

Research Series No. 68

TEACHERS' THINKING
ABOUT PROBLEM STUDENTS

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Published By

The Institute for Research on Teaching
252 Erickson Hall
Michigan State University
East Lansing, Michigan 48824

Printed and Distributed
by the
College of Education
Michigan State University

January 1980

This work is sponsored in part by the Institute for Research on Teaching, College of Education, Michigan State University. The Institute for Research on Teaching is funded primarily by the Program for Teaching and Instruction of the National Institute of Education, United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. The opinions expressed in this publication do not necessarily reflect the position, policy, or endorsement of the National Institute of Education. (Contract No. 400-76-0073)

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Abstract

Elementary school teachers (N=54) responded to vignettes depicting 12 types of student problem behavior, stating how they would handle the problem and describing the students in their own words. Responses were coded for teachers' attributional inferences, concerning both the problem students depicted and their own prospects for handling the problems successfully. Attributional inferences differed according to problem ownership. For problems owned primarily by the teachers themselves, students were seen as acting intentionally and as able to control their behavior. For problems shared by teachers and students, teachers inferred that students were not acting intentionally but could control their behavior if reminded or helped. For problems owned mostly by the students themselves, teachers inferred neither controllability nor intentionality, yet expressed greater confidence in their own ability to cope with the problems successfully.

Teachers' Thinking About Problem Students¹

Jere E. Brophy and Mary M. Rohrkemper²

Our aim in the Classroom Strategy Study is the identification and elaboration of successful strategies that teachers use with difficult or troublesome students. In our efforts to do this, we have transformed a list of approximately 60 teacher descriptions of problem students into 12 conceptually distinct types. These 12 types include instructional concerns (failure syndrome, perfectionist, underachiever, and low achiever), activity/attention issues (hyperactivity, short attention span, and immature), aggression problems (hostile aggressive, passive aggressive, and defiant) and peer relationship difficulties (rejected by peers, and shy/withdrawn). These 12 types of problem behavior are mutually exclusive, although a child may exhibit more than a single problem.

We wrote vignettes for each problem type in which we set up hypothetical situations of problem behavior, and asked a sample of teachers to tell us how they would handle the situations.

The data presented in this paper are based on two premises: (1) that the student problem behavior that typically occurs in the classroom can be subdivided into categories that reflect degree of *problem ownership*,

¹This paper was presented at a conference titled "Teacher and Student Perceptions of Success and Failure: Implications for Learning," held at the University of Pittsburgh, 1979.

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and (2) that the teacher-student interactions that are a consequence of these problem situations are appropriately viewed as instances of *helping behavior*.

Problem Ownership

The notion of problem ownership has its origins in the parenting literature. Gordon (1970) posited that conflicts between parents and children could be subdivided into categories which reflect need frustration. These categories, or levels of problem ownership have been investigated in parenting research and shown to be associated with unique patterns of parental response to children (Stollak, Scholom, Kallman, & Saturansky, 1973; Kallman, Note 1).

Gordon (1974) has suggested that these levels of problem ownership are also profitably examined in the classroom context. Specifically, he suggests that the problems that occur in teacher-student interaction can be divided into three types: (1) teacher-owned problems (These occur when student behavior interferes with the teacher's needs, or causes the teacher to feel frustrated, upset, irritated, or angry.), (2) student-owned problems (These exist separately from the teacher and do not tangibly and concretely affect him/her.), and (3) problems shared by the teacher and student (These occur when the teacher and student interfere with each other's needs.)

While the teacher is ultimately responsible for the events that occur in the classroom, and therefore has some "ownership" in all that occurs there, we maintain, and the data support this, that student problem behavior can be examined on a continuum ranging from primarily teacher-owned problems to primarily student-owned problems.

With this in mind, the 12 types of problem behavior depicted in our vignettes have been sorted into three groups which reflect the degree of

problem ownership.

Primarily teacher-owned problems are in the first group. These are the problems caused by hostile aggressive, passive aggressive, under-achieving, and defiant students. In each of the vignettes about these problems, the student does not have inadequacy feelings or self-devaluation problems, and the student's actions present an immediate threat to the teacher's needs for authority and control.

The second group, that of primarily student-owned problems, includes failure syndrome, rejected by peers, perfectionist, and low achieving students. In the vignettes depicting these behaviors, the students have a general problem of inadequacy feelings or self-devaluation. Their internal conflicts and actions frustrate progress toward their own goals but do not directly thwart the teacher's needs.

The final group is composed of those problems that are shared by the teacher and student (which we will refer to as "shared problems"). Included are hyperactive, distractible, shy/withdrawn, and immature students. In each of the vignettes depicting these behaviors the student has no general self-devaluation problem, but has difficulty with the student role. These difficulties pose no intentional threat to the teacher's authority, but they do affect his/her management and control needs.

These three types of problem ownership compose the situational independent variable employed in this investigation. Differential patterns of teacher attributions concerning both self and student, and therefore differential patterns of teacher responses to the student, were expected for all three levels.

Helping Behavior

The second premise of this investigation is that teacher responses to student problem behavior can be interpreted as instances of helping

behavior; the student is seen as the individual in need of help, and the teacher as the individual upon whom requests for assistance are made. (The presence of altruistic feelings in the teacher toward each of the 12 types of student behavior is irrelevant here, given that the teacher role demands a helping, constructive response.)

Previous research on helping behavior indicates that attributions regarding the locus of causality of the victim's problem and the controllability the victim has over his/her plight have important implications for helping behavior (Piliavin, Rodin, & Piliavin, 1969; Simon & Weiner, 1979). Also important are the personal risk factors involved in helping someone and the degree of ambiguity within a given situation (Crano, Note 2).

We expected to find similar effects in the teachers' responses to the simulated behavior in the vignettes. Specifically, we expected that the teachers' understanding of the problem and its intensity, as well as their attributions about the students' self control capacity and underlying intentions, would differ as a function of problem ownership and be associated with the teachers' perceptions of both their role at the onset of the problem and their ability to solve that problem.

Method

The teachers were asked to respond to the vignette situations as if they had occurred in their classrooms. They were asked to state what they would say and do, why they would say and do that, and describe the student involved. Their responses simulate instances in which there are consequences for themselves, for the student engaging in the problem behavior, and for the other class members, who both witness the event and vicariously experience its effects. It follows that teachers' attributions about the student involved in the situation would affect

their sense of their role as teachers, and lead to their response to the student, a response which has important implications for all concerned. We assumed that the teachers' attributions about self and student obtained from these simulations reflected the same attributions that would be made in real-life experiences (Fontaine, 1975; Frieze & LaVoie, Note 3; Bar-Tal & Frieze, 1976). (For a more detailed description of data collection, see Rohrkemper & Brophy, Note 4.)

Attribution Inference Coding System

The coding system used for this analysis is outlined in the Appendix. It employs Weiner's (1979) three causal dimensions (locus of causality, with an interactive value added; stability; and controllability), the intentionality dimension identified by Rosenbaum (Note 5), and the globality dimension identified by Abramson, Seligman, and Teasdale (1978). These dimensions are applied both to the teachers' perception of the student in the vignette and their own involvement in solving the problem. Thus the teachers' attributions about the students are distinguished from the teachers' attributions about themselves.

The nine category variables of the attribution inference coding system (five variables dealing with teacher's perceptions of the student and four dealing with teacher's perceptions of self), were applied to each teacher's response to each of the 12 vignettes, yielding 108 category codes per teacher. Each coding variable involved exhaustive and mutually exclusive categories, so that one and only one category could apply to any particular response to any particular vignette. Possible categories for each coding variable included a 0 value for "can't rate," followed by codes for either 2 or 3 mutually exclusive categories. The final category for each variable allowed for use of more than one of the

mutually exclusive categories.

This code was used for teachers who considered multiple possibilities for a given variable. For example, a teacher, in response to the hostile aggressive vignette (No. 2) might say that Tom (the "bully") could be picking on Sam for many reasons (e.g., he could have been provoked by Sam, he may have been unable to sleep the night before, his parents might have been fighting, or maybe he's just a mean kid). In this example, the code for use of multiple categories would be used to reflect the teacher's consideration of more than a single possible cause for the fight. Multiple codes appear in variables A, locus of causality; D, stability of the student problem; and E, globality of the problem.

The data were coded by vignette rather than by teacher to sharpen coder discrimination across the responses and to prevent the carryover across vignettes that could occur if each teacher's responses to all the vignettes were coded sequentially. Thus, the coding procedure was a conservative one.

The protocols were each coded by two coders. Coding was done by Mary Rohrkemper and two staff members who were blind to the independent variables of this analysis, including all teacher ability data. Each person coded approximately two-thirds of the data, and pairs were matched across vignettes, so that resolution occurred with comparable frequency between all combinations of coders. Percent exact agreement ranged from 64% on variable H, stability of teacher influence, to 89% on variable F, teacher involvement in causing the student problem behavior. The overall percent exact agreement was 76%. All coding differences were resolved through discussion (the pair of coders consulted with the third coder if necessary).

The final data set consisted of nine variables for each of 12 vignettes for 54 elementary school teachers. The means, standard deviations, and probability data from analyses of variance, which were conducted on the attribution codes used most frequently for each of the nine variables, are listed in the table. In these analyses, each code in a category was treated as a 0 (not used) or a 1 (used) possibility and aggregated across the vignettes within each type of problem ownership (primarily teacher-owned, primarily student-owned, and shared).

Averaging the codes in each of these levels yielded mean proportion scores indicating the likelihood that a particular category would be coded for any particular vignette in the set representing that level of problem ownership. The proportion scores were then subjected to analyses of variance to assess probabilities of main effects due to problem ownership. In addition, Tukey post hocs for pairwise comparisons of the group means were computed. Data are summarized in Table 1.

Results

As indicated by the means, teachers generally perceived the students' problem behavior across all levels of problem ownership as stable and global (two factors which were built into the vignettes), as caused by factors external to themselves (and usually internal to the student), and as possible to change through their own efforts. Thus, in general, the teachers believed that they were not implicated in causing the problem, but nevertheless were capable of solving it. The effects of problem ownership are more evident in the remaining variables.

Controllability

Teachers' attributions of the students' ability to control their behavior, and thereby assume responsibility for their actions, interacted

Table 1

Means, Standard Deviations, and Probability Data From Analyses of Variance in Teachers' Use of Selected Attribute Inference Codes.¹

Attribute Inference Code	Proportional Use of Category Per Vignette ²			Main Effect	Probabilities		
	Teacher Owned Problems	Shared Problems	Student Owned Problems		Teacher vs. Shared	Teacher vs. Student	Shared vs. Student
A.1. Locus of Causality (S): Cause of problem seen as internal to student.	.68 (.29)	.72 (.27)	.65 (.26)	.37	ns	ns	ns
B.1. Controllability (S): Student is seen as able to control the problem	.88 (.17)	.55 (.26)	.26 (.22)	.0001	.01	.01	.01
C.1. Intentionality (S): Problem behavior is seen as intentional.	.78 (.23)	.25 (.14)	.12 (.17)	.0001	.01	.01	.01
D.1. Stability (S): Problem is seen as stable over time.	.88 (.17)	.90 (.16)	.94 (.13)	.11	ns	ns	ns
E.1. Globality (S): Problem is seen as generalized across situations.	.80 (.19)	.85 (.17)	.87 (.19)	.10	ns	ns	ns
F.2. Locus of Causality (T): Cause of problem seen as external to teacher.	.93 (.14)	.93 (.13)	.92 (.15)	.91	ns	ns	ns
G.1. Controllability (T): Teacher feels able to effect change personally.	.73 (.22)	.82 (.21)	.81 (.19)	.05	ns	ns	ns
H.1. Stability (T): Teacher expects any improvements to be stable over time.	.51 (.28)	.54 (.23)	.66 (.26)	.001	ns	.01	.01
I.1. Globality (T): Teacher expects any improvements to be generalized across situations.	.35 (.26)	.35 (.27)	.56 (.30)	.0001	ns	.01	.01

¹See the "Attribution Inference Coding System" for complete definitions and examples of each coding category.

²Use of each category was coded as absent (0) or present (1) for each teacher's response to each vignette. These codes then were aggregated across sets of vignettes that had the same problem ownership characteristics (teacher problem, shared problem, or student problem), averaged, and expressed as mean proportions. Standard deviations are given in parentheses below each mean.

significantly with problem ownership. (The group means were .88, .55, and .26.) Behavior depicted in vignettes of primarily teacher-owned problems was seen as controllable by the student. Behavior in student-owned problems was seen as uncontrollable by the student. That is, rather than being considered responsible for their problems, these students were seen as victims. Although the finding is not as strong as for teacher-owned problems, students with shared problems were likely to be held responsible for their behavior.

For example, in the underachiever's vignette (No. 9), Carl, who exhibits a teacher-owned problem, is seen as able to control his behavior. Teachers believe that Carl is not working because he is choosing not to, not because he doesn't understand directions or doesn't know how to do the assignment. In contrast, Jeff, the low achiever in vignette No. 12 (representing a student-owned problem), is not believed to be in control of his behavior. His not knowing the answer is not attributed to poor motivation that he is expected to control (as Carl is). Instead, his behavior is attributed to low ability, over which he has no control. Finally, Betty, the immature student in vignette No. 11, which represents a shared problem, typically is held responsible for her behavior. Teachers usually believe that Betty knows better than to tattle (she knows what is important for the teacher to know about and what is not) and hold her responsible for her actions.

Means for the teachers' perceptions of their own control over the problem students were high (.73, .82, and .81), with a trend toward the least sense of control in teacher-owned problem situations. Teachers' confidence in their ability to induce change often assumed help from other adults -- family members and school support services. (The principal or counselor were used especially for hostile aggressive and defiant

students; special aides were used particularly when dealing with low achievers.) Statements of inability to influence change were rare, but when they did occur they appeared most frequently with regard to hyperactivity.

Overall, then, teachers held that underachieving, hostile aggressive, passive aggressive, defiant, and immature students were capable of control and therefore responsible for their behavior. In contrast, teachers did not attribute responsibility to low achievers, students rejected by peers, or shy/withdrawn students.

Intentionality

The intentionality data also indicate a main effect for problem ownership. Intentionality is most likely to be attributed to the student when the teacher owns the problem and least likely to be attributed to the student when the student owns the problem (the means were .78, .25, and .12). Teachers inferred intentionality for underachievement, aggression, passive aggression, defiance, and immaturity. Unintentional behavior was attributed to all other vignettes except failure syndrome, where the data are mixed. Most likely this is the result of the ambiguity of the vignette and its placement at the beginning of the series. The main difference between the controllability and intentionality data is that teacher owned problems are usually seen as both controllable and intentional on the part of the student, but shared problems and student-owned problems are likely to be seen as unintentional, even if the student is seen as capable of control. That is, while the student may "know better than that," his/her behavior is seen as a mistake, a slip up with no underlying motivations.

For example, in one of the teacher-owned problems, the teachers not only expect Carl to be able to control his behavior (i.e., to get to work), but also believe that he is intentionally making paper airplanes as

either an act of defiance, to get their attention, or to show off to his classmates). In the low achieving vignette, Jeff exhibits a student-owned problem. He is not seen in control of his behavior, nor is his lack of achievement seen as intentional. Jeff is not trying to get out of class recitation, to play to the class, or to get the teacher's goat. His behavior is a legitimate mistake with no hidden agendas.

In the third group, the teacher-student shared problems, the student Bill, of the hyperactive vignette, is typically seen as in control of his behavior. Teachers seem to temper this, however, by recognizing that it is difficult for Bill to control his movements, so that when incidents such as that described in vignette No. 3 do occur, they are seen as unfortunate accidents. So while Bill is held responsible for self-control, his failures to meet these control standards are judged unintentional by the teacher.

Stability

While the student behavior in the vignettes was generally perceived as intended (i.e., stable over time), there was a nonsignificant trend for teachers to perceive student-owned problems as more stable than teacher-owned problems (the means were .88, .90, and .94). Teachers were also likely to see themselves as able to produce stable change (the means were .51, .54, and .66). As the means indicate, teachers feel more able to produce stable change in student-owned problems than in teacher-owned or shared problems.

It seems that intentionality notions are operating here. Where teachers perceive behavior as unintentional, they are, in general, more confident of stable change, with the exception of the behavior of distractible and low achieving students. Intentionality of student behavior is apparently associated with resistance to the teacher, and as

such, intentional problem behavior is seen as less likely to be changed by the teacher's efforts for any length of time beyond the immediate situation.

Globality

As intended, the problem behaviors depicted in the vignettes were usually seen as generalizable across situations. While the means for teacher perceptions of globality of the student behavior are high (.80, .85 and .87), the means for teacher confidence in being able to induce generalized change in the student are lower and more variable (.35, .35, and .56). Overall, teachers did not expect to cause generalized change.

There was a main effect for problem ownership, however. Although their expectations are generally low, teachers are most confident that change induced in the student will generalize in student-owned problems. This is in contrast to both teacher-owned and shared problems, for which changes in student behavior were seldom seen as generalizing to other contexts.

An examination of individual vignettes shows that teachers were especially pessimistic about global change when dealing with passive-aggressive and distractible students. Teachers generally made similar attributions about these two behavior problems, with the clear exception of the intentionality dimension. Most teachers perceived the passive-aggressive student's behavior as intentional (N = 36), but an even larger number perceived the distractible student's behavior as unintentional (N = 43).

It seems, then, that while intentionality is an important construct in teachers' assessment of the stability of their influence, it is not a pivotal factor in assessing the globality of that influence. Perhaps

the ambiguous quality of these behaviors is a factor. Both appear to require more observer interpretation than the other problems.

Conclusion

It appears that the concept of problem ownership is valuable in examining classroom events. The pattern of teacher attributions also indicates that the dimensions of locus of causality, controllability, intentionality, stability, and globality are separate and important in distinguishing teacher perceptions of differing student behavior and teachers' sense of their own involvement in the remediation of that behavior.

The differential patterns of teachers' attributions about the students and themselves echo the findings of helping behavior investigations. Research examining the likelihood of helping behavior has identified that withholding aid is associated with situations in which the victim is perceived as responsible for his plight -- that is, the observer attributes the cause of the victim's problem to the victim (Simon & Weiner, in press).

This parallels the Carroll and Payne (1976) analysis of parole decisions. They found that punishment is most harsh and parole least likely when the offender is seen as the source of the problem, as having acted intentionally, and as likely to persist in criminal behavior. Conversely, crimes that are judged the result of external, unintentional, and unstable causes are punished less severely and the offender has a good chance of being paroled.

We found similar patterns in our investigation. While teachers assessed all problems as stable and global (factors built into the vignettes), as external to themselves and typically internal to the students, our analysis found that in teacher-owned problems the teachers believed that the student was in control of his/her behavior,

and was acting intentionally. Teachers' assessments of their ability to induce change in these students were pessimistic. In teacher-owned problem situations, teachers had less sense of personal control over students and perceived less chance of inducing stable change than with the other two types of problem situations (although the mean was .51). They assessed low probability that any change induced in the student would generalize beyond specific situations.

Teachers perceived student-owned problems differently. While the majority perceived the locus of the problem as internal to the student, this was least likely with student-owned problems. Further, they felt students were not in control of student-owned problem behavior. Therefore, the students were seen as acting unintentionally and not held responsible for their acts. Teachers' assessment of their ability to induce change in these students was optimistic; they felt they were likely to induce change, that this change would be stable over time, and that such change would generalize to other situations.

The final group of problem situations, those involving problems shared by the student and teacher, yielded a third pattern. In these situations, teachers were most likely to perceive the cause of the problem as internal to the student. They were mixed in their controllability assessment but did not perceive the behavior as intentional. Teachers were more likely to feel able to personally induce change in those students whose problems were shared by the student and teacher than students in the other two problem situations. They typically felt the change would last, although they also felt that it would be situation specific.

The profiles of student attributions are clearly distinctive; the profiles of the teachers' confidence in their ability to induce change

are not. It is evident that teachers' beliefs in their abilities to change students in meaningful ways are most optimistic regarding student-owned problems. While teacher-owned or shared problems have similar profiles, the teachers feel more power in the shared problem situations. It is likely that the similarities in stability and globality of change actually mask differing phenomena. That is, where teachers' original goals in teacher-owned problem situations may be for stable and global change, teachers may "satisfice" or settle for goals which are much more restricted than those they recognize to be optimal. In contrast, in teacher-student shared problems, the original goals may be relatively narrow. Recall that the problem behaviors included in this group were defined as involving students who had difficulty with the student role. This did not include students who directly threatened the teacher's authority or those with general self-devaluation problems. Given this, it makes sense that teachers' original goals would be fairly specific, and teachers would have confidence that these goals would be met. This distinction between original goals and those which are settled for, between "optimizing" and "satisficing" (Simon, 1969), was not addressed in this investigation, but does seem to be useful for future analyses.

We postulate that these differential patterns of attributions form an important link in the processes teachers use when constructing new, successful strategies, one that must be examined when changing current, unsuccessful strategies for coping with problem students. Our process model of teacher strategy construction (see Figure 1) is influenced by Carroll and Payne's (1977) model of the parole decision process. It begins with the teacher's perception of a specific event interpreted against a background of previous beliefs about and experiences with the type of behavior involved.

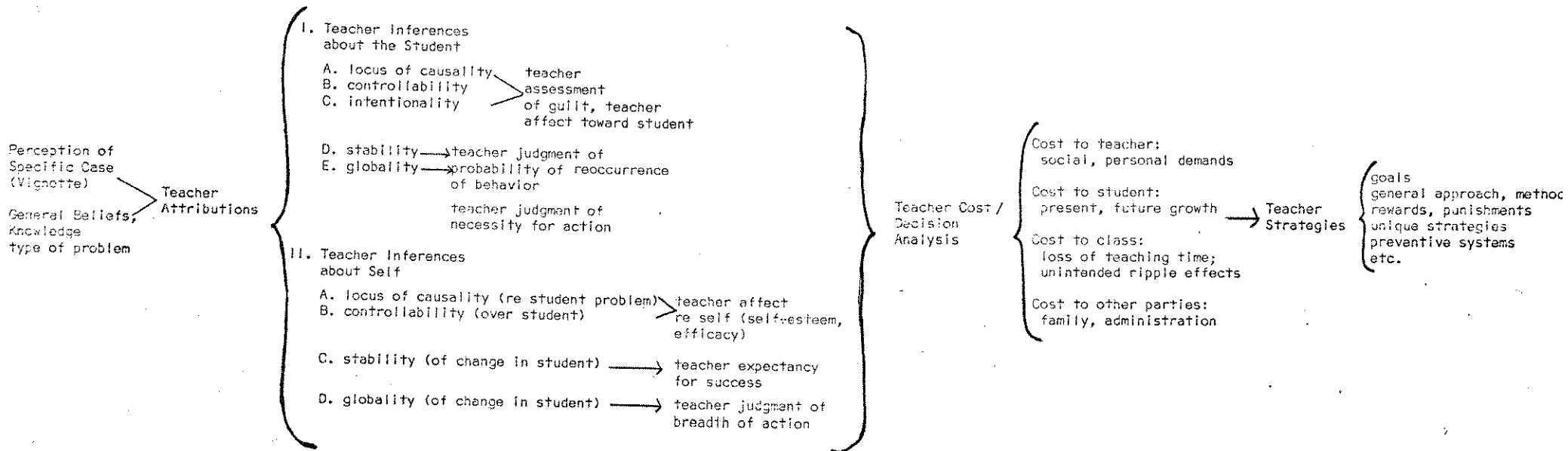


Figure 1. Process Model of Teacher Strategy Construction

This leads to the attributional analysis of the student's behavior and the teacher's own involvement in the situation. Real world cost factors are the final component in the construction of the teacher influence strategy.

The cost decision analysis involves an examination and weighing of real world constraints and trade-offs. There are four factors to be considered in this analysis: (1) the teacher, with the social demands of the teacher role and personal expectations involved in decisions of time, energy, and emotional investment; (2) the problem student, with concerns for present and future growth given any action or nonaction; (3) the cost to the class in terms of lost teaching time, vicarious learning, and unintended ripple effects; and (4) other cost factors that need to be examined, such as family values, administrative concerns, and so on.

The next logical phase of this investigation is to link problem ownership and attributions to cost factors and to actual teacher strategies. We expect this examination to uncover relationships between teachers' attributions about students' behavior, their confidence in their ability to change that behavior, and their actual strategies. These relationships are expected to occur by type of problem ownership, and to reflect the findings of the helping behavior literature.

For example, with teacher-owned problems, risk factors to the teacher's role status are high and are compounded by the presence of the class and administrative expectations. Recall that teachers attributed controllability and intentionality to these students, and indicated low expectations for inducing stable and global changes. In these situations, we expect to find teacher strategies characterized by a higher frequency of punishment, more intense punishment, and a minimization of long term mental health goals in favor of short term, control-desist goals.

In student-owned problems, the risk factors are less immediate and more focused on the student. Recall that teachers attributed uncontrollability and unintentionality to these students and indicated a hopeful prognosis for change. We expect to find this level of problem ownership associated with teacher encouragement and support, and with long-term mental health goals involving provision of coping techniques and self-approval.

Finally, in teacher-student shared problems, the risk involves primarily a threat to a smooth running classroom (and therefore to teacher role demands), and secondarily a threat to the student's learning and self-evaluation. In these problems, recall that the teachers attributed controllability and unintentionality to the student and believed they were capable of inducing stable, specific change. Here we expect a third distinctive strategy profile. Specifically, we expect to find infrequent and mild punishments, liberal use of rewards and praise, and long-term behavior-modification goals with specific objectives, using contracts, behavior charting, and so on. Also anticipated are more frequent back-ups, or alternative strategies.

The ability to examine these linkages between the initial perception of an event, attributions about the self and the student, and subsequent reported action, is a major asset of this investigation. Inability to report linkages to actual behavior (given that the data are self report), is its major weakness. Recognizing this, we have attempted to assess the degree of congruence between teachers' self reports and actual classroom behavior.

The first of our three phases of data collection was classroom observation. During this phase, observers recorded verbatim any incident that occurred between the teacher and a student who matched one of the 12

problem types. Two of these relevant incidents were then masked (by changing irrelevant detail) and written to conform to the standardized vignettes. These two "special vignettes" were given to the teachers along with the other vignettes. For each teacher, then, we have two cases of self-report of their words and actions which we can compare with what they actually said and did in the classroom.

We have presently found that teacher beliefs about their ability to induce stable and generalized change do not always mesh with their reported strategies. Some of the most impressive teachers we observed were overly critical of their abilities and quite pessimistic about their influence on their students, while other teachers, less impressive, had very healthy egos but a poor concept of reality. We expect that an examination of the special vignettes will shed more light on this.

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Appendix A

Distribution of Attribution Inference Codes, Lansing Student Perceptions

Vignettes

Variables	Code	1	5	9	12	2	6	10	3	7	11	4	8
Locus of Causality (S)	0 Can't Rate	0	0	0	0	2	2	1	0	0	0	1	0
	1 Internal	30	39	36	47	30	42	39	45	33	44	25	33
	2 External	12	9	12	0	14	4	5	0	5	2	14	6
	3 I-E Interaction	2	0	0	4	3	1	4	2	3	4	1	5
	4 Multiple Codes	10	4	6	3	5	5	5	7	13	4	13	10
Control-lability (S)	0 Can't Rate	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	1 Controllable	18	29	52	2	45	43	57	31	30	47	8	10
	2 Not Controllable	28	23	1	50	6	6	2	20	15	7	34	40
	3 Multiple Code	8	2	1	2	2	5	1	3	9	0	12	4
Inten-tionality (S)	0 Can't Rate	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	1 Intentional	17	9	45	0	38	36	49	2	3	45	0	5
	2 Unintentional	31	45	3	54	4	7	3	49	43	8	50	44
	3 Multiple Code	6	0	6	0	11	11	2	3	8	1	4	5
Stability (S)	0 Can't Rate	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	1 Stable	49	52	54	52	49	40	47	50	43	50	50	52
	2 Unstable	1	0	0	1	2	8	1	2	2	1	2	0
	3 Multiple Code	4	2	0	1	2	6	6	2	9	3	2	2
Globality (S)	0 Can't Rate	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	1 Generalized	45	49	48	46	39	36	49	52	45	49	47	38
	2 Situation Specific	3	3	1	1	5	11	3	1	2	1	2	6
	3 Multiple Code	6	2	5	7	9	7	2	1	7	4	5	10
Locus of Causality (T)	0 Can't Rate	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	1 Internal	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
	2 External	53	49	46	42	53	53	48	49	48	54	54	49
	3 I-E Interaction	0	0	1	6	1	0	1	3	2	0	0	0
	4 Multiple Code	1	5	6	6	0	1	5	2	4	0	0	4
Control-lability (T)	0 Can't Rate	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	2	1
	1 Teacher Alone	50	50	43	30	25	52	37	36	46	51	45	44
	2 Other Adult	0	0	1	0	2	0	0	1	0	0	1	0
	3 No Change Possible	1	2	2	4	0	1	0	10	3	2	4	4
	4 Multiple Code	3	1	8	20	26	0	17	7	5	2	5	
Stability (T)	0 Can't Rate	1	3	3	4	3	2	0	11	3	3	7	5
	1 Stable	43	42	24	22	32	20	34	25	17	42	35	33
	2 Unstable	9	9	26	25	19	30	17	17	32	7	10	15
	3 Multiple Code	1	0	1	3	0	2	3	1	2	2	2	1
Globality (T)	0 Can't Rate	1	3	3	4	3	2	0	11	3	3	7	5
	1 Generalized	33	32	17	23	32	7	19	15	10	25	34	25
	2 Situation Specific	18	18	34	26	19	45	34	26	39	26	12	23
	3 Multiple Code	2	1	0	1	0	0	1	2	2	0	1	1

Vignette No.	Problem Type	Problem Ownership
2	Aggressive	) Teacher
6	Passive-Aggressive	) Owned
9	Underachiever	) Problems
10	Defiant)
3	Hyperactive	) Shared
7	Distractible	) Problems
8	Shy/Withdrawn)
11	Immature)
1	Failure Syndrome	) Student
4	Rejected by Peers	) Owned
5	Perfectionist	) Problems
12	Low Achiever)

Appendix A

Distribution of Attribution Inference Codes, Lansing
Student Perceptions

Vignettes

Variables	Code	1	5	9	12	2	6	10	3	7	11	4	8
Locus of Causality (S)	0 Can't Rate	0	0	0	0	2	2	1	0	0	0	1	0
	1 Internal	30	39	36	47	30	42	39	45	33	44	25	33
	2 External	12	9	12	0	14	4	5	0	5	2	14	6
	3 I-E Interaction	2	0	0	4	3	1	4	2	3	4	1	5
	4 Multiple Codes	10	4	6	3	5	5	5	7	13	4	13	10
Control-lability (S)	0 Can't Rate	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	1 Controllable	18	29	52	2	45	43	57	31	30	47	8	10
	2 Not Controllable	28	23	1	50	6	6	2	20	15	7	34	40
	3 Multiple Code	8	2	1	2	2	5	1	3	9	0	12	4
Inten-tionality (S)	0 Can't Rate	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	1 Intentional	17	9	45	0	38	36	49	2	3	45	0	5
	2 Unintentional	31	45	3	54	4	7	3	49	43	8	50	44
	3 Multiple Code	6	0	6	0	11	11	2	3	8	1	4	5
Stability (S)	0 Can't Rate	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	1 Stable	49	52	54	52	49	40	47	50	43	50	50	52
	2 Unstable	1	0	0	1	2	8	1	2	2	1	2	0
	3 Multiple Code	4	2	0	1	2	6	6	2	9	3	2	2
Globality (S)	0 Can't Rate	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	1 Generalized	45	49	48	46	39	36	49	52	45	49	47	38
	2 Situation Specific	3	3	1	1	5	11	3	1	2	1	2	6
	3 Multiple Code	6	2	5	7	9	7	2	1	7	4	5	10
Locus of Causality (T)	0 Can't Rate	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	1 Internal	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
	2 External	53	49	46	42	53	53	48	49	48	54	54	49
	3 I-E Interaction	0	0	1	6	1	0	1	3	2	0	0	0
	4 Multiple Code	1	5	6	6	0	1	5	2	4	0	0	4
Control-lability (T)	0 Can't Rate	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	2	1
	1 Teacher Alone	50	50	43	30	25	52	37	36	46	51	45	44
	2 Other Adult	0	0	1	0	2	0	0	1	0	0	1	0
	3 No Change Possible	1	2	2	4	0	1	0	10	3	2	4	4
	4 Multiple Code	3	1	8	20	26	0	17	7	5	1	2	5
Stability (T)	0 Can't Rate	1	3	3	4	3	2	0	11	3	3	7	5
	1 Stable	43	42	24	22	32	20	34	25	17	42	35	33
	2 Unstable	9	9	26	25	19	30	17	17	32	7	10	15
	3 Multiple Code	1	0	1	3	0	2	3	1	2	2	2	1
Globality (T)	0 Can't Rate	1	3	3	4	3	2	0	11	3	3	7	5
	1 Generalized	33	32	17	23	32	7	19	15	10	25	34	25
	2 Situation Specific	18	18	34	26	19	45	34	26	39	26	12	23
	3 Multiple Code	2	1	0	1	0	0	1	2	2	0	1	1

Vignette No.	Problem Type	Problem Ownership
2	Aggressive	) Teacher
6	Passive-Aggressive	) Owned
9	Underachiever	) Problems
10	Defiant)
3	Hyperactive	) Shared
7	Distractible	) Problems
8	Shy/Withdrawn)
11	Immature)
1	Failure Syndrome	) Student
4	Rejected by Peers	) Owned
5	Perfectionist	) Problems
12	Low Achiever)