CURRICULUM PLANNING IN A DAY TREATMENT SCHOOL FOR SOCIA LLY MALADJUSTED HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS

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ABSTRACT
CURRICULUM PLANNING IN A DAY TREATMENT SCHOOL FOR SOCIALLY MALADJUSTED HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS
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This study concerns the problems encountered by the personnel of a social service school in developing and implementing an "alternative curriculum" (planned program) for students who, for a variety of reasons, have been labelled "socially maladjusted". The data collected through participant observation and in-depth interviewing suggest that the "alternative curriculum" which the personnel developed was inappropriate to deal with the severe learning and behavioral problems of the students. The data further suggest that the problems the personnel experienced in developing the "alternative curriculum" which would effectively change the students' academic and social performance, were not unique to this particular school. In this case, however, they were generated by the lack of curricular model flexible enough to meet the needs of the students and staff. Twenty-four students, six teachers, two administrators and two child care workers participated in the study.
PREFACE

This study was originally intended to focus on the effects of a curriculum which was specifically developed to upgrade the scholastic performance and social development of high school students who have been labelled as school dropouts, potential dropouts or socially maladjusted individuals. However, once I began my research and systematically recorded my observations the focus shifted from the effects of the curriculum on students' behaviors, to the problems involved in developing and implementing an "alternative" curriculum to meet the needs of the student population.

I would like to thank all the people who helped in many ways to make this study possible, especially the administrators, teachers, child care workers, social workers and students at the school. Their support, interest and co-operation have helped me clarify my thinking on the general relationship between curriculum and students' behaviors. I am also indebted to my thesis advisor at
Concordia University, Education Department, Professor Joyce Barakett-Brand, for the excellent guidance she has given me before, during and after the period of the research. I was fortunate in having her criticisms at the times when I was struggling to get my ideas together in a coherent manner. She was indeed one of my sources of inspiration during my years of graduate study. I would also like to extend my gratitude to Professor William Knitter, Education Department, Concordia University, for his suggestions on curriculum theory, and development and for his criticisms of a draft of the chapter on curriculum. Special thanks also to Mr. Ashton Lewis, Director of Black and Third World Studies, Dawson College, and Mr. Carl Whittaker, Commissioner of Schools' Protestant School Board of Greater Montreal, for their comments on various drafts of the thesis. I would also like to thank Mrs. Valerie Garbou for typing the final version of the thesis.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this study is to examine a remedial curriculum in an "alternative school" (within the public school system of Montreal) for high school students who have been labelled "socially maladjusted" because of their past history of severe learning and behavioral problems in the main stream public school system. The school's population is principally taken from the working class and families on welfare. The school was specifically created to deal with students' behavioral and academic problems through a planned program (curriculum) referred to as "Day Treatment". The specific objectives of the school, in other words, were to resocialize the students and raise their level of cognitive and social functioning, thus enabling them to re-enter and re-adjust to the routine of the main stream public school system.

The main focus of this research, then, is on the school's attempt at developing and implementing a
curriculum which could conceivably effect changes in students' social and academic behaviors. Data were collected systematically through participant observation and in-depth interviewing during a three month period. I attended the school three times weekly to observe activities and record interviews with administrators, staff and students with the intention of obtaining as much information as possible about curriculum planning, teaching techniques, school resources, the social organization of the school and the general school climate.

Generally, the study points to how the planned "alternative" program which the school developed for the "socially maladjusted" students changed over a short period of time. Reasons for changes had partly to do with the school's organization, the staff and their perspective on the teaching-learning experience, the lack of teaching equipment and the varied characteristics of the student population. For the most part however, changes which took place were largely due to a very real problem with which the staff had to come to terms. This was the school's first year of operation and the staff did not have a "blueprint" to follow to establish a teaching model which would be flexible enough to meet the varied needs of the
student population. The effects of the set program (curriculum) then became of secondary importance. The school's personnel first concern was to establish a workable model in order to get the school to function smoothly. This point is brought out in the principal's comment at the end of the school's first year of operation.

"It took us the year to get our act together, to establish our goals and priorities and how to achieve them."

To some extent this school is another example of the problems encountered in attempting to develop and implement an "alternative" curriculum which would intervene in the total life space of students with social and academic problems. Some studies\(^1\) advocated the need for special programs to meet the needs of these students. Programs were developed specifically to raise the academic competence and motivational patterns of the students so as to improve their life chances. Many of these "alternative" programs failed. The reasons are pointed out by Arnov and

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Strout in their article on "alternative" schools. The message seems to be that any attempt to develop educational patterns which differ from those in the public school system is destined to fail.

The school analysed in this study attempted to develop an "alternative" educational program to motivate the students to achieve academically and to help them to adjust socially. The decision to open the school was a joint one between the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Social Affairs, in the Province of Quebec. It was created to meet the needs of some high school students from the "Youth Horizon Institutions" such as Weredale, Girls' Cottage, Summer Hill Group Home and Allan Croft. These are institutions for teenagers and pre-teens with social and emotional problems. The school which is a social service school is located on the fourth floor of the Weredale Institution in the City of Montreal. The creation of the school was an attempt to remove the students who lived in institutions from their "total institution"

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environment and to reintegrate them gradually into their family units or foster homes while they attend the school. The school was officially opened in September, 1977.

Werredale Institution was built in 1930 for homeless boys in the Montreal area. In the early stages of its operation it was run by a board of management and staff consisting of the following: an executive director and his assistant, a program director, a lady superintendent, two nurses, seven child care workers, three social workers and one remedial teacher. A counselling psychiatrist, five part time study supervisors, the kitchen staff, gym supervisor and volunteer workers completed the list of personnel.

The boys attended various public schools in the Montreal area in the day, and during the evening participated in planned activities at the institution such as basketball, hockey, woodwork, boys scout and fine arts. Originally, the institution was financed by philanthropists in the City of Montreal, then by the Red Feather Foundation and finally by the Provincial Government.

In 1971, the number of boys living at Werredale Institution who were suspended from the public schools they attended reached an all time high. This created
problems in the institution and resulted in the formation of remedial classes for students who were having problems in the public schools. The classes were conducted by remedial teachers and emphasis was placed on helping students with their Math and Reading problems. French was later added to the program. Girls were admitted to these classes for the first time in January, 1977.

The Youth Horizon Organization was formed in June, 1977, and the subsequent decision of the two Ministries mentioned earlier resulted in the creation of the school. The school which is referred to in the study as "Day Treatment School" was specifically set up for students from this organization and some others from public schools who had severe learning and behavior problems. The school occupies all the rooms on the fourth floor of the Weredale Institution. There are twenty-five rooms on this floor. Seven are used as classrooms, one is used as a "cooling out" room for students who are very disruptive, eight rooms are used as offices for the administrators, social workers, child care workers and secretaries. There are four lounges, three for students and one for the personnel.

The classrooms do not resemble those found in the
public school since they were originally bedrooms for the boys who lived at the institution. The rooms are small and some are cluttered with furniture. Generally, the school appears to be well kept with clean walls and carpeted classrooms and offices.

In the following chapter the explicit objectives of the "Day Treatment School" and its social organization are discussed. By social organization I am referring to the hierarchy of roles and the boundaries of duties within the formal structure of the school. It is assumed that the formal organization of an institution plays a significant part in achieving its goals. The organization of the school influenced the content of the planned program; for example the inclusion of child care workers and social workers made guidance and counselling possible. The formal structure of the school, the different staff members and their role within the school's structure are discussed. Some attention is given to how different staff members perceive their role and the planned program. Background information about the students that is relevant to their problems is also discussed briefly.

Chapter three describes the planned program (curriculum) at the Day Treatment School. There are three
sections to this program: the academic program, therapeutic intervention and family therapy. The remedial academic curriculum, its goals, method of instruction, evaluation, and the problems which were encountered are discussed. I also describe the guidance and counselling program which deals with the social readjustment of the students. Evaluation of this program was not a simple process and some problems were experienced in developing and implementing it. The broad objectives of the school were loosely defined. This left teachers, child care workers and social workers in a position to make their own interpretations of these broad objectives in planning activities for the students.

Chapter four is a critical evaluation of the planned program (curriculum) at the school. This chapter draws on various theories to explain the various problems.

Two studies which focus on alternative curriculum planning are George Dennison's, *The Lives of Children*, Random House, 1969, and Jon Wagner's, *Misfits and Missionaries*, Sage Pub. Co., Beverly Hills/London, 1977. The curriculums described in these studies were alternatives to the public school curriculum which authors such as J. Kozol, *Death at an Early Age*, New York Penguin, 1968, and I. Illich, *Deschooling Society*, Harper Row, 1970, claim contributes and sustains poor performance in some students from the working class and minority groups. The reasons given by curricular critics such as J. Schwab, *The Practical: A language for the Curriculum*, National
experienced by the school's personnel. These emerged basically because of the lack of specific guidelines in developing the programs, lack of vital resources (human and material), and the students' general attitudes to school.

In Chapter five an attempt is made to summarise and link the main points of the study, which are the problems encountered in the attempt to develop and implement an "alternative" curriculum. Some suggestions are made for the next year's planned program without losing sight of the fact that in human situations things do not always turn out the way they were originally planned.

Finally, I discuss the method of research used in this study which is participant observation and in-depth interviewing. The study is a case study which hopefully will generate further hypotheses for future research. The

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data collected cannot be used for generalisation outside the program and students that were studied. While the information obtained does not appear to be predictive or causal, it does allow for broad conclusions and limited applications. Furthermore, the information could help others to focus on problems and unanticipated consequences of methods used to deal with "problem students" before a crisis stage is reached.

The problems encountered in curriculum planning at the Day Treatment School were not unlike those experienced by other school personnel working with "problem students" in "alternative school". However, in this particular school, the problems generated from lack of a definite curricular model. Other problems characteristic of "alternative schools" such as lack of funds, conflicting views on curriculum and teaching methods, lack of appropriate educational resources and the extent to which students should participate in curriculum planning contributed to the main problem.

The inability of the administrators and teachers in this school to decide on a curricular model(s) to guide
learning experiences appears to have had adverse effects on the academic program. Although flexibility is desirable in curriculum planning, it is not always the most appropriate means of achieving stated goals. This was evident in the Day Treatment School. Students and teachers would have benefitted from having a curriculum model.
CHAPTER II

THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF
DAY TREATMENT SCHOOL

Any formal organization consists of a social group whose activities are designed to achieve specific objectives. That is, formal organizations such as schools, churches and corporations have a carefully designed structure that coordinates the activities of the members in the interest of achieving the specific objectives of the organization. In this chapter the objectives of the Day Treatment School, its social structure and the roles of the various members participating within this structure are discussed.

The Organization of Alternative Schools:

Many theories have been developed to explain the social organization of large institutions. Generally, these theories evolved to serve some specific purpose at a given point in time. Recently, because organizations
have become so diverse a systems approach to analysing organizations has been developed. This approach emphasizes the interaction of components within an organization and stresses the necessity for dynamic adaptation to changes. The emphasis here, then, is on providing the organization with flexibility to meet unforseen problems within its structure.

Since Likert's model best illustrates the problems encountered in the social organization of the school in this study it is helpful to briefly outline the main aspects of this model indicating how it relates to the functioning of the planned curriculum. This model views organization along a continuum of one to four, ranging from autocratic to democratic. The following is a brief description of the four different models of organization.

System 1. Exploitative Authoritative: This system has formal hierarchical structures with pressures to conform to decisions made from the top. People are forced to work in a punitive climate and communication flows downwards.

System 2. Benevolent Authoritative: This system is still

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hierarchical, but there is less coercion than System 1. Persons are allowed to make token decisions. Leadership is paternalistic and basic needs (security and economic) of workers are met. Communication is mostly downwards.

System 3. Consultative: This system is less pyramidal in structure. Its members are consulted, but do not have final authority. Some attempt is made to satisfy those main needs of the worker which are related to autonomy and self esteem. Communication flows both ways.

System 4. Participative Groups: This organization is based on the "linking pin" concept. According to this theory, each work group is linked to the others by some member who holds overlapping membership in more than one. Every attempt is made to integrate the needs of the individual with those of the organization. Individuals are involved in important decision and policy making. Efforts are made to satisfy the higher emotional needs of self esteem and self actualization. Communication flows freely in all directions, allowing the system to adapt readily to changes.

Many of the alternative schools which emerged during the peak of the educational reform movement (in the sixties) were advocating a participative type organization. For
instance, a well known school organized on this basis was the "Parkway Program" in Philadelphia, which was designed for students labelled as "drop-outs" or "potential drop-outs." The program was unstructured; that is, daily activities were not systematic and rigid. The content of the courses offered were obtained from the resources of the urban community around the school's settings, and students had a choice in the selection of subjects from among ninety institutional offerings which emphasized the development of cognitive skills. Students were required to take at least one course of interest to them and helped in curriculum planning. They were also encouraged to participate in work study courses in the community. In the initial years of the program's operation the structural barriers surrounding curriculum choice, attendance, grades, etc. were removed. The constraints that ordinarily exist in relationships between students and adults in the public schools were eliminated.

A similar type of organizational arrangement was used by Dennison at the "First Street School" for

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elementary school students from lower income families in a New York ghetto area. Many of these students came to the school with severe learning and behavioral problems. The social organization at this school provided the students with outlets for their frustrations and pent up emotions in their daily interactions. The school's structure was a reversal of the conventional (System 1) Exploitative Authoritative structure of the public school. The school was small, the pupil-teacher ratio was low, and the place was perceived as an environment for growth. There were no severe constraints placed on the relationship between students and teachers. Individualised instruction diminished anxiety and estrangement and supported ego growth. Cognitive abilities were improved simultaneously.

Dennison found that when the conventional routine of schooling was abolished, a new order emerged based on relationships between adults and students and students and their peers. He claims that the main purpose of his writing is not to criticise the organization of the public school, but to show the different reaction of students who

6G. Dennison, op. cit.
begin the day relating to routine on one hand and to persons
ty they have grown to trust on the other. His main criticism
of the public school's organization is that it creates
anonymity and anxiety in place of diversity of experience.

But these two alternative schools with their un-
structured organizations have not survived. Those that
have survived are the alternatives within the public
school system, the schools whose organization is more
similar to the structure of the public schools.

One alternative school that has survived is the
"Mission Academy" described by Wagner. This school was
created to be an alternative to the public school from
which most of the students had dropped out. The school's
emphasis was on interpersonal and informal interaction
between students and teachers in a highly structured
organization. The school's organization was similar in
structure to the public schools from which the students
came. However, this school survived because its organiza-
tion shifted from a (System 4) Participative Group

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7 G. Dennison, op. cit., p. 22
8 J. Wagner, op. cit.
Arrangement, to one nearer to (System 1) Exploitative Authoritative, while offering an alternative type curriculum to the students. Clearly, the social organization of the school as it gives direction to the planned program has been considered as a factor in initiating changes in students' behaviors and academic performance. The emphasis on the social organization of this school has been on the informal relationships and interaction patterns between the teachers and pupils. In the following section the social organization of the Day Treatment School is described. The concerns of those who created the school are reflected in the design. As Wagner states:

Once the decision was made to educate a drop out population whose potential is largely unknown, the design of a school responsive to their needs and ambitions appeared to be a sensible way to get information about how to teach them.  

Day Treatment School's Formal Objectives

The formal objectives of the school are stated in the school's review dated January, 1978.

9 Ibid.
Day Treatment is a joint project of Youth Horizon and the P.S.B.G.M. Its purpose is to provide major therapeutic intervention, specialised education and family therapy to emotionally disturbed adolescents and their families. Day Treatment as a resource is both preventative and remedial in nature.10

Generally, the broad objectives of the school are three-fold: to establish socially acceptable behavior patterns in the students, to improve students' cognitive skills, and to improve the students' home environment through family group therapy.

The Staff and Students:

Figure 1 shows the status hierarchy in the school. As in other institutions devoted to teaching there are administrators, teachers and students. This school, however, also has social workers and child care workers as regular staff members. The recruitment of these members is an attempt to create a change in the social organization of the school with the hope that their roles will bring about "desirable" changes in students' behaviors.

FIGURE 1.
THE SCHOOL'S SOCIAL ORGANISATION

Ministry of Education
Quebec

Ministry of Social Affairs
Quebec

P. S. B. G. M.

Director of Youth Horizon
Organisation

School Supervisor

Unit Director

DAY TREATMENT SCHOOL ADMINISTRATORS

Principal

Unit Co-ordinator

Teachers

Social Workers
Child Care Workers

Students

Students

Students

Students
Administrators: The Unit Co-Ordinator and the Principal are the people responsible for the administrative duties at the school. They are the agents "on the spot," so to speak, who are responsible for the school's decision making. The administrators at the school were invested with the authority to plan and implement the programs that were suitable for the students by the creators of the school. The administrators were qualified in the areas of special education, guidance and counselling and social organization and had experience from working with similar students in the past. At this point in the school's history, its organization is not influenced by a specific theory or model; hence ad hoc decisions are common. The two administrators attend to the inner managerial functions, and interact with those members higher up in the educational and social affairs bureaucracies directly connected to the school. Decision making is essentially based on what the administrators perceive as relevant as well as what other professionals on the staff at the school consider to be important. In this respect they act more as co-ordinators, providing information and resources and creating the supportive environment necessary for the smooth functioning of the
school. Both administrators also function as disciplinarians. Whenever the child care workers (the school's official disciplinarians) are unable to communicate with a student, the student is taken to one of the administrators to get the problem resolved. During the time of the study the authority structure existing between the administrators and the academic, and guidance and counselling staff was similar to Likert's System 3 model. Two way communication and formal and informal interaction took place daily among and between the different members.

The Unit Co-Ordinator: The Unit Co-Ordinator is specifically responsible for the general functioning of the Day Treatment Program and takes his directives from the director of the program. He is more involved in the guidance and counselling programs at the school; but he is also responsible for interviewing incoming students and assisting with the final evaluation of students. He said his main contribution to the program during its initial year is in:

\[11\] R. Likert, op. cit.
"organizing the program, establishing the roles of workers and setting up the communication channels in the program."

The Principal: The principal is primarily concerned with the educational services offered at the school. He is responsible for the daily academic services and educational policies and takes his directives from the P.S.B.G.M. through his school supervisor. He defines his role in the following way:

"My interaction is, from an educational standpoint, that of providing an education that is suitable for socially maladjusted students who are behind their peers in educational attainment."

He is responsible for the content of the academic program at the school and works with teachers in developing a suitable curriculum. He assists with the admission of new students and the final evaluation at the completion of their "treatment." He further stated that:

"If the student goes back into a public school I will act as a liaison. I will make suitable placement, do the groundwork to ensure the student will be able to function adequately. Unofficially they are free to come back any time to discuss anything."

He also pointed out that:

"The only time I will recommend that a student not be admitted to the program, is if I think he/she cannot benefit from the program because of his/her attitude to education."
The principal believes his main contribution to the program was in,

"...establishing the basic curriculum, motivating students and teachers, and hopefully giving some people a sense of purpose."

He interacted freely and informally with teachers, students and other staff members in the school on matters pertaining to academic work and discipline.

Teachers: There are seven regular full time teachers and three part-time teachers at the school. One of the part-time teachers left during the period of this study. Seven are female and three are male. Two of the teachers have Quebec Special Education Certificate and had previous experience working with problem students. Three other teachers were in the process of getting Special Education Certificates. Their years of teaching experience ranged from zero to nineteen years. The other teachers fell into one of the following categories: (1) Does not have Quebec Special Education Certificate, but has previously worked with problem students. (2) Does not have Quebec Special Education Certificate and has never worked with problem students. A new Provincial law now requires all teachers working with exceptional problem students to obtain a Quebec Special Education Certificate.
Each teacher is responsible, at the classroom level, for creating concrete forms of experience to achieve the academic goals of the school. That is to say, since there is no "blueprint" for them to follow, they are required to develop specific academic objectives within the limits of the subject areas they teach. This involves the creation of individualised programs and selection of methods that are best suited to the student and subject. The academic activities which occur in the classrooms are crucial to the achieving of stated goals. The authority structure between the teachers and the students was similar to Likert's System 2 or Benevolent Authoritative model. That is, teachers made the classroom decisions and initiated most of the classroom interactions. Communication flowed in both directions on matters pertaining to some aspects of classwork, mainly when students refused to do a given assignment or when they wanted to do some work of their choice.

Child Care Workers: The child care workers are the

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12 Ibid.
personnel responsible for helping the students to deal with their social problems in a rational manner. Their primary goal is the modification of students' anti-social behaviors through reinforcement of positive social attitudes. There are two child care workers and they are assigned the duty of official disciplinarians in the school. That is, they were often called upon by the teachers to discipline students who misbehaved or broke school rules. At the time of admission the student is placed in one of two groups under the guidance of a child care worker who observes the student in the school and then develops programs to help the student deal more effectively with his/her feelings. The students are free to visit the child care workers in their office at any time of the day. Some students visit to complain and resolve interpersonal conflicts. Others are sent to the office by teachers due to misbehavior. On some occasions students visit to relax and talk to the child care workers. The child care worker's role involves rounding up tardy students and taking them to their respective classes. One child care worker said that he saw his role as:

"...a form of policing, of having to round up students to get them to go to their classes."

The child care workers used a system of rewards and
punishment to aid in the achieving of the goals of their program. These involved weekend trips, movies and dinners for good behavior and withdrawal of rewards, detention to make up for time lost during regular classtime, peer pressure and as a last resort a visit to one of the administrators for a good scolding for misbehaviors. The child care workers were less authoritative in their interaction with the students. The students were allowed to participate on an equal basis during guidance and counselling programs. Likert's System 4 or Participative Group Model\textsuperscript{13} describes the interaction patterns between the students and child care workers.

Social Workers: Another important group in the school are the social workers. They are primarily concerned with family therapy. The social workers interact with the students in the context of their family. Weekly sessions are held with students and their families since it is felt that specific home problems can affect school performance and vice versa. They also see each student once per week in a planned session to discuss behavior and

\textsuperscript{13}Ibid.
family problems as well as problems they might be having with staff members.

Students: The people at the nucleus of the organization are the students. Twenty-four students were registered at the school during the period of the study. They were recruited from Youth Horizon Institutions and from elementary and high schools in the Montreal and surrounding areas. There were twenty males and four females. Four males and two females were black. Their ages ranged from twelve to seventeen. Information obtained from files indicated that the student population is principally from lower or working class families and families on welfare: eleven are from working class families, ten are from welfare families, two are from middle class families and one from a lower middle class family.

The pupils enter and leave the school at any point in the academic school year. The criteria for entry is stated in the Day Treatment Review as:

1. 11 -18 years on admission.
2. Those for whom the level of intellectual functioning will not prohibit assimilation into the group.
3. Acting out/mildly delinquent/psycho-socially-maladjusted.
4. Able to communicate adequately in the English Language.

Two-thirds of the students came directly from the public school system labelled as having social and learning problems. However, the results of the Weschler Intelligence Scale for Children (W.I.S.C.) test on their files indicate that twenty-one of the students are of normal intelligence. One from this group was believed to be "emotionally disturbed." Two were described as "educable mentally retarded" and one was described as being of "above average intelligence."

Seven of the students were referred to the school by the courts, three by the Montreal Children Hospital, one by Allan Memorial Hospital and seven by Social Service Agencies. Four came from Youth Horizon Institutions and two students did not have their referrals on file. At the time of the study seven students were living in institutions. Five of the remaining students had previously lived in an institution but were now living with their families or foster parents. One of the objectives of the Youth Horizon Organization was to re-integrate the student into a family unit.

A common factor linked the students at this school. They were all considered "deviant" in the mainstream public school system. The principal's use of the term
"socially maladjusted" was based on the students' history of suspension and behavior problems in former schools. For example, one student attended five different schools in a two and a half year period. Another attended four schools in as many years and was continually being expelled. Other students refused to attend school when they were sent.

Some researchers, such as Graubard and Rosenberg, claim that students are labelled deviant when they do not behave in the manner that the teachers and administrators in a school expect them to. Perhaps the students at the Day Treatment School may have been considered deviant in this respect since some of the students from the teachers' point of view were "difficult to handle". One sixteen year old could never complete an assignment regardless of how basic it was. Most of the students swore at the teachers. Some often stormed out of classrooms knocking over tables and slamming doors. Others disrupted classwork with constant bickering and fighting and a few sat through classes despondently.

Generally, most of the students exhibited some of the traits Herndon described in his study "The Way It Spozed To Be".

They are deprived of ego strength, of realistic goal-orientation, of family stability, of secure peer relationships; they lack the serene middle-class faith in the future. Because of all that, they also lack self-control, cannot risk failure, won't accept criticism, can't take two steps back to go one forward, have no study habits, no basic skills, don't respect school property...\(^{16}\)

There were however, exceptions to these general characteristics since on many occasions constructive work was done by some students. Some students worked consistently for most of the subject period while others were inconsistent. In most classes the students took ten to fifteen minutes to settle down and begin to work.

The formal structure and the roles defined above were not distinct; each was linked to the other and functioned in conjunction with other parts of the school's organization. This was possible because of the communication network at the school. This network operated on a premise similar to Likert's "linking pin" concept in his

System 4 or Participative Group Organization.\(^{17}\) (See Figure 2). Information pertinent to the functioning of the school flowed in a vertical and horizontal basis. However, System 3 or Consultative System of the Likert's model\(^{18}\) best describes the type of organization which existed at the Day Treatment School. There were elements of the coercion which exist in the public schools, between personnel and students. Students were expected to perform roles (attend classes, do assignments, be submissive, etc.) similar to students in the public school system. On the other hand, the organization at the school provided the students with freedom to express anger at adults and peers, and outlets for their pent up emotions. The authority structure in the school was not coercive. The free flow of information added to the friendly climate of the school. But there were also individual differences among the personnel at the school which will be described in the following chapter.

In this chapter I have described the social organization of the Day Treatment School. This consists of the school's objectives (which are to effectively change the

\(^{17}\) R. Likert, op. cit.
\(^{18}\) Ibid.
An adaptation of Likert's "Linking Pin" concept.
students' anti-social behavior and increase their academic performance), the statuses and roles of the various members who are responsible for achieving these objectives, and the authority structure which existed there.
CHAPTER III

THE PLANNED PROGRAM AT

DAY TREATMENT SCHOOL

At Day Treatment School teachers are encouraged to be fully responsible in developing a curriculum which would improve students' cognitive skills, (that is, academic performance) as well as provide students with the opportunity to develop socially acceptable behavior patterns.

The teachers, however, are not alone in attempting to accomplish this task. Child care workers and social workers also play a vital role in the school's planned curriculum. In a sense, they are responsible for providing the climate in which the teachers can implement an appropriate academic curriculum for the students. In this chapter, then, the intent is to further elaborate on the "official" curriculum of the school, the evaluation of students, teachers' problems in developing and implementing a curriculum and finally to indicate more specifically the techniques used by the social workers and child care
workers to facilitate classroom teaching.

The School's Official Curriculum

The planned program (curriculum) at the Day Treatment School was developed specifically:

"... to offer major therapeutic intervention, specialised education and family therapy to emotionally disturbed adolescents and their family..."

For the purpose of this discussion the term curriculum is used to refer to the planned program at the Day Treatment School. It is used specifically to refer to the planned academic and social therapy activities at the school for the students. It has to do with what is deliberately set out to be taught by teachers, child care workers and social workers, and with what students are expected to learn. The curriculum is referred to as "Day Treatment" by the creators of the school due to the unusual nature of its content. It consists of academic subjects and activities, guidance and counselling daily, and weekly family therapy sessions.

The Academic Program

The principal stated that the academic objective of the program,
"... is to assist students to achieve functional literacy, that is, to get them to function academically at the public school grade six level. Many of the students are functioning way below their age grade level."

The P.S.B.G.M. specified that the students be instructed for fifteen hundred minutes each week. One thousand minutes are to be covered by students with teachers in the classrooms. The remaining five hundred minutes are to be covered by students in private studies. The principal and teachers at the Day Treatment School were free to divide the academic minutes among the subjects as they saw fit. (Their division of subjects and minutes is reproduced in Table 1.1. in the Appendix).

The principal and teachers then, are the ones responsible for establishing academic objectives, planning learning activities and behavioral objectives, developing strategies to implement the learning activities and devising a system of evaluation to determine whether or not stated goals are being achieved. These tasks were difficult ones, since the school was new and its members had to come up with a program that would secure the future of the school. In addition, there were no specific guidelines for them to follow in the selection of curriculum content. The principal stated:
"The content of the academic curriculum was selected by the teachers and myself. It does not cover as many subjects as the public school curriculum. It's mainly remedial work in the basics. It is designed to expand their experiences. There is some flexibility in the selection of content."

In planning a program of work to achieve specific objectives the teachers and principal at the school first had to identify the academic strengths and weaknesses of the students - that is, students' motivational states, inclinations and social attitudes to academic work. The program had to help the students to develop positive attitudes about themselves and academic work and at the same time improve their cognitive skills. The major thrust of the academic curriculum then, was on the development of basic cognitive skills which would enable the students to solve problems involving the three R's. This emphasis in the program was the result of the value position of the principal and teachers who felt they had to, "... provide an education that is suitable for socially maladjusted students, who are way behind their peers in educational attainment."

The following subjects and activities were selected by the principal and teachers at the school to achieve the academic objectives. They are Math, French, Business Education, Language Arts, Social Studies, Humanities,
Science and Communication Arts. One third of the
academic curriculum was devoted to recreational activi-
ties. The activities consisted of the following: Gym,
Art, Cooking, Aero-modelling, Drama, Singing, Swimming,
Woodwork, Craft and Games (checkers, cards, etc.). On
occasion students were taken on trips. (See Table 1.2 in
the Appendix). The school day was divided into six fifty
minute periods. All the students did Math, French,
Language Arts and Business Education. The number of
minutes devoted to each subject varied according to the
level of academic functioning of the different students.
For example, the more advanced students spent less time
doing Math than the weaker students. (See Table 1.1 in
the Appendix). The recreational activities took place on
Tuesday and Thursday morning for two periods; and on
Wednesday and Friday afternoon for three periods. These
activities were included in the program to provide
experiences other than academic ones for the students.
They were supervised by teachers who had an interest in
a particular activity since there were no specialists
attached to the school to supervise these activities.
(See Table 1.2 in the Appendix).

The methods used in classroom instruction varied
from one subject to another. Generally work in the classroom was individualized since the students worked at different academic levels. Some subjects, such as Social Studies and Humanities, allowed for more class participation. Math on the other hand was a subject which required individualized instruction, since the students' abilities to do simple Math computations varied greatly. French lessons were done on either a group or an individual basis, depending on the particular exercises. Everyone did exercises involving basic rules of French grammar. This involved copying an assignment from the board. However, comprehension exercises were done individually to facilitate the students' knowledge of the subject. Communication Arts employed several methods such as discussions, projects, films, etc. This subject gave the students scope to be creative and to communicate their own thoughts. Business Education and Language Arts involved the use of all the basic cognitive skills more than the other subject areas. The methods used in teaching these subjects were individual projects, classroom discussions, text book exercises, stencils, etc.
The Academic Evaluation of Students

Evaluation at the school is a joint process involving the principal, the unit co-ordinator, teachers, child care workers and social workers. Generally, evaluation was divided into two broad areas, that of the social functioning of the students and that of their academic performance.

In an effort to achieve their goals, the personnel at the school divided the students into six multi-aged small groups. The principal stated:

"The basic criteria for grouping is academic ability and personality trait. The children are placed in groups where I think they will be able to function comfortably, or with teachers with whom they will be able to have rapport, and as such cope with their academic problems."

The principal's intent is to match students' and teachers' personalities. The review of "Day Treatment" stated:

"At the time of admission each student is placed in a small group of up to six other students. Through assessment and observation, individual educational objectives are planned for each child on the basis of present achievement and projected goals. The school is geared to offer remedial or catch-up work for students who have fallen behind their peers in normal progress. Teachers employ a wide variety of assessment and
remedial techniques that have been developed for these students. 19

The academic evaluation of the students consisted of Stanford Diagnostic and Achievement tests, and classroom testing. Standardised tests were to be given to the students at the beginning of the school year, and at some later point in the year so as to note any changes in the students' academic performance. However, due to the problems involved in getting the school started only one set of tests was given. This was in March 1978, seven months after the school began its operation. The following are the tests which were given: Stanford Diagnostic Mathematics Test Level (I); Stanford Diagnostic Reading Test Level (I); Stanford Diagnostic Mathematics Test Level (II); Stanford Diagnostic Reading Test Level (II); Stanford Achievement Test Intermediate (I) Partial Battery and Stanford Achievement Test Intermediate (II) Partial Battery. The number of students who took the different tests and the results of these tests are reproduced in Tables 2.1 - 2.6 in the Appendix. Nothing significant can be said about

19 Guy Black and Bob Drummond, op. cit., p.4.
the students' academic achievement from the results of these tests since the students were not given a test when they entered the school in September. All that is indicated is that the students were assessed as functioning at a certain grade level in March 1978.

The levels of the tests tell something about the academic ability of the student population. The majority of the students were given diagnostic tests which do not reveal anything about academic achievement. Only two students at the school scored consistently at their age-grade level on the tests. The results showed that the majority of the students were still below their academic age-grade in performance. The principal had this to say about the evaluation in March, 1978:

"Right now the students are being tested. Standardised achievement tests should have been administered at the time of admission, but due to our hasty beginning in September, 1977, they were not given. Teachers also give class tests to note individual student's progress. It must be remembered that these students are all of normal intelligence, but they all function below their academic level."

Different forms of class evaluation were employed by the teachers to assess the students' progress. Some teachers gave quizzes, others gave text book exercises to test the students' ability to use concepts and skills
previously taught. (See Table 2.7 in the Appendix). The students were aware of the reasons for some of these exercises. A student remarked:

"Why do you call them quizzes, when you really mean tests."

Another form of internal evaluation at the school had to do with the evaluation of non-measurable traits such as the attitudes and values of the students that affected their academic performance. The questionnaire used in this type of evaluation is reproduced in Table 2.8 in the Appendix. Evaluation in Day Treatment School is considered to be a crucial factor in discovering which students have successfully completed their "treatment plan" at the school.

Academic Program Problems

The implementation of a curriculum that is new or innovative is not a simple process. In some cases a great deal of financial, material and human resources are required in the initial stages of the program to get it to function smoothly. In this instance there were other factors to be considered besides the content of the academic curriculum. For instance, guidance and counselling, which were vital areas of the overall program, were
given more emphasis than the academic program. The academic curriculum at the school had to include much more than visible experiences. Its impact had to touch the emotions of the students as well. However, the personnel at the school claimed this was not the case in practice.

The problems which led to this assumption can be discussed under two broad categories: those having to do with human resources, and those having to do with material resources. These seemed to complement each other in the school. There was a consensus among the personnel in the school about the adverse effects of these problems on the academic program.

"We began with only pencil and paper when I came in November 1977, (three months after the school officially opened). There is a lack of vital resources and educational material and this hampers the academic work. We need books, tape, etc., but it is impossible to get them with the budget we got."

On the other hand teachers were particularly aware of the limited possibility of reaching the students.

"The real problem with these students is their family background. They either come from homes with no parental control or from broken homes."

"Because of their low basic cognitive skills and lack of interest in academic work, structured work is difficult."
"Some students have no character, based on their home life and past school experiences. It is difficult teaching them."

The teachers did try to understand the reasons for the students' refusal to do academic work, but they had a specific task to achieve and at times had to go ahead with the planned work. Generally, this caused students to become disruptive in the classrooms. Officially, teachers were not supposed to discipline students who were disruptive in the classrooms, but they often did. Some devised methods of control such as keeping records of students' work to show to the child care workers, who were in the position to reward or punish students. Some students also kept little note books in which teachers recorded class participation. The students took these books home to show to parents or guardians.

The content of the different subjects evolved from what was perceived to be the needs of the students. Some teachers were clear about what they hoped to achieve in their subject area, others did not specify their objectives in detail but mentioned the need for the students to be competent in doing certain things. For example, a teacher explained:
"I wanted to achieve conversational French. But this is not possible since most of the students do not know French grammar. I am now giving lots of grammar exercises."

One Language Arts teacher said it was difficult to say what the objective for the course was since:

"The students cannot write sentences properly, they do not leave margins, or begin to write with capital letters. The exercises I give are aimed at developing skills in the use of English grammar, sentence structure and comprehension."

Other teachers mentioned things such as wanting students to communicate intelligently about a variety of topics, or to express themselves through different media such as writing, art and speech, or to develop simple computational skills. Social development was another area of concern for some of the teachers. For example one stated:

"I am more concerned with the social development of the students. I think the activities are good in this respect since it involves the use of social skills."

The academic objectives could not be realized. Teachers had to be flexible in order to implement changes whenever they were necessary. This was possible only because the school specified that teachers were responsible for developing an appropriate curriculum. Major changes in the curriculum occurred in January 1978. These changes were a result of a few students performing
above the public school grade six level. Changes involved
the inclusion of more subjects for this group of students
to help them to function academically at their public
school age grade level.

Thus, the personnel at the school were aware of
the problems which affected the academic curriculum during
the period of this study and they were seriously thinking
of ways to improve the program for the new year. (See
Appendix A). The following statements reflect what they
considered to be areas of concern:

"I was speaking to the principal at (a social
service school) this morning about the method
of instruction they use there. It is called
a profile system. Each student works on an
area of interest based on his test profile.
It sounded interesting. I am going to see it
in operation. If it's applicable here, we
may introduce it next year."

"I will change the curriculum in the following
areas; I will introduce more involved educa-
tional games, and less bookish work. I would
see to it that the children's need for love
is met. I will change the system of evalu-
ation. Only a "P" pass system should be
used; if a student wants an excellent mark,
they will have to work extra for it."

"I will say get all the necessary supplies."

"I would like to see a more academic curriculum
for the brighter students, and a more vocational
curriculum for the others, with emphasis on
life skills that they can use in the world of
work."
Teachers were also sensitive to the students' problems in adapting to a situation which had not yet been clearly defined, a situation with which staff members themselves were not satisfied. It was pointed out that:

"The students are hyper, but the program is just beginning to take shape and be effective even though there is much more that can be done curriculum-wise. Now, there is no guarantee that we could do much more, or if we had more funds that things would change."

Furthermore, there was a consensus on discipline problems. The teachers all agreed that pass slips are necessary for students who wanted to leave the classroom during instruction. Pass slips are used on many occasions; for example, when students are late getting to school, going to the secretary's office, or for an activity involving the use of the hall when the student should be in a classroom. Many teachers revealed that:

"Students get pass slips to prevent them from getting into trouble if they are seen in the hall when they should be in the classroom."

The administrators claimed that the teachers were released from disciplining the students so as to have more time to devote to their teaching. But in practice this was not so. On many occasions teachers were observed to spend more time in getting students to settle down and pay
attention than in actually teaching. Most of the teachers felt that:

"The teacher in the classroom is sometimes better able to deal with the problems that occur there. There are people involved who have to discipline the students, but they are not always around when you need them."

The point is, then, that although the child care workers were the official disciplinarians of the school, teachers felt they could teach more effectively if they could have more control of the students in the classrooms.

**Guidance And Counselling Program**

The other major aspect of the planned program at the school is guidance and counselling. The goals of this program are to offer therapeutic intervention and family therapy that is both remedial and preventive in nature. The therapeutic intervention section of this program is concerned primarily with the changing of the students' anti-social behaviors. The main focus is on the development of such attitudes and values in the students as would be recognised as being acceptable in the larger society. Thus, guidance and counselling complemented the academic program. The program was supervised by the child care workers and social workers.
As discussed in the previous chapter the child care workers' role is to intervene in helping the students with their social and emotional problems as they occur. These workers were dealing with affective experiences. This is a sensitive area in education, since it is believed that these experiences cannot be taught in the same manner as academic subjects. They have to be lived. The child care workers had to create an atmosphere in which students would experience the values and attitudes they wanted them to adopt. One child care worker had this to say about his work with the students:

"I use the individual intervention method. Whenever the students in the group I work with are having interpersonal problems, I intervene immediately. I discuss the problems with them and try to help them to work things out. We (the child care workers) have also established a system of reward and punishment in an effort to change their anti-social behaviors and improve their school and social life. Rewards and punishment are given in connection with punctuality, good behavior in the classroom and school, class participation and attendance. Reward or punishment is based on the number of times I have to discipline a student or the number of complaints received about a student in connection with these four areas. The level of social adjustment displayed by the students influences the reward or punishment they are given. If a student is fairly well adjusted socially I will expect near one hundred percent good
behavior, while for others, the smallest act of good behavior is rewarded. The rewards take the form of weekend trips, movies, suppers, praise or compliments for a job well done. Punishment involved withdrawal of rewards, detention, scolding and as a last resort suspension. This method has worked for some students, but for others it has not."

Another child care worker used "peer pressure" in his interaction with the students. To implement his program he divided his students into three groups.

"The children choose the members of their groups, but sometimes I regroup them based on the number of trouble-makers in each group. I always try to put two better behaved guys with one odd ball. So if he decides to screw things up, they could put pressure on him to make him behave. Each group works as a unit. If a member of the unit gets into trouble, the others are affected, since no one in the unit will be rewarded."

His rewards and punishment are the same as those of the other child care worker and they are given for improvement or lack of improvement in the same areas. His main concern was to talk to students to ensure that rewards,

Peer pressure was used by most staff in the school at some time or other. The school's personnel did not view bullying among the students as negative behavior. As long as the students did not hurt each other physically it was alright with them. The personnel saw this as a means of teaching them to solve problems among themselves. One teacher
punishments and pressures of other students would cause positive results.

The child care workers used what appear to be variations of the techniques employed in behavior modification to help in achieving their goals. Behavior modification makes use of learning principles in therapy involving anti-social behavior. As such it is only a tool. The wisdom and ethics of its use depend on the user.

The child care workers seemed to be influenced by the belief that behavior is under the control of the environment and that students will always try to maximise pleasure and minimise pain. This was not the case with some of the students, even when teachers reminded students:

"Remember the hockey game if you do twenty minutes of steady work."

Or,

"If you do not complete your work you will have to do so during detention this afternoon."

mentioned that an ex-student used to discipline other students who gave too much trouble in class. Another teacher had to speak to students who were threatening to beat up a student who was giving trouble in the class.
The social workers are the final link in the planned program's attempt to intervene in the "total life space" of the students. They worked with the students within the context of their family, since this was seen as a necessary adjunct to the other programs at the school. It was recognised that family problems are factors in school problems. Each week the social workers met with the family of students. These meetings are designed to get at the nature of a particular problem and to work out viable solutions. Social workers are also on hand daily to help students with specific social problems. One social worker explained:

"My role is threefold: first, I am a co-ordinator for all the students in my group. This involves insuring they are in the right academic group, and with the right teacher; helping them with their problems and generally keeping a flow of information to others in the school about the students. Secondly, I see the students once a week to discuss behavioral and family problems, as well as problems they may be having with other staff. I also give information to the student's referring social workers (about the student's progress). Finally, I hold weekly sessions with students and their families, since it is felt that specific home problems can affect school performance and vice versa."

This worker further stated that a lot of energy is devoted to this aspect of the program since for some of
the students it is a last resort. Once the student leaves the program, whether to re-enter a public school or into a job in the community, she/he is followed up for up to six months. The students were defined as belonging to two broad categories, those who act out their frustrations and feelings and those who inhibit them. One social worker said her goal is to:

"Help find the middle ground for both groups, that's acceptable. Get the students to talk about whatever is affecting them in a realistic manner; to approach problems rather than avoid them. A time out room was established for students who act out. It is a place for them to cool out in, and think over their problem. The most progress made at this point are by the students whose families are cooperative."

This social worker reiterates what Pearson said about the benefits of family involvement in therapy. Pearson emphasizes that:

The core feature of this technique is to help members redefine their problems for the whole family and not only the "sick" member. The message is: your problems are our problems in day to day living, not a sickness residing in one member ...

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The social workers deal with problems that often resulted in the breaking up of the family unit through institutionalisation. One of the goals of the school's program was the re-integration of the student into the family without major problems.

Summary

From the above, it is evident that the Day Treatment School's attempt during its first year of operation to develop a curriculum which would effectively change students' behaviors and school performance, was essentially experimental. "Therapeutic intervention", "specialised education" and "family therapy" had specific objectives. Although personnel at the school made attempts to interpret the broad goals of the school in specific forms, the ways in which these goals were to be realised were not clear.

*The social workers employed the technique of environmental intervention in their work with the students and their families. They sought to modify aspects of the students' home environment that may be contributing to the students' problems, since they did not want to remove the students from their family units. Although guidance and counselling are not included in the time table (see Table 1.1).
Several factors were clearly involved in deciding what kind of curriculum ought to be developed and how it should be implemented. The staff's perception of their role, the staff's interpretation of what they were to accomplish, the students' background experiences and their level of academic achievement were the major features influencing the development of the school's program.

The essential point is that the school was deliberately designed to offer an alternative program (essentially a remedial one), to compensate for the students' previous negative experiences in the public school system and family life. The alternative program consisted of the following: a small pupil-teacher ratio, teachers' flexibility in developing their own curriculum, and child care workers and social workers whose expertise was drawn upon to alter the outside variables which affect school performance (such as family problems.

They formed two thirds of the planned program at the school, and were conducted concurrently with the academic program and formed an integral part of the daily program at the school. A detailed account of the interaction patterns which existed between the social workers and the students' families is outside the scope of this study.
emotional problems). Regardless of these efforts, many members of the school's staff felt that the "alternative program" did not effect the desired changes. The following chapter points out some possible explanations for this.
CHAPTER IV

INTERPRETATION OF PROBLEMS ENCOUNTERED WITH THE PLANNED PROGRAM

The personnel at the school encountered many problems in effecting changes in their students' scholastic performance and social development. From the comments of the school's personnel recorded in the previous chapter it is evident that the staff members were aware of the fact that they were not successful. The question is, why were they not successful in developing a curriculum which would effectively change the students' social behavior and increase their academic performance? Table 3.1 (in the Appendix) shows the breakdown of students who completed and did not complete their "treatment" during the first year at the school.

There were twenty-four students registered at the school during the time of the study. One student successfully completed the "treatment" in March 1978, and was reintegrated into a public high school. Several factors
may be responsible for this early success by the school. The student came from a middle class family and was never separated from them through institutionalization. This student did not have a long history of academic failure and social problems in the public school. Furthermore, this was one of the students who scored at grade level on the Stanford Achievement tests that were given in March. Perhaps the small classrooms and the close contact with teachers, child care workers, social workers and the administrators made the student feel more secure than in the big, public school he previously attended.

At the end of the school year it was assumed that six more students would be integrated into the public school system or jobs in the community since they would have completed their "treatment". Five of the six students came from public schools to the Day Treatment School. They also lived with their families. The sixth student lived in one of the Youth Horizon Institutions. This data suggest, then, that there was a particular group of students at the school who did benefit from the program. But the important point is that the majority of this group of students lived with their families and had not been previously subjected to long
periods of institutionalisation. Because they came from the public school system and not from the remedial classes conducted at Weredale, they were accustomed to structured academic programs. Another relevant point is that the school did succeed in getting some of the students to attend classes regularly. This was more than the students did in their previous schools.

On the other hand, eight of the students who were registered in the program at the beginning of the study left the school before the completion of their "treatment". Six of these students had lived in an institution at some time in their lives; they also attended the remedial classes that were conducted at Weredale. The two other students who left, lived with their families and had previously attended public schools. It appears that the planned program and organization of the school could not meet the needs of these eight students. It was not "innovative" enough to deal with the complexities of the problems they brought with them to the school. Their past school experiences seemed to have alienated them from the structured academic experiences that the Day Treatment School was offering. To put it simply, they found it difficult to settle down and follow a set pattern of daily
activities and experiences. The quality of these experiences may also have contributed to their decision to drop out again, since the school was very limited in its offerings for several reasons.

The school began operating in September 1977 with some staff members, students and very little capital equipment and resource material such as chairs, tables, typewriters, libraries, audio visual equipment, etc. The above factors affected the number and type of subjects offered at the school as well as the method of presentation in classroom instruction. Everyone in the school consistently complained about the way in which these factors impinged on the quality of classroom interaction. This was a serious problem because the school had to prove that its methods worked for "maladjusted" students. Furthermore, some of the teachers were not trained to work with problem students. Special Education training is not really a panacea for handling all the problems some students bring to the school but it certainly helps the teacher to be more conversant with their problems.

Thus, lack of vital material resources and human resources affected the offerings of the school program. The organization of the school is complex but so is the
student population it was created to serve. Academic and
guidance and counselling staff performed roles which overlapped in the daily routines. Some of these resembled the
public school routine. Teachers remained in their classrooms and students moved from one classroom to another.
Subjects followed a set pattern every week on the time table. This was necessary if the students were to re-enter the
main stream public school. But some students were not use to working in this type of structure; thus, to
facilitate adjustment a certain amount of freedom was permitted. But problems arose when students escaped to
lounges or to other sections of the building when moving from one classroom to another. These were environmental
and temporal factors which created problems at the school.

The immediate problem the administrators and staff had to solve was to get the students to settle down and do
some constructive academic work. To achieve this they emphasized informal and interpersonal interactions in
order to motivate the students and get them to like the school and become interested in school work once more.
But some of the students abused the freedom which comes with informal and interpersonal interactions. They took
this as a cue to tell teachers whatever they liked and to
be abusive. However, by the end of the school year there was a distinct improvement in some students' social interactions with the teachers and peers. They were more co-operative and less disruptive in the classroom. They also appeared to be happier than at the beginning of the school year. One can suggest that the school did succeed in modifying some of the students' "anti-social" behaviors but the same cannot be said for the academic gains of the students. Administrators, teachers, child care workers, and social workers generally agreed that:

"The only significant gain made in the program was social gains. There is structured regularity in the program, every one has contributed but we have not made the academic gains we wanted."

These social gains may be explained in light of some of the school's innovations. These were small classrooms, individualised instruction, relative freedom of students to express anger and frustration at adults and peers, one to one relationships between some students and teachers, students and social workers, students and child care workers and immediate intervention to help students with their personal problems. These innovations did indeed contribute to the social gains that were claimed to have been made.

On the other hand, the reasons given for the slow
academic gains in the program varied. One teacher suggested:

"There was no general view of what curriculum should be used. Neither did we know the students' abilities when the school opened. Lack of necessary material and special guidelines to help with problems that occurred added to the frustrations. Curriculum-wise it was not a good year."

The principal elaborated further on the problems encountered in the school year:

"It took us a whole year to get our act together and to establish our goals. We tried to work as a mini high school but we were wrong. Perhaps students should have remained with one teacher long enough to identify with them. I think we set our educational goals too low. In the future we will start low but set our goals higher. Once the students begin to work we should have drawn more from them. We are going to be much more realistic and honest with the students when they come in. We will point out their academic level and get them to accept it, then we will begin from there.... Presently, chances of some of them entering the public school are slim, since there is no link between the regular high school and this school.... I am satisfied that we had some success in modifying the students' antisocial behaviors. They are far from perfect, but we saw some tremendous improvements in attitudes.... The most progress made this year was in social attitude. Hopefully, next year we will have a model example to follow. The academic demands will be more. We will let them know early just what is expected of them. There will be more students in the school next year. We will be getting some audio-visual equipment and technical vocational
education and religious education will be included in the curriculum."

It was also suggested that:

"For most of the students it was the first year for a while of successfully maintaining themselves in a program and not getting into trouble. There was the initial disorganization. People were new, we did not all work together before. The treatment plan really got started in January, and there was some measure of success in changing the behaviors of some students. Next year we are going to have twice as many students. There will be two additional child care workers and social workers, plus a part time child care worker. We will also be working on a method for testing the students; it is called "Positive Peer Culture". It is a management system in which children are responsible for each other. We are much better organized now than in September. Our goals are much clearer and students stand a better chance of succeeding."

In spite of the fact that problems were encountered that cannot be solved easily or quickly in the school, the majority of the teachers will be back in the new school year for various reasons.

"It was a rewarding year in many ways. As a first year teacher I appreciate the way it ended. Some students made great strides. There was a definite change in these students. It gives you some satisfaction. In some instances, it could have been better, if we had the proper facilities to provide a variety of experiences to interest the students. But I am looking forward to coming back next year. It will be a better year. I intend to make use of a lot of audio-visual material in my classes."
"I began the year with very high expectations. This declined by mid year, but picked up again in the end. The students were more accepting then and were feeling better about themselves. I had misgivings at times due to my high expectations. I got into corners with the students and did not know how to come out. Some groups worked out well, others did not. But eventually we got to know each other better."

"It was a year of ups and downs working without facilities and lots of improvisations. I am happy about the social adjustments of the students. The main problem was motivation and a lack of discipline in the students."

"Academic objectives were not reached because too much time was devoted to behavior problems. I will be returning next year since I feel there is hope for these students."

"It was a challenging year, due to the different ways one had to come up with to motivate the students. It involved finding new ways to reach the students. There has been progress, slow, but definite. Just getting the students to do some work was a form of progress."

Reasons for Academic Curriculum Problems

The program at the school seemed to be subject to two conflicting forces: inertia and innovation. Inertia manifested itself in the red tape involved in getting resources and equipment for the school, teacher-centered curriculum and standardized evaluation, traditional teaching methods, structured time table, alienated students
and the "ideology of failure". Some authors suggest that an increase in the amount of personalized interaction increases the students' self esteem and this, in turn, influences the quality of their work. Others claim that the right social and emotional climate in a school contribute to improved social behaviors and academic gains with problem students. Two authors in particular, Dennison and Wagner, worked with students similar to those in the school studied. Their objectives were to reverse the students' past history of school failure. They did not claim that the curriculum alone was the basis of their success with the students; but the academic experiences provided in the schools had a liberating effect on the students.

Dennison argues that one should approach the problems of students in school by first admitting that teachers teach children and not subjects. Thus, the emphasis at the school in Dennison's study was placed on

22 G. Dennison, op. cit.
23 J. Wagner, op. cit.
24 G. Dennison, op. cit.
the present lives of the students and a program was
developed to meet their present academic and emotional
needs. This was necessary since a curriculum based on
experiences in which no one is interested aggravates the
problems of the students. All instruction at the school
was therefore individualized. Pupil-teacher ratio was
kept low and comparative testing was eliminated. The
teachers tried to enrich the experiences of the students
by relating to their problems, which were accepted as facts
of their lives. The individual student's academic
progress was astounding in some instances. The social
gains made in the program were reflected in the students'
improved social attitude to teachers and peers. The
curriculum at the school was unstructured. Students were
free to choose the activity they wanted to do on many
occasions. All academic work was conducted in an atmosphere
of freedom.

Wagner, in his study, describes the experiences of
high school dropouts who succeeded when given another
chance in school.²⁵ He claims that the students were able
to succeed because the curriculum provided opportunities

²⁵J. Wagner, op. cit.
for them to define their tasks and subjects in new ways. "Algebra" symbolized to many students their own failures in public school; "mathematical rules" or "philosophical mathematics" did not. Reading highly distilled, censored versions of "classics" symbolized to many students their past failures in high school English classes; reading exciting, colorful novels written in honest vulgar language did not. Reading thick, highly verbal science texts symbolized to many students their past failures in high school science courses; looking at photographs and asking questions did not. Although students might say, "I never could do that and never will," the staff at the Academy learned to take this as an indication of the quality of the teaching materials and not as a statement about the student's capabilities. The answer was not to deny the students' statements, but to find new, less threatening vehicles for teaching.26

The curriculum at this school was called a "derived curriculum". It was derived from the experiences of the students and teachers. The personnel at the school respected each student's imagination and experiences and utilised those aspects of them that were most appropriate to the situation in the school. Students progressed through the course sequence not by growing older but by completing the work required for the courses. The conditions under which these curriculum experiences were derived differed from the public school but the goals were

26 J. Wagner, ibid., p. 125
the same. Experiences provided tended to free the students from the conventional experiences of the public schools. The school survived because it met the academic and social needs of the students through a curriculum that respected and concerned them and allowed them to study subjects when they showed an interest in them.

The model that was used for the selection of curriculum experiences in Wagner's school could have been adapted in the Day Treatment School. The school's objectives were similar to those described above. The day Treatment School could have succeeded in providing a continuity of experiences that would enable its students to re-enter the public-school system once more, since it did have a small teacher-student ratio. But the main concern of the teachers was to motivate the students to study for their own sake. That is to say, the personnel at the school were still preoccupied with students learning the "right things" in the "right way".

The teachers at Day Treatment School can be divided into two broad categories based on their interaction patterns with students and their views about students' characteristics and curriculum development. One group can be referred to as liberal and flexible in their approach
to the teaching-learning process. This group tended to give the students more scope for self-initiated activities (even when this infringed on school's policies). In other words, they sometimes compromised with students who refused to do classwork. On one occasion two students were allowed to play cards for an entire fifty minute period because they did not feel like doing any academic work. Neither was this group of teachers offended by the excessively foul language used by some of the students. Two members of this group even permitted students to smoke at times when they were not supposed to smoke. One day some students were seen smoking in the hall when they should have been with teachers in classes. When they were cautioned by another teacher they replied:

"May and Henry allow us to smoke."

The other group of teachers tended to be more conservative in their interaction with the students. They usually enforced official school decisions, and were less flexible in their interactions with the students. They insisted that the students do some academic work when in their classes. Those who refused were often sent to child care workers. Some of these teachers even insisted that the students do only the work that was planned for the
period even when students asked to do something else of their choice. This could have been due to the fact that teachers had previously made compromises with the students and were now serious about getting some specific work done.

These differences in approaches to classroom interactions did not interfere with the general functioning of the school, but they do reflect the fact that there was no consensus on curriculum planning and development. This is further illustrated in teachers' responses when they were asked if students should participate in curriculum planning.

"Students should be included and their choices should be considered in planning the curriculum."

"I think they should be included, since they are more strict with themselves than the teachers, with work they are interested in."

"I do not know if they are socially adjusted enough. I do not know if they are capable. Some may be, others are not."

Students' choice in curriculum content, then, was not encouraged at Day Treatment School, in spite of the fact that some teachers felt it to be an important issue. This was perhaps one factor that contributed to the students' slow academic progress at the school. The curriculum content was a "diluted" version of what one finds in the public school, and which could not help to improve the cognitive
skills of many of the students who were not going to succeed academically.

Administrators and staff admitted that some of the students at the school would not succeed due to their family background and past school history among other things. Some claimed that even if students were integrated into the public school system their problems would re-surface again.

"These students are fifteen and sixteen years old, and functioning at the grade three level. They will not put them in grade three in the public schools, so they will be right back to square one."

Hence what some believed was needed was a program to develop work skills (such as training to be an auto mechanic, learning to drive) that could get the students a job in the community. A good vocational education program can satisfy this need but there was no such program at Day Treatment School. The reason was perhaps due to lack of personnel in the field and lack of funds. Business Education and the woodwork classes offered some vocational training but the Business Education teacher said that this course was the least popular among students at the school since they did not see the need to learn to type.

In addition the time table format created problems.
It was not designed to deal realistically with the students' problems with concentration span and interest. The arrangement of the academic subjects on the time table aggravated this issue. One problem encountered in all of the classes was the short concentration span of the students (fifteen to twenty minutes of work). The balance of the fifty minute period was usually spent playing a recreational game such as cards or checkers. But students were subjected daily to two periods of the same subject with the same teacher. (See Table 1.1 in the Appendix). Some of the most disruptive and lethargic classes observed were those meeting for the second time on the same day. On some occasions students refused outright to do any work.

The activities on Tuesday and Thursday mornings were a form of temporal disruption in the 'days' program. The morning period could be better suited to academic work with slow learners. These activities would have served a better purpose if given in the afternoon when the students were mentally exhausted from the morning and wanted to relax and do something different. Many students were not in the mood to do academic work in the afternoon after a morning of activities. At one point students refused to turn up for the planned activities and pursued some
private ones. Teachers were often heard complaining to the child care workers that certain students refused to participate in an activity. The activity program broke down in March 1978 and had to be restructured so as to allow students to participate in two or more activities of their choice. The point is that the way subjects follow each other on the time table is as important as the subjects themselves. Subjects had to be relevant to the present needs of the students as well as being meaningful to them in more general terms.

Another problem was the lack of variety in teaching methods at the school. Variety in teaching methods is one way of capturing and sustaining students' interest and attention. In this school a stimulating variety of methods was vital to motivating the students. But teachers were content to use conventional methods. There were two subjects where teachers used projects to overcome this problem. For example, two interesting projects were observed, one in the Business Education Classes and the other in the Communication Arts Classes. These projects involved using information from several subjects. Students had to participate actively in viewing films doing art work, doing some private research and collecting information for their
projects. These projects, however, were not a common event in the school. Perhaps the teachers were not sure about the outcome of a situation that called for the channeling of one's energy in a specific direction. They were not clear about the specific objectives of the academic program or the means of achieving them. They also seemed to have lost sight of the positive effects of individualized teaching since they complained a lot about the composition of the groups.

"I do not know how they (administrators) arrived at these groupings. They seem to ignore group dynamics when they are forming them."

The academic curriculum lacked a sense of direction in the areas in which the school wanted students to improve. This occurred because the school was not using any curriculum model or theory as a guide to learning experiences. A relevant theory on curriculum development or a successful curriculum model used with similar students or even the model used in the public schools into which the students were to be reintegrated would have served as a tentative beginning for the school's program.

The absence of a model freed the personnel at the school to experiment but it also resulted in some ineffective programs and changes in a situation which
required some sense of order. Curriculum critics have
argued that theory can be a useful guide to planning class-
room experiences but educators must be aware that a single
theory may be inappropriate to deal with all the problems
students encounter.\textsuperscript{27} Some suggest that different con-
ceptual categories of the curriculum can be integrated in
classroom experiences.\textsuperscript{28} It is possible for a learning
activity to include, in varying degrees, an emphasis on
development of cognitive skills, personal learning,
vocational skills, etc. These critics claim that:"...most controversies in education discourse reflect a basic
conflict in priorities concerning the form and content of
curriculum goals."\textsuperscript{29} The integration of theories with
common elements in curriculum planning has been proposed
by Schwab.\textsuperscript{30} His contention is that the inflexible use of
theories in human situations may do more harm than good.
On the other hand, the absence of a theory or curricular
model in a situation that lends itself to the use of more
than one can create a new set of problems.

\textsuperscript{27}J.J. Schwab, op. cit.
\textsuperscript{28}E.W. Eisner and E. Vallance, op. cit.
\textsuperscript{29}Ibid., p.1
\textsuperscript{30}J.J. Schwab, op. cit.
The lack of material resources, conflicting ideas on curriculum content, the fact that students did not participate in curriculum planning, the time table format and the inability to use varying teaching methods were the main factors contributing to the conflicts experienced by teachers and students. A flexible curriculum model could have, perhaps, altered the teaching-learning experiences at Day Treatment School.

Reasons for Guidance and Counselling Problems

This program was designed to improve the social skills of the students. Social progress was measured by how well the students were displaying pro-social attitudes in their interaction with their peers and personnel at the school.

The child care workers and social workers who were primarily responsible for this program at the school planned activities they hoped would develop positive social attitudes in students. The teachers completed questionnaires on the students which were designed to assess students' social attitudes to classroom experiences. (See Table 2.8 in the Appendix). Many of the teachers, however, had strong negative opinions about some of the students which may have influenced their assessment. Nevertheless, these
assessments were used by the social workers to measure the students' social progress.

It was evident by the end of the year that many of the students were less hostile than at the beginning. But this was not a guarantee that they had developed social skills which would maintain pro-social attitudes outside of the school. This may have been related to the fact that the behavior modification program that was developed by the child care workers was not based on the principles of learning that are generally used in other programs with students similar to those at Day Treatment School. Rather, child care workers utilised those aspects of behavior modification theory which they interpreted as being most appropriate for the situation at hand.

There were many variables in the school environment which influenced anti-social school behavior which could not be modified. There were lounges in which students could

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*The learning principles employed in operant conditioning have been used by behavior therapists in their work with deviant children. The reader is referred to the Work of Lovaas and Bucher Perspective in Behavior Modification with Deviant Children, Prentice Hall Inc., 1974, and Erickson and Williams Reading in Behavior Modification Research with Children, MSS Corporation, 1973 for further details.*
lock themselves to escape from school personnel. There were other sections of the institution in which the school was located that students could easily visit during school time. There was an open lounge with a ping pong table for the students where they were often seen playing ping pong when they should have been in a class. Some even played with the permission of their teachers.

The description of the techniques used by the child care workers in Chapter III does not coincide with the techniques used by Lovaas and Bucher,\textsuperscript{31} and Erickson and Williams\textsuperscript{32} in their therapy sessions with similar students. The child care workers did not control for environmental variables which contributed to the anti-social behavior of students.

The target areas of behavior which the child care workers were focusing on, especially class participation, class attendance and classroom behavior required careful controls and systematic recording. The system of recording should have been standardized, but this was left to the value position of the child care workers in charge of

\textsuperscript{31}Lovaas and Bucher, op. cit.
\textsuperscript{32}Erickson and Williams, op. cit.
the program. Teachers also claimed that they could not interrupt their lessons every time a student misbehaved or did not participate in classroom discussions to send them to the child care workers to be disciplined. Some students continued to disrupt classes when they returned from a visit to the child care workers' office. A child care worker claimed he was not aware that students continued to misbehave after visiting his office. Some students used being sent to the child care workers as a means of escape from classes. These students seem to challenge teachers deliberately on occasion so as to be sent out of the classroom.

The child care workers also relied on the teachers' word as to whether students participated in classroom discussions or misbehaved or disrupted classes. The deficiency of this method stems from the fact that teachers in the school differed in their approach to classroom teaching and in their interaction with the students, hence their perception of students' classroom behavior would differ. Other factors such as the quality and size of reinforcement, the schedule of reinforcement and the time factor between the desired response and the reward, which are crucial to the success of behavior modification programs
were handled in a random fashion by the child care workers. In addition, factors such as the drive level and motivational states of the students also affected desired behavioral outcomes.

A behavior modification program which is based on inadequate planning and application procedures and inadequate evaluation, and which is applied without first understanding the underlying principles, is likely to be ineffective. An important point to consider in this case is that behavior modification is not the only method of developing positive attitudes in human beings. It may not even be the best method in some instances when the ethics of its use are considered.

Another method which could have been employed with the students in the school, because of the small pupil-teacher ratio, non-graded classes and the inclusion of child care workers and social workers, is the one advocated by Junell, in which the emotions of the student are given the same emphasis as the development of his reasoning ability. His point is that:

"... because attitudes function in the peculiar way they do, the emotions of young children must be made the target of public education, and the educator who wish to improve the human condition
without full recognition of this fact is merely whistling in the dark." 33

Junell does not know of any particular method which can be employed in the development of positive attitudes in students. Research in this area of education has been limited also. However, he does state that attitudes can be formed and modified through a principle called "identification." One is not sure about what happens when identification takes place, only that there are certain conditions under which it is more likely to occur.

One such condition is the act of dependence by the students on a human model whose behavior can be emulated in an atmosphere that is surrounded by "... number of uniquely human characteristics within the teacher and his curriculum." 34 The students at the Day Treatment School experienced face to face encounters with the personnel at the school. One can say they were dependent on them to help them solve their academic and social problems but the students did not show any visible desire to emulate their teachers. In fact they seem to disregard their

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34 Ibid., p.110.
teachers. The child care workers were in a better position to influence the students' attitudes through the act of dependence. They interacted more freely with the students, intervened to help them with their social problems, and also established rapport with the students. They seemed to possess the dominant trait that Junell claims is necessary, "the spirit of reverence for children". 35 This attribute allows the (model) to trust and accept the students regardless of their problems, and allows the students to express themselves fearlessly.

Junell claims that the student can learn more from a matured, loving person than from the curriculum subjects. But the quality of the educational experience, if it introduces the element of pleasure or pain, can produce the same effect. The teacher must therefore be dramatic in his/her classroom presentation. This dramatic element serves as a "catalytic agent" and enables the teacher "... to recognize those parts of the curriculum which lend themselves to dramatic treatment". 36 Thus, he suggests that academic subjects be placed in an emotional context.

35 Ibid, p. 111
36 Ibid, p. 111
through the use of drama, by teachers who are dynamic and concerned about the development of right attitudes in students.

The guidance and counselling program at the school was designed to cater to the emotional needs of the students. The program was devoted to the development of positive attitudes in the students. The personnel in charge of this program decided on the use of a variation of behavior modification to achieve their goals and the academic curriculum on the other hand was not placed in an emotional context as Junell suggested, neither did the teachers possess all the characteristics that are crucial to the process of identification.\textsuperscript{37}

Although the school's personnel clearly stated that some students' behavior had been modified, the guidance and counselling program did encounter problems which personnel in charge could not resolve. Their interpretation and use of behavior modification were again merely an attempt to "make do" with the resources at hand. Teachers and guidance and counselling personnel adapted to the situation for practical purposes.

\textsuperscript{37}Ibid., p. 110-112
Summary

Generally, the school's program was not responsive to the needs of the students. Too much was left to be interpreted by the school's personnel from the stated goals of the school. Also, too much was left to individuals in developing and implementing effective programs. The creators of the school should have supplied the administrators and staff with the necessary guidelines for developing and implementing the programs at the school. The advice of specialists would certainly have enhanced the content of the programs and the method of presentation. The major thrust of the general program was in the area of social development. This aspect of the school's program was given priority over the academic program. For instance, a child care worker or a social worker was free to see a student at any point in the day, even if it involved leaving a class; hence the reason for the only significant gains made in the program being social gain.
CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS

This research was conducted to examine how members of an "alternative school" attempted to develop a curriculum to change the behavior of its student population. This particular group of students had a history of academic failure and social problems in their respective schools where they were functioning below their academic grade level. This school was created specifically to give them another chance to "succeed in school".

The school sought to improve the social behavior and increase the cognitive skills of the students through an academic and guidance and counseling program. The academic emphasis was mainly on the development of cognitive skills such as reasoning, reading and writing. The guidance and counseling program concentrated on the acquisition of positive social attitudes.

The purpose of this study was not to criticize the efforts of the school but rather to gain information about
curriculum planning that could be utilised in similar situations. In assessing the progress towards stated goals in any situation one must look objectively at how well stated goals are achieved within a period of time. The findings of this study might serve as a point of departure for future research in the area since I have described primarily the planned program (curriculum) at the Day Treatment School and the major problems encountered by the personnel in the development and implementation of the curriculum. I have tried to show how "things" really are at the school. It was not possible to do so in all areas of its operation for the reasons mentioned in Chapter I. But the data collected indicated that the programs developed and implemented at the Day Treatment School were not going to achieve the stated goals of the school.

The school was unable to achieve its stated goals for several reasons. The problems the personnel at the school encountered in developing and implementing an "alternative" program, which was intended to change students' academic and social performance, were similar to the general problems encountered in developing curriculums in "alternative" schools. In this case there was
an added dimension to the problem due to the difficulties of interpreting the broad goals of the school (specialised education, therapeutic intervention, family therapy), in specific forms relevant to the students' problems.

Specific distinctions, that could serve as guides in developing effective academic and guidance and counselling programs, were not made in the outline of these goals. The administrators were responsible for the development and implementation of the programs. Their decision not to use any specific curricular model or guide in planning learning activities contributed to the difficulties of trying to effectively change students' behaviors. In reality, the school's personnel were experimenting with programs in a situation that called for specific techniques to deal with the problems of students.

The academic program which was implemented at the beginning of the school year was a tentative one, because the school was still in the process of being organized. The program consisted of the following core subjects (subjects taken by all students): Math, French, Language Arts, Social Science and Business Education. Recreational Woodwork and Recreational Physical Education were also provided. The academic minutes were divided equally
among the subjects. This program did not produce desirable results and changes were made to the program in January, 1978. (See Table 1.1 in the Appendix). More subjects were added to the timetable and the academic minutes were divided so as to devote more time to subjects like Math and Language Arts with some of the students. The Activities were the major additions to the academic program. They were selected by the students from a list of what the school was capable of offering (See Table 1.2 in the Appendix). The activity sessions broke down in March, 1978 and a new format had to be implemented, since students were not attending the sessions. The personnel now made it possible for students to participate in more than one activity of their choice. Instead of doing only one activity each week, the students were rotated so as to participate in more than one activity each week.

In September, 1977, the guidance and counselling program was conducted by the child care workers, since no social workers were attached to the school. The child care workers placed the students into groups and each group selected a member to form a student committee. This committee was to be a forum for the students to communicate their problems during counselling sessions. This program
broke down. The reasons given were:

"The students cannot function socially in a group. Every time they got together, each wanted to talk at the same time."

"The students do not care about each other; they do not have respect for themselves as persons, hence they cannot respect others."

A new guidance and counselling program was implemented in January, 1978. The addition of two social workers to the staff enhanced the program. The child care workers were responsible for helping the students with their social and emotional problems encountered in the school and the social workers intervened in their home life in an effort to help with family problems.

In January, the school's personnel justified the changes they made in the program by stating that they knew the students and their strengths and weaknesses much better, and that they were now in a better position to implement programs to meet the needs of the students. The problem, however, was the manner in which the school's personnel were experimenting with the programs and implementing changes. The flexible structure at the school, which provided for changes to the program, also created the problems which affected the success of the planned programs.

In theory there was a formal structure at the Day
Treatment School. (See Chapter II), but in practice the activities resembled those of the "Free Schools" such as the "Parkway Program". The point is that most of these schools failed in their attempt to help their student population. The ad hoc decisions pertaining to the content and format of programs, the freedom of teachers in selecting and implementing classroom activities and teachers' compromising with students' when they refused to do academic work, are all familiar features of the unsuccessful "alternative school". A member of staff was critical of the manner in which some teachers were handling their classes.

"The problem is this. There is no consistency in the classrooms. Some teachers just let the students do what they want. Now, imagine this. It is the first period for the day and two classes are in the lounge relaxing. This is shit, and I really get upset. But I cannot undermine the teachers' authority by going into the classes and saying so, but it really beats me."

Alternative endeavors in education which have used unstructured programs or made too many ad hoc decisions in running a program have mainly ended in failure. Dennison's school closed after its second year in spite of the success.

38G. Dennison, op. cit.
he claimed to have had with the students. Similarly, Arnov and Toby\textsuperscript{39} found lack of structure to be a prominent feature among the alternative schools which closed after a few years' operation. They found that the schools which were successful in helping their students were those with structures and programs similar to those of the public schools. This was evident in the Wagner\textsuperscript{40} study. The conclusion is that:

"Educationally, many (alternative schools) failed to develop appropriate structures and pedagogies which would enable them to achieve learning goals as well as conventional schools."\textsuperscript{41}

At the Day Treatment School the lack of vital teaching aids and resource materials served to aggravate the issue. A suitable flexible curriculum model could have provided the basis for the utilisation of what was available at the school in the form of teaching aids and resources. It is much easier for one to draw on one's resources in a teaching situation if objectives are clearly defined and systemically pursued. This was not the case.

\textsuperscript{39} Arnov and Toby, op. cit.
\textsuperscript{40} J. Wagner, op. cit.
\textsuperscript{41} Arnov and Toby, op. cit.
at the Day Treatment School.

Other factors which affected the development of an effective curriculum at the school were the staff's perception of their role and their interpretation of the broad goals of the school in planning activities for the students. Some members placed emphasis on social development, and others, on cognitive development, but no one came with an effective integrated program which provided a continuity of experience from one class to the next for the students. The students' choice in curriculum content was not considered in the planning stage. This was unfortunate since no method can succeed if students are not interested. The students' behavior in the classroom and their social attitude to academic work required programs based on their interest. Their family and emotional problems were outside variables which affected their performance in academic work. These were the variables which the guidance and counselling programs were hoping to change in their interaction with the students. But the program developed by the child care workers was not effective.

Another relevant factor was the assumption of members of staff that many of the students would not
succeed academically. This influenced the content of their individual curriculums, which were basically "watered down" versions of those in the public schools. In combination with the above factors, this served to further exacerbate problems experienced by teachers and students. What seemed to occur was another form of "tracking," since the students were isolated from the main stream public school and the daily routine there. The point is that while the school's academic objective was to raise the students' cognitive functioning to that of the average public school grade six level, there was no link between the Day Treatment School and the public schools in the Montreal area. Each existed side by side unaware of each other's activities.

Everyone at the school was realistic about the possibilities of ever achieving the goals with all the students, because of their attitude. The personnel at the school were sincere in their efforts to help the students but they hesitated to talk about long range gains. They could not guarantee they would help any of the students in one year. It is not possible to ascertain the effects of these teachers' beliefs, but based on previous research one can argue that such beliefs influence the socialization which occurs at the classroom level, because it determines
the teachers' expectations. For example, Stebbins notes that:

Teachers can only blame two sources for their lack of success: themselves and others... they choose the latter alternative and thus contend that there is an important aspect of the students' lives and personality affecting their behavior in school.

The combination of factors which created problems at the Day Treatment School is not unique to this school. These problems have been encountered in the past in attempts to provide "alternative" education to disadvantaged students. The decision of the school's personnel not to use a specific model(s) in their experiments with curriculum content serve to add to the problems. One may even argue on the basis of the data that the school was not really providing an "alternative" program (curriculum) to its students, since the organization of the school, the format of the planned program and the content of the planned program (guidance and counselling excluded) were similar to those of the public schools. There were very

43 R. Stebbins, Teachers and Meanings: Definitions of Classroom Situations, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1975, p. 64
little "innovations" except for the small groups of students and attempts at individualized instruction. In this case "alternative" meant whatever the school's personnel thought would benefit the students. But what they considered to be beneficial (academically and socially) to the students was not effective in helping to achieve the desired outcomes. From this standpoint, the school's first year's operation was an experiment which failed.
CHAPTER VI

A NOTE ON METHODOLOGY

The research technique used in this study is referred to as "fieldwork research". That is, I was a participant observer in the school, recording conversations between the school's personnel and students and myself, as well as noting the types of interaction among teachers, between teachers and administrators, teachers and students, students and child care workers and students and students. I tried to record conversations verbatim as far as possible. At times during lengthy conversation with administrators and staff I would jot down notes. I did not, however, write notes during classroom observations.

The period of the research lasted from January, 1978 to March, 1978. I visited the school three days each week. I observed and recorded the various activities and interaction patterns among various members of the school. As I became more familiar with the school's setting and with the people, I began to participate more actively in the
school's ongoing activities. With time I began to ask questions and to probe specifically into the area of the school's planned curriculum.

Although there were approximately ten teachers attached to the school, only six agreed to allow me to observe in their classrooms. These teachers were most co-operative, participating in lengthy discussions with me. In view of the fact that the design of the study was new to me, I found it quite interesting that these teachers were not resentful of my presence in their classrooms.

After all, this was as new a situation for them as it was for me. This was their first year teaching in the school and they were essentially experimenting in their teaching techniques. (Each teacher was observed in his/her classroom for fifty to one hundred minutes each week).

There were twenty four students registered at the school during the period of the research. However, they were never all present at the same time and my interaction with them was limited to those who attended more frequently.

I also had the opportunity to interview the administrators, child care workers and social workers. My concern throughout my interaction with various members of the school was to find out more about the effects of the
curriculum on the scholastic performance and social development of the students. In-depth interviewing (structured and unstructured) was conducted in an attempt to elicit definitions of events and behavior from the observed person(s) point of view. Probing techniques were used consistently in interviews. These consisted of leading questions aimed at getting at the individual's perspective on issues pertaining to curriculum development. For example, I asked, "Do you think students should be included in curriculum planning?" Other secondary questions were asked to further clarify points raised by the leading questions. "Can you elaborate on what you mean by social gains?" Sensitive topics were raised and discussed with the consent of person(s) being interviewed. These were mainly about students' backgrounds. Topics of a public nature were discussed individually or in groups. For example, "do you think the students should have a say in the choice of curriculum content?" This method of research enabled me to examine and analyse the inner and outer perspective of particular individuals' actions. Observable actions combined with expressed views produced information about the school's setting. Interviews clarified puzzling events, as did numerous official documents.
and publications on the school. Perhaps the most important point revealed to me was that everyone at the school seemed to be more concerned with the implementation of a new curriculum, since it was too soon to ascertain the effects of the curriculum then in use, which they considered to be an alternative to the public school curriculum.

**Advantages and Limitations of Fieldwork Research:**

Given the background and academic history of the students at the school, I felt that it was to my advantage to observe and participate in a real classroom setting in order to see what happens when certain curriculum changes are instituted. No one approach is really adequate to describe fully the educational process. But some approaches seem to be better, based on the nature of the problem investigated. Educational criticism seems to have three major aspects: description, explanation and interpretation. There may not be any sharp lines defining these three, but there is a difference in focus and emphasis. The emphasis in this study is on description of the ongoing events and activities in relation to the curriculum. As Jackson notes, in-depth interviewing provides opportunity to speak to people in the setting.
"The school of thought represented here believes that a science of man must start with detailed observations of actions itself. Then the investigator after patient recording of the actions and identification of the actors may attempt to find an explanation for the behavior which he has observed."\(^44\)

Participant observation and in-depth interviewing therefore create categories by means of which events may be explained and described. As data was collected, patterns and trends were identified. Descriptions and explanations based on interviews and observations were given some validity by checking other data, subsequent observations and interviews. Descriptions of classroom interactions tend to reveal purposes and consequences of actions. By being close to the events, I was better able to understand why certain events took place and I was therefore able to reflect more critically about the effects of these events on people in the setting. For instance, Lofland argues, "There is much to learn about situational behavior by scrutinising what it is people are reacting to."\(^45\) Furthermore, he claims that this

\(^{45}\) R.A. Stebbins, op. cit., p.4.
method allows the researcher to get to know the facts about the problem researched and not merely to read about them through second hand media such as books. He feels that one can only get to know people (and what is affecting them) through face to face association with them over a long period of time. Learning about them from books or other second hand media could only lead to distortions, oversimplifications, errors and omissions. This method therefore provides a more direct sense of what people are really like and what their lives are about. It also provides a situation in which meanings of actions and words can be learned with greater precision through a study of the context to which they relate. In some instances, people in a given setting will not, for some private reason, tell the researcher all the things he/she might want to know. This is less likely to occur if the researcher is in the setting for a period of time since he/she will then be in a position to observe the very things that have not been reported in an interview. Filstead also points out that:

"... there is strong empirical evidence not only that there may be no relationship between what people say and what they do but under some conditions there may be a high inverse relationship between the two." 47

This was reflected in my research. I was told:

"These kids play a game in the public school, each time they are suspended they win... these kids are delinquents and I think we have a need for institutions like this one."

I later learned that two students were indeed suspended from the school during the year.

This method, then, makes it possible to check descriptions against facts, and note discrepancies that are less likely to be discovered by other methods of research.

Lofland, 48 on the other hand, is quick to point out that there are limitations to participant observation and interviewing techniques. In some cases, the researcher begins the study without a specific theoretical framework, allowing for the development of theory from the ongoing life of the setting. In the absence of theory, the beliefs of the researcher may serve as givens. But


his/her views can be biased and can lead them to ignore other elements completely. Biased views in human situations can result in definitions which could affect the way one interprets actions and events and may influence the way one interacts with others. People are also suspicious of others when they cannot relate to what they are doing. This is one of the problems field researchers must overcome early in the setting. Lofland further suggests that problems arise from the meanings people in the setting assign to the word "researcher". The particular beliefs of these people will influence their interaction with the researcher to the point of withholding information. Others have suggested:

"... that teachers are generally not happy about being observed, or about having outsiders around them... A lot may depend upon how well the presence of the (researcher) can be explained at the very beginning, and how they made their presence felt." It is also possible, however, that people would come to modify their beliefs through frequent interaction.

Two teachers in the setting claimed they were not

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49 John Lofland, ibid.
50 L.M. Smith and W. Geoffrey, op. cit., p. 12
happy with strangers observing in their classrooms. Others asked if I was going to evaluate their work. One teacher in particular wanted to know if I was from the P.S.B.G.M. I was advised that if, at any time, during my observation an embarrassing situation developed, I should excuse myself. Some teachers preferred to be observed with certain groups because "some groups were more interested in giving trouble". One teacher asked me to come in after the group had settled down to work. In spite of these initial trivial occurrences early in the research the teachers did eventually come to be at ease in my presence.

Personal Views

I was introduced to the setting by an employee at the institution who suggested that it might be an ideal place to do my research but I had the initial burden of meeting the administrators and teachers and convincing them of the ethics and benefits of the study. My initial visits to the setting were to gain entrance and to collect background information. Once final permission was given the burden of acceptance was lightened. I began the research with some private apprehensions, since it was to be my first real encounter with "socially maladjusted"
students. My previous teaching experience did not provide me with the insights needed to work with problem students and I had therefore no practical conception of how to respond to the student population. I was not committed to any particular model or theory and was thus better able to understand and hopefully to see relationships among events in the setting. Relevant patterns emerged and I was committed to developing the ability to pick out the key incidents that were related to the curriculum at the school.

Some initial impressions about the school were not validated as the research progressed, while others were. One notable example is that I mistook the excessive swearing by students to be due to the absence of formal discipline. I was wrong. But on the other hand, the students' lack of motivation and lack of interest in academic work was confirmed. During the period of the research I communicated a great deal with the people in the setting. I did not, however, pry into teachers' affairs or conversations. During all activities I participated as an observer. I was able to establish a fairly close relationship with one of the teachers in the school while I was researching and was able to discuss
many puzzling confidential matters. Perhaps the high point of the research was reached during the final days in the month of March, 1978. By then the children were very friendly towards me. Many of them wanted to know if I was going to teach in the school when my research was over.

At this time I was also discussing the school's curriculum with the teachers and principal. After one such discussion the principal said:

"Based on our discussion yesterday, I have sent out a memo to the staff and I would like you to have a look at it."

A copy of the memo is reproduced in Appendix A.

The practical experiences I encountered in the school, relating to the type of problems "disadvantaged" students bring to the school and the problems teachers encounter as a result, will be utilised many times in my future career in the field of education. The course of events was not always smooth in the setting. At times I knew that I was not quite unobtrusive to some of the people in the setting. But these instances helped me to refine and improve the human relation skills that are needed in dealing with inter-group and interpersonal relationships. On several occasions the children attempted to include me in their confrontations with
teachers, while at other times I sensed my presence was not welcomed by some staff members. In time I was able to overcome this uneasiness.

The inner perspective one gains from actively participating in the life of the observed, and gaining insights about their assumptions about behavior, through an understanding of their definitions of situations, is indeed a rewarding experience. Wagner sums up nicely my mission at the school:

"I tried to speak to the subject of my study as well, not only in respecting (others') versions of the social reality of the place in which they acted - but also in staying as close as possible in my analysis to events and patterns of behaviors that had some salience to those who worked in the school... In all this I have been well served by my memory of life in the school - memory supplemented by notes, documents and interviews." 51

51 J. Wagner, op. cit., p. 239.
APPENDIX A

P.S.B.G.M. THE PROTESTANT SCHOOL BOARD OF GREATER MONTREAL BUREAU DES. ECOLES PROTESTANTES DU GRAND MONTREAL

March 16th, 1978.

Daily Bulletin

As we will soon have to plan our time table for the 1978-79 sessions I would be grateful if you could undertake a careful analysis of our present operation.

In particular I would like you to consider our present curriculum and its suitability. Can we best cater for the students' individual needs under the present system, or are there other models we can examine?

Are individualised timetables feasible? If so what organisational changes would we have to make?

Is there more to be gained from the traditional homeroom format?

We have existed on trial and error since September and I think we have profited from our mistakes and have
made some appreciable gains. However we all know that we have a long way to go to get a viable unit.

I will soon have to declare our staff needs for the coming year and I would appreciate your input. If you could submit a written analysis it would serve as a basis for discussion at a later date.

This of course, is only a request, however I am sure you will agree that the more input we get the more profitable will be our discussions and subsequent planning.

John Doe
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Monday</th>
<th>Tuesday</th>
<th>Wednesday</th>
<th>Thursday</th>
<th>Friday</th>
</tr>
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</table>

**ACTIVITY**

**RECESS**
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<th>Wednesday</th>
<th>Thursday</th>
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<td>Tuesday</td>
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<td>Games</td>
<td>Gym</td>
<td>Games</td>
<td>Gym</td>
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<tr>
<td>Swimming</td>
<td>Art</td>
<td>Cooking</td>
<td>Woodwork</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singing</td>
<td>Cooking</td>
<td>Swimming</td>
<td>Drama</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Art</td>
<td>Aero-</td>
<td>Outings</td>
<td>Games</td>
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<tr>
<td>Craft</td>
<td>Modelling</td>
<td></td>
<td>Singing</td>
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TABLE 2.1

STANFORD DIAGNOSTIC MATHEMATICS TEST
LEVEL 1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Students</th>
<th>Ages</th>
<th>Test 1. (Concepts)</th>
<th>Test 2. (Computations)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>4.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>14</td>
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<td>4.5</td>
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<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>4.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>4.9</td>
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<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>4.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>16</td>
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</tr>
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### TABLE 2.2

**STANFORD DIAGNOSTIC READING TEST**

**LEVEL 1.**

<table>
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<tr>
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<tbody>
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<td>1</td>
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<td>2.6</td>
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<td>2.8</td>
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<td>14</td>
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<td>3.2</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>4.0</td>
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<td>2.8</td>
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<td>1.6</td>
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<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>4.0</td>
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<td>2.2</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>5.1</td>
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<td>2.1</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>3.0</td>
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<tr>
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<td>15</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>2.8</td>
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<tr>
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<td>15</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>2.1</td>
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<tr>
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<td>16</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>2.4</td>
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<td>2.1</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>2.2</td>
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TABLE 2.3

STANFORD DIAGNOSTIC MATHEMATICS TEST
LEVEL 11.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Students</th>
<th>Ages</th>
<th>Test 1 (Concepts)</th>
<th>Test 11 (Computations)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>3.8</td>
</tr>
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<td>2</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>8.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>7.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students</td>
<td>Ages</td>
<td>Reading Compreh.</td>
<td>Vocab.</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>3.6</td>
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TABLE 2.5

STANFORD ACHIEVEMENT TEST
INTERMEDIATE 1.
PARTIAL BATTERY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subjects</th>
<th>Grade Scores</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Word Meaning</td>
<td>2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paragraph Meaning</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spelling</td>
<td>3.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Word Study Skill</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arithmetic Computation</td>
<td>4.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arithmetic Concept</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arithmetic Application</td>
<td>3.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

One student age 14 years took this test.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subjects</th>
<th>Grade Scores</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Word Meaning</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paragraph Meaning</td>
<td>9.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spelling</td>
<td>12.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language</td>
<td>8.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arithmetic Computation</td>
<td>11.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arithmetic Concept</td>
<td>12.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arithmetic Application</td>
<td>12.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

One student age 16 years took this test
**TABLE 2.7**

**DAY TREATMENT SCHOOL INDIVIDUAL CLASS EVALUATION**

**TEACHER**

**SUBJECT**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STUDENT</th>
<th>GRADE</th>
<th>LEVEL</th>
<th>REPORT</th>
<th>PROGRESS</th>
<th>REMARKS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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</tbody>
</table>

**SIGNATURE TEACHER:**
### TABLE 2.8

**DAY TREATMENT SCHOOL SOCIAL SKILLS EVALUATION**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TIME: ___________________________</th>
<th>DATE: ___________________________</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

**TEACHER: ___________________________**

1. A) Does s/he work well independently?
   B) Does s/he have a good concentration span?

2. Does s/he require much encouragement to begin work?

3. Does s/he complete work that s/he starts?

4. Can s/he follow directions well?

5. Does s/he day dream in class?

6. Is s/he easily distracted by any interference, however small?

7. Does s/he adapt well to changes? (i.e., new material in class, new projects?)

8. Is s/he "hair trigger": Little things are enough to get him off?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Almost</th>
<th>Never</th>
<th>Rarely</th>
<th>Sometimes</th>
<th>Usually</th>
<th>Almost</th>
<th>Always</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE 2.8 Continued

9) Does s/he use foul language in class?

10) Does s/he use foul language especially when frustrated?

11) Is s/he a part of the group? (i.e. sits with other kids and participates, rather than sitting on the fringe and looking on)

12) Does s/he interfere with classmates learning? (disturbing, perting, instigation)

13) Does s/he show initiative by asking questions?

14) Does s/he get along with the opposite sex?

15) Does s/he join in conversation, i.e. expresses opinion, ideas?

16) Is s/he generally well-liked by his peers?

17) Is s/he respectful of teacher's authority? (i.e. responds to results)

18) Is s/he respectful of other people's property and rights?
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Almost</th>
<th>Rarely</th>
<th>Sometimes</th>
<th>Usually</th>
<th>Always</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>19) Is s/he respectful of his/her own property?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>20) Is s/he aggressive towards teacher? (i.e. lippy, rude)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>21) Is s/he aggressive towards classmates?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22) Is s/he shy?</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>23) Is s/he co-operative? (i.e. knows how to &quot;give and take&quot; with others)</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>24) Does s/he complain a great deal?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>25) Is s/he cheerful?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26) Is s/he even-tempered?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>27) Is s/he in control of his behavior?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28) Does s/he bring up personal and/or family material, i.e., problems, information sharing, into class?</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### TABLE 3.1

**STUDENTS FINAL EVALUATION**

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<th>Continuing in Program</th>
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BIBLIOGRAPHY


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