
Perceived Problem Behavior

Lecture in the Summer School on Education in Zurich

«Special Needs and Inclusive Education in Switzerland and in a Global Context»

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Agenda

I **Advance Organizer**
... with background music

10 Min.



II **Theoretical Foundation**
Psychology of social perception, interactionism

20 Min.

III **Empirical Findings**
Results from the SUGUS study

20 Min.

IV **Transition to a plenary discussion**

5 Min.

Advance Organizer

Advance Organizer

Argument, which I will elaborate and justify in this lecture

- **I presuppose that we use a common vocabulary on behavior problems**

- "Luckily I got a *calm class* this year"
- "Two of my students have *behavior problems*"

→ I guess you can well imagine the two students with "behavior problems"

- **However, I postulate that this vocabulary only allegedly denotes the same phenomena**

- On a closer look: there are differences in the perception, interpretation and evaluation of these phenomena

Who is talking?

My biography

1987 – 1995 Primary and secondary school in Uster (near Zurich)

1995 – 2002 Gymnasium (high school) in Zurich

2003 – 2010 Studies at the University of Zurich
Pedagogy, German Literature, Psychopathology

2003 – 2010 Work as a social pedagogue during studies

2010 – 2018 Research associate and lecturer at the Institute of Educational Science at the University of Zurich

Doctorate under Prof. em. Dr. Kurt Reusser on classroom disturbances

2018 – 2022 Research associate and lecturer at University of Teacher Education St. Gallen

since 2022 Research associate at PHZH



Short survey about the music



Access via QR code

Short survey about the music

Responses from participants of 9 previous events (n=339)



How did you
experience the
background music?

Theoretical Foundation

Psychology of social perception

Debriefing on the survey

Perceptual psychological mechanism

- **Music = acoustic stimuli → objective event: per se neutral**

- Sensory parameters were identical for all participants
- Same frequency, same volume, same tones....

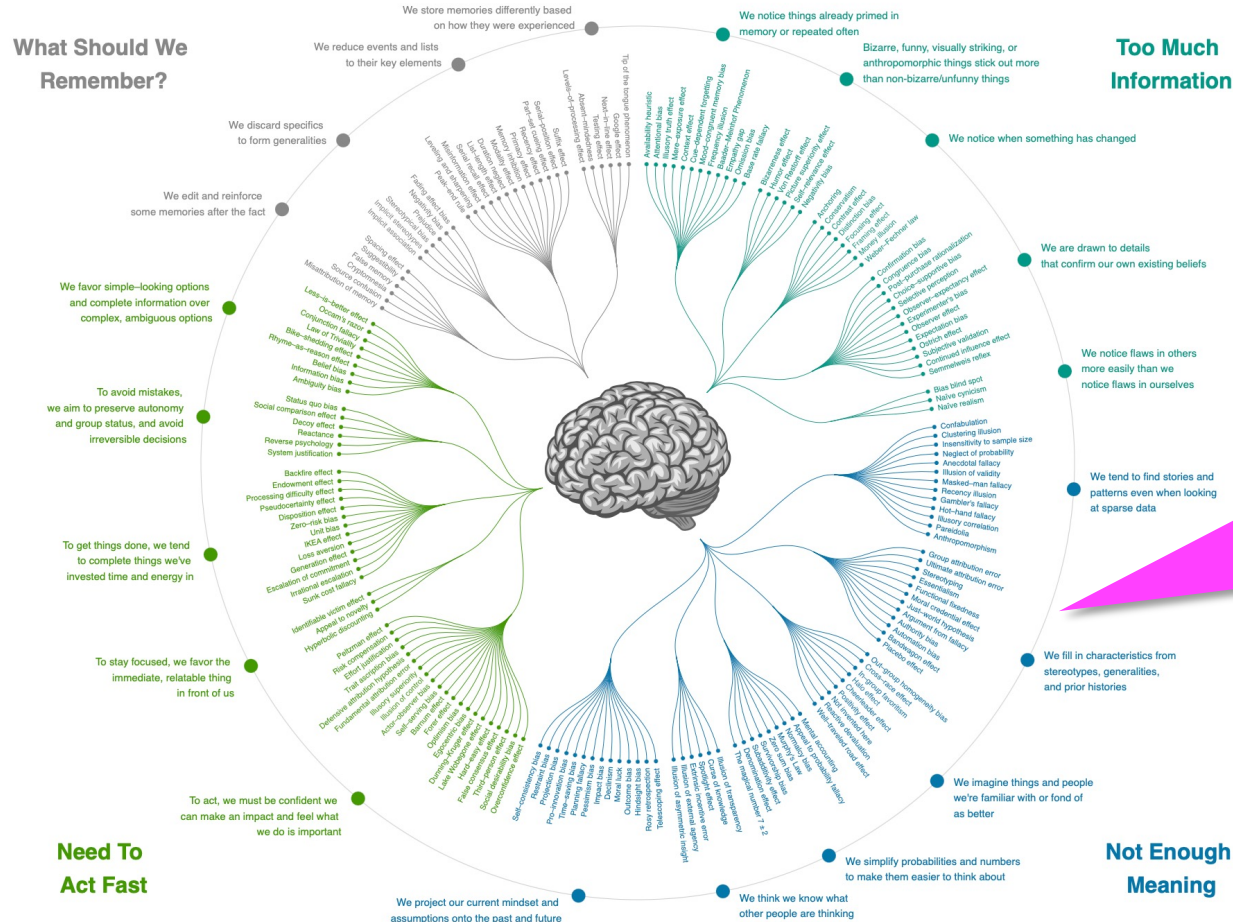
- **Experience was subjective**

- Elementary processing of sensory stimuli: recognize sequence of sounds as music
- Cognitive interpretation: music to lecture is unusual / original / silly...
- Emotional effects: neutral / pleasant / unpleasant...

→ *depending on person and context*

Causes of the subjectivity of human perception

Unconscious psychological mechanisms



Good overview on Wikipedia:
List of cognitive biases

Today
Selection of exemplary mechanisms

Source: Wikipedia authors, 16. März 2023

Whodunnit?

Video example

«A [...]whodunnit (a colloquial elision of "Who [has] done it?") is a complex plot-driven variety of detective fiction in which the puzzle regarding *who committed the crime* is the main focus. The [...] viewer is provided with the clues to the case, from which the identity of the perpetrator may be deduced [...]. The investigation is usually conducted by an eccentric, amateur, or semi-professional detective.»

Source quote: Wikipedia authors, 16. März 2023

Source video: Mayor of London, o.J.

A murder scene set in a grand, ornate room. A man in a dark suit and light trousers lies face down on a patterned rug, with a broken clock nearby. Several people stand around the body, looking on with various expressions. On the left, a man in a grey coat holds a hat. Next to him is a man in a dark uniform and a helmet. In the center, a woman in a hat and vest holds a small box. To her right, an older man in a tuxedo stands with his hands behind his back. Further right, a woman in a maid's uniform holds a large brass object. On the far right, a person in a black bear costume stands near a chair. The room is decorated with a large potted plant, a vase of red flowers, a mounted animal head, and a chandelier. The text "WHODUNNIT?" is superimposed in large, yellow, stylized letters across the center of the image.

WHODUNNIT?

Two exemplary causes of biased perception

Expectation-driven perception, selective attention

1. Expectation-driven perception: focus on expected, prejudice-congruent aspects

Whodunit → Solve case → identify perpetrator

2. Selective attention: disregard unexpected, prejudice-incongruent aspects

Change of scenery

▪ Effect: unconscious reduction of complexity

- Advantage: focused aspect is cognitively manageable, no mental overload
- Disadvantage: complexity reduction comes at a price
 - Important aspects can get ignored (e.g. whodunnit) → *perceptoin bias*
 - Unignorable, prejudice-incongruent aspects can trigger irritation (e.g. intro music)
→ unpleasant perceptual side effects

Transfer to the school context

Possible biases in the perception of students by teachers

- **Hofer (1986): Perception of 20 individuals = overload for teachers**
 - Grouping of students into about 5 student categories, e.g., "high achievers" vs. "troublemakers"
 - Expectation-driven perception and selective attention: every misbehavior of the "troublemakers" is immediately noticed, while one-time misbehavior of "high achievers" is overlooked
- **(Too) rapid impression formation:** new students are classified within the first lesson
Schweer et al., 2017; Werth et al., 2020
- **Primacy effect:** the first impression remains partially stable despite real changes
Timmermanns et al., 2021
- **Halo effect:** impression of learning behavior confounds impression of social behavior
Höhn, 1967/1980; Stang & Urhahne, 2016
- **Attribution error:** behavior that is actually situational is attributed to a stable personality trait, e.g., "behavior problems"
Schweer et al., 2017; Werth et al., 2020

Theoretical Foundation

Interactionism

Teachers' perceptions of students

Subsequent risks of biased perception

- **Unpleasant emotional side effects:** Anger, worry, frustration

- Rigorous, strict treatment of students that are perceived as „troublemakers“

Hofer, 1986; Schweer et al., 2017

- **Pygmalion effect**

- Problematic student behavior *as a result of*
 - pedagogically unfavorable reactions of the teacher starting from
 - more or less accurate / biased perception of the teacher
 - Research gap regarding disciplinary, social behavior; previous studies focused on the cognitive domain
 - teacher's performance expectations → expectation-congruent learning support → student performance

Rosenthal & Jacobson, 1968; Timmermanns et al., 2021

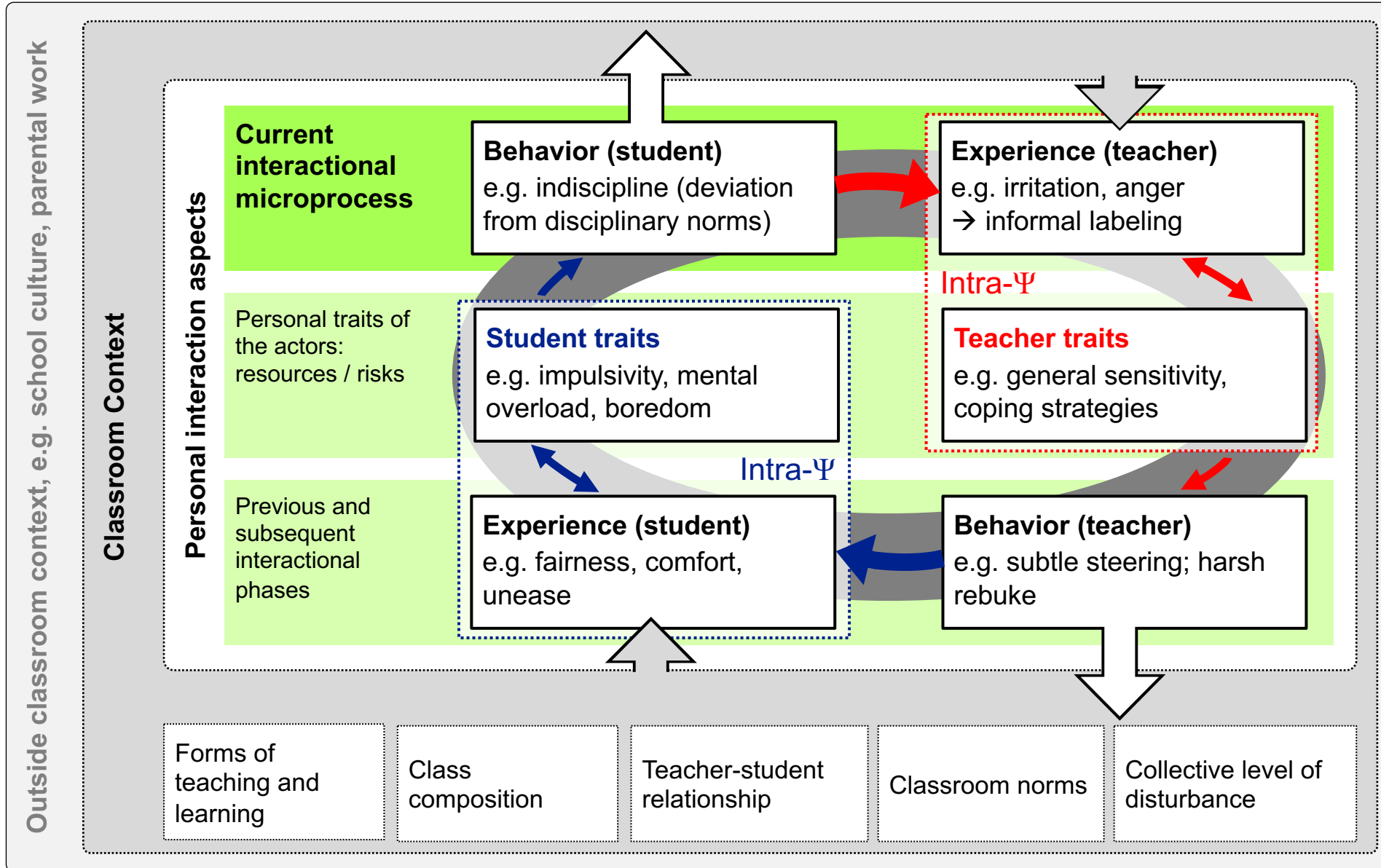
Perceived behavior problems

Interactionist perspective

- **One-sided problematization of individual students is under complex**
 - *behavior problems as interactionally co-constructed phenomena*
 - **Student behavior (e.g., disciplinary behavior, social behavior)**
 - **Subjective experience of student behavior by the teacher or classmates**
- **Which element contributes how much to the problem?**
 - Different measures are required depending on the situation, such as
 - *pedagogical-didactic measures* for dealing with undisciplined student behavior (e.g. classroom management, professional relationship work)
 - *mental health measures* in case of strongly pronounced perception of disturbance (e.g. supervision)

Theoretical process model of pedagogical interactions

Eckstein et al., in preparation



SUGUS

Study to investigate classroom disturbances

SUGUS: Studie zur Untersuchung gestörten Unterrichts (german)

English: Study to investigate classroom disturbances

- **Research project financed by the Swiss National Science Foundation (completed)**
 - Head of the project: Prof. em. Dr. Kurt Reusser
 - 2 qualitative studies (led by Dr. Anna Hofstetter; Dr. des. Claudia Marusic)
 - 1 quantitative study (led by Dr. Boris Eckstein)
 - *Multi-perspective survey*
- **Sample:** 85 primary school classes, mostly 5th grade
 - 85 Classroom teachers
 - 1,687 students (average age: 11.7 years)
 - 1,412 actively participating
 - 275 not actively participating (teacher assessment only)

Eckstein, 2018; Eckstein et al., 2018

Instruments: target student specific ratings

Frequency of deviant behavior (t1)

3 types of ratings per target student: teacher rating, self-rating, 4 peer ratings

Donald Trump

Strip to rip off

„How often showed this child the following behaviors in the last two weeks?“

▪ **18 items**, e.g.

- d04: Made noise in class
- d08: Gave cheeky answers to the teacher
- d11: Insulted another child in class

▪ **Response format:**

Never (= 0); 1 time (= 1) ... 5 times (= 5); More often, namely: ____

Eckstein et al., 2018

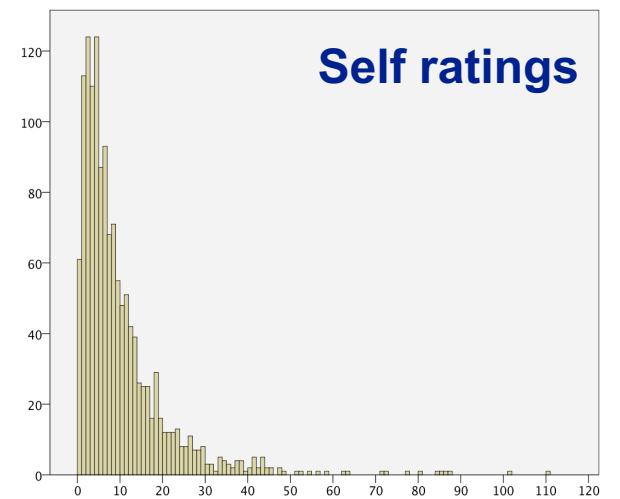
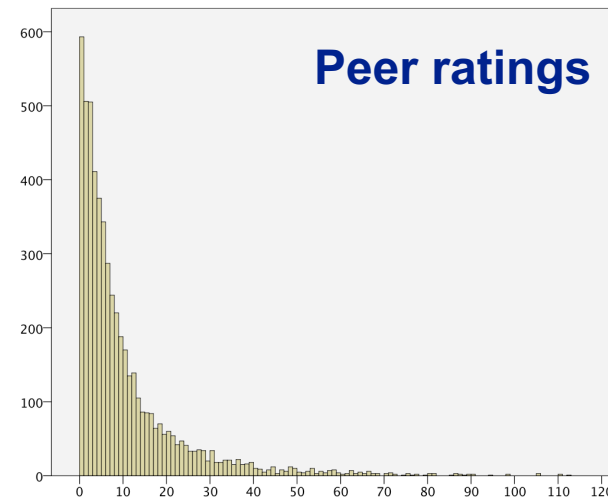
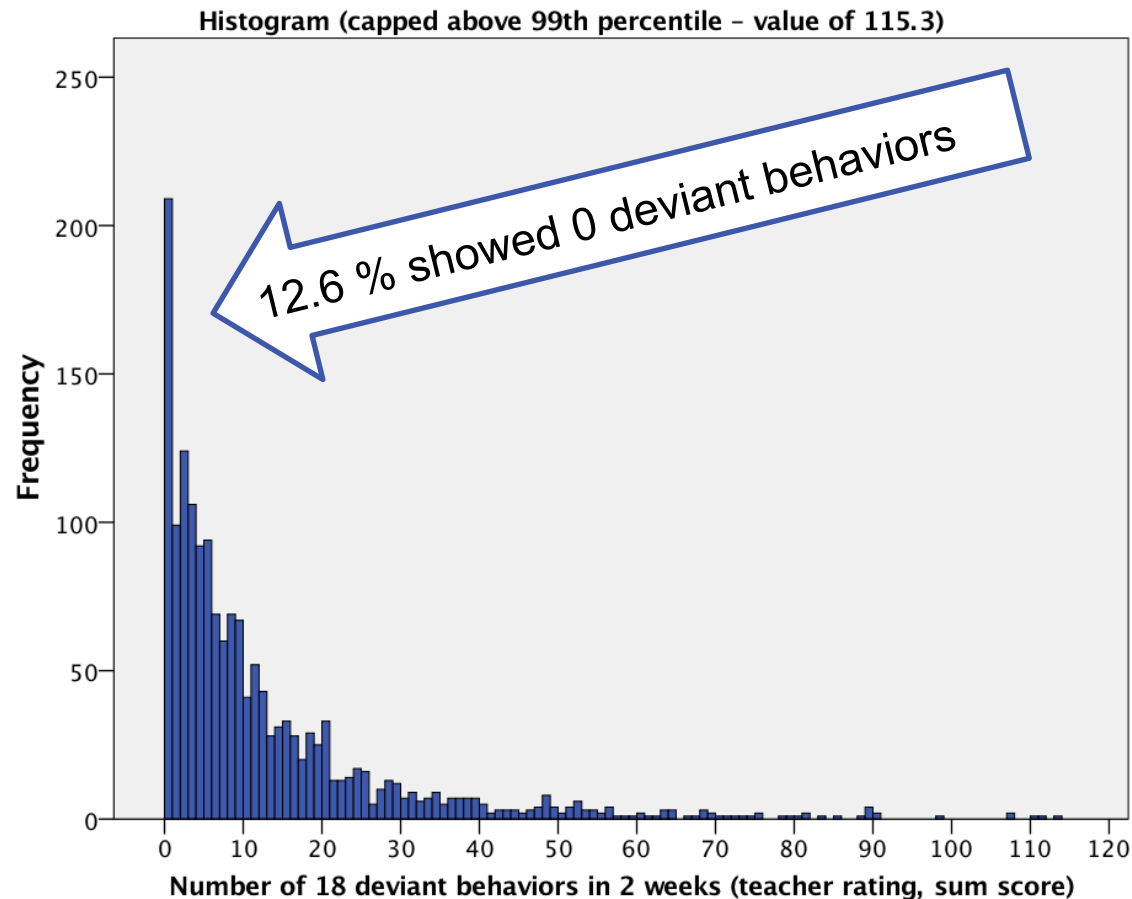
Frequency of deviant behaviors

Sum score from 18 items

Teacher ratings: mean=13.94 (in 2 weeks); SD=22.42; n=1'660; median=7.00

→ In "average class" with 19.85 students: total of 4.59 deviations per lesson (mostly trivialities)

Eckstein, 2018



Instruments: target student specific ratings

Subjective perception of disturbance (t2)

3 types of ratings per target student: teacher rating, self-rating, 4 peer ratings

Rater-target pairs $t2 = t1$

"How have you experienced the students in your class recently?"

9 items, e.g.

per05: ...has annoyed me.

per06: ...has disturbed my concentration.

per01: ...was always nice to me.*

per09: ...has always been kind to me.*

*To avoid stigmatization effects, the first and last items per person were *formulated positively* and *subsequently inverted*.

4 response categories

0 = "Not at all true" ... 3 = "True exactly"

→ high values = high sense of disturbance

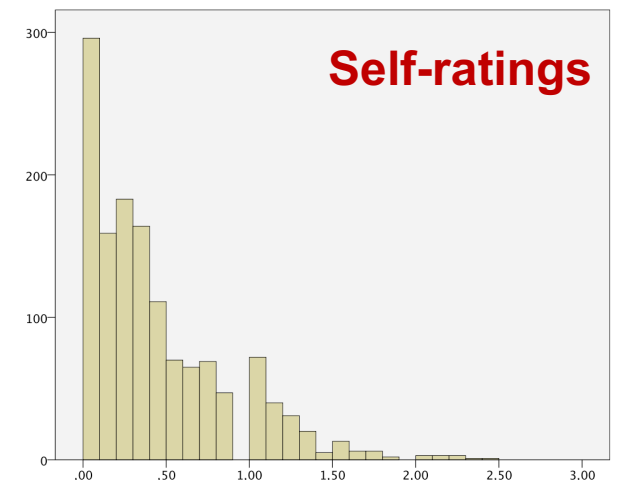
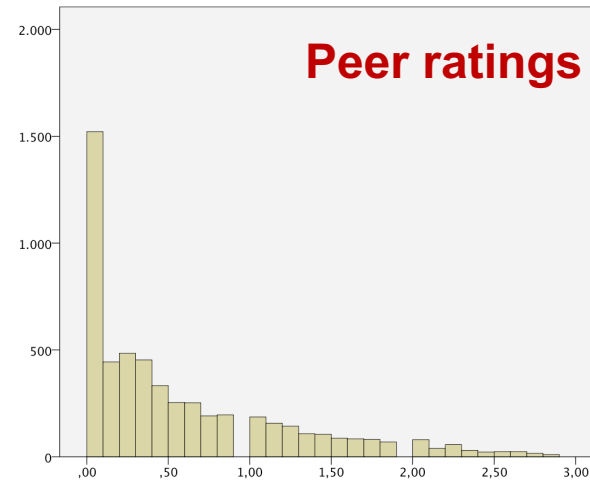
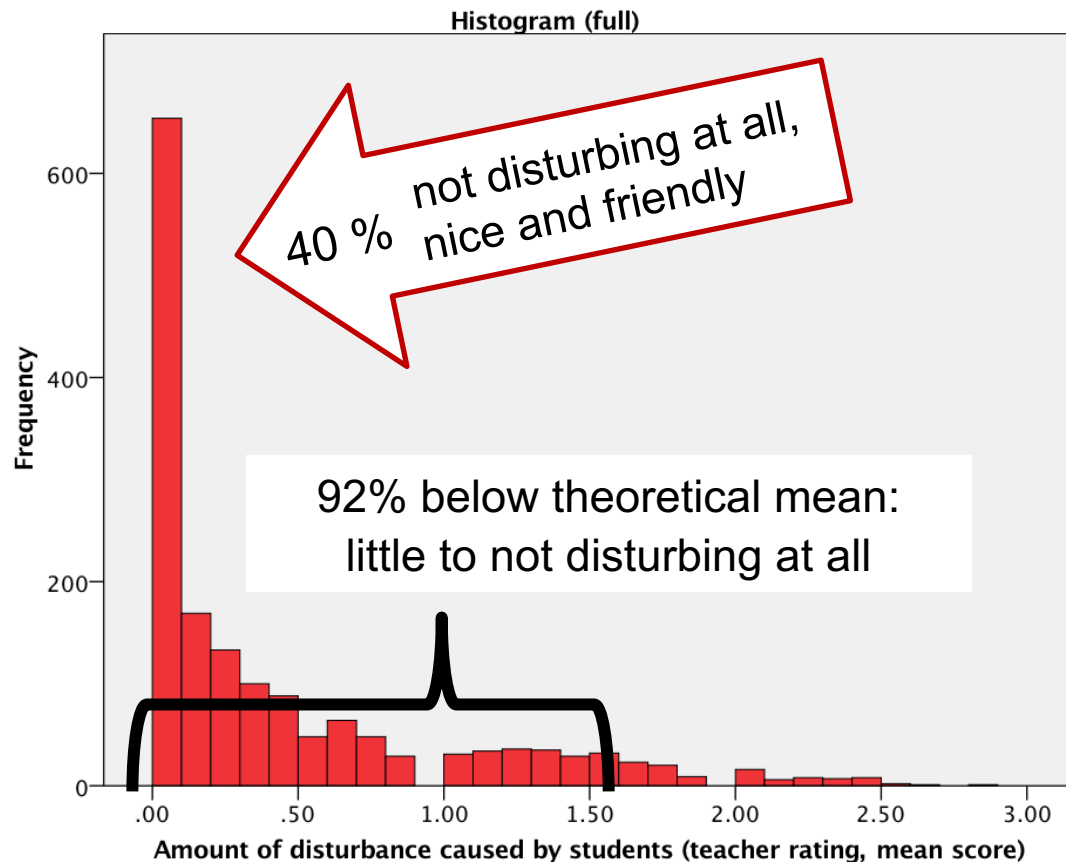
Eckstein et al., 2018

Subjektive perception of disturbance

Mean score from 9 items (theoretical value range: 0 - 3)

Teacher ratings (mean=.43; SD =.59; n=1'633; median =.11)

Eckstein, 2018



SUGUS

In-depth analyses

Conditions of the label „behavior problems“

Logistic regression analysis

- **Dependent variable: teachers' informal labeling of individual target students**
 - “In my opinion, student Exempli has behavior problems”
 - Original response format had 4-levels → dichotomized: 1 = "true (exactly)"; 0 = "not true (at all)"
- **Independent variables (all z-transformed)**
 - Target student's frequency of undisciplined behavior (zUmeanP)
 - 3.47 peer ratings per target student → manifest mean
 - scale with 8 items related to the preceding 2 weeks, e.g., "Made noise in class."
 - original response format was designed for count responses [0, ∞]
 - Teacher's general sensitivity to disturbances: self-assessment (zGST)
 - scale with 8 items: e.g., "Two children box each other under the desk in class."
 - "Are you annoyed / distracted in these situations?"
 - original response format: 0 = "not at all annoyed / distracted" ... 3 = "very annoyed / distracted" ...

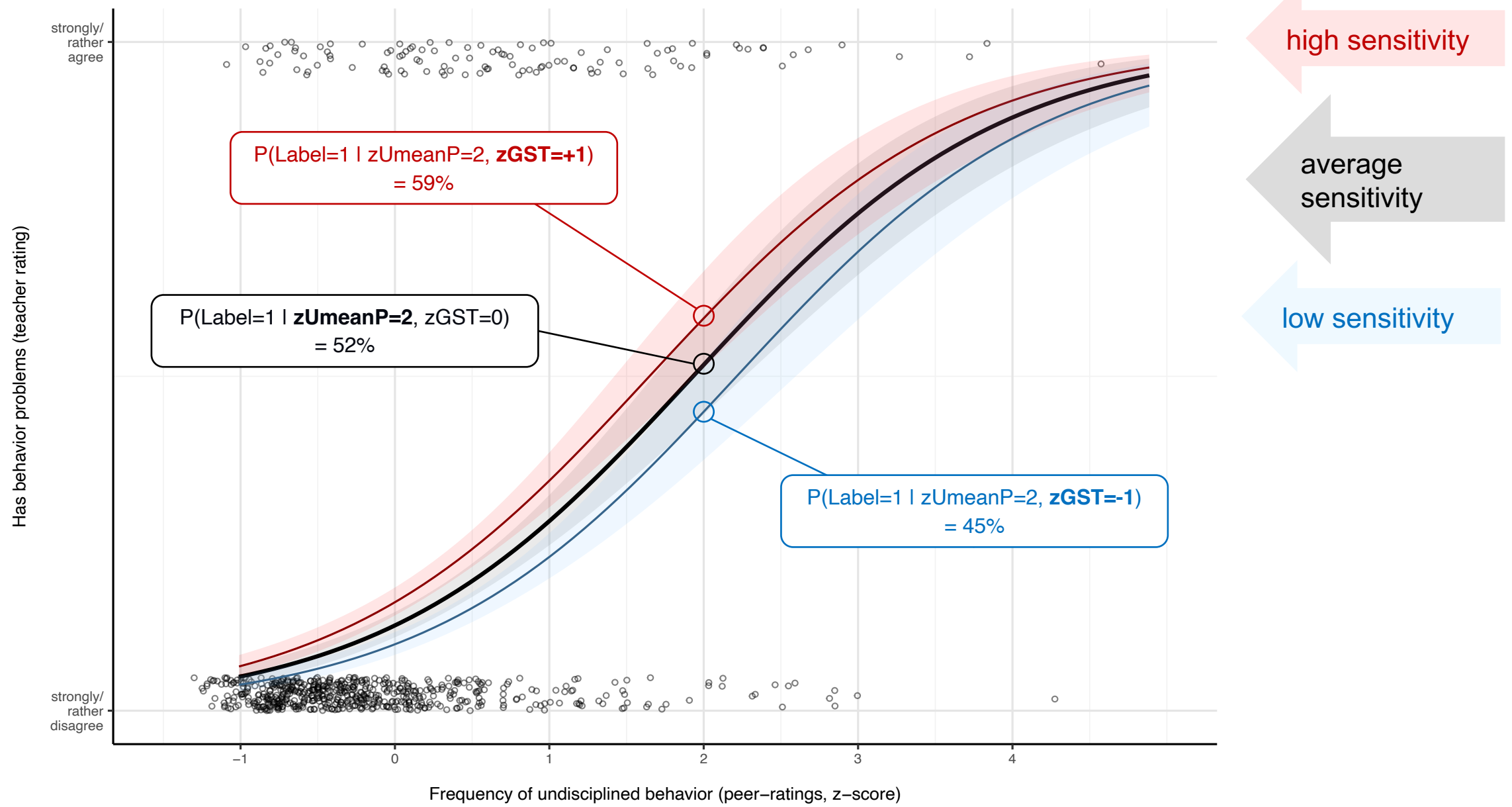


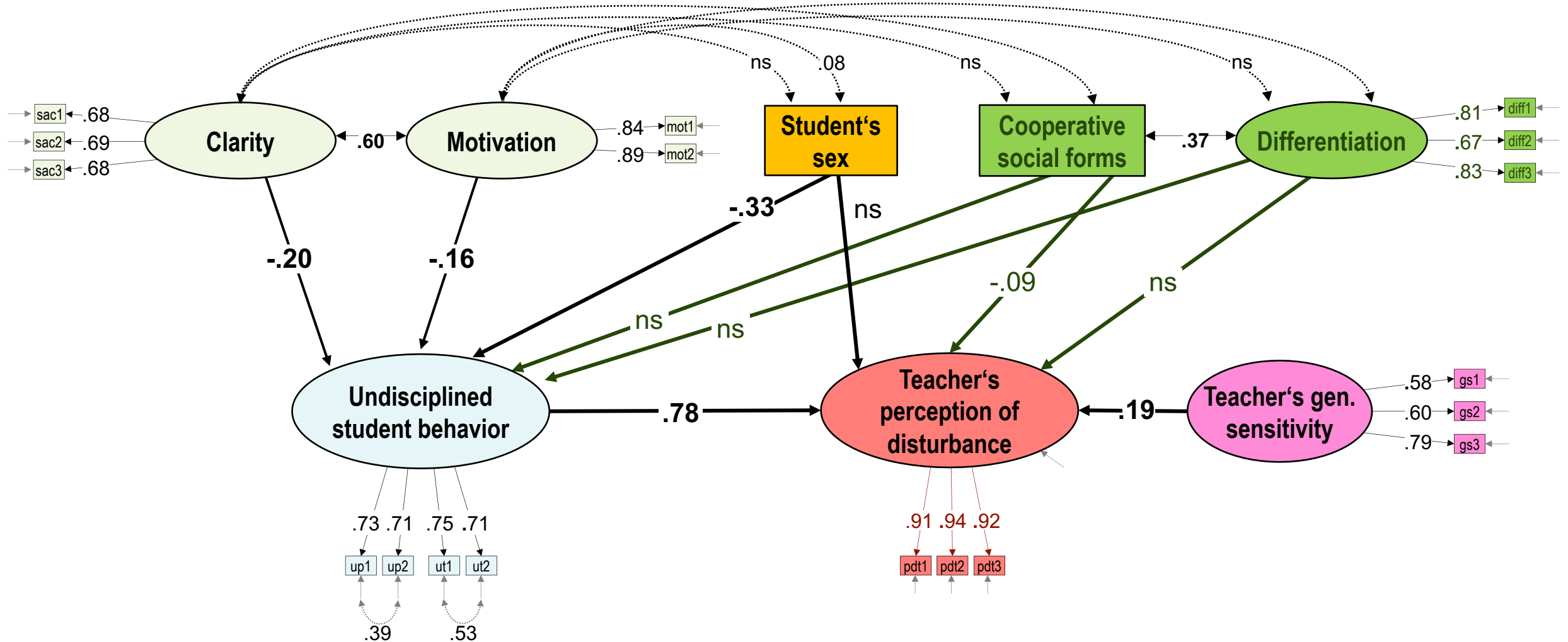
Figure 2. Labeling probability conditioned by indiscipline and sensitivity

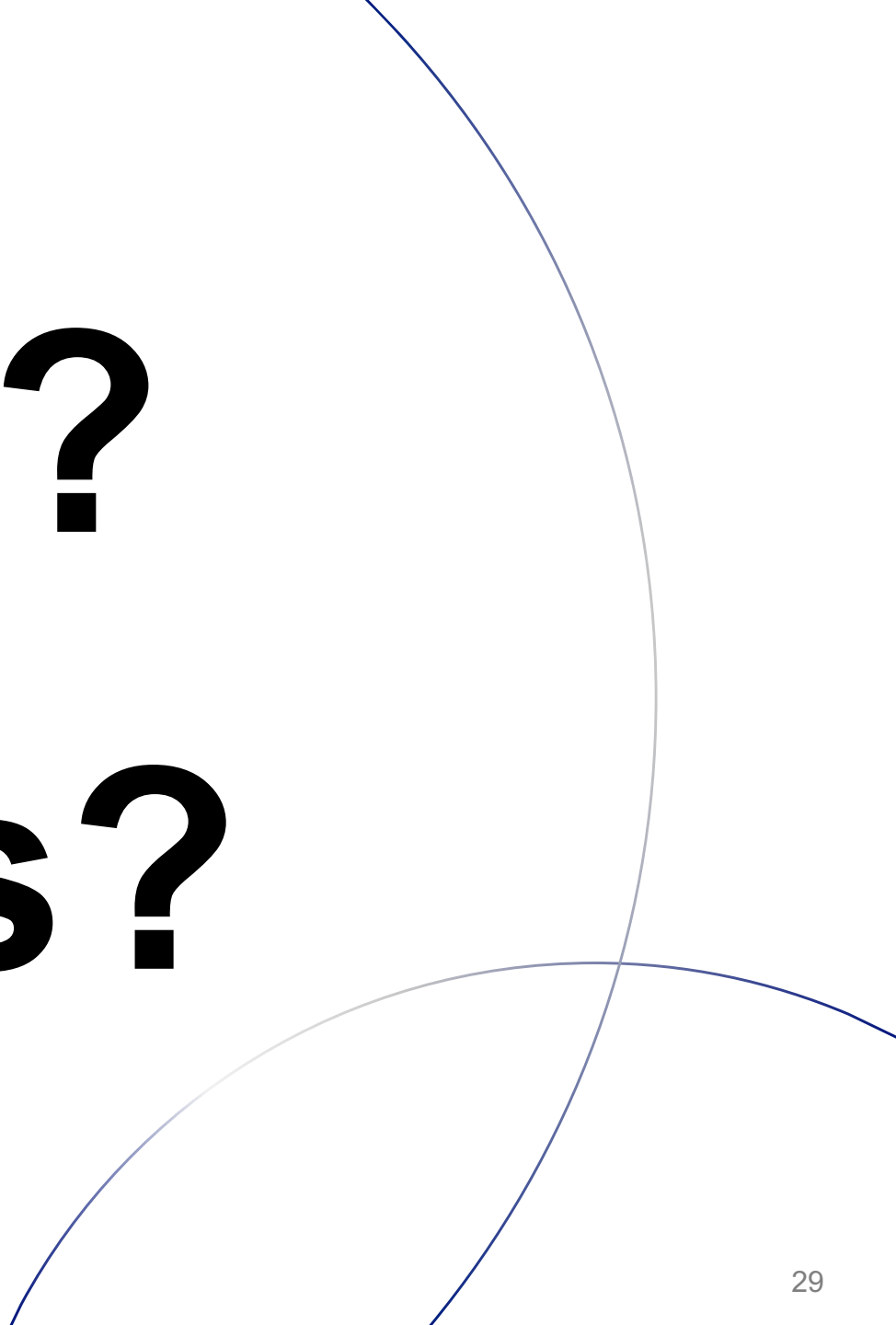
High-quality teaching can prevent disturbances! Eckstein et al., 2022

Estimation adjusted for nested data (type=complex); std. parameters depicted; all $p < .05$

$n=1687$; clusters=85; free parameters=78; Modell-Fit: $\chi^2[\text{MLR}]=256.48$, $df=152$, $p < .001$; RMSEA=.02; CFI=.97; SRMR=.04

$R^2 \text{ U_trait}$: 0.22; $R^2 \text{ PD_T}$: 0.66

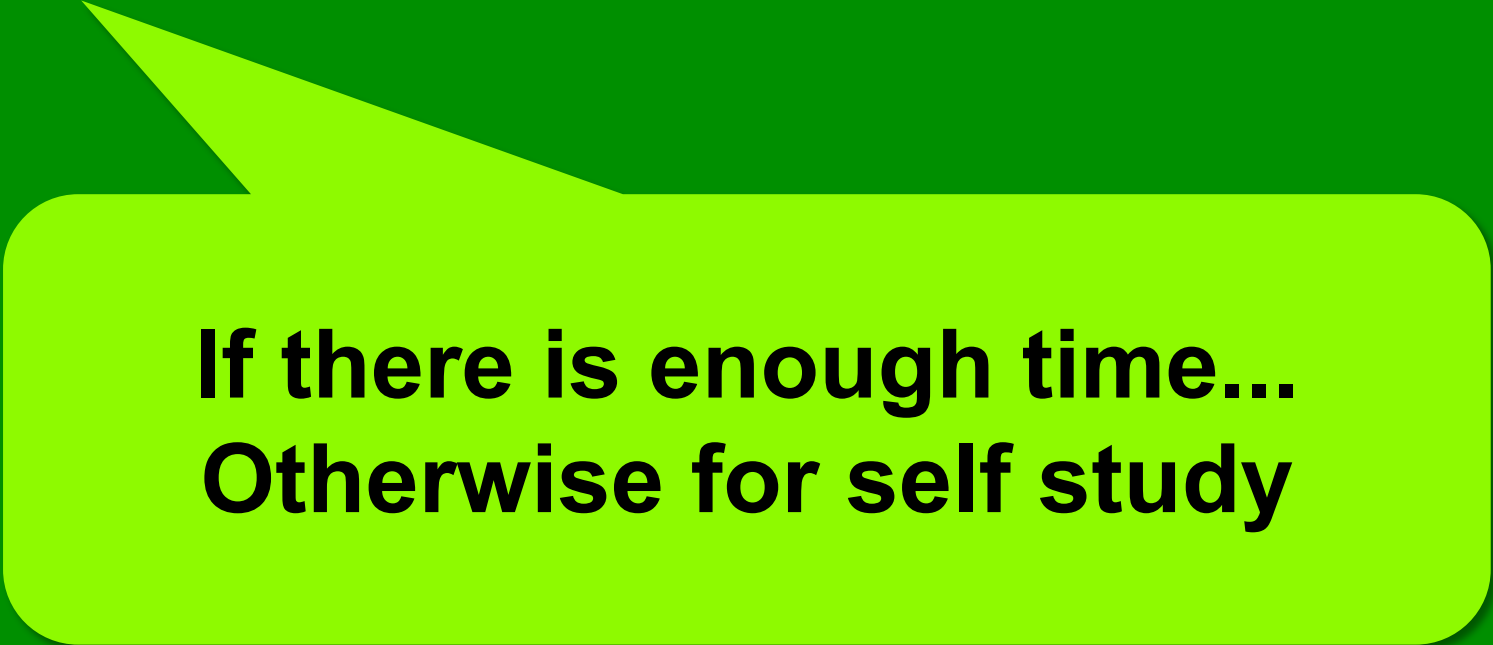




Questions?

Comments?

Summary and implications



**If there is enough time...
Otherwise for self study**

Summary

Theoretical foundations

- Social reality: complex, rich in detail → excessive demands for human perception
 - ➔ Facilitation: (unconscious) psychological mechanisms, e.g. selective attention
 - Primary risk: perception bias
 - Secondary risk: unfair treatment of the students → Vicious circle
- „problem behaviors“: problematization of individual students is undercomplex
 - ➔ interactionally co-constructed phenomena comprising two main elements
 - Students' actual behavior
 - Teachers' (and classmates') subjective experience of this behavior as being problematic

Summary: results from the SUGUS study

Eckstein, 2018a; 2018b; 2019; Eckstein, Grob & Reusser 2022

■ Extent of problem

- Behavior: most students (very) rarely show deviant behavior in class
- Experience: 92% of all students are experienced by their teacher as little or not at all disruptive
- Variance between classes: many classes only slightly strained; few classes heavily strained

■ In-depth analyses of perspectivity

- 30 - 70 % variance in the ratings of disturbances explained by rater effects (perception bias)
- Probability of individual students being labeled as having "behavior problems" by their teacher
 - dominant effect of actual behavior
 - additional effect of teacher's general sensitivity

■ In-depth analysis of preventive effects of high-quality teaching

- Motivational support
- Structuredness and clarity

Practical implications based on theory and research (1/4)

Conscious dealing with own subjectivity

Self-reflection, mental health - e.g. in intervision, supervision:

- What bothers me in which situation and why?
- In general, am I perhaps a bit oversensitive or too strict?
- Does my perspective have blind spots?
- How do I manage to stay calm and professional?
- Do I judge individual students harshly? Do I treat them more strictly than others?
- To what extent does my own sensitivity contribute to the development of disturbances?
- How can I develop and use functional strategies for emotion regulation?
- When overload threatens: How can I relieve myself? Where can I get support?
- What is my concern when I perceive a situation as disruptive - the interrupted learning process of the students or my own actions and state of mind?

Practical implications based on theory and research (2/4)

Educational discourse in class councils

- **Formulate goals clearly: I want to...**
e.g. pleasant learning atmosphere, learning progress of all students
- **Analyze prerequisites together: This requires...**
e.g. respecting the rules, quiet moments
- **Express your own state of mind: What bothers me at the moment...**
E.g., stress because (too) much energy for behavior management; (too) little time for learning support
- **Obtain the needs, and sensitivities of the students**
What do you want? Is there anything that bothers you?
- **Formulate common goals**
This is what we all take on with each other....
- **Create joint liabilities**
→ Nail down and visualize common goals in a class contract

Practical implications based on theory and research (3/4)

Planning of individual support

- **Approach students who frequently show deviant behavior (possibly involve parents)**
- **Find out causes dialogically**
 - Why are you doing this?
 - Are you overwhelmed? Bored?
 - What do you hope to gain from deviant behavior? How does it effectively benefit you?
- **Discuss consequences**
 - What triggers your behavior in others?
 - Do you want to stop them from learning? Do you want to annoy them?
 - How do you experience their reactions?
- **Look for solutions together**
 - How can we have a good time together? How can you learn a lot? How can I help you?
 - Do you need further measures (additional support for SEN, therapy)?
 - What can you contribute? How can your parents help?

Practical implications based on theory and research (4/4)

Preventive effects of high-quality teaching

- **Optimize organization by classroom management**
 - Traditional, teacher-centered: Rule clarity, omnipresence....
 - Student-centered: gradual transfer of responsibility; take time for practice of rituals
- **Foster cognitive activities**
 - Structure content well and ensure clarity
 - Be patient until all students reach insight; productive error culture
 - Differentiate instruction ≠ overextension (feeling of powerlessness), underchallenge (boredom)
 - Convey the content's relevance to everyday life (especially for at-risk groups)
- **Create an emotionally warm learning environment and invest in the teacher-student relationship**
 - Actively promote community building among students
 - Addressing and practicing mutual respect and appreciation
- **Teaching and learning formats**
 - Increase student control, enable cooperation among students (without neglecting structuring)

Transition to discussion

Political development in CH regarding «small classes»

Perceived problem behavior as *the* hindrance to inclusion?

- «Small classes» include about 10 students with SEN, they are located in regular schools
- These small classes were a long-time measure for the schooling of SEN students (kind of a precursor to full exclusion into the special education system)
- Starting around the 2000s: in the course of the implementation of the inclusive school system, the small classes were widely abolished → SEN students should be educated in regular classes
- This has been discussed controversially since the beginning
 - A majority of teachers (and the general population) deems inclusion desirable - *in general*
 - But a majority also thinks inclusion cannot be realized successfully under the given circumstances
 - lack of resources; unsuitable teaching materials...
 - *skepticism about whether students with behavior problems can be included in regular classes*

Eckstein et al., 2013; de Boer, Pijl & Minnaert, 2011, 2012; Meijer, 2003; Reusser et al., 2013; Schwab, 2015

Political development in CH regarding «small classes»

Perceived problem behavior as *the* hindrance to inclusion?

Newspaper headlines

illustrating the skepticism toward students
with perceived behavior problems

anecdotal selection; originals are German

„SEN Students Push Teachers to the Limit“

(Pastega, 18.10.2015, in SonntagsZeitung)

„Integrate Until the Police Arrive“

(Binswanger, 20.12.2013, in Tages Anzeiger)

„Troublemakers, Get Out!“

(Burri, 21.5.2017, in NZZ am Sonntag)

- Today: several cantons (BE, LU, BS, AG) plan to restore the small classes, especially for students with behavior problems
- The official goal is to be able to temporarily separate them for short-term relief - but in the long term to allow them to return to a regular school class
- This is meant as a kind of «backlash light» (from inclusion to back to separation)
- There is a desire to hold on to the principle of inclusion, but to mitigate the perceived overload associated with behavior problems

➔ ***What do you think about this development?***

➔ ***Are there similarities / differences to developments in your countries?***

Literature

Literature

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