

THE EFFECT OF A SELF-
GOVERNMENT PROGRAM ON
AGGRESSIVE BEHAVIOUR
WITH INSTITUTIONALIZED
DELINQUENT ADOLESCENTS

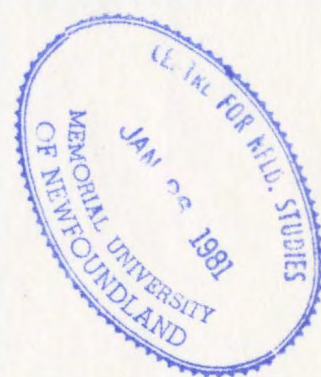
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THE EFFECT OF A SELF-GOVERNMENT PROGRAM ON AGGRESSIVE BEHAVIOUR
WITH INSTITUTIONALIZED DELINQUENT ADOLESCENTS

by

James Kevin McNeil, B.Sc.(Hon.)



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Memorial University of Newfoundland

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Abstract

Evidence is available which suggests that peers influence inappropriate behaviour among delinquent adolescents. Other studies have shown peers to be effective behaviour modifiers. This investigation combines these findings to study the effect of a self-government program on decreasing the level of aggression of institutionalized delinquent adolescents.

Subjects ranged in age from 14 to 16 years (mean = 15.2). The number of subjects varied from 22 to 31 during the four months of this experiment, with equal numbers of boys and girls. The institution provided a contingency management program utilizing points as secondary reinforcers.

Three measures of verbal and physical aggression were used to assess the efficacy of the experimental procedure: (a) the frequency of recorded staff punishment for the inappropriate behaviour categories of verbal or physical aggression, (b) surreptitious observations of aggressive behaviour during a daily recreation period, and (c) rating of social skills in response to provocative situations presented on audiotape.

The residents were told that during the experimental period staff would not levy fines for the inappropriate behaviour categories of verbal and physical aggression. They were asked to propose their own set of rules for aggressive behaviour, to charge rule violators, to conduct court trials according to prescribed procedures, and to

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decide upon appropriate penalties.

An ABAB withdrawal design was used to assess the effect of the self-government.

Self-government did not differentially affect the level of fineable behaviour recorded by the staff. The rate of aggressive behaviour observed in recreation periods decreased markedly to .038 per person per minute in both experimental periods from .062 in the initial baseline and .054 in the withdrawal period. Social skills assessment revealed a minor change as a result of self-government.

While the self-government program appears to have been effective in reducing interpersonal aggressive behaviour, the nature of the effective contingencies is unclear.

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CHAPTER ONE

During the course of a study on social skills training with institutionalized delinquents at Pleasantville School (Crewe, in preparation); it became apparent that a high proportion of their interpersonal interactions were aggressive. Since most of these aggressions occurred unobserved by staff members, there was little chance of controlling them through the contingency management system. Major aggressions such as fist-fights, swearing at staff, and destruction of property received immediate attention from staff. However, the general flow of interactions was characterized by less intensive acts which we will refer to as 'mini-aggressions', examples of which are punching, shoving, kicking, swearing among students, and name-calling. Probably a sequence of mini-aggressions precedes the major aggressions so that intervention at the latter level is not as effective as it could be in decreasing the occurrence of aggressive behaviour.

It is paradoxical that such presumably painful patterns are maintained in a social group. Probably the explanation of this maintainance is in the process of peer influence by which aggressive interactions receive rewarding consequences while non-aggressive behaviour receives less social approval from peers.

A possible solution to decreasing the level of aggressive behaviour is intervention at the mini-aggression level. One method of employing intervention at this level is through altering

patterns of peer influence to provide consequences which would decrease the occurrence of such behaviour.

Effects of Peers on Behaviour

A pilot study by Patterson (1963) consisted of 15 two-hour observations of a small group of delinquent girls in a detention home. The method of data collection consisted of observation followed by the recording of a descriptive account of each observation period which included residents' responses and the consequences of these responses. The consequences of the observed behaviour were classified into two groups - those that were rewarding, i.e., indicated approval, agreement, interest, attention; or consisted of laughing, smiling, imitating the speaker, etc., and those that were not rewarding, i.e., indications of disagreement, frowning, ignoring, sneering, and threatening. The results showed that 70% of such behaviour as rule-breaking, criticisms of adults and rules, aggressive behaviour, and 'kicks' were followed by rewarding consequences. These data were obtained by one observer from one group of delinquents in a single institution. A more elaborate study was conducted by Furniss (1964) in which observation periods were divided into two-and-one-half-second segments and behaviour was coded independently by two judges. The results of this study showed that, on a sample of four cottages for delinquent adolescents, rewarding consequences by peers (attention or approval) followed behaviour defined as delinquent significantly more often

($p < .001$) than delinquent behaviour received non-rewarding peer consequences (disinterest or disapproval). At all eight cottages in this study, the peer group was observed to follow socially conforming behaviour with unrewarding consequences more frequently ($p < .01$) than they rewarded such behaviour (Buehler, Patterson, & Furniss, 1966).

Solomon and Wahler (1973) found similar results as the above authors in a non-delinquent population. These authors were able to show that peers of students emitting a high frequency of problem behaviours (gesturing, manipulation of objects not related to schoolwork, talking without permission from the teacher, out of seat behaviour without permission) in a classroom setting provided no rewarding consequences for on-task behaviour while social attention was higher for the target subjects' disruptive behaviour (mean number of social attention units observed = 2.87). Another indication of the importance of peers in influencing delinquent behaviour is provided by Shaw and MacKay (1931). These investigators found that only 18.2% of 5480 offenses were committed by solitary offenders.

Strong support is thereby given to the notion that inappropriate behaviour such as aggressive interaction patterns are maintained by peer reinforcement and acquisition of prosocial patterns are actively punished. If this is the case, then one needs to alter the system. Developing methods of reversing the types of reinforcing and punishing consequences provided by peers should

cause a reversal in patterns of delinquent and prosocial behaviour. One such method of providing this reversal is through a program of self-government where peers take on the responsibility of promoting prosocial behaviour by providing punishing consequences for anti-social behaviour.

Peers as Mediators of Behaviour Change

Several attempts to use peer influence to promote prosocial behaviour appear in the literature. Solomon and Wahler in 1973 showed that the frequency of problem behaviour in a classroom setting could be decreased by altering patterns of peer attention. Five students were chosen as target subjects having a high frequency of problem behaviour. Five additional students were selected as peers of high social reinforcement value. These peers were trained in reinforcement principles and were asked to apply these principles to the target subjects' desirable and undesirable behaviour. Results showed dramatic decreases in the percentage of target subjects' disruptive behaviour from 79.2% during baseline to 29.2% during the final treatment phase. A concurrent decrease of 96.9% of the social attention provided by selected peers for the target subjects' disruptive behaviour was observed compared to a decrease of only 32.2% and 56.9% for peers not included in the experiment and teacher respectively. (These figures are comparisons of baseline versus final phase of an ABAB treatment design.) The term 'social attention' was defined as "any verbal behaviour or

physical contact if, in the observer's judgement, these behaviours involved the subject". Reliability of two observers for these judgements averaged 87% (number of agreements divided by the number of agreements plus disagreements, multiplied by 100). These results clearly show that peers can be responsible in a major way for influencing behaviour.

Similar results are provided by Wahler (1967) who showed the importance of peer influence on the behaviour of five pre-school children attending nursery school. The five subjects were randomly chosen from the class and observed playing either in a large play-room or in their natural school environment. Each subject was observed and one (or more) response classes were chosen for baseline measurement and experimental manipulation (the number of response classes varying between subjects). Peers were instructed to reinforce or to ignore the particular response class under study. In all five cases, the frequency of the response class was changed in the desired direction as a result of peer contingencies - that is, when peers ignored the response class, S's frequency of responding changed appropriately; when peers provided reinforcing consequences for the same response class, S's frequency of responding reversed from the previous condition. These results related the influence of peers to developing behaviour, however, the maintainance of such behaviour was not shown. No effort was made to return to the baseline condition and then to reinstate the two experimental

conditions. Had this procedure been followed, the results would have provided more convincing evidence that the experimental procedure of using peers as behaviour modifiers resulted in the observed behaviour change and not some coincidental event.

The use of peer reinforcement to cause behaviour change has been studied by Nelson, Worell, and Polsgrove (1973). They showed that behaviourally disordered children in a residential camping program could cause behaviour change in their peers. The subjects were seven- to eleven-year-old behaviourally disordered and neurologically impaired children. Nine of the 18 subjects served as protégés while the remainder served as peer managers. Peer managers were appointed by E who selected these managers on the basis of an expressed willingness and their ability to interact co-operatively with the protégé each was responsible for. Reinforcement of both the peer manager and the protégé was contingent upon specified target behaviour changes (which varied from protégé to protégé depending upon his behavioural deficits). The results showed significant change of the target behaviours in the desired direction for all but one protégé. The authors report that varying degrees of adult management entered into the intervention procedure without specifying the quality and quantity of this management. This makes interpretation of the results of the effectiveness of the peers as behaviour modifiers in this study difficult. It is inconclusive whether the peers, the adults, or the peers with adult management were responsible for the behaviour

changes observed.

Bailey, Timbers, Phillips, and Wolf (1971) working with pre-delinquent youths at Achievement Place have shown peers to be effective behaviour modifiers. In this experiment, peers were used to modify the articulation errors of two youths. Two conditions, negative and positive, were used. In the negative condition, peers were instructed to identify and correct certain words included on a list when they were said incorrectly by the subject. Peers were awarded 20 points for each misarticulated word identified and the subject lost 10. In the positive condition, peers were awarded points only when the subject said the target word correctly. For the two youths used as subjects for these experiments, speech articulation improved 90% and 86% on the target errors and 40% and 78% on measures for generalization of improved articulation (using control words that were never treated). Assessment two months after treatment indicated maintained improvement. This experiment not only supports the use of peers as trainers but also indicates that using peers as administrators of reinforcing as well as punishing contingencies are both about equally as effective as a means of behaviour change. The authors reported that the experimental procedure of using peers as behaviour modifiers required little training and almost no adult supervision. The short-term follow-up assessment provides some evidence that the effects of using peers as behaviour modifiers is not just transitory.

The evidence presented thus far suggests that delinquents encourage antisocial behaviour in their peer group and that when patterns of peer consequences for behaviour are modified, concurrent modification of that behaviour is observed. From this evidence, it seems reasonable to conclude that patterns of contingencies for aggressive behaviour among delinquents may be susceptible to modification, hence altering levels of aggressiveness.

Peers Compared to Other Reinforcement Agents

Drabman (1973) compared peer-administered to teacher-administered token programs in classrooms of a psychiatric hospital-school. In the peer-administered condition, a student was elected by his peers to act as captain, i.e., rating students and dispensing tokens contingent upon their appropriate behaviour. In the teacher-administered token program, both rules and token reinforcement were provided for the students. In both conditions, tokens were exchangeable for tangible reinforcers at the end of the day. The results showed that the peer-administered token system was as effective as the teacher-administered token system in decreasing the frequency of disruptive behaviour (primarily off-task classroom behaviour). The frequency of disruptive behaviours per 20-second interval for 22 students decreased from a baseline value of 0.96 to 0.40 in the peer-administered condition and to 0.48 in the teacher-administered condition. These results clearly indicate that peers can cause behaviour change equally as well as non-peers when they function as administrators of token programs.

Again in 1973, Drabman and Spitalnick showed that using a peer to provide reinforcing contingencies to other mentally retarded students for non-disruptive behaviour as well as being reinforced himself for the same behaviour is as effective a method for decreasing disruptive behaviour as teacher-administered reinforcement. Target behaviours included inappropriate noise, playing, turning around, touching, aggression, getting out of chair, non-compliance, vocalization, and distraction from task. Candy was distributed by the peer to his fellow students contingent upon their non-disruptive behaviour. The disruptive behaviour of the peer administrator of the contingency decreased from a baseline average of 0.88 per 20-second interval to 0.64. The two target subjects' frequency of disruptive behaviour decreased from baseline levels of 1.42 and 1.14, to 0.57 and 0.44 per 20-second interval during peer administration of the contingency, and to 0.54 and 0.44 during the teacher-administered contingency condition. The authors indicate that a fair amount of supervision (quality and quantity not specified) was needed for the peer administrator of the contingency during the program. Considering the teacher's equal effectiveness in obtaining these results, one must question the practicality of such a procedure. Empirically, however, the evidence reported in this study adds to the support of the usefulness of peers as behaviour modifiers.

Krueger (1971) found similar results to the Drabman and Spitalnick study in an experiment to increase the frequency of

verbalizations of 18 delinquent boys in a group setting. Points were given to each group member contingent upon an appropriate statement. Points were awarded immediately after each appropriate response and were exchangeable for a variety of reinforcers. During an extinction phase, only the adult administration of reinforcement group had a significant decrease in the frequency of target verbalizations, the peer administration of reinforcement group did not significantly change. This indicates that while the peer and therapist reinforcement groups were about equally as effective in increasing verbalizations in delinquent youth, the peer administration of reinforcement condition was least resistant to extinction. Closer analysis of verbalization content between the different groups suggests that subjects in the adult reinforcement group made more statements which reflected adult social norms, i.e., statements concerning praise or punishment of peers; the peer-administered reinforcement group's statements, however, were more centered around the categories of self-responsibility, self-report, and group support. These statements, as Krueger points out, are both self- and group-orientated, indicating elements of trust among peers that created an atmosphere conducive to the expression of self-report of individual feelings.

The indication of greater resistance to extinction, hence prolonged effects of treatment under the peer-administered reinforcement condition adds to the evidence supporting peer-administered

behavioural programs. When the conditions under which peer reinforcement produces greater resistance to extinction are clearly established, a strong case will have been made for the development of peers in behaviour modification programs. The finding also suggests a reason for the maintenance of peer-reinforced inappropriate behaviour.

Ross and Mackay (1976) used the peer influence of delinquent girls to cause behaviour change toward prosocial rather than antisocial behaviour. In this study, the 'peer therapist alone' condition consisted of training the subjects in reinforcement principles along with persuasion by the experimenter for the subjects to act as therapists for each other. In doing so, these researchers claimed that the use of the peer as therapist provided pressure for prosocial rather than antisocial behaviour. A decreased recidivism rate, a greater number of prosocial behavioural incidents, and a lesser number of antisocial behavioural incidents after a nine month follow-up was obtained by the peer therapist alone group. Comparison group treatments consisted of (a) a peer therapist program in conjunction with a token economy system, (b) a token economy alone group, and (c) a no treatment control group. Results indicate that the peer therapist alone group best adjusted on all three dependent measures compared to other groups with the effect of a token economy system seemingly having a deleterious effect on its subjects. This contrasts with the findings from the Achievement Place model where the reported recidivism rates of

delinquent boys was much lower than comparison groups which did not operate under a token economy system (Braukmann & Fixsen, 1975; Phillips, Phillips, Fixsen, & Wolf, 1973). Ross and MacKay (1976) do not provide an adequate description of the setting, subject population, behaviours under study, or the token economy program, to permit critical evaluation of their findings.

In a series of experiments, Phillips, Phillips, Wolf, and Fixsen (1973) showed that peer management was an effective method of controlling behaviour among four pre-delinquent adolescent males at Achievement Place. In their first experiment, these authors provided a position of 'manager' to the youths. This position was purchased by one of the boys who was to assign bathroom cleaning tasks to three peers each day. Each task was judged by the manager who then awarded or fined points according to the quality of the cleaning performance. If 15 or more of the 20 tasks were completed, the manager earned 25 points; for each task not completed under the 15 required, he lost 25 points. A second condition existed (group assignment - group consequence condition) with no manager. During this condition, the teaching parents told all the boys that everyone was responsible for the bathrooms and that each boy should do his share to ensure it was kept clean. The boys as a group received rewards or fines depending upon whether or not 15 of the 20 tasks were completed. In a third condition (individual assignment - group consequence), each boy was assigned five different bathroom cleaning

tasks. However, each boy earned or lost points depending upon the performance of the entire group. In all conditions except the manager condition, points and fines were awarded by the teaching parents. The results showed that under the manager condition, criterion was exceeded (equal to or greater than 15 of the 20 tasks) 92% of the time (median items completed = 18). Under the no manager, group assignment - group consequence condition, the criterion for bathroom cleanliness was met only 20% of the time (median items completed = 9). Under the third condition, individual assignment - group consequence, criterion was met 39% of the time (median items completed = 14). A subsequent experiment introduced a fourth condition, individual assignment - individual consequence, which was found to be as effective as the purchased manager system. These two conditions were found to be superior to the individual assignment - group consequence and group assignment - group consequence conditions. Additional experiments in this series revealed that the manager and individual assignments/contingencies were equally effective when the boys could lose or earn points but when points could only be earned (no fines), the manager condition was more effective. The authors attribute this finding to the manager's use of 'prompting and cajoling' the other boys during their tasks while such feedback was absent in the other conditions where no manager existed.

It is apparent from these rigorously executed experiments that making use of peers as managers of behaviour change is as efficacious

as non-peer administrators. An additional strength of this experiment is that the effect of using a system of peer management was replicated six times (Experiments 1, 2, 3A, 3B, 4, and 6) with each experiment showing that using a system of peer management resulted in high levels of cleaning task behaviour of the boys participating in the experiment.

The above four studies provide evidence that peer-administered reinforcement is as effective in causing behaviour change as teacher or non-peer-administered reinforcement. Some weak evidence is available (Ross & MacKay, 1976), which suggests that peers may be more effective in promoting behaviour change than non-peers. Combining the eight studies so far reviewed, the evidence appears to provide considerable support that the peer influence can maintain and change behaviour patterns.

Peer Behaviour Management by Self-Government

Wolf, Phillips, and Fixsen (1972) recognize the peer group phenomenon as it exists at Achievement Place. This recognition has resulted in the development of a semi-self-government program with their delinquent boys. In one study, Phillips, Phillips, Wolf, and Fixsen (1973) established an elected peer manager system in which one of the boys was given the responsibility of ensuring that a specified task was completed by his peers each day. Under this system, the manager could give and fine points according to the task completion behaviour of his peers. Analysis of the elected manager system showed this method to be as effective a means of

accomplishing the task as a purchased manager system (median = 13.5 items completed under the elected manager system, median = 13.0 items completed under the purchased manager system). However, when the youths were given the opportunity to choose a particular system of task management, the elected manager system ranked first compared to the purchased manager system which ranked fifth out of six possible choices. In a subsequent experiment, it was shown that the critical aspect of preference for the elected managership was the election. These authors felt that comparing an elected manager system which did not cost any points to a purchased manager system might reflect the preference by the boys for the cheaper method of managership. Therefore, the elected manager system was compared to a randomly chosen manager system (neither of which cost any points). Results over 30 days showed that the youths voted for the elected manager system 76.7% of the time.

Another study by these authors (Fixsen, Phillips, & Wolf, 1973) developed a more elaborate semi-self-government system in which all of the boys at Achievement Place were given the opportunity to participate. This semi-self-government program was divided into three parts. The first part consisted of allowing the delinquent youths to establish many of their own rules of behaviour. These youths first learned to behave under a set of rules developed by the teaching-parents at Achievement Place. It became apparent, however, that these rules were not all-inclusive of the inappropriate behaviours that occurred at Achievement Place, especially those

involving the youths' interactions among themselves. Problems such as borrowing clothes without permission and excessive teasing and fighting occurred among the boys. No rules existed to punish the ones responsible for these inappropriate behaviours. Fixsen et al. (1973) felt that allowing the boys to make their own rules would ensure that more of the inappropriate behaviours that occurred at Achievement Place would be dealt with.

The second part of the semi-self-government system at Achievement Place took the form of the youths' self-monitoring the violations of the rules which they had made. The study by Fixsen et al. (1973) showed that more violations were reported by the youths when they were rewarded with points for reporting a rule violation (average number of trials per day = 5.7). However, it was observed that under this condition, the severity of the violation decreased, so that petty crimes were reported in order to gain points. Under a condition where no points were awarded contingent upon a youth reporting a violation, the number of reported violations decreased while their severity increased (average number of trials per day = 0.23 - this value is the average of three repetitions of this condition).

The third part of the semi-self-government system at Achievement Place involved trials. The trial procedure permitted an accused rule violator to plead his guilt or innocence. This was followed by a discussion of the facts relevant to the incident and

votes by peers which determined the accused's guilt or innocence. If a decision of guilty was made, peers discussed and voted upon an appropriate punishment.

Guidance by the teaching parents was provided in establishing rules of the self-government system by using complaints of boys against one another's behaviour. Youths were asked by the teaching parents why the behaviour was inappropriate, what harm it might cause, and what rule could be established to prevent its occurrence. Rationalization for reporting rule violations was made by pointing out to the youths that the rules being broken were the rules which the youths had established as a result of their complaints of one another's behaviour. To assure that punishments were not 'too high' or 'too low', teaching parents would remind the youths of past punishments for rule violations. If the youths decided upon a punishment that the teaching parents felt was inappropriately low, all the youths were warned that they would be required to accept a punishment decided upon by the teaching parents should the accused boy commit a similar rule violation in the future. The teaching parents, however, were to usually agree with the youths' decisions on consequences for rule violations (Phillips, Phillips, Fixsen, & Wolf, 1972; Fixsen *et al.*, 1973).

Fixsen and his co-workers (1973) showed that their self-government system was a practical scheme within a delinquent-care environment. What they did not attempt to show, however, was the effectiveness of such a program in causing prosocial behaviour

change. Despite this, the overall effectiveness of their semi-self-government program may best be indicated by the fact that this program has been incorporated as an ongoing daily component of the Achievement Place rehabilitation program (Phillips, Phillips, Fixsen, & Wolf, 1973).

Kifer (1975), working with eight youths at Achievement Place, designed an experiment to analyse the components of the self-government program. The eight residents were asked to listen to audiotapes of self-government meetings and identify the factors which they felt were important to good self-government. Four main factors were identified: (a) social behaviour of participants, (b) final decisions reached, (c) rationales given for decisions, and (d) amount of youth participation.

Kifer found that all the residents of Achievement Place felt that good self-government meetings should contain components of pleasantness, educational value, and fairness.⁸ Further analysis indicated that youth involvement was an important factor in determining the pleasantness and fairness of self-government meetings. This was determined by residents' self-reports obtained immediately after self-government meetings.

The evidence is not conclusive that the use of self-government is an effective means of behaviour modification. A direct test of effectiveness has not yet been attempted.

Conclusion

The evidence indicates that peers in an institutional setting for delinquent adolescents provide reinforcing contingencies for socially appropriate behaviour. Also, there is evidence which supports the use of peers as effective behaviour modifiers in a variety of settings using different types of subject populations (including delinquents) and target behaviours. The use of self-government has been shown to be one method of designing contingencies so that peers will provide reinforcing consequences for prosocial behaviour and punishing consequences for inappropriate behaviour.

It seems reasonable to proceed on the assumption that the observed high rate of aggressive interpersonal interactions with institutionalized delinquents at Pleasantville School are maintained, possibly even acquired, through peer reinforcement. Thus, it seems worthwhile to apply and extend the findings reviewed by testing a self-government system for its effectiveness in reducing aggressive behaviour.

The Present Investigation

The purpose of the present investigation is to compare, using a withdrawal (ABAB) design, the effect of self-government on the rate of aggressive behaviour in an institution for delinquent adolescents. It is predicted that the residents of this institution will be eager to establish their own rules to control aggressive behaviour due to

the unpleasantness they experience with the present level of aggressive behaviour. Also, it is expected that once these rules have been established, the residents will monitor each other's aggressive behaviour and learn to control its occurrence through peer punishment by trials. Aggressiveness will be measured directly in two ways: the frequency of fines issued by staff to students for behaving in a physically or verbally aggressive manner and the frequency of mini-aggressive behaviour (interactions which are physically and/or verbally aggressive, but not necessarily fineable). The frequency of fined aggression is considered to be an appropriate measure of major aggressions such as fist-fights, swearing at staff, and destruction of property, which are felt to result from a sequence of mini-aggressions such as name-calling, kicking, and swearing among students. It is expected that both of these measures of aggression will decrease in frequency under the self-government condition.

It is also anticipated that the participants of this self-government program will replace aggressive interactions with more socially skillful interactions. A pre-post assessment of social skills will therefore form a third, indirect, measure of aggression.

CHAPTER TWO

The Setting

Pleasantville School

Pleasantville School is a government-established institution for delinquent youth ranging in age from 13 to 17 years of age. All of the girls enter the school directly from court referrals. Boys are transferred from other juvenile correctional institutions in the province. The Pleasantville institution consists of a school and a residence accommodating up to 32 students. The main floor of the residence consists of a dining room, staff offices, a T.V. room, a detention area, two recreation rooms, and a laundry room. The top floor contains all of the students' bedrooms, one section for girls and one for boys. The school and the residence function independently although communication concerning students is frequent. The present research was conducted entirely within the residence.

The Levels System

A major component of the rehabilitative program at Pleasantville School is a contingency management program referred to as the 'Levels System'. Upon entering the institution, each student is placed on Level I where the student receives constant supervision. Students on Level I may earn points for punctuality, appropriate appearance, table manners, and the completion of assigned chores. These points are totalled weekly and are exchanged for privileges such as cigarettes, a late show, a local and long distance telephone

call, and supervised activities. Points are lost when the student behaves inappropriately, i.e., lying, stealing, dishonesty, threatening to run away, physical and verbal aggression. When students accumulate 12 out of 20 days in which no points were lost and at least 42 points were earned, they are promoted to Level II. In addition to the privileges of Level I, students on Level II have freedom to go on the school grounds alone, spend weekends at home, and join community groups. Level II students earn and lose points as do Level I students. In the case of personal point-bankruptcy, a student is placed back on Level I. Upon obtaining 25 out of 30 days in which no points were lost and at least 42 were earned, a student advances to Level III. On Level III, students are no longer given or fined points; instead, a four-dollar-a-week allowance is issued. Students may attend a limited number of movies, dances, community groups, etc., on their own, in addition to the privileges of Level I and Level II students. Should students on this level break a rule, they are issued a warning letter. If three such letters are received in one month, the student is placed back to Level II. If no warning letters are issued for 42 consecutive days, the student is advanced to Level IV. On this level, students receive an allowance of five dollars per week, are permitted to go out on weekends until 10:30 p.m., may take Level III students for walks, or go out on their own. Responsibilities of this level include assisting staff when required and accompanying students on lower levels to

medical appointments. Students on this level who break rules are required to report to a chief supervisors' meeting which may require that the student be returned to a lower level.

School Staff

The staff of the residence of Pleasantville School consists of twelve Juvenile Guidance Officers and five Chief Supervisors. Staff are divided into three shifts: the night shift (12 a.m. to 8 a.m.) is permanent, the day shifts (8 a.m. to 4 p.m. and 4 p.m. to 12 a.m.) rotate on a weekly basis. Each day shift consists of four Juvenile Officers (called Supervisors) and one Chief Supervisor. Their duties are to enforce the levels system and to provide guidance and rehabilitation services to students.

CHAPTER THREE

Method

Subjects

The subjects in this experiment consisted of all the students at Pleasantville School. The number of students varied from 22 to 31 during the four months of this experiment. Enrollment was at 22 or 23 residents for all but the last week when 8 new boys were admitted. Subjects ranged in age from 14 to 16 years (mean = 15.2) with equal numbers of boys and girls. Average length of institutionalization at the beginning of this experiment was 11.2 months, (range 2 to 31 months).

Apparatus

A Sony Portapak (Model AVC-3400) was used for videotaping. Behavioural Assertion Testing was done using two types of Sony tape recorders, one to play back recorded vignettes (Model TC-252), and a second to record the students' responses to each (Model TC-110B).

A bead counter (Mahoney, 1974) attached to the observer's belt was used to surreptitiously count aggressive responses.

Procedure

The self-government program followed the model used at Achievement Place (Fixsen *et al.*, 1973). The program consisted of three parts:

- (1) The students' establishment of their own rules of aggressive behaviour.

- (2) The students' monitoring of the violations of these rules, and
- (3) Student-run trials to determine the guilt or innocence of rule violators and the selection of punishments to be imposed upon the guilty.

Establishing the Rules. A meeting was held to describe the self-government program to the students. (A copy of the introductory talk is included in Appendix A.) Their response was one of enthusiasm. A second meeting was held to discuss and establish rules of behaviour to manage aggression. Twenty-one rules were developed and adopted by the students. With student consent, the investigator altered the wording of some of these rules to insure clarity. Students were informed that any new rule could be added and any old rule altered or deleted at any court meeting. This list of rules was posted on a prominent bulletin board in the residence building (a copy of these rules is presented in Appendix B):

Monitoring of Rules by Students. The youths were asked to report any violations of their rules to the elected chairman. A person could be reported by an aggressed person or by someone who merely witnessed the aggression. A trial was called by the chairman for every reported rule violation. Aggression toward staff was not included in the self-government program at the request of the staff. Inappropriate behaviour of this kind was dealt with through the levels system.

A trial was announced by the chairman posting a notice on a prominent bulletin board. This notice included the date and time of

the trial, the name of the accused, the accuser, and the alleged violation. (a sample notice form is included in Appendix C).

The Trial System. A trial consisted of a meeting of all students, a chief supervisor, and the investigator. All students except the accuser, the chairman, and vice-chairman formed the jury and voted on guilt or innocence, and punishment, if any. Trials were held once a day in one of the recreation rooms between 8:30 and 10:30 p.m., providing that the chairman or vice-chairman was informed of a rule violation. During the second self-government phase, court sessions were to be limited to one hour. Any trials which were not heard on the day reported were to be dealt with on the following day. During the first self-government phase, the order of the trials heard by the court were as they were reported. During the second phase, the order was determined by the chief supervisor.

The procedure for trials was modelled closely on that reported for Achievement Place (Fixsen et al., 1973). A trial began by identification of the accused, the accuser, and the alleged rule violation. The accused was queried about his plea. If a plea of 'innocent' was made, the accuser was asked to describe the facts leading up to and including the alleged rule violation. The accused was then permitted to speak in his defense. Witnesses were identified by the chairman and were asked to leave the courtroom with the accused and accuser. Each witness was recalled separately to relate the facts of the incident in question. The jury asked questions to any witness, the accused, or the accuser, and was

permitted a discussion among themselves, restricted to the facts of the case. The jury then voted upon the accused's guilt or innocence. If the majority was less than 50% plus one, further discussion took place in which the minority were asked to give reasons for their vote. A second vote determined the verdict. If guilty, consequences were suggested by jurors and voted upon. If the majority was less than 50% plus one, discussion of the consequences took place, followed by a second vote in which the majority decision was adopted. (The trial instruction booklet is provided in Appendix D.)

Any student who was in detention at the time of the trial had no vote and was not permitted to attend the trial meeting. All other students earned ten points for attending each court session. Any member of the student body on Levels I and II who refused to attend court was fined 50 points. Any student on Levels III and IV who missed more than one trial per week was to be called before court and fined. As a punishment for failing to appear at the court, a student was to be automatically found guilty and in addition was charged with failure to appear. A student-originated procedural rule was that any student who was disruptive in court (speaking to other students about non-related topics of the trial, loudly disagreeing with the decisions of the court, or speaking rudely to the chairman or vice-chairman) was to be dismissed from court, sent to detention for the remainder of the court session, and fined 100 points. (A 50 point penalty was found in the first few days to be insufficient.)

Roles of Court Officials.

Chief Supervisor. The role of the chief supervisor was defined as follows:

- (1) To guide the students with the court proceedings (i.e., to assist the chairman in preventing discussion by the court of matters irrelevant to the guilt or innocence of the accused during trials, and to dismiss disruptive members of the court).
- (2) To act as a liaison between the court and the staff to insure clear communication about decisions on penalties and rules.
- (3) To approve of the final decision of the court. Chief supervisors were asked to approve the decision of the court in most cases, reserving the veto power for instances of clear lack of responsibility and fairness on the jury's part. If the chief supervisor did not approve of a decision of the court, the court reconsidered its decision and voted again.

The Chairman and Vice-Chairman. The role of the chairman was to conduct each trial by following the court procedure as impartially and as efficiently as possible. The vice-chairman's duties consisted of filling in for the chairman when he was absent, recording court attendance (see sample of attendance form in Appendix E) and filling out the required court forms (see sample of court form in Appendix F and request for court hearing in Appendix G).

The Investigator. The investigator's role in the courtroom was primarily as an observer but assumed the role of advising the chairman in correct courtroom procedure.

Election of Chairman and Vice-Chairman. The positions of chairman and vice-chairman during the first phase of self-government were chosen by student election. Three of four students then at Level III offered themselves as candidates. Election was held by secret ballot. The individual with the largest number of votes became chairman and the two remaining candidates were then considered by the students for the position of vice-chairman. The same voting procedure was repeated.

During the second phase of self-government, the positions of chairman and vice-chairman were appointed, not elected. All students on Levels III and IV were permitted to act as chairman and vice-chairman in a rotating system whereby one student served as vice-chairman for one court session and chairman for the next court session. A new vice-chairman was then appointed from the remaining students. He or she served as chairman during the next court session and a new vice-chairman was appointed. A list through which the rotation sequence automatically followed was posted on a prominent bulletin board.

Training of the Chairman and Vice-Chairman. During the first phase of the self-government program, the chairman and vice-chairman were trained in court procedure with the assistance of a lawyer. The lawyer went over the procedure of the court, step by step, and answered the questions of the elected chairman and vice-chairman. Subsequently, a mock trial was held in which the students role-

played as jurors, accuser, accused, and witnesses, while the chairman and vice-chairman conducted the trial proceedings.

During the second phase of self-government, the investigator reviewed the court procedure with all students on Level III who indicated a willingness to act as chairman and vice-chairman. Any questions were answered by the investigator at that time.

Voting Procedure of the Jury. Initially, the jury voted upon a decision by the entire group raising their hands. Later, this was changed to four rows of jurors, beginning at the back row, voting by raising their hands, one row at a time. This method was believed to reduce influenced votes.

Measures of Aggression. Aggression at Pleasantville School was measured in two ways. The first was the number of fines given to students by staff for breaking the rules for verbal and physical aggression. These fines were recorded in the level system's records. Prior to the onset of this experiment, the definitions of verbal and physical aggression were refined by the investigator, using staff members' reports of previous fineable aggressive behaviour (see Appendix H). Training was conducted in this new definition using audio-visual vignettes of students' behaviour (four vignettes exemplified aggressive behaviour, two non-aggressive behaviour, and four borderline aggressive behaviour, as determined by two chief supervisors before staff training). During training, staff were shown each vignette, asked to discuss whether the behaviour was aggressive or not, according to the definition, and agreed among themselves if

they would give a fine for that behaviour or not.

Reliability of this measure was established using ten additional vignettes which were again previewed by two chief supervisors and reported to contain the same proportion of fineable aggressive behaviour. All day-shift staff independently judged these vignettes and recorded the behaviour as fineable physical or verbal aggression, or both, or no aggression.

The second measure of aggressive behaviour was the frequency of mini-aggressions. Mini-aggressions are aggressive behaviours which may be mild or moderate as well as severe. Any verbal or physical behaviour which had an aggressive component was intended to be included in the detailed definition (see Appendix I). Examples of mini-aggressive behaviour included in the definition are pushing, shoving, kicking, swearing among students, and name-calling. These behaviours were recorded as mini-aggressions regardless of the severity, intention, or any other condition with which it occurred. The same behaviours are included in the Definition of Fineable Aggression, but are fineable only under the conditions specified in that definition.

One would expect that the number of aggressive interactions occurring at the school would change as the number of students available for interaction would change. To allow for this, the two measures of aggression used in this experiment were divided by the number of students at the school during each week (for fineable

aggression) and the number of students in the observation room at the end of each five-minute observation period of mini-aggression.

A recreation room (274 X 457 cm) was used for observations of mini-aggressions. This room was used primarily as a smoking room and had approximately 20 chairs lined up against all four walls. Observations of mini-aggressions occurred during a fifteen-minute period following afternoon classes on Tuesdays, Wednesdays, and Thursdays of each week. One supervisor was usually present, chatting with some students.

A bead counter was used to count each mini-aggression as well as the number of students in the observation room at the end of three five-minute periods each day. The bead counter was attached to the investigator's belt and covered by a sweater. Using this method, the number of mini-aggressions per person per minute was obtained for each day of observation.

Reliability of this measure was obtained by having additional observers (three supervisors and a graduate student in clinical psychology) count the occurrence of mini-aggressions along with the investigator for five-minute periods. These observers were trained by studying the definition of mini-aggression and viewing an audio-visual vignette of three students' behaviour. While viewing this tape, both the observer and the investigator counted each mini-aggression simultaneously aloud. Training also included simultaneous surreptitious recording of mini-aggression in the recreation room until agreement (lower number of mini-aggressions divided by higher

number of mini-aggressions) of 0.80 was obtained. All observers including the investigator followed a set of rules designed to minimize interaction during the observation period (see Appendix J).

When two observers were present in the recreation room, the investigator would signal the second observer at the end of a five-minute period by removing his glasses. When his glasses were replaced, recording resumed. Reliability checks were collected on 23% of all five-minute observation periods throughout this study. Of these, 11% were arranged so that the investigator was unaware of which five-minute period the second observer was recording. Reliability was calculated by dividing the smaller number of mini-aggressions observed by one observer, by the higher number of mini-aggressions observed by the second observer and multiplying by 100.

Measure of Social Skills. Social skills, before and after this experiment, were measured using students' responses to provocative situations presented on audiotape. Fourteen vignettes were presented to each of 19 randomly chosen students during pre-test. By post-test, four had been discharged, and one student's voice during post-test was inaudible. Their data was deleted. The investigator modelled responding and use of the microphone during the first two vignettes. These two vignettes were not provocative in nature, in order to avoid influencing the students' responses to such situations. The students responded to the remaining 12 vignettes, the first two of which were used for rehearsal and not included in the results. During these rehearsal vignettes, the

investigator used prompting if necessary to elicit responses. The remaining ten vignettes were used as the measure of social skills. Students were assured of the confidentiality of their responses to the vignettes. (Appendix K contains descriptions of vignettes and instructions to students.)

Responses to the ten vignettes were rated by two graduate students in clinical psychology. Four measures were established to assess social skills: duration of response, measured by stop-watches; loudness of response, rated on a three-point scale (1 = shouting, 3 = indistinct); tone of response, rated on a three-point scale (1 = monotone, 3 = exaggerated tone); and assertiveness, rated on a five-point scale (1 = aggressive, 5 = unassertive). (Appendix L contains the definitions of loudness, tone, and assertiveness.) Vignette presentation to judges by audiotape were randomized with respect to students and test occasion. Reliability for all behavioural measures of social skills was obtained by computing the number of agreements divided by the number of agreements plus disagreements and multiplying by 100.

Experimental Design. An ABAB withdrawal design was used to evaluate the effect of the self-government program on aggression. Mini-aggression data was collected on three days of each week with the exception of the last week of baseline, during which data was collected on only two days. During all self-government periods, staff were instructed not to give fines or any other consequences for aggressive physical or verbal behaviour among students. Instead,

they were asked to place an 'F' (indicating 'fine') in the level system's records for each occasion that fineable aggressive behaviour was observed.

CHAPTER FOUR

Results

Observer Reliability

Reliability of the staff's fining behaviour of aggression was calculated by dividing the number of agreements by the number of agreements plus disagreements multiplied by 100. Every staff member's judgements of aggressive behaviour on the vignettes was compared to every other staff member's judgements using the above formula. This resulted in a 12 X 12 matrix of reliability figures which were averaged to give 12 measures of reliability, one for each staff member (see Tables 1 and 2). These 12 figures were then averaged to give a single measure of reliability for all staff. During Baseline, the mean inter-staff agreement for fineable aggressive behaviour was 80.4% (range, 65 - 100%). During the last two phases of this experiment, mean agreement was 84.0% (range, 70-100%). Three staff members were replaced during these two reliability measures. Of the remaining nine staff, a measure of consistency of fining behaviour using the same formula as above was calculated to be 88.0% (range, 70-95%).

Observer agreement for mini-aggressions was calculated on 23% of 117 five-minute observation periods throughout this experiment. Percentage agreement was calculated as the smaller number of mini-aggressions per person per minute observed by one observer divided by the higher number of mini-aggressions per person per minute.

Table 1

Baseline Measures of Staff Reliability
for Fineable Aggressive Behaviour

Staff	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K
A	---	.80	.80	.80	.75	.80	.85	.85	.80	.85	.90
B	.80	---	1.00	1.00	.85	.90	.90	.95	.80	.95	.80
C	.80	1.00	---	1.00	.85	.90	.90	.95	.80	.95	.80
D	.80	1.00	1.00	---	.85	.90	.90	.95	.85	.95	.85
E	.75	.85	.85	.85	---	.75	.85	.90	.65	.80	.70
F	.80	.90	.90	.90	.75	---	.90	.85	.70	.85	.85
G	.85	.90	.90	.90	.85	.90	---	.85	.75	.85	.80
H	.85	.95	.95	.95	.80	.85	.85	---	.85	1.00	.85
I	.80	.80	.80	.85	.65	.70	.75	.85	---	.85	.85
J	.85	.95	.95	.95	.80	.85	.85	1.00	.85	---	.90
K	.90	.80	.80	.85	.70	.85	.80	.85	.85	.90	---
----- Individual Means -----											
	.82	.89	.895	.905	.785	.84	.855	.885	.79	.895	.83

TOTAL MEAN = .804

Table 2

Staff Reliability for Fineable Aggressive Behaviour
During the Last Two Phases of the Experiment

Staff	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L
A	---	1.00	.95	.85	.75	.80	.75	.85	1.00	.90	.80	.75
B	1.00	---	.95	.85	.75	.80	.75	.85	1.00	.90	.80	.75
C	.95	.95	---	.90	.80	.85	.80	.90	.95	.95	.85	.80
D	.85	.85	.90	---	.70	.85	.80	.85	.90	.85	.95	.90
E	.75	.75	.80	.70	---	.75	.70	.80	.80	.80	.90	.85
F	.80	.80	.85	.85	.75	---	.95	.95	.80	.80	.80	.85
G	.75	.85	.80	.80	.70	.95	---	.90	.75	.75	.75	.85
H	.85	.85	.90	.85	.80	.95	.90	---	.95	.85	.75	.80
I	1.00	1.00	.95	.90	.80	.80	.75	.95	---	.90	.80	.75
J	.90	.90	.95	.85	.80	.80	.75	.85	.90	---	.90	.75
K	.80	.80	.85	.95	.90	.80	.75	.75	.80	.90	---	.85
L	.75	.75	.80	.90	.85	.85	.85	.80	.75	.75	.85	---
Individual Means												
	.854	.864	.881	.854	.782	.836	.795	.859	.873	.850	.832	.809

TOTAL MEAN = .840

observed by the second observer multiplied by 100. Agreement percentages ranged from 50% to 100%, mean agreement overall was 81.1%. Eleven percent of the occasions during which observer reliability data was collected was arranged so that the investigator was unaware of which five-minute period was being recorded by the second observer. Mean percentage agreement using the above formula for these occasions was 78.7% (range, 75-83%).

Observer reliability was calculated on three of the four measures used to assess social skills by dividing the number of agreements by the number of agreements plus disagreements of each judge on all 280 vignettes. This value was multiplied by 100. Reliability of Loudness of Voice was 79%, Tone of Voice, 70%, and Assertiveness of Response, 83%. Reliability of Duration of Response was assessed by computing the correlation of the scores of the two observers, $r=0.962$.

Frequency of Fines Given by Staff for Aggressive Behaviour

Figure 1 represents the number of fines for verbal and physical aggression per student given by staff each week of the experiment. The mean number of fines per student given by staff per phase and the percentage decrease of this mean from the previous phase are: Baseline = 0.428, Self-Government = 0.290, (decrease of 32.2%), Withdrawal = 0.242, (decrease of 16.6%), and Self-Government=0.153, (decrease of 36.8%). These data indicate that the number of fines for verbal and physical aggression issued to students by staff decreased steadily over the entire experimental period. There is no

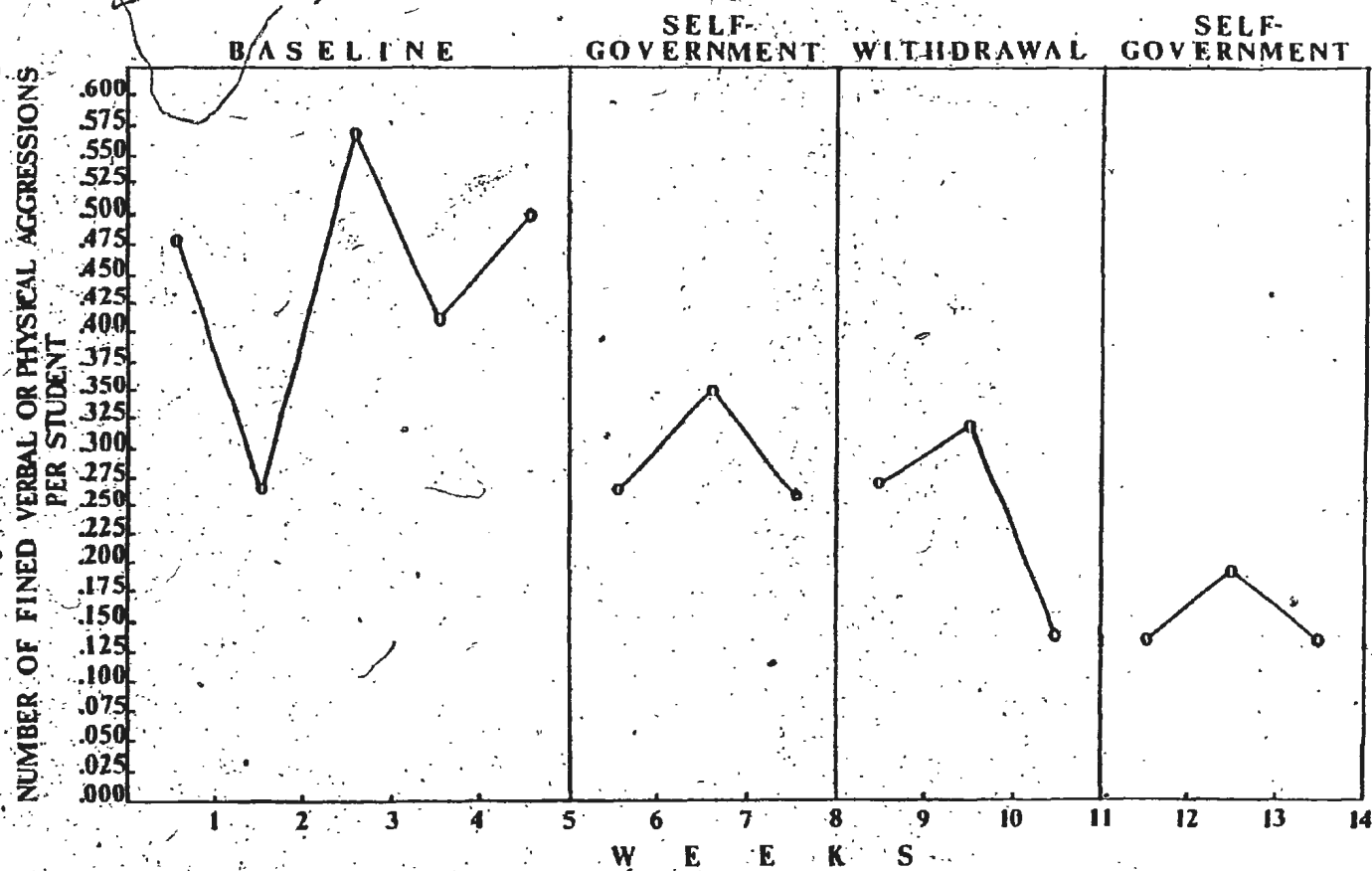


Figure 1: Number of fined verbal and physical aggressions per student issued by staff during each week of the experiment.

evidence that self-government had a differential effect on this measure.

Frequency of Mini-Aggressions

Figure 2 represents the data collected from observations of mini-aggressions. Each point on the solid line represents the average number of mini-aggressions observed per student per minute per day, taken over nine five-minute observation periods. These results show that the level of mini-aggression varied considerably throughout each phase. It is evident that self-government did have the effect of decreasing the frequency of mini-aggressions below baseline and withdrawal levels. This decrease becomes more evident if the data is analysed using the semiaverage method (Parsonson and Baer, 1978). This method compares the first half of the data in a phase with the second half of the data in the same phase. The two means are then superimposed upon the graph of the original data. This method is repeated for each phase of the ABAB design to allow clearer graphic representation of the data devoid of variability. Using this method, the broken line of Figure 2 indicates that the trend of the baseline data is horizontal. During the first phase of self-government, the semiaverage method shows a sharp downward trend from a high initial rate of mini-aggression to a low final rate. During withdrawal, a clear upward trend is observed in the level of mini-aggression, the average of the second half being at a higher level than the average of the second half of the baseline phase.

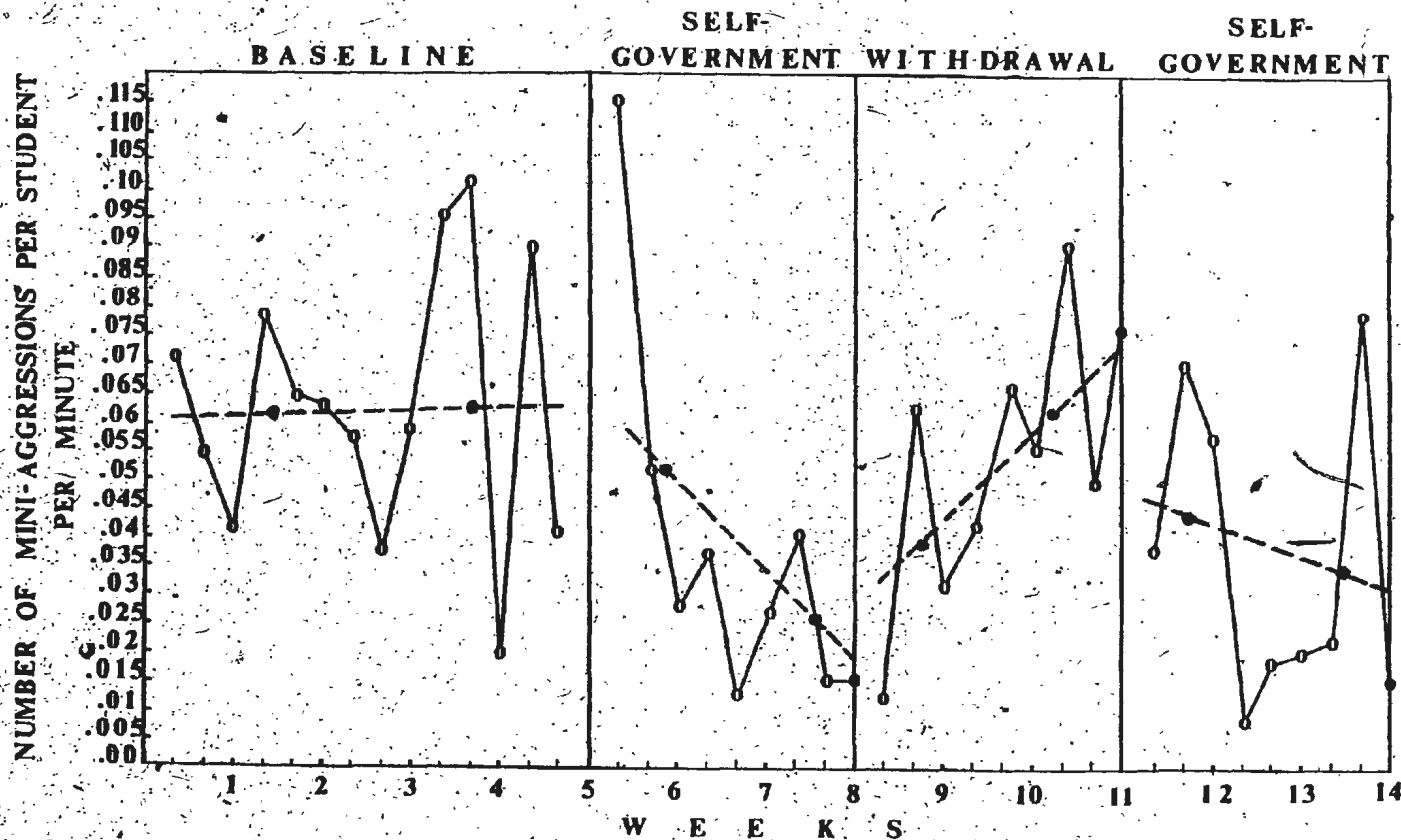


Figure 2: Number of mini-aggressions observed per student per minute during three five-minute observation periods per day three days a week for each week of the experiment. The dashed line indicates trend by semiaverage method.

The semiaverage analysis of the final phase of self-government indicates a downward trend which is not as steep as during the first phase of this condition. This is due to the absence of an initial high level of mini-aggression as well as the presence of a high level of mini-aggression on the next to last observation day. The mean values of mini-aggressions per person per minute for the self-government phases are considerably lower (0.038 and 0.037) than baseline (0.062) and withdrawal (0.054) phases. Although there is considerable variability from day to day, and large overlap among all the phases, the substantially lower means of the treatment phases and the distinctly different slopes indicate that the self-government condition had a reliable effect on the rate of mini-aggressions.

Analysis of Social Skills Data

Table 3 presents the results of the mean rating scores of two judges on the four measures of social skills. Duration of Response decreased from pre- to post-test. Loudness of Voice, Tone of Voice, and Assertiveness of Response did not change.

A one-tailed t test for correlated means revealed t values of 3.19 ($p < .005$, $df = 559$) for Duration of Response, -0.34 for Loudness of Voice, -1.44 for Tone of Voice, and -1.32 for Assertiveness of Response.

Table 3
Mean Rating Scores of Measures of Social Skills

Measures	Pre-test	Post-test
Duration of Response ^a	3.03	2.92*
Loudness of Voice ^b	2.16	2.07
Tone of Voice ^b	1.62	1.67
Assertiveness of Response ^c	2.50	2.55

^a Measures were made in seconds.

^b This item was rated on a three-point scale.

^c This item was rated on a five-point scale.

* $p < .005$

CHAPTER FIVE

Discussion

The results indicate that the number of fines per student issued by staff for verbal or physical aggression among students did not differentially change as a result of self-government. Each phase of this experiment had lower levels of fineable aggressive behaviour than the previous one. Possibly the effect of self-government on this behaviour produced a long-lasting change, one that was subsequently reinforced by natural contingencies. Alternatively, the observed decline may be a function of the benign effect of the school program and typical of the school year.

During both phases of self-government and the withdrawal phase, staff were asked to record instances of fineable aggressiveness among students by placing an 'F' where they would ordinarily have written in the fine. During these phases, only four instances of 'F' were recorded (8.2% of fines given for fineable verbal or physical aggression during these phases); three during both self-government periods and one during withdrawal. This indicates that the staff, even under the withdrawal condition, issued fines mostly for aggression when the aggression was directed towards them (91.8% of the fines over the three phases). It may be, therefore, that the lack of experimental control over fineable aggression is a reflection of this measure's invalidity as a measure of aggression between students.

Self-government is seen to have decreased the level of mini-aggression from baseline and withdrawal phases. The level of mini-

aggression during the first week of self-government does not differ greatly from baseline. Thereafter, however, the level of mini-aggression decreased. It may have been that the students were experimenting with their newly obtained responsibility during the first week of self-government. Experiencing the limits of their behaviour within the program as well as the punishing consequences provided by their peers during court may have resulted in the observed decrease in mini-aggression during the following two weeks. During withdrawal, the results show a gradual return to baseline levels of mini-aggression. Presumably, some learning had taken place during self-government, aggressive responses being replaced by more appropriate behaviour during the first weeks of withdrawal. During the first week of the second phase of self-government, the level of mini-aggression began decreasing and continued to decline until the final week when it increased. During this final week, eight new boys were admitted to Pleasantville School. The concurrent increase in mini-aggression may have been due to veteran students attempting to dominate the new students. It was observed that the increase in mini-aggression during this period was limited almost entirely to veteran students, not to the new students, who behaved unaggressively (mostly sitting quietly watching veteran students). Many of the staff at Pleasantville School commented that veteran students typically "acted out" more when several new students were admitted.

It is clear that self-government had the effect of decreasing the level of mini-aggression at Pleasantville School. The question

which remains to be answered is how. The assumption of this study was that students would avoid being brought to court for rule violations due to the negative consequences of trials and punishments. Avoiding trials and punishments would necessitate not engaging in aggressive acts. Such an assumption requires that courts must be held in order for the frequency of mini-aggressions to decrease. During the first phase of self-government, this assumption appeared to be a valid one. Forty-five trials were held, and the frequency of mini-aggression concurrently decreased. However, during the second phase of self-government, only one trial was held, yet mini-aggressions decreased to the level observed during the first phase of self-government. This suggests that the observed decrease in mini-aggressions cannot be accounted for simply by the effect of the aversive consequences; report, trial, and punishment.

A more complex explanation of the results of the mini-aggression measure incorporates the cognitive variable of expectancy. Students may have avoided behaving aggressively because they had an expectation that if they were aggressive they would face negative consequences of trials and punishments. During the second phase this expectancy may have accounted for there being no more than one trial held. During the first phase, factors other than expectancy may have dominated, for example, the novelty of the court procedure. By the second phase of self-government, the novelty may have decreased so that merely the expectation of unpleasant consequences was sufficient

to reduce aggressiveness among students.

Another explanation is that the method of students obtaining peer approval changed between the two phases of self-government. During the first phase, approval may have been obtained from being brought to court or bringing someone to court. The negative consequences involved in obtaining such approval may have caused obtaining approval of peers to change to not appearing before court during the second phase of the program.

During the second phase of self-government, students may have decided among themselves not to bring each other to court regardless of aggressive interactions. This explanation assumes a cohesiveness among students that both the investigator and staff of Pleasantville School felt was not present. Any one student could never be certain that an aggressed student would not call a court meeting.

The sharp decrease in the number of trials during the second phase of self-government might be thought to be a function of the students having acquired more socially effective ways of responding to provocations. However, the results of the social skills assessment provide no support for this hypothesis.

It may have been that the decrease in the level of aggression during the second phase of self-government was due to some coincidental event aside from, or in addition to, self-government. This explanation is unlikely due to the regularity of data change.

At the end of this experiment, the students were asked to fill out a questionnaire concerning why they felt fewer trials were held during the second phase of self-government compared to the first phase. Six answers and a blank upon which students could provide their own reason were provided, which they were asked to rank from one to seven (1 = the most true answer, 7 = the least true answer) as the question applied to them, and as it applied to others. (Appendix M contains a copy of this self-government questionnaire.) The response receiving the lowest rank (most true) across all students as it applied to the individual was "he or she (the aggressor) is a friend and... (I) don't like taking friends to court". The most true response, according to how individuals felt it applied to others was "students agreed not to take anyone to court because nobody likes court". These responses indicate that the students did not hold trials because of peer agreement or dislike of court and not because of decreased aggression which received mean rankings of four (as it applies to the individual), and six (as it applies to others). Within the same questionnaire, 73.3% of the students indicated that they felt that the self-government program had helped them, compared to 26.7% who reported that it had not. Combining both responses to this questionnaire indicate that the self-government program helped the majority of students in ways other than decreasing the level of aggression.

Which explanation most satisfactorily accounts for the discrepancy in the number of trials between the first and second phases of self-government cannot be decided from the evidence available. It is clear, however, that the frequency of mini-aggression declined under the self-government conditions even without the occurrence of trials.

Another explanation for the effect of self-government on mini-aggression may be the investigator's desire to obtain favorable results, thereby unconsciously influencing the data collection. Blind observers were considered, but were not available from the staff personnel due to the investigator's frequent contact with these individuals. Obtaining blind observers from outside the school was not attempted because it was felt that their presence would attract considerable attention from the students, thus altering their normal behaviour patterns during observation periods. Checks, on experimenter effect were conducted by having second observers record mini-aggression when the investigator was unaware of which five-minute observation period he was recording. Since the reliability figure obtained during these observations is comparable to those instances when the investigator was unaware of reliability checks, it seems unlikely that experimenter effect can be considered to be responsible for the results.

The results of the social skills measure show no clinical change as a result of self-government. These results may be

explained by the fact that the students were not directly trained to respond more appropriately to provocative situations. Since the level of mini-aggression during self-government decreased, it may be that students had fewer provocative situations to respond to and those that did arise could be dealt with in court. Therefore, the decrease observed in mini-aggression may be attributable to the inhibition of aggression and not to students' ability to deal with provocative situations in a more socially skillful manner.

Two outstanding problems occurred during self-government; chairmanship and the misuse of self-government by students at the expense of less popular students. During the first phase of self-government, the chairman resigned and was asked to be reinstated three times. Students required convincing that the chairman was not a judge and that he was not immune to the rules of the self-government program. During this time, the chairman reported that some students refused to speak to him and that others were aggressive to him because of his role in self-government (whom he promptly summoned to court!). Since such pressures were felt to be undesirable for any youth, the chairmanship was changed to the rotating system by which it was hoped to relieve abuse from peers. Due to the occurrence of only one trial during the second phase of self-government, this method of chairmanship cannot be evaluated.

Abuse of self-government by popular individuals at the expense of less popular individuals has been reported by other investigators

of self-government (Sutherland & Cressey, 1970; Glasser, 1964; Wolf, Phillips, & Fixsen, 1972). Abuse during this experiment was sporadic; one trial imposing a severe punishment on a less popular student while others proceeded fairly even when the popular students were the accused. Efforts at controlling this were made by having final decisions of the court subject to the approval of the chief supervisor. While veto power was used sparingly, it did prevent highly unfair consequences to less popular students and at the same time pointed out this unfairness to the students who in each case changed their decisions to more appropriate ones.

Staff reaction to self-government was generally favorable, however, this attitude was more typical after the program had finished than while it was in progress. During the program itself, staff often expressed concern over what they felt to be unfair accusations of alleged violations and consequences of trials to the less popular students. Nevertheless, many staff reported that they observed qualities of leadership and fairness of students in court that they had not recognized before.

The social significance of the results of this study may be appreciated by the impact that decreased aggressiveness would have in an institutional setting. In settings such as the one used for this study, aggressiveness often occurs in the absence of staff. Those receiving this aggression are therefore left unprotected and aggressive retaliation is often the result. Using a self-government

program to control aggression provides an alternative to aggressive retaliation. The resulting reduction in aggressive behaviour provides students with a more pleasant atmosphere in which to live and learn more socially appropriate behaviour.

This experiment is only a first attempt at evaluating the effectiveness of peer management by self-government. The results indicate that such a procedure is capable of effecting favorable results on aggressive behaviour. Additional experimentation is required to test self-government under conditions of resident control over more behaviours with different subject populations and different settings. Collecting data on individuals would have provided interesting information on whether self-government had a differential effect on individual students' rates of aggressive behaviour. The use of surreptitious videotape recording of students' mini-aggressive behaviour may have provided greater accuracy in the frequency with which that measure occurred during this experiment. Use of such equipment was not possible in this study, due to physical limitations of the observation room.

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APPENDIX A

Introductory Talk to Students
Describing the Self-Government Program.

When we leave home and school, we are responsible for our own behaviour - completely. But we have to live with other people in society, and if we break society's rules, we have to suffer the consequences. The rules of society are not handed down by God, they are made by people like us, by citizens - at least in self-governing countries like Canada.

We want you to have the experience of self-government because we think you can learn a lot from it. / Because we don't know how well it will work, we are going to try it out for a few weeks, then think about it before trying it again.

Also, we feel that we'd better not turn over the whole school to you from the beginning, so we ask you to take responsibility for only part of the government. The part we want you to regulate for yourselves is verbal and physical aggression. During the period of self-government, the staff will not be giving you fines, warning letters, or placing you in detention. They can't give up their responsibility to see that you don't come to harm, so they will step in in extreme cases.

Basically, what is going to happen is that starting on Monday, February 12, the supervisors will no longer be responsible for controlling aggression here at the school - you will. This means

that you have to do three things to control aggressive behaviour. One, you must make up a list of your own rules - rules that you think are important for controlling aggression. Second, since you have made up these rules, you will be expected to enforce them. This means that if you see or receive aggression that breaks one of your rules, you must report it to a chairman, a student who will be elected by you to run trials. The third part of self-government will be 'trials'. Trials will be held in the evenings of the days when the chairman is notified by someone that a rule has been violated. A trial will be like a trial on the outside - all of the students will be the jury - except for the accused and the accuser and the chairman who don't have a vote. When a trial meets, it will decide if a person who broke a rule is guilty or innocent. If the person is found to be guilty, the court will then decide on what punishment should be given.

On the outside, if someone breaks one of the rules or laws, for example, if he steals something from somebody, the victim (the person who had something stolen) can bring that person to court. At court, evidence is obtained as to whether or not the accused person is guilty. If the evidence indicates his guilt, then he is punished in some way which is decided by the court.

During the next week, I want you all to think about what rules or laws of verbal and physical aggression that you would like to make. Think of the times when you were fined for aggressions - or

think of times when someone was aggressive towards you. Let me give you some examples of some rules that were made in another school where they had a self-government program.

1. No question shall be settled by a fight. If a...(person) feels there has not been fair play, (that person) has a right to call a meeting of the court...
2. Any child who (continues) disturbing others by loud talking, spitting water, or other interference (shall be brought to court).
3. (paraphrased and altered) Anyone who laughs at another person when they have been punished for something shall be brought to court.
4. (paraphrased and altered) Anyone who disrupts a game while it is being played shall be brought before the court.

(Turner, 1957, pp. 90-91)

These are just examples - you don't have to use these as rules if you don't want to. I'm sure there are lots of other situations of aggression you can think of.

On February 7 of next week, we will get together to make up a list of the rules that you have decided are important to you. Once you have made up the rules, the self-government program can begin. What will happen is that all of you will be responsible to see that your rules will not be broken. If you see someone breaking one of the rules - or if someone is aggressive to you and breaks a rule - you will be responsible for calling a meeting of the court and telling them about it. The way you call a meeting of the court is by going to the chairman, who will be one of the students whom you will

elect, and telling him what rule was broken and who broke it. The chairman will then get a sheet of paper from the supervisors' office, write down the rule that was broken and who broke it, as well as the name of the person who called the meeting. The chairman will then put this piece of paper on the bulletin board. A meeting of the court will take place that evening at 9:30, after lunch.

It is important to understand that this system does not mean that you will be ratting on another person because you will be telling one of the students (the chairman), about a rule that you (the students) have all decided upon. This is not the same as telling on another person to one of the supervisors about a rule that was made up by someone else.

I've been talking the last couple of minutes about a chairman. The chairman will be responsible for seeing to it that the other students know when court is to be held. The chairman will also be responsible for asking the person who called the court meeting questions during court about the violation; the chairman will also ask questions about the guilt or innocence of the person who committed the offence as well as asking questions of any witnesses to the violation. As well, the chairman must keep order in the court, and make sure that what is being talked about during court concerns the violation and not some other unrelated matter.

As you can see, this job is an important one and it will take a good person - one who is very responsible and a good leader to be

a chairman. Myself and the supervisors thought that the chairman should be someone from Level III or IV since they have shown by their behaviour that they are responsible people.

On Monday evening (February 5), I would like all of us to get together for a few minutes to vote for a chairman. Also, we need a vice-chairman, a person who can fill in for the chairman should he or she be sick or accused of a violation. So during the weekend, think of who you would like to see as the chairman or vice-chairman. It is really important that you pick good people for chairman and vice-chairman - people who are fair and whom you respect.

In your court, there will be a jury. Usually in a courtroom, a jury is made up of twelve people - but we are going to do it a bit differently. Instead of having just twelve people as a jury, we are going to have all of you in the jury. That means that after you have heard all the evidence, and after you have asked any questions that you want to ask about the violation of the rule, then you will all vote on whether you think the person is guilty or innocent. If the majority of you vote that he is innocent, the trial will end there and no fine or punishment will be given. If, however, the majority vote that the person is guilty, then the court (that includes all of you) will talk about what kind of fine or punishment you think the guilty person should have. Sometimes maybe two or three different punishments will be thought of - in that case, you would have another vote to decide which type of punishment the

guilty person will get. Once the majority of you vote for one type of punishment, then the trial will end and the guilty person will get the punishment you decided upon. The chairman will have no vote since the chairman, like a judge, is to be impartial or have no prejudice against the accused person so that the trial will be run fairly.

I will attend every meeting of the court. As well, one of the chief supervisors will be present. Neither of us will have a vote on any of the topics you discuss. What we will be there for is to act as a Friend of the Court.

A Friend of the Court is a real position in a court. For our court, the Friend of the Court will serve to:

1. guide you with the procedures of the court - e.g., to help the chairman to keep the discussion of the court to the issues for which the court has met.
2. to tell the other supervisors what the court has decided so that they can carry out whatever punishments you decide upon.
3. to inform the staff of any new rules you might make at a court meeting.
4. to offer suggestions in some cases when you are deciding punishments. All decisions of the court must be approved by a chief supervisor.

APPENDIX B

Pleasantville School Rules

1. No tripping purposely.
2. No fighting.
3. No punching in anger or resentment.
4. No kicking so as to hurt a person.
5. No throwing objects at people.
6. No pulling hair.
7. No spitting.
8. No threatening people verbally with physical aggression.
9. No banging doors or belting walls.
10. No calling people names.
11. No yelling at staff or students.
12. No rude manners (speaking to another person in an abusive manner such as "Get lost", "Leave me alone").
13. No rude gestures (such as burping in another's face, making faces, or sticking up middle finger).
14. No foul language at other people.
15. No bringing up a person's past (no talking to another person about what he or she has done in the past in a way that puts him or her down).
16. No talking behind a person's back (no telling things about a person in a way that puts him or her down).
17. No irritating, bugging, or put-downs (such as making fun of people, jeering you on when they know you are mad, and trying to make fun of you to make you madder).
18. No making a commotion among jury members in court (such as talking when someone else has been given permission to speak first).
19. No going against punishment (in court) such as complaining about unfairness of punishment.
20. No resentment - like getting mad at a person for being reported to the chairman for rule-breaking.
21. Anyone who sees a rule being broken must report it to the chairman.

APPENDIX C

Notice of Court Meeting

NOTICE OF COURT MEETING

This is to inform you that at 9:30 p.m. (after snack) today, there will be a meeting of the court.

Signed,

Chairman/Vice-Chairperson

Date

APPENDIX D

Court Attendance Record

[illegible]

P = PRESENT
A = ABSENT
AP = ABSENT WITH PERMISSION
D = DETENTION
S = SICK

• APPENDIX E

Request for Court Hearing

REQUEST FOR COURT HEARING

This is to certify that _____
(name of accuser)

has brought to the attention of _____
(chairman/vice-chairperson)

that _____ has broken rule(s)
(name of accused)

number _____ which states that _____

It is the intention of the court that _____
(name of accused)

be brought to court this evening, _____
(date)

to determine his/her guilt or innocence, and punishment, if guilty.

The accuser also wishes to certify that to his/her knowledge, the
following people were witnesses to the above alleged rule violation:

* Signed,

(Chairman/vice-chairperson)

(Accuser)

(Date)

APPENDIX F

Court Records

ACCUSER'S NAME: _____

ACCUSED'S NAME: _____

RULE VIOLATION NUMBER: _____

DESCRIPTION OF RULE VIOLATION: _____

_____DECISIONS OF JURY:

GUILTY

FIRST VOTE

SECOND VOTE

INNOCENT

LIST OF PUNISHMENTS

FIRST VOTE

SECOND VOTE

DESCRIPTION OF CHOSEN PUNISHMENT (IN DETAIL):

DATE: _____

(VICE-CHAIRMAN)

APPENDIX G

Trial Instruction Booklet

Court ProcedureSelf-Government Program, Pleasantville School

1. The chairman will call the court to order by saying:

"Everyone quiet please, this court is now in session."

2. The vice-chairman will identify the accuser, the accused, the violation, and the witnesses by saying:

"The purpose of this trial is to hear the complaint of name of accuser that name of accused has broken rule number which states that description of rule."

The accuser, , has identified name of witnesses as witnessing the violation. Would these people please tell the court whether or not they have witnessed the violation.

AFTER THE WITNESSES HAVE INDICATED TO THE COURT THAT THEY HAVE WITNESSED THE VIOLATION, THE CHAIRMAN WILL ASK THE WITNESSES TO LEAVE THE COURTROOM.

THE CHAIRMAN WILL THEN ASK THE ACCUSER TO EXPLAIN THE RULE VIOLATION BY SAYING:

"Would accuser's name please tell the court why he/she has requested the trial?"

The chairman will permit the accuser to speak. If the accuser does not keep his speech on the subject of the alleged violation, the chairman will say:

"You're out of order, stay on the topic of the violation, please."

After the accuser has finished speaking, the chairman will ask the accuser questions to insure that all of the following information is obtained by the court:

- (a) What the rule was that was supposedly broken.
- (b) Time and place of the alleged violation.
- (c) What people were involved.
- (d) What the accused did or said.
- (e) What the accuser did or said.
- (f) How many times the accused broke the rule (if this is relevant).
- (g) What happened just before the rule was supposedly broken.
- (h) What happened just after the rule was supposedly broken.

3. The chairman will ask the accused if he/she is guilty or not.

"name of accused, how do you plead, guilty or not guilty?"

IF THE ACCUSED PLEADS GUILTY, THE CHAIRMAN WILL ASK THE ACCUSED AND THE ACCUSER TO LEAVE THE COURTROOM. PROCEED TO STEP # 10.

IF THE ACCUSED PLEADS INNOCENT, PROCEED TO STEP # 4.

4. The chairman will ask the accused to tell the court of his/her version of what happened.

"Would you please tell the court, in defense of your plea of not guilty, what happened?"

The chairman is to ensure that the accused has provided the following information:

- (a) What the accused did or said.
- (b) What the accuser did or said.
- (c) What happened before the rule was supposedly broken.
- (d) What happened just after the rule was supposedly broken.

5. THE CHAIRMAN WILL ASK THAT THE WITNESSES BE ALLOWED TO RE-ENTER THE COURTROOM.

IF THERE ARE NO WITNESSES, GO ON TO STEP #8.

6. The chairman will ask each witness in turn to describe what he/she saw. The chairman is to ensure that each witness has provided the following information:

- (a) What people were involved.
- (b) What the accused did or said.
- (c) What the accuser did or said.
- (d) Where the witness was in relation to the accuser and the accused at the time of the alleged violation.
- (e) What happened just before the rule was supposedly broken.
- (f) What happened just after the rule was supposedly broken.

7. The chairman will then ask the members of the jury if they have any questions.

"Does any member of the jury have any questions that they would like to ask the accused, accuser, or the witnesses about the alleged rule violation?"

8. After the questioning by the jury has ended, the chairman will ask the accused and the accuser to leave the courtroom.

"Will name of accused and name of accuser please leave the courtroom, so that the jury can vote on the guilt or innocence of the accused?"

9. After the accused and the accuser have left the room, the chairman will conduct the voting procedure by saying:

"Would all those members of the jury who feel that name of accused is innocent please raise their hands?"

The chairman will count the number of hands.
The chairman will then say:

"Would all those members of the jury who feel that name of accused is guilty please raise their hands?"

The chairman will count the number of hands.
Those voters in the minority will be asked why they voted the way they did.

"Would any of those members of the jury who voted minority vote please explain their reason for voting?"

THE CHAIRMAN WILL ALLOW THE JURY TO DISCUSS THE GUILT OR INNOCENCE OF THE ACCUSED.

AFTER DISCUSSION, REPEAT VOTING PROCEDURE - STEPS 9(A),(B),(C),(D).

IF 50% PLUS ONE MEMBER OF THE JURY VOTE INNOCENT, PROCEED TO STEP #13.
IF 50% PLUS ONE MEMBER OF THE JURY VOTE GUILTY, PROCEED TO STEP #10.

10. The chairman will ask the members of the jury for suggested punishments.

"Would the jury suggest an appropriate punishment for accused's name please?"

11. The vice-chairman will write down each punishment that is suggested.

12. THE CHAIRMAN WILL READ OUT THE WHOLE LIST OF PUNISHMENTS.

The chairman will then ask the jury to vote on each suggestion.

"Would all those in favor of punishment #1 please raise your hand?"

The vice-chairman counts the number of hands and writes the number beside the punishment.

This procedure is continued until all punishments are voted for.

UNLESS ONE PUNISHMENT RECEIVES 50% PLUS ONE MEMBER'S OF THE JURY'S VOTE, THE CHAIRMAN WILL ASK THE JURY TO DISCUSS WHY EACH PENALTY IS BEST OR INAPPROPRIATE.

A SECOND VOTE IS THEN HELD (USING THE SAME PUNISHMENTS). SEE STEP #12.

13. The chairman will ask a member of the jury to ask the accused and the accuser to return to the courtroom.

14. The chairman will announce the decision of the court by reading the following:

"This court has decided that name of accused is innocent of description of the rule violation."

PROCEED TO STEP #15.

OR

"This court has decided that name of accused is guilty of description of rule violation."

but that no punishment be given to you at this time. Should you break the same rule in the future, the court shall recall this incident and use it in making its decision of punishment at that time."

OR

and that as a punishment you shall description of punishment. This punishment shall be subject to the approval of the chief supervisor.

15. The chairman ends the trial by saying:

"This trial is ended."

APPENDIX H

Definition of Fineable Aggression

Physical Aggression

1. Any of the behaviours listed below are Physical Aggression offenses if:

(a) another person is hurt, that is:

- (i) the person complains of being hurt by intensely or emphatically howling, swearing, or is otherwise verbally aggressive (see definition); or
- (ii) is clearly injured, that is, bleeding, bruised, scratched, etc.

Note: Accidents do happen; if the person(s) involved agree that they were merely playing when someone got hurt, we can accept that it was an accident - except in the case of a physically weak person suffering at the hands of a physically strong person, this excuse can only be accepted if the injury occurs in an organized game.

- OR (b) The aggressed person immediately retaliates with a response which fits one of the criteria for Verbal or Physical Aggression.
- OR (c) The aggressive behaviour is directed at a person who the aggressor has been recently (i.e., during the same day) fined for aggressing (either verbal or physical).
- OR (d) The person aggressed makes repeated (two or more) efforts to carry on with another activity, or makes repeated (two or more)

requests for the aggressor to stop the aggressive behaviour.

OR (e) The aggressive behaviour is repeated (three or more times).

Physical Aggression Behaviour

Punching

Slapping

Pushing

Kicking

Biting

Throwing an object.

Spitting on another person.

Pulling the chair from under another person so as to cause that person to lose balance or fall.

Throwing food at another person.

Slamming a door.

Verbal Aggression

1. Any of the words or phrases listed below will be considered as verbal aggression if:

(a) The aggressor is not smiling (cheeks not raised, teeth not showing) when he says the word(s), phrases, or combination of words or phrases.

OR (b) The word(s), phrases, or combination of words or phrases is/are directed toward another person or group of people repeatedly (more than once) within one minute.

OR (c) The word(s), phrases, or combination of words or phrases directed toward another person or group of people is used in a harsh tone (i.e., putting emphasis on each word and saying each word loudly and distinctly, at the same time looking directly at the person addressed).

- OR (d) The words are directed at a person whom the aggressor has been recently (within one hour) fined for aggressing whether or not the manner of speaking to them fits criteria (b) or (c) above.
- OR (e) The person aggressed makes repeated (two or more) efforts to carry on with another activity, or makes repeated requests for the aggressor to stop the aggressive behaviour.
2. Any student who refuses in a loud voice to obey rules.
 3. Making rude gestures (i.e., making faces, sticking out tongue) if they provoke someone into retaliating with verbal or physical aggression or make the rude gestures repeatedly.

Verbal Aggression Examples

1. Name-calling: (a) calling someone a name using a derogatory word, i.e., "fucker", "sucker", "bastard", "cunt", etc. (b) calling someone by a name that the person has expressed prior disapproval of, i.e., "queer", "duck", "puller", etc.
2. Screw off
3. Fuck off
4. F-off
5. Frig
6. Stick it.
7. Get out.
8. Up yours.
9. Mind your own business.
10. I hate you.
11. Your mother is a whore.
12. Your father is a drunk.
13. Jesus Christ
14. You're a prostitute.
15. You make me sick.
16. Ding-bat
17. Pack off.
18. Shag off.
19. Piss off.
20. Shut up.
21. Damn you.
22. Piss on it.
24. Any language which encourages another to behave in an aggressive manner.

APPENDIX I

Definition of Mini-Aggression

Physical Mini-Aggression

- | | |
|-------------|--|
| 1. Punching | 6. Throwing an object |
| 2. Slapping | 7. Spitting on another person |
| 3. Pushing | 8. Pulling the chair from under another person so as to cause that person to lose balance or fall. |
| 4. Kicking | 9. Throwing food at another person. |
| 5. Biting | |

Conditions

- (a) One mini-aggression consists of any of the above behaviours occurring once or more than once in succession without any intervening behaviour(s).
- (b) Should a physical mini-aggression be interrupted by a physically or verbally aggressive retaliation by the person receiving the original mini-aggression, the retaliation shall be counted as one mini-aggression and will be subject to condition (a).
- (c) If the original aggressor continues his/her mini-aggressive behaviour after a retaliation, this will be considered a mini-aggression separate from his first, if the criterion specified in (a) was met, i.e., the original aggressive behaviour was interrupted by an intervening behaviour. This shall be true only if the original aggressor stopped his/her aggressive behaviour during the aggressed individual's retaliation. If, on the other hand, the original aggressor does not stop the aggressive behaviour during retaliation, then his/her behaviour, both before and after retaliation shall be considered as one occurrence of mini-aggression.

Verbal Mini-Aggression

1. Name-calling: calling someone by a name other than his Christian or legal name.
2. Using any of the words, combination of words, or phrases listed in the Definition of Verbal Aggression when directed toward another person.
3. Any student who refuses in a loud voice to obey rules.
4. Making rude gestures (i.e., making faces, sticking out tongue) directed toward another person.

Conditions

The same conditions exist for verbal mini-aggression as for physical mini-aggression.

APPENDIX J

Rules of Behavioural Conduct for the Investigator
During Observation of Mini-Aggressions

During observation periods, the observer:

- (a) will not initiate any verbal or non-verbal communication with any student or staff.
- (b) will answer questions directed at him with brevity, without encouraging further conversation by asking a question or smiling.
- (c) will make minimal eye-contact when answering questions - i.e., will from time-to-time scan the room while speaking to an individual.
- (d) will refuse to participate with students in any activity (card-playing, etc.) by saying, "Not right now, thanks. I'd just like to sit down for awhile" or "How about later? I'd just like to watch right now", etc.
- (e) will refuse, if asked, to leave the observation room.

APPENDIX K

Instructions to Students and Description of Vignettes

Instructions to Students

This is a tape which has on it descriptions of situations which you might find yourself in. Each of the situations are sort of tough to handle because they put you on the spot. You know you have to do something, but you're not sure what. I want you to listen very carefully to each situation that I read to you. Try to imagine the situation as though it was really happening to you and then tell me what you would do if you were in that situation. I will tape what you tell me. (point to Sony cassette) Use your exact words and the same tone of voice you would actually use in the situation. Don't spend too much time thinking about your answers because if you were really in the situation, you wouldn't have a chance to think for very long.

The first two situations will be ones that I will do as an example for you.

based on Freedman, 1974.

Descriptions of VignettesModelling Vignettes

1. You've been feeling sort of down all day for no reason, it seems, other than you feel kind of lonely. You think maybe you're just tired of doing the same things over and over again every day without getting anywhere. You would really like to talk to someone, but you don't know what to say. A good friend walks up to you and says "How are things?". What do you do?

Response: I'd say, "Not very good, I feel sort of down today - kind of lonely, you know. It's like I've been in here forever and I'm tired of it."

2. You've been studying one of your subjects really hard for a couple of hours but there is one problem that you just can't understand. You'd really like to ask your teacher about it, but you think that it is such a small point that you will look stupid. You see your teacher walking toward you, he sees you studying and asks, "How are you getting along?". What do you do?

Response: I'd tell him that I'm not getting along very good and that I had a question I'd like to ask him.

Rehearsal Vignettes

1. You're walking along Water Street, doing some window-shopping, just killing some time. A group of other kids are walking toward you. They're about your age. As they are passing you, one of them deliberately bumps into you, and nearly knocks you over. What do you do?
2. What if the person who deliberately bumped into you said, "Look where you're going, stupid!" What do you do?

Vignettes Used for Data Collection

1. It's 7:30 on a Saturday night, and you ask your father if you can go out with some friends. He asks what you'll be doing. You say, "Oh, just driving around." He is angry and yells, "Nothing doing!" You know what happens when you go driving around with kids. You can stay home tonight with the family and watch television!" What do you do?
2. Imagine your gym teacher is a nasty guy and you think he must have it in for you because he's always picking on you. Today he's really been on your back all period, and you've already had to do 50 extra push-ups. Now he says to you, "OK sissy, let's see 30 more, and get some energy into them!" You're so tired you don't think you can do another one, but all the kids are standing around watching what will happen. What do you do?
3. There are a few kids in the school who have been hassling you for awhile and you have been getting madder and madder at them mouthing off at you. Imagine that you are walking in the schoolyard and there aren't too many other people around. One of these guys passes you and says, "Hi, queer!" What do you do?
4. Someone in the school has recently been defacing the walls in the bathroom by writing obscene words all over them with a black marker. One of your teachers in school always seems to have it in for you. Today he calls you out of your math class and he says to you in the hall, "OK, we know you're the wise ass who wrote all over the walls in the john. I recognized your writing. Didn't you even have the brains to disguise your writing?" You know you didn't do it and you're furious at him for accusing you. What do you do?

5. It's recess, and you're having a game of pool with a friend. Suddenly, one of the other kids - a real pest - comes over and grabs the pool cue from you and pushes you away. What do you do?

6. You are 17 and your room-mate is 14. He/she is always messing around in your things and ratting on you to the supervisors whenever you do something wrong. Today he found a love-letter from your girlfriend (or boyfriend) in your dresser drawer, and you've just caught him/her running around the Home reading lines from it out loud. You're embarrassed for anyone else to hear what he or she wrote and you're angry at your room-mate for always sticking his/her nose into your affairs. You go up to him or her. What do you do?

7. You're in the TV room watching Mary Tyler Moore. One of the guys comes in the room. He knows it's your favorite program, but he goes and changes the channel without asking you. What do you do?

8. It's time to do your homework. You go upstairs to your bedroom here at the home and you notice your pencil is missing. You recall putting it on your bed earlier in the evening. You look over at your room-mate's bed. You see your pencil lying there. You've repeatedly asked your room-mate not to take your pencil without asking you first. Just then, your room-mate walks in. What do you do?

9. You're in the Level III room having a smoke at recess. The door is closed and there is no supervisor around. A couple of the other kids in the room start teasing you about being overweight. This really hurts you and you ask them to stop but they don't. One of them comes up to you and grabs your arm, squeezing it tightly. He says, "Just look at all that blubber on your arm." He's hurting you. What do you do?

10. The school has put on a dance. You're really having a good time and you've been doing a lot of dancing with someone you really like. You've never danced much before, but tonight you're really getting into it. As you're dancing, your room-mate, whom you don't get along with very well, walks past you and says, "Not only do you look like a cow, but you dance like one too." You're really embarrassed with your dancing partner hearing this. You turn to your room-mate. What do you do?

Vignettes 1 and 2 (Rehearsal), 1, 2, 3, 4, and 6 (Data Collection) are taken from or based on Freedman, 1974.

APPENDIX L

Definition of Behavioural Measures

Duration of Response:

Time from onset of response, time out any pauses of duration greater than three seconds. Stop at end of response.

Loudness of Voice: rated on a three-point scale.

1. Shouting or screaming; clearly oppressive loudness.
2. Firm, clear level; easy to distinguish words, comfortable.
3. Very low, strain to hear, some words are indistinct because of excessive softness.

Tone of Voice: rated on a three-point scale.

1. Monotone, completely flat intonation, every word on same pitch, no variations in tone.
2. Lively intonation; appropriate expressiveness.
3. Exaggerated tone, pitch, and emphasis, clearly expressing anger.

Assertiveness: rated on a five-point scale.

1. Aggressive
 - Bodily contact intended to cause harm (i.e., hitting, fighting).
 - Threatening with psychological or physical harm.
 - Swearing
 - Name-calling
2. Sarcastic responses intended to provoke another, i.e.,
 - "I need a vacation."
 - Rudeness
 - Demanding an apology
 - Expressing a demand or request without explanation or consideration of others' rights.
 - Refusing to comply without explanation, e.g., leaving a situation in which performance is expected.

3. Assertive

- Expression of thoughts, feelings, and beliefs in a direct and honest manner which does not violate another's personal rights.
- Requesting an apology.
- Requesting behaviour change in an appropriate manner.

4. -Not confronting the provocation (going to staff).

- Asking for further clarification of provocation without explaining own position.
- Explaining own position (feelings) without asking for further clarification.

5. Non-assertive

- Escaping a situation in which a verbal or non-verbal response is not requested; conforming to a situation to which S is opposed.
- Responses which convey no information, e.g., "I don't know."

APPENDIX M

Self-Government Questionnaire

Please answer the following questions about self-government.

Instructions for Question 1:

Below Question 1, there are several answers listed. On each side of each possible answer, there are blank spaces. On the blank space to the left, please put the number "1" for the answer which you feel is the most true as you see it. Then write the number "2" beside the one of the remaining answers which you feel is the next most true. Continue this until all the blanks to the left of the answers are filled in. The last possible answer is one which you may fill in if the most true answer is not present in the six provided. Once you have finished doing this, then go to the right side of the answers and fill in the blanks from 1 to 6 or 7 (from the most true to the least true) as you think others see it.

Question 1:

During the past three weeks of the self-government program, when another student was aggressive to you (broke one of the rules of self-government) and you did not take him or her to court, was it because:

As Question 1
applies to you

As Question 1
applies to
others

_____ (a) If you brought him or her to court, he or she might take you to court for something, so you both would just end up getting fined.

_____ (b) He or she is a friend, and you don't like taking friends to court.

_____ (c) Some of the students agreed not to take anyone to court so the self-government program wouldn't work and it wouldn't come back again.

_____ (d) Students agreed not to take anyone to court because nobody likes court.

- _____ (e) There was very little aggression during the last three weeks and because of this, there were not many rules broken.
- _____ (f) Since the new boys from Whitbourne House have arrived, there has been less aggression because the 'old' students have been more interested in getting to know the 'new' students and have been talking, and playing cards, etc., with them, rather than with the 'older' students of Pleasantville School.
- _____ (g) (other) _____
- _____
- _____

Question 2:

During the past three weeks of self-government, there have been some courts which have been cancelled by the accuser and the accused. When this has happened, the accuser and the accused have said that they "talked it out". What do you think "talking it out" meant?

- _____ (a) The accuser and the accused apologized to each other.
- _____ (b) The accuser and the accused didn't apologize to each other; they just didn't want to go to court.
- _____ (c) (write other reason here)

Question 3:

Do you think the self-government has helped you in any way?

YES

NO

(circle one)

Why or why not?



