives of the young people of the community.

The tradition of assuming that high school students are members only of their families and of the all-embracing school produced enormous pressures toward uniformity among students (Friedenberg 1963). Any attempt to make sharp distinctions among young people was seen as undemocratic and in a sense subversive of the school as an institution regulating the total public lives of its students.

The events of the 1960s have dramatically changed this situation. Everyone has become aware that young people – quite apart from their membership in and feelings about schools – have strong interests in political and racial issues. They are, that is to say, now understood to be citizens with rights of their own.

The schools now permit students to be organized. Most of them permit (at least tacitly) changes in the organization of the curricular day when student groups feel that they need them. Most of the administrators have learned to discuss problems with student groups – groups which a few years ago would have seemed improper in themselves – and group leaders. Schools with black students have chapters of the Black Students Union. There are many political organizations. And so on.

These changes could not have occurred in the schools without corresponding changes in the wider society, or else administrators would have come under greater external attack. But young people are now widely understood, in our society, to have views and tastes and political ideas of their own. Their organization in terms of these interests – and the schools' acquiescence in this organization – is apparently seen rather widely as necessary or proper.

The changes have taken place not only in the community, or in the administration of the schools, but among the students as well. Students no longer see all their tastes, organizations or interests as controlled by and located in the school. Their activities are directed externally too. Thus student ethnic or political organizations frequently direct their activities not toward disrupting or attacking the school organization, but toward external aims. Issues still frequently arise – whether or not the students can have a special assembly on a topic which interests them, whether the school will permit a given type of activity, and so on – but neither the students nor the administrators see these tensions and negotiations as representing essentially irreconcilable conflicts. By and large, administrators see organized ethnic and political groups in their student bodies as easier to deal with than more unstructured and unstable pressures and conflicts.

3. Racial group conflicts: In the past, conflicts among student groups have been seen by administrators as representing attacks on the school. Such conflicts bring out in the open a heterogeneity of interests and identities among students which threatens any claim which the school might make as an all-embracing organ of the community.

Racial conflicts have increased, but administrators appear not to see them as representing attacks on the school. In integrated schools they are seen as a constant potential danger, but administrators find mechanisms with which to try to deal with them. Their efforts are greatly aided by external changes in our society, in which it is now widely recognized that massive latent racial conflicts and potential conflicts exist. Thus if racial difficulties arise in schools, administrators are less likely than in the past to be the main targets of public criticism – it is understood that the basic racial conflict in the country, and the basic racial discriminations, have not been invented by occasional high school principals.

Administrators (and participating students, by and large) thus deal with racial problems as external problems to which the school organization must adapt. It may be necessary to close the school for several days, or to have a series of meetings with representative students or the entire student body, and so on. But in the long run, the school organization responds to such possibilities as representing an external problem, and only secondarily any failure of the school.

4. The same processes seem to have made school organizations and administrators less sensitive to such problems as theft or vandalism. The wide recognition in our society that such problems are general among many young people has made it clearer to administrators that these problems (while they must be adapted to) are neither primarily attacks on the school, nor created by the local school's failures.

5. The Crime Problem

The sections above make it clear that the schools have adapted to the turbulence of the last few years in ways which make their social control problems – their ability to continue to function in ways which have traditionally been defined as educationally and organizationally sound – seem less critical than a simple review of the changed student behavior which they confront might suggest. Since administrators, teachers, students, and apparently the wider community define many of the behaviors of students as reflecting general problems, conflicts, interests, and so on, the school structure has adapted to them, by and large without attempting to control them.

This leads to our overall basic recommendation on problems of crime and violence in the schools:

There are many problems of criminal and disorderly behavior among high school aged American young people, which may if we choose be seen as urgent national problems of policing or law enforcement. They cannot be attacked, however, as peculiarly high school problems, although some of them may be more intense in schools than elsewhere. High schools no longer take complete responsibility for the public lives of their students, and have given up (or "externalized") many problems; adapting to them rather than controlling them. It is unlikely that an attack on the "youth crime" problem which seeks to return students (in their public and personal behavior) to the jurisdictional control of the high school will be successful.

Thus, while any attempt to attack a crime problem among young people might, as a matter of strategy, work through school organizations, it is unwise to mount a major national effort to deal with school crime or disorder as a distinctive problem.

It is important to make it very clear that we are not suggesting that there is no national law enforcement problem relating to young people. The recent upsurge in **turbulence** among young people - a change of which we find a great deal of evidence in our own data on pohnnip - - rcty easily be seen as a crime problem. Our point is rather that the school has tended to get out of the line of fire of this turbulence, which in any case tends to be directed toward issues which are much more general than the school - national issues, racial conflicts, youth-culture tastes, and so on. Neither the schools nor, apparently, the students define the youth problems of the 1970s as directed at, or likely to be solved by, the school.

Thus, none of the school administrators and disciplinary officers with whom we talked suggested that a national (or state, for that matter) effort should be peculiarly directed toward the law enforcement problem in schools. They see the national problems of youth as occurring on a much broader basis than the narrowly-defined base of the high school. And they see the high school as fairly successfully maintaining its present role as a bystander in dealing with the large law enforcement issues and problems of the place and behavior of youth in society. And they would not take kindly to the suggestion that the high school should return to the line of fire - that it should again take responsibility for the whole range of behaviors of young people. Administrators, whether educationally "liberal" or "conservative," have no taste for an attempt to police every pocket and locker, censor every ethnic or political organizaiton, and turn the high school organization into a special, extra-police security force protecting the school's windows and property.

6. The Educational Problem

Our basic observation that the high school seems to face fewer distinctive law enforcement problems because it has given up much of its broader role in loco parentis, and simply adapts to the changing behavior patterns of its students does not lead to the assertion that the school organization faces few problems. We are simply pointing out that the school has, by withdrawing from an aggressive attempt to control student behavior, adapted to the increased turbulence of the students. And because this turbulence is not directed primarily at the school, the school organization is able to survive despite what are, as objectively measured, increased rates of deviant student behavior.

But the school's retreat from a claim to status as the institution defining and regulating the social identity of American young people has created an important new problem – one that is primarily educational, not criminal. Our review of the problems of schools suggests that a whole network of difficulties have emerged for schools around the issue of student attendance and participation. Briefly:

1. At all sorts of high schools, student attendance rates have declined. The rates continue to be lowest in minority group and lower class schools, but the declines are found almost everywhere.
2. Even among those students recorded as attending high school on a given day, rates of actual class attendance (or participation in prescribed activities) have declined. Sometimes – as when the school allows students a certain number of cuts, or permits students to have completely free periods – the school legitimates student freedom. But students often do not participate in classes and rather "hang around" the hallways of the school or the streets around it, even when full-time class participation is nominally required.
3. In attempting to maintain student interest, many schools have tried to adapt: (a) by creating more interesting curricula; (b) by developing alternative forms of instruction; or (c) by creating programs such as "continuation" schools which require only a minimum of actual participation.

By withdrawing - or being forced to withdraw - its claim to being a universal institution controlling the entire public lives of American young people - the high school has partially "solved" its problem of law enforcement, but has developed a quieter crisis of legitimacy. Students, teachers, and administrators are no longer quite clear that the high school offers programs which are relevant and important to student needs. The student is now defined as having interests and concerns outside the school apparatus. And once the school (and our society at large) has acknowledged these interests as legitimate and important, it is not always clear why a student should participate in the world of the school rather than doing "his own thing."

The situation could be defined as one in which there is massive truancy, or formal violation of the school attendance laws. But the term "truancy," and the system of formal legal controls which once was centered on this term, have almost disappeared. Rates of school non-attendance are so high, and non-attendance takes so many partial and semi-legitimated forms, that the attempt to define the situation as involving truancy is likely to be ineffective.

Of course it has always been true that much of the activity of the American high school would have been hard to justify to its students – had their right to raise such questions been granted. Many students learn very little in schools. The relevance to the future lives of the students of what is learned has always been quite questionable. And certainly it has always been difficult to explain to a student – if it had to be explained to him – why he should really be interested, or even willing to participate, in the formal curriculum of the school. The tradition of American secondary education answered these questions, not in substance, but through its culturally-conferred power: The high school's relevance was established by the fact that it was defined as the institution everyone had to pass through on the way to adulthood, and even more by the fact that the high school controlled tightly the basic routes to successful adulthood in American society. But now neither the students nor the schools are so certain that all this is really true, or that if true it is really legitimate.

Thus, administrators, in our interviews with them, shifted from law enforcement problems to their basic educational problem – how are they to keep the students in school, to keep them interested and participating, to give them a feeling that their studies are relevant to their lives and their interests, and so on. Large numbers of students do not choose to participate. They attend school rarely or infrequently, and even when attending, participate minimally. Absorbing their interest and participation is a major problem for contemporary school administrators. None of the administrators we talked with considered this as a law enforcement (or truancy) problem, or even primarily as a problem in maintaining order in the school. They conceived it to be an educational problem.

Thus the same social processes which have removed the school from its primary locus at a crisis of law enforcement in controlling American young people have also removed it from its absolutely dominant position in controlling young people from an educational perspective, and have raised many questions about the relevance of the schools which are extremely difficult to answer.

It is not our task to deal directly with the "attendance problem" since it seems unreasonable to consider it primarily a problem in law enforcement or in the maintenance of order. We rather note it with such emphasis because (a) it seems to be a problem of considerable magnitude; (b) school officials consider it, rather than the problem of crime or order, to be their most central problem; and (c) it illustrates very well precisely that withdrawal or "externalization" by which we believe that the high school has adapted to the contemporary problems of turbulence among American young people.

Like the American college, the high school has given up in many areas its claim to control over its students. It has retreated to more narrowly-defined educational problems. In doing so, it has become less of a locus of confrontation in dealing with a whole range of problems of crime or law enforcement or the simple maintenance of the paternalistic order controlling young people. But it has raised a whole series of new problems in defending its status as a presumptively universally relevant educational structure. Once it has been acknowledged that the high school student has a whole series of rights, interests, identities, and so on, which lie outside the school, the problem of justifying the schools' programs in terms of the interests of the newly-independent student becomes major. For if the student is now seen as having a perspective of his own, and interests of his own, school attendance can no longer be explained to him simply as an arbitrarily required activity, but must be at least partially justified in terms of his own ideas, needs, and interests. At the present, for many young people, the available rules and justifications seem to be unconvincing.

CHAPTER II

METHODS

This chapter will discuss the sources of data utilized in this report. The study relied on two basic sources. The first involved interviews with Bay Area administrators in district offices and high schools. The second source was a secondary analysis of two recent nation-wide surveys of high school administrators, the Equality of Educational Opportunity Study (1965) and the Disruption in Urban Public Secondary Schools Survey (1970).

1. Field Study

After initially visiting five school districts in the Bay Area, we decided to concentrate on the large urban districts of Oakland and San Francisco. The objectives of this exploratory project were to find out

1. the nature and extent of problems of order in high schools
2. changes in the incidence of these problems
3. plausible causes and possible remedies
4. types of available data in administrative records

We interviewed fourteen administrators in the two district offices and visited nine high schools. Here we talked to principals, vice-principals, and deans - administrators who had day to day contact with disciplinary problems in their schools. Figure 2-1 presents the basic format of the interview.

Figure 2-1

Interview Schedule in Field Study of
Oakland and San Francisco High Schools

How much of a problem do you have here with vandalism?

- (a) What types of vandalism are most common?
- (b) How has the amount and the pattern of vandalism changed over the last few years?
- (c) What sorts of formal records do you keep on vandalism in your school (district)?

How much of a problem do you have here with student unrest?

- (a) What types of disturbances are most common?
- (b) Has the amount and pattern of unrest changed over the last few years?
- (c) Do you keep formal records on racial conflicts or disturbances, or on other types of unrest?

How much of a problem do you have here with drug use?

- (a) What types of problems (and drugs) are most common?
- (b) How was the amount and pattern of drug use changed over the last few years?
- (c) What sorts of formal records do you keep on drug problems in this school (district)?

What student political organizations do you have?

- (a) How active or militant would you say that they are?
- (b) How has the pattern of political activity changed over the last few years?

Do outside organizations attempt to influence or manipulate student groups in this school (or district)?

- (a) (If yes) What outside organizations are involved?
- (b) Has the pattern of outside influence changed over the last few years?

How involved is the student body here in attempting to change the curriculum of the school, or other school rules?

- (a) Has student interest in these topics changed in the last few years?

How interested in school affairs are parent and other groups in the community?

- (a) How has the pattern of external involvement changed over the last few years?

What do you see as the causes of vandalism in schools?

- (a) What kinds of people do you think engage in vandalism (i.e., students or nonstudents)?

- (b) What attempts have been made here to control vandalism? Are you satisfied with these efforts?
 - (c) What additional efforts do you think might be useful?
 - (d) What do you think will be the long-run solution to this problem?
9. What do you see as the causes of student disturbances and unrest?
- (a) What kinds of students are most involved in such disturbances?
 - (b) What attempts are made here to control disturbances? How does the administration of this school (district) respond to unrest? Are you satisfied with these efforts?
 - (c) What additional efforts do you think might be useful?
 - (d) What do you think will be the long-run solution to these problems?
10. What do you see as the causes of drug abuse among the students?
- (a) What kinds of students are most involved in drug abuse?
 - (b) What attempts are made here to control drug use?
 - (c) What additional efforts do you think might be useful?
 - (d) What do you think will be the long-run solution to this problem?

We wish to point out some limitations of the field study that might bias some of the information that we obtained in this phase of the study. By confining our interviews to administrators, we essentially ignored the possibility that teachers, students, and outside community members could have a very different view of the nature, seriousness, and correlates of various problems of order in the school. Conflicts of viewpoints and interests between teachers and administrators are built into the school organization (see, for example, Gross, Mason, and McEachern, 1958). We might expect, for example, that teachers would see classroom discipline as more of a problem.

Second, our field work was confined to the Bay Area, which is representative of the rest of the nation neither in its social and political climate nor in the quality of its schools. The area has always been a major national center of political liberalism. In recent years the area has become the birthplace of the Black Panther Party, the student protest movement, the hippie culture and other political and countercultural movements and influences. Perhaps the most potent local influences on high school disorders has been the student activism on local college campuses, notably the Berkeley campus of the University of California and San Francisco State College. While Bay Area high schools may be somewhat unique compared to the rest of the nation in the magnitude of problems of order, there is every reason to believe that these schools are archetypes; high schools throughout the nation have in varying degrees encountered the same trends and experienced problems of essentially the same nature as those we found in our field study of Bay Area high schools.

2. National Surveys

Two national surveys provide us with data that are more strictly representative of the nation's schools. Both surveys consisted of mailed questionnaires. The samples relevant for our purposes are limited, again, to high school administrators. Data from these surveys provide us with information about the nature and extent of problems of order in the nation's high schools, the types of schools and areas in which the problems are most severe, and the changes in these problems of order over time.

The Equality of Educational Opportunity survey, conducted in 1965, was directed toward a broad range of issues concerning the quality of schools and their effect on academic achievement. The original survey gathered data from students, teachers, and administrators. The survey of principals contains seven questions that are directly relevant to the issue of problems of order in schools (see Figure 2-2). We have utilized responses to these questions as well as data on school characteristics provided in the same questionnaire. We eliminated from the sample all combination schools (kindergarten to twelfth grade), which left a sample of 525 schools. This sample, it should be noted, is not a representative sample of the nation's high schools; because of the interest in the conditions of black schools, these are overrepresented in the sample. In analyzing these data, therefore, we have utilized appropriate statistical controls.

The Survey of Disruption in Urban Secondary Schools (1970), unlike the first survey, was primarily concerned with problems of disorder in high schools. This survey included 881 high school principals and concentrated on high schools in large urban areas. The relevant questions on disorder from this survey are presented in Figure 2-3.

Figure 2-2

Equality of Educational Opportunity Survey Questions

For each of the following areas, indicate whether there are problems of discipline with the students in this school.

1. Is there a problem of destruction of school property?

- A. Yes, severe
- B. Yes, moderate
- C. Yes, slight
- D. None

Is there a problem of impertinence and discourtesy to teachers?

(same)

Is there a problem of tension between racial or ethnic groups?

(same)

Is there a problem of stealing of a serious nature (money, cars, etc.)?

(same)

Is there a problem of physical violence against teachers?

(same)

Is there a problem of using narcotics or stimulants?

(same)

Is there a problem of drinking intoxicants on school property?

(game)

Figure 2-2

Disruption in Urban Secondary Schools Survey Questions

Have any of the following events occurred in your school during the past three years? If no, indicate by selecting (a). If yes, indicate to what extent each was caused by racial conflict by selecting (b), (c), or (d).

- | | |
|--|---|
| 14. Teacher boycott, walkout, or strike | (a) did not occur (b) no racial basis
(c) somewhat racial (d) substantial racial basis |
| 15. Student boycott, walkout, or strike | (a) did not occur (b) no racial basis
(c) somewhat racial (d) substantial racial basis |
| 16. Arson | (a) did not occur (b) no racial basis
(c) somewhat racial (d) substantial racial basis |
| 17. Property damage other than arson | (a) did not occur (b) no racial basis
(c) somewhat racial (d) substantial racial basis |
| 18. Rioting | (a) did not occur (b) no racial basis
(c) somewhat racial (d) substantial racial basis |
| 19. Student-teacher physical confrontation | (a) did not occur (b) no racial basis
(c) somewhat racial (d) substantial racial basis |
| 20. Picketing or parading | (a) did not occur (b) no racial basis
(c) somewhat racial (d) substantial racial basis |
| 21. Presence on campus of unruly, unauthorized, non-school persons | (a) did not occur (b) no racial basis
(c) somewhat racial (d) substantial racial basis |
| 22. Abnormal unruliness among students | (a) did not occur (b) no racial basis
(c) somewhat racial (d) substantial racial basis |

One final caveat. The data reported from these surveys give us the proportion of schools of a certain type that have experienced a given problem. The data reveal the incidence of a problem – how widespread the problem is within a category of schools – and not the intensity of the problem – how severe or frequent it is within any given school. For example, we will see in the next chapter that about the same proportion of rural schools report a problem of vandalism as do urban schools. The severity, or frequency of vandalism may, however, be greater in the urban schools. The reader should, therefore, remember in interpreting the data from these surveys that the figures reflect how widespread the problem is, and not necessarily how intense it is.

Chapter 3: A REVIEW OF SOME SPECIFIC PROBLEMS OF DISCIPLINE AND SOCIAL CONTROL
IN SCHOOLS

In this chapter, we focus on specific problems in schools which seem to be of some concern in the present period. We deal with these problems in the ways in which they occur in the thinking of educational administrators and the public. Vandalism, for instance, is not a very clear category of student deviant behavior, but administrative records and the public mind lump many types of behavior together under this heading. Similarly there are many types of racial conflicts - conflicts between students of differing ethnic groups, hostility toward the school by members of one or another group, and policy disagreements or protests by organized ethnic groups on one or another specific aspect of the school. It turns out that what we had originally imagined to be a set of conflicts between minority group students and the schools are in fact more commonly conflicts between students of differing ethnicity which involve the school only as a third party.

Similarly, we consider the problems of student drug use, confrontations with and attacks on teachers, and problems of organized student disruptions.

In each case, we try to review both the formal evidence from the surveys of school principals about the extent of the problem, changes in the problem over the last few years, and the types of schools in which the problem is concentrated. We then consider the more qualitative evidence from our interviews with Bay Area school administrators, to see how they conceive the problem, and how they try to deal with it.

Throughout this chapter, the reader will note a difference in viewpoint between our two types of evidence. The formal surveys generally show substantial reports of various kinds of problems. In several instances, they suggest that a given control problem has greatly increased in magnitude in recent years. And typically they show at least some concentration of the problem in a few types of schools – typically large urban working-class or ghetto high schools – although these concentrations were in general much less than we had anticipated.

Our interview evidence, however, suggests that administrators do not see the present period as representing some kind of crisis in social control in the schools. Many of their problems, they believe, arise from larger conflicts and problems concerning the relationship of young people and the society, not attacks of some kind on the school. And the community in which school administrators work tends to support this view. The very fact that certain types of deviant behavior have increased among young people on something like a nationwide basis has taken the onus or the pressure away from individual school administrators.

Further, school administrators have generally found ways to deal with the control problems within the school, in good part by adapting to them. Thus, while drug use among young people can be considered a nationwide epidemic, both students and administrators have learned to regulate it so that it is not seen as in any way an overwhelming problem of order in the schools. The same thing is true of student political and racial protests. They may indicate nationwide alienation, but the schools, as limited social institutions, have learned to live with them fairly easily.

Thus, the fact that young people evidence certain kinds of deviant, or criminal, or disorderly behavior at present does not mean that this behavior is either directed primarily against, or very disruptive of, the school. A basic conclusion of our study is that the schools have managed to get out of the line of fire on many of the issues we discuss. This can be seen as an irresponsible abnegation of responsibility on the part of administrators, or as a healthy retreat by the school to its more limited educational functions.

1. Vandalism

Vandalism is one apparent problem of order that has received a great deal of public attention in recent years. The cost of school vandalism is enormous - perhaps as much as \$200 million a year - and during the 1960's there were a number of indications that the incidence of vandalism in the nation's schools was increasing rapidly (Greenberg, 1969). While it is fairly clear that vandalism is a problem that imposes a major drain on school resources, it is not at all clear from the inds of evidence currently available what the nature of the vandalism problem is. On the one hand, vandalism could be taken as an index of a crisis in the relationship between the school and its student constituency. On the other hand, vandalism may not be an internal problem of the school; school vandalism may have little to do with the school itself, but simply be a particular instance of a more widespread community problem of vandalism that affects public and commercial property generally.

Definition: Vandalism is generally conceived either narrowly as malicious mischief or broadly as non-accidental property damage. The narrow conception is more fruitful for analysis of problems of order in schools since malicious mischief may be considered one indicator of student discontent. Administrative statistics, however, are primarily cost-accounting procedures that reflect the former category rather than the latter. Data on vandalism, therefore, cannot be viewed as a very precise indicator of a basic, underlying problem of order in the schools.

Non-accidental property damage arises from two main sources that appear to be unrelated to the problem of order among high school students. These exogenous sources are theft-connected damage and damage by non-students. Theft is a major and increasingly costly financial problem for high schools. Theft, however, appears to be unrelated to problems of internal order within the school. School theft is often carried out by professional thieves or their apprentices, occasionally equipped with burglar's tools. Theft is primarily an instrumental activity, not an expression of hostility or alienation directed against the school. This is reflected by the nature of the objects stolen: electric typewriters, adding machines, audio-visual equipment. These objects have a high and fast resale value. Further, the use of this kind of equipment by schools has greatly increased in recent years. The availability of such equipment and the relatively open and public nature of school buildings have undoubtedly been major contributors to the rise of losses due to theft in recent years. While it may be useful to lump theft together with malicious mischief in considering physical security measures for high schools, theft appears to be irrelevant to a consideration of problems of order within the school itself.

Vandalism and Types of Schools: Data from the Equality of Educational Opportunity study (1965) provide national data on the incidence of vandalism and its correlates. About three fourths of the high schools
*
in this survey report some problems of damage to school property. Table 3-1A indicates that the incidence of vandalism is fairly uniform across types of community. Surprisingly, schools in rural and small town districts are almost as likely to report a problem of vandalism as schools in large urban areas. It should be noted that these data do not reflect possible differences in the intensity or severity of the vandalism problem. Although vandalism is as widespread in rural as urban areas, schools in urban areas may have a more severe problem. The data presented here suggest only that vandalism is equally widespread among the three types of community.

Table 3-1B provides some evidence that vandalism varies directly with size of enrollment. This relationship between size of enrollment and vandalism is found also within each of the categories of school location (see Appendix, Table A-5). This suggests that enrollment itself might be factor influencing the occurrence of vandalism. This finding is in accord with a commonly expressed view of administrators that vandalism is related to student identification with the school. Schools with small enrollments may provide more of an opportunity for students to develop personal attachment to and identification with the school. Unfortunately, we lack data on student attitudes necessary to test this hypothesis, so we can only offer it here as a suggestion.⁺

* The exact question the principals were asked was "Is there a problem of destruction of school property?", The answer categories (and the percent giving each answer) were

Yes, severe & Yes, moderate-12.4%: Yes, slight-61.7%: None-25.8%.

+ For much the same reasons the correlation between enrollment and reported vandalism might reflect the degree of identification of young people in the community - both students and non-students - with the school.

Table 3-1

Correlates of Vandalism

A. School Location

	Rural, small town schools	Small City Schools	Large City Schools
Per cent reporting at least a slight problem of vandalism	72%	71%	76%
Number of schools	160	225	98

B. Enrollment

	Less than 500	501-2000	2000+
Per cent reporting at least a slight problem of vandalism	77%	86%	80%
Number of schools	158	272	45

C. Racial Composition

	Per Cent White			
	less than 9%	10-59%	60-89%	90%+
Per cent reporting at least a slight problem of vandalism	77%	80%	69%	70%
Number of schools	184	94	25	122

Incidence of vandalism for two school districts is shown in Table 3-2. It should be noted in interpreting these data that there is no standard procedure for reporting incidents of vandalism in these schools. Differences among high schools, therefore, may reflect both differences in actual incidence and differences in reporting procedures. On a strictly impressionistic basis, however, the incidence reported by the schools in the two districts we visited does not seem out of line with their reputations in the area.

While all high schools in the two districts report some incidence of vandalism, there are substantial differences among schools. This is particularly notable in the San Francisco school district in which two schools have disproportionately higher reported incidence.

Table 3-3 provides some data on the relationship between vandalism and types of schools in the two Bay Area districts. The same variables were not available for both districts, but these data may be suggestive. In Oakland, vandalism is negatively related to median parental income (as assessed by the 1960 Census), positively related to the rate of absence, mobility (number of transfers per student), and per cent black. The highest correlate of vandalism in Oakland is mobility, the proportion of transfer students in the school population. This association suggests again a possible link between vandalism and identification with the school. In San Francisco, vandalism appears to be related to other problems of order (absences, drop outs, suspensions, and teacher assault), but not to per cent of students who are black.

* Data from Research Report No. 4, Oakland Public School Research Department, 1969-1970.

Table 3-4 provides data from the San Francisco district on vandalism and theft. Schools that experience vandalism are also likely to experience theft (the correlation is $r_g \ll .65$).

Increase of Vandalism; Both the incidence and cost of vandalism appear to have increased during the 1960's in Oakland and San Francisco. The rise in cost can only in part be interpreted as an indication of the increase in the amount of damage inflicted. Most of the cost of vandalism is due to glass breakage. The increased cost is partly a reflection of inflation of the price of labor and materials. Table 3-4 presents the glass breakage cost in San Francisco from 1962 through 1969. While the cost has more than doubled, this may not adequately reflect the increase of incidents. Data on incidents for a four year period (1966-1969) are presented in Table 3-2. These data indicate substantial increases in 1968 and 1969. This increase is partly a consequence of the outbursts of student activism during these two years: demonstrations, boycotts, strikes. During 1968, for example, a common form of protest was the wastebasket fire.

Table 3-2

Incidence of Vandalism in Two Districts
By Individual High School

Oakland School District				
	1966	1967	1963	1969
1	9	2	10	22
2	4	4	7	6
3	2	5	4	9
4	4	4	2	6
5	4	5	3	5
6	1	1	4.	5
total	24	21	30	53

San Francisco School District, 1969-1970

	Vandalism	Theft
1	4	42
2	7	117
3	13	78
4	17	112
5	140	158
6	12	40
7	2	5
8	37	83

Table 3-3

Correlates of Vandalism In Two School Districts

	Oakland (1966) N schools	San Francisco
Ab&onees	.70	.66
Bond vote	.28	
Drop outs		.59
Mobility	.94	
% Black	.72	.12
Income	-.32	
Suspensions		.79
Teacher assault		.63
Kumber of schools		8

Table 3-4

Cost of Glass Breakage in SF School District*

* includes all schools

<u>Oct-Mar School Year</u>	<u>Total Cost</u>	<u>Cost due to Theft Incidents</u>
1962-3	\$45,000	\$2,000
1963-4	48,000	2,000
1964-5	not available	
1965-6	not available	
1966-7	64,000	3,000
1967-8	81,000	3,000
1968-9	104,000	5,000

Data from the national surveys are presented in Table 3-5. These data suggest that fewer schools experienced vandalism in 1970 than in 1965. This result is surprising in light of the indications of increase in vandalism nationally. A number of factors could account for this discrepancy. The categories of vandalism in the earlier questionnaire (none, slight, moderate, severe) may have encouraged more reporting of vandalism than the categories in the second questionnaire (did not occur; no racial basis; somewhat racial; substantial racial basis). Second, the two surveys did not sample the same schools, so this discrepancy may bias the comparison. Third, administrators, generally, as we shall see in the next section, are not terribly concerned with vandalism; the estimates of the severity of the problem by principals, therefore, may be somewhat unreliable compared to their estimates of other problems.

Table 3-5

Principals' reports of Vandalism, 1965 and 1970

(From Equality of Educational Opportunity Survey and Survey of Disorder in Urban Public Secondary Schools)

		1965								
		School Location								
		Small (Rural, small town)			Medium (Small city; industrial residential suburb)			Residential, big city, inner city)		
		Size of School Enrollment								
		Less than 500	500-2000	2000 Or more	Less than 500	500-2000	2000 or more	Less than 500	500-2000	2000 or more
Per Cent White	Over 90%	11 (14)	82% (22)		66% (21)	88% (34)		86% (21)		5 (7)
	10-89%	46% (15)	75% (16)		6 (12)	79% (19)		59% (17)		95% (19)
	less than 9%	76% (34)	80% (55)		53% (53)	81% (75)		58% (17)		7 (10)
		1970								
		School Location								
		Less than 50,000			50-299,999			300,000 or more		
		Size of School Enrollment								
		0-499	500-1999	2000 or more	0-499	500-1999	2000 or more	0-499	500-1999	2000 or more
Per Cent White	Over 90%					56% (18)			55% (29)	69% (16)
	6-89%		50% (16)	4 (8)		64% (137)	65% (75)		60% (66)	71% (79)
	less than 5%		48% (56)	7 (12)		49% (161)	54% (79)		53% (43)	53% (57)

Note: Figures in parentheses are base figures on which percentages are computed. In cells in which the number of cases is too small to compute a meaningful percentage, the actual number of schools is given.

Administrative Perception and Response: Administrators attribute relatively little property damage to a climate of hostility or alienation among their students. There is no Luddite movement in the schools. Further, despite the apparent increase in the objective indicators of the frequency and cost of school vandalism, administrators do not see this as an attack on the school of any significance. This is not to deny that vandalism is a problem; but it is more of a general law enforcement problem than a peculiarly school problem. If school vandalism has increased, so has the vandalism of business establishments and other public buildings. The school is not being singled out for such attacks. Many administrators we talked to denied that their students were responsible for most of the vandalism damage inflicted on their schools. Since few vandals are ever caught, it is difficult to say exactly what kinds of groups vandalize the schools. Vandalism that is committed by students is not seen as a major problem or as symptomatic of some underlying problem. Student vandalism (principally of bathroom fixtures and bulletin boards) is seen as an episodic form of amusement that could be reduced by more careful supervision.

Vandalism, thus, is not a problem that appears to have roots in the school organization. It is a major financial problem for schools, but not a problem that can be alleviated by changing the relationship between the school and its student constituency. Schools have begun, therefore, to search for technological solutions to reducing the incidence and costs of vandalism. The installation of shatter-proof glass promises to reduce the major source of vandalism cost. Schools have also experimented with alarm systems. It is difficult to evaluate the cost-effectiveness of these measures, but one recent assessment (Greenberg, 1969) suggests that automatic alarm systems have been greatly oversold.

2. Race Problems and Conflict

One of the most publicized underlying sources of recent disorder in high schools has been racial conflict and tension. In this section we will examine the extent of racial problems and, in particular, examine the consequences of racial composition and the racial definition of schools. We will be concerned here only with interpersonal racial incidents. In the following section we will explore racial tensions and conflict that take the form of organized political activism.

Less than one third of the schools in the Equality of Educational Opportunity Survey (1965) report having even a slight problem of tension between racial or ethnic groups. Table 3-6A indicates that the incidence of such racial problems do not vary among types of community. About as many high schools proportionately report racial problems in rural areas as in large urban areas. Table 3-6B, however, suggests that racial problems are more common among schools with large enrollments. Table 3-7 provides some evidence suggesting that schools having racial problems are somewhat more likely to experience vandalism, theft, teacher assault, and drug problems than those that do not.

Table 3-23

Per Cent of Principals Reporting Racial Tensions: 1965

Equality of Educational Opportunity Survey

A. Race Tension and Types of Community

	Rural, Small Town	Small City Schools	Large City Schools
Per cent reporting race tension	29%	32%	30%
Number of schools	160	223	98

B. Race Tension and Enrollment

	Less than 500	501-2000	2000+
Per cent reporting race tension	25%	30%	41%
Number of schools	156	280	56

Table 3-23

Racial Problems and Other Problems of Order: 1965

Equality of Educational Opportunity Survey

Per Cent <u>Having</u>		<u>Racial</u> Problems	
		<u>Some</u> (N=265)	<u>None</u> (N=650)
Destruction of School Property	Severe	13	10
	Moderate or slight	67	60
	None	15	30
Stealing of a serious nature (money, cars, etc.)	Severe	16	
	Moderate or slight	56	45
	None	29	49
Physical violence against Teacher	Some	12	3
	None	88	97
Use of narcotics and stimulants	Some	18	9
	None	82	91

There is widespread opinion among administrators that racial tensions are maximal when the racial composition of the school is about 50% minority. Some evidence for this relationship between racial tension and racial composition is indicated by the Equality of Educational Opportunity survey. Figure 2-1 shows that racial incidents are more widespread among schools with 40-59 per cent black students than any other category. This relationship appears to hold up when controls are introduced. Appendix Table A-6A suggests a similar pattern when we control for school location. The same effect is found when we control for social class, as indicated by principal's estimate of the predominate social class background of the students (Table A-6B). Table A-6C again shows that this effect holds up when enrollment size is held constant. Due to the small number of cases, it has been necessary in introducing these controls to subclassify the racial distribution so that these tables show only that racial problems are more widespread among schools that are racially mixed. To examine the precise relationship between racial problems and racial composition with control variables would require a larger sample than the Equality of Educational Opportunity study provides.

We cannot determine on the basis of available evidence whether the relationship between racial conflict and racial composition due to competition among students within the school or to concomitant community factors. It is possible, for example, that schools with 50% minority enrollment are most common in "changing neighborhoods". Greater conflict in these schools, therefore, could be the result of a more general problem of social disorganization in the community due to a high rate of social mobility.

Per Cent
Of Principals
Reporting
Race Tensions

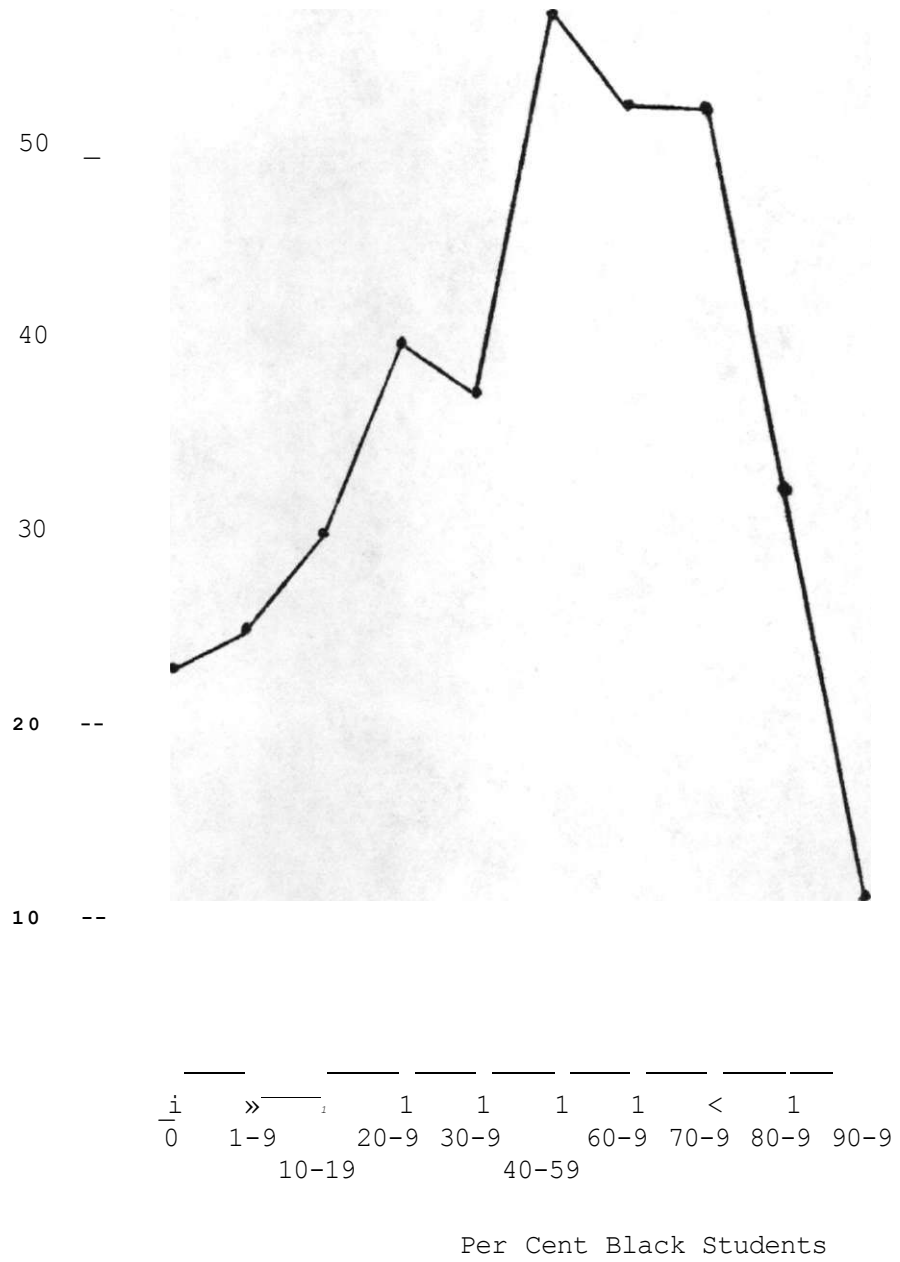


Figure 3-1

Racial Tension By Racial Composition

Administrative Response; Most administrators we talked to did not feel that racial conflicts and tensions were an internal problem of the school. In some schools such conflicts between students are a fairly common occurrence. But tension and conflict between members of various ethnic groups has always been a problem in American schools, particularly in large urban areas. While the problem is frequent, administrators generally regard it in essence as an external problem. The school is simply one of several sites in the community where ethnic conflicts are carried out. The school acts as a third party in these disputes, seeking to eliminate the disruptive effects of such conflicts on the school as much as possible. In practice this involves breaking up fights when they occur and, if necessary, closing the school down for a few days to cool off otherwise unmanageable conflicts. Administrators do not see the school organization itself as a source of strain between racial groups. We will in the next **section examine forms** of racial conflicts and tensions in which the school is the central object.

3. Student Politics and Disruption

The topics of student political activities and disruption in the school overlap to a certain extent, especially in the last four or five years. Traditional student politics in high school involved participation in administration-structured "Student Government." In many urban high schools these conventional activities never attracted much participation but in 1968 and 1969 in the San Francisco Bay area participation in student government declined in some schools and became more heated in others as high school students became involved in national issues for the first time. Following the lead of college age youth, many students became concerned with problems of racism and the Vietnam war. At first, linkages between these national issues and the high school context often led to disputes with high school administrators and collective disorder. Information gathered from our field work indicates that, since 1969, a number of new student political groups have been institutionalized within the high schools and conflict has tended to become channeled in more organized ways. The period of 1967-69 saw the peak of collective disorder based on racial issues as well as the peak of several other indicators of school disorder. Table 3-8 provided by the Oakland Public School district reveals that the peak in incidents of arson in Oakland high schools came in 1968. **Waste basket fires were** a common form of protest during this period.

Table 3-8

Reported Incidents Of Arson In Eight Oakland High Schools From
1966 To 1969: Oakland Public Schools Business Division

School year	66-67	67-68	68-69	69-70
Reported incidents of arson in high schools	39	45	96	55

Almost all San Francisco Bay area schools experienced some disorder, but this area is probably atypical of the nation as a whole in this respect. Nation-wide responses to the 1970 Disruption in Urban Public Secondary Schools Survey show that 34% of the high schools in the sample had experienced a "student boycott, walkout or strike." Another item asked about "picketing and parading" and 27% of the schools reported this type of activity. Eighteen percent of the schools reported that they had experienced "rioting." These percentages seem high but we cannot compare them with the earlier survey because there were no such questions included in it. Indeed it seems reasonable to guess that the researchers constructing the 1965 survey had no idea that political disruptions in high schools would occur in the next five years.

Interviews with Bay area high school personnel informed us about the nature of this peak of student disruptions and about the subsequent evolution of ethnic and radical student political groups. The largest disorders were directed at the inadequate representation of minority groups among the faculty and administration in high schools with a large proportion of the student body from minority ethnic groups. In many cases the schools were shut down by dissident students demanding the replacement of white administrators or teaching staff. Issues involving alleged discriminatory treatment, symbolic recognition of the birthdays of ethnic national heroes and complaints about the racist or irrelevant content of the curriculum resulted in less intense but significant collective disorders. The issue of discrimination against blacks seems to have been the most volatile and earliest issue to result in conflict between students and administrators. Issues involving other ethnic minorities (Chicanos or Chinese) and war-related controversies seem to have developed later in 1969 and 1970.

The politicization of high school students, like the emergence of other status groups, has proceeded through the stage of disorganized collective expression of dissent and into an early state of political incorporation and organization into institutionalized groups. At the national level the 18-year old vote is becoming a reality. Within the high school, administrators have come to accept as legitimate the political interests, opinions and actions of high school students.

Student Political Groups: Bay area interviews with high school administrators about newly formed **student political groups can mo&t caily** be discussed in terms of the two major types of groups - ethnic **based** groups and radical anti-war groups.

Ethnic based groups such as the Black Students Union, the Chinese Student Club, the Chicano Student Association, the Young Panthers, the Chinatown Red Guard and the Brown Bferets were the first of the newly organized high school political groups and seem to have been institutionalized the most. According to the administrators at schools which have these groups, never more than 10% of the student body participates, except during outbreaks of disorder.*

* This is a list of demands presented by the Black Student Union to an Oakland high school during an early and very disruptive student strike.
1. Better food in cafeteria 2. Opening of previously locked restrooms
3. More respect from teachers 4. Black History 5. More Black counselors
6. Abolition of Student Control Aides 7. Open campus.

Obviously a school is unlikely to have an ethnic-based political group if it does not have minority students. On the other hand, one all black high school which we visited did not have student political groups of this type because, according to the principal, the regular student government served the needs of the students adequately. Our analysis of the 1970 Disruption in Urban Public Secondary Schools Survey reveals a definite relationship between the racial composition of the student body and the reporting of "student boycott, walkout or strike." This can be seen by examining Table 3-9. Table 3-10 shows the relationship between racial composition of student body and reported "picketing." This also indicates that these disruptions are more common in schools with a high percentage of minority students.

Administrators in the San Francisco Bay area report that confrontations based on ethnic identity issues have declined and that the ethnic-based student political groups have become better organized and less militant. They are "more willing to go through channels."

Radical anti-war groups have been organized at fewer high schools in the Bay area but almost all schools have seen some student activity of this type. Suburban schools, schools with students from higher income families, and schools nearer to radical college communities report the greatest amount of this type of activity. Some collective disturbances have resulted in mass suspension and arrest but there has been little violent conflict over the anti-war issue in the high schools. The organized groups such as Students for a Democratic Society, the Young Partisans, Students for a Revolutionary Society, etc., are reported to have small regular constituencies and larger followings during national anti-war protests. The peak of collective disturbances on this issue may have passed in May of 1970 during the U.S. invasion of Cambodia.

Table 3-23

Reported Student Boycott, Walkout or Strike According To Racial Composition of Student Body: 1970 Disruption in Urban Public Secondary Schools Survey

	Racial Composition of Student Body (% white)		
	5% or less	6-89%	90% or more
% reporting student boycott, walkout, or strike	46%	47%	22%
number of cases on which % is based	71	379	411

Table 3-10

Reported Picketing According To Racial Composition Of Student Body; 1970 Disruption In Urban Public Secondary Schools Survey

	Racial Composition of Student Body (% white)		
	5% or less	6-89%	90% or more
% reporting picketing	42%	40%	17%
number of cases on which % is based	69	377	409

Location Of Student Protest: The question of the type of schools in which political disruptions are the most frequent can be investigated with the 1970 Disruption In Urban Public Secondary Schools Survey data. It might be expected that these kinds of protests would be more frequent in schools with large enrollments or in schools located in larger cities. Tables 3-11 and 3-12 show the relationship between reported "student boycott, walkout or strike" with the size of enrollment and the size of the city in which the school is located. It can be seen by examining these tables that the effect of enrollment is very small and the effect of city size is non-existent. This means that disruptions are approximately equally distributed and tends to confirm our hypothesis about the national nature of the transformation of the student role.

It can be seen by examining the four variable Table A-4 in the Appendix that the size of the enrollment has some effect on the frequency of student picketing only in mostly minority high schools located in large cities. This same table reveals the lack of effect of city size very convincingly.

Table 3-23

Reported Student Boycott, Walkout Or Strike According To The
Size Of School Enrollment: 1970 Disruption In Urban Public
Secondary Schools Survey

	Size Of School Enrollment		
	499 or less	500-1999	2000 or more
% reporting student boycott, walkout or strike	(1*)	31%	39%
number of cases on which % is based	9	530	329

*The actual number of schools is given when there are not enough cases for a meaningful percentage to be computed.

Table 3-12

Reported Student Boycott, Walkout Or Strike According To The
Size of The City In Which School Is Located: 1970 Disruption In
Urban Public Secondary Schools Survey

	City Population		
	Less than 50,000	50-299,999	300,000 or more
% reporting student boycott, walkout or strike	36%	31%	37%
number of cases on which % is based	100	480	496

Administrative Views Of Causes: Administrators and deans in the San Francisco Bay area were asked their views on the causes of the new student political activity and disruptions. Many of them mentioned the legitimate concerns of students with acknowledged national controversies. They thought that the collective disturbances had resulted from two main causes: (1) the actual reflection of national problems within the high school (such as racially imbalanced staff) and (2) the influence of outside agitators on the students. Occasionally it was also mentioned that dissident teachers had provoked the students. Most administrators agreed that high school students are now more aware of national controversies and are taking seriously the political rights and responsibilities that they are taught about in Civics classes. When these legitimate concerns erupt into confrontations in the school, administrators blame lack of communication and outside agitators. Many mention a "spill-over effect" from the colleges where similar collective disorders have taken place in recent years. One principal in San Francisco claimed that students were "being used by adult radicals in the community who seek to destroy the high school." A few mentioned direct links between high school students and adult revolutionary groups such as the Black Panthers, Progressive Labor, and the Bay Area **Revolutionary** Union, but they **claimed that the** number of students involved with such **groups was very small.**

Whereas some administrators see the students as dupes of outside groups, most explain the activism in terms of less direct effects such as knowledge of community and national controversies and the "spirit of the times." There has been leafletting by radical groups of almost all high schools but not all outside influence is of this type. During the invasion of Cambodia in May, 1970, Black veterans from Merritt College in Oakland visited high schools urging students to stay in class and not to participate in the anti-war protests.

Most administrators were optimistic about the apparent decline in disruptions. They say that most students have rejected the tactics of radicals and that many minority students have recognized the benefits to be obtained by "working within the system."

Administrative Response To Political Activism and Disruption; Administrators and deans have developed a whole repertoire of methods for dealing with disruptions and activism, and, in their own understanding, the situation is under control. The mass disorders of 1968 and 1969 and the anti-war protests of 1970 were met with a mixture of repressive force, Machiavellian politics (divide and conquer), and genuine compromise. Whenever large scale violence or disruption broke out, police were used to restore order and students were suspended or transferred. Some effort was devoted to getting rid of the troublemakers by having them transferred to other high schools or to Continuation Schools. Also one administrator reported attempting to create divisions between student factions. But the main and most successful method of handling disruptions and activism has been the creation of regularized channels of communication between student groups and the administration and the initiation of new programs attempting to meet the demands of student groups. Most principals have initiated an "open door" policy toward student groups and regularly scheduled meetings to discuss grievances have been set up at many schools.

* See Page 85 for a discussion of Continuation Schools.

This recognition by school administrators of the legitimacy of student political groups organized around ethnic and national political issues indicates a fundamental change in the conception of the status high school students. Administrators report their meetings with Black Student Union representatives or Students for a Revolutionary Society as if they had always met with such groups, and seem only partially conscious of the fact that legitimized student groups of this type have been almost unheard of in American high schools.

In addition to recognizing the legitimacy of student political groups, most schools have altered policies and implemented programs which are intended to satisfy these newly emerging constituencies. Most schools have introduced new courses such as Black History into their curricula and at many schools holidays or special assemblies are scheduled in recognition of ethnic national heroes such as Martin Luther King. The Oakland District has developed a "multi-ethnic calendar" which honors forty-eight ethnic groups. Early in the period of disruptions, when ethnic issues led to the most serious and violent disturbances, student demands led to the replacement of administrators and staff with minority personnel. This phase seems to have come to an end.

One San Francisco dean who was particularly taken with the outside agitator theory of student disruption, has accumulated a large file of information on students and radical groups and has collected all the radical leaflets and newspapers which have been circulated at his school in the past four years. This practice is apparently uncommon, however. Most deans reject conspiracy theories and emphasize the mechanisms of opening channels of communication and changing the school in ways consistent with the legitimate desires of activist students.

Solutions Suggested By Administrators and Deans: Most of the suggestions for solutions have already been mentioned in the last section on administrative responses. Some administrators emphasize increased security measures as a partial answer to problems of disruption. In Oakland the police patrols have helped reduce problems of disorder by breaking up large crowds of students which have formed around the high schools. Almost all schools have added security personnel such as hall guards to their staff.

The emphasis in most schools, however, has been on involving the students in legitimate expressions of their concerns with national problems. Many administrators agree that the problems in the schools will not be completely resolved until solutions are found in the larger society. Even the conspiracy theorists among deans think that the answer to the threat of radical groups is to strengthen the involvement of the community with the schools. They reason that community involvement and legitimate student activities will prevent radicals from destroying the schools.

Thus there is substantial agreement on the legitimacy of high school student political activism and substantial success in channeling this activism into non-disruptive participation.

4. Drug Problems

Our discussion of recently emerging high school problems and the adaptations to them would not be complete without consideration of the use of drugs by high school students. The rising use of illegal drugs by young people in the U.S. has received much comment in the press and some intelligent attention from concerned professionals. The legalization of marijuana has become a national controversy (Kaplan, 1970) and a major government effort has been directed toward controlling drug abuse among servicemen. It is clear that drug use is not uniquely a high school problem, but is rather a more general question of the consumption habits of young people. It is important, however, to investigate the consequences of drug use for the high school and to comprehend the response of high schools to this problem.

Interviews with high school personnel in the San Francisco Bay area and records obtained from the school districts indicate that there has been a substantial increase in drug use by high school students, but also that the disorderly consequences of this increase have been ameliorated. The increase is indicated by data supplied by the Oakland Public Schools on drug-related arrests in and about schools. This is shown in Table 3-13. Administrators report that drug use in school seems to have peaked in 1969 and that problems of order resulting from drug use were fewer in 1970. It is important to recognize the distinction between the actual amount of drug use and educators' perceptions of "drug problems" in the schools. **Drug problems have been reduced** while the amount of drug use has probably continued to rise.

It has been commonly believed that drug abuse is primarily a lower class, minority group problem. The relationship between class background of the student body and drug problems as found in the 1965 Equality Of Educational Opportunity Survey Is presented in Table 3-14. These data were collected before the recent increase in the use of drugs, but are still useful for informing us about the distribution of the problem in different types of schools. It can be seen from Table 3-15 that there is only a relatively small difference in reporting drug problems between the lower and the mixed or middle class schools. Similarly, Table shows the relationship between racial composition of the student body and - reported drug problems. The percentage difference in this table is comparably small. Thus even in 1965 drug problems were not extremely concentrated in lower class schools with large minority enrollments. We cannot use the 1970 Disruptions In Urban Public Secondary Schools Survey to investigate these relationships because no question on drug problems was included. Our interview data from the San Francisco Bay area indicates that drug use continues to be fairly evenly spread among high schools of different types, however.

Table 3-23

Drug-related Arrests In and About Oakland High Schools

Year	1966-67	1967-68	1968-69
Number of arrests	21	39	88

Table 3-14

Principals¹ Report of Drug Problems According to Reported Social Class Background Of Student Body; 1965 Equality of Educational Poortunity Survey

	<u>Social Class Background</u>		
	<u>Low</u> (blue collar, rural)	<u>Middle</u> (cross section of community)	<u>High</u> (Professional)
% Reporting Drug Problems	19%	12%	9%
number of cases on which % is based	155	328	32

Table 3-15

Principals' Report of Drug Problems According to Racial Composition of Student Body; 1965 Equality of Educational Opporrtunity Survey

	<u>Racial Composition</u> (% ttffhite students)		
	9% or less	10-89%	90% or more
% reporting drug problems	16%	22%	9%
number of cases on which % is based	129	121	260

There is a great deal of agreement among high school personnel in the San Francisco Bay area about the distribution of different types of drugs among students. White middle class suburban schools experienced a great increase in the use of marijuana and the hallucinogens (LSD, mescaline, etc.), while core city schools with a large proportion of black and chicano students report the increased use of "reds" (seconal), "speed" (amphetamines) and to a lesser extent, heroin. Of course there is some overlap of all of these types of drugs. Administrators also report that there is a tendency toward the increased use of harder drugs when marijuana is not available.

Student Regulation of Drug Use: At many schools there has been a reaction against excessive drug taking among the students themselves. Students realize that they are unable to maintain their school routine adequately while under the influence of drugs. One suburban school reported the formation of a student anti-drug abuse group, the "non-droppers society." The principal of a racially mixed urban school reported that the Black Students Union had adopted a policy of discouraging black males from doping up (with Seconal) black female students. Most drug taking has now been externalized from the school situation to the community. A dean in San Francisco reported that students now refrain from taking drugs during school hours, except for Friday afternoon. He said that the students sometimes refer to Friday as "flyday."

This general trend toward regulating the use of drugs can be seen as a necessary adaptation to the demands of continued participation in the time schedule of an educational institution. Drug induced states not only interfere with the participation of the drug taker, but also tend to disrupt the situation for others. Thus, although there are some students who get so involved with drugs that they drop out of school, and there remains some drug use during school hours, this problem has been controlled and externalized to the extent that it does not greatly interfere with the ongoing business of the high school.

Administration responses to drug use: Most school administrators report the light treatment of persons found to be high on drugs and the harsh treatment of those suspected of selling drugs. During the period when in-school drug use was at a peak (1969) there were a large number of cases of students who, under the influence of drugs, created disruptions in the schools. The usual administrative response to this was to call the parents and to attempt to get medical treatment for the student. Often the school nurse or psychologist was called in, and in some cases the student was sent to the hospital. In one case, in Oakland, a major mass confrontation was provoked when police were called to arrest a student who was high on **Seconal**. This is the only **drug-related mass** confrontation reported in the bay area, however.

The treatment of students suspected of selling drugs is somewhat harsher. The dean of a racially mixed suburban school describes his method for handling suspected peddlers as follows. He approaches the student and asks him to come to his office, being very careful to watch for an attempt to dispose of the drugs. When he gets the student in his office, he attempts to contact the parent, and this done, he asks the student to empty his pockets. If drugs are found, the dean suspends the student for five days and notifies the police. The student and his parent are required to go to the police station for possible criminal charges.

Whereas most administrators report the attempt to keep uniformed police off campus (except for special classes), police patrols are regularly used in the area around the school campus. In Oakland the police are especially concerned with loiterers (non-students) around the high schools who may be trying to peddle drugs or to recruit girls for prostitution operations.

The administration response to student drug peddlers (besides notifying parents and police) is often suspension from school or transfer to another high school or a "continuation school." Continuation schools are special part-time schools for problem students to enable them to continue their education without being required to take a full school schedule. These special schools, which are now operating in almost all urban school districts, also serve to separate problem students from the regular high schools, thus decreasing the problems of order that these students often cause.

In addition to the above procedures many districts have established programs in anti-drug education and have formed co-operative alliances with neighborhood drug-problem centers.

In general the schools seem to have adapted to the rise in drug use, not by trying to eliminate student use of drugs, but by regulating drug use in ways compatible with school participation. A combination of peer group influence and administrative authority has resulted in the stabilization of drug use and a reduction in the problems of order which drug use can cause. The high school is no longer seen as responsible for the consumption patterns of young people and drug use has been defined by many students as a question of personal choice. This does not mean that anti-drug abuse programs in high schools will be unsuccessful, but that drug use is a more general problem of youth and must be recognized as such.

The use of illegal drugs by high school students is much more common than it used to be but this does not now constitute a problem for the schools. It may be detrimental to those particular students who, through intemperance, ruin their health or ruin their occupational chances because of reduced participation in school but these students do not threaten the maintenance of school organization. In addition it is unlikely that the schools will be able to do much about drug abuse by using methods of criminal enforcement because of the decline in legitimacy of school authority over non-academic student behavior. However, an educational approach to the drug problem might be successful in informing students about the real dangers of drug abuse. Educators in the San Francisco Bay area appear to have recognized this and are beginning to implement programs of this type.

5. Attacks on Teachers

Our field work in the Bay area revealed that high school personnel do not consider attacks on teachers to be a serious problem even though there are some incidents of this kind. Some of the data we obtained from the national samples of principals indicate that this problem may have increased between 1965 and 1970. The number of attacks on teachers compared to other behavior problems is small. This is indicated by data from the San Francisco district for the 1969-70 school year. Out of 4568 problem incidents reported for the high schools, only 37 were attacks on teachers and 125 were verbal threats to teachers. The small number of attacks on teachers compared to other problems is also indicated by the national samples of principals. Ninety-four percent of the principals in the 1965 Equality of Educational Opportunity Survey reported no physical violence against teachers. In comparison, only 26% of the principals reported no destruction of school property.

The next question is to determine whether or not this problem has grown. We do not have data over time from the San Francisco Bay area districts on this question, but the Interviews with school administrators indicated that this problem has not increased substantially. The 1970 Disruption in Urban Public Secondary Schools Survey, however, produced a result which, in comparison with the 1965 data, appears to show an increase in this type of problem. Only 61% of the principals in the 1970 sample reported no physical confrontations with teachers. It is possible that some of this apparent increase is due to the difference between the 1965 and 1970 questionnaires.

These are the questions from the two surveys that deal with attacks on teachers:

1965 Equality of Educational Opportunity Survey; Question 48e: Is there a problem of physical violence against teachers? a. Severe b. Moderate c. Slight d. None

1970 Disruption in Urban Public Secondary Schools Survey; Question 19: Student-teacher physical confrontation: a. Did not occur b. No racial basis c. Somewhat racial d. Substantial Racial basis

The use of the term "confrontation" rather than "violence" may have led more principals to report events in the 1970 survey. Since we have no way of separating this effect from actual increases, we cannot determine how large the increase has been.

The above discussion means that the absolute size of percentages for these two questions should not be compared, but the sizes of the percentage differences in tables computed from the data from the two surveys are comparable. For instance, we want to investigate the extent to which different types of schools have problems of attacks on teachers. It is possible also to look for changes in the relationship between school characteristics and problems of this kind by comparing appropriate percentage differences between the two surveys.

The 1965 Equality of Educational Opportunity Survey asked principals to specify the predominant social class background of the students in their schools. Using this response, we can determine the relationship between the social class background of the student body and attacks on teachers. It can be seen from Tables 3-16 and 3-17 that there is a definite relationship between social class of student body and attacks on teachers; whereas there is no relationship between social class background and impertinence and discourtesy to teachers.

Table 3-23

Principals' Reports of Attacks on Teachers According to Reported Social Class Composition of Student Body; 1965 Equality of Educational Opportunity Survey

	Social Class Composition of Student Body		
	Low (rural, blue collar)	Middle (cross section of community)	High (professional)
% reporting attacks on teachers	20%	4%	0%
number of cases on which \$ is based	157	329	32

Table 3-17

Principals' Reports of Impertinence and Discourtesy To Teachers According to reported Social Class Composition of Student Body; 1965 Equality of Educational Opportunity Survey

	Social Class Composition of Student Body		
	Low (rural, blue collar)	Middle (cross section of	High (professional)
% reporting impertinence and discourtesy to teachers	69%	68%	69%
number of cases on which % is based	157	329	32

The relationship between the percentage of minority students in the student body and attacks on teachers is positive. This can be seen by looking at Table 3-18 which has been computed from the 1965 survey data. This table shows that the percentage of white students in the student body (the opposite of the percentage of minority students) corresponds somewhat to different levels of reported attacks on teachers.

It might be expected that the relationship between the proportion of minority students and attacks on teachers would be reduced by controlling the social class background of the student body. This is not in fact found. Table 3-19 shows that the relationship between the number of minority students in the student body and attacks on teachers is almost as large when social class is held constant. This tends to support the conception of the important and unique status of ethnic minorities in the U.S. independent of considerations of social class.

Table 3-23

Principals' Report of Attacks on Teachers According to Reported Racial Composition of Student Body; 1965 Equality of Educational Opportunity Survey

	Racial Composition of Student Body (% of white students)		
	9% or less	10-89%	90% or more
% reporting attacks on teachers	11%	9%	3%
number of cases on which % are based	123	120	255

Table 3-19

Principals' Reports of Attacks on Teachers According to Social Class and Racial Composition Simultaneously: 1965 Equality of Educational Opportunity Survey

Cell entries are percent reporting attacks on teachers

	Social Class Composition of Student Body		
	Low (rural, blue collar)	Middle (cross section of	High (professional)
Racial Composition Of Student Body (% white)	9% or less	10% (57)*	9% (75)
	10-89%	17% (48)	4% (72)
	90% or more	6% (50)	2% (179)
			0% (31)

^Figures in parentheses are base figures on which percentages are computed.

The 1970 Disruption in Urban Public Secondary Schools survey does not include a question on the social class background of the student body. Thus we cannot examine the relationship between the social class of the student body and reported attacks on teachers with the 1970 data. The 1970 questionnaire does include, however, an item on racial composition of the student body, and so the relationship between this and reported attacks on teachers can be compared to the 1965 result. Table 3-20 shows this relationship. Notice that the percentage difference between schools with a small number of white students and schools with mostly white students is much larger than in Table 3-18 showing the 1965 result. This indicates that racial composition may have more of an effect on student-teacher confrontations in 1970 than it did in 1965. The report of the 1970 survey, *Disruption in Urban Public Secondary Schools*, presents evidence that the relationship between racial composition of the student body and student-teacher physical confrontations is greatly reduced in schools where the percentage of black teachers is equal to or greater than the percentage of black students.[#]

Other characteristics which have been thought to influence the likelihood of attacks on teachers are the location of the school and the size of the enrollment. A school located in a small town or rural area is traditionally thought to have less confrontations between students and teachers than an urban school. The data from both the 1965 and 1970 surveys support this idea as can be seen in Tables 3-21 and 3-22.

* This is shown in Table 8 on page E-12 of the Final Report of Disruption in Urban Public Secondary Schools survey.

Table 3-20

Principals* Reports of Student-Teacher Physical Confrontation
According to Racial Composition of Student Body: 1970
Disruption In Urban Public Secondary Schools Survey

	Racial Composition of Student Body (% white)		
	5% or less	6-89%	90% or more
% reporting student- teacher physical confrontation	44%	66%	81%
number of cases on which % are based	70	380	413

Table 3-21

Principals* Reports of Attacks On Teachers According To Location
of School: 1965 Equality of Educational Opportunity Survey

	School Location		
	Small (rural, small town)	Medium (small city, industrial and residential suburb)	Large (residential big city, inner city)
% reporting attacks on teachers	3%	4%	16%
number of cases on which % are based	179	238	103

Table 3-22

Principals' Reports of Student-Teacher Physical Confrontation
According To Size Of City In Which School Is Located: 1970
Disruption of Urban Public Secondary Schools Survey

	City Population		
	Under 50,000	50-299,999	300,000 and over
% reporting student-teacher physical confrontation	29%	22%	36%
number of cases on which % are based	227	251	294

Similarly the relationship between school size and attacks on teachers is positive. Tables 3-23 and 3-24 show that, for both the 1965 and the 1970 data, the larger the school, the more likely it was to report attacks on teachers. This effect and the one between school location and attacks on teachers are further examined in the four variable Table A-3 in the Appendix. This table indicates that there is some interaction between school location, enrollment and racial composition which results in the largest percentage of reported attacks on teachers in the large, urban, mostly black high schools. This is no surprise.

It must be kept in mind that the above results indicate the extent to which principals report any attacks on teachers. A higher percentage in a cell of the above tables does not necessarily mean more attacks. It means that more schools reported some attacks. In the large, urban, mostly black schools, (the highest percentage of which report some attacks on teachers), our interviews in the San Francisco Bay area revealed that deans and principals do not regard student-teacher confrontation as a major problem. It may be that occasional incidents of this type are more likely in these schools, but apparently this does not represent a major difficulty.

*

Our finding of extreme problems of non-attendance in these same schools may explain the situation. It is likely that those students who would be inclined to attack teachers are the ones that are least likely to be present and, thus the problem for the school is greatly reduced.

* See Chapter 5

Table 3-23

Principals' Reports of Attacks on Teachers According To Size of School Enrollment: 1965 Equality of Educational Opportunity Survey

	Size of Enrollment		
	500 or less	501-2000	2001 or more
% reporting attacks on teachers	5%	6%	16%
number of cases on which % are based	147	285	55

Table 3-24

Principals' Reports of Student-Teacher Physical Confrontation According To Size Of School Enrollment: 1970 Disruption In Urban Public Secondary Schools Survey

	Size of Enrollment		
	500 or less	501-2000	2001 or more
% reporting student-teacher physical confrontation	(2)*	24%	32%
number of cases on which % are based		528	327

* This cell shows the actual number of schools. The number of cases is too small to compute a meaningful percentage.

6. Summary of Specific Problems

The specific high school problems that we have investigated have generally increased in recent years leading to adaptations by the schools. We have seen that most of the problems cannot readily be interpreted as direct attacks on the school. No evidence was found that vandalism or theft is higher in schools than in other public or commercial properties. Racial conflict usually involves two or more groups of students fighting each other with the school administration trying to resolve the conflict. Student political activism has involved confrontations with school administrations but often the issues develop out of nationally acknowledged controversies which are much larger than the high school context. Drug use seems to be more of a retreat than an attack. Only assaults on teachers clearly involve an attack directed at a representative of the school organization and this was not felt by administrators to be common or an especially serious problem. Thus we emerge with a different picture of the situation than that with which we began. We do not find schools under seige. Instead we find rising levels of deviant and unconventional behavior among young people with the schools responding in an adaptive and non-aggressive way.

The rising levels of the problems which we investigated were distributed in a surprisingly even manner among schools of different types. The single most important school characteristic which differentiated between schools with different levels of problems was the racial composition of the student body, although even here the differences were not extremely large. Our use of the social class background item in the 1965 survey indicated that this characteristic also tended to differentiate between schools with problems and those without. Thus stratificational variables continue to be important for understanding deviance. Other school characteristics such as the size of enrollment and the size of the city in which the school is located reveal less effect than was expected. This tends to indicate the national nature of the emergence of these problems across different types of schools.

The core city, large minority enrollment schools continue to have the highest levels of problems. Poverty and the marginality of minority groups are still important determinants of the high school difficulties considered. Most of the evidence we have gathered, however, indicates that high schools of all kinds are experiencing some of these problems and that the changing definition of young people tends to cut across class and ethnic boundaries.

CHAPTER 4: TRADITIONAL ADMINISTRATIVE REACTIONS
TO PROBLEMS OF DEVIANCE AND DISORDER

High schools faced a number of unusual problems – and unusual levels of problems – in the 1960s. Drug use, ethnic and political protest activities, and a number of forms of student unwillingness to participate routinely in the affairs of the school, all increased markedly. But the American public school system, and the secondary schools in particular, have long had many problems in controlling their students, and have developed a variety of mechanisms to deal with them. A mass public education system, including almost the entire population from age six to age sixteen, developed earlier in this country than in any other, and the corresponding problems of controlling an extremely diverse student body also arose very early. Many students from rural, minority ethnic, or lower class backgrounds were not highly motivated to conform to the peculiar rules of the schools, and posed quite difficult problems (see, for example, Stinchcombe's (1964) discussion of the problems of discipline in the high school he studied – which was located in a conservative small town).

Surveys of the problems that high school teachers – and even elementary school teachers – reported as their most difficult ones have always shown that discipline problems rank at the top of the list. This is true, not only of studies in the 1960s, but of surveys going back to the early years of this century. The world of the public school classroom contains a rather fragile social order, which can easily be disrupted. Teachers learn quickly to devote a good deal of effort and time to activities which will maintain that order. Administrators, similarly, learn to devote a good deal of attention to the same problems.

Traditionally, American public schools have relied primarily on two types of controls in maintaining the social order of the school. We discuss them in the first part of this chapter. First, there are the controls applied to the behavior of the individual students. Penalties, ranging from verbal censure through permanent expulsion from the school, are imposed on students who pose problems of order or who deviate from basic school rules.

Second, there are the indirect controls by which the schools try to get and keep the firm support of the communities in which they are located. If the school is backed up by the entire constituency of parents, it can join its forces with them in regulating the behavior of the students (or children) of the community. Because of (1) the extraordinary range of types of students with whom it had to deal as well as (2) the tradition of local control and (3) its dependence on local funding, the American school system has always devoted itself to community relations activities to maintain its control over its students. In contrast, administrators and teachers in societies with nationally centralized educational systems devoted relatively little time to maintaining support in the local community. Their work was controlled and supported by central Ministries of Education, and thus by the police power of the national state. Typically, education was defined by the state as a privilege which extended social and economic opportunities to limited numbers of children – children who could and would conform to both the academic and the behavioral standards of the schools. In educationally centralized societies, thus, discipline problems – and the consequent need to obtain the cooperation of parents and the community in controlling students – were less intense.

Recent decades have produced some changes in the importance of the traditional parent-school liaison in controlling the behavior of students; changes which were accelerated during the 1960s. Local communities have become less important as small, closed, social structures which could control the public behavior of young people. And parents, in all probability, lost some means of controlling the behavior of their adolescent children in response to the social changes of the period. Thus the schools were increasingly thrown back on acknowledging another basic constituency, aside from the local community, from which support was needed in the conduct of affairs of the school. The students of the secondary school have shifted in position from being primarily dependent clients of the school to becoming constituent members of it. It has always been true that the school partly depended, in maintaining social control, on its ability to appear to its students as relevant to their futures (Stinchcombe, 1964). This dependence has considerably increased, and in the changed culture of the 1960s, has been acknowledged in a variety of explicit ways. A discussion of this point - the methods by which the schools try to coopt, or get the support of, their students - occupies the final portion of this chapter.

1. Individual Student Discipline

In dealing with the problems of deviant behavior among their students, schools still employ the range of traditional sanctions. As the previous chapter indicates, these sanctions are applied differently, and to different offenses, than in the past. Some examples:

- a. Administrators in none of the schools we visited are aggressive in looking for individual instances of ordinary drug use or possession. These behaviors are rather widespread, and the school disciplinary system cannot afford to devote its energy to locker, pocket, and purse inspections, and so on.
- b. Individual and group student protests about political, ethnic, curricular, or organizational issues in the school might once have been routinely treated as evidence of student insubordination. They are no longer treated this way in any of the schools we visited – provided that the protesting students maintain certain proprieties. This is also true of "properly" conducted student boycotts or strikes, if these are limited in character.
- c. As we indicate in the following chapter, the schools face massive problems of student participation. They are no longer able to enforce past standards controlling truancy or cutting classes. Consequently, although the traditional control system is still employed to deal with these problems, standards of application have greatly changed. It is no longer surprising, in dealing with many high schools, to find a substantial number of students standing around on the streets around the school, or in the hallways of the school, during regular class hours without incurring any school penalty. In our visits to schools, in fact, we noticed that some deans of students or principals, while slightly embarrassed by these violations of the formal rules, in fact make only a little effort to get such students to go to class.

It is difficult to get evidence on the extent to which various sanctions are applied to student behavior. Schools do not keep records of the application of minor penalties, and so we are only able to discuss with formal evidence the use of more major ones. The most important of these is the suspension of the student for a period of time ranging from a few hours to permanent expulsion.

From our field study of the bay area we gathered information on the policy of suspensions. In this area a student may be suspended from school for up to five days by a teacher, a dean or a principal for a number of offenses. Some districts have developed a codified "student behavior policy" which spells out the offenses and the appeal procedure which a student may employ. In other districts the suspensions policy is less formal and appeal procedures do not exist. One recently adopted student behavior policy was developed by a committee which included student representation.

Suspensions are used to punish students for all kinds of misbehavior. Smoking, fighting, insubordination, truancy, obscenity, vulgarity, stealing, vandalism, possession of weapons, arson, attacks on teachers, participation in secret clubs, unacceptable appearance, forgery, participation in a sit-in and gambling are some of the violations mentioned in reports on suspensions.

For the San Francisco district as a whole, the number of suspensions officially recorded has tended to increase through the 1960s, and increased dramatically in 1969-1970. This can be seen from the data in Table 4-1, which were provided by the district Counselling and Guidance supervisor.

Table 4-1 shows that in San Francisco suspensions showed a tendency to increase over a number of years, and then essentially doubled in 1969-70. Most administrators and deans in other Bay Area districts also reported increased in the use of suspensions. However, these increases do not always reflect great increases in the level of internal disorder found in the schools. To some extent, they may reflect an administrative way of handling some of the problems of student participation in the schools which we discuss at length in Chapter 5.

Table 4-1

Suspensions, by Academic Year, for the Eight San Francisco Public High Schools

Academic Year	Number of Student Suspensions*
1963-4	2200
1964-5	2517
1965-6	1903
1966-7	2120
1967-8	2768
1968-9	2607
1969-70	5372

Refers to number of separate suspension decisions. An individual student may have been suspended more than once.

This possibility is borne out by the detailed data presented in Table 4-2. This Table shows the breakdown of the suspensions reported by a single San Francisco high school in 1968-69. The suspensions are classified according to the type of offense which precipitated them.

It turns out that over half - 52% of the suspensions are for truancy or class-cutting. Another 31% are for "insubordination", and the other listed offenses account for only small proportions of the **suspensions**. As we indicate in Chapter 5, truancy and class-cutting have greatly increased in the schools, and the traditional controls on these behaviors (through the district-wide control system and the courts) have almost entirely broken down. The increase in suspensions carried out by personnel at the school level, rather than higher levels, may simply reflect a procedure for administratively handling these problems.

The hypothesis that the increase in suspensions partly reflects an administrative shift in handling problems is also suggested by the interviews with school administrators. Many remarked on the decreasing effectiveness to the lack of student interest in school. It is difficult to see suspensions from school as an effective punishment for a student whose offense has been to stay away from school.

Table 3-20

Suspensions In A Single San Francisco High School; 1968-1969

	Number	Percentage
Male	228	
Female	35	
Total	263	100%
Smoking	5	2%
Defiance	7	3%
Rule Violation	0	
Fighting	5	2%
Insubordination	81	31%
Truancy, Cutting	136	52%
Attack on Student	7	3%
Obscenity, Profanity	9	3%
Stealing, Vandalism	3	1%
Arson	1	
Attack on Teacher	1	
Inciting Race Problems, Riots	0	
Emotional Disturbance	0	
Verbal Threats to Students, Use of Weapons		
Verbal Threats to Teachers, Use of Weapons		1%
Possession of Cigarettes, Drugs, Alcohol, Weapons	2	1%
Extortion	3	1%

The number of suspensions per student varies among the high schools. In San Francisco, where data is available, we have computed the number of suspensions per student in order to see the correlates of suspensions with other high school characteristics. As might be expected, the number of suspensions per student is highly correlated, across the eight high schools, with the reported number of deviant incidents . (.78) It is also highly correlated with the number of absences per student (.76) and with the percentage of minority students (.68). These correlation coefficients must be taken as general indicators of the size of the relationships because there are only eight high schools in the district. In spite of this however, all the above correlations were significant at greater than the .05 level.

Interviews with high school personnel indicate that suspensions are increasingly seen as an inadequate solution to problems of social control in the school. Most administrators see the rise in the number of suspensions as an indicator of the ineffectiveness of this method for dealing with the new situation in the schools. They tend to support ideas of increasing the relevance and appeal of high school activities rather than increasing the use of suspensions.

* Deviant incidents, as defined in a district weekly report of school incidents, includes theft, vandalism, unprovoked attack, fighting, inciting to riot, possession of drugs, alcohol, weapons, defiance of authority, verbal threat to teacher, teacher assault, arson and sex offenses.

2. Community Relations

The traditional solutions of the American school to the problems of maintaining internal order and the compliance of the students have always included substantial efforts to maintain the broader support of the community. The developed system of Parent-Teacher Associations has often indicated the intensity and character of this effort. So has the constant willingness of the public school system to incorporate, in both its curricular and its extra-curricular structure, elements reflecting the educational or social interests of its community constituency. Agriculture programs in rural schools, driver training programs, interscholastic athletic competition, and so on, have often been seen as devices used by schools to reflect the ideas and obtain the support of the surrounding community, rather than educational innovations created by professional educators for primarily instructional reasons.

One of the central themes with which we began the study was the possibility that high schools might once again be riding out their current problems of discipline and order by attempting to get the support of their surrounding communities in their programs. We set out in our interviews to find examples of administrative attempts of this sort in the schools.

It became clear rather quickly that very few school administrators saw their problems of order as stemming from, or likely to be resolved by, problems in their relation to the social organization of their local communities. The peculiar problems of school discipline in the present period do not arise because of the alienation from the schools of parents, church groups, business association, labor groups, and so on, who therefore need to be mollified by the school administrator. They arise because of a series of events and developments having peculiar significance for American young people – the "youth culture". Reactions to international events, racial problems, and the new availability of many different kinds of drugs have all been peculiarly intensified among young people, as many different recent surveys have shown. Young people have distinctive views about the legitimacy of aggressive ethnic organization and protest, radical political activity, drug use, and many other issues.

Thus the primary constituency which has created new difficulties for the school has been its students, with their distinctive tastes and responses to national events. We discuss some of the school efforts to come to terms with this new constituency in the next section. At this point, we need simply to note that few school administrators have reacted to their present difficulties by trying to improve their relations with their surrounding adult communities.

There are certain exceptions to this generalization. Administrators have made some efforts to sensitize adults to drugs problems. In schools with substantial minority constituencies they have sometimes made considerable efforts to obtain support from the surrounding ethnic communities. Usually these take traditional forms - attempts to get adults in the outside community to approve and reinforce the values of the school. Sometimes they are attempts to weaken student protest groups by forming consultative ties with adult leaders of minority constituencies. Rarely, however, have these efforts gone far. And by and large, they seem to have had little impact on the behavior of the students.

Thus, in an area of primary interest to this study as it was originally conceived, we have little to report. As our study proceeded, it became clear that the primary problems administrators faced had to do basically with their student constituency - its interests, tastes, and problems - and that these problems were not easily resolved by bringing to bear pressures from the external adult community from which young people are also, in good part, separated or alienated.

The problem of community relations now appears to us in another light. Rather than seeing improved community relations as a means to help schools control their students, we believe that the turbulence of the schools, and the adaptations administrators have made in dealing with this turbulence, may have made relations with the outside adult communities worse. One consequence, in other words, of the recent difficulties in American secondary schools, may have been the alienation of the external community. To some extent, improved community relations may be necessary to regain this external support.

Administrators face a difficult problem. In adapting curricula and extra-curricula to the new generation of secondary school students — an adaptation necessary to obtain their continued participation — the school has moved further from the interests and tastes of the wider community, and is subjecting itself to attacks from this direction. One index of this problem is the failure of proposals for increased taxes to fund school districts. As indicated in Table 4-3, a tax increase has not been approved in Oakland, for example, since 1958. In part this is a reflection of economic self-interest, but administrators suggest that it also reflects a growing dissatisfaction with the school as an institution.

Most schools in the area have instituted black studies and other minority courses and a greater observance of ethnic holidays. Whatever the educational impact of these programs, these efforts clearly legitimate the status of minority groups in the community. This may at the same time constitute a status threat to the white working class, which has been a locus of opposition to Oakland tax Increases.

The relationship between school disorder and community support is difficult to determine. Widespread community alienation and disaffection may delegitimize the school, making it more susceptible to attack. Conversely, the disorder within the school may contribute to the alienation of the community.

There is a strong ideology among administrators for community participation in decision making. The mechanisms for such participation, however, are problematic. The PTA is almost universally in disfavor. Too few parents participate and such organizations often become vehicles for ego trips by vocal individuals. Participation in such organizations is widespread during a crisis. Sustained interest is difficult to manage. Attempts are being made to devise new organizational forms, although the success of such programs is not clear.

Table 4-3

Per Cent Oakland Voters Approving School Tax Increase

June 1958	51%
May 1965	20%
June 1966	40%
Nov. 1966	39%
June 1969	32%

3. Adaptations to the Student Consituency

Schools have always been, to some extent, responsive to pressures from their students as a means of maintaining order and control over them. Although the past few decades have not been major periods of disorder in schools, the preceding century – the main period of the founding and development of American secondary and higher education in its present structural forms – was marked by much active student turbulence. The educational accounts of the period are full of references to the pressures from students for various rights, and the attempts by the schools to adapt to these pressures by finding new curricular and organizational forms. Thus, the development and extension of the right of students to choose most of their own courses was in part a response, not only to abstract educational ideals, but very concrete and aggressive protests from the students about the inadequacies of the older educational traditions and principles. Similarly, the network of highly organized extracurricular activities – running from dramatic clubs to athletic teams to groups concentrating on such academic subjects as science or languages – which characterizes the American high school and college, was a development of this same historical period. Educators needed a broader set of social relations tying the individual student to his school not only for educational, but for social control, purposes. The development of the contemporary athletic structure is an especially revealing example. Its educational basis is quite unclear, but it obviously makes a great deal of sense to create activities which might make large and physically aggressive male students, many of whom may lack requisite academic abilities or motivations, devote physical activity not against the purposes of the school, but to activity which is nominally a legitimate part of the school organization. It is quite clear that these social control functions are not only a concealed, but an explicit, part of the development of this complicated set of school organizations.

For two related reasons, the traditional ways schools have used to adapt to student pressures have proved inadequate in the modern period. (1) First, in the present period, less of this adaptation occurs through the normal community relations and community control aspects of the school organization. Neither the pressures brought into the school through such structures as the Parent-Teachers Association nor those incorporated through the formal controls of the schools through school boards, represent the ideas and interests of contemporary young people. Thus in adapting to such pressures, the schools are responding less than in the past to their students, who now possess tastes and interests more sharply differentiated from those of their parents and the community. The emergence of an increasingly distinctive youth culture has posed problems for the school's traditional mechanisms of accommodation. (2) Second, students are not only more differentiated from other groups, they are now seen as having more independence, autonomy and authority. In the past the schools could claim that curricular and organizational decisions were made in the interests of the students by schools and parents, operating in a paternalistic system. The students existed in a completely closed welfare system, with little socially acknowledged right to decide their interests for themselves.

The present period has brought great changes in this social system. National political problems (the Vietnam War and other issues), crises in domestic society (the recognition of, and conflicts about, established patterns of American racial discrimination), and other issues have made the paternalistic structure of adult decisionmaking seem much less legitimate both to adults themselves and especially to young people. Who can confidently tell young people to unthinkingly place their futures in the hands of a social system whose responsibility and survival value are in some question? At the same time, young people have been assuming more rights and responsibilities and have acquired more legitimated independence, both in their own eyes and in those of other groups in society. Their political activities (especially those connected to the civil rights movement) have been acknowledged by many sectors of the American elite. Their increased economic resources have been responded to by the marketing efforts of many elements of the American economy. Their autonomous cultural tastes have increasingly been integrated into a stable and complex network of communications.

Thus students have acquired more and more rights to be represented in the educational decisions which affect them. The older system of paternalistic indirect representation is inadequate, only partly legitimated, and inappropriate for a more autonomous generation of young people.

Quite apart from their approval or disapproval of these broader changes in the position of young people in our society, the administrators we talked with universally had adapted to them. Educational "liberals" and "conservatives" had sharply differing interpretations of many aspects of the current educational and disciplinary pressures created by contemporary young people. We found administrators of all sorts, ranging from a few who were in almost complete sympathy with the cultural ideals of their students to one or two who saw many of these ideals as resulting from some sort of politically conspiratorial process. Bifet they all reacted in remarkably similar ways.

These reactions all have the basic form of increasing the representation of young people in the decisionmaking processes of the school. Most of the increases are primarily "token" or symbolic, and little has happened in any of the schools we visited which insures real representation of the viewpoint of the students in the conduct of affairs in the school. But the symbolic or occasional representation of the students represents a real and important change. In the schools we examined, the changes take two basic forms:

A. The "open-door" policy and student organizations; The administrators we talked to made a major point of the need, in the present turbulent period, for constant consultation with students who might have grievances, lest these blow up into major school crises. In practice this may involve a policy of encouraging any student who wishes to talk with an administrator easy access to him, but this is the least important aspect of the policy. The important part of the open-door policy is that doors are opened to student groups and their actual or potential leaders to discuss their problems or interests directly. In practice, during the recent period, this means that administrators have learned to be responsive to student political and ethnic groups. When national crises arise which mobilize political or ethnic interests, administrators try to keep in touch with the potentially volatile groups in their schools. These groups are rarely concerned with attacking the school - rather they wish to do battle with larger elements of the social structure. Administrators have learned to encourage or permit such groups to hold special meetings or assemblies concerned with the problems which interest them, to have class time given over to a consideration of such problems, to bring in outside speakers (including some whose presence in the school might a few years ago have appeared incendiary), and even to take substantial amounts of time off from school in pursuit of wider goals. When political or ethnic groups wish, for instance, to organize a temporary "strike" against national (or local) policy, administrators have learned to be at least marginally cooperative.

The policy of maintaining a cooperative, "open-door", policy toward groups representing students' outside interests has special significance, according to our interviewees, for racially or ethnically mixed schools. In such schools, incidents of conflict between members of the different groups may explode into mass conflict, necessitating the closing down of the school for a cooling-off period. This sometimes happens, but administrators try to head it off by maintaining close touch with the most active student groups and leaders representing the different racial groups. If the administrators can respond rapidly enough to incidents of this kind with official intervention and control procedures, they can often keep the school relatively calm. This often involves retaining some sensitivity to the special concerns of the different student groups, and giving a great deal of attention to communication with them. Rumors about such incidents can quickly inflame a school, and the administrative practice of direct communication can dispel many of the exaggerated rumors which typically float around the student network in schools.

B. Symbolic representation of student interests: In none of the schools we visited had the administrators set up a really effective and representative system of student government. Students are not organized well enough as a social group, with stable enough organizations and commitments, to permit such structures. But it is a great mistake to interpret the student representation which does exist as meaningless. Administrators create advisory committees of students, or put student representatives on regular school committees. They create new disciplinary rules and machinery only after some consultation with students. They create new policies by which student curricular suggestions are systematically incorporated in the school program planning process. In some instances, they permit ^{*} students to take direct initiatives in creating new courses and programs.

* One of the ghetto high schools which we visited has announced an experimental program for the coming school year which is referred to as "Student-Directed Curriculum". This appears to be a further step in the direction of incorporating students in the planning of their own education.

All of these changes - whether they seem to have a massive impact on the school or not (and most appear not to have such an impact) - amount to a formal acknowledgement by the school of the autonomous and independent interests of the students. That is, there is involved in this social change a shift in the social status in the school of its student body. For a school which puts a student member or two on its curriculum committee, or represents black students in the creation of a special course in Afro-American Studies, or permits students to suggest new courses, is not simply coopting student discontent in marginal ways. The symbolic acknowledgement of student rights in fact enters the thinking of teachers and administrators as an important element. In planning programs and courses, teachers and administrators - even if students are not present - take into account what they believe to be student opinion to a much greater extent than in the past. Student opinion, even if its expression is disorganized and mostly frivolous, is now legitimated as an important element in the structure of the school.

The shifts in policy in the high school are extremely important. Their impact on such disciplinary problems as vandalism cannot be established, and we (along with most of our respondents) doubt if they are significant. The impact of the changes on conflict between student political or ethnic groups and the school, however, is very great. Many of the most severe disturbances which might have created crises in the schools a few years ago are now worked out between students and teachers and administrators. Both students and administrators have discovered that the same political and ethnic pressures which might a few years ago have been interpreted as attacks on the school and violations of its rules can in fact be accommodated by the school with little change. In these instances, what has been required has been a shift in the school's conception of the student. This shift has, in many ways, taken place.

In the long run, the changes we discuss here, however, do not really solve the problems of young people in society – they simply permit the school to function more easily. Conflicts between young people and society over ideological, political, and ethnic issues; over the legitimacy of various type of commodities such as drugs; and over what shall be taught in the schools; continue to take place. The school has simply adapted to a changed constellation of influences by legitimizing them – by responding somewhat more to pressures from young people, and perhaps a little less to other types of pressures.

It is interesting to speculate about the consequences that the slight shifts in the direction of student control which we discuss may have. Clearly they make the school a little less the property of the community at large. Will this make the external community less willing to support financially and socially a system of schools over which it has less control? If schools solve some of their disciplinary problems by reducing the alienation of students, but increasing that of other sectors of society, a whole new set of problems may arise. These will be far, however, from the simple problem of order in the schools.

It is also important to think of the educational consequences of the shifts we have found. There are those who think of these changes as involving the democratization of the schools, the education of the students to greater social responsibility for their own affairs, and a path to more meaningful and relevant curricula. Others see them as the breakdown of cultural and intellectual discipline, and the sacrifice of education and a commitment to real learning to the mindlessness of irresponsible progressive education. However, little is known about the overall educational effects of schools, either as they have been in the past or as they are now, so this discussion of the consequences of educational change takes place in something of a vacuum.

Chapter 5: THE EDUCATIONAL PROBLEM: STUDENT DISINTEREST AND
THE DECLINE IN ATTENDANCE

1. Introduction:

In the previous chapters, we have described some of the problems of social control in high schools, and some of the ways in which the schools have responded to these problems. Our overall theme, as stated in the first chapter, is the observation that the schools have adapted to their various problems in ways which have made the continued operation of the school organization feasible. The schools have not "solved" any of the problems we have discussed – student drug use is common, rates of theft and vandalism are probably increasing, and political and ethnic protests and conflicts occur fairly frequently. But the schools have narrowed their claims to responsibility for their students to more strictly educational concerns. Theft, vandalism, and drug use are not common student activities during school hours – they can be seen as maintenance problems for the school and personal problems of the students, rather than as either an attack on, or the responsibility of, the school organization. Similarly, racial conflicts and protests, and political protest activities, can easily be seen by all parties as related to larger issues in our society. Thus they may be defined as in no way directed at, or the primary responsibility of the schools. The schools adapt to these problems – by trying to smooth out racial conflicts, by permitting ethnic and political organizations and activities, by adapting the school curriculum to the ethnic (and to some extent political and social) interests of students, and so on.

The problem of social control in the schools, then, is partly solved by simply acknowledging the very limited responsibility of the school. This is an important social change in American society. It involves acknowledging the interests, culture, and problems of youth as phenomena separate from the organization of the school. In the past, the school has been seen as the critical organization defining and structuring the whole public life of young people. Now in giving up this role, the school — with the assent of many sectors of our society — is making much less of a claim to this central role. If young people take drugs, it is defined as a problem of youth in society, not especially of students in school. Similarly, if young people become involved in violent political or ethnic protests or conflicts, the school no longer takes (or is given) the responsibility for "keeping the lid on" in these areas.

Thus, the position of "student" has been redefined in society. Our system of social accounting no longer holds the school and its administrators and teachers responsible for the public behavior of young people. It is understood that youth problems — drug use, crime, protests, ethnic conflicts, and so on — are society-wide and are not to be thought of as **the schools' responsibility or as behavior created by the schools.**

The development of social understandings on these points has made the task of school teachers and administrators much easier. They are not expected by anyone to manage the entire panoply of deviant behavior on the part of young people — they are only expected to keep the school organization more or less operative. And so far as can be seen, they continue to do this with about the same level of effectiveness (or ineffectiveness) that has characterized American education in the past.

But several new problems have been created for the schools by the new social understandings about their limited role which have been developing. One can be noted here and then put aside as peripheral to our purposes – the other, however, must be treated as a major theme.

(1) With the increasingly limited claims of the school to the paternalistic management of the whole range of public roles of the student, a problem is created of maintaining the traditional levels of public optimism about the uses of education and the traditionally high levels of public support for it. As the schools acknowledge responsibility in fewer areas, there is increasing skepticism about their uses or advantages, and perhaps a decreasing willingness to pay for them. There is no evidence at all that the schools are playing their educational roles less effectively than in the past. But there is much more public awareness of their inadequacies. The press and the academic literature are full of references to the educational and social inadequacies of the schools. It has always been true that many students learned very little in the schools – but now this is seen as a new and critical educational problem. It has always been true that many students in the high schools were illiterate – this fact is now taken as a condemnation of the school structure.

Our point here is the speculation that the retreat of the schools from their past claims to the management of almost every aspect of the lives and interests of young people to more narrow educational claims has called attention to their social and educational inadequacies, and may have made for much lower levels of public support.

(2) There may be something of a crisis in public confidence in the high schools. There is certainly a major problem so far as the school's ability to maintain the confidence of its students. Our major conclusion — one that was entirely unexpected at the beginning of this study — is that the contemporary students are not particularly involved in an attack on the schools, but are rather fleeing them.

Two basic social circumstances have changed in the relation of students to school. The school claims a less broad responsibility in managing the total social status and experience of its cohort of young people. And correspondingly there is an increased acknowledgement on the part of the school (and society at large) that young people have ideas, interests, needs, organizations, tastes, and so on, of their own, which they may legitimately act on. In the past, students were under the management of their parents and the school — they were to be advised and supervised, and were not expected to have a set of interests of their own which primarily structured their action. Now students "do their own thing" because they are acknowledged by all parties to have an "own thing" — a set of interests and purposes quite apart from their status as students and children — to do.

To an extraordinary extent, this social change in perspective has put the schools on the defensive in their educational relationships with their students. A whole host of questions which students in the past were not seen as having the right to ask can now be asked. Often there are no convincing answers. "Why should we study this?" "Why should I be interested in this?" "Why is this relevant to me?" When such questions are asked, the schools are often hard put to provide answers.

More often the questions are not asked. Students, rather, are "voting with their feet." In conducting our study, an awareness of the problems of student non-participation came to us very slowly and very late. We were so much interested in any evidence that the students were in conflict with the high schools that we tended to be insensitive to the major change which has taken place in the extent to which students have invested their time and energy in participating in the schools at all.

The whole network of problems centered around school attendance is not primarily to be seen in terms of law enforcement. There are truancy laws, but by and large the structure of controls in this area has never been primarily a legal one. And at present, the attempt to manage the avalanche of school non-attendance by calling it truancy and controlling it as such has completely broken down in most larger school systems.

2. Illustrations of the Problem

In the course of our field investigation, we went to a large high school located in the heart of an urban ghetto slum. This high school has been rather widely publicized in its city as the locus of an extraordinary number of problems of control. It has had racial conflicts, riots, assaults, a record of overt drug use, attacks on teachers and administrators, and so on. It has served, in its locale, as almost a caricature of the much-discussed educational and social control problems of the slum high school with a primarily minority-group constituency.

The administrators of the school were frank in acknowledging past difficulties in the school. But they felt that the publicity the school had received had given it an unfairly negative reputation. Many of the school's worst problems, they felt, had been resolved. In particular, the school was no longer over-crowded, as many students had (voluntarily, or more frequently at their parents' insistence) transferred to other high schools. The official enrollment of the school had dropped sharply, and was now between 1,000 and 1,500.

To show us that their school was indeed not a "Blackboard Jungle" but an operative educational institution, an administrator took us on a tour of the school. It seemed quiet and rather orderly. There were a few students talking in groups in the hallways (although all were supposed to be in class) and the administrator was a bit embarrassed by this; making half-hearted efforts to encourage them to go to class. But this is a problem in many schools, and in no way seemed to indicate that the school had exceptional problems.

To show us further the smooth conduct of affairs in the school, the administrator opened the door of a classroom, indicating that teachers were very much able to go about their business. The teacher was, indeed, teaching. There were four students in the room. A little later, we looked in another classroom, and then another, and then still another. In each case there were only a few students actually attending class.

As we walked around this huge urban school, it became clear to us that, while its official enrollment had dropped sharply, the number of students actually attending classes was less than 50% of the official enrollment. There were few problems in the school, in part because there were few students there. More to the point, those students who chose actually to attend the school were presumably those who wanted to participate in its structure, and felt able to do so.

We quickly began to understand why this particular urban high school was experiencing a much lower level of difficulty than might have been anticipated. Rather than engaging in attacks on the school, those students who did not find their participation useful were simply not attending.

It was, therefore, not surprising that the administrators of the school, in our interviews with them, talked mostly about their problems of maintaining student "interest" rather than their problems of social control. What we had initially interpreted as a concern with the more subtle aspects of maintaining student motivations, it became clear, was in addition a concern that the students were not attending the school (or its classes) at all.

This single visit to a particular urban school caused a good deal of rethinking in our conduct of our study. It made us sensitive to a different range of problems than those we originally set out to investigate. And it permitted us to reinterpret a great deal of interview material.

It turned out, in retrospect, that many administrators had really been discussing the problem of student participation all through our field visits and interviews. Frequently, in our interviews about the particular problems of social control and the maintenance of order, and about the administrators' methods of dealing with them, the interviewees would bring up their broader problems of "maintaining student interest", "finding relevant educational programs," and so on. On reflection, it turned out that the administrative concern with such problems was not a deflection from their problems of social control, but rather indicated the changed nature of these problems.

From this point on, in our investigation, we tried to be sensitive to information on the problem of student non-participation. While very few schools seem to have the massive problem of our urban slum high school, almost all of them have problems of the same sort, and tend to define them as central. In fact, if there is one problem which high school administrators in all the schools we visited have among the foremost of their concerns, it is the problem of maintaining student interest and participation.

The problem of student participation can be met in many forms. Some of it is simply a problem of student absences, which seem to have sharply increased in many types of schools. There is also, in many schools, a problem of student class attendance. Students come to school, in other words, for the school day, but avoid some or all of their actual classes by simply staying in the school corridors, on the school grounds, on nearby streets, or in nearby restaurants, soda fountains, or other businesses.

Legitimation of the change: There is the further problem that schools now face many pressures for the legitimation of many forms of curricular change – and in some instances, only partial forms of student participation – from their students. The school has, to some extent, lost the ability (and the massive community faith it may once have had) to define arbitrarily the appropriate curriculum for students. Students now claim – and tend to be given by the schools – the right to alter existing organizational arrangements in the schools.

There have always been students who refused, or were unable, to conform placidly to the requirements of the schools. School organizations have responded to this problem in a variety of ways. The difference now is that these refusals tend to be supported by many – and sometimes most – educational principles, ideologies, and so on. So students who do not wish to participate can no longer simply be defined as deviant, as troublemakers, and so on – they have normative claims to make of their own, and they make them with some regularity.

Schools have adapted by creating all sorts of alternative arrangements – alternative curricula, highly unstructured programs, "relevant" courses, and so on. These programs often amount to only partial student participation in the school, even though students registered in them are formally counted as present and participating. The extreme form of this kind of alternative schooling tends to be found in the "continuation schools" which many districts use for students who do not wish to, or cannot, survive in the main stream. These schools often provide only very partial arrangements for full student participation – they tend to count students as present who devote very little time to school participation.

An additional change in many present high school arrangements helps to legitimate the lowered level of student involvement or organizational control. Many high schools have shifted from systems in which each student was required to be in a definite school location – under the supervision of a given teacher – at every point during the day except the lunch hour. All sorts of changes in this past pattern of total organizational control have been made. Some schools have required students to be present only during their regularly scheduled class hours (eliminating required study periods, study halls, and other ways of controlling students during their "down" time). Others have made some types of class attendance only partially required – permitting a certain number of class "cuts" and so on. Still others have given teachers considerable freedom to hold class hours only when it seemed educationally appropriate, and to create considerable amounts of free "project time." All these changes operate to weaken the total control of the school over the day of the student. They make it possible for the student to be legitimately absent from the controlled school classroom, freeing him to pursue activities of his own choosing, in the outside world. In this way, of course, schools externalize not only parts of the work and activity of their students, but the social control problems these students may pose as well.

3. Formal Evidence of the Changes

School attendance records are not always very accurate. Some of the reasons for this are indicated above – it is not always clear whether a student is legitimately attending school on a given day or not. But an overriding source of error is built into attendance records because they are so closely tied (1) to the rewards and punishments a given student will receive for being present- or absent; and (2) to the resources the school will receive from state and federal sources. Teachers, and students themselves, act to protect students from the negative consequences of being listed as absent. Many students who make only an occasional, or only a brief, entry into the school may be continuously listed as present to protect their own social and educational futures. And school record systems contain many sources of error which systematically exaggerate attendance in order to protect the school's resources, which are closely tied to the "ada" as it is called (Average Daily Attendance). For this reason it is important to stress that school attendance records greatly underestimate the actual extent to which students (and high school aged young people in general) are not participating in the affairs of the school.

Nevertheless, the formal evidence we have collected, as well as the more impressionistic field materials, show a marked rise in absenteeism. Table 5-1 reports the absenteeism statistics collected by the San Francisco Unified School District for the academic years 1966-67, 1967-68, and 1968-69. The data are shown for the whole district, and separately for each of its eight high schools. The Table shows large increases in absenteeism over this short period of three years. And, significantly, the increases are to be found in each of the high schools in the district – though the rates, and the rate of increase, differ markedly among the schools.

A more general demonstration of the dramatic increase in absenteeism comes from a comparison of our ~~two~~ surveys of high school principals in 1965 and 1970. On both surveys, the principals were asked to indicate in these anonymous surveys their average daily attendance percentages. The question formats were similar, so the results are potentially comparable:

1965 Equality of Educational Opportunity Survey Question :

#42. About what is the average daily percentage of attendance in your school?

(A) Over 98% (B) 97-98% (C) 95-96% (D) 93-94% (E) 91-92% (F) 86-90% (G) 85%

or lower

1970 Disruption in Urban Public Secondary Schools Survey Question:

#58. What is your average daily attendance?

(A) 90%-100% (B) 80%-89% (C) 70%-79% (D) 60%-69% (E) less than 60%

Table 5-1

Rates of Student Truancy (i.e. unexcused absences per student for the San Francisco Unified School District High Schools: Academic Years Beginning in 1966, 1967, and 1968.

	Absenteeism Rates		
	(unexcused absences per student)		
	1966-7	1967-8	1968-9
District Total	8.5	11.8	18.9
High Schools			
A	10.3	15.8	17.0
B	9.0	10.6	17.8
C	7.6	8.2	15.8
D	5.5	6.2	10.6
E	0.5	0.6	0.7
F	13.7	20.2	36.5
G	18.4	22.8	33.7
H	7.5	10.3	19.1

The results show a striking change over the five-year period. Only 12% of the 517 high school principals in the earlier survey reported average attendance figures of 90% or less. In the 1970 study, on the other hand, 36% of the principals reported attendance figures of 89% or below. In other words, the proportion of schools whose official records (the source of information on which, we assume, most of the principals relied) show that at least ten per cent of the students were missing on the average day trebled. We assume that on both surveys attendance was overestimated, but there is no reason to assume that there was no change, and that principals' data simply became more accurate. It makes more sense to argue that there has indeed been a considerable change.

The two surveys are, of course, not entirely comparable, as we have made clear in Chapter 2. In order to make the findings more comparable — to correct, that is, for the sampling biases deliberately built in to each of the samples — we have computed the reported daily attendance figures with schools broken down by three basic variables: the proportion of students who are white, the total enrollment of the school, and the size of city in which the school is located. The complex data which result are shown in Table 5-2. The Table, of course, shows comparable results for only a few types of schools — especially schools in the middle size category. But the conclusion to be drawn from the Table is inescapable — in practically all the school categories, the proportion of schools reporting attendance rates above 90% has dropped sharply since 1965.

Table 5-2

Principal's Reported Attendance Rates for Schools Classified by Size, Size of City,
and Proportion of Students Who Are White: 1965 and 1970

A. 1965 Data: Equality of Educational Opportunity Survey

% Reporting average daily attendance of 91% or more

School Location

		Small (rural, small town)			Medium (small city, industrial and residential suburb)			Large (residential big city, inner city)		
		Enrollment								
		Under 500	500- 2000	Over 2000	Under 500	500- 2000	Over 2000	Under 500	500- 2000	Over 2000
Proportion of Students Who Are White	90% and over	94% (36)*	98% (55)	4* (4)	98% (53)	97% 76	3 (3)	1 (1)	100% (17)	10 (10)
	10-89%	73% (15)	95% (20)	3 (3)	88% 15	95% 21	3 (3)	1 (2)	76% (13)	55% (22)
	Under 10%	12 (14)	73% (22)	2 (3)	76% (21)	75% (35)	0 (0)	1 (1)	71% (21)	4 (7)

B. 1970 Data:

% Reporting average daily attendance of 90% or more

		City Population								
		Under 50,000			50,299,999			300,000 and over		
		Enrollment								
		Under 500	500- 1999	2000 and up	Under 500	500- 1999	2000 and up	Under 500	500- 1999	2000 & up
Proportion of Students Who Are White	90% and over	0 (0)	72% (53)	8 (12)	0 (0)	75% (162)	73% (78)	0 (0)	86% (42)	75% (57)
	6-89%	0 (0)	69% (16)	4 (8)	0 (0)	56% (137)	57% (75)	0 (3)	49% (61)	63% (78)
	5% and under	0 (0)	2 (4)	0 (0)	2 (2)	67% (18)	1 (2)	1 (2)	23% (30)	25% (16)

* Numbers in parentheses are the number of cases on which percentages are based.

Percentages were not computed over less than fifteen cases and, thus, in cells based on less than fifteen cases the raw number of schools is given.

Data on other forms of non-participation: We do not have quantitative information on more subtle forms of student non-participation than truancy. However it is quite clear that many high schools have modified their rules to permit students more freedom to absent themselves legitimately from formal classes. And it is also clear that a good deal of informal partial absenteeism occurs — that students who are formally listed as present in school are actually freely circulating in school corridors, and in the residential and business areas around the school. Finally, it is quite clear that the kinds of special programs — in the extreme, continuation schools — which involve lower rates of scheduled participation for high school students have greatly increased in the last few years.

4. Types of Schools With High Absenteeism Rates

While all types of schools have experienced increased absenteeism in the last few years, certain types of schools have higher rates than others.

A higher proportion of schools located in urban areas report that attendance is low. This can be seen by examining Table A-1 on page 153 of the Appendix, which shows the relationship between attendance and school location for both the 1965 and 1970 surveys. The relationship is not large but it is consistent.

The size of the school's enrollment is less consistently related to levels of attendance. Table A-2 on page 154 of the Appendix shows that schools with larger enrollments have somewhat higher levels of absenteeism in the 1965 data but not in the 1970 data. Apparently this relationship is weak.

Relations with other problems: It is important to see the increase in absenteeism as a general — we believe a national and cultural — phenomenon, even though it continues to be more heavily concentrated in certain social groups than in others. In particular, it is a mistake to see absenteeism as primarily created by student dissatisfaction with or disinterest in one or another particular school organization. Students are not only withdrawing from a given — presumably unsuccessful — school: they are withdrawing from the school system. Thus, like the forms of high school student deviance and disorder that we have discussed, absenteeism should not be conceived to be a form of student attack on a particular school organization.

This can be shown most clearly in our data by the associations between absenteeism and other forms of deviant behavior, which often tend to be rather low. That is to say, schools with high rates of absenteeism tend to have some of the other problems we have discussed too, but these correlations are not strikingly high. When they do exist, we believe they are more closely related to the underlying social class and ethnic composition characteristics of the school than to any peculiar defects of the school organization.

It also seems clear from the evidence that the associations between absenteeism and other school problems have not changed much between 1965 and 1970. Thus, while absenteeism and a whole host of other problems have considerably or greatly increased in American high schools, their underlying structure has probably not changed greatly. There is, in any case, no evidence at all that the types of factors leading individual students or students in particular schools to have high absenteeism, have changed much over the recent period.

Evidence on the relations between absenteeism and principals' reports of other school problems is presented in Table 5-3. Schools - from both the 1965 and the 1970 surveys - are classified by whether or not the principal reported high absenteeism. The entries in the table are the proportion of schools in each group whose principal reported the presence of one or another of the other problems of order which we have considered. Where there appears to be some basis for comparison between the 1965 and the 1970 surveys, the data are put in adjoining rows.

The data reported in Table 5-3 show a pattern of moderate associations between absenteeism and other problems. Data not presented also show such patterns of association - for instance, between absenteeism and reported student impertinence to teachers. As another example, there is a very slight association in our 1965 data between absenteeism and a reported problem of student drug use. In all the cases we have examined, the associations are small or moderate in size - not large. And in the two cases in which we have roughly similar indicators in 1965 and 1970, the data show a very similar pattern of association in the two periods.

These results indicate that absenteeism is not particularly closely tied, in the present or in the recent past, to special problems of disorganization in the local school. We believe, in fact, that the associations which are shown in Table 5-3 reflect the differential distribution among schools of types of students who tend especially to be disinterested in participation.

Table 3-23

Relations Between School Absenteeism Rates and Principal Reports of Other Problems of Control: 1965 and 1970

(cell entries are percentage reporting a given problem)

Equality of Educational Opportunity Survey

	1965 Average Daily Attendance		1970 Average Daily Attendance	
	High (91% and over)	Low (90% and below)	High (90% and over)	Low (89% and below)
Number of cases	453	64	552	312
A. % reporting the presence of; a problem of property destruction...	73%	81%		
cases of property damage .			54%	64%
b. % reporting the presence of; student attacks on teachers	5%	18%		
student-teacher physical confrontations . . . , . . . » •			23%	36%
c. % reporting student unruliness			34%	49%
d. % reporting student riots . . .			14%	24%
e. % reporting student boycotts or strikes...			30%	40%

It should be noted, however, that our field data in some Instances show a rather close association in San Francisco and in Oakland between absenteeism and other school problems. For example, among the 6 Oakland high schools in 1966, the absenteeism and vandalism rates showed a correlation (Pearson's r) of .66. The correlation with the school rate of incidents of arson per student, however, was negative: $-.15$. The comparable figures for the eight San Francisco high schools in 1968 were .66 and .21. However, even in our field data, absenteeism tended more consistently to be related to the background characteristics of the students.

Relations between absenteeism and characteristics of the students

School absenteeism has always been especially characteristic of students who come from lower class or minority group backgrounds. A generation of social research has indicated that a large number of factors may account for these basic facts – the somewhat lower faith in education characteristic of such groups, a lower level of parental control over student behavior, a variety of economic and cultural factors pressing students to look for jobs rather than opportunities for further schooling, the experience of failure and alienation in school leading the student and his peers to find the educational experience distasteful and unprofitable, and so on.

Our field data show these patterns very well. In both Oakland (1966) and San Francisco (1968) the Pearson correlation between the school's absenteeism rate and its level of minority-group enrollment was .55. In Oakland, the correlation with the average family income of the student bodies (as ascertained by The Oakland Public Schools Research Department Report, 1968-70) is $-.84$. And the correlation with the extent to which the student body of the school is transitory (as shown in the same Oakland Research Department report) – a typical characteristic of schools in depressed communities – is .81. These data indicate that schools with high absenteeism are likely to be schools with minority group students and schools with students from the lower levels of the class structure.

The data from the formal surveys of school principals show the same results. In Table 5-4, for instance, the schools in both 1965 and the 1970 surveys are classified by the principals' reports of their proportion of students who are white. For each category of schools, the proportion of principals reporting high absenteeism is shown. The findings of the Table are very clear. In both surveys, schools with high absenteeism tend to be found among the schools with student bodies drawn from minority groups. The association is strong, and while absenteeism is greater in all categories of schools in 1970 than in 1965, the pattern or strength of the association is quite similar in the two samples.

These data showing the concentration of absenteeism in minority-group schools, however, are open to the following question. Minority group members tend to be lower in social class than white Americans. Perhaps the finding that absenteeism is concentrated in minority-group schools really reflects, not the ethnic, but the class composition of these schools. In order to test this alternative, and to show the independent effects of both class and ethnic composition on absenteeism, we need to cross-tabulate both variables by attendance rates simultaneously. Unfortunately, this is only possible in the 1965 survey — the 1970 survey did not contain questions asking principals about the social class composition of their student bodies.

The appropriate data are shown in Table 5-5. The schools in the 1965 sample are classified by the principal's report of their ethnic composition, and simultaneously by his report of the social class backgrounds of the students. These two variables are, of course, highly correlated — all but one of the schools reported to have predominantly middle or upper class students made up of 90% or more white students. This is why we need to study the effects of both variables simultaneously.

Table 5-4

School Attendance Rates According to Principal's Report of the Racial Composition of the School: 1965 and 1970

a. 1965 Equality of Educational Opportunity Survey

	Racial Composition			
	9% or less white	10-59% white	60-39% white	90% or more white
% reporting average daily attendance of 91% or more	73%	56%	96%	98%
number of cases		25	96	260

b. 1970 Disruption in Urban Public Secondary Schools Survey

	Racial Composition (percent white)				
	5% or less white	6-25%	26-49%	50-89%	90% or white
% reporting average daily attendance of 90% or more	38%	53%	50%	58%	75%
Number of cases	73	34	40	306	409

Table 5-5

Absenteeism Rates According to Social Class and Racial Composition

Simultaneously: 1965 Equality of Educational Opportunity Survey

cell entries are percent reporting average daily attendance of 90% or lower

		Reported Social Class Composition of Student Body		
		Lou	Middle	High
		Blue collar and rural	Crosssection of community	Professional
Racial Composition (percent white)	9% or less white	31% (58)*	22% (72)	- (0)
	10-89% white	33% (46)	12% (72)	0/1
	90% or more white	2% (50)	2% (178)	3% (31)

* Figures in parentheses are base figures in which percentages are computed

The findings of the Table are very clear. Both social class and ethnic or racial composition affect attendance rates. All but 1 (or 97%) of the 31 schools which have upper status white students report high attendance rates. At the other extreme, 31% of the lower status minority group schools report attendance levels of 90% or below. In the predominantly white schools, absenteeism above 10% is so rare that no association with social class appears. But in the other categories of schools, there is a definite association.

Overall, however, the correlation between absenteeism and minority enrollment is considerably higher than that of social class. Presumably this may reflect the special position of minority groups – particularly blacks – in American society, and the consequently high levels of alienation these groups have from the educational system.

5. Definitions of the Problem and Attempts to Deal With It

So far as we can see, the fact that absenteeism is concentrated among students who are from lower class or minority-group background cannot be conceived to represent a new problem, and unfortunate though it may be, does not represent a new set of issues for social control or for education. **The new problems created by the current changes have to do with the general across-the-board increase in absenteeism.**

High school administrators and deans in the San Francisco Bay area were interviewed about their conceptions of the causes of the dramatic increase in truancy. They responded with many kinds of explanations - from loss of interest on the part of students to changing conceptions of the relevance of the content of high school curriculum. Some indicated that students are bored and that distractions in the community (particularly in the core city high schools) provide attractive alternatives to school attendance. Others, particularly in suburban high schools, talked of lack of ambition in the students and a preference for "sitting around under the trees." References were made to the "television generation" that has never had to work and never known economic difficulty. At one particularly troubled ghetto high school in San Francisco, the extremely high non-attendance and reduced enrollment was seen as partly caused by the turmoil over racial issues which had erupted between some of the teachers and the administration.

In the same interviews the high school personnel were asked to suggest remedies for this problem. Many spoke of the necessity for curriculum change that would appeal to the student's sense of relevancy. In most high schools new courses dealing with ethnic studies had already been implemented. Especially in the urban centers the need for dynamic teachers who could appeal to the students was often mentioned.

A few of the administrators interviewed mentioned increased supervision as a solution, particularly to the problem of loitering in the hall. Most personnel, however, were pessimistic about the prospect of raising attendance with disciplinary measures. They pointed out the obvious contradiction involved in suspending a truant from school. In San Francisco the procedure for handling an unexcused absence is as follows. First, an attempt is made to contact the parents by telephone. This job is delegated to "office training" students at the high schools in order to relieve the overloaded school personnel. If this procedure is not successful, a truant officer from the school tries to see the parents at their home. If a parent is uncooperative, a complaint is filed with the Juvenile Court after either

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three truancies or nine cuts . According to administrators at the district headquarters, the juvenile courts have been so overburdened with more serious matters that they have neglected these truancy cases.

At one high school in San Francisco city policemen have cooperated with school authorities by bringing students found loitering off campus back to school. This procedure has apparently had small effect on the overall trend toward increased truancy, however. Most of the personnel interviewed expressed the feeling that disciplinary measures are not promising solutions to this problem and that what is needed is a program to get the students more involved with the school. They admitted, however, that attempts in this direction have been largely unsuccessful so far.

* A "cut" occurs when a student leaves school unexcused.

Two aspects of these results of our field interviews stand out. First, almost none of the school administrators with whom we talked believed that the absenteeism problem could be seen primarily as a violation of school attendance rules, or could primarily be dealt with or controlled through the truancy system. Second, almost all of these administrators defined the problem in terms of a breakdown in student commitment to the school, interest in its programs, and so on. That is, there is almost universal agreement in the schools that the primary aspect of the breakdown in school attendance – whether this breakdown is measured by complete truancy, groups of students idling on streets or in hallways, or partially legitimated non-participation in classes – does not lie in its violation of the legal and educational rules defining high school students. The absent students are not primarily involved in an attempt to break rules or to attack the school, and their absences cannot be effectively controlled in this way. From the point of view of the school, that is, the problem is not one of social control or law enforcement. It is an educational problem. There are, however, other points of view, and the decline in school participation – whatever its definition inside the school – poses some interesting problems of **social** control and law **enforcement** for the wider society.

We turn to note both the larger problem as it appears from the perspective of the school – the educational problem – and the social control problems which are being created for our society by the changes we have described.

6. The Educational Problem: Some Cautions

We are in no way prepared to propose effective educational devices which may block the decline in school participation, if this is taken to be a desideratum. It is enough to note that school personnel almost universally define the problem as one, not of controlling students, but of motivating them to participate by redefining programs and curricula, changing rules, inviting their participation on grounds giving them more control over their educational experiences, and the educational programs of the school, and so on. One can see these changes as representing an unfortunate and probably irreversible concession to the tastes and interests of immature students, as a means of implementing more democratic forms in an over-structured educational system, or as devices which are likely to insure substantive improvements in education and its relevance to the needs of young people. No matter how the changes are defined, it is extremely important to understand that the changes have not resulted from the sudden discovery that aspects of contemporary secondary education are in some way "irrelevant", and that the changes have other consequences over and above any improvement to which they may lead in the substance of secondary education.

The new wave of absenteeism, and the social reaction to it in the schools, both reflect the changed status of high school students in school and society and act to confirm aspects of this changed status. High school students have not newly discovered their disinterest - curricula have always seemed irrelevant to many students, have contained their quotas of crushing boredom, and have provided content which was impossible to justify substantively. The current changes in participation reflect a widespread social idea - distributed especially widely among the students themselves - that students have the right, responsibility, and legitimate independent perspective to take action with regard to their sensibilities about their educational situations. Thus, instead of continuing in apathetic boredom to participate in programs the "authorities" have set out for them, students to some limited extent believe they have the right and responsibility to decide what to do. Partly the adult world has lost some of its authoritative legitimacy, but partly the students themselves - in response to the social changes of the 1960s - have defined their own preferences as more authoritative and legitimate. Thus arise, suddenly, questions about boring and irrelevant programs which have, in all probability, always seemed boring and irrelevant.

Of course, any educational changes which attempt to alter the situation by reincorporating students on a more responsible and autonomous basis - and as we have indicated almost all the administratively proposed solutions move at least a little in this direction - operate to confirm the changed rights of the high school student.

Thus the origins of the problem of school participation and the definition of the attendance problem as an educational one both arise from and reinforce the expanded picture of the social position of the secondary school student in our society. In this respect, it makes sense to see the educational situation as one in which the rights of students as citizens are being expanded and acknowledged to a greater extent.

A cautionary note: It is crucial not to develop a premature concern about the contemporary decline in school participation or the reformulation of school programs as certain to lead to instructional disasters. Many of the students who are becoming high school non-participants would have learned very little had they chosen to participate. The high schools have always had many students who learned little or nothing, and who participated only ritualistically. Such students, in fact, may be illiterate. But there is no automatic reason to believe that their literacy will be further lowered by their non-participation in school.

There may, in fact, be a decline in the amount of useful Instruction and learning in secondary schools as a result of the social changes we have discussed. But it cannot simply be inferred from the evidence that non-participation is declining in some measure. The effects of non-participation on the actual learning of individuals must be investigated directly.

7. Conclusions: The Social Control Problem

We have seen that high schools have externalized their control problems by giving up some of their past responsibilities to control the public and private behavior of their students. They have retreated to a somewhat narrower, more educational, conception of their functions, and in doing so have perforce acted to further free students to define the level of their own participation. They have tended toward an educational definition of their problems.

All these changes, by default, leave a considerable new problem of social order or control for the rest of society. High school students are, both symbolically in terms of their rights and responsibilities, and actually in terms of their distribution of time and energy, free to act as ordinary members of society. They may be defined less as children to be controlled by their families. Certainly, we have found, they are less defined as dependent students to be controlled in loco parentis by the high schools. To a greater extent they act as free citizens. Acting on these rights they consume drugs, organize political, ethnic and other associations, make demands on the world around them, and freely choose to distribute their time and efforts in ways which sometimes create difficulties for the surrounding social order. In most cities, it is no longer feasible for students who create social difficulties to be carefully returned by the police to their parents or schools for discipline and control. The parents have probably lost some control over the newly independent students — the schools certainly have.

It is increasingly necessary to face the problem of organizing and controlling and responding to the behavior of youth in society as a problem of its own – not one to be relegated to the family or the school. The schools have resolved some of their problems of order by increasing those of the wider society. In this way, the schools have fairly successfully maintained enough internal integrity and order to permit them at least to consider their educational problems. And in doing so, they have left the problem of the social control of youth to other institutional structures.

APPENDIX

Table A-1

School Attendance Rates According to Location of the School: 1965 and 1970

a. 1965 Equality of Educational Opportunity Survey

	School Location		
	small (rural, smalltown)	medium (small city, industrial & residential suburb)	large (residential big city, inner city)
% reporting average daily attendance of 91% or more	90%	91%	74%
number of cases	177	236	103

b. 1970 Disruption in Urban Public Secondary Schools Survey

	<u>City Population</u>		
	<u>Under 50,000</u>	<u>50-299,999</u>	<u>300,000 and over</u>
% reporting average daily attendance of 90% or more	69%	66%	59%
number of cases	93	474	289

Table A-2

School Attendance Rates According to Size of School Enrollment: 1965 and 1970

a. 1965 Equality of Educational Opportunity Survey

	School Enrollment		
	Under 501	501-2000	2001 and over
% reporting average daily attendance of 91% or more	89%	90'	72%
number of cases	159	289	57

b. 1970 Disruption in Urban Public Secondary Schools Survey

	School Enrollment		
	Under 500	500-1999	2000 and over
% reporting average daily attendance of 90% or more	(3)	64%	64%
number of cases		523	326

* The raw number of schools is given in this cell rather than the percentage because of the small number of small schools in this sample.

Table 3-23

Principals' Reports of Attacks on Teachers Classified By Size
 Of School Enrollment, Size of City In Which School Is Located,
 And Racial Composition Of Student Body: 1965 Equality Of Educational
 Opportunity Survey

Cell entries are percent reporting attacks on teachers

		School Location					
		Small (rural, small town)		Medium (small city, industrial and residential suburb)		Large (residential big city, inner city)	
		Size Of School Enrollment					
		Under 2000	Over 2000	Under 2000	Over 2000	Under 2000	Over 2000
Racial composition of Student Body (% white)	Over 89%	0% (36)*	3% (59)	2% (53)	5% (79)	6% (18)	0** (10)
	10-89%	0% (15)	0% (23)	7% (15)	4% (26)	5% (19)	32% (22)
	Under 10%	2% (14)	8% (25)	14% (21)	6% (34)	14% (22)	1% (7)

* Figures in parentheses are base figures on which percentages are computed.

** In cells in which the number of cases is too small to compute a meaningful percentage the actual number of schools is given.

Table A-4

Reported Existence Of Picketing By Students According To
Size Of Enrollment, Size of City In Which School Is Located And

Racial Composition Of Student Body Simultaneously: 1970

Cells contain percent reporting picketing by students

		<u>City Population</u>					
		<u>Less than 50,000</u>		<u>50-299,999</u>		<u>300,000 (or more</u>	
		<u>Enrollment</u>		<u>Enrollment</u>		<u>Enrollment</u>	
		<u>Less than</u>	<u>2000</u>	<u>Less than</u>	<u>2000</u>	<u>Less than</u>	<u>2000</u>
		<u>2000</u>	<u>or more</u>	<u>2000</u>	<u>or more</u>	<u>2000</u>	<u>or more</u>
Racial Composition Of Student Body (% white)	90% and more	16% (56)*	3** (12)	15% (163)	23% (79)	14% (42)	12% (57)
	6-8%	31% (16)	2 (8)	30% (137)	29% (75)	37% (64)	44% (77)
	5% and less	2 (4)	0 (0)	28% (18)	1 (2)	34% (30)	73% (15)

* Numbers in parentheses are the number of cases on which percentages are based.

** When there are not enough cases to compute a meaningful percentage, the actual number of schools is given.

Table A-4

Reported Existence Of Picketing By Students According To
Size Of Enrollment, Size of City In Which School Is Located And

Racial Composition Of Student Body Simultaneously: 1970

Cells contain percent reporting picketing by students

		<u>City Population</u>					
		<u>Less than 50,000</u>		<u>50-299,999</u>		<u>300,000 or more</u>	
		Enrollment		Enrollment		Enrollment	
		Less than 2000	2000 or more	Less than 2000	2000 or more	Less than 2000	2000 or more
Racial Composition Of Student Body (% white)	90% and more	16% (56) *	3** (12)	15% (163)	23% (79)	14% (42)	12% (57)
	6-8%	31% (16)	2 (8)	30% (137)	29% (75)	37% (64)	44% (77)
	5% and less	2 (4)	0 (0)	28% (18)	1 (2)	34% (30)	73% (15)

* Numbers in parentheses are the number of cases on which percentages are based.

** When there are not enough cases to compute a meaningful percentage, the actual number of schools is given.

Table A-4

Reported Existence Of Picketing By Students According To
Size Of Enrollment, Size of City In Which School Is Located And

Racial Composition Of Student Body Simultaneously: 1970

Cells contain percent reporting picketing by students

		<u>City Population</u>					
		Less than 50,000		50-299,999		300,000 or more	
		Enrollment		Enrollment		Enrollment	
		Less than 2000	2000 or more	Less than 2000	2000 or more	Less than 2000	2000 or more
Racial Composition Of Student Body (% white)	90% and more	16% (56)*	3** (12)	15% (163)	23% (79)	14% (42)	12% (57)
	6-8%	31% (16)	2 (8)	30% (137)	29% (75)	37% (64)	44% (77)
	5% and less	2 (4)	0 (0)	28% (18)	1 (2)	34% (30)	73% (15)

* Numbers in parentheses are the number of cases on which percentages are based.

** When there are not enough cases to compute a meaningful percentage, the actual number of schools is given.

Table A-5

Principals' Reports of Destruction of School Property
 Classified By School Location and Enrollment Size
 (From Equality of Educational Opportunity Survey, 1965)

	School Location			Enrollment
	Small (rural, small town)	Medium (small city, industrial residential suburb)	Large (residential big city, inner city)	
less than 500	68% (65)	55% (89)	4 (4)	
500-2000	80% (97)	81% (130)	69% (45)	
2000 or more	3 (10)	4 (6)	85% (39)	

Note: Figures in parentheses are base figures on which percentages are computed. In cells in which the number of cases is too small to compute a meaningful percentage, the actual number of schools is given.

Table A-6

Principals' Reports of Race Problems Classified By
 School Location, Enrollment, Social Class and Racial Composition
 (From Equality of Educational Opportunity Survey, 1965)

A. Percent white with School Location

		School Location		
		Small	Medium	Large
		(Rural, small town)	(small city, industrial residential suburb)	(Residential big city-inner city)
Per Cent White	Over 90%	39% (28)	22% (55)	17% (29)
	10-89%	38% (39)	56% (39)	61% (31)
	less than 9%	49% (43)	29% (130)	18% (28)

» Note: Figures in parentheses are base figures on which percentages are computed. In cells in which the number of cases is too small to compute a meaningful percentage, the actual number of schools is given.

Table A-6 (cont.)

B. Percent white with social class

		Social Class		
		Blue Collar and Rural	Cross Section	Professional
Per Cent White	Over 90%	4 (14)	26% (45)	1 (5)
	10-89%	48% (23)	49% (35)	0 (1)
	less than 9%	31% (17)	2 (13)	

C. Percent white with Enrollment

		Enrollment		
		less than 500	500-2000	2000 or more
Per Cent White	Over 90%	35% (26)	22% (77)	2 (9)
	10-89%	38% (32)	52% (58)	35% (29)
	less than 9%	21% (89)	25% (145)	41% (17)

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