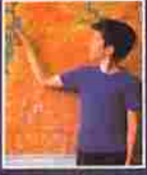
DOES IT WORK?

THE CASE FOR CONFLICT RESOLUTION EDUCATION IN OUR NATION'S SCHOOLS

TRICIA S. JONES, PH.D. AND DANIEL KMITTA, ED.D. — EDITORS



CREnet
Conflict Resolution Education Network

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CREnet

Association for Conflict Resolution
(a merged organization of AFM, CREnet and SPIDR)
P: 202-464-9700 www.ACRnet.org

ISBN 0-9704450-0-8

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EDITORS' PREFACE

In the past years, many conflict resolution educators have been asked by peers, colleagues, and critics to provide evidence that what we do is effective. We often reflect on what we still need to know about the impacts of conflict resolution education on students, teachers, diverse populations, and school climate. And, many of us grapple with questions about processes of institutionalization of these programs and wonder which approaches are most likely to make our work central to the educational mission. Our motivation for this volume was to provide answers to those questions to our primary audiences of policymakers, administrators, educators, CRE researchers, practitioners, and critics of the field.

In March, 2000, a gathering of educators, practitioners, and researchers took place in Washington DC in a research symposia sponsored by the United States Department of Education and convened by the Conflict Resolution Education Network. This group came to share their collective knowledge about CRE research, how the research is informing practice in the field of CRE, and what direction future research should take.

The idea for the symposium originated with Marsha Blakeway and Marge Baker, when, in 1998, CREnet contacted the US Department of Education (USDE) Office of Safe and Drug Free Schools and Communities (OSDFSC) and asked if they would provide funding to the Conflict Resolution Education Network (CREnet) to conduct a two-day research symposium. The USDE agreed to fund the project.

An advisory and planning committee defined the purposes of the symposium as: (1) examining the results of current research and evaluation of school-based conflict resolution education (CRE) programs (kindergarten - 12th grade) in relation to identified needs of educators; (2) identifying on-going research needs; and (3) developing a product or products based upon the conclusions that the symposium participants were able to draw from existing research and evaluation studies of school based CRE programs.

The advisory group believed that the quality of the symposium dialogue depended on having a thoroughly and commonly informed group of symposium members. In order to achieve this, it was decided that the group would author a set of issue papers that were directly connected to the purposes of the symposium. These issue papers would serve as a foundation for the discussion but would also be a valuable resource for the field because they would summarize the current state of the art.

Identifying topics for the issue papers was a grass-roots process. CREnet was committed to hearing from educators and practitioners in order to identify topics that were of most interest to them. In order to address the needs of educators out in the field the advisory group surveyed conflict resolution educators and practitioners to learn their thoughts and experiences on the nature of successful CRE programs, the areas of knowledge they think are important to look at, and the kinds of program goals that should be investigated in the research. Interviewees were also asked their opinions about the obstacles they saw to CRE initiatives in schools, and the kinds of information that may be persuasive to administrators and policy-makers. The results were reviewed by the advisory group members who then identified the five topic areas for the issue papers:

- CRE Impact on Students
- CRE Impact on Educators
- CRE Impact on Climate
- CRE Impact on Diverse Populations
- Issues of Institutionalization in CRE

In authoring the issues papers a general framework was used by all the writing teams. First, all the authors were asked to create a set of hypotheses, meaning their understanding and expectations about the effectiveness of CRE. Next each team identified and reviewed the literature relevant to their topic area to determine what evidence existed in relation to the hypotheses. In addition, the teams offered a critique of the existing literature as a means of identifying the needs in future research. These issue papers served as the foundation for initial discussion at the symposium.

Once the paper topics were identified, it was critical that the papers themselves reflect a diversity of knowledge and opinion. In earlier discussions with the USDE, the emphasis had been on providing a forum in which researchers, practitioners, and educators could learn from each other and with each other. Keeping this philosophy firmly in mind, the planning team then made recommendations for teams of writers to include at least one educator, researcher, and practitioner. These were not seen as "pure" categories because there are many in the field who work across these disciplines, but people were asked to concentrate on their predominant role as they participated in the team process. Criteria for selecting the writers included: representation from diverse ethnic & gender perspectives, writers who would raise questions about the efficacy of CRE and the research on CRE, and people who had made some contribution to the field or were actively engaged in CRE. After several months of hard work, five issue papers were authored.

The next step was selecting the invited participants to the symposium. In addition to members of the issue papers teams, the invitees included other prominent researchers, educators and practitioners as well as representatives from other organizations related to conflict resolution education (e.g., American Society for Curriculum Development, UNICEF, National Conference on Peacemaking and Conflict Resolution, National Center for Conflict Resolution Education, Society for Professionals in

Dispute Resolution, National Association for Community Mediation, and the Academy of Family Mediators). Since one goal of the symposium was to take an honest and critical look at the research in order to develop the most effective future agenda, every effort was made to include vocal critics of CRE at the symposium. In all, 43 people accepted the invitation to attend the symposium.

The symposium began with a welcome from Ann Weinheimer of the USDE and from Heather Prichard, Executive Director of CREnet. These welcoming comments were followed by general introductions and an open discussion regarding participants' expectations for the symposium. With a consensus on process, the symposium moved into high gear and focused on the issue papers. Since the participants had been provided full copies of all the papers some weeks prior to the meeting, the paper presentations at the symposium were intended to remind people about the major insights of the papers and provide them an opportunity to begin dialoguing on these insights as a prelude to concentrated group dialogues throughout the remainder of the symposium. Each paper was presented for ten minutes, after which participants dialogued with a partner for ten minutes about what they had learned from that paper that was new information, how they could use this information in their professional activity (be it teaching, research, training, etc.), and what additional information they still thought was critical to learn.

After the issue paper presentations, the full group engaged in a walk-around session where summaries of the paper conclusions were posted and participants were asked to reflect on the implications that these conclusions had for their practice. Following the walk-around, the participants self-selected to participate in small group dialogues on specific paper topics.

In these group dialogues the initial task was to have people share their thoughts on what information was new for them and what the implications were for practice. These group dialogues were then reported to the full symposium. A second walk-around process then occurred, but this time the emphasis was on individual reflections on the need for additional knowledge/research in these areas. Once the walk-around was complete, the participants again selected small groups in which to dialogue about needs for future research. These discussions involved considerable brainstorming based on suggestions from the papers, insights from the walk-around comments, and ideas generated in-group discussion. The result was a thorough list of ideas for each issue paper topic.

Since time was limited, the next step was to identify highest priority items in each area and concentrate on those for elaboration and action planning. All participants individually identified their three choices in each issue paper area and, from these, the full group identified three high priority future research ideas for each topic. The remainder of the symposium was devoted to these ideas. Thus, the organization of the symposium followed a general pattern of large group presentation, small group work, and then reporting back to the large group. This process of expanding and contracting the symposium focus produced a fluid dynamic that was creative and energetic yet kept the participants on task. The process accomplished the major goal of refining all issue papers into the core content of the chapters you have in this volume.

After the symposium, as the authors of the issue paper teams revised their chapters to include the contributions of the symposium participants, we felt it was very important to have a strong "practitioner" voice in the volume. So, we contacted five of the premier CRE practitioners in the field and asked them to respond to specific chapters. The practitioners were provided with a short set of stimulus questions to prime their thinking:

- How does the current research influence the way that CRE should be practiced/implemented? (i.e., what are the implications for practice?)
- From your experience, please provide specific cases where the information in this chapter relates to your practice in the field.
- How do the suggestions for future research help inform CRE practice?
- Can you think of research that should be done (but is not mentioned in this chapter) that would be helpful to practitioners? If so, please discuss how the specific research would benefit practice in the field.
- How does the information in this chapter encourage or stimulate you to work with CRE researchers in the future?
- In what ways do you see yourself engaging in collaborative projects to answer some of the questions for future research articulated in the chapter?

Our work is an innovation in research synthesis. We believe that this volume, a product of the hard work and hearty thinking of many experts in the CRE field, is a valuable addition to our knowledge of CRE research. We hope that educators, researchers, and practitioners find their voices reflected in these pages and find their minds stimulated by the ideas expressed here.

Finally, as the editors of this volume, we extend our sincere thanks to all of the symposium designers, symposium participants, authors, respondents, and CREnet staff members who helped make this a reality.

—Tricia S. Jones, Philadelphia, PA
—Dan Kmitta, Moscow, Idaho

FOREWORD

Morton Deutsch and Ellen Raider
Teachers College, Columbia University

This book, which is a landmark contribution to the field of conflict resolution education (CRE), reveals both the potentials and the current limitations of CRE. Its limitations are similar to those found in most relatively new educational innovations. There is insufficient and inadequate in-service training in CRE in most graduate schools of education, as well as insufficient funding and support for the professional development of educators in CRE in most school systems. Although there are very promising positive results in the existing research, the various chapters point out the many questions that need further research. Many existing school programs are ad hoc, add-on programs that originate as a "quick fix" to school violence. Too few programs are well-grounded in theory and in the recognition that CRE is a fundamental component of educating our children and ourselves to be citizens in a democracy in which controversies in families, communities, organizations, and politics can be lively and productive rather than deadly and destructive.

Conflict is a pervasive aspect of life, serving important personal and social functions. It should be enjoyed and should occur with a reasonable degree of frequency. And, after a conflict is over, the people involved should feel better than they did before. This is most likely to happen if the people involved are mutually respectful and mutually responsive to each other's needs.

Some psychiatrists and social scientists have given conflict a bad reputation by linking it with psychopathology, social disorder, and war. Conflict can be dysfunctional, and given the widespread availability of very dangerous weapons, it can lead to violence and death. However, conflict also can be productive. It is the medium through which problems can be aired and solutions developed. It is the root of personal and social change. The educational issue is not how to eliminate or prevent conflict, but rather, how to have lively controversy rather than deadly quarrel.

Destructive conflict is characterized by a tendency to expand and escalate. As a result, such conflict often becomes independent of its initiating causes and is likely to continue after these have become irrelevant or have been forgotten. Paralleling the expansion of the scope of conflict is an increasing reliance on a strategy of power and on the tactics of threat, coercion, and deception. Correspondingly, there is a shift away from a strategy of persuasion and from the tactics of conciliation, minimization of differences, and enhancement of mutual understanding and goodwill. Destructive conflict is most apt to occur when the people involved in a conflict see the conflict as a win-lose, competitive struggle.

In contrast, a constructive process of conflict is similar to an effective, cooperative, problem-solving process where the conflict is perceived as a mutual problem to be solved through the collaborative effort of the conflicting parties. In a constructive process, the different parties seek to understand one another's needs and concerns (through emphatic communication and empathic listening) as a basis for diagnosing their mutual problem. Then they creatively search for new options for dealing with the conflict that can lead to mutual gain. If no option for mutual gain can be discovered, they seek to agree upon a mutually acceptable fair rule or procedure for deciding how the conflict will be resolved.

Physical violence is the most obvious symptom of destructive conflict and is the most easily documented. While its effects are less visible, psychological violence—humiliation, verbal abuse, rejection, neglect—undoubtedly is more common. The massive exposure of children and adolescents to physical violence, as victims, perpetrators, and witnesses, has recently gained attention in the public health community. Understandably, less attention has been paid to psychological violence, even though exposure to it may be as harmful. Exposure to violence occurs in families, schools, neighborhoods, in countries involved in war or torn apart by civil strife, as well as in the mass media, children's video games, and their 'war' toys.

Research has indicated that continued exposure to violence "teaches" violent behavior by leading to emotional desensitization and habituation to the emotional arousal associated with witnessing (or experiencing) violence. Consequently, inhibitions against aggressive behavior are lowered, and violence becomes normalized and legitimized. This process can be especially powerful when violence is witnessed in the family. In addition to the physical and psychological damage suffered by abused children, being a target of family violence can stimulate a child to act aggressively against others, although this outcome is by no means inevitable. Children who are not abused but who witness violence between their parents also internalize norms about the acceptability of violence. Less is known about the long-term effects of experiencing or witnessing violence in other contexts, but theories of socialization and modeling suggest that the processes are similar.

Children who engage in destructive conflict strategies, particularly the use of violence, often have deficiencies in social problem-solving and interpersonal skills. Research has indicated a link between destructive conflict, poor communication skills, difficulties in taking the other's perspective, problems in establishing bonds with the other, and an inability to perceive conflicts in multidimensional terms as well as an inability to generate multiple strategies for coping with them. An extreme example of the limited perception of options comes from a 15-year old boy who described guns in his neighborhood as being "as common as water." He told a reporter that he had not yet shot at anybody, but felt he may have to. "I don't want to shoot nobody. But if they bully me, disrespect my mother, or mess with any one of my family they're just going to have to get it. That's what it's about."

The previous quotation demonstrates the destructive ways in which youth may think about conflict and how to deal with it. The combination of exposure to violence and a lack of perceived alternatives for resolving conflict changes the standards for what is normal, what is acceptable, what is legitimate, and what is considered necessary in response to threat or insult. Moreover, it demonstrates the process of conflict expansion, in which an insult to oneself or one's family becomes, literally, a matter of life and death, and the need to defend one's personal self-image becomes a matter of salvaging a public image as well.

Destructive behavior in conflict is learned, consequently, it can be "unlearned" or reversed. People can be helped to manage their conflicts more constructively in two primary ways. Through education, training, or counseling, one can seek to instill the knowledge, attitudes, and skills that are not only conducive to defining a conflict as a mutual problem to be solved cooperatively but also are conducive to enacting effective, cooperative problem-solving. Second, they can be assisted in identifying and seeking out skilled third parties, such as mediators, who can help conflicting parties resolve conflicts that they have not been able to resolve themselves.

Educators can work with children, parents, and others to prevent destructive conflict and to encourage the development of the knowledge, attitudes, and skills which foster the constructive management of conflict. However, it is important to recognize that educators must acquire the knowledge, attitudes, and skills involved in constructive conflict resolution if they are to educate others and provide a good model for their students.

CRE's goals are ambitious: to enable all members of the school community (students, teachers, parents, administrators, and staff) to develop the knowledge, attitudes, and skills to engage in constructive rather than destructive conflict resolution when they experience a conflict, either as an individual or as a member of a group. One can expect a number of positive consequences as progress takes place toward the achievement of these goals. Schools will be safer, more congenial, and livelier educational environments for students as well as for other members of the school community. Educational reform will replace educational stagnation as conflicts are resolved productively in more cooperative, amiable schools. In a more congenial climate, "sensitive" issues such as social injustice, racial and ethnic discrimination, and cultural insensitivity—which are typically suppressed or ignored until they erupt—can be confronted and dealt with constructively. And, not least, in their daily lives—whether they be students or teachers, parents or children, employees or employers, doctors or patients, women or men, privileged or disadvantaged—individuals should be able to manage their conflicts more amicably and more productively.

This book should be of great interest to all those interested in conflict resolution education, including its current and potential practitioners and researchers. For practitioners, the research evidence, demonstrating the positive effects of CRE, provides support for its continued practice. Additionally, the valuable discussions in the various chapters will enrich the practitioner's knowledge of many of the issues related to practice. For researchers, the book provides a fine overview of the state of research in the field of CRE as well as a clear indication of the questions that are in need of further research.

CHAPTER 1
CONFLICT RESOLUTION EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES

Heather E. Prichard, Executive Director, CREnet

Violence, and our collective focus on its damaging results, both structural and interpersonal, has come to permeate the communities and institutions in which we live, work and learn. As this trend reveals itself, so does the over-reliance on formal legal procedures to resolve disputes. In schools, students who are involved in conflict often find themselves in detention, suspended, expelled, or in court. Often, they are not given information about alternative modes of communication or conflict resolution. They are rarely taught why and how conflicts escalate, what they could have done to avert or nonviolently resolve the conflict, or how they can repair relationships and reconcile with peers, school administrators or teachers.

Sadly, the end of the last decade bore witness to high profile episodes of school violence such as those in Littleton, Colorado; Paducah, Kentucky; Pearl, Mississippi; and Springfield, Oregon. These tragic incidents increased the public's awareness of the devastation of violence on our youth and their school communities.

However, violence that occurs at school is not *about* schools themselves. Schools are a part of the society in which we live; a part of the institutional fabric that embodies and mirrors our collective hopes for the future, our views about who we are and what we value. Statistically speaking, schools are one of the safest places for young people. In fact, most school-related crime occurs in transit to or from school, rather than on school grounds (NCES, 1998). Schools have the opportunity to address violence in classroom discussions, study groups, and community service projects that move students from a feeling of despair in the face of violence to an ability to actively create and maintain a healthy, problem solving school community.

However, some schools, in their attempts to insure order and enforce safe learning and teaching environments, move unilaterally toward punitive systems and stringent high security measures, utilizing locker searchers and 'profiling program software' as the sole or primary mechanisms to protect the collective safety. Stereotypes of teenagers as predators—as violent and untrustworthy citizens without a purpose and in need of monitoring—increase the tendency to focus school safety planning around metal detectors and security guards rather than learning processes.

Although it is important to remember that no program or procedure is a panacea, and that the need for safety measures does, and will continue to, exist; there are collaborative, peaceful, caring ways of teaching and learning how to resolve and respond to conflict. When taken as a part of a collective plan for school safety and effective learning, conflict resolution education (CRE) has demonstrated powerful results over the past two decades.

In fact, the art and practice of effective conflict resolution is becoming more accepted and expected as a component of the curriculum and discipline structure in schools. Schools across the United States and around the world are increasingly designing and implementing peer mediation programs, classroom-based curriculum, and school-wide conflict resolution programs to decrease violence and to reinforce the values and principles of active listening, collaborative decision making, teamwork, critical thinking, empathy, and responsibility.

What Is Conflict Resolution Education?

> *Conflict resolution education comes in many forms - it can be a skills training; it can be infused into courses such as history, political science, or literature; or it can be a part of a teacher's classroom management plan. It can be tailored to children and adults of all ages. Conflict resolution education complements, but does not duplicate, other important school programs that address such issues as managing crises, reducing prejudice, ending alcohol and drug abuse, and increasing academic achievement. It offers all students life skills that help them avoid inappropriate, unhealthy, or unsafe behaviors, and effectively engage in civil society. Conflict resolution skills help people actively and nonviolently solve problems. (CREnet Brochure Statement, 2000)*

The CREnet Standards Committee has defined conflict resolution education (CRE) in the following way (CREnet, 2000):

> Conflict resolution education is a learning process that helps individuals understand conflict dynamics and empowers them to use communication and creative thinking to build relationships and to manage and resolve conflict fairly and peacefully. Conflict resolution education teaches and models, in culturally meaningful ways, a variety of processes, practices, and skills that help address individual, interpersonal and institutional power imbalances and the unmet human needs that can feed destructive conflict.

The above definition is based on the belief that CRE should encourage those who utilize it to do more than simply walk through a series of isolated steps toward resolution of an isolated conflict; but instead, actively process the steps that can be taken to diffuse, reconcile, and resolve conflict. Many schools which are committed to the teaching of CRE interweave lessons in and out of the classroom with activities, discussions and exercises that focus on issues of social justice, equality in the broadest and most inclusive sense, multiculturalism and political pluralism, anti-bias education, and effective citizenry and nonviolence.

History of Conflict Resolution in Education

In Daniel Goleman's Book, Emotional Intelligence, (1995, pp. xiii-xvi) he states:

> Perhaps the most disturbing single piece of data in this book comes from a massive survey of parents and teachers and shows a worldwide trend for the present generation of children to be more troubled emotionally than the last: more lonely and depressed, more angry and unruly, more nervous and prone to worry, more impulsive and aggressive. If there is a remedy, I feel it must lie in how we prepare our young for life. At present, we leave emotional education of our children to chance, with ever more disastrous results. One solution is a new vision of what schools can do to educate the whole student, bringing together mind and heart in the classroom... I can foresee a day when education will routinely include inculcating essential human competencies such as self-awareness, self-control, and empathy, and the arts of listening, resolving conflicts and cooperation.

For decades, educators and parents have been concerned about violence in schools and the need to prepare young people for active participation in our democratic society. As CRE emerged out of the social justice concerns of the 1960s and 1970s, various groups worked to develop comprehensive ways to speak to these issues and educate for peace. The Quaker Children's Project for Friends was one of the first to introduce conflict resolution into US schools (Girard & Koch, 1996). Children's Creative Response to Conflict (CCRC, or CRC) began developing conflict resolution curricula, teaching it to young people, and educating teachers for peace in the 1970s. It has since expanded to a global network of CRE facilitators who have collectively trained tens of thousands of educators, parents, and concerned community members. Educators for Social Responsibility (ESR) organized a national association that later led to the development of the Resolving Conflict Creatively Program (RCCP) in New York City schools. Since its inception, ESR and RCCP have worked with over 350,000 students across the United States and internationally, and are now found throughout the school systems of at least seven states.

In 1984, the National Association for Mediation in Education (NAME) was founded by a group of committed educators at University of Massachusetts at Amherst, with the purpose of promoting development, implementation, and institutionalization of school- and university-based conflict resolution programs and curricula. While housed at Amherst, NAME served as a clearinghouse of information, curricular resources, and membership support services for thousands of conflict resolution educators worldwide. Many of NAME's members and supporters came from the grass roots of CRE and social change and found in NAME a home and a network of others with whom to build a movement for CRE in every school. In 1994, NAME merged with the National Institute for Dispute Resolution (NIDR) in Washington, DC. Out of this merger, the Conflict Resolution Education Network (CREnet) was born. Today, CREnet continues to educate the public and provide membership services to thousands of people who are committed to making conflict resolution education an integral component of the learning experience in every school.

As the nation's largest CRE membership organization devoted exclusively to promoting innovation, excellence, and public information in the area of conflict resolution education, CREnet serves as an information clearinghouse for members and the general public, advancing quality practice and expanding knowledge of effective conflict resolution education in schools and universities. CREnet supports pre-K through 12th grade schools and universities in nurturing non-violent problem solving and effective communication as vital components of healthy civic life. The network is composed of teachers, administrators, guidance counselors, conflict resolution educators, professors, diversity educators, students, parents, various organizations, and many other individuals who work with, or want to support, conflict resolution education.

CREnet estimates that approximately 10-15% of US public schools offered some form of conflict resolution education programs as an integral component of their academic learning goals and school safety plan during the 1999-2000 academic year. Although most of these programs focus primarily on peer mediation, many take a more comprehensive approach to making the skills of peaceful problem solving a part of the disciplinary and curriculum structure of the school.

While national and regional CRE organizations were expanding their networks across the United States, during the late 1980's and throughout the 1990's a small number of colleges and universities began to offer pre- and in-service teacher education degrees focused around peaceable schools and conflict resolution education. Lesley College's School of Education, the University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee, Teachers College at Columbia University, Wayne State University, and American University's International Peace & Conflict Resolution Program offer such programs now and the number is increasing, however slowly. Others have integrated components of CRE lesson planning and curriculum development into classroom management courses and pre- and in-service skill building sessions.

As more pre-service teachers are exposed to courses and skill-building seminars on conflict resolution education, a growing trend toward infusing such topics and lesson plans into mainstream curricula can be witnessed (see Girard & Koch, 1996). This trend also may be due to the countless number of CRE practitioners who are not educators paid by the school, but who regularly offer resources and time to the school community.

Over the last 30 years, valuable and innovative CRE curricula have been developed by hundreds of dedicated educators, practitioners, authors, and organizations. Individuals who have created a variety of age-appropriate curricular materials that focus on CRE include ESR's Carol Miller Lieber and Bill Kreidler, David W. Johnson and Roger T. Johnson, and Richard Bodine and Donna Crawford. Organizations such as CCRC, the Colorado School Mediation Project, the New Mexico Center for Dispute Resolution, Jossey-Bass Publishers and the San Francisco-based Community Boards Program are but a sampling of those that offer quality titles and products to support the infusion of CRE into a variety of school settings.

In 1996, Linda Lantieri and Janet Patti made the compelling case for violence prevention and CRE available to the mainstream educator through their landmark book, *Waging Peace in our Schools.* In 1999, Richard Cohen's *School Mediator's Field Guide* and Bill Warters' *Mediation in the Campus*

Community made previously hard-to-find resources available en masse to k-12 and college and university mediation programs everywhere. As books such as these become increasingly available, CRE programs continue to grow nationwide. A comprehensive bibliographic list of these and other such books, videos, and CRE resources can be accessed through CREnet's web site, www.crenet.org.

Across the United States, dozens of organizations offer CRE trainings to nationwide audiences through annual CRE conferences and a variety of intensive training sessions. Hundreds more offer local and regional trainings and staff development sessions that can be adapted to the specific needs of particular schools and districts. For example, The National Center for Conflict Resolution Education (formerly known as the Illinois Institute for Dispute Resolution) provides three to five-day trainings that can be specially designed to meet a school or district's needs. This center also serves as a clearinghouse of information and valuable CRE curricula (such as the *Handbook of Conflict Resolution Education* and *Creating the Peaceable School: A Comprehensive Program for Teaching Conflict Resolution).* The Resolving Conflict Creatively Program (RCCP), located in New York City, provides comprehensive on-going program, staff, and curriculum development support to entire school districts throughout a three to five-year implementation process. RCCP's CRE programs have been the subject of longitudinal evaluations on the part of the National Center for Children in Poverty that cite the positive relationship between CRE and academic achievement.

The Colorado School Mediation Project offers conflict resolution educators an annual conference, and recently issued a National Curriculum Integration Project report that details research findings related to providing teachers with a process for infusing the critical life skills inherent in CRE into formal and informal curriculum (Jones, Sanford, & Bodtker, 2000). The Ohio Commission for Dispute Resolution and Conflict Management has created a series of workshops on trauma and early childhood education that they offer to the CRE community free of charge. Whether at the beginning of a new academic year, or on the tragic, rare occasions of specific incidences of school-based violence, organizations like ESR, CCRC and CREnet are often contacted by the press to provide information about CRE in our nation's schools.

Specific Components of CRE Programming

A school conflict resolution curriculum or program typically focuses on certain components that are intended to help students develop critical skills or abilities for constructive conflict management. According to Bodine and Crawford (1998), those components include:

(1) an understanding of conflict

(2) principles of conflict resolution (win-win, interest-based problem solving)

(3) process steps in problem solving (agreeing to negotiate, establishing ground rules for the negotiation, gathering information about the conflict, exploring possible solution options, selecting solution options, and reaching agreement)

(4) skills required to use each of these steps effectively (for example, active listening, reframing, understanding, and factoring into the process the impact that cultural differences have on the dispute)

In addition, Bodine and Crawford (1998) identify six categories or skills/abilities that are essential components of all conflict resolution education initiatives:

(1) orientation abilities: values, beliefs, and attitudes which promote nonviolence, empathy, fairness, justice, trust, tolerance, self-respect, respect for others, and appreciation for controversy

(2) perception abilities: ability to understand how self and others can have different, yet valid, perceptions of reality

(3) emotional abilities: the ability to manage and effectively communicate a range of emotions, including anger, fear and frustration

(4) communication abilities: active listening skills, speaking to be understood and listening to understand

(5) creative thinking abilities: the ability to construct cognitive models and to perceive and solve problems in new ways

(6) critical thinking abilities: skills to contrast and compare data, predict and analyze situations, and construct and test hypotheses.

Goals of CRE Programs

There are a wide variety of goals for CRE programs, almost as many as there are permutations of CRE programs themselves. However, for the purposes of our discussion, we will talk about the following five major goals, and give examples of more specific goals within each area. Each of these encourages schools to affirm, reinforce, and model the skills, concepts, and values of CRE.

1. **Create a Safe Learning Environment:**
   - Decrease incidents of violence
   - Decrease anti-social behavior and aggressive orientation that often leads to violence (harassment, bullying)
   - Decrease hostility in words and actions between groups of students; particularly intergroup conflicts based on racial and ethnic differences
   - Decrease suspensions, absenteeism and drop out rates related to unsafe learning environments

2. **Create a Constructive Learning Environment:**
   - Improve school climate
   - Improve teacher/administration/student relationships
   - Increase the valuing of diversity and the practice of tolerance
   - Promote a respectful and caring environment
   - Decrease punitive and authoritarian behavior among children, youth and adults

3. **Improve Classroom Management:**
   - Reduce the time teachers spend on disciplinary problems in the classroom
   - Increase the use of student-centered discipline and student-initiated problem solving

4. **Enhance Students' Social and Emotional Development:**
   - Develop competence in pro-active conflict management skills
   - Increase perspective taking
   - Develop problem solving abilities
   - Increase ability to empathize with others
   - Improve emotional awareness and emotional management
   - Provide opportunities for students to participate in the design and implementation of CRE programs at schools
   - Increase the students' use of constructive conflict behaviors in schools and in home and community contexts

5. **Create a Constructive Conflict Community:**
   - Increase parental and community involvement in school affairs
   - Link school CRE with larger community CRE efforts
   - Develop more peaceful communities
   - Provide effective alternatives to traditional discipline programs and effect systemic change within the school

All of these goals are related in the sense that each has, at its core, recognition of the importance of peaceful approaches to social interaction. However, the goals also differ to the extent that they reflect social justice ideologies. Some people believe that CRE is best used for the purposes of creating safe, orderly and constructive learning environments. Hence, their program goals reflect this orientation. However, others have criticized the field of CRE for over-emphasizing a western, individually oriented, skill-building approach which fails to take into consideration larger social justice issues, collective needs, and underlying causative factors of conflict and violence. They argue that important goals of CRE should include the creation of communities that empower students and promote the development of tolerance, promoting social change and commitment to challenging and transforming oppressive systems.

Relationship of CRE to Other Fields

One of the difficulties in selecting, implementing, and evaluating a CRE program is the apparent overlap between these efforts and a variety of other initiatives. Understanding the overlap may help you decide the kind of program you want and the goals you are most interested in achieving. It will also help clarify the focus of your CRE evaluation process. Outlined below are CRE commonalties with violence prevention, social and emotional learning, anti-bias education, and law-related education.

Violence prevention. Violence prevention (VP) and CRE share the goal of helping people realize that violence is learned and that non-violent alternatives and solutions are possible (see Kivel, 1997). However,

- VP focuses on providing statistics and facts that educate about the causes of violent events
- VP focuses on managing anger, identifying anger triggers
- VP looks at the history and environment in which violence occurs, analyzes risk factors, and identifies ways of reducing those factors
- VP emphasizes policy change

Anti-Bias Education. Many people have argued convincingly that CRE does and should overlap with anti-bias education because prejudice may be an underlying cause for many conflicts. In order to explore this relationship effectively and honestly, we need to realize the impact of prejudice on schools and communities. Anti-bias education probably encompasses the broadest mission of the disciplines. It not only seeks to educate people on issues of oppression, but also strives to undo social injustice in all its forms. Anti-bias programs are designed to foster positive intergroup relations and promote social justice. Most anti-bias education efforts fall into one of the following four categories:

- cross-cultural awareness: learning about one's own and other's cultures
- prejudice reduction and appreciation for diversity: becoming aware of prejudices and providing cognitive skills to avoid responding in a prejudiced manner
- hate crime prevention: providing information and education about hate crimes and their consequences for the offenders, targets, and society as a whole
- examining the systemic roots of oppression and strategizing to dismantle them: exploring issues of power and privilege, including the way in which our institutions can change these structures.

Social and Emotional Learning (SEL). There are two specific ways that the concepts and tools of social-emotional learning overlap with conflict resolution education. Even when conflict resolution training is reduced to its most simplistic form, it requires students to authentically express feelings. Further, social and emotional learning concepts can help students identify and understand triggers to conflict and the importance of impulse control, as well as the need for perspective taking, empathy and compassion.

Many SEL educators are guided by the goal of fostering emotional intelligence through the accomplishment of the basic skills of self-awareness, self-regulation of emotion, self-monitoring and performance, empathy and perspective taking, and social skills in handling relationships. Many CRE programs also include these goals. SEL programs vary their emphasis on the amount of attention given to affective dimensions, but they all include:

- some initial emotional awareness/feelings assessment step followed by identification of the problem
- assessment of goals
- consideration of solution
- consideration of consequences
- planning for action
- means of assessing impact

Law-Related Education. Law-related education is an interactive educational approach that guides students in exploring the foundations and applications of law. Like CRE, SEL, and Anti-Bias Training, LRE helps us understand and define the boundaries of socially acceptable behavior. It helps students develop sensitivity to dynamics which create conflict, learn intervention skills which prevent the escalation of conflict, and understand how law enforcement and other methods are applied in resolving conflict or the consequences of that conflict.

CRE Program Models

CRE program models differ in their ability to achieve the goals outlined above. Models that involve the greatest possible number of students, teachers, and community members and integrate CRE into existing curriculum (in social studies, literature, history and/or other classes) are more likely to achieve goals directed at school change, climate change, and social justice concerns. Bodine and Crawford (1998) have identified four basic models of CRE, which we have adapted slightly in order to highlight some variations.

- *Process Curriculum Approach* is characterized by devoting a set, specific time to teaching the foundational abilities, principles, and one or more of the problem-solving processes of CR as a separate course, distinct curriculum, or daily or weekly lesson plan.
- *Mediation Program Approach* trains select individuals (usually between 20-30) in CR and in the mediation process in order to provide neutral third-party facilitation services to help those in conflict reach a resolution. Often referred to as "stand alone" programs, these are the most common forms of CRE in the United States. Once students are trained, the success of the program depends upon the extent to which teachers, staff, administration and students are willing

to refer conflicts to the program, provide an ongoing administrative support to the program and encourage its use.

- *The Peaceable Classroom Approach* is a whole-classroom methodology that includes teaching students the foundation abilities, principles, and one or more of the three problem-solving processes of conflict resolution. CRE is incorporated into the core subjects of the curriculum and into classroom management strategies.

- *The Peaceable School Approach* is a comprehensive whole-school methodology that builds on the peaceable classroom approach by using CR as a system of operation for managing the school as well as the classroom. CR principles and processes are learned and used by all members of the school community. Similarly, many schools that offer a variety of CRE programs may refer to themselves as "Whole School Programs," which combine peer mediation with additional training and intervention efforts to provide the "whole school" with information and education to improve conflict related behavior. However, the label "whole school programs" is a bit misleading. While some programs reach that level, many that fall within this category are less comprehensive. Some of the things they may involve include: additional student training, additional staff training, curriculum infusion, whole school participation and support.

Select an Appropriate CRE Program for your School

While many CRE efforts are primarily aimed at teaching students more constructive means of handling conflict; lasting, successful programs often involve staff, teacher, and parent education and program activity at every level. Such a collaborative learning environment encourages stakeholdership of CRE programs and encourages a comprehensive approach to CRE. Schools that infuse CRE into their disciplinary procedures, classroom curricula, teacher and school administrator in-service trainings, PTA meeting codes of conduct, and also offer a peer mediation program to help address conflicts between and within student, staff, parent, teacher, and administration groups, model collective responsibility and care for CRE programs and build a caring climate throughout the school.

Selecting the best CRE program and implementation is a complex decision that should include thinking about school goals, the current and the future desired state of the school climate, the levels and amounts of buy-in from school leadership, the level of community commitment, and the available resources to implement and maintain a solid, successful program. Designing and supporting an environment of effective CRE is the task of the whole school community.

In thinking about what CRE programmatic levels are best for your school, it may be helpful to ponder and respond to the following questions:

- By observing how conflicts between and amongst students, staff, teachers are managed and processed at my school, to what extent is my school community open to seeing conflict as an opportunity to learn? To what extent does our curriculum, disciplinary policy and conversational style with students teach that conflict is something to be avoided?

- In what ways does our school improvement plan explicitly mention conflict resolution as a goal?
- How willing and interested is the leadership of my school in providing CRE training to the entire teacher and administrative population on a regular basis, including follow up training and dialogue opportunities? What kinds of leadership involvement can I expect?
- What kinds of incentives and educational campaigns might encourage and maximize participation on the part of teachers, staff and students?
- How might I work with others at my school to identify and solicit support from all school stakeholder groups for CRE?
- Would my principal support infusing CRE throughout the school's climate and operating principles through our school codes of conduct, classroom curriculum, and disciplinary policies?
- What additional information do we need to gather about CRE before we start deciding and designing what's best for our school? Who should be involved in this information gathering and decision-making process?
- What do I/we know about mediation, classroom based, and whole school CRE programming? Where would it be appropriate for my school to begin and why?
- Do we have access to a dedicated administrative staff person, teacher or volunteer who is willing and available to coordinate our CRE efforts? Will we have to seek outside funding in order to provide program staffing, or is such funding in our school budget?
- What might we do to encourage our teaching staff to discuss ways to bring CRE into the classroom and daily operation of our school?
- How can we encourage and support teachers to make the time to teach CRE as a part of their classroom management strategies and daily lessons?
- What other schools in my area offer CRE programs of various sorts, and how might I gather information about them?
- What training organizations are in my area (or available nationally to come to us) that could provide quality training for my students, staff and teachers?
- Is my school leadership and teaching staff open to sharing responsibility with students for resolving school conflicts, i.e., consciously moving away from an adult-centered model in ways that allow young people to learn effective decision making on their own? How can this issue be thoughtfully discussed at our next staff meeting? With students and parents?

Rather than being a fad or a new educational reform, CRE is a way of operating that rests upon collaborative decision making, creative thinking and win/win solutions to conflicts. Integrating CRE into a school relies upon teachers, staff, students, and the surrounding community, who are empowered with knowledge, trained in the skills, and educated about the values and principles of CRE. Thinking about and answering the questions above, and others that relate specifically to a school's needs and interests, will help a school better position itself for program success and long-term viability.

To optimize the chances for program success, in addition to the items above, it is important for CRE-dedicated school personnel to explore CRE programmatic models in existence in their neighboring schools, communities, and districts. Information and stories about such programs, including their successes and challenges, and lessons learned can be found by calling local school resource personnel. A list of individuals and organizations that practice CRE nationwide and internationally can be found by calling CREnet. Reading about and exploring diverse CRE curricula can help school personnel and volunteers determine what set of resources seems to best fit your needs, goals, and budget.

Last, reviewing current research about what works and what doesn't will help schools better understand the rich history and body of knowledge that has emerged over the last few decades of CRE practice. Such knowledge can be used to determine what program avenue is best for your school or school district. Most importantly, learning of others' experiences may help your school avert unnecessary pitfalls related to CRE program implementation and institutionalization, teacher education, critical components of CRE curriculum, inclusivity and the honoring of diversity, the importance of evaluation, and methods of attracting and retaining the support of stakeholders.

The Importance and Value of Research

The purpose of this book—as well as the symposium that preceded it—is to make quality, extensive, CRE research available to all who are interested or involved in the art of teaching, practicing, or researching conflict resolution education. As educational reform movements come and go, the consistent and ever-present need to educate today's youth for effective citizenry will remain. It is important to remember that conflict resolution education skills are truly life skills. This volume demonstrates that, when accomplished effectively, the use of CRE in schools can and does result in more effective modes of communication and responsible decision making among students, staff, teachers and the school community as a whole.

As we begin the twenty-first century, it is critical that we study the research available to-date, so that we can use this information to strengthen the work of existing conflict resolution education programs. Learning and applying the lessons of those who have been contributing to this work for the past twenty years will strengthen our ability to build peaceable schools where all are educated for effective participation in school, community, and society.

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CHAPTER 2

IMPACT ON STUDENTS: CONFLICT RESOLUTION EDUCATION'S PROVEN BENEFITS FOR STUDENTS

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Literally hundreds of studies have evaluated the impact of CRE on students' knowledge, attitudes and behavior. The results of these efforts have been positive far more often than not, providing an extensive literature of support for conflict reduction and/or more constructive conflict resolution behavior brought about by CRE programs. However, negative findings by some researchers as well as the weak methodology and sketchy descriptions of research variables, procedures, and assessment instruments frequently found in CRE evaluations have led critics to question the efficacy of CRE in reducing or improving conflict behavior.

In this paper, we briefly discuss: the major types of school-based CRE available to students, five core factors hypothesized to influence students' acquisition of conflict resolution skills and their motivation to use these skills, and the discrepancy between positive and negative research findings about what students derive from their participation in CRE programs. The questions and hypotheses we pose arise from a multidisciplinary perspective that integrates the most compelling findings from the fields of neuroscience, education, developmental psychology, and CRE practice. Research reports were obtained through academic computerized data bases, published meta-analyses, the CRE Research Bibliography (Blakeway & Kmitta, 1998), and personal requests for reports from leading investigators in the CRE field. Finally, we suggest an agenda for future investigations into the impact of CRE on students from pre-K through graduate school.

Overview of School-Based Approaches to CRE

The Conflict Resolution Education Network (CRENET) estimates that conflict resolution education (CRE) takes place in approximately 10% of the 86,000 K-12 schools throughout the country. A higher percentage has been quoted in the Principal/School Disciplinarian Survey on School Violence (National Center for Education Statistics, 1998). There were 1,234 elementary, middle and high school principals or disciplinarians surveyed. They reported that 78% of their schools had "formal school violence prevention or reduction programs." Unfortunately, the survey does not provide information about what elements of CRE are present in the "programs" or provide information about the quality of these programs.

Guiding the practitioners, educators, researchers, and theorists promoting CRE is the belief that CRE involves mentoring children and improving self-esteem while developing problem solving and conflict resolution skills. In addition, CRE usually involves some combination of training in bullying prevention, stress reduction, self-discipline, empathy and perspective taking, gender-issues exploration, and cultural awareness/prejudice prevention among other topics or training areas that may be introduced. CRE skills are usually considered prerequisites for violence prevention training (Wilson-Brewer, 1994) and are believed to be instrumental in reducing destructive conflict behavior through a more constructive and mutually satisfying approach to conflict resolution.

Theorists propose that conflict resolution concepts and skills may be introduced to students at any of five levels of involvement by the school system (Coleman & Deutsch, in press; Raider, 1995): student disciplinary system, curriculum, pedagogy, school culture, and whole school CRE programs that extend to the community as well. Integrating whole school CRE with the larger community is assumed to more effectively contribute to the sustainability of change than other levels of involvement.

From a practitioner's "extent of coverage" perspective, four approaches to CRE may be identified (Bodine & Crawford, 1998; Lim, 1999): process curricula, mediation programs, peaceable classrooms, and peaceable schools. The process curriculum approach is usually a course implemented separately from the school's general curricular instruction.

The peer mediation approach influences the student disciplinary system by enabling students to resolve their conflicts through a neutral third party. Mediators may be peers, teachers, principals or other adults. Training for students usually consists of 10 to 25 hours of concept and skills training with follow-up supervision as they begin to mediate, with longer training periods for middle school and high school students than for elementary school students. Such programs begin with children as young as third graders and the majority of conflicts mediated are between students. In most programs, an adult coordinator monitors these mediations.

Within the "peaceable classroom" and "peaceable schools/system" approach, cooperative learning and academic controversy (Johnson & Johnson, 1996; Johnson, Johnson & Holubec, 1998) are distinguished by the use of pedagogy as a core factor. Both rely on teaching strategies which integrate the practice of constructive conflict resolution skills with the completion of school tasks. Cooperative learning requires students to work in small groups to complete academic work. Academic controversy requires students to present a controversial issue, reverse roles, and finally select the perspective that best fits the evidence.

Teachers using the "peaceable classroom" or "peaceable school" approach to developing skills in negotiation and mediation integrate constructive conflict resolution concepts and methods throughout the school's basic curricula. This approach often focuses on creating a cooperative environment by combining a conflict resolution curriculum with a peer mediation program. The primary difference between focusing on the classroom and/or the school/district is that practitioners using the classroom approach, while usually preferring a systemic integration, will provide programming on a limited basis depending upon the school's available resources. The school systems approach, however, begins with a top-down imprimatur, i.e., a participating principal or school superintendent, and extends to all areas of the school system/district.

Research identifies the following core factors as instrumental in the success or lack of success in CRE program implementation and impact on students: expectations concerning CRE (e.g., viewing CRE as a "quick fix" for classroom problems), assumptions about children's healthy developmental needs/behavior at different developmental stages, divergent perspectives on pedagogy and disciplinary practices within a school or system setting, the need for infusing CRE throughout the school system, and the faulty evaluation methodology of many CRE programs that has caused critics to question whether CRE has any true or lasting effects on children.

One of the initiatives that came out of these questions about the effectiveness of CRE was the selection of a panel of experts from the U.S. Department of Education's Safe and Drug-Free Schools Program (SDFS). In 1999, SDFS called for CRE programs to submit, according to SDFS guidelines, accounts of their research efforts and results. From these submissions, SDFS indicated they would identify and designate "promising and exemplary programs that promote safe, disciplined and drug-free schools." Information about these designated programs would be disseminated and the SDFS would encourage use of the higher ranked programs in new sites.

Unfortunately, these efforts may be premature given the early stages of research in CRE. First of all, few CRE program evaluations fulfill the criteria for a fully sound scientific study, e.g., including a sufficient sample size of randomly assigned schools to conditions for appropriate analysis, etc. (see critique and suggestions concerning methodology later in this paper). If undertaken prematurely, such efforts to credential programs could lead to those programs with curricula and completed evaluations getting federal attention and promotion—with equally worthy programs, without similar evaluations, being left out. The critical issue is to identify the components of CRE programs that have proven to have an impact rather than select specific curricula. It is important that we avoid creating competition and a market mentality in the CRE field.

Expectations Concerning CRE

Daniel Webster (1993, 1994) cites examples of widely used high-school and middle-school curricula which he feels lack evidence of effectiveness. He concludes that skill enhancement without motivation, reinforcement, and a change in contingent conditions (e.g., environments with high levels of violence, cultural norms making it unacceptable to walk away from violence) is unlikely to produce sustainable behavior change and that credible long-term evaluations are needed to evaluate programs.

In addition to Webster's critique of well-known programs, there are a number of field studies that report negative results. For example, two recent studies concluded students did not use the peer mediation program being evaluated and felt neutral about it being in their school (Kristel, Fielding,

& Chambliss, 1997; Terry & Gerber, 1997). In some studies, no differences were found between experimental and control groups (Carter, 1990). No differences were found between experimental and control groups in discipline referrals and suspension data in the first year of program implementation (Berlowitz & Kmitta, 1993); however, there was a small but statistically significant reduction in discipline referrals and suspension in the second-year evaluation (Kmitta, 1996).

Conversely, reported increases in knowledge about negotiation and mediation as well as reductions in destructive conflict interactions following CRE programs are widely spread throughout the literature. Studies have reported a decrease in aggressiveness, violence, dropout rates (Milhauser, 1989; Roderick, 1998; Sandy & Cochran, 1999), student suspensions (Sherrod, 1995), and victimized behavior (Jones, 1998; Lanham & Baker, 1997; Sandy & Cochran, 1999). CRE appears to significantly improve interpersonal and intergroup relationships as well as to increase the use of negotiation and mediation procedures to resolve conflicts constructively in the classroom and at home (Johnson & Johnson, 1996; Nakkula & Nikitopoulos, 1998; Sandy & Cochran, 1999). CRE results include improved academic performance and work-readiness (Aber, Brown, & Henrich, 1999; Deutsch et al., 1992; Goleman, 1998; Hawkins, Kosterman, Catalano, Abbott & Hill, in process; Johnson, Johnson, Dudley, & Acikgoz, 1994); and greater social-emotional development as indicated by increased cooperation, communication skills, assertiveness, self-esteem, self-control, and positive attitudes towards school (Crawford & Bodine, 1997; Deutsch et al., 1992; Greenberg, Kusche, Cook & Quamma, 1995; Jones et al., 1997, 1998; Johnson & Johnson, 1996; LeBlanc, Lacey, & Mulder, 1998; Ohio Commission on Dispute Resolution and Conflict Management, 1994; Sandy & Cochran, 1999).

Negative findings concerning CRE programs are likely to be influenced by the unrealistic expectations held by many of the adults who fill out assessment measures. Salient among these expectations are those concerning the duration/intensity of the program, misunderstandings about the role of conflict in children's development, and the view that only children, not adults, require CRE training. The latter greatly influences the extent to which school systems and personnel understand and are invested in CRE programming, a critical factor in the success or failure of training.

Hypothesis 1: CRE may have little impact on students when there is only short-term or "small dosage" implementation. CRE is frequently used as crisis intervention, as a "quick fix" by schools with troubled classrooms or difficult staff dispute situations. As a consequence, the implementation of CRE is spotty at best—often hit or miss. There is no sense of need for infusion/integration throughout the curriculum and there is little chance of sustainability of skills that are developed. Even more problematic, short-term interventions do not allow time for skill development so that actual changes in behavior may be observed (Joyce & Showers, 1983). The widespread nature of this approach to CRE was supported in a study conducted by the National Peace Foundation (Strickland, Prutzman, Blakeway, Warren, Lowenthal & Dickmann, 1995). Investigating urban school systems throughout the nation, they found that a very small percentage of school districts/systems consistently provide CRE for elementary, middle school or high school students.

Hypothesis 2: CRE may initially increase conflict behavior rather than decrease it. Research supports a measurable increase in conflict following CRE implementation both in short-term as well as more intensive, long-term interventions (Aber, Brown, & Henrich, 1999). This frequently results in a feeling that the implemented program is a "failure" since it did not do its job—decrease conflict (Berowitz & Kmitta, 1993; Kmitta, 1996). For example, an independent quasi-experimental evaluation of the RCCP program (Aber, Brown & Henrich, 1999) found moderately trained teachers who taught, on the average, 25 lessons over the school year, were more successful than highly trained teachers who taught few CRE lessons but relied on a greater number of peer mediators in the classroom. Compared to the children receiving a low number of conflict resolution lessons and the control groups, children who received a greater number of lessons still increased their hostile attributions, aggressive fantasies, and aggressive problem-solving strategies, but at a significantly lower rate. The high-lessons group was also significantly higher than the other two groups on their standardized achievement test scores on reading and math.

Conflict, in this case, was assessed by self-report measures administered to students in the classroom. These surveys presented a hypothetical situation to children and asked them to make multiple choice responses. Responses to the surveys provided assessments of aggressive problem-solving strategies, level of aggressive fantasies and extent of hostile attribution biases.

In an independent evaluation of Second Step (McCabe & Cochran, 1998), a violence prevention curriculum created by the Committee for Children, a comparison was made between two Head Start classrooms and two child care classrooms (with one control classroom in each of these centers plus a control classroom in a fifth center not receiving the program). Teachers assessed children's behavior through the Preschool Behavior Questionnaire (PBQ) (Behar & Stringfield, 1974) and trained research assistants observed the children for five-minute intervals at four different times for a total of 20 minutes of observations per child. The observations were conducted using a method developed by Hartup, Laursen, Stewart and Eastenson (1988). The Head Start children showed a significant decrease in the number of conflicts they had and used fewer antisocial strategies to resolve them (the most aggressive children, however, showed a significant decrease in prosocial strategies to resolve conflicts). Children in child care classrooms showed an increase in the number of conflicts but also used more prosocial strategies to resolve them. In these classrooms, the most aggressive children showed a significant decrease in antisocial strategies. This latter effect also occurred for the most aggressive children in the control child care classrooms.

When children from the least aggressive group in child care classrooms exposed to Second Step were examined they showed significant increases in the number of conflicts observed, antisocial strategies, aggressive strategies, and aggression scores on the PBQ. Since these least aggressive children also showed a significant increase in prosocial strategy use, researchers hypothesized that exposure to a violence prevention curriculum may focus children's attention on aggressive and antisocial strategies in the sense of leading them to try out novel behaviors. Three reasons were suggested for the stronger results in Head Start classrooms vs. day care classrooms: (1) Head Start children were using more conflicts and antisocial strategies than child care children prior to Second Step implementation; (2) Head Start Teachers were more enthusiastic about the curriculum than child care teachers; and (3) the curriculum may have been harder to implement in the child care classrooms because of higher turnover rates among children.

Hypothesis 3: Increased conflict as a consequence of CRE may make schools wary of using these programs. These findings raise the question of whether schools, seeing negative results, may be cautious about implementing CRE and/or may feel these programs are not a cost-effective way to spend limited funds. Rigorous evaluation of CRE projects is needed to determine costs and benefits (Powell, McClain, & Halasyamani, 1995). Educators and parents must be disabused of the assumption that CRE should substantially decrease, if not stop, conflict. Conflict is healthy and important for the development of youngsters. Well-managed conflict is one of the most important factors in acquiring new knowledge (DeVries & Zan, 1994; Piaget, 1975/1985). Practitioners, educators, and researchers must make clear that the role of conflict in development is positive and that the goal of CRE is to decrease the destructive management of conflict and increase the constructive management rather than limit or eliminate conflict. For example, in the Second Step Program evaluation, the increased conflict in the day care centers may reflect a healthy interest in and attempt to manage conflict issues previously suppressed by a classroom climate in which conflict is considered a "bad thing."

Hypothesis 4: In order for CRE to "fix" the children, parents and school personnel also require training in CRE concepts and skills. There is a mistaken assumption among some educators and parents that CRE will "fix" the children, but that there is no need for parents and the school personnel to be "fixed." Adults in the school system require CRE along with the students if the program is to have long-lasting effects. Very few teachers receive CRE as a part of their college preparation for teaching. Yet, teaching children conflict resolution concepts and skills is a complicated process that requires adult modeling of what students are to learn and incorporate into their own behavioral repertoire. Children learn prosocial skills in the context of important relationships. They learn through explicit modeling of behavior by adults, instruction in cause-and-effect sequences, and an internalization of standards of right and wrong (De Vries & Zan, 1994; Jensen, 1998; Sandy & Cochran, 2000).

Training for adults should focus on issues relevant to their personal and professional problem-solving needs. All adults in the system need to be trained (e.g., teachers, administrators, counselors, lunch-room aids, etc.). Costs for such extensive training can be minimized by using a "train-the-trainer" model, first training the in-house staff and then letting them train the other school employees and parents (Coleman & Deutsch, in press).

CRE "Dosage" and Children's Healthy Developmental Needs/Behavior

The extension of CRE to early childhood is based on revised developmental theories of children's cognitive and social growth as well as neurological research involving the early development of learning pathways in the brain. As a result of these revised perspectives on development, many educators and practitioners are in accord with Zigler and Berman (1983) who propose that strict adherence to broadly designed models of CRE be dropped in favor of more flexible approaches to support the child through each stage of development. There is concurrence that one universal approach is unlikely to succeed due to the different vulnerabilities posed by diverse students (Posner, 1994). The developmental stage of the student must be the primary consideration in program content (Sandy & Cochran, 1999; Webster, 1993).

Hypothesis 5: We do not know the appropriate "dosage" of CRE to adequately develop lifelong skills in children, but evidence relating to cognitive advancement at different ages suggests strongly that children require developmentally appropriate levels of learning throughout the school years. Our knowledge concerning how much CRE children need is somewhat limited. We basically know that "more is better." The longer students are provided CRE, the greater the effects in the long term. Theorists and practitioners have observed that it takes three to five years for a trained teacher to achieve mastery of cooperative learning and academic controversy techniques (Coleman & Deutsch, in press; Raider, 1995) and that adults, in general, require approximately 30 practice sessions to become adept at any particular skill (Joyce & Showers, 1983). Programs running from two to six years show that the destructive management of conflict by children decreases significantly (Aber et al., 1999; Hawkins et al., in process; Sandy & Cochran, 2000). Hawkins and colleagues followed students from grade two to age 18. They found that the groups receiving CRE had significantly higher academic achievement and lower rates of violence at age 18 in comparison with the control groups. Others have found that it takes about two years for CRE programs to achieve genuine acceptance by the schools and for effects on student behavior to be observable (Hamilton, 1994; Ohio Commission on Dispute Resolution and Conflict Management, 1994).

A strong case can be made for continuing CRE training throughout childhood and adolescence in response to cognitive and emotional development—the brain's receptivity to program content and process. Although we are only beginning to accumulate evidence, it seems likely that the most successful student outcomes will be found in programs that deal with conflict issues arising from and relevant to the different levels of childhood and adolescent development and the skills that are most pertinent to these issues (Allen, Leadbeater, & Aber, 1994; Allen, Weissberg, & Hawkins, 1989; Connell, Aber, & Walker, 1995; Keenan & Shaw, 1997; Sroufe, Cooper, DeHart, Marshall, & Bronfenbrenner, 1992). In addition, CRE must address to the extent possible any destructive conflict resolution pressures brought to bear upon the child by parents, peers, teachers, other important adults, and the environment.

The dominating tasks of preschoolers are developing a sense of self (achieving autonomy), self-control, assertiveness, and access to resources. Children do not automatically develop mastery of these tasks; they need to be taught the appropriate way to go about achieving their goals. At this level, the CRE concepts and behaviors they need to acquire are ground-level skills, such as anger management, impulse control, emotional awareness, empathy development, assertiveness, communication, and problem-solving skills among others. The objective is to master these early skills so that, as they grow older, they can move on to developing expertise with more complicated skills and procedures in conflict resolution.

Developing normative beliefs about aggression and skills in interpersonal negotiation strategies are major developmental foci in middle childhood. At this time, same-sex friendship relationships and enlarged social contexts become salient factors in development. Having developed the preliminary social skills to engage in positive relationships, children are ready to learn negotiation and mediation which will be particularly relevant to learning to maintain relationships through the inevitable conflicts that arise in daily living.

Adolescents move on to the developmental task of identity formation, and their CRE needs involve initiating and sustaining the romantic relationships that form at this stage. Their ability to comprehend the core CRE components is greater and they subsequently require training suited to their new cognitive capacities and interpersonal issues (Feldman & Gowen; 1998; Sandy & Cochran, 2000).

Hypothesis 6: Although there is a lack of knowledge or acceptance about the issue, social-emotional skills development is an integral part of CRE at all ages, but particularly in early childhood settings. Social-emotional learning and constructive conflict resolution require the same skills: self-control, self-efficacy, concentration, cooperation, communication, sense of community, motivation, appreciation of diversity and values, empathy, perspective taking, creativity and problem solving (Elias et al., 1997; Jensen, 1998).

Preschoolers who attend quality CRE prevention/intervention programs are better prepared socially and academically when they begin school. This enables them to interact positively with their teachers, who in turn relate positively to them, and this adult-child relationship continues in progressive years of school. Since problem behavior in small children often predicts later delinquency, this is the time to change such behavior before it becomes a habitual response (Loeber, 1991; Loeber & Dishion, 1987).

The Peaceful Kids ECSEL Program (Sandy & Cochran, 1999) is partially based on recent neurological evidence that the electrical activity of a young child's brain actually structures the cognitive and emotional capacity for responding to events in adulthood. Repeated and varied experiences with developing social skills are central to early childhood conflict resolution training in order to create lasting neural pathways for the acquisition and stabilization of skills, language, and emotion relevant to managing conflict and problem solving.

In a two-year study of the Peaceful Kids ECSEL Program (Sandy & Cochran, 1999), ten classrooms were randomly assigned to one of three conditions: child-staff-parent training, child-staff training, and control group. The extent of coverage made a significant difference between groups. CRE significantly increased the social-emotional skills of preschoolers (assertiveness, self-control, and cooperation) when the curriculum was infused throughout the day and included staff and parent training components along with the children's sessions. In comparison with child-staff training or the control groups, children in the child-staff-parent training groups also decreased their aggressive (i.e., fighting, hitting, verbal insults) and/or internalizing behavior (i.e., withdrawing from the group or shyness). Given CRE, parents' behavior changed from permissive or authoritarian to a more authoritative approach in which children were given specific rules but also leeway to negotiate in a variety of family decision-making areas.

Hypothesis 7: For students to actually change their conflict behavior, both students and the school system must be motivated to change. Although peer mediation programs and limited CRE efforts may produce positive results, it has been hypothesized that the strongest effects are found in CRE implemented on a whole school basis (Johnson & Johnson, 1996) although the current evidence in support of this is mixed (Jones et al., 1997). Research has revealed that whole-school CRE programs successfully reduce bullying and violence (Olweus, 1994).

Summarizing the elements in successful CRE programs, Coleman and Deutsch (in press) found that those programs achieving significantly longer-lasting effects included: (1) more system elements (e.g., different levels of staff involvement—principals, teachers, bus drivers, and parents—, more classes within the school, infusion of the program within different areas of the curriculum) and (2) a sufficiently strong motivation (Dweck, 1996) to change. Other critical variables that need to be taken into account (Posner, 1994) include the age group being targeted, selection and training of leaders, influence of the community, and the importance of family interventions to teach parenting skills and tactics for better interpersonal relationships.

For students, the motivation to change will depend upon how relevant and important the CRE skills are to the issues at their developmental level. The events students experience, their self-conceptions, their efficacy beliefs, and subsequent attributions about the intent of others will determine the goals students choose to pursue (Dweck, 1996). These are the areas that must be analyzed in order that we may provide interventions to change students' goals in positive ways.

Teachers may become more enthusiastic if they are shown how similar CRE lessons and activities are to what they already do in the classroom. Teachers who understand the importance of conflict in children's development and learning will be less disturbed by the fact their children are not perfectly behaved. In fact, perfectly behaved children may not be developing many of the skills they will need throughout life, like knowing how to address conflict in a positive, problem-solving way.

Tom Roderick (1998) of the Learning Communities Project, initiated by the New York City Resolving Conflict Creatively Program, assesses organizational readiness for CRE as having 70% of the faculty voting in favor of the program's implementation. This "upfront" pre-training work sounds promising for ensuring greater enthusiasm and implementation fidelity by the staff and support for the staff by administrators.

Discrepancies Between Top-Down Disciplinary Approaches and More Collaborative School Environments

It is important to look at the dichotomy between the values of a top-down disciplinary approach and the reframing of discipline and problem solving that comes with CRE. Creating unity between personal teaching and leadership styles often brings resistance to CRE.

Hypothesis 8: An important factor in CRE is promoting the shift from authoritarianism to a more collaborative classroom/school. Educators and parents may require basic education on the definition and goal of discipline to achieve this. Educators and parents must be mindful of the purpose of discipline: controlling the child (stopping her from doing something dangerous, hurtful or annoying) and teaching the child values (Galinsky & David, 1988). Teaching requires flexibility and the need to impart to the child her impact on herself and other children as well as the consequences of her behavior.

Research in this area is scant at best. In their study of CRE with preschoolers, Sandy and Cochran (2000) found that parents trained in conflict resolution set clearly stated rules, but also used "cooperative" discipline techniques (e.g., helping children understand both their own and other people's feelings and perspectives, as well as the logical consequences of their actions) rather than simply eliciting obedience.

Teachers using "cooperative" discipline rather than authoritarian (rigid rules and disciplinary techniques such as time out) or permissive approaches (ignoring or yielding to the child's demands) were significantly more likely to have "peaceful" classrooms (DeVries & Zan, 1994). Attempts to control children's behavior through threats or physical punishment actually increased children's aggression.

Effective CRE Requires Multicultural and Nonsexist Education

Although the research concerning the role of multicultural and nonsexist education in CRE is sparse, particularly from the perspective of the nondominant groups in our society, there is no lack of documentation concerning the conflict and hatred occurring between groups of different ethnicities, religions, sexual orientations, etc. CRE professionals recognize the great need for multicultural harmony and understanding. An excellent beginning to accomplishing cultural pluralism is through creating an atmosphere in schools that emphasizes an appreciation of differences so that students from different racial/ethnic backgrounds are equally comfortable in learning situations in the classroom (Ponterotto & Pedersen, 1993). Ingrained prejudicial attitudes can only be changed through involving students, teachers, schools, and parents. Parents need help to learning how to raise children with positive attitudes towards themselves and other children of different backgrounds. Through the efforts of teachers, principals, and school counselors, parents can develop positive attitudes towards the enriching and rewarding academic role played by cultural diversity in the classroom.

Hypothesis 9: Actively promoting the positive valuation of multicultural diversity is a critical component of CRE. Changing attitudes towards people of different backgrounds requires including parents, children and school staff to celebrate differences and similarities and teach about diverse races, involve critical thinking skills in approaching diversity issues, and encourage children to learn how to play and work with other children from different cultural groups (Ramsey, 1998). For example, in preschool settings, children's play areas can be rearranged or combined (e.g., blocks and housekeeping) so that gender or racial groupings are less likely to occur. In elementary school, cooperative learning groups can be structured to contain children of diverse backgrounds (Johnson, Johnson, & Holubec, 1998). Above all, staffing classrooms with ethnically diverse educators (Lynch & Hanson, 1992), providing children with multicultural activities, celebrating different group holidays, bringing parents into the process through take-home pamphlets, parent meetings, and invitations to holiday celebrations, and showing respect and attention to each individual child will contribute powerfully to promoting mutual respect and liking between groups.

Need for Appropriate Evaluation Methodology

There are important issues concerning the methods used to ascertain the impact of conflict resolution education on students. These include: a standardization of terms (clear definition of program content, procedure and outcomes), fidelity of curriculum implementation, appropriate measurement with instruments demonstrating strong reliability and validity (Fullan & Pomfret, 1977), and scientifically appropriate research methodology and data analysis.

Hypothesis 10: If we are to know if/how students have changed as a result of a program, clear concepts and a standardization of terms are essential. Since the program content and the definition of program variables and outcomes vary widely in different studies, a comparison of results is difficult. Authors frequently give such sketchy descriptions of program content that it is difficult to discern what has and what has not been a part of the instruction to students, teachers, etc. This is a critical omission since it is frequently unclear what investigators mean by the terms used in their reports, e.g., "aggressive behavior" or "prosocial conflict resolution strategies." The program being studied often lacks systematic definition (the independent variable) as do the outcomes (the dependent variables—fights, discipline problems, referrals, etc.). When a study can be replicated, the CRE program becomes endowed with credibility and a justifiable confidence in its anticipated effects. Clear definitions of variables allow investigators to determine the essential components of training that lead to the most successful CRE program outcomes.

One additional point is the need to identify the triggering events for conflict among children—to what extent factors such as arousal, situational cues, and modeling are involved (Coleman & Deutsch, in press). We are only beginning to use the conceptions of conflict that children understand, rather than what adult "experts" assume children know, to guide us in program and evaluation design.

Hypothesis 11: Valid and reliable measurement instruments are needed to effectively evaluate CRE programs. There is a lack of appropriate instruments to measure the "real" impact on children's learning of conflict resolution. Measures currently used to assess students' attitudes and behavior are quite different from study to study. An attempt must be made to use the most reliable and valid measures available and, given the paucity of assessment instruments, we must also make the attempt to develop reliable and valid measures of CRE implementation, process, and outcome. Measures such as school disciplinary reports are not sufficient for measuring whether a CRE program has worked. Such records are dismally inadequate in many schools.

We need assessment instruments which take into account: (1) the developmental level of the child (we also require programs and curricula based on developmentally appropriate models); (2) the conflict levels that are necessary and nonproblematic at each developmental stage for optimal learning; and (3) the attitudes of teaching staff and parents which may hinder children's full expression and exploration of the conflict issues which help them grow into healthy adults.

Hypothesis 12: Based on curriculum theory and research, implementation fidelity, adaptation, and enactment are factors having a major impact on students' acquisition of CRE skills. Assumptions underlying curriculum implementation research include fidelity, adaptation, and enactment (Snyder, Bolin, & Zumwalt, 1992). Fidelity refers to the degree to which a program's actual use matches its intended or planned use. Successful implementation depends upon teachers carrying out the program as intended. If they fail to do this, then the program cannot be evaluated fairly in terms of whether the planned outcomes have been achieved. Estimations are that 35% of the differences in outcomes are directly related to differences in implementation. Evaluators concerned with adaptation want to know how the program is adapted to a specific setting during the implementation phase. Curriculum enactment research focuses on how the curriculum is shaped through the evolving skills of teachers and students.

Hypothesis 13: Conflict resolution and peer mediation programs need to be based on a theoretical model. Theory is critical to determining the relationship between different risk and protective factors, and effective ways to intervene (Johnson & Johnson, 1996). In CRE, practice has too often been developed separate from theory and research.

Hypothesis 14: Scientific evaluation designs must be used before definitive statements about the impact of CRE on students can be made. With the exception of a few notable studies that follow many or most of the tenets of sound methodology (e.g., Aber, Brown, & Henrich, 1999; Deutsch et al., 1992; Jones et al., 1997; Johnson & Johnson, 1996; Sandy & Cochran, 1999), the critical elements of a good study are seriously lacking in the CRE field. As a notable example of rigorous methodology under field conditions, Jones et al. (1997) found that peer mediation programs have a strong effect on constructive conflict behavior at all educational levels.

Breaches in good research design include a lack of control groups; small sample sizes (e.g., comparing two classrooms); correlational, self-report data; testimonials by people committed to seeing the programs continue; or reports by teachers and students fully aware of their participation in such programs (only the most dramatic conflicts are remembered in self-reporting—typical conflicts are often forgotten). Criticisms over the validity of self-report measures suggest the need for the use of multiple measures of assessment (e.g., interviews and trained, objective observers).

Hypothesis 15: Accurately assessing CRE outcomes requires appropriate data analysis. A flaw in many evaluation studies is using the individual student as the unit of analysis. It is the randomized experimental unit that should be used: schools are the recommended unit of random assignment to experimental or control conditions in CRE programs (Hykle, Stevens & Markle, 1993). Analysis methods frequently used produce results biased toward finding false significant effects. This error is created by assignment bias and intraschool dependence in the data. Based upon the school as the unit of analysis, two examples of appropriate analyses would be the least squares method from SAS's General Linear Model or the generalized least squares regression method.

Having stressed the need for rigorous research to respond to critics, we also wish to point out that the cumulative evidence, including both the existing stronger methodological studies as well as the less-than-perfect ones, provides considerable weight favoring positive outcomes for CRE programs. When study after study shows significant improvement in conflict attitudes and behavior after CRE, it is difficult to believe that all these significant results are merely reflecting a bias created by an inappropriate unit of analysis or statistical procedure.

Conclusions and Recommendations for Future Research

Our experience and the cumulative evidence we have gathered as educators, practitioners, and researchers leads us to the conclusion that, among other influences, CRE: produces a positive moral climate in school and reduces reliance on authoritarian approaches to conflict resolution; enables students to negotiate and mediate solutions and regulate their actions; and improves attendance and academic achievement through fewer suspensions, better peer relationships and a greater interest in learning. In short, CRE has proven positive effects for students; it works.

Although still a very young field, we are beginning to identify factors that are critical to facilitating the long-term impact of CRE programming on students. For example, those programs which achieve more successful and longer-lasting effects (Coleman & Deutsch, in press) include: (1) more system elements and (2) a sufficiently strong motivation to change. Thus, we would recommend that future studies evaluate student outcomes in relation to the total school/district system.

There must be continuity of CRE at each developmental phase. Children have difficulty generalizing what they have learned in relationship dynamics at an earlier age to the complexities of the problems they face at a later point in time. This involves approaching conflict situations appropriately within the different developmental levels of the students, so that by adulthood they will have a reservoir of attitudes, knowledge, and skills that will enable them to constructively engage in the conflicts that individuals face daily in their families and communities. Fundamental change is likely to occur when students practice their conflict resolution skills throughout their school curricula, are immersed in an environment which promotes these skills; and, to the extent possible given the exigencies of real life prevention/intervention efforts, have these concepts, principles, and skills reinforced within the home and community.

Since there are few longitudinal studies which assess the impact on students and the implementation fidelity of the program over time (Webster, 1993), we need to advocate for adequate funding to study a sufficiently large number of schools to provide generalizeability and the effects of CRE over an extended period of time. Such a study, if as successful as our more informal evaluations suggest, would do much to resolve the questions raised by critics concerning the impact of CRE programming on students.

The need for research that addresses the fit between CRE programs and different populations was the major suggestion for future research coming from the symposium discussion. Specifically, the participants challenged researchers to address the question, *"What is the extent to which different programs and strategies fit different populations?"* As this chapter has concluded, we have evidence of the general effectiveness of CRE. But, when administrators and teachers ask us for a careful accounting of which programs will likely produce certain outcomes for specific populations, we are much less able to provide answers or program implementation guidance.

Last but far from least, we need to organize advocacy programs for social attitude change about CRE, cultural diversity, and violence in general. As concluded in the Carnegie report on youth violence (Hechinger, 1994), society must declare violence unacceptable and provide viable alternatives to violence for youth in neighborhoods where violence and drug use are ways of life, e.g., access to community services and to employment.

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IMPACT ON STUDENTS: WHEN WILL THE MINDSET SHIFT? COMMENTS FROM THE FIELD.

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The thrust of this summary of current CRE research confirms my experience of application. The prevailing opinion seems geared more to "talking the talk" than "walking the talk." Most grant opportunities, limited and quite competitive as they are, emphasize instrumental outcomes over transformative commitment. Practically, this means obtaining "hardware" for the school (e.g., weapons detectors, video cameras, and police presence in the building). But, Columbine High School, in a wealthy neighborhood, had all three types of hardware; a tragic reminder that such superficial responses to violence prevention can easily produce a false sense of security.

A supplementary thrust has included the purchase of commercial CRE curricula or the establishment of peer mediation programs. Much less attention has been given to institutional support, such as on-going training for the entire school staff (instructional and noninstructional) and a dedicated CRE staff position that has long-term funding. In most cases, these programs wilt after a few years from the weight of too much expectation and too little nurturing. Adding injury to insult is the knee-jerk conclusion from closet naysayers, "See, I told you it wouldn't work."

A key and insightful thrust of the current CRE research is the acknowledgement of the complexity of learning new knowledge, skills and dispositions. I have had the most professional success when the entire school culture honors the "messiness" of comprehensiveness and collaboration inherent in CRE programs. Comprehensive approaches involve the ABC's of learning: Affective responses of emotional intelligence combined with Behavioral responses of changing unconscious patterns and routines combined with Cognitive responses of problem-solving guidelines. Most CRE training does not emphasize all three domains of learning, especially at the middle school and high school levels. Overemphasis of cognitive objectives (knowledge transfer based on episodic lessons and a single, survey-type, evaluation) dominates a more holistic response to interpersonal conflict. For example, I was once called in as an elementary school consultant to help address an emerging "bully" situation in one class. When I suggested the teacher initiate a regular forum of class meetings to model and discuss the differences between requests and threats, I was immediately rebuffed. "It doesn't help to talk about feelings. My students love to complain. Class meetings would only give them license to whine." Parenthetically, the principal characterized this teacher as a whiner who had difficulty sharing her own feelings with colleagues. I am so glad to find researchers and theorists promoting CRE who are guided by the belief that CRE involves improving self esteem while developing problem-solving and conflict resolution skills.

Another equally important part of the long-term institutionalization of CRE beliefs and practice is the need for a collaborative response. In my experience, educators approach CRE as a medicine to give to children. Rarely do teachers or administrators have a serious discussion about using CRE principles in their own lives. Rarely is there any discussion about who has the real control. Child development psychologists clearly recommend authoritative rather than authoritarian parenting strategies. Yet schools are slow to adapt to a more inclusive pedagogy. Rarely is the configuration of "power over" (teachers over students, principals over teachers, the superintendent and local board over principals, etc.) effectively challenged to allow a "power with" model to emerge as a tool to build a learning community. Although classroom management woes consistently rank among the top three problems cited by teachers on the annual Gallup/PDK poll, most teachers prefer order and routine to mutual interaction. For example, teachers share a common goal about furthering a sense of competence and confidence in their students. They urge their students to become independent and take initiative. Paradoxically, this backfires when students assert their own voice. I have been witness to the quiet, but deadly, sabotage by administrators and teachers of countless peer mediation programs. A child mediator's questioning of a teacher's reasoning during a classroom conflict (e.g. "Can you tell me why you think that way?") is often interpreted as a direct challenge to adult authority. Why should we be surprised when students reject this "do as I say, not as I do" posture? Can a challenge be interpreted less as a threat to teacher control and more as an opportunity to deepen growth and relationship?

Finally, the emerging trend of "CRE best practice" points to holistic learning strategies. Such strategies support constructivist approaches to teaching and learning. This means that the curriculum and the instruction and the environment of a classroom help a child "construct" meaning relevant to his or her personal life. When a child is encouraged to make sense of the world through practical application, the new learning is more likely to achieve "routine use." This dynamic of making sense uses particular life issues at different times in a child's development. Thus, conflict resolution is just as important as reading, 'riting and 'rithmetic in dealing with the development of the whole child.

I was deeply appreciative of the discussion surrounding "developmental appropriateness" for CRE training throughout childhood and adolescence. Each age of childhood has particular issues to resolve. A toddler's need for trust is different than an elementary student's need for competence that is different than an adolescent's need for identity formation. Indeed, one size does not fit all. Here is a comical, yet sobering, case in point. Several years ago I made an appeal to my local city council for some funds to conduct community violence prevention training. The training was to target leaders among schools, social service agencies and police officials to develop a commitment of and by the community. One of the members of the council questioned my intent: "Wouldn't it be cheaper to buy a set of video tapes and require all the students in the district to watch them?"

If CRE is to be a meaningful and reliable part of a child's formal education, then schooling needs to consider the many worlds of a child. Holistic education can address a child's understanding of the self in the world, both in and out of school, as well as the breadth and depth of life's experience. A CRE approach brings credence, as well as practical skills, to a child's struggle in resolving conflict in a healthy and constructive manner.

In terms of specific cases where the information in the chapter relates to my practice, my responses will be directed to two specific areas of the chapter, "CRE dosage" and "disciplinary approaches".

I have been involved in both peer mediation training and violence prevention training at the middle school level. Each of these CRE options is appropriate to the age level. The shifting of influence from parents to peers marks adolescence; developing social skills and friendships take on heightened significance. Given this context, learning negotiation skills and mediation would seem to be necessary and important. Yet middle school teachers are reluctant to endorse long-term and systematic CRE practice. Perhaps it is the subject-centered mentality that makes CRE seem like an anomaly. Conflict resolution is not "owned" by any discipline, yet informs the reality of the middle school culture. Conflict is everywhere. Students fight, with words or fists, at the slightest provocation to their sense of self. Although the conditions seem ripe, most of my efforts in promoting CRE in schools die on the vine. Why?

Wonderful dreams and well-crafted goals crumble under the weight of deficits and short-sighted expectations. I could not overcome the institutional barriers of not enough time nor money; potential burnout was ever-present. As an outside trainer, I was never sure about the motivation of the teachers who received the training. With most of the trainings, I noticed one or two highly enthusiastic participants. Given my compressed training schedule, I directed my attention to these teacher-leaders. Nevertheless, I had private doubts. Did they represent the norm among their colleagues? Did they have real administrative support? Were they committed to CRE principles in their personal life and over the long haul? Since I was rarely asked to give follow-up training or help monitor implementation problems, I never really knew what happened to program development after the initial training. Often, when a key player left the school (either voluntarily or involuntarily by a punitive administrator) there was not enough incentive for other teachers to continue the program. Also, without regular, on-going training, new teachers to the team or school were clueless about how to use CRE appropriately. Additionally, program success was even more problematic in those schools with a high student turnover. CRE was rarely a line-item budget priority. Most training was funded by "soft-money" or "one-time" external grants. Staff development was more often directed by short-term "fix-it" schemes than long-term outcomes following thoughtful and thorough systematic planning.

The middle school movement toward teaming and academic integration is a fruitful ground for reframing discipline options using CRE principles. Two areas of special note are team planning and student advisory. The middle school concept organizes students into discrete "teams" of approximately 100-125 students with four to five teachers in a dedicated portion of the building. Teachers share a common planning time to collaborate on common staffing needs and common curricular projects. Students participate in advisory sessions that emphasize life-skill learning strategies (communication, cooperation, self-esteem and social problem solving, and conflict resolution). Each team is characterized by its own personality, agenda and needs. This new and promising structure is risky. Understanding the context and properly gauging the collective rate of learning is crucial! As a consultant to an urban middle school in a low-income neighborhood, I am constantly juggling a quicksand of perceptions and perspectives. Hair-trigger arguments erupt over content (teach to the test or standard vs. teaching for individual success and life-long learning), process ("these kids need tight structure" vs. "these kids need authentic opportunities to succeed") and context (lower grade middle school teachers are more comfortable with small group and collaborative instructional approaches while upper grade middle school teachers favor a large group lecture format). As middle school teachers practice authentic collaboration in planning, presenting and evaluating lessons, they open the door for the development of more genuine curriculum. As teachers and students learn how to sincerely negotiate "school family" needs, training in impulse control, anger management and empathy becomes not only possible, but also necessary.

I concur with the conclusions for future research presented in the chapter. The long-term impact of CRE on students improves by paying attention to both system dynamics and one's motivation to change. Especially noteworthy is the attempt to fit CRE programming to the unique needs of different populations.

Perhaps the most significant conclusion creates a welter of methodological problems. How do researchers assess whether "CRE produces a positive moral climate in school?" My gut reaction is that students in "mediation-friendly" classrooms display a higher degree of trust and risk-taking.

When I was an elementary school teacher, the foundation of my discipline policy was the democratic classroom model. My students and I collectively created classroom rules guided by consensual reasons and consequences. Challenges to practical pedagogy (length of a homework assignment or negotiation of a deadline) were commonplace. We practiced the 5 R's: reading, 'riting, 'rithmetic, respect and responsibility. We developed a sense of rapport that allowed our lives to be the curriculum. The caring moral climate of that class was even obvious to teachers and students from other classes. Many of us still send each other Christmas cards 25 years later. And I wonder... can this feeling of intimacy be measured?

There are recommendations I would make for research that are not mentioned in the chapter. I perceive three forces changing the nature of schooling at the beginning of the 21st century. The theory, knowledge, and skill of CRE would be valuable to each thrust as well as subsequent combinations. I would like to see CRE researchers collaborate with educational researchers in three areas: teacher and school renewal, the accountability movement, and uses of technology.

After two decades of blaming and backbiting since the sounding of the Nation at Risk alarm, the professional literature on educational change is beginning to focus on positive and do-able goals. The emerging perspective among staff developers and learning theorists acknowledges that people do things differently. Individual and institutional reform is more effective when change centers on personal and professional renewal. Education is a people-making preoccupation although it can sometimes look like a people-breaking business. The key to the renewal effort is a willingness to be honest and nondefensive about making improvements and a commitment to trust the change process. That posture is very similar to the role of mediator as an honest broker. Common to both staff development and CRE advocacy is the honest examination of core beliefs and values. Specifically, can one embrace constructive change and innovation without fear? If so, how?

The accountability movement is an educational issue that surely generates a lot of combustion. Often this discussion produces more heat than light. Schools are being required to assess three areas of student achievement: knowledge, performance and disposition. Regional and national accreditation bodies have raised the bar in determining authentic student learning. Improving the quality of education through state-mandated learning standards and high-stakes testing has created a climate of fear among many teachers and administrators. This climate has stifled innovation and polarized various educational communities (teacher's unions vs. boards of education, proponents of standardized testing vs. advocates of alternative assessment, etc.). However, these so-called insurmountable problems may be a blessing in disguise. By conducting studies with sound methodology, CRE researchers can make valuable contributions to the on-going educational debate of instructional efficacy. Specifically, what are the similiarities and differences between CRE and constructivist pedagogy and authentic assessment?

Technology is hardly value free. The prevalence of computers in developed countries has created a global technological village. The technological proficiency among contemporary youth often surpasses what schools can offer. Increasingly, an adolescent right of passage is the dissemination, exchange and adaptation of a wide variety of video games, CD-ROMS, custom web pages, etc. Many of these commercial products produce images that emphasize violence and domination. If CRE is to capture the imagination of the young, more peace-friendly computer applications will need to be developed. Also, effective and interactive computer simulations supplementing mediation training are greatly underutilized. Specifically, how can research impact interactive computer programs to highlight conflict situations at different developmental phases of childhood?

I see CRE as a verb, not a noun. An assumption in the discussion about the four approaches of CRE coverage is the invitation to be a peacemaker. More accurately, CRE is about "being" peaceful rather than "doing" peaceful things. Researchers can bring us a snapshot of how CRE operates as a verb by clearly describing the shape and direction of conflict resolution possibilities. So many questions can be raised. On a micro level, one can ask: "What mechanisms prompt deep listening" or "How does collaboration promote interpersonal growth?" or "Why does trust develop in the wake of adversity?" On a macro level, CRE researchers must address the question raised at the beginning of this response: "When will the mindset shift?" The information in this chapter encourages and stimulates me to ask an additional question: "And what can I do about it?"

There are several ways I can engage in collaborative projects to answer some of the questions for future research articulated in the chapter and above.

At a local level I can:

- disseminate core research findings to grant writers at appropriate social service agencies, schools, criminal justice offices (e.g., probation)
- inform community agencies dealing with various forms of youth prevention programs (drug and alcohol, violence, teen pregnancy) on "best practice" criteria

- coordinate an informal coalition of CRE providers to share information and emotional support between public (United Way, businesses, universities) and private sectors (church outreach, philanthropies)

At a state and regional level I can:

- plan and organize a conference to bring together CRE providers to share information and emotional support through maintenance training, networking, fundraising strategies, and "best practice" examples

At a national level I can:

- support primary CRE training
- collaborate with other CRE professionals to craft "policy guidelines" tailored to specific populations (e.g., special needs students, "at-risk" students, rural administrators, urban administrators, suburban/small town administrators, etc.)
- heighten awareness across societal sectors of non-authoritarian approaches to conflict resolution based on student developmental appropriateness (e.g., scholarly organization Special Interest Groups, education unions subcommittees)

CHAPTER 3

IMPACT ON EDUCATORS: CONFLICT RESOLUTION EDUCATION AND THE EVIDENCE REGARDING EDUCATORS

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Interviewer: "And what do you think could be done to improve the peer mediation program in your school?"

Student: "It would help if the adults would start using it." (Kmitta, 1996).

The purpose of this paper is to examine what is known about the effects of conflict resolution education (CRE) on educators. Within this context we will explore how CRE is taught to educators. Because the most pervasive model of teaching CRE is through Professional Staff Development (PSD), which is primarily comprised of teacher in-service training, we take a critical look at the literature for both PSD and CRE to determine whether the teaching of CRE through PSD models has any affect on educators. We articulate and critique hypotheses about this relationship and propose recommendations for future research in this area.

Foundations

The primary purpose of conflict resolution programs is to give children skills to resolve conflict non-violently through effective communication, pro-social problem solving, and an appreciation of different perspectives. According to the Conflict Resolution Education Network (CRENET), "A school that has a conflict resolution program teaches, models and incorporates in its educational program the processes and problem solving skills of mediation, negotiation and collaborative problem solving. Underlying all of these processes is the philosophy that problems can be resolved in ways that benefit everyone involved in the problem" (CRENET, 1999).

Many CRE programs have chosen the professional development of educators as a main strategy, relying on educators to help bring conflict resolution into the hearts and minds of our nation's children. Many CRE specialists agree that modeling behavior, infusing the concepts into other subject areas, and being "peaceful" are as imperative as teaching the lessons themselves.

This is a tall order considering the basic responsibilities educators face and the added complexity of today's particular challenges (e.g., the fear created by incidences of violence in our schools, the increased urgency for testing due to the new standards movement, and general social and economic deterioration in the poorest communities). One can understand why teaching has become an extremely complex, difficult, and conflict-ridden job.

Those in the field of conflict resolution must pay close attention to educators. We must hear their needs and concerns, face their realities and pressures, work to overcome barriers that get in their way, and work to continually inspire them. In this chapter, "educators" are classroom teachers, paraprofessionals, librarians, resource staff, assistant principals, and principals. Looking at the school as an organizational unit, "educators" would logically include custodial and maintenance personnel, secretarial and clerical staff, food service workers and bus drivers since they all participate in and therefore influence the school system in some manner.

Educational philosophies, pedagogical orientations, and past conflict resolution experiences all influence an educator's ability to consistently implement conflict resolution in his/her classroom and school. Educators need effective, comprehensive training in order to teach others. This means extensive training, follow-up support, and materials that have been tested and proven to work. Finally, practitioners and others need to address obstacles beyond the educator's control that impede successful CRE training. This increases the likelihood that the educator will be able to implement classroom instruction on a regular basis.

The Literature

Conflict Resolution Education

To identify the existing research on the effects of CRE on educators, we first exhausted personal files and reports. Next, using the Educational Resources Information Center (ERIC) database, we searched with the terms "teachers/educators," "conflict resolution," and "peer mediation" coupled with publication types, "evaluative reports and research reports." This search produced 15 articles for the literature review.

To examine the research on professional staff development, we decided to limit the search to the most recent resources available. Nine recently authored books and two research articles were retrieved. In addition, two major PSD web sites were reviewed and additional information from those organizations' web pages were also included in the review.

Several studies examined the types of conflicts teachers have in their own lives, in and out of school. Martray and Adams (1981), in a small regional survey, found that conflicts over teacher evaluations and contract conflicts ranked higher as a stressor than disruptive children or threats and personal injuries. Hale (1983), in her single case study of an elementary school, discovered that most educator-to-educator conflicts relied upon implicit rules of conflict management which were unconsciously formed among the teachers. In some cases these implicit rules were contradictory to the explicit rules of the school. Boyd and Wheaton (1984) demonstrated that school professionals in three types of settings (suburban, urban, and working class) did not engage in effective or productive conflict resolution processes when conflicts erupted in their schools or districts. Cothran and Ennis (1997), in their case study, documented an "us-versus-them" mentality in both teachers and students. Ironically, while students believed that teachers still held ultimate power, the teachers themselves believed that their influence and power had diminished since the demographics of the school had changed.

On a more general level is information from the Gallop/Phi Delta Kappa Teacher Surveys (1999). PDK and the Gallop organization have surveyed teachers about their profession since 1986. While the surveys do not ask educators specifically about conflict, educators are presented with a list of problems and are then asked to rank order the problems. Teachers consistently rank "student discipline" as a top problem. Fighting and personal safety have consistently ranked towards the bottom of the poll.

To date, there has been no formal research specifically examining the effects of CRE on educators. Most of the work in this area is a component of larger CRE evaluations and concentrates primarily on how CRE helps teachers reduce the number of conflicts or discipline problems in their classrooms (Johnson & Johnson, 1996). Those studies that have looked at other dimensions of the effects of CRE on educators are also evaluative in nature. In a quasi-experimental study, Jones et al. (1997) looked at how teachers perceived school climate in CRE schools. As reported in more detail in the chapter on climate in this volume, they discovered that teachers in elementary schools with peer mediation (PM) cadre models had improved perceptions of their schools' climates and that teachers in middle schools with PM plus a conflict resolution curriculum had improved perceptions of their schools' climates. However, there was no perception shift for high school teachers regardless of the CRE model employed.

Bickmore (1998, p. 66) used a case study to examine how conflict resolution training and a professional development model designed by Comer would affect teacher relationships with all members of the school community. After two years, the Comer model had little impact on teachers and the interface of the Comer model and conflict resolution training was found to have "limited impact on teachers' understandings and behavior towards students."

Thorsen-Spano (1996) found no statistically significant relationship between teachers' job satisfaction and participation in conflict resolution training. Harris (1995) examined how teachers taught peace education classes which included a conflict resolution component and discovered that teachers who already possessed a "peace mindset" were the ones who most frequently used conflict resolution education in their classes.

Weiss (1991), Short & Johnson (1994), Ingersoll (1996), and Bickmore (1998) all examined how conflicts influence decision-making processes and outcomes at the school level. One commonality was that shared decision-making processes were more conducive to mutually satisfying outcomes (provided that the members had themselves received some form of problem solving or conflict resolution training) than authoritarian or bureaucratic models.

Recent findings from developmental evaluations of elementary school-based violence prevention initiatives have highlighted the need for further examination of teacher processes and characteristics in both the evaluation of and effectiveness of early intervention programs including CRE models (Henrich, Brown, & Aber, 1999). Evaluations of the Resolving Conflict Creatively Program and the PATHS curriculum as part of FAST Track demonstrate an association between the fidelity and dosage of program implementation and program effectiveness (Aber et al., 1998; Conduct Problems Prevention Research Group, 1999). In the former study, the relative balance between the amount of teacher training and coaching received by teachers and the amount of RCCP lessons implemented characterized distinct profiles of teacher implementation. Each was associated with different patterns of change over time in children's social-cognitive and behavioral risks (Aber et al., 1998). In the evaluation of PATHS, implementation fidelity (assessed by observers) and implementation dosage (the number of lessons taught as reported by teachers) each contributed independently to program effectiveness (Conduct Problems Prevention Research Group, 1999).

Fundamentally, the literature is not very informative about the effects of CRE on educators or the benefits of CRE for teachers other than the assertion that CRE helps reduce the number of conflicts in classrooms. It is assumed that if educators are learning how to teach CRE they are also learning how to use CRE for their own conflicts. This assumption must be examined more critically (see Aber, Brown, Chaudry, Jones, & Samples, 1996). We are still faced with the strong possibility that we are teaching educators how to teach conflict resolution but not how to resolve conflicts effectively.

Professional Staff Development.

A critical factor in studying CRE is the educators' first entry into the programs. Ideally, CRE ought to be offered in colleges of education as part of pre-service teacher instruction. The pathway to learning conflict resolution skills for children and adolescents is most often through an educator who has received conflict resolution education training. Though no formal analysis of the ever-growing body of CRE programming has occurred, it is sufficient to say that based on the research reviews to date, most conflict resolution educators deliver their programs via the teacher to the student (Carruthers, Sweeney, Kmitta, & Harris, 1996; Johnson & Johnson, 1996; Kmitta, 1999). Further, most CRE programs deliver their information to educators through the use of teacher in-service or professional development models.

Educators have long relied upon teacher in-services or staff development modules to convey or provide new information about their profession (Tyler, 1971). When done well, professional staff development can be a powerful force in giving educators new information essential to their careers. According to the National Staff Development Council's web page (NSDC, 1999) "effective staff development focuses on the knowledge, skills and attitudes required of teachers, administrators, and other school employees so all students can learn and perform at high levels. Staff development not only includes high-quality, ongoing training programs with intensive follow-up and support but also other growth-promoting processes such as study groups, action research, and peer coaching, to name a few."

Sparks and Loucks-Horsley (1990) identify five models of professional staff development. The first model, Individually Guided Staff Development, assumes that the individual is self-directed in studying a topic of his/her own personal interest. This type of professional development could resemble a correspondence course or an elective class in a masters program. The idea here is that the individual teacher pursues his/her own interest and may use any number of methods to obtain the information or skills that s/he is seeking.

The second model is the Observation/Assessment model which uses the modeling of a trained expert as observed by educators who then use personal reflection to promote change in their ways of knowing or acting in the classroom or school milieu. An example of this type of model would be the videotape viewing of an expert teacher or practitioner by a non-expert educator. After viewing the video, the learner would then attempt to deploy or use what was viewed on the video in his/her own teaching.

Another model, Inquiry, allows educators to formulate their own questions and to find their own answers. This is similar to the Individually Guided model, except that it is collective in questioning and responding, rather than individualistic, and is oriented towards educators empowering themselves to identify and resolve their own problems.

The Development Improvement Process is another model used when there is a need for those closest to a problem to acquire skills or knowledge. This model of professional development is an intervention that is designed specifically to aid educators who are having problems in their jobs. For example, if an educator is having problems managing a classroom, the administrator may have that educator attend a workshop on classroom management. Another way to view this model would be if a new problem, such as gang activity, entered a school or district where no one had any experience or expertise in dealing with that particular problem. In this event, the district could hire an expert service provider from outside.

Finally, the Training model assumes that there are techniques and behaviors worth replicating that can change or modify current techniques and behaviors that are not working. Unlike the improvement model, the operative assumption in the training model is that current knowledge and techniques are failing to educate the students and that the educator needs to abandon those beliefs and practices and replace them with knowledge and methods that do work. For example, if an educator lectures exclusively and is failing 75% or more of any given class, chances are that the lecturing technique is failing to provide adequate instructional delivery to the students. Workshops or in-services focusing on several educational methods that work would be an intervention designed to eliminate the unidimensional method of the lecture only instruction. Because the root behavior is so ingrained in the educator, that educator would have to receive a good deal of training to change.

Fullan (1990) describes two more perspectives on models of staff development. The first, Staff Development as a Strategy for Implementation, covers most of the models represented in Sparks and Loucks-Horsley (1990). The second, Staff Development as Innovation, diverges from the former models because Innovation is its own model. Examples of Innovation are coaching or mentoring. Coaching differs from training in that the coach is present in the educational setting guiding the educator through the process of learning; this PDS is not delivered in a workshop format. Mentoring is a model that couples experienced and novice educators. In this model the beginning teacher is guided, assisted, and advised about their career or practice by the veteran educator. Mentoring is an innovation in PSD much like coaching in that the actual services are not delivered in a workshop format. Usually the mentoring program is built into the fabric of the school culture and mentoring training is passed on from generation to generation.

Training the Trainer is another popular model of CRE. This model recruits small groups of educators from single schools or districts and brings them together for one large workshop. The trained educators then return to their schools or districts and provide training to the remaining faculty and staff, who in turn train the students. In studies of CRE programs, Jones et al. (1997) and Kmitta and Berlowitz (1995) have found the Training the Trainer model to be problematic in terms of fidelity and sustainability.

Most CRE programs are probably a combination of the Development Improvement Process and Training models and Implementation models just discussed. Usually CRE is delivered through a workshop and or a series of workshops (Harris, 1995; Wilson-Brewer, 1994). In peer mediation training, a group of students and several staff members are trained to mediate. On average, about 24 initial contact hours of CRE will transpire before peer mediators begin mediating their first disputes. Traditionally PM training focuses on the mediation process and usually does not address other forms of CRE. This training, though valuable, focuses primarily on students and not educators. Staff attendance helps prepare them for sponsorship of the program; and, some PM programs provide a separate workshop for lead teachers on issues surrounding program administration.

Conflict resolution curriculum programs generally train teachers in the use of the curriculum. This particular model usually requires more time to deliver although some curricular training models are delivered during intensive weekend workshop formats. Some, but not all, CRE service providers conduct follow up training and support.

An important consideration for professional staff development is the standards for all PSD providers established by the National Staff Development Council (NSDC, 1999). There are general standards in terms of context, process, and content. Context refers to the mission and goals of the school and district and the need for the service provider to coordinate with the school and or district's strategic plan. Process standards address issues of knowledge and skills that ultimately benefit the students as well as the processes associated with doing collaborative and group work to facilitate change within the school. Process standards also call for all PSD programs to assess goal attainment and provide information to educators during the PSD process as well as follow up training and support. Content standards are focused primarily on establishing continuity between members of the school organization and outside community, and maintaining high academic standards for students. Content standards are also concerned with providing diverse and challenging learning experiences for students. Importantly, content standards require that all service providers work together with the school to develop a cohesive plan of change.

Fullan (1990, p. 21) states that, "staff development will never have its intended impact as long as it is grafted onto schools in the form of discrete, unconnected projects." One problem with the delivery of CRE is that it uses workshops that are isolated from the rest of what is happening in the school. In addition, these efforts are rarely evaluated other than collection of customer satisfaction ratings obtained at the end of training (Carruthers et al., 1996). Thus, we don't know whether teachers are actually learning to employ conflict resolution within their own personal and professional lives. Bickmore (1998, p. 53) notes that:

> Many of the common initiatives in the area of school conflict resolution are low-risk and perhaps low-impact because they focus on safety and stability at the expense of educational innovation on reducing the visible symptoms of student conflict rather than substantially challenging the prevailing patterns of adult behavior, curriculum, or school organization that may ignore or exacerbate that conflict.

A practical benefit for teaching the general conflict resolution process to educators is the hope that they would use it to deal with problems other than discipline. Training could focus on reform efforts, team or committee structure, parent/teacher conferences, administrator/teacher conflict and other sources of conflict in educators' lives. This model is much different than teaching educators how to teach CRE.

Using CRE as its own innovation in PSD would help address real obstacles educators encounter such as classroom management/discipline, violence and safety, racism, and other forms of oppression. In addition, programs that address classroom management (sometimes referred to as "setting up a peaceable classroom") and diversity and anti-bias work are more effective in recruiting educators because they deal with real issues.

An additional benefit of constructing CRE as an innovation in PSD would be that the NSCD would guide program development and implementation. This would make more cogent evaluations of CRE programs possible including greater specificity about which variables are critical to measure to more precisely determine the impact of CRE on the lives of teachers and children.

Hypotheses

Our hypotheses are not arranged in any particular order and are not necessarily based upon research or theoretical support. The purpose of listing the hypotheses and expounding upon them to the best of our ability is to help guide us towards the most pressing research needs regarding the impact of CRE on educators.

Hypothesis 1: Conflict resolution education workshops should align with the standards of professional development as set by the NSCD to ensure that the quality of training effectively meets the current needs and expectations of educators. Setting forth standards to govern and guide CRE training would help educators better evaluate their CRE experiences and would provide outside evaluators with a set of standards against which CRE training and implementation could be measured.

Hypothesis 2: Conflict resolution education should be organized around the immediate needs of educators. This can provide educators with initial personal insights into the most effective ways to teach CRE to their students. Conflict resolution can be used by educators on a whole spectrum of issues related to their professional development and should be tested to determine whether innovation would help teachers learn conflict resolution so they can more effectively teach conflict resolution. Faced with the challenge of changing the attitudes and behaviors of educators on a number of professional fronts, CRE training and implementation could facilitate these attitudinal and behavioral shifts.

Hypothesis 3: Conflict resolution programs are more effective if educators attend training voluntarily. Deutsch (1973) argues that, for CRE to work, it is essential that the process be completely voluntary and never coercive. Often educators are drafted into the training because administrators think they "need it" or because teachers have difficult classes and believe that CRE will improve their classroom management skills and help them address problem behaviors. It helps if educators' belief systems align with the principles of conflict resolution. For example, if educators believe that social and emotional development should be a critical aspect of children's education their motivation to learn CRE and effectively teach it in their classroom is likely to be enhanced. CRE training must be sensitive to educators who have different comfort levels regarding CRE.

What about those teachers who do not volunteer for CRE training? Can research inform practitioners about pedagogical and philosophical approaches similar to CRE so practitioners can attract those educators to CRE training? Can research in the field help identify effective non-coercive means to engage resistant teachers so they will join CRE training voluntarily?

Hypothesis 4: How educators see themselves and their relationship with students is critical to the success of CRE. Control is a big issue for educators. Ingersoll (1996) discovered an inverse relationship between teacher autonomy and reduction in school conflict. One of the strongest messages teachers may receive during traditional teacher training is, "you close your door and do what you want." This gives prospective educators the idea that they are totally and completely in control of the 30 children in their room. When they begin teaching conflict resolution, the classroom becomes more open, different ideas and perspectives get expressed. Children have more of a voice in how the classroom is run, and they work to solve their own conflicts rather than always looking to the teacher. While many educators say they want this, losing some of their control is potentially threatening. Accepting this and actively working towards more democracy in the classroom is an important step.

Hypothesis 5: Teacher processes and characteristics are critical in understanding teacher receptivity to CRE training, the translation of this training by the teacher into direct implementation with students, and the subsequent impact of CRE on students. Many educators who are experiencing some level of burnout (which we define as emotional exhaustion, de-personalization, and a low sense of personal accomplishment) are the very educators who need this work the most. Recent theory and qualitative research suggests the importance of other teacher processes that may also mediate the impacts of school-based interventions on children (Adalbjarnardottir, 1999; Adalbjarnardottir & Selman, 1997). This work posits different levels or stages of teacher professional development, stages marked by increasing degrees of teacher-student differentiation manifested through teacher's self-identified aims, motivation, classroom management abilities, and pedagogical philosophy. Initial qualitative work has provided compelling support for an association between teacher's level of professional development and effective instruction in social, emotional, and moral dimensions (Adalbjarnardottir, 1999; Adalbjarnardottir & Selman, 1997). Translating the qualitative-based assessment of these professional developmental stages into measures that can be broadly applied in school-based intervention studies has only recently been undertaken.

Based on the theory outlined above, Brown & Roderick (1998) developed a set of items for use in a follow-up survey of teachers originally participating in the evaluation of the Resolving Conflict Creatively Program (Aber et al., 1996, 1998). This instrument includes items from a previous measure of teacher burnout. Through factor analyses, six internally reliable sub-scales were identified: Teacher Participation Aims and Goals, Contextual Support for Intervention, Perceived Changes in Classroom Management Skill, Perceptions of Intervention Impact and Affective Education, Emotional Exhaustion, and Personal Accomplishment. Results from the follow-up survey revealed no differences on any of the sub-scales for teachers in the different profiles of Year 1 RCCP implementation (Mathew, 1999; see Aber et al., 1998 for a full description of the identification and evaluation of Year 1 implementation profiles). Only a small, but significant, positive association between teachers' self-reported levels of emotional exhaustion and the amount of teacher training and coaching received by RCCP was reported. Given the retrospective nature of this follow-up study (conducted two years after the final wave of data collection from students and teachers), these results serve only to highlight potential avenues for further investigation. Some questions of interest include the following. Do teacher processes (e.g., constructive classroom management abilities, educational philosophy) and characteristics (e.g., level of burnout) mediate the relationship between CRE intervention (particularly when based on a professional development model) and child outcomes? Do teachers who are already experiencing higher levels of job stress and burnout need additional CRE training and follow-up support? If so, is this additional attention helpful or might it engender further stress and burnout? Placing the impact of CRE on educators squarely on the research agenda is a critical step toward understanding and evaluating the short- and long-term impact of CRE on children (Aber et al., 1998).

Hypothesis 6: It is important that CRE training strike a balance between experiential learning for educators and concrete applications, curricula, role plays, etc. to prepare them for working with young people. For optimum effectiveness, the approach of conflict resolution training should be a balance of lessons and experiential learning. It is not easy to establish and maintain this balance. In fact, even programs that have long histories of accomplishment still have some internal conflict about where to strike that balance.

The content of the training is critical as well. Some conflict resolution programs don't include the full range of skills that are important in being able to resolve conflict non-violently. Some focus solely, for example, on mediation or cooperation and do not teach conflict resolution in its full complexity. In order to be effective, the following skills and concepts are critical in teaching the positive resolution of conflict: affirmation/self-esteem, cooperation, effective communication, dealing with feelings, anger management, negotiation, mediation, problem-solving, appreciating differences, social justice and creating a vision for the future. The implication of this is that the training should be extensive—at least 4-5 days in length.

A final issue concerns follow-up support. Educators need consistent follow-up support in their classrooms in order to reflect with an outside conflict resolution expert on their practices and how their lessons are working for their students. In many conflict resolution programs there is little or no follow-up. Good training must be supported through ongoing professional development in the classroom and/or follow-up training sessions where educators can reflect on their experience and help each other.

Hypothesis 7: CRE should be infused into traditional core curricula to be maximally effective. Educators often say, "I don't have time to teach direct lessons, but I just infuse it all the time." This statement is the product of either poor training or time limitations that inhibit the educators' ability to properly teach conflict resolution. What "infusing all the time" means may be just doing a gathering activity at the beginning of the day or bringing up the concept of conflict in analyzing a novel. Educators must directly teach the concepts in order to apply them and infuse them into other subject areas. As with math, where the use of decimals must be taught and understood before children can apply that knowledge to determine the cost of something, one must teach the concept of conflict before children can analyze it within a story. Determining the extent and effectiveness with which CRE is infused into other core curricula is also critical for evaluating the impact of CRE on children.

Hypothesis 8: Making connections between CRE core knowledge and standards used in standardized testing is critical for effective CRE training and implementation. Standardized testing, always a strong force in the lives of educators and schools, has become even stronger in the last few years as 48 states have passed laws that require standards in each subject area to which educators must adhere. Increasingly, learning standards are shaping what can and cannot be taught in schools. The pressure around standards and literacy is affecting educators' ability to find time as well as the motivation to do anything beyond meeting standards requirements. For conflict resolution programs to be effective we must: (1) provide educators with the connections between the learning standards that exist and the learning benchmarks in CRE and social and emotional learning and (2) work to influence standard-setting to include the goals associated with CRE and social and emotional learning.

Hypothesis 9: Insufficient time and funding are critical barriers to effective CRE training and implementation. Many educators, especially at the secondary level, simply cannot find time to conduct direct skill instruction. This is partially due to the standards/testing issue described above which affects all educators. However, middle and high school educators have such time restrictions because they need to "cover" a subject area and usually have their students 4-5 times per week in 40-minute blocks. Middle school educators tend to have a little more flexibility, but high school educators are hard pressed to find time to teach conflict resolution on a regular basis. Therefore, to be effective, conflict resolution instruction at the high school level needs to be made available through elective courses (e.g., health classes) and/or infused into other subject areas in deliberate ways.

Elementary school educators have time and scheduling constraints as well. Many schools have mandated literacy blocks in addition to other standards requirements. The rest of the day is taken up with other subjects. CRE programs typically stress that, to have a positive impact on children, it is necessary to teach at least one lesson per week. But, educators often cannot find this time or do not have the preparation periods available to make this a reality.

A related issue is the inability of schools to provide time for educators to attend CRE training, to work with outside CRE practitioners or to meet together. Some schools and districts do not have substitute teacher funds and others literally do not have substitute teachers who are willing to work in their buildings. Many conflict resolution programs spend countless hours developing creative scheduling solutions to these dilemmas. This creates a real quandary because we cannot lower our standards in terms of the time really needed to do this work, yet we must deal with the realities of schools' resources.

Funding is another critical issue. In many schools only one year of funding is available to provide CRE training, follow-up, and resource materials. It is helpful if programs require a minimum level of funding so educators are not pressured by the politics of district funding. Some programs now require that three to four full years of funding be allocated before contracts are established with a new school district.

Hypothesis 10: The school culture is a critical factor in the success of conflict resolutions programs and how educators see their particular role in this work. Educators do not work in a vacuum. If they are working hard to create a peaceable classroom environment and the concepts are not mirrored by other members of the school community, it is disempowering to educators and potentially destructive to the effectiveness of their work in the classroom. Educators need support from principals/administrators. They need the other adults in the school (administrators, parents, support staff, etc) to be trained as well. And they need the school as a whole to embrace the culture of positive problem-solving (e.g., what gets displayed on the bulletin boards, how children are treated in the lunch room, how faculty meetings are conducted, how parents are treated as members of the school community, etc.). When educators have this support, their ability to consistently practice conflict resolution in their classrooms is greatly enhanced and the experience of students is more integrated and consistent across different levels of their school environment. The impact of conflict resolution education on educators can be varied and broad depending on the characteristics of the educator, the content covered during training, the level of commitment and involvement and the depth of understanding gained by participating in the process.

Hypothesis 11: CRE programs should acknowledge that principals and teachers experience different conflict resolution contexts due to their different roles and responsibilities in the school. Principals and teachers may need different training in CRE in order to meet their conflict needs. A teacher, for example, may be able to meet his/her instructional objectives by having a CR knowledge base, while a principal may find the same knowledge base to be only minimally useful. In the daily life of a teacher, the quality of teaching may be enhanced in areas beyond instruction to include better relationships with peers and parents. The principal on the other hand may find that CRE may do little in raising levels of administrative effectiveness. Of course the reverse may also occur.

In order for CRE to have the greatest impact, schools must have goals and objectives that can be easily merged and be compatible with CRE. Further, CRE goals must be compatible with the professional goals of the individual educators in the schools. A true, lasting impact is achieved when CRE goals and objectives form a viable strand within the fabric of the school as an organization. This strand, with a discrete set of skills, practices and concepts, can be incorporated in the overall professional education process.

Hypothesis 12: CRE can be an effective tool for schools that are constantly grappling with organizational change, human and material resource management issues, community relations concerns and professional and instructional accountability requirements. It is in this context, ironically, that CRE, sometimes viewed as a "non-critical" curriculum, could ultimately have the greatest impact. Educators experience conflict of all types on a regular basis. CRE provides a knowledge and skill base that could support educators as they address these issues.

In our experience, educators who have had in-depth CRE training have demonstrated marked improvements in their instructional approaches and collegial interactions. They exhibit more tolerant behavior, better listening and interpersonal skills, and better comprehend and deal with change. For principals, the greatest benefit is a strengthening of the ability to identify and resolve problems quickly and to more effectively lead and manage the change process.

In these times where school violence has been a focus of media and school system attention, it is important to keep the mission of the schools at the forefront of our discussions. As educators we strive to provide students with an education that prepares them to lead productive and fulfilling lives. Academics and social-emotional development must together form the core of a school's mission. Schools must be safe places for students to learn. While security guards, alarm systems, weapons screening, etc., may be necessary, the importance of CRE as a central feature in the mission of schools must not be dismissed.

Discussion

The research informing the effects of conflict resolution education on educators is limited in scope and topic. Most topic studies address how CRE reduces classroom conflicts but rarely address other issues such as the effects of CRE on educators. All of the research on educators and conflict resolution education is conducted within general evaluations of CRE programs. No independent study has yet been conducted to specifically look at the effects of CRE on educators.

The majority of studies are also qualitative or descriptive in nature. While there is value in this methodology (in fact some studies have been very helpful with the richness of their descriptions of processes and outcomes), it is not yet balanced with quantitative work to test and measure the effects of CRE on educators.

Research is lacking in the area of motivating educators who are resistant to CRE. It is not clear how the impact of CRE differs with teachers who are interested in training as opposed to those educators who are resistant to CRE training. And, there is no research investigating why certain educators resist CRE.

How educators change over time and how these changes impinge upon instruction and classroom management has yet to be investigated. Longitudinal studies comparing educators who have received CRE training with those who have not received training is essential for the advancement of this field.

Professional staff development is the preferred method of delivery of conflict resolution education. The traditional method of delivery tends to follow the workshop/training/development model that tends to treat training as a stand-alone experience, disconnected from school/district strategic planning. We should examine CRE as an innovation in professional staff development, using models that emphasize how conflict resolution may be used by educators in their daily lives. Ultimately, this will positively affect the delivery of CRE to students.

Funding and resource allocation will continue to play a major role in determining the availability of CRE. The field can not continue to grow and tackle new problems and challenges without continued research. Legislators, corporations, and philanthropists need to be apprised of the current state of CRE research as well as the future needs for the field. Such information, in the hands of major decision-makers, would prove invaluable to CRE researchers and practitioners across the world.

The benefits of future research would not only include decision-makers. Teachers, parents, administrators, practitioners, clergy, law enforcement agencies, youth groups, academics, community volunteers, and the judiciary would all receive benefits from future CRE research.

Recommendations

A national scientific survey regarding teacher conflicts would help researchers, educators, and practitioners learn what kinds of conflicts educators face, the stress that such conflicts create, how educators handle them, and how such training has affected their conflict resolution behaviors. Such a survey could be conducted in conjunction with other organizations currently producing annual surveys such as Phi Delta Kappa.

Professional staff development innovations for CRE should be tested against the traditional delivery of CRE. This would entail a quasi-experimental model where there are treatment and control groups that could provide key insights into whether CRE is an effective innovation in PSD. The research would shed light on two fronts. First, it would help answer how best to teach educators CRE. Second, it would provide information on how innovation in PSD and data from outside the discipline that may be useful to members of the professional staff development field.

We should compare the effectiveness of pre-service CRE to in-service models. It would be helpful to know if CRE skills are better learned in pre-service coursework or if time in the field helps educators become more receptive to CRE.

Controlled, longitudinal studies focusing on the long-term effects of CRE on educators are essential. A longitudinal design with random assignment of teachers to intervention conditions would allow investigation of between-group and within-group differences in teacher characteristics (e.g., motivation for learning and teaching CRE) and processes (e.g., classroom management practices) and their influence on the effective teaching of CRE and the subsequent impact of CRE on children. It would also provide an important opportunity to determine whether, and/or to what extent, changes in targeted child outcomes are caused by exposure to CRE programming versus teacher-related characteristics and processes independent of CRE training and implementation.

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PRACTITIONER'S RESPONSE

CONFLICT RESOLUTION EDUCATION AND IT'S EFFECT ON EDUCATORS

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The Fairfax County Public Schools (FCPS) district-wide conflict resolution and mediation initiative began in September 1993. Marcia Sweedler, an elementary school principal, Marge Bleiweis, an elementary school counselor, and I formed the nucleus of the office whose mission includes training, program development, consultation, and intervention services. Our initial needs assessment, conducted in September/October 1993, reported that several programs existed at the elementary, middle, and high schools levels, and also demonstrated that there was a great interest in training and program development. From 1993-1996 we spent most of our time reviewing pre-existing programs and current research to help us develop our approach. We had to contend with the size of FCPS, which as the nation's 12th largest school system (156,000 students and 18,770 staff at 23 high schools, 24 middle schools, 133 elementary schools, 26 special education centers, 2 special service sites, and 32 alternative schools and programs).

The model we developed in FCPS is based in part on the assumption and supporting research demonstrating that those who receive training and practice in conflict resolution education (CRE), including mediation, are those who develop and retain the most knowledge, skills, and abilities. The second assumption that guided us was our belief that school-based educators (teachers, counselors, social workers, psychologists, administrators, etc.) knew how to teach, but did not have the conflict resolution and mediation knowledge base. Thus, we decided early on that our best approach was to teach staff how to be mediators and conflict resolvers within their schools and to suggest appropriate curricula for them to purchase and use with their students. Slowly, we began to develop our own curriculum materials. The Office of Secondary Guidance also developed a high school peer mediation course in 1994 to support teaching conflict resolution and mediation in FCPS high schools.

In the beginning, we helped schools develop conflict resolution committees, conduct needs assessments, and designed trainings to meet school staff's needs and preferences. Training generally included awareness of conflict, conflict styles, communication skills, negotiation, mediation, prejudice and bias awareness, and ethics. Program development and implementation training usually occurred separate from CRE training and involved only those people that would be directly responsible for implementing the program. The training and program development components reflected research and best practices to-date.

Due to the early success of the training and program development (by 1996 most schools offered some kind of CRE), the growing demand for training and program support, and a reduction in staffing, a programmatic decision was made in 1996 to offer a series of mediation training courses district-wide and offer customized training to schools and offices that specifically requested it. In an effort to provide more incentives to school staff to take these courses, the courses were certified by the Supreme Court of Virginia Department of Dispute Resolution. Staff, who participate in a certified training, receives training in conflict resolution and mediation and receive credit towards mediation certification.

While general conflict resolution trainings still occur, the majority of the offered and requested training is in mediation. To broaden staff knowledge, skills, and abilities, we continue to include general CRE (awareness of conflict, conflict styles, communication skills, problem solving, cultural awareness, prejudice and bias awareness, and ethics) in our mediation training. Even though most staff participate in beginning (24 hours) and advanced (24 to 44 hours) mediation training, mediation program implementation differs by educational level. At the elementary level, counselors generally teach conflict resolution lessons (3 to 16 hours) to students over the course of a year. Most schools also offer peer mediation programs for a smaller group of students (6 to 40 students). In addition, some of our schools have had most or all of their staff trained in the Johnson and Johnson (1991) program, Teaching Students to be Peacemakers, and are true school-wide CRE programs. At the middle and high school level, most schools offer peer mediation as an elective course, activity, after-school program or some combination of these. Counselors and teachers usually share responsibility for implementing programs at the middle school level. At the high school level, administrators, teachers, counselors, psychologists, and social workers often take part in program implementation.

From 1993 to 1998, CRE research helped us continually refine our training programs. For example, Cobb and Rifkin's (1991) article on neutrality in mediation led us to highlight the importance of developing a conjoint narrative and making sure that the persons who spoke later did not just respond to the person who spoke first. Silbey and Merry's (1986) and Kolb and Kressel's (1994) work on types/styles of mediation are integrated into our training to help school staff and students learn about the different approaches to mediation. The suggestions put forth by the Society for Professionals in Dispute Resolution (1991) and Bush's (1992) article on ethics was brought into our conflict resolution and mediation training. Finally, Johnson and Johnson's (1996) review of the conflict resolution education literature and work on cooperation and conflict influences a great deal of what we do in FCPS. School-based staff that ran programs relied on us for keeping them up-to-date.

Yet, more important than the articles and information that we provided was the day-to-day impact that the conflict resolution and mediation programs were having in their schools. Most of the staff participating in these programs did so because they saw first-hand how CRE could help create safer and more caring school environments as evidenced by reductions in fighting, less verbal harassment, fewer rumors, perceived improvement in student behavior, etc. During the 1998-1999 school year we began evaluating our programs to assess their effectiveness in meeting school and district goals, and to compare findings to other programs in the United States. The new emphasis in the late 1990s on best practices and research-based programs have led to the importance of creating CRE competencies that exist independent of particular programs but which are integrative to meet the needs of individual schools.

Several points raised in the chapter relate specifically to my work in FCPS. First, the staff development approach used in FCPS is different from the predominant approach mentioned in the article. This difference in approaches produces the opportunity for a fruitful discussion of which approach better serves staff development as well as student learning and practice. The benefit of the approach we use is that staff (generally, but there are exceptions) receives a high degree of training before teaching CRE to students. Also, staff receives ongoing training and support throughout the school year. The weakness of the model is that educators responsible for teaching other staff and students in their schools often do not feel adequately prepared to teach CRE. They feel prepared to conduct mediations and other forms of interventions, but they struggle in the beginning years to teach and implement programs. To meet this need, and to move closer to what other schools are doing, we are in the process of developing a train-the-trainers course to help staff learn how to teach and implement CRE programs.

Second, while much of the training that takes place is viewed as staff development training, it does not adequately fit into any of the staff development frameworks provided in the article. In fact, CRE is based in the Department of Student Services and Special Education and not the Instructional Services Department, which is responsible for professional staff development. The context, process, and content standards that we use are based upon the Conflict Resolution Education Network (1996) standards and the Supreme Court of Virginia Department of Dispute Resolution Services (2000) certification standards. Comparing these standards for training and program development with standards from the National Staff Development Council may prove useful to strengthen CRE programs.

Third, the authors make an excellent point in highlighting that most of the focus of CRE is on students and not staff. Even though FCPS focuses a lot of attention on staff, most schools and the district as a whole focus on student outcomes. In fact, the evaluation process that began in 1998 focuses mainly on student knowledge, skills, and abilities. Staff expertise and ability in CRE, as mentioned in the article, is just one component of the evaluation and not the main focus. I have been interested in conducting a more comprehensive evaluation of staff learning for the past several years, but have not had the resources to do so. This article has renewed the importance in learning more about how CRE impacts educators and the relationship between those impacts and student learning.

One of the fundamental themes that emerges from the chapter is the need to see CRE as both process and content, although I see these defined differently from the National Staff Development Council definitions provided in the chapter. Process, the way I am using it, refers to how CRE is being taught (pedagogy) to staff and students, and through what approach (internal vs. external service provider; as an elective, after school program, or infused in curricula; cadre vs. whole school program, etc.). I agree with the authors that we need to develop goals and objectives to measure the effectiveness of teaching/training educators in CRE. Content refers to the actual skills and concepts being taught to staff and students. Most of the current CRE research is student-focused and the instruments used reflect student-developmental levels. Thus, it is important to develop training programs and instruments that focus on staff (teachers, counselors, administrators, social workers, psychologists, special educators, etc.) to assess what the most effective approaches are to help them internalize, practice, and teach CRE.

The suggestions for future research that inform CRE practice include the continuing development of training standards and the need to learn more about educator's views on CRE. For example, we should better understand why educators are interested in learning about and teaching CRE, what are the particular content and delivery models that are most effective to help staff and students internalize and practice CRE, and what are educators' issues about CRE institutionalization. These are all critical areas that effect CRE practitioners every day. A national scientific survey that would help us gather data about the kinds, types, frequencies, etc. of conflict faced by educators is a sound recommendation as long as it is not too burdensome to school staff and provides useful information that will help further develop CRE knowledge, skills, and abilities.

The second suggestion about comparisons between CRE training and PSD delivery models may be useful, but I do not feel qualified to comment further as I am not familiar enough with current PSD theory and application beyond what I have read in the article. I do know, from training over 2,500 staff, that the CREnet recommended training guidelines and Virginia Supreme Court Department of Dispute Resolution standards provide excellent guidance for designing and delivering training. I would be very interested in seeing if staff learning and ability in CRE is dependent on the type of training model used. I also echo the author's interest in comparing pre-service and in-service CRE across a whole range of dependent variables to assess effectiveness and attitudinal/behavioral change. Finally, I am supportive of the need to conduct longitudinal studies while realizing the tremendous difficulties in conducting such research.

There are several fruitful areas of research that interest me but are not specifically mentioned in the chapter. One of the areas discussed above includes researching the effectiveness of internal vs. external models and their impact on staff training, program consultation and development, student training, intervention services, etc. A second area would look at the degree to which staff actually mediate/intervene in conflicts in their schools and how this involvement influences their teaching. Does practice actually help one teach/train better? How well are staff prepared to practice and are they being mentored or coached to improve their knowledge, skills, and abilities in practicing or are staff on their own to figure things out? Third, what are the best teaching/training methodologies for helping educators learn and internalize CRE? Are different methodologies necessary to help them learn and internalize how to teach CRE to others? Fourth, what is the connection between the staff's ability to resolve conflicts nonviolently and trained students' abilities? Fifth, what role does the school structure play in supporting CRE? Can programs survive (or thrive) with little of no administrative support if they have committed staff? What degree of institutionalization is necessary to allow CRE to permeate staff who do not receive training? Sixth, how do attitudes and behaviors of trained staff compare to untrained staff at the elementary, middle, and high school levels? Does the school environment influence staff attitudes and behaviors? To what degree are staff practicing and modeling CRE to other staff, students, parents, and community members? Is staff practice and modeling effective? Seventh, what are the differences in practice, teaching, training, etc. among trained staff by position? Are their differences between teachers, counselors, administrators, social workers, psychologists, special educators, etc.? Which staff become the best conflict resolution educators? These are initial thoughts about areas for further research that would be beneficial to my work in FCPS.

It should be apparent from my response this far that I am already thinking about new directions for the ongoing program evaluation of conflict resolution and mediation programs in FCPS. As a doctoral student at the Institute for Conflict Analysis and Resolution at George Mason University, I fully recognize and support the need for conducting systematic and high quality research. I am particularly interested in research that helps improve practice. This kind of research is something that I can immediately utilize in my work with staff through FCPS. As part of the school system, however, I am cautiously interested in conducting needed research in FCPS. While I recognize the need for ongoing research and have the ability to gain system-support (as a school system person), I do not want to overburden already overburdened staff. Thus, any research project would have to be very well thought out in advanced and not draw too much staff time away from providing instruction to their students or completing other regular duties.

I am excited at the prospects of conducting research whether it is in FCPS, in another school district or with FCPS as a part of a larger study. I firmly believe that sound research is needed to insure that CRE remains an integral part of student and staff education in the twenty-first century.

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CHAPTER 4

IMPACT ON DIVERSE POPULATIONS: HOW CRE HAS NOT ADDRESSED THE NEEDS OF DIVERSE POPULATIONS

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This chapter examines what research and experience teach us about the impact of conflict resolution education programs in meeting the needs of diverse populations. We use "diverse" in its broadest context, including race, gender, ethnicity, language, sexual orientation, age, class, physical challenges (whether able-bodied or not), religion, region, etc. Moreover, while we view diversity as inclusive of all people within these categories, we recognize that the current, common usage of this term implies a focus on those groups not seen as part of the majority or dominant groups in society. Therefore, for the purposes of this paper, we use the term "diverse" to mean "non-dominant." "Diversity" in race, for example, will focus on people of color, etc.

From the outset, we assumed that meeting the needs of diverse populations has generally not been a focus of the CRE field. Deborah Bailey (1997) points out, for example, that a review of the Consortium on Peace Research Education and Development's (COPRED) compilation of academic conflict resolution programs revealed few that contained course work related to race, ethnicity, and/or cultural diversity. Indeed, only 10% of the degree/certificate programs addressed domestic cultural diversity issues.

We have personal experience with conflict resolution education programs and resource materials that do include cultural diversity issues. Frequently, however, the inclusion of diversity is through an emphasis on cultural sensitivity and awareness as opposed to a curricular focus on building cultural competence. Even then, these programs appear to be the exception rather than the rule, with most found at the local/community level and, therefore, not documented in the "mainstream" literature. Indeed participants in the National Conference on Peacemaking and Conflict Resolution's (NCPCR) Diversity Initiative reported that they found it necessary to turn to the fields of education, social work and counseling in developing guidelines for cultural competency for mediators as part of that initiative.

These circumstances presented the special challenge of attempting to draw conclusions about impacts that were essentially not addressed in the "mainstream" literature of the field. We met this challenge through the following process.

First, based on our lived experiences and our review of existing literature, the team framed (a) certain threshold "foundational" hypotheses about the landscape of conflict resolution education's focus, or lack thereof, on impacts on diverse populations and (b) certain "implementation" hypotheses and/or questions about what role conflict resolution education programs could have in meeting the needs of diverse populations and of advancing a multicultural community. (Included in the latter were questions about what skills it is important to teach and what successful models we might learn from if conflict resolution education programs were to achieve these ends.) Second, believing it important to understand the overall contextual framework within which conflict resolution education is viewed, we examined the relationship of conflict to culture, demographics, and social justice; and the implications of these for how conflict is addressed programmatically. Third, to shed light on what we know and what we still need to learn about the potential impact of conflict resolution education on diverse populations, we examined findings from related disciplines (e.g., intergroup relations, conflict theory, social justice education, etc.), as well as the "lived experiences" of practitioners and educators themselves. Finally, in examining the need for future research and reflecting on our experience that conflict resolution education programs that focused on meeting the needs of diverse populations were found most often at the local, grassroots, community level, we came to the conclusion that the most pressing need was for a "meta-analysis" of such programs to tease out common components, principles, etc. that might be applicable across all programs. In advancing this recommendation the group was mindful of work already launched, e.g., the National Conference on Peacemaking and Conflict Resolution's Diverse Traditions project, on which it might be possible to build.

Assumptions and Hypotheses/Questions

We have "foundational" assumptions that we believe are important to clarify:

(1) The definition of success in most conflict resolution programs does not reflect an interest in meeting the needs of diverse populations, but rather is related to:
- Decrease in referrals to principal/vice principal
- Less need for adult intervention in disputes
- Fewer fights/disruptions
- Number of mediation agreements
- Number of mediation agreements upheld
- Increase in academic performance
- Impact on keeping at risk students in school
- Improved peer to peer relationships

(2) Improved intergroup relations is indeed a goal of conflict resolution education. CRE is important not just as a way of helping individuals and communities address conflict, but also as a way of positively affecting intergroup relations.

(3) We can generalize from research on peer mediation programs to CRE programs as a whole. Thus, while our hypotheses and questions are framed in terms of peer mediation (since this is the CRE model most widely experienced and about which there is the most published material) they are generalizeable to CRE broadly speaking.

(4) The "mainstream" practice, reflected both in the literature and in our lived experience, is to view conflict from a perspective that reflects the dominant cultural paradigm, which impacts intervention in the following ways:
- Seeing disputes as conflicts between individuals
- Attempting to narrow the number of people who come to mediation in each conflict
- Seeing issues of race, gender, etc., as "non-mediable"
- Focusing on exchange bargaining and agreements
- Valuing symmetrical interventions: treating each disputant exactly the same
- Seeing conflict as negative and worthy of elimination

(5) Most of those who design and/or support conflict resolution education programs are from the dominant culture.

(6) The published and recognized research in the field is mostly from a perspective reflecting the dominant culture, does not incorporate culturally diverse perspectives and priorities, and does not examine the impact on diverse populations. That research which does exist is anecdotal and interdisciplinary.

(7) There is virtually no research on conflict resolution education's role in addressing harassment issues with respect to factors other than age, gender, and race.

Our hypotheses concerning theories and models about how conflict resolution education programs could better meet the needs of diverse populations and advance the building of multicultural communities were the following:

Hypothesis 1: In diverse mediation programs, where mediators reflect the identities and social standing of the participants, the programs are more successful in meeting the needs of diverse populations and are more highly utilized by members of diverse groups. As a corollary principle, to the extent there is a relationship disconnect in mediation programs between the helpers and the "helped" (e.g., when the mediators are, for example, good students, white, female, able-bodied, middle class, and the disputants are not deemed good students and/or come from target populations and/or are deemed "outsiders" to the culture of the schools) the mediation programs serve to reinforce the social hierarchy and do not meet the needs of diverse populations.

Hypotheses 2: If the conflict resolution program is trained by a diverse training team and is exposed to diverse (i.e., by culture, etc.) perspectives and techniques then it:

- Is more likely to meet the needs of diverse populations
- Is more representative of an ideal multicultural society
- Provides multicultural learning useful to living in a multicultural society
- Provides a multicultural skill-base for intervening in multicultural conflicts.
- Provides education in mediating from different cultural approaches
- Provides insight into different perspectives on conflict

We also had research questions related to implementation theories and models. Specifically the questions were the following:

Research Question 1: Are there specific, culturally based interventions that have been successful in meeting the needs of diverse populations to achieve certain outcomes?

Research Question 2: What elements need to be present in culturally specific conflict resolution education? Are there some definite practices to avoid?

Research Question 3: What skills lead to reduced conflict between groups and improved intergroup relations and mutual trust?

Research Question 4: How does teaching conflict resolution theory and skills from culturally diverse perspectives differ from teaching about conflict resolution and issues of inequality between groups as they affect conflict?

Discussion Framework

In order to examine the impact of conflict resolution education on diverse populations, one must acknowledge the significance of perspective. This entails considering whose perspectives are guiding, conducting, and publishing conflict resolution education research. There has been an abundance of information published on conflict resolution education in general and mediation in particular. However, there is much less research done and even less published on the effect of conflict resolution education on diverse populations, let alone from the perspective of those from diverse populations. Therefore, in comparing conflict resolution education programs and assessing their impact on diverse populations, it is both necessary and helpful to look to teachings from related disciplines.

For the purposes of this paper, the group reviewed the literature of the fields of violence prevention, conflict theory, intergroup relations, social justice education, intercultural conflict, mediation, and multicultural education. That review has led to certain salient conclusions about (1) the relationship of culture and conflict, (2) the relationship of demographics and conflict, (3) the relationship of structural social injustice and conflict, and (4) the implications of these for how conflict is addressed programmatically.

Culture and conflict. In examining the connections between conflict and culture, we found it helpful to look at work from a number of sister disciplines, most notably sociology, communications, and education. Sociologist Wendy Griswold (1994, p. 3), for example, defines culture as the "expressive side of human life - behavior, objects, and ideas that can be seen to express, to stand for, something else." Communication scholars Hecht, Collier and Ribeau (1993) look at culture as the shared cognitive and material items that forge a group's identity and ensure its survival. In an educational context, Ploumis-Devick (1992, p. 6) simplifies culture as "basically a framework for behavior. It consists of human-made guidelines, written and unwritten, that serve to provide order to how groups of people relate to one another and their world."

Culture may refer to race and ethnicity but more recently has come to include gender, physical challenge, sexual orientation, religious, and socioeconomic status as well as other delineating or differentiating features (Jones & Brinkman, 1994; Sleeter & Grant, 1987). Culture provides a context for examining human behavior.

Ross (1993, p . xx) suggests that conflict is a "cultural behavior," one which is defined, shaped, and reinforced by the larger cultural context. He contends that the means of dispute resolution and the resources that shape the outcome of the dispute are found within a given society's "constellation of norms, practices, and institutions." Cultural conflict is therefore constructed as a perceived and/or actual incompatibility of values, expectation, processes, or outcomes between two or more parties with different cultural frameworks over substantive and/or relational issues (Ting-Toomey, 1997). Culturally informed factors which might influence conflict and its resolution include variations in self-perception, individualist versus collectivist orientations, language and other communication differences, conflict orientation; and, conflict styles such as preference/expectation of negotiation, non-verbal behaviors, use of face saving or face threatening behaviors or preference/expectation for third party intervention (Cupach & Canary, 1997).

Demographics and conflict. Today, students of color represent 37% of school enrollments generally, and 59% of school enrollments in center-city schools (U.S. Census Bureau, 1998). While similar Census Bureau projections on school enrollment into the new century are presently unavailable, projections for the population as a whole are that the proportion of whites will drop significantly, from the current level of 71.7% to 40% by 2100. Hispanics will comprise the next largest segment of the population, estimated by 2100 to be 33.3% (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000). Today, the majority of immigrants come from Caribbean, Asian, and Latin American countries, and that trend is expected to continue.

Beyond 2000, demographic changes in the United States are likely to increase diversity even in rural schools. Greater attention to research involving these diverse populations will be necessary (Betancourt & Lopez, 1993) as well as further research on intergroup conflict and conflict resolution.

Research findings from intergroup relations and related disciplines provide useful insights into the relationships between groups. Students in multiethnic schools, for example, often seek out their own racial or ethnic identity groups (Romo & Falbo, 1996) and, with the demographic shifts anticipated, increased intergroup anxiety may continue to affect social concerns and academic achievement (Stephan, 1985). Conflicts tend to make ethnic boundaries more distinct and increase insider group unity (Sherif, 1966). This reinforces conflict and separation between groups. In schools with a "traditional structure" intercultural interaction is often superficial and competitive (Slavin, 1995). To counteract this tendency, schools and classrooms that employ cooperative learning practices and multicultural education are likely to be more effective in fostering harmonious interactions (Slavin, 1995; Swadener, 1986, 1988).

The literature of intergroup relations and multicultural education holds an abundance of strategies and interventions both for the diagnosis and resolution of culturally-based conflicts. Approaches relevant to conflict resolution education focus on human relations, promoting knowledge and appreciation of diverse population groups, and preparing students to challenge social injustice (Sleeter & Grant, 1987). One study found, for example, that medical students exposed to a curriculum about homosexuality demonstrated an increase in sensitivity, a reduction in stereotypes, and the "de-medicalization" of their views of homosexuality as a disease (Wallick, Cambre, & Townsend, 1992). Another study reported a decline in homophobia when people were given information and/or an opportunity to learn and interact with material on gay and lesbian life experiences and/or interact with gays and lesbians on these subjects (Wells, 1989).

Structural social injustice and conflict. Researchers and practitioners in the field of social justice education have outlined a variety of useful ways for understanding the complex nature of social stratification. They provide analyses of how, why, and under what conditions structural stratification is created, implemented, and maintained in forms such as racism, classism, and sexism, for example. This field also has much to offer conflict resolution education regarding the role conflict resolution plays in both the maintenance of and the struggle to dismantle such systems. Therefore, an examination of social justice education literature and practices can be invaluable for conflict resolution education as it informs the conditions in schools and communities in which conflict resolution education is occurring.

Rawls (1971) writes about the importance of social stratification or where one is situated in society. He emphasizes that the reality of differing starting places in life (due to class, for example) must be taken into account as people work to define what justice is and work to create it in society. Hardiman and Jackson (1997, p. 17) write about the structures and dynamics which perpetuate oppression in society:

> Social oppression exists when one social group, whether knowingly or unconsciously, exploits another social group for its own benefit. Social oppression is distinct from a situation of simple brute force in that it is an interlocking system that involves ideological control as well as domination and control of the social institutions and resources of the society, resulting in

> a condition of privilege for the agent group relative to the disenfranchisement and exploitation of the target group.

Such approaches can inform conflict resolution education researchers, educators, and practitioners with insight into the structural conditions of conflict that repeatedly play out in schools and their communities.

Rouhana and Korper (1996) write about the dynamics of intergroup conflict resolution within communities and societies experiencing social stratification. Their research demonstrates how status stratification based on group identity plays out on the interpersonal levels and within small mixed-group gatherings. They found that the members of the disenfranchised group had very different needs and priorities with regard to conflict than the members of the privileged group in society. The differing relationship with conflict was fundamental to both groups' expectations and needs with regard to intervention in the conflict; with the disenfranchised group seeking conflict acknowledgement as a precondition to conflict resolution and the privileged group seeking individual connections, conflict resolution and a reduction of tension as paramount.

Just by mentioning these few examples, it can be clearly seen that the social justice education field has much to offer conflict resolution education in understanding the differing needs of all groups with regard to conflict and conflict resolution. These insights can impact training models, curricula, intervention techniques, and program implementation.

How conflict is addressed programmatically. How and why conflict resolution education programs are implemented programmatically must be considered in assessing impacts on diverse populations. Also significant are the measures used to evaluate the efficacy of such programs.

For example, some conflict resolution education programming reflects concerns about school or public safety. With their focus on gang violence or gang prevention, these conflict resolution programs are often directed primarily toward Black and Hispanic youth, which typically, in the eyes of the general public are synonymous with criminality and violence. These prevention programs may lump together or conceptually link "at-risk" youth, children in poverty, violent children, and people of color as targeted categories. This conceptual link is then reinforced by concrete funding from state and federal agencies to help schools generate or allocate resources for their school safety or other programs. Educators and conflict resolvers share in the responsibility for having helped to direct the focus toward the "usual suspects," thereby missing symptoms of a larger set of concerns and structural inequities. In evaluating the impact of conflict resolution education on diverse populations, attention must be paid to whether conflict resolution processes support or dispel the notion that diverse populations are the "problem" and whether solutions are being advanced to address the structural injustices in schools and society at large which feed conflict and intergroup tension.

Early evaluative research looked at critical factors in program implementation and development, changes in student attitudes toward conflict, and changes in school disciplinary actions, but did not examine issues around diversity. Much of the contemporary research that is published about conflict resolution education is descriptive or anecdotal information about specific programs and does not look at issues of diversity.

Comparison and evaluation of the impact of conflict resolution education on diverse populations is further complicated in light of the great variety of approaches to conflict resolution education (Crawford & Bodine, 1996; Inger 1991; Jones, 1995). Programs may, for example, have another stated purpose, such as rites of passage programs, parent education or clinical interventions, while including conflict resolution as a component. Such programs are often implemented at the community level. For example, Crawford and Bodine (1996) discuss initiatives by such organizations as Boys and Girls Clubs, the YMCA, YWCA, Girl and Boy Scouts, and the Community Relations Service of the Department of Justice. These initiatives are likely to involve culturally diverse children, but this work is seldom documented. The Community Relations Service, for example, has been involved for decades in school-based intercultural conflict, but have not published their findings outside of their annual reports.

A number of factors may have prevented practitioners from documenting or evaluating effectiveness or outcomes of the conflict resolution education components (at least through "mainstream" methods). Among them might be demands on practitioner time, agency constraints, or lack of familiarity with or perceived irrelevance of mainstream evaluative or empirical research methods. Perhaps more fundamentally, for these programs to be studied as conflict resolution education requires a shift in definitions. Those utilizing the "mainstream" paradigm must shift to acknowledge these programs as part of the existing and authentic body of what constitutes conflict resolution education.

Foundational Hypotheses

Our experience and our examination of materials, articles, journals and the like reinforces the conclusion that sources on conflict resolution education largely fail to address the field's impact on meeting the needs of diverse populations. There is a dirth of material on diverse populations as creators of conflict resolution skills, traditions, or educational practices. And there is little focus on diverse populations' own statements of needs that could be addressed by the conflict resolution education field.

Instead, typical measures of conflict resolution program success relate to: the peaceful resolution of interpersonal disputes, a reduction in the need for adult intervention to resolve such disputes, increases in students' problem solving and coping skills, and in some cases, increases in academic performance. A program's impact on classroom or school intergroup relations is ordinarily not measured. Also not typically considered is the role of conflict resolution in contributing to the harmony of the larger community. Coleman and Deutsch (1995) point out, for example, that aside from data on the nature of "victimization" (robbery, assault, sexual harassment, insults) there is no data on impact of conflict resolution education on reducing ethnic conflicts or improving intergroup relations.

Jones, et al. (1997) did look at the impact of mediation practices in terms of the race and gender of students in elementary, middle, and high schools. While they found no significant differences in terms of CRE impacts on students related to their race and gender, they did find general differences relating conflict to race and gender regardless of the students' involvement in CRE. They found differences in students' self-reports of conflict frequency and involvement related to race and gender. For example, they found that girls were more willing to help others who were experiencing conflict and girls reported having fewer incidents of personal conflict than boys. They also found that high school African-American students reported lower rates of conflict in schools and personal conflict than Caucasian, Hispanic, Asian or Interracial students. But, African-American students in elementary schools reported more personal conflicts than their peers. The researchers also looked at the students' orientations toward aggressiveness and attitudes about prosocial behavior (e.g., staying out of trouble, doing well in school) and found that at the elementary school level, Interracial and African-American students had higher aggressive orientations than others, but at the middle school level Caucasians and Interracial males had higher aggressive orientations than others. In high schools, Interracial, African-American and Hispanic students scored highest on prosocial behaviors and African-American students were most inclined to use collaborative interpersonal negotiation strategies.

In this study, program efficacy looked at measures related to behaviors and attitudes toward interpersonal conflict. Systemic issues, for example, such as impacts on intergroup relations within the school, were not examined. Moreover, while we applaud the researchers' examination of results based on certain cultural factors, future research analyzing the underlying context would be most welcome (e.g., cultural or social factors that might explain differences in reporting rate, differences in how identity-based conflicts were handled, etc).

To be sure some of the literature does discuss ways to make an essentially Eurocentric model more culturally "approachable" through a focus on building the cultural awareness and sensitivity of third party "neutrals" and disputants (e.g., building understanding, awareness, etc.; see Coleman and Deutsch for a report of a survey of practitioners in the New York metropolitan areas). But most often these programs fail to address the cultural competence of the mediators or the appropriateness of the model. Indeed in focus groups as part of the National Conference on Peacemaking and Conflict Resolution's (NCPCR) *Diverse Traditions* project, researchers found that African American participants in overwhelming numbers failed to see "mainstream" conflict resolution as relevant to their communities. According to Sharon Bailey, Director of the Diverse Traditions Project, similar themes emerged during Cultural Bridges Coalition meetings when exploring the dynamics of cultural competence in mediation. Participants, who were mediation or conflict resolution practitioners from Native American, African American, Latino, and Asian American communities, all spoke of making vast adaptations to mainstream mediation and conflict resolution processes.

Interventions or approaches from "diverse populations" are rarely explored and even less frequently taught in CRE. In an immensely important contribution to the field, NCPCR's *Diverse Traditions* project is identifying key elements of addressing conflict that are important to communities of color with the goal, ultimately, of articulating a model or models that are culturally relevant to such communities.

Finally, what is typically missing from "mainstream" conflict resolution education is a focus on the structural and institutional issues underlying conflict and the changes necessary to fundamentally affect intergroup relations by confronting systemic bias (see Moore, 1997). Undoubtedly related to the lack of focus on structural, systemic issues is the conflict resolution education field's belief in the importance of "neutrality" and its inclination to see all disputes as interpersonal (Cobb & Rifkin, 1991; Moore, 1997; Rouhana & Korper, 1996). As a result of these underlying premises, mainstream conflict resolution education models do not typically allow for bringing allies to a mediation to assist participants who have and perceive themselves as having less power. The identification of stakeholders to the dispute is narrowed to the immediate disputants as opposed to connecting the dispute and disputants to relationships in the broader community. Typically, issues of race, gender, etc., are not seen as mediatable (e.g., "we mediate behavior," but not the underlying racism or sexism) and the mediator is not ordinarily put in the role of advice-giver, or able through his or her position as the "authority" in the mediation to influence power relationships.

It should be noted that the singular focus on the interpersonal is a reflection of both a specific cultural approach to what constitutes the "core" of conflict resolution practices as well as a perpetuation of power dominance. Thus, for example, not being able to expand the scope of who attends a mediation is both a result of not viewing extended community relationships as core to conflict resolution and it also undermines the power of those who would benefit from having allies in the room and perpetuates the domination of those less in need of such allies.

All of the above links to the field's ambivalence about its role/responsibility in promoting social justice. Query, for example, whether the following are principles found in the published literature, in training materials, or, even subscribed to by the mainstream of conflict resolution educators (Bailey, 1997, p. 18):

> Cultural competence is critical to conflict resolution in schools because, as in any institution, issues of power and structure are involved. Culturally competent interveners and facilitators must be adept at detecting the subtle distinctions between individual acts of prejudice and systemic, institutionalized racism and oppression. As intermediaries in school and campus conflict involving systemic inequities, school-based mediators need to know when it is appropriate to move beyond the parties directly involved in a conflict situation and confront the broader issues that promote the kind of structural changes that create institutions that serve as agents of student empowerment.

We found these principles - by and large - to be absent from published literature and training materials.

The lack of focus on meeting the needs of diverse populations is also likely attributable to the situation, confirmed by the authors' collective experience, that the mainstream conflict resolution education practitioners and leaders (e.g., organizational leaders, publishers, journal editors, researchers, funders) are overwhelmingly from dominant groups. Although this may be changing, especially as a younger, more diverse practitioner group emerges from the body of students engaged in conflict resolution education programs around the country; by and large, major private and public funding from the field still comes from institutions headed by individuals from dominant groups. Key administrators and faculty responsible for designing and supporting such programs are from dominant groups; and the majority of practitioners are from dominant groups.

As a result, the research in the field mainly focuses on the dominant groups' needs and traditions. And where there is a focus on diversity and impacts on diverse populations, the field tends to limit the examination to the factors of age, gender, and, infrequently, race. The role of conflict resolution education in dealing with bullying/ harassment based on other categories (e.g., homophobia and religion) that can lead to hate crimes is much less evident, but extremely important (Prichard, 1999).

We found that there is very little discussion in the literature or focus in trainings on issues of class. We were able to find one leading study on the Resolving Conflict Creatively Program in New York City in which researchers did look for impacts based on economic status. The study found a differential impact of the program on children from low income neighborhoods with high homicide rates; observing that while such children showed a decline in aggressive interpersonal strategies employed comparable to that of children in higher income, less violent neighborhoods, they did not demonstrate a similar decline in aggressive fantasies. The authors also noted no differential effect of the program by gender or grade, while acknowledging that similar studies have observed such impact (Aber, Jones, Brown, Chadry, & Samples, 1998).

Implementation theories/models

Research in the related fields of intergroup relations and social justice confirms our hypotheses about how conflict resolution education programs can better meet the needs of diverse populations and promote multicultural communities. In the field of intergroup relations, for example, much of the work currently being done in school contexts builds on Allport's seminal assumptions known as the "contact theory" (Pettegrew, 1998). Specifically, the theory asserts that for contact between groups to lead to improved intergroup relations, certain factors need to prevail: (1) there must be equal status contact between individuals from different groups who are pursuing common goals; (2) the contact must be approved by those in authority; and (3) there must be an opportunity for members of dominant and non-dominant groups to interact as individuals. Others also note the importance of cooperation as an underpinning to such contacts (Braddock, Dawkins, & Wilson, 1995; Schofield, 1995).

Significantly, while Allport's theories are a commonly shared foundation for work in the intergroup relations field, there is little generated from within the conflict resolution education field with respect to these theories. There is, for example, little research testing Allport's hypotheses specifically within conflict resolution education.

What emerges from this is the imperative that the goal of improving intergroup relations enters the radar screen of conflict resolution education supporters and practitioners so that there exists the possibility of fostering positive achievements in intergroup relations. Such work would acknowledge and support not just the resolution of interpersonal disputes, but also the building of relationships and community across diverse groups while accounting for and handling conflict driven by underlying structures and systems.

In addition, our experience confirms the importance of teacher and staff training to the success of meeting the needs of diverse populations and advancing a multicultural community. Lantieri and Patti (1996), for example, in *Waging Peace in our Schools,* deal compellingly with the need to assess the cultural competence of participants in conflict resolution education programs, to value diversity and prevent prejudice. Lantieri and Patti urge educators to begin with their own work, understanding the difference between prejudice and discrimination and then to teach the skills of interrupting bias and prejudice, eliminating slurs, correcting erroneous assumptions and misunderstandings, etc. as part of the conflict resolution education curriculum. Above all, educators must be committed to being responsive and pro-active and to following-through (Lantieri & Patti, 1996)

Schofield (1995) addresses the role that teachers can play in improving intergroup relations, reporting on studies that make the connection between teachers' negative attitudes about intergroup relations (between whites and African Americans) and white students' tendencies to avoid their African American classmates. Teachers, through their authority, their ability to create expectations around intergroup harmony, and their ability to model awareness, sensitivity, and fairness, contribute immensely to the success of strategies to promote positive intergroup relations.

Similarly, noted intergroup relations authority James Banks (1995, p. 333), emphasizes the need for effective teacher education "to counteract the Eurocentric values and attitudes that many teachers have internalized ...." And Zeichner (1995, p. 398) discusses at length the challenges in educating teachers for diversity, noting that successful educational strategies will include "significant changes in the staffing patterns, reward structures, and moral commitments of teacher education institutions." Although the focus of conflict resolution education training is different, to be successful at meeting the needs of diverse populations, conflict resolution education trainers and educators could well benefit from understanding the lessons of those in the related intergroup relations field.

In addition, our search of the social justice literature teaches that conflict resolution education programs, if they attend to the structural and institutional issues framed in our hypotheses, have the potential to improve the status and experience of diverse populations, thereby helping to promote a more just community. Exploring specific strategies for accomplishing this requires at present an examination of related disciplines.

An example of the significant contribution possible from related disciplines comes from the work of the National Conference for Community and Justice (NCCJ). As part of a recent series on improving intergroup relations, NCCJ examined promising practices for promoting multicultural communities. The lessons embodied in these practices, summarized below, shed important light for conflict resolution educators committed to meeting the needs of diverse populations on the structural, group, and individual levels. Specifically, Smith and Ahuya (1999, pp.vi-vii) found the following criteria to be paramount:

- utilize inclusive approaches
- embody diversity in program leaders, staff, and participants
- have consistency of purpose in goals, methodology, and implementation
- [be] sustainable, yet flexible to meet changing needs

- create cognitive and affective growth among participants relative to bias, bigotry, and racism
- address the many forms of prejudice and racism, including both the systemic and the personal
- work actively to dismantle the systems of power and privilege that oppress some while providing advantages for others
- empower individuals and institutions to develop, implement, and support systems of inclusion
- address the connections between and among all of the "isms"
- address current critical human-relations issues in the communities that they serve
- demonstrate measurable results over time and incorporate evaluation methodology to do so
- provide opportunities for training trainers to reach a broader audience and continue to expand their impact
- be demonstrably transferable and/or replicable

Similarly, those in the related field of social and emotional learning (SEL) have enunciated guidelines for educators that include a focus on diversity. Those guidelines urge social and emotional program planners to explicitly address diversity in their program design, explaining that (Elias, et al. 1997, p. 92), "A diverse SEL program is one that is sensitive, relevant, appropriate, and responsive with regard not only to cultural matters, but also the ethnicity, gender, physical challenges, and socio-economics of students served, as well as of the faculty and staff carrying out the program."

Research Needs

As a result of the discussion at the symposium, we believe we can articulate a future research agenda that will provide answers to the questions we present in earlier sections. However, before we overview the research agenda, we believe it is paramount to argue for a more robust orientation to research in general, one that will better enable us to capture the experiences of diverse populations. Specifically, while we acknowledge the value of traditional, scientific methodologies, we believe that qualitative, ethnographic and critical methodologies should also be used. During the symposium, many people argued that we need to use research practices that tap into the lived experience of diverse populations, that identify collective memories of success, that recognize underlying oppressive structures and make them transparent so that they may be better addressed in interventions, and that privilege voices from all levels (e.g., student, parent, teacher, community member) as well as all orientations (e.g., diversity in terms of class, race, gender, age, ethnicity, etc.). We agree with these suggestions and encourage the reader to adopt these research practices as they accomplish their own or oue collective research goals that are presented below.

In the symposium, the group identified four major suggestions for future research. Each is presented below in terms of a discussion of the benefits of the research, the forms of the research, and the challenges facing the researchers.

Interview and survey members of diverse populations to identify their needs and interests in CRE research. (a) What do diverse populations think the research in CRE needs to focus on? (b) What do diverse populations think the impact of CRE has been? This research would provide important information from key stakeholders who have not, to date, been asked about their perceptions of CRE or their interests in supporting CRE programs. It should enhance the perspective-taking ability of the dominant group and provide opportunities for dialogue between members of diverse populations as well as between members of diverse and dominant populations. It would bring the agenda of diverse populations into the center of the field and potentially stimulate even more interest in this area of work. Finally, for all the reasons indicated above, it should provide interest in and opportunities for collaboration and partnerships to conduct CRE research with and for diverse populations.

The forms that this research may take could involve an inductive approach that begins with a series of focus group interviews with members of diverse populations who have been involved in CRE efforts as well as those who have chosen not to participate previously. The interviews may explore their views on the goals that CRE should obtain and why. Based on these interviews (which we anticipate would involve a number of populations in a number of interview processes), a survey instrument could be constructed and administered that would enable response from a larger sample of diverse populations. In this way, the qualitative and the quantitative methods work in synergy, with both acting to uncover information while still respecting the lived experience of diverse populations.

A primary challenge of this research would be identifying and gaining the support of members of diverse populations to participate. There may be initial distrust of the motives behind the research that would prevent people from giving their time and being willing to share their experiences. There is also a challenge of convincing people who operate exclusively from a scientific research paradigm that these interviews have sufficient validity on which to base conclusions. And, as with all the research suggested here, there is a challenge of defining who is a member of a diverse population and, as a result, who should be included in the research. There is not a consensus on who belongs to the dominant group and who does not.

Interview and survey people who have (a) worked in hostile environments in terms of oppression and social justice and (b) have been successful in working with advantaged groups to create CRE efforts related to social justice. This research would explore narratives of successful experiences in order to develop models for similar intervention in other areas. The benefits of the research are obvious: the development of a set of best practices, the identification of factors associated with the failure of such efforts, and the camaraderie developed from the shared experiences of ideologically minded people. This research also provides links between CRE and social justice individuals that may lead to more formal relations and collaborative potential.

We envision this research involving a grounded theory, inductive methodology, using in-depth individual interviews. The interviewees would probably be selected by a self-and other-nomination process. Basically, people who see themselves as having lived this experience should be given an opportunity to share their experience. In addition, people who others identify as having this experience would be contacted to solicit their participation.

Interview and survey people in the field to identify specific, culturally based interventions that have been successful in meeting the needs of diverse populations. This question is clearly related to the first two, however, its focus is sufficiently different to warrant a separate study. The first steps would be to survey the entire field to identify programs that are perceived to be "culturally-based interventions". Obviously, the broader this initial inquiry the better. As a result, the initial request for information should be distributed to all professional and membership associations dealing with issues of diversity, multicultural education, social justice and CRE in the broadest sense of the field. The second step would be to collect or gather program materials or information about the interventions identified. This may be accomplished through a combination of document analysis and interviews. The final step would be to gather information on the success of the programs. In some cases, programs may have published evaluation information that can be accessed. In other cases, interviews with others would be necessary. In the latter case, it would be important to gather opinions from members of the school or program (e.g., parents, teachers, students, community members) as well as from the developers and deliverers of the program.

Review peer mediation programs in terms of materials and design to determine their level of sensitivity to diversity. What is the current status of the general programming for peer mediation in terms of sensitivity to diversity issues? There currently exists no good research that has examined and evaluated peer mediation for this purpose. Since peer mediation is still the most common CRE programming, and since "mainstream" programming may contain (and as we have argued should contain) materials sensitive to the needs of diverse populations, it would be valuable to determine how closely the current literature models our ideal. This review could target the following:

- Does the conflict resolution model enable participants to identify issues of systemic injustice underlying the conflict?
- If so, how does the model support participants in addressing issues of power and privilege in arriving at a just resolution of the conflict?
- How are conflict resolution strategies employed at home, in the community as well as at school? Does that vary by cultural group? Does it vary by class?
- Is there a process of cultural adaptation or modification of conflict resolution strategies to fit with the student's cultural world view if different from the dominant paradigm?
- Are there instances of conflict when culture is more salient?
- Are there cultural factors in the instruments used to measure the efficacy or impact of conflict resolution education programs?

- What cultural factors (e.g., race, class, gender) are involved in the selection of disputes referred to mediation?

- What multicultural factors affect training? (e.g., who is chosen to be trained as a mediator, to mediate, to train mediators, and how are training materials selected?)

In addition to these specific research directions, however, the team recognized the importance of capturing the learning from what we believe to be a number of rich, grassroots, community-based programs with components on conflict resolution and a specific focus on social justice and building cultural competence. To this end, we concluded that a comprehensive, meta-analysis of conflict resolution education programs' practices and principles with respect to diverse, multicultural populations would be extremely beneficial.

This would involve the following:

- Identifying broadly the universe of programs aimed at affecting diverse, multicultural populations in school and community settings. If many interventions involving diverse populations happen in community as opposed to school settings, researchers must find these programs and work with their practitioners.

- Teasing out the various components of the process - choice of program approach, site selection, mediator selection, training methods, personnel, and materials, including language, curricular content, cultural relevance of role plays, the instruments used to test students and youth, and cross testing of findings on different cultural populations to determine the general applicability.

- Undertaking a meta-analysis of the programs to identify common components, principles, practices, etc.

As noted earlier, much of this work has already been launched through NCPCR's *Diverse Traditions* project. The goal would be to form a broad collaborative to build on and avoid duplication of the important work already underway.

As the results of the meta-analysis become integrated into the work of the field, two fundamental recommendations should be kept in mind. First, the field of conflict resolution education could well benefit by increased "borrowing" and "cross-fertilization" from other disciplines to develop creative interventions and understanding of culture, social justice, and conflict. Second, the people whose voices are not typically heard must become the guiding forces for research. In this way the practice of research will be expanded, new areas will be explored, new questions will be asked, and programs will reflect the diversity of their target populations. We are hopeful that a new emphasis on opening up and holding accountable for openness the research traditions will ultimately benefit all concerned with conflict resolution education.

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REFLECTIONS ON CRE AND DIVERSE POPULATIONS

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"Each One, Teach One"
- *African Proverb*

I agree with the authors of this chapter and appreciate their contribution. My experience in the world of conflict resolution is consistent with their findings. As I read their ideas several imaginative responses came to mind. The energy of their work moved me to reflect, "Wow, somebody is asking and listening to an interest or concern that is usually overlooked" and "I am so glad that we are beginning to talk about this." And then there was my own response of, "I hope we can continue to talk and that this not short lived."

As I read the chapter I could vision change and action. I look forward to the suggested agenda taking on the life that it deserves; that conversations of this nature are the trend and not the exception, that they result in products, new skills, knowledge and tools to shape a more comprehensive CRE field, to work for racial justice and equity.

On my initial reading of the chapter I had to think through some clarifying questions about the terms "impact" and "impact on." Who is this document written for and whom does it serve? Who determines the meaning of the term "impact" and what is their cultural context for the term? Who has the answers to the impact questions and, if it is diverse communities, what did they say?

From a diverse practitioner's perspective, I do not see the current research having a significant influence on the way CRE should be or is practiced and/or implemented in terms of diversity matters, diversity issues or diverse populations. Nor do I see sufficient writing collaborations among diverse contributors in CRE toward this end. In some cases, CRE research supports the "us/them" orientation that is more harmful to practice. From my experience in diverse communities, a mindset of collective and community thought is more useful. I have seen a collective practice of thought and community works, but is it seldom among diverse communities. It is usually for the benefit of white communities. There are political, economic and ethical questions of who gets recognized, acknowledged and published, including how, when and why, as Hairston's (1999) work on the absences of African Americans in the mediation literature indicates.

Each community has its standards of what must be accomplished to gain entry, credibility and trust. In my experience working and organizing within communities of color, my degrees are only secondary to knowing myself and having the ability to relate to others. My knowledge of the literature is important, but developing a relationship is more important. First, I must identify and represent myself in an acceptable manner. What matters a great deal is the way I work, the way that I carry myself, and the way I relate to others.

Where does one go to gain this insight, knowledge, skill and ability in CRE literature concerning diverse communities? This is to be distinguished from information and reports of what are cultural norms and how different cultural groups behave.

What matters is that I have read and know about my history, I understand the past and I have a vision for success. I must know and be aware of the writing of African American authors, notwithstanding the fact that I was not taught about them in school. Proof of my credentials is that I know who I am; I act like it; I make no assumptions and always check before deciding. Where do we teach this in CRE? Where do we teach the understanding and application of first-hand knowledge, how to get it and how to use it from a person of color perspective?

If I cannot look people in the eye and let them see my soul or get a picture of my spirit, I might as well go home. There is no trust in what I do or who I am. Where does CRE research support the importance of this basic human need? Why do we tell people to trust a process, instead of a person? Where does CRE research support the understanding and application of community problem solving for and by communities of color?

CRE researchers have the challenge and the opportunity of showing the importance of cultural information, knowledge and proficiency. Until we honor the many ways of knowing and of showing CRE, non-mainstream thoughts and ideas will be tolerated and not accepted. A child can tell and feel the difference and it is not a good one.

This chapter is laying the groundwork for a wealth of opportunities, it helps begin the journey of making CRE research more important, relevant and influential to diverse populations. For the purpose of my comments, "diverse" includes all groups and all cultures, including what we call "white" and any derivative thereof. We are all diverse, in relationship to another group. We are all different in relationship to another. If we do not see all groups as diverse, then we still operate from a mainstream, dominant, "power over" philosophy.

Most groups, not seen as dominant, must prove themselves, their research and their work worthy for consideration by others. Living in such a fashion takes a toll on all involved and promotes past memories instead of future collectives. If all cultures and groups are seen as diverse and in relationship to others there is a greater chance of looking at the whole and not some part of a population. Thus, all are involved in the exploration of needs and the assessment of interests. We need to ask all groups for participation and involvement. We have a better chance of talking among ourselves in new and different ways to get more productive outcomes and to produce a holistic experience and process.

CRE could be a great influence, a leader in addressing diversity issues. If CRE took the leadership with diverse communities to identify, consult, authenticate and report findings related to diverse populations, it would be a great contribution to the field. This could occur through the use and application of collaborations, collectives and parternerships across diverse literatures and with diverse participants. CRE could build bridges of understanding between and among diverse communities. For example, the field could seek out and support social scientists of color, and examine the literature often associated with fields that have specific focus on issues of diversity and equality. As more inclusiveness is achieved in the CRE literature (e.g., reading about theories, case studies, ideas and resources for teaching and understanding), again, we are likely to experience a holistic approach.

CRE should hold fast to the opportunity of viewing contributions as equally important and not as greater or less than. As a CRE educator, I believe we understand that learning must involve reflections, resources and contributions from the groups we want to engage and excite about the education of conflict resolution. When I go to my sons' classes to talk about peacemaking and peace processes, I give examples from more than one culture. The stories they hear and read about include the contributions of diverse groups.

I concur with the authors of this chapter. Interests, positions, goals and practices have also been absent from many discussions in CRE regarding diverse communities.

When CRE includes information on social justice and raises the social consciousness then we will begin to see more impact on practice. CRE would be very helpful if it ensured the presence of ideas and information from self-determination to de-colonization in its lessons.

To summarize, historically, we have been informed that the current research and influence of CRE in the practice of CR by diverse practitioners is very limited. I rarely consult a mainstream text in doing my work, because I seldom get the information I need in a fashion I like. So, for me the implications of what currently exist in mainstream publications has limited impact. We need to look at emotions across differences and identify problems of communication between diverse communities.

From my experience I can provide a specific case about how the information in this chapter does not relate to my practice in the field. I was conducting mediation for a juvenile justice court system in a county with a zero tolerance policy, which I thought, was applied unfairly. The disputants were two young African American ladies and, to me, both seemed gifted and talented. No material that I have read in mainstream CRE prepared me for the experience of working with two young people who thought that they were in this situation unfairly and had little if any recourse, as they later expressed in the mediation. They were well-behaved and well-mannered young ladies who made a mistake, and it landed them in a juvenile justice setting. I should add that my observations were that students of color were more likely to have been placed in this experience.

In the mediation, one young lady was very withdrawn and very perplexed about the mediation process and distant from the mediation experience. After getting each party's story and a few other things, I asked them to tell me the name of one of their favorite TV shows. One said "Moesha" and the other said "Parenthood". I know about these two shows and the characters in them. This was a

- Understanding and learning about the problems that arise among diverse populations as the diversity in their environments grow.
- Partnering with others to research and write about reparations, reconciliation, relationship building and self-determination.
- Bringing diverse practitioners together to write about our needs, organizing conferences that address these concerns, and mentoring new diverse practitioners.
- Offering leadership in my own community on CRE processes and methods for resolving conflict.
- Working with others to create space for scholars of a different nature to share in the recognition and contributions to CRE.
- Developing training and curricula addressing the need communities of color report, including cultural proficiency training and educational opportunities.
- Working with CRE researchers on current identified problems in education that impact diverse populations such as tracking, school funding, etc.

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CHAPTER 5
IMPACT OF CRE ON SCHOOL AND CLASSROOM CLIMATE

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The relationship between climate and conflict resolution education is important to conflict theorists, educators, and practitioners. The prevailing sentiment in the field is that it is important to create constructive learning environments and that conflict resolution education [CRE] is an effective means to that end. This chapter examines what we believe are critical hypotheses concerning this relationship, the research that is relevant to these hypotheses, and the recommendations for further examination of the interplay of CRE and climate.

We begin with a brief overview of conflict theory as foundation for our work. We then present specific hypotheses and related research. Following this, we critique the existing research, and based upon dialogue from the research symposium, offer suggestions for a future research agenda in this area.

Foundation

A prevailing theory regarding conflict is that the social climate or environment has a direct effect on the processes of conflicts and their subsequent resolutions. Moreover, it is assumed that the relationship between climate and conflict is bilateral; good climate leads to constructive conflict and constructive conflict leads to good climate.

Deutsch (1973) argued that the social environment within which conflict occurs contributes to either constructive or destructive resolution processes. For example, environments with unhealthy levels of competition tend to have conflicts in which participants manifest destructive processes that result in negative consequences for everyone. Conversely, environments with high levels of cooperation tend to have conflicts in which participants employ constructive processes that result in positive consequences for all.

One goal of conflict resolution education (CRE) is to foster change in the school environment when needed, and to reinforce the school environment when a healthy climate already exists. While impact on school climate is not the only goal of CRE, it is often one that is emphasized by school administrators who see climate as a critical benchmark of educational environment and progress.

Nature of School Climate

One of the difficulties in conducting school climate research is the fuzziness of the concept itself. In her very thorough, though somewhat dated, review of school climate literature, Anderson (1982) acknowledges these difficulties but explains that there is a general consensus among climate researchers that school climate includes the total environmental quality within a given school building. As Hoy and Clover (1986, p. 94) state, school climate is "a set of measurable properties of the work environment of teachers and administrators based on their collective perceptions."

School climate can be thought of as the average feeling or spirit in the school over a period of months or years. Climate is created by the overall prevailing conditions affecting the interaction among students, faculty, and between students and faculty. The metaphor of climate and weather is often used to illustrate. Weather is the prevailing conditions on a particular day and climate is the average prevailing conditions over a lengthy period of time. Thus, on any given day a destructive or negative condition can occur in a school, but these conditions may or may not be typical for the school over time.

There is general agreement that schools do possess climate and that climate effects many student outcomes including cognitive and affective behavior, values, personal growth, and satisfaction. Coyle & Witcher (1992) summarized the literature concluding that effective schools are those that have strong instructional leadership, a safe and orderly climate, a school-wide emphasis on basic skills, high teacher expectations for student achievement, continuous assessment of student progress, and intensive and extensive parent involvement. The importance of a safe and orderly learning environment as a characteristic of academically effective schools has been noted since the National Institute of Education study in 1978 (Anderson, 1982).

Still, there are debates about whether school climate is a better or more important construct than school culture as a focus of research (Miller & Fredericks, 1990). Hoy (1990) provides a general discussion of the differences between organizational culture and organizational climate, declaring that both are important, but the key distinction is that climate is a perception of behaviors while culture is a system of shared assumptions and values. Hence, regardless of culture, climate is an important and viable construct of study.

In the conflict education and general education literature, school climate has also been operationalized in terms of disciplinary actions necessary (e.g., suspensions, expulsions) and specific incidents of violence. This is a significant departure from the construct of climate as just defined. However, in the interests of inclusiveness, we will note some research that has focused on impacts on climate operationalized in this manner.

Nature of Classroom Climate

A related construct is classroom climate. Obviously, school climate and classroom climate may be related. One can assume that a school with positive climate is likely to have classes with positive climates and that a school in which classes have positive climates is likely to have an overall positive climate. However, the two are not always linked. It is possible for a classroom to have a very positive climate and exist in a school with a generally negative climate. This is because classroom climate is more a function of the classroom management activities of a teacher than of the institutional level variables that impact school climate.

Drawing again upon the foundation of Deutsch's theory (1973), the general orientation to cooperative learning in educational contexts is more focused on a classroom environment than a school-wide environment. Deutsch (1993) suggests that the most important aspect of cooperative learning is the creation of positive interdependence, or the perception that it is to the students' advantage if other students learn well and it is to the students' disadvantage if other students do not learn well. Once positive interdependence is established, students are more likely to enact and learn cooperatively, which means less reliance on destructive and/or competitive modes of interaction. Cooperative learning theorists see CRE as one means of helping promote positive interdependence that then enhances conflict resolution skills and behaviors.

Classroom climate has been operationalized in a variety of ways. Some studies focus on self-reports of students' perceptions of the cooperative context in the classroom (e.g., the Classroom Life Survey). Some research looks at behavioral indices, targeting evidence of constructive conflict behaviors in actual or hypothetical conflict situations.

Linking School and Classroom Climate

For CRE researchers interested in the impact of CRE on climate, it behooves us to recognize that the processes by which one achieves a positive classroom climate and the processes by which one achieves a positive school climate are related but not equivalent. Both depend on the creation of a cooperative context; both depend on the creation of a supportive, nurturing, accepting environment. However, school climate also depends on the development of leadership structures, academic performance standards and boundary spanning abilities (Hoy & Clover, 1986; Hoy & Feldman, 1987; Hoy & Tarter, 1992; Hoy, Tarter, & Kottkamp, 1991).

Because school climate and classroom climate are not equivalent concepts, we should note that the research tends to see the perceivers of climate differently at each level. School climate can be and has been studied in terms of both student and faculty perceptions of climate, but the strong emphasis has been on faculty perceptions. The assumption has been that students are less likely to understand or have information about issues of leadership structures, boundary spanning activities, etc. On the other hand, classroom climate is usually studied in terms of student perceptions of classroom environment. Although teachers can and have been asked for their perceptions of classroom climate, the emphasis has been on whether students are experiencing and enacting a cooperative climate.

The foundation for a positive school climate is cooperation (i.e., positive interdependence on a larger scale). Members of the school community can feel tied together through mutual goals, shared resources, a common identity, and a division of labor based on interdependent roles and tasks. When competition (i.e., negative interdependence) or individualistic efforts (i.e., no interdependence) dominate the school, the climate becomes destructive. In a competitive climate, students and faculty strive to outperform others or ensure that no one outperforms them. In an individualistic climate, students and faculty ignore all those who are irrelevant to helping them achieve their goals. Competitive and individualistic efforts generally result in a non-caring and non-supportive environment.

To create a cooperative climate in which individuals strive to achieve, promote each other's success, build positive relationships with each other, help and develop social competencies, cooperation needs to be established on all levels of school life. Cooperative learning in classrooms, faculty working together in teaching teams, administrators structuring positive relationships with parents and the broader community—all are key aspects of developing positive climate.

Preliminary Overview of the Research

In their review of CRE research, Johnson and Johnson (1996) cite only a handful of studies targeting this question, compared with a great deal of research devoted to issues of social skills development, program utility, and program implementation. Although our review of the literature has identified several studies that have been conducted since that review, it is still apparent that relatively little quality research exists that directly addresses the relationship between CRE and climate.

School climate has been studied as part of a needs assessment done in preparation for the implementation of conflict resolution education. For example, Brown et al. (1995, 1996) conducted an evaluation in the Toronto public schools. Before program implementation they administered an eight-item measure that asked about perceived levels of tension, cooperation, respect, and good feelings; and a six-item measure that included the perception of sexism and racism, student respect for teachers, fairness of school rules, and equitable treatment of students by teachers. They administered the questionnaires to both teachers and students. They reported a general agreement between teachers and students in their perceptions of climate, and cited the results as evidence of need for CRE efforts. But, such studies do not provide direct evidence for the critical hypotheses we identify below.

Hypotheses

Since we are interested in both school climate and classroom climate, we are advancing hypotheses that relate to both levels. Some hypotheses are germane to school or classroom climate and others are germane to both. We will attempt to specify those relations in our discussion.

Hypotheses on School Climate

Hypotheses 1: CRE positively impacts schools climate. The basic rationale for this hypothesis has already been presented. The research is fairly mixed, showing only limited support for the hypothesis.

Some research has attempted to use pre-test and post-test assessment with a CRE intervention, but has targeted school "discipline climate" (Van Slyck & Stern, 1991), a narrower form of climate measure than school climate. Stern, Van Slyck, & Valvo (1986) employed a pre-and post-intervention design without a control group measuring school climate using a questionnaire abstracted from the Discipline Context Inventory (DCI) developed by Wayson (1982). The original DCI was designed to assess attitudes about conflict, discipline and citizenship, and quality of school life. Peer mediators showed a significant increase in perceptions of being able to take responsibility in the school and being able to express their problems. The results for faculty also showed positive increases on a number of items. Crary (1992) also used the adapted version of the DCI in a study of peer mediation impact in a middle school. He administered the survey to students and staff before and after peer mediation training and program implementation. The results from student responses indicated a decrease in school discipline climate from pre-test to post-test, indicating that students felt there were generally less positive attitudes about discipline and quality of school life after the intervention. Although there were no statistically significant differences, Crary reported that responses from faculty were in the direction of a positive change in climate.

Much of the research relevant to this hypothesis is program evaluation where school climate is not conceptually defined and/or measurement and design problems challenge the validity of findings. Several studies in this group administered only post-test assessments of climate. One of the earliest studies (Metis & Associates, 1990) included a short measure of school climate in an evaluation of CRE and peer mediation programs in New York City. Based on a non-representative sample from teachers and administrators involved in CRE programs, they suggest that there is a definite impact of CRE on classroom and school climate. However, the operationalization of climate is unclear since the measures are not described in detail. In a similar vein, Eisler (1994) evaluated conflict resolution education and peer mediation programs by surveying the conflict resolution education coordinators in 82 high schools in Brooklyn. She asked respondents about the program's impact on school climate (operationalized as helping students to deal more effectively with conflict, improving students' communication skills, increasing students' respect for people different from themselves, decreasing violence in schools, and heightening school staff's understanding of students' needs). She reported that overall the responses were positive, however, only post-test surveys were collected so effects due to intervention cannot be proven. Similarly, Yau et al. (1995) surveyed 847 4th through 8th graders and 134 teachers in 10 Toronto elementary schools that had implemented CRE. In this research, climate was operationalized as students being nice to each other, students being respectful and polite, absence of racism and/or sexism, general sense of cooperation, and rule clarity and rule compliance. Yau et al. suggest that there was a generally positive sense of climate, but again, the measures were post-test only.

Other studies display a variety of methodological weaknesses. Wheeler, Stephens, Kaufman, and Carlson (1994) and Kaufman (1993) reported on evaluation of the Ohio Commission for Dispute Resolution's implementation of CRE in 20 Ohio schools. They claim that school climate increased as a result of conflict resolution education. But, an examination of the research methods stipulated by Kaufman indicate that data were collected from interviews, that climate was not operationalized clearly, that conclusions were based on convenience sampling, that pre-test/post-test comparisons were not conducted, and that the schools did not have standardized programs. In fact, the schools being evaluated had a range of CRE efforts including peer mediation cadre programs, conflict management curriculum, and/or peer negotiation programs. Miller (1993) studied a Maryland middle school with a peer mediation program and reported that after one year the school climate improved, although specific measurement and sampling information were not provided and no comparisons were made between students who were peer mediators and students who were not peer mediators. Vanayan et al. (1996) investigated 35 student mediators and 35 control students in grades 5-7 from six schools in terms of their perceptions of school climate. Based on pre-tests and post-tests, they report that peer mediators perceived more positive school climate after the peer mediation program than control students. However, sample size is a problem, as is the fact that students were sampled across schools, making it hard to determine whether the differences reported were due to the peer mediation training and program or to some other characteristic of the schools and their environments. McNutty (1994) reports on a 12-week practicum developed to improve school climate by using conflict resolution in grades K-6. Staff and students were interviewed about climate in terms of how the student body reacted to the school setting, with an emphasis on areas where supervision was not too obvious. There was no pre-test or post-test given and only 39 students were involved. The extent to which the intervention effected school climate is not substantiated.

In terms of climate operationalized as discipline referrals, two related studies indicate limited support for CRE's impact. Berlowitz, Kmitta, & Tatem (1995) reported on the evaluation of the Center for Peace Education Programs in 1994-1995. Using a multiple case study design to evaluate 13 schools, they found that short-term statistical trends in discipline referral data indicated that acts of physical aggression appeared to level off or were reduced in those schools employing CRE programs. Kmitta (1996) examined the Students' Creative Response to Conflict, Cooperative Discipline, and Peer Mediation programs in 12 public schools over a three-year period. He indicated that the conflict resolution programs had a marginal effect on reducing classroom discipline problems based on a review of discipline referrals each month for the 1992-1993 and the 1993-1994 academic years.

In summary, there is limited evidence to support this broadly stated hypothesis that CRE positively affects school climate. While several studies claim that CRE positively impacted school climate, the only research that can reasonably demonstrate causal impact is restricted to impacts on discipline climate. However, the research reviewed for this hypothesis does not include studies that are more germane to the following hypotheses, but that may be generically applied here as well. Those studies, and specifically the Comprehensive Peer Mediation Evaluation Project, offer evidence that CRE impacts school climate, but reveals that the impacts differ by educational level and type of CRE program used.

Hypotheses 2: The more comprehensive the CRE efforts, the more impact CRE will have on school climate. By comprehensive we are referring to the numbers of students and types of participants that CRE involves.

2a: Whole school programs will have greater impacts on school climate than cadre programs.

The basic rationale for this hypothesis comes from the assumption that the more students and faculty who are exposed to CRE, the more likely it is that effects of CRE will be seen in terms of climate. Johnson and Johnson (1996) argue that schools are generally characterized by competitive rather than cooperative climates and that climate change is much more likely with "total school approaches" which involve exposing a maximum number of students and staff to CRE and combining aspects of peer mediation training, negotiation training, and conflict resolution curriculum infusion. As they argue, conflict resolution programs need to teach students and faculty: (a) an understanding that conflict is necessary and potentially positive, (b) an understanding of the need for cooperative context to resolve conflicts constructively, (c) how to engage in integrative, problem-solving negotiations, and (d) how to mediate others' conflicts. They further argue that since the school climate reflects patterns of interaction over a period of months and years, the conflict resolution training needs to be an ongoing, continuous program in which all students and faculty are trained anew each year at a more sophisticated and complex level (i.e., a spiral curriculum). Such a multi-year approach can be integrated into academic subject areas and the ebb and flow of daily life in the school.

Only one study has directly compared whole school versus peer mediation cadre programs in terms of impact on school climate. The Comprehensive Peer Mediation Evaluation Project (Jones, Bodtker, Jameson, Kusztal, Vegso, & Kmitta, 1997) was a two year study in which a 3 (peer mediation cadre program x whole school program x control school) x 3 (elementary x middle school x high school) field experiment was conducted in each of three cities (Philadelphia, Denver, and Laredo). Thus, 27 schools were involved. School climate was measured for both faculty and students. Faculty completed the Organizational Health Inventory (Hoy, Tarter, & Kottkamp, 1991; Hoy & Tarter, 1992). Middle and high school faculty completed the OHI and elementary school faculty completed the OHI-E, a version specifically developed for elementary school contexts. The OHI has seven dimensions: Institutional Integrity, Resource Support, Academic Emphasis, Initiating Structure, Principal Influence, Consideration, and Morale. The OHI-E has five dimensions: Teacher Affiliation, Institutional Integrity, Collegial Leadership, Resource Influence, and Academic Emphasis. It is important to note that the OHI was developed based on Parsons' theory of organizations and was not specifically developed to assess cooperative and competitive climates in the ways that Deutsch (1973) described them. Students completed short Likert instruments (an 11-item measure for high school and middle school students and an 8-item measure for elementary school students). The student measures asked students whether they felt safe at school, whether they perceived a respectful and tolerant environment, whether they perceived a cooperative environment, and whether there was pride in the school. Climate measures were administered at the beginning of the study and at the end of every semester throughout the two year period. An exhaustive sample was used for teachers and staff. Due to data collection constraints, student samples were limited to students trained as mediators, students who received conflict education curriculum infused into their classes, and control classes of students randomly selected in each of the treatment schools as well as each of the control schools. In elementary schools at least one class per grade was randomly selected as a control class and in middle and high schools at least two classes per grade were randomly selected as control classes.

The results from the OHI showed little positive impact of programs at higher educational levels with the exception of the use of whole school programs in middle schools. These programs consistently reported increases in climate across the project period, not only on the Overall Health Index, but also on the dimensions of Initiating Structure, Consideration and Academic Emphasis. Peer mediation cadre programs in middle schools showed sharp decreases in perceived climate across all dimensions, usually reporting significantly worse climate than control schools. The cadre programs in high schools demonstrated more positive results, with slight to moderate increases in perceived climate across the project period on the dimension of Consideration and on Overall Health Index. The increases in Consideration were significantly above control schools, but the increases on Overall Health Index were commensurate with similar changes in control schools.

Nor did whole school programs or peer mediation programs seem to significantly change students' perceptions of climate in middle or high schools. However, in general, regardless of change over time, schools with peer mediation cadre programs reported more positive student perceptions of climate than schools with whole school programs or control schools.

2b: CRE programs that involve parents and community members will have a greater impact on school climate than CRE programs that do not.

Schools exist in larger social contexts that have a great deal to do with their climate and functioning. If a school's immediate community climate is highly negative, it is likely to impact the degree to which effects can be reasonably expected with CRE. Likewise, family context can play an important role in supporting or negating the impacts of CRE for students in a school environment. However, there is currently no research that addresses this issue.

Hypothesis 3: CRE's impact on school climate will be greater at elementary than middle or high school levels of education.

There are several reasons for this expectation. First, CRE's impact on school climate is subject to a diffusion effect. Specifically, the smaller the school (in terms of staff and student population) the more likely that any CRE efforts will positively impact school climate because there are fewer people involved and less difficulty in diffusing information throughout that population. For example, it is much easier to "spread the word" about a CRE program among an elementary school faculty of 30 than among a high school faculty of 100. Second, elementary schools are simply less complex than middle or high schools, and thus, there are fewer levels of infrastructure or bureaucratization that have to be managed in order to implement and diffuse the program. The lesser complexity of elementary schools also includes less pressure in terms of heterogeneous student populations, specialized teaching staff, programmatic demands for special needs students, etc. Third, it is easier to teach younger students constructive conflict that enhances climate; and, these students are less likely to have to "unlearn" destructive conflict.

The Comprehensive Peer Mediation Evaluation Project (Jones et al., 1997) found that CRE programs do not have an extremely strong impact on teacher and staff perceptions of school climate in middle and high schools, although there is evidence that they have a positive impact on climate in elementary schools. The findings in the middle and high schools may very well be due to the inability of the interventions to diffuse throughout the population, even though the project period lasted two years.

The average size of the middle schools involved in the study was 650 students and the average size of the high schools was 2,300. Within the treatment schools, a maximum of 50 students were trained as peer mediators per school over the entire project period; and for curriculum infusion in whole school programs, perhaps 10% of the students were involved in curriculum infusion classes.

The diffusion explanation holds when one reviews the results for the elementary schools. The average size of the elementary schools involved was 250 students. Both cadre and whole school programs showed a significant increase in perceptions of Institutional Integrity and Resource Influence during the project period. And, in general, schools with cadre programs were perceived as higher in Collegial Leadership, Teacher Affiliation and Overall Health Index than control schools, although the same was not true for schools with whole school programs. The superiority of cadre programs was also evident in results of students' perceptions of climate, which increased significantly over the project period, even though climate in control and whole school programs remained largely unaffected. Still, on balance, these results clearly indicate that both cadre and whole school programs had positive impact on climate in elementary schools.

An additional explanation of the findings at the elementary school level is one offered by Hoy et al. (1991). They suggest that elementary schools are very different from secondary schools in terms of size, structure, complexity, and therefore, climate. They are generally less stressful, less chaotic, less bureaucratic, and less impacted by community and parental pressures. Basically, they are more likely to have cooperative climates and to be able to foster cooperative climates because of these characteristics (Johnson & Johnson, 1996).

Practitioners often argue that high schools are the most difficult schools in which to effect change. Unfortunately, at the high school level, the CPMEP study suggests that little impact on climate will be found by either program model. As others have argued, it may take a very long-term and extremely extensive organizational initiative to impact school climate in a large high school. Still, there is some evidence of impact when climate is operationalized as discipline referrals. Tolson, McDonald, & Moriarty (1992)

studied the impact of peer mediation training for high school students on discipline behaviors and found that there was a significant difference between students who used mediation and students referred to traditional discipline approaches (warnings, suspensions, demerits) on recidivism. Subjects were randomly assigned to conditions, with approximately 25 students in each condition. The measure used was number of times students were referred for interpersonal conflicts before and after intervention.

Overall, the existing research provides a fair amount of support for this hypothesis. The real question is what factors are responsible for this pattern. And, practically speaking, it raises the question of the optimum size of a school if the goal of CRE is to improve school climate. It also raises the question of the "best" method of CRE, whether there is a delivery mechanism (e.g., after school programs, curriculum infusion processes) that may be effective at diffusing CRE climate effects in larger middle schools and high schools.

Hypotheses on Classroom Climate

Hypotheses 4: CRE has a positive impact on classroom climate. The rationale for this hypothesis has already been presented. There is moderately strong support for this.

One study examined classroom climate in terms of students' perceptions of the "atmosphere" of the classroom learning experience. Cochrane and Saroyan (1997) studied the effects of a conflict resolution program on school climate in urban schools in Canada. Fifth grade classrooms in three French and four English elementary schools were used, yielding a total sample of 140 students and their teachers. The research design was a quasi-experimental pre-test, post-test, control group design. The control schools were matched and selected for similar socio-economic, multicultural and academic characteristics. The conflict resolution program, which featured accepting and respecting differences and skills for self-control and communication, was delivered over a 10-week period. School climate was examined by asking students whether conflict was a problem for them in school and asking them to describe the "climate." Teachers were asked the same questions. Data was then coded into two categories: (1) negative, when terms such as "tense," "stressed," "aggressive," "volatile," or "disruptive" were used in descriptions, and (2) positive, when terms such as "cooperative" and "accommodating" were used. Frequency counts of positive and negative descriptors were analyzed using t-tests. Although the study talks about school climate, it is really more appropriate to talk about it as classroom climate since the students stayed within the one classroom throughout the study and questionnaires and interviews asked them about the climate of "this class." The findings indicate positive support for the impact of CRE on classroom climate.

Several studies look at classroom climate in terms of the students' use or propensity to use certain constructive conflict behaviors. This research shows that CRE definitely improves classroom climate.

Brauer, Grady, Matthews, and Wilhite (1997), in an action research project, evaluated the impact of a program for enhancing interpersonal problem-solving skills on academic achievement in elementary school students in an industrial, urban Illinois community. The program consisted of four components: (1) a peer mentoring program in which students from grades four to six were trained as mediators for teaching social skills, conflict resolution, and critical thinking, (2) cooperative learning activities, (3) conflict resolution activities and (4) critical thinking training. Pre-tests and post-tests were given to students and teacher journals and checklists were collected. The intervention occurred over a six-month period, with intervention in classes at least once a week for 11 weeks. Behaviors indicative of a more positive classroom climate, like providing praise and encouragement to others in their task groups, were monitored in four classrooms. Still, the means by which observation was handled and behaviors were measured is only vaguely explained. Yet, Brauer et al. (1997, p. 56) conclude "in all four classrooms, the targeted behaviors were making the classroom climate more positive and productive."

Johnson and Johnson (1996) argue that most schools are characterized by competitive rather than cooperative contexts. In their comprehensive review on CRE they suggest that there is evidence that classroom climate became more positive after the use of the Teaching Students to be Peacemakers programs. They cite some of their own work to support this. Specifically, Johnson, Johnson & Dudley

(1992) examined a peer mediation training program in an elementary school using several measures: the frequency and types of conflicts in the classroom, the spontaneous use of negotiation and mediation procedures in the classroom, a conflict strategies measure which involved presenting students with two hypothetical conflict situations and asking how they would respond to them, and a videotaped conflict simulation measure in which a random sample of students were asked to enact a conflict situation. The results suggested that after the training the conflicts became less frequent and the nature of the conflicts were less severe; trained students were much more likely to negotiate conflicts than to force solutions. The Johnson, Johnson, Dudley, and Magnuson (1995) study also investigated a peer mediation program in an elementary school. The measures used were the total recall test in which students were asked to write how they would settle a conflict, the conflict scenario written measure, an interview version of the same and the teachers' and principals' attitudes about conflict environment in the class. Students in the experimental condition were given an introduction to conflict training, negotiation training, and mediation training. In this study, CRE improved the use of constructive conflict behavior.

Overall, there is fairly strong support for the hypothesis that CRE positively affects classroom climate. Especially when classroom climate is operationalized as the use of constructive conflict behaviors, and/or the reported tendency to use constructive conflict behaviors, it appears that CRE does improve classroom climate.

Hypotheses 5: CRE that is presented in a cooperative learning context has a greater impact on classroom climate than CRE that is presented without that context.

As the discussion just presented suggests, scholars like the Johnsons feel very strongly that the most important and promising delivery orientation for CRE is within the larger cooperative learning model. However, there have been no specific studies that have compared the efficacy of CRE with and without cooperative learning.

Hypotheses 6: School structure impacts effectiveness of CRE on classroom climate. Logically, it makes sense that the longer students are retained in a specific class, the more likely they are to be able to build the kind of safe and effective learning environment that educators desire. Constructive conflict and positive classroom climate is a relational concept, hence, the ability to devote adequate time to forming and improving those relationships should matter. Rachel Poliner, in her work with Educators for Social responsibility, notes that "building the container" is often difficult when working in school environments that shuttle students to different classes every 45 minutes. She and her colleagues have noted the better success of schools that are structured to allow for long-term exposure of students to the same teachers and other adults in "looping" formats. These structural alterations provide more time for students to build cooperative contexts together, and hence, may provide for greater impact of CRE on classroom climate than schools that are conventionally structured (e.g., rotating 45-minute periods). Thus, there is field evidence to suggest the viability of this hypothesis, but no research study to confirm it.

Hypotheses for Both School and Classroom Climate

Hypothesis 7: The effectiveness of CRE institutionalization will significantly mediate the relationship between CRE and school climate. By effective institutionalization, we mean the extent to which the school has adequate resources, administrative commitment, and sustained effort for the CRE program.

Without restating some of the assumptions in the chapter in this volume devoted to CRE institutionalization, it seems logical that a carefully instituted CRE effort will have a much better chance of delivering positive effects on climate. Obviously, significant resources are necessary, especially in middle and high schools, in order to provide whole school efforts that may have a chance of improving school climate. A combination of CRE efforts (peer mediation, peer negotiation training, conflict education curriculum) are most helpful in producing positive classroom climates. And, these efforts must have the planning and commitment to sustain them in order for climate changes to be lasting. However, there is no research that specifically tests this hypothesis.

Hypotheses 8: A model of CRE that emphasizes curriculum infusion and integration will have the greatest impact on school and classroom climate. This hypothesis carries the basic logic of cooperative learning one step further, suggesting that infusion of CRE into existing curriculum may be the most effective way to teach negotiation, mediation, and constructive conflict skills that are likely to create positive classroom climate and may have positive impact on school climate. But, again, no current research exists to test this hypothesis. One pilot study from the National Curriculum Integration Project examined the changes in perceived classroom climate in one middle school over a one-year period in which a curriculum infusion and integration effort was implemented. However, it did not include a comparison/control group. (Jones, Sanford, & Bodtker, 2000). The research does suggest that curriculum infusion approaches were successful at increasing students' perceptions of a cooperative and supportive environment and that students' tendencies to use constructive conflict management behaviors increased significantly from the pre-tests to the post-tests. A follow-up project beginning in 2000 will investigate the effects of curriculum infusion and integration on classroom climate in four middle schools. In this project, data from control groups will be collected, and impacts of curriculum integration on classroom climate and constructive conflict management behavior will be assessed.

Summary

On balance, there is moderate to strong research support that CRE positively impacts school and classroom climate. Research has shown specifically that CRE may increase perceptions of the degree of discipline and quality of life, or the discipline climate, in schools. Projects like the Comprehensive Peer Mediation Evaluation Project offer evidence that CRE impacts school climate, but reveals that the impacts differ by educational level and type of CRE program used. CRE has a greater impact on climate in elementary than middle or high schools, although the reasons for the difference have not been conclusively demonstrated. There is a need for more research that investigates the delivery mechanism (e.g., after school programs, curriculum infusion processes) that may be effective at diffusing CRE climate effects in larger middle schools and high schools.

Overall, there is strong support for the hypothesized relationship between CRE and classroom climate. Especially when classroom climate is operationalized as the use of constructive conflict behaviors, and/or the reported tendency to use constructive conflict behaviors, it appears that CRE does improve classroom climate.

However, research does not address several important questions. We know very little about the relationship between school structure, community and parent involvement, learning contexts, and infusion/integration processes on the impact of CRE and school or classroom climate.

A Critique of Existing Research

Throughout the previous section we have noted several problems with specific studies. Here, we offer some general criticisms of the entire body of research on CRE and climate.

There is a general lack of agreement on the nature of the school climate construct. The existing literature on CRE and school climate echoes the difficulties of the larger school climate literature that Anderson (1982) noted so long ago. There is little consensus on the nature of the construct, and less consensus on the appropriate measures to use. As a result, the existing research in this area does not use the same conceptual and operational definitions. Some researchers have used discipline climate, some have used indications of disciplinary referrals, some have created vague and theoretically tenuous definitions of school climate (and measures to match) for their own research. Only one study, the CPMEP study, uses a theoretically grounded and validated model of general school climate for assessment (i.e., the Organizational Health Inventory). To build a body of evidence for the relationship between CRE and school climate, researchers need to be more critical of how they define and operationalize climate. Classroom climate research does not have this degree of difficulty, largely because most of this research comes from the cooperative learning tradition and uses those conceptual and operational definitions.

Behavioral indices of climate are weak. In the classroom climate literature, where the emphasis is on operationalizing climate largely in terms of the use of constructive conflict behaviors, there is a lack of research that directly examines conflicts in action. Many of the measures used in this research are vignette based, hypothetical or recall measures that may bear very little relationship to the actual behaviors children use in a conflict situation. More detailed observational, on-site coding of conflict in action is necessary; but difficult and time consuming. Similarly, research that operationalizes school climate in terms of disciplinary referrals and/or violence incidents is fraught with methodological problems (see Kmitta, 1996 for an excellent discussion of these issues). Different schools use different punishments for the same behavior, disciplinary data are often not kept or well-reported, and data on violence and discipline may be so politically sensitive that administrators are cautious about making the data available to researchers. Still, educators and practitioners are highly interested in rigorous research that will help answer whether CRE impacts these outcomes.

The research needs to be more longitudinal. Most of the CRE and school climate research is less than a year in duration. The project with the longest duration was only two years. If we are expecting to see climate changes at the school level, especially in larger schools, we need to be examining this process over longer periods of time. The same criticism can be leveled at classroom climate research. This work only involves studies of a semester's duration. This raises important questions about whether the improvements in classroom climate that are noted are lasting, or whether they dissipate shortly after the end of the intervention.

The research does not sufficiently report or assess other factors that may be impacting school or classroom climate. From the standpoint of internal validity, there are weaknesses in the research. There is little or no information provided in any of the research about intervening or conflating factors that may have been responsible for results. The schools and classes used in the research were not randomly selected (at least as indicated in the research reports) and pre-intervention levels of climate were not used as a base criteria for inclusion or as a statistical adjustment for reported outcomes. Especially at the level of school climate, a great many things may be causing positive or negative changes in climate that have nothing to do with the CRE efforts.

Multi-measurement studies are needed. Most of the school and classroom climate research suggests that climate is something that is both cognitive and behavioral. We should be able to assess the perceptions about climate and identify the behaviors that enact climate. Yet, very little research uses multiple methods to examine the nature and interrelation of the cognitive and behavioral indices of climate.

Research with diverse populations is needed, especially in studies of classroom climate. Most of the research on classroom climate is done in predominantly white, middle class, elementary schools. Examination of the efficacy of CRE programs in student populations that are more diverse in terms of race/ethnicity, socio-economic status, age, and geographical location (e.g., rural populations) are needed. School climate research (i.e., the CPMEP study) has examined more diverse populations in all of these categories. However, more projects of a similar orientation would provide a stronger base of evidence.

The link between school climate and classroom climate should be investigated. To date, no research specifically examines the relationship between school climate and classroom climate. To what extent are the two related? What is the directionality of the relationship? Does an increase in classroom climate have a more significant impact on school climate than vice versa?

What is the relative efficacy of different CRE models? While some research (e.g., the CPMEP study) has compared whole school programs and peer mediation cadre programs in terms of their impact on school climate, there is little information about the relative efficacy of different models of CRE. In the classroom climate literature a combination of techniques are usually used, but the research does not identify the relative contributions of each. And, there is no research that examines the potential impact of after-school programs and not enough research on the impact of curriculum infusion and integration models on classroom climate.

What is the relationship between structural elements and the efficacy of CRE in terms of school and classroom climate? As suggested earlier, practitioners see a critical role for school structure in the ability of CRE efforts to make the impacts promised. Good comparative studies of the impact of CRE in different structures would be very valuable. It would help identify the relative contribution of CRE versus structural change on climate.

Suggestions for Future Research

The critique of research implicitly suggests ideas for future research on CRE and climate. The symposium discussion elevated this to explicit suggestions for three high-priority research projects that together comprise a research program, a multi-year research protocol.

Clarify the constructs and measurement of school and classroom climate. As we have already argued, one of the most significant weaknesses in the research is the inconsistency with which school climate is defined and measured. While classroom climate does not suffer as significantly from this weakness, there is area for improvement.

Initial steps would be to identify and collect all extant measures of school climate in order to compare them conceptually and empirically. There are several measures of climate (e.g., the NASSP survey, Comer's climate instruments, measures used with the Child Development Project) that have not been used to date in published CRE climate research (although an exciting project involving CRE and climate researchers from Northwestern University using the NASSP instrument to investigate the relationship between CRE and climate in high schools is currently underway). The conceptual comparison would involve identifying the theoretical foundations of each, clarifying their factors or dimensional structures, and identifying common and unique factors across measures. Following this, there should be an effort to make a strong theoretical argument for factors or dimensions that should be related to CRE. This analysis should attend to how factors relate to various forms of CRE (e.g., those geared more toward creation of a safe learning environment or those geared toward changing perceptions of social justice). We assume that different forms of CRE would be differentially related to factors, but that there may be considerable overlap with all forms theoretically relating to certain key factors. Once this theoretical analysis is done, the final step would be to undertake a series of empirical examinations to determine the relationship of the various measures. A large scale administration of the climate measures should be done (at various educational levels since the climate measures are often tailored for elementary, middle or high school) to enable testing for association between measures.

Decisions need to be made about the appropriateness of using disciplinary referral and action data (e.g., suspensions, expulsions) as behavioral indicators of school climate. Some argue that these are critical behavioral measures and others suggest that they are less about the school than about individual students. If disciplinary data are used as a climate indicator, we need a model for how disciplinary data can and should be collected in order to improve the reliability and validity of these measures.

The same process we have just outlined for clarifying the school climate construct should be repeated for classroom climate measures, although given the significantly fewer number of these measures, we anticipate this process to be much less involved and time consuming. An important focus of this work would be on identifying behavioral indices of classroom climate and assessing their relation to self- and other-report measures.

Investigate the relationship between school and classroom climate and specific CRE programmatic interventions. Once we have validated and theoretically grounded measures of school and classroom climate that should relate to CRE interventions, the next phase of the research program is fairly obvious. We should identify various CRE programs (e.g., peer mediation programs, curriculum infusion/integration, constructive negotiation) and examine the relationship between those interventions and both school and classroom climate. There are three aspects of this research that should be emphasized. First, the research should focus on better understanding the relationship between school and classroom climate. Second, the research should carefully follow specific interventions and changes in climate. In other words, instead of doing a pre-test at the beginning of a program and a post-test at the end of the program the research should be taking multiple measures throughout the course of the program and should be recording what specific interventions were being performed during that testing time. We need the research to demonstrate a clearer relationship between the CRE activity and the climate changes. Third, at this stage, the research would not be a comparison of interventions (e.g., trying to determine the superiority of one intervention over another) but the exploration of the impact of a single intervention over time. As argued earlier, we need to design more longitudinal research, especially when we are dealing with school climate as an outcome measure. Even in the case of classroom climate, investigations that trace the length of the classroom community's relationship are needed. Ideally this research would be done across various educational levels and with sensitivity to the diversity of schools and students involved.

Investigate the relative efficacy of different CRE models. The last step is to compare the different CRE models, with special emphasis on comparing cadre versus whole school efforts and comparing curriculum-independent and curriculum infusion/integration approaches. Ideally, these comparisons would be made in a series of studies that involve heterogeneous school populations (e.g., urban, suburban, rural) at various educational levels (elementary, middle, and high), with populations that are diverse in terms of SES, race/ethnicity, and gender.

The benefits of this research protocol are obvious given our earlier critique of the research. The protocol addresses almost all the areas of critique. However, there are significant challenges that would have to be dealt with in conducting this research. In addition to funding challenges and the difficulty of finding schools that will commit to longitudinal research, we believe the greatest challenge lies in creating a non-threatening atmosphere for the research. Teachers and administrators realize that measures of climate are likely to be monitored by their superiors, since climate is emphasized as a "standard of success" in most districts. There is a real and reasonable concern that research on climate may not portray a school or a teacher favorably and that that impression can have consequences in terms of reputation and support. Efforts to help tailor the research to reinforce school goals about climate are important. Similarly, managing the feedback process is critical. The feedback process should be negotiated up front so that teachers and administrators feel an investment in the research and actively support rather than sabotage it.

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SCHOOL CONFLICT PROGRAMS AND CLIMATE: WHAT MATTERS AND WHY

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As a practitioner and researcher, I regularly work in schools with teachers and students and actively engage in evaluating the effectiveness of conflict resolution programs. The comprehensive agenda for future research proposed in the previous chapter challenged me (and invites us all) to rethink what matters most in conducting climate studies relevant to school-based conflict programs, including the value of doing so. What I believe matters most in pursuing the proposed agenda is: (a) implementing and examining conflict theory-based programs, (b) measuring students' conflict competencies and use of program procedures, (c) attending to the feasibility of program implementation, (d) attending to academic achievement, (e) measuring attitudes and perceptions about the conflict program, (f) using sound yet manageable research methods, and (g) using multiple measures to obtain evidence on effectiveness. I will elaborate briefly on each of the above factors to explain why they are important and how enacting each is within our reach.

Theory Matters

Practitioners and researchers alike need to pay attention to conflict theory for two important reasons. First, conflict theory provides guidance for designing operational procedures and protocols most likely to be effective in schools. Second, examining the effectiveness of theory-based programs further contributes to the development and validation of an integrated, systematic theoretical framework from which both existing and future operational procedures can be better defined, replicated, refined, extended, and generalized across diverse populations, circumstances, and settings.

Deutsch's (1973) theory of constructive conflict resolution is especially important for guiding the development of conflict programs most likely to positively affect a wide range of outcomes including school and classroom climate. As discussed briefly in the chapter, the theory predicts that the type of social interdependence (i.e., positive versus negative) structured among disputants determines their conflict resolution goals (i.e., cooperative versus competitive) which determines social interaction processes (i.e., promotive versus oppositional) which influences their outcomes (i.e., constructive versus destructive). This well-validated theory implies that we should structure positive interdependence into all facets of conflict resolution programs, including negotiation and mediation procedures, training strategies, and school-wide program operations.

For practitioners, the good news is that numerous concrete examples of how to structure positive interdependence into classrooms and schools already exist in cooperative learning literature (e.g., see Bennett, Rolheiser, & Stevahn, 1991; Cohen, 1994; Johnson, Johnson, & Holubec, 1994, 1998; Kagan, 1992; Sharan, 1994; Sharan & Sharan, 1992; Slavin, 1986). For researchers, the good news is that numerous valid and reliable measures also exist (many from the field of cooperative learning). These can be readily used to address a host of questions relevant to positive interdependence and its impact on productivity and achievement, interpersonal relationships, and psychological health and social competence (see Johnson & Johnson, 1989), as well as climate.

Competency and Use Matter

The primary goal of school-based conflict resolution programs is for students (and adults) to learn how to manage conflicts constructively and to use conflict resolution procedures and skills successfully when real conflicts occur. Those conflict competencies and their use need to be assessed to make better sense of school and classroom climate data. Separate from data documenting conflict competencies and use, climate data are not particularly meaningful or useful because many factors that have little or nothing to do with a school's conflict program may be influencing students', teachers', and administrators' perceptions of their school environment. This is true even when pretest-posttest climate data indicate positive changes in perceptions after conflict programs have been implemented. A wide array of factors could be responsible for positive changes in climate, including the use of new instructional strategies or methods (such as cooperative learning), the use of new instructional materials or resources (such as technology), staff development or mentoring programs for teachers (such as study teams), a change in leadership or school personnel (such as a new principal), or a change in the school schedule or timetable (such as block scheduling).

In our desire to examine and make claims about the relation between school conflict programs and climate, we need to be mindful that climate data alone do not tell us much. That is why both practitioners and researchers must find ways to document how well students have learned and use conflict program procedures and skills when claims about climate are at stake. Because of the many variables that affect school climate, it is entirely possible for students to have positive perceptions of their climate without knowing or being able to demonstrate conflict competencies. Similarly, students may demonstrate conflict knowledge and competencies, but if negotiations and peer mediations rarely take place within the school and the conflict program essentially is not operating, it is less probable that the program is responsible for positive perceptions of school climate. Claims that conflict programs positively impact school and classroom climate become more tenable when documentation shows that students actually can and do use the program procedures and skills and that programs actually are operating within the school.

Feasibility Matters

The extent to which a conflict resolution program readily can be taught and "fits" with the daily demands of schooling will affect its success, including its impact on climate. Even if a conflict program is theory-based, and even if students can demonstrate that they have learned and can use conflict resolution procedures effectively, both the program and its goals fail if educators in the school do not systematically implement it. This means that initial training, daily operation of the program after training, and follow-up training aimed at refining and extending skills and sustaining operation must be feasible for teachers, administrators, students, and support staff. Teachers consistently cite "lack of time" and an "overcrowded curriculum" as barriers that block efforts to establish and maintain conflict programs in schools. The "competing priorities" in schools require tough decisions about how to allocate precious time and resources. And, academic priorities in schools constantly place conflict programs at risk of either being small-scale (such as cadre programs) or being dropped altogether.

Curriculum-integrated conflict resolution and peer mediation programs offer hope; they provide a feasible way to teach all students in school how to manage conflict constructively. As noted in the chapter, we would expect curriculum-infusion programs to have the greatest impact on school and classroom climate because such programs can teach more students how to negotiate and mediate and, in turn, actively involve more students as peer mediators to assist schoolmates in resolving disputes. We also would expect curriculum-infusion programs to more likely be sustained year by year because such programs are typically embedded in ongoing, required courses (such as language arts and social studies). Sustaining conflict programs over time is important for measuring effects on school and classroom climate because climate tends to be relatively stable and changes gradually as new programs and innovations take hold.

Ten curriculum-integration conflict studies, although not focused on the study of climate, indicate that it is both feasible and effective to infuse conflict resolution training into a variety of academic courses and programs. Most of the studies were experimental or quasi-experimental. Seven of the studies were conducted in American and Canadian elementary and secondary schools (see the Stevahn et al. studies referenced in Johnson & Johnson, 2000). Three of the studies were conducted in a summer teen leadership camp program for students and their teachers from 25 high schools in a major urban area in the southern United States (see Munger & Stevahn, 2000; Stevahn, 1999; Stevahn, Thornburg, & Augustine; 1997). In all of the studies, the classroom teachers who conducted the training integrated the Peacemakers Program (see Johnson & Johnson, 1995a, 1995b) into academic subject matter including English literature, history, law-related education, religious education, and a thematic friendship unit. And in every case, trained students more effectively learned and demonstrated competence in using the conflict procedures than untrained students. It is especially noteworthy that trained and untrained students, both within and across the studies, represented diverse backgrounds and levels of academic achievement. Knowing that the curriculum-integrated approach is feasible and effective for teaching conflict skills to a wide range of students paves the way for measuring the impact of such programs on climate in future studies.

Achievement Matters

While the goals of education encompass a wide range of outcomes that go beyond the basics of "reading, writing, and arithmetic" (including the ability to solve problems, communicate, collaborate, use technology, etc.), academic achievement continues to be the primary focus of schooling. In the long run, school conflict programs that positively impact achievement will have a greater chance of being adopted, implemented, and maintained over time, while programs that have no effect on achievement or negatively impact achievement have a greater chance of being discontinued.

Hence, determining the impact of conflict programs on achievement is important. Positive effects will increase the probability that conflict programs will be adopted and implemented in schools; conflict programs that enhance academic achievement will likely enhance school and classroom climate.

Curriculum-integrated conflict resolution programs hold great promise for increasing academic achievement, in addition to being feasible to implement in schools. When conflict procedures and skills are taught and practiced in conjunction with academic coursework, conflict training and academic learning are linked more directly which, in turn, can be assessed more directly (and continually) through unit achievement tests and other types of performance measures designed to assess academic achievement in the classroom. We also would expect sustained academic excellence from curriculum-integrated conflict programs in classrooms to breed more positive perceptions of classroom climate. Similarly, we would expect perceptions of school climate to become more positive when all (or nearly all) classrooms in the school successfully integrate conflict training into their curricula.

Empirical studies have demonstrated that curriculum-integrated conflict training positively affects academic achievement in classrooms. Of the 10 curriculum-integration conflict studies cited earlier, six tested effects of integrated conflict training on academic learning (specifically Stevahn, Johnson, Johnson, Green, & Laginski, 1997; Stevahn, Johnson, Johnson, Laginski, & O'Coin, 1996; Stevahn, Johnson, Johnson, Oberle, & Wahl, 2000; Stevahn, Johnson, Johnson, & Real, 1996; Stevahn, Johnson, Johnson, & Schultz, 1998; Stevahn, Thornburg, & Augustine, 1997). In all six cases, students who received the curriculum-integrated training scored significantly higher on unit achievement tests compared to students who studied identical curriculum without the infusion of the conflict training. Such findings suggest that practicing negotiation and mediation procedures by applying those procedures to conflict issues inherent in the subject matter promotes more elaborate processing of the academic material, making it more meaningful and memorable (Stevahn, 1997).

Attitudes and Perceptions Matter

What and how students (and teachers, administrators, parents, etc.) think and feel about conflict resolution programs gives us additional insights useful for interpreting school and classroom climate data. Documenting students' (and teachers', administrators', parents', etc.) attitudes and perceptions of their school's conflict program and discovering the reasons underlying their perceptions can provide clues that help us better determine connections between school conflict programs and climate. It becomes less likely that a conflict program is positively affecting school climate when school members hold negative perceptions of the program.

Methods Matter

Claims that school conflict programs impact climate are suspect unless methods are employed that allow such claims to be made. As the authors of the previous chapter note, most studies on the impact of school conflict programs contain serious design flaws that result in questionable data and overstated conclusions.

Two steps (among many) can be taken to avoid the trap of ending up with relatively useless data. One is to conduct experimental or quasi-experimental studies with control groups in classrooms. Such studies become exceedingly more "doable" when conflict training is integrated into classroom instruction through curriculum-infusion approaches, as was the case in the examples cited earlier. Another step is to conduct sound yet simple correlation studies that associate two (or more) obtainable measures. For starters, climate survey measures easily can be correlated with student competency and use measures. Such findings would be far more helpful in establishing a link between conflict programs and school climate than pretest-posttest only comparisons of climate data obtained in non-experimental studies. Although the practical realities of daily life in school almost always make research challenging, if examining the impact of conflict programs on climate is worth doing, then it is worth doing well.

Measures Matter

In addition to using methods that allow claims of impact to be made, obtaining multiple types of measures will paint a more complete picture of any associations that may exist between school conflict programs and climate. Basing conclusions (or program decisions) on only one measure (or limited data) is dangerous because it provides only one piece of the puzzle relevant to what is being examined. Without the other pieces, the entire picture remains less clear.

In addition to a variety of conflict program outcome measures (many already mentioned in this article) that can be correlated with climate measures, obtaining a range of climate measures also can increase our confidence in conclusions. In the previous chapter, the authors note the importance of obtaining both cognitive and behavioral-observational climate data to better assess the impact of school programs on climate. Doing so is challenging, but also possible.

All in all, we need to become more critical consumers of data by continually asking: "Where is the evidence? How many and what types of measures were obtained? Does the evidence make sense? What additional data are needed to draw valid conclusions?" Perhaps by doing so more careful attention to "evidence" will emerge, resulting in a more solid collection of data useful for sound decision making.

Conclusion

School and classroom climate studies that examine the impact of conflict programs on climate can provide practitioners with valuable information, helpful for making decisions about school-based practices. We want to adopt and implement programs that will create school and classroom climates conducive to high-quality teaching and learning and the well-being of everyone in the school environment. Toward that goal, the imperative question relevant to conflict research and school climate is, "Under what conditions will conflict resolution and peer mediation programs positively impact school and classroom climate?"

In pursuing the comprehensive research agenda outlined in the previous chapter, examining "theory-based" and "classroom-feasible" conflict programs holds the greatest hope for enabling us to develop more comprehensive theoretical frameworks from which we can design more effective and useful conflict resolution procedures. Measuring students' competency and use of the conflict procedures taught and assessing attitudes and perceptions of the program and toward conflict itself also contribute to determining links between conflict programs, school climate, and other critical outcomes including academic achievement. Previous studies imply that it is all within reach. Our success, however, will depend, in part, on practitioners and researchers teaming up to attend to "what matters." Doing so has the potential to meet the needs of both practitioners and researchers who seek to create and sustain school environments where peacemaking thrives, relationships flourish, and students excel.

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CHAPTER 6
CONFLICT RESOLUTION EDUCATION: ISSUES OF INSTITUTIONALIZATION

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One of the most pressing issues in the field of conflict resolution education (CRE) is how to best institutionalize CRE in ongoing educational efforts. A general assumption in the field is one voiced by Inger (1991)—that institutionalization of CRE practices in the administrative, managerial, and educational processes of schools will help everyone in the school integrate constructive conflict resolution into their lives and communities. In this chapter, we assume that there is a clear need for CRE and take as our point of departure that others have recognized this need based on the research reported in the preceding chapters. Accordingly, our task is to investigate the factors that enhance or inhibit the institutionalization of CRE.

In order to raise questions that will guide our examination of the research in relation to CRE institutionalization, we first provide a theoretical foundation as framework for our discussion. Specifically, we define institutionalization, place it within a larger understanding of diffusion of innovation and systems theories, and present our own model of factors that impact the institutionalization of CRE. Within that model, we have identified critical hypotheses. Areas of knowledge will be discussed in relation to the hypotheses. These areas of knowledge include extant research, both qualitative and quantitative, practitioner experience, and contributions from CR and CRE professionals interviewed as a portion of this process. Thus, our intent is to honor various epistemologies concerning institutionalization as we attempt to identify levels of support for the hypotheses. We also draw on research in the related fields of character education and cooperative learning to support our assumptions concerning institutionalization practices.

Following this review, we conclude with recommendations for future research in this area. Throughout this chapter, we have interwoven comments and contributions that arose from the dialogue of researchers, educators, and CRE practitioners who attended the USDE/CRENET symposium.

Foundational Framework

Eiseman, Fleming, and Roody (1990) define institutionalization as the process by which an innovation becomes embedded in operating procedures of a system. Berman, McLaughlin, Pauley, Greenwood, Mann, and Pincus (1977) and Curry (1992) note that institutionalization is a matter of the extent to which all internal users (from classroom to district) accept and use an innovation on an ongoing basis. Eiseman et al. (1990) list six indicators that are consistent with this conceptual definition and serve as operational measures of the institutionalization of an innovation: (1) acceptance by relevant actors, or a perception by actors that the innovation legitimately belongs in the schools; (2) stable, routinized implementation; (3) widespread use of the innovation throughout the school or district; (4) firm expectations that the practice will continue within the organization; (5) continuation of the program that is dependent on features of the organizational culture, structure, and/or procedures rather than the actions of specific individuals; and (6) routine allocations of time and money. Most observers would acknowledge that relatively few CRE programs have met these operational criteria.

Clearly, notions of institutionalization are linked to a systems orientation. Systems theory provides an understanding of organizations as a set of interdependent units linked together such that something that impacts one unit will directly or indirectly impact all other units in the system. Hansen (1994) defines an educational organization as an open social system that interacts with the surrounding environment and, as a consequence, is constantly adjusting to the environment. A healthy system monitors information from internal and external sources and uses that information to adjust its actions through program or organizational development, revision, or redesign.

Factors That Enhance Institutionalization

Hansen (1994), operating from a systems perspective, suggests the following with respect to the institutionalization of educational reforms: (1) the vision, mission, and goals of the innovation must be clearly understood by all those within the system as well as clients of the system; (2) the vision, mission, and goals of the innovation must be aligned with those of individuals within the system; (3) structural mechanisms for promoting communication about the innovation across subsystem barriers within the organization and between the system and the environment must be established; (4) multiple structural approaches for collecting and processing information input from the internal and external environment about the innovation must be established; and (5) action-producing mechanisms must analyze feedback about the innovation and function to introduce corrective actions.

Within the systems context, effective institutionalization of any innovation also requires an understanding of the way in which the innovation is introduced and spreads throughout the system. It is critical for the innovator(s) to be cognizant of forces supporting change and forces resisting change. Moreover, the innovation must address some felt need of the system and must be implemented in a way that is congruent with the underlying values or culture of the system. Characteristics of the diffusion process and organizational systems that may be relevant to the spread of an innovation in a school system include the nature of the innovation itself, the size and surrounding environment of the system, the nature of the organizational system, and the dissemination plan. Carlson, Fox, and Stevens (1975) argue that characteristics of the product (materials and practices) have relevance to the diffusion of an innovation, stating that: (1) products prepared by developers who have generally-acknowledged integrity, credibility, and legitimacy are more likely to be used; (2) products with clearly stated rationales, general and specific objectives, and expected outcomes are more likely to be used; and (3) products that are compatible with existing societal and educational norms are more likely to be used. Matula (1972), for example, found that a teacher's willingness to use a program was related to the congruence between the program and norms of the group it targets. Thus, successful diffusion could vary classroom-by-classroom, school-by-school, and/or system-by-system according to individual and group norms. Baldridge and Burnham (1973) maintain that large, complex school systems with turbulent, changing, and heterogeneous environments are probably more receptive to innovations than smaller systems in homogeneous environments. An implication for institutionalization is that large systems may witness a rapid diffusion of an innovation in the initial implementation stages; however, stabilization of the innovation in the large system may be vulnerable to the next innovation that comes into vogue. Carlson, Fox & Stevens (1975) suggest certain factors that facilitate the diffusion of an innovation in a school system: (1) established relations with outside sources of assistance; (2) an internal advocate for the innovation; (3) open communication among teachers and between administrators and teachers; and (4) a high value on evaluation. Pertaining to the dissemination plan, they argue that the plan should deploy credible persons to assist potential users, and that the plan should employ multiple communication channels—each geared to specialized roles within and outside the system.

Lambour (1980) suggests that the following factors are very important to an institutionalization process: planning and monitoring collaboratively, adapting internal and external expertise, revising materials to meet local needs, modeling desired behavior, training as an integral part of regular work meetings, building and maintaining support systems, and maintaining effort. Eiseman et al. (1990) suggest that certain factors support institutionalization including administrative pressure, mandates, administrative commitment, stabilization of use, assistance, commitment of users, mastery by users, user effort, percentage of use, and organizational change. Kenny and Roberts (1986) argue that successful institutionalization is associated with three types of factors: procedural, policy, and organizational. Procedural factors include in-service training, staff assignments, and resource allocations (e.g., time, materials, funds); policy factors include leadership and use of data in decision-making; and, organizational factors include extent of participation and relations between school and central office personnel. Levine (1980) adds other factors that enhance institutionalization: creation of a climate for change, provision for information dissemination and evaluation, and planning for the post-adoption period. DeJong and Moeykens (1999) describe a number of characteristics that better ensure the survival of a program, including collaboration, strong commitment from top administrators, an established long-range plan, objectives tied to the organizational mission, networking outside the organization, a focus on building institutional capacity, a system of program accountability, and strategic use of public relations.

Factors That Inhibit Institutionalization

It could be said that the absence or opposite of any of the factors that support institutionalization inhibits institutionalization. Scholars have specifically mentioned certain factors as inhibitors:

inaccurate diagnosis or needs assessment, vulnerability of the innovation, ineffective use of authority, instability of program leadership and staff, environmental turbulence, and career advancement motivation (Eiseman et al., 1990; Lambour et al., 1980; Miles, 1983).

Grouping Factors That Enhance/Inhibit Institutionalization

When the various factors that support or inhibit institutionalization are grouped, researchers have described four categories of factors: (1) factors pertaining to the nature of the innovation, (2) factors pertaining to the nature of the internal organizational system, (3) factors pertaining to the planning and strategies used in the innovation, and (4) factors pertaining to external environment including other organizational systems (Fullan & Pomfret, 1977; Roberts, 1978). These four categories describe two contexts, one that is internal to the school system and another that is external to the school system. Within each context, any of the factors that enhance or inhibit institutionalization may be said to operate, albeit with differing degrees of effect.

In adapting the general institutionalization literature to CRE innovations, we have developed the following model that assumes there are two main contexts in which to consider institutionalization. One context is that of the school/district system which includes individual schools as well as entire school districts. We have grouped these together because we believe, like Kenney and Roberts (1986), that there is a strong correlation between school-level and district-level institutionalization processes. The second context is the educational enterprise that includes the mix of agencies and institutions impacting upon the school/district system. The educational enterprise includes organizations that serve, monitor, or oversee public education such as state and federal government agencies (e.g., Departments of Education), professional associations that have impact on educational standards (e.g., NCATE, American Board of Education, National Association of Secondary School Principals), consultants/trainers and vendors in CRE, and colleges of education that prepare teachers for their profession. We suggest that factors within each context critically impact successful institutionalization of CRE. We acknowledge that one could also argue for a context of the individual teacher/educator, but we believe that institutionalization must be considered at a systems level rather than an individual level. Also, while the community is not presented as a specific element in our model, it is assumed to be a critical component in both the school/district and educational enterprise contexts as the hypotheses reflect.

In the context of the school/district system, we propose that there are five features of organizations that should be considered: (1) resources, (2) planning, (3) leadership, (4) delivery, and (5) assessment. Resources include appropriate training, program curricula, money, and personnel. Planning concerns strategic planning for program institutionalization, implementation, and integration with other similar efforts in the school and district. Leadership involves the commitment of administrators and staff to implement, use and support the program. Delivery concerns the qualification of personnel (both internal and external) and the ways in which the program is actually implemented and diffused system-wide. And, assessment includes needs assessment processes as well as evaluation processes. Each of these features impacts all subsystems within the school/district system.

As for the educational enterprise context, we propose there are two major features common to the many organizations surrounding the school district and which enhance or inhibit CRE institutionalization: CRE identity and CRE credibility. Identity concerns how the field of CRE is defined and understood in the larger educational enterprise. Credibility concerns the extent to which CRE organizations and programs are seen as legitimate, viable, and effective.

Specific Hypotheses

Below, we have presented specific hypotheses that concern the two contexts and various features of each context. Within either context, it is important to note that some hypotheses may be germane to more than one feature, but have been presented in terms of the most salient. Following each hypothesis is a very brief explanation of the rationale behind that hypothesis and a presentation of research and experiential support for or against that hypothesis. In some cases, research projects shed light on more than one hypothesis. In such cases, the project is described briefly when first introduced, but not in every instance where it relates to hypotheses.

School/District Context Resources.

Hypothesis 1: CRE is more likely to be institutionalized in schools/districts where there are adequate resources to support the program. In general, Horowitz and Boardman (1995) note that the use of CRE to combat aggression and violence requires sufficient resources to enable a school-wide initiative with a whole school orientation and intensive programs targeting particularly aggressive children. Some research supports the basic assumption that better resourced schools are more likely to institutionalize CRE. The National Curriculum Integration Project (NCIP) research (Jones, Sanford, & Bodtker, 2000) and the Philadelphia Peer Mediation Project research (PPMP) (Jones & Carlin, 1994) both involved qualitative assessment of program implementation practices and both suggest that very poorly resourced schools are likely to be unable to handle innovations, but moderately to well-resourced schools are often able to sustain implementation efforts. The NCIP project involved the assessment of a national program of curriculum infusion and integration in seven middle schools. An action research orientation was used with emphasis on qualitative interviewing processes to monitor teacher experiences in the program. The PPMP project studied implementation of peer mediation cadre programs in 43 middle and senior high schools in the Philadelphia Public School District over a three-year period. Focus group interviews with students, teachers, and administrators in each school were conducted at the end of each semester to track program development. Observation of training and program operation was conducted during the first year. The field research represented by these two projects strongly supports the importance of resources for school/district level institutionalization. These studies confirm that presence of resources does not guarantee success, but absence of resources almost certainly undermines success.

CRE practice in the field also provides excellent examples that support this hypothesis. For example, the Ohio Commission for Dispute Resolution has provided over 500 grants for CRE to Ohio schools; this level of support has contributed to the fact that approximately 1200 of the 4700 public schools in Ohio have CRE programs. The Cleveland Public School District devotes approximately $500,000 per year (from district funds) to support the "Working Against Violent Environments" program, a

CRE and violence prevention effort. The district has eight full-time staff people assigned to this program and each school in the district is provided three full days of CRE training, two to three hours of parent training, and additional training as needed. All schools are given a support stipend for the peer mediation program coordinator. Without the resources provided in both areas, program specialists concur that many of these programs would not have been started or sustained.

Hypothesis 2: CRE is more likely to be institutionalized in schools/districts that have a specific person assigned to advocate and oversee CRE efforts. Experiences in districts like the Cleveland Public School District and the Fairfax Public School District in Virginia have provided support for this hypothesis. Although comparative research is not available, case studies of a single district or school experience does support the significance of having a person or persons appointed to oversee CRE implementation efforts. Moreover, these experiences suggest that the oversight person should be someone who has a specialty in CR or CRE, and who is charged with the ability to develop, monitor, and implement CRE programs in the school or throughout the district. If the school or district is able to devote these resources to CRE, it shows a real commitment to the efforts. Support for the importance of a point person to oversee implementation also comes from O'Shaughnessy's (1999) ethnographic case study of internal consultative services in school-based peer resource programs. He argues that internal consultants who fulfill this role are critical in terms of their ability to provide continuity and coordination with similar peer-based programs. However, he also argues that the demands placed on the internal consultant can be overwhelming, especially given the tendency to overburden and under-resource the individual, and hence the program.

Hypothesis 3: CRE is more likely to be institutionalized in schools that have strong academic performance. A common assumption is that strong academic performance usually correlates with stability and resources that can be spent on other programs. The NCIP research (Jones et al., 2000) identifies a strong link between critical academic performance levels and CRE implementation. In this study, some schools had been placed on academic probation and were given limited time to re-establish academic performance levels. In those schools, all CRE efforts were truncated or eliminated. However, there was no significant difference between moderate and strong academic schools in implementation effectiveness. This research does not provide direct support for a linear relationship between academic performance and institutionalization capability, but it does suggest a minimum standard of academic performance is necessary for CRE programs to be sustainable.

Hypothesis 4: Provision of appropriate quality training for teachers in CRE and in CR is significantly related to the individual teacher's ability to help institutionalize CRE and to the school's ability to institutionalize CRE. The critical terms are "appropriate" and "quality," because research suggests that CRE training for educators is not simply a matter of more is better (e.g., Aber, Brown, & Henrich, 1999). There are three points of importance: (1) whether CRE training actually increases teacher competence as a trainer, (2) whether CRE training influences teachers' program implementation and fidelity, and (3) whether teacher commitment to the underlying ideology is important.

Most CRE practitioners and educators assume that teachers must receive quality training in order for teachers to understand and utilize CRE and in order for them to be able to act as trainers for students in later iterations of the program. However, there is no strong evidence that teachers' conflict behavior is influenced by experiencing quality training (see the chapter in this volume on impact on educators). And, there is no strong evidence that receiving such training prepares teachers to train children effectively. The latter point is particularly germane since the predominant model of delivery has been with external training organizations initially offering training with the assumption of internal training by teachers in subsequent semesters. The Philadelphia Peer Mediation Project (Jones & Bodtker, 1999b) documented that the train-the-trainer approach was rarely successful in developing sufficient training skills for teachers to assume the trainer role. Instead, schools and teachers seemed quite dependent on continued provision of external training; as long as qualified external training was provided, programs were maintained. More intensive program development efforts in a school for a special needs population produced similar findings (Jones & Bodtker, 1999a, 2000). In this project, a whole-school CRE program was implemented over a two-year period. An external CRE training organization provided a six-week peer mediation training and a six-week conflict education curriculum training every year for two years. They also provided a special advanced train-the-trainer session for staff who had been involved in both previous trainings. Even with this support, at the end of the funding cycle, the staff felt that they were insecure about being able to assume the role of independent trainers for the next year. They requested that the training organization contribute services for one more training cycle in which teachers could perform as co-trainers with the CRE specialists.

In evaluations of the CRE programs in Toronto, Brown et al. (1995, 1996) reported that teachers who had received conflict resolution training were more likely to integrate conflict resolution into classroom teaching, especially at the elementary level. However, providing training to teachers does not guarantee use or institutionalization, as Roderick (1998) noted in his report on the evaluation of the Resolving Conflict Creatively Program (RCCP). He indicated that 20% of the teachers who received training in the RCCP study (the same project cited in Aber, Brown, & Henrich, 1999) actually used it in their classrooms. Lantieri and Patti (1996) indicate that the key is providing coaching and practice support to teachers following their CRE training. Of course, this raises questions of how much continued coaching is necessary and how we are to determine that initially to plan for optimal use of resources. It also raises important questions about the overall method of building capacity in CRE programs, questions that alternately raise the possibility that current approaches are increasing learned helplessness rather than independence.

Harris, Glowinski, and Perleberg (1998) challenge the importance of training, arguing that teachers' commitment to the underlying ideology of CRE is a more important predictor of their active implementation of CRE programs than the level of training they have received. Their work suggests that when teachers share the ideology, they will "find a way" to make things happen. Perhaps an important question we should be asking is one raised in the symposium discussion, "how can we create values for CRE among teachers?" Granted, if there is a shared ideology we can assume that teachers will be more committed, but does exposure to CRE programs develop certain value orientations among teachers? If so, how can we best explore this process and its consequences?

Hypothesis 5: The presence of a community base of support (e.g., a Community Peace and Safety Network format) is significantly related to the successful institutionalization of CRE in the schools/districts. There is mixed support for this hypothesis in the research. The experience in the

Community Peace and Safety Networks project in Philadelphia (Jones, 1999) and in international settings (Jones, Bodtker, & Cutrona, forthcoming; Soutter & McKenzie, 1998); suggests that community support structures enable the students' application of their skills outside the school arena, provide additional public relations and support for the CRE efforts in both places, and receive "official" support for things like reduction of truancy. However, efficacy in these efforts depends on considerable planning and sustained effort. The more the neighborhood and surrounding community support CRE, the more the school will be able to dedicate support to such efforts. The research suggests that bringing community structures to capacity may be beyond the resource abilities of many schools or districts. However, community bases of support for character education programs have proven critical in successful planning and long-term implementation efforts (McDaniel, 1998; Wrobel, 1997).

Planning.

Hypothesis 6: CRE projects that are planned from the beginning for long-term institutionalization are more likely to achieve institutionalization. While this may seem a keen grasp of the obvious, we feel it is important to acknowledge that far too few programs are initiated with a planning effort that has a clear vision of program institutionalization. Instead, many CRE efforts are constructed to handle issues of the moment, and thus, are rarely the product of intense strategic planning for organizational development and change. The importance of strategic planning of this type has been noted by Kenney and Roberts (1986) and Hord and Hall (cited in Eiseman et al., 1990). Both argue that project survival and ultimate institutionalization require attention to such issues in the initiation stages of the change process in order to adjust for coordination between efforts and contingencies in the system.

Hypothesis 7: Planning initiatives that link CRE programs with related programs at the school and district level (e.g., character education, social-emotional learning (SEL), peer counseling etc.) increase CRE institutionalization. Again, common sense may suggest that effective planning at the school or district level should realize the relatedness of CRE and other disciplines, and should work to form an integrated offering for schools that will increase effectiveness and efficiency, thereby promoting institutionalization. Yet, no research exists on this point. Nor are there good models in the field that suggest the degree of success with such a structure. Instead, it seems that administrators and teachers are unaware of how CRE programs relate to other programs, and are uninformed about how these may be integrated. One of the significant contributions of the National Curriculum Integration Project is the exploration of a potential model of curriculum integration that blends CRE, social-emotional learning, anti-bias education, and law-related education. The development and testing of such models provides a template for other schools to follow.

Leadership.

Hypothesis 8: The presence of support for CRE at top levels of administration (whether district or school level) is critical for CRE to be institutionalized. Several studies have concluded that, although bottom-up support is important and necessary for CRE institutionalization, top-down support is absolutely essential (Jones, 1998; Jones & Carlin, 1994; Jones et al., 1997). Without top-down support there is little likelihood that there will be adequate resources, planning, delivery, or assessment. Crawford and Bodine (1996) argue that administrative support involves having administrators feel responsible for the program's success. Without this kind of commitment, they note that most CRE efforts fail. Lantieri and Patti (1996) comment that effective institutionalization of RCCP has required district level support in New York City. Collaboration at the level of district superintendent was necessary to provide the four- to five-year commitment necessary to mount an RCCP innovation effectively. Eve Ford, from the Oregon Office of Dispute Resolution, agrees strongly with this hypothesis. She reports, "This is why we felt it is important to work directly with the Confederation of Oregon School Administrators. They, the Oregon School Boards Associations, and the education service districts are indeed a critical source of support to CRE."

Hypothesis 9: The greater the publicity/awareness about CRE in the schools and in the district, the more likely the institutionalization. As the PPMP project demonstrated (Jones & Carlin, 1994), programs will not be used if people don't know about them; and in the case of CRE, programs are often unpublicized and unused. There is considerable need for research that examines the effectiveness of certain publicity approaches.

Delivery.

Hypothesis 10: A programmatic K-12 approach (feeder schools, well- coordinated CRE programming at all levels, linkages of conceptual approach and developmental progression) is a key to effective institutionalization. Developmental psychologists have long noted that conflict and conflict-related education are valuable developmental processes. Implementation and delivery of progressive, developmental K-12 CRE efforts provides a powerful theoretic and practical underpinning that will enhance institutionalization. A K-12 program in districts is clear evidence of a general commitment to CRE, but a strong planning process is needed to develop such efforts. If strategic planning of this kind exists, the assumption is that necessary resources, planning, leadership, and assessment processes are also likely to be available. However, no research or published examples of such efforts exist in the CRE field.

Hypothesis 11: The existence of effective infrastructures that allow and enhance communication between systems and across subsystem levels (e.g., across classes in schools or across schools in districts) is a key to effective CRE institutionalization. Basic organizational communication theory underscores the importance of effective communication networks for organizational change (Conrad & Poole, 1998). It is critical that innovators (teachers, administrators, etc.) have the opportunity to access and exchange information and feedback about their experience. The NCIP and PPMP projects provide limited support for the assumption that the more opportunity there is for teacher meeting and teacher dialogue on CRE, the more support will be generated and the more "best practices" can be communicated to increase program effectiveness and efficiency. Both of these projects, using qualitative assessment of program implementation processes, report that better communication networks were related to program implementation success. However, directionality of this relationship could not be determined. In other words, was program success motivating to teachers who then found ways and time for communicating with their colleagues? Or, was program success dependent on the pre-existence of these communication networks? What was clear was that most schools did not have time for teachers to meet and exchange information and experiences. In fact, the lack of meeting time and availability was cited by teachers in the NCIP project as one of the greatest barriers to implementation.

Hypothesis 12: The extent to which CRE can be infused into ongoing curricula is an important factor in increasing institutionalization. Educators argue that CRE needs to be understood as a curricular activity (either an independent curriculum or one integrated into existing curriculum) rather than an add-on program (Carruthers, Carruthers, Day-Vines, Bostick, & Watson, 1996; Lupton-Smith et al., 1996). The National Curriculum Integration Project (Jones et al., 2000), developed integrated curriculum and infused it in extant curricula in seven middle schools across the nation. This project is based strongly on the assumption that CRE must be seen as a part of the educational process in order to be effectively institutionalized, and that that will not happen comprehensively until CRE is presented as part of an ongoing instructional process. However, the NCIP project has also demonstrated that issues of how to accomplish this infusion approach are similar to the entire discussion of institutionalization. Infusion and integration approaches are processes that require commitment, resources, and careful planning to bring staff and administration to ripeness for implementation. Similar insights have been gained from the Comprehensive Peer Mediation Evaluation Project (Jones et al., 1997) which compared peer mediation cadre and whole school programs. The latter involved a curriculum infusion condition that proved problematic for some schools that had not anticipated necessary resources for full adherence to the condition. The initial pilot study evaluation of the Toronto schools CRE efforts (Brown et al., 1995, p. 14), which monitored peer mediation program development and use, suggested that, "while peer mediation programs were successful in many schools, it was becoming increasingly clear that the long-term success of programs was dependent on expanding Conflict Resolution's role in the school community, specifically in the areas of school discipline/classroom management and the school curriculum."

Assessment.

Hypothesis 13: The development of a clear statement regarding the link between CRE program standards and expected impacts based on quality research is critical to institutionalization. Research support for CRE efforts is key to effective institutionalization, especially in light of the continuing emphasis on this from the federal government and other funding agencies. Any and all assessment efforts that contribute to the demonstrated impact of CRE and to the improvement of CRE efforts will enhance institutionalization. As Crawford and Bodine (1996, p. 26) argue, "Any program in schools today needs to establish performance goals and to measure progress toward achieving those goals. . . . Programs that are unable to report progress, outcomes, and impact rigorously are not likely to survive." The Ohio Commission for Dispute Resolution requires an evaluation of all of its supported CRE programs and its truancy mediation programs at all educational levels. These evaluations are critical for gaining increased allocations for the programs from the Ohio State Legislature. However, Cohen's (1993) experience in collaborative learning efforts provides a cautionary note. She suggests that assessment and evaluation research may insert an agenda into program implementation that is non-collaborative and likely to create conflicts that interfere with program operation. Thus, it is important for assessment and evaluation to be seen as a process that must be integrated with program development and implementation.

Educational Enterprise Context CRE Identity.

Hypothesis 14: Clarification of what CRE is and how it relates to other disciplines and programs increases institutionalization. While there is no specific research on this related to CRE, the common experience voiced at the symposium was that this is a major challenge for CRE. We realize that the educational enterprise must clearly characterize the nature of an innovation (e.g., goals, methods, expected outcomes, etc.) in order to fully support its institutionalization, and must communicate this information to the school/district if systems at that level are going to be asked to adopt the innovation. We also know that many administrators, educators, and parents do not understand what CRE is, what it can accomplish, or how it relates to other efforts. In short, the CRE field faces a massive challenge to communicate its identity more effectively to the larger educational enterprise. To the extent that there is existing confusion about the field of CRE and what it offers relative to related disciplines, it is more difficult to effect institutionalization.

Hypothesis 15: States with Offices of Dispute Resolution have more success at district level institutionalization than states without such Offices. States with Offices of Dispute Resolution (DR) have an obvious support infrastructure for CR and related activities, including CRE. Moreover, there is a strong propensity for these offices to have made important links with other government agencies and associations and to be effective in stimulating knowledge of and support for CRE. Eve Ford, of the Oregon Office of Dispute Resolution, agrees that states with Offices of DR seem to have strong school-based CRE programs and that these offices encourage support for CRE through linkages between community DR centers, community groups, and schools. However, only one state office, Ohio, has a direct link with the state Department of Education. It is important to note that the presence of a state office does not necessarily mean increased success at CRE institutionalization. Some states' offices, like Georgia's and Colorado's, are focused mainly on court-annexed Alternative Dispute Resolution programs and have few formal links to the CRE efforts in those states.

The state offices that do exist also have the opportunity to share their CRE efforts and institutionalization experiences with each other. Yet, other than some discussion between members in some of the offices, there has not been a formal attempt to encourage this type of communication. This is probably due to the offices' charge to address a very broad spectrum of ADR-related activity with funding support that is not optimal.

CRE Credibility.

Hypothesis 16: Endorsement/support by State Bar Associations and similar professional associations/organizations linked to CRE increases the development of successful initiatives at state levels, specifically State Departments of Education. One strong example supporting this hypothesis is the Project Peace experience in Indiana. This project was initiated by the Indiana State Bar Association and involved teams of lawyer-mediators providing training in mediation and law-related education. The project is being extended to Pennsylvania in 2000. Similarly, the Center for Dispute Resolution at Willamette University College of Law has been successful in developing the CDR/ABA peer mediation project in which faculty and attorneys provide support for peer mediation programs. This program has gained the strong support of the ABA, which has devoted resources to development of projects in 21 new peer mediation sites across the country. Thus, the Project Peace and CDR/ABA experience suggests that support from professions that are historically linked with CR/DR and that are also influential in policy-making initiatives related to the field, provide CRE with credibility that may result in increased support for institutionalization. Eve Ford, from the Oregon Office of Dispute Resolution, suggests an alternative model. She reports that they work with an Advisory Committee with representation from a variety of organizations including the Bar (e.g., Oregon Education Association, State Level School Boards Association, etc.), but are not directly linked to the Oregon State Bar. The Ohio Commission for Dispute Resolution works directly with the state supreme court, which funds their program in school-based truancy mediation. The OCDR school-based CRE program works with an advisory committee of representatives from sixteen Ohio agencies to promote the safe schools initiative.

Hypothesis 17: Institutionalization is facilitated in states where general principles or standards of education and curriculum can be shown to involve or relate to CRE. The experience in Maine can stand as an exemplar of the logic underlying this hypothesis. For several years, the Maine Education Association and the Maine Department of Education have worked to develop general learning principles for K-12 education. These principles, once created, have provided a means for CRE educators to argue successfully that CRE programs attend to some (if not all) of the learning principles. To the extent that research can prove the link between CRE and the specific principles, CRE institutionalization will be further enhanced. In Oregon, the Office of Dispute Resolution is working to show links between the skills learned in CRE and the new educational benchmarks established by the Oregon Educational Improvement Act for the 21st century. They are also trying to gather evidence that CRE positively impacts academic performance since Oregon, like many other states, evaluates schools on student performance on achievement tests. An example from the field of character education is provided by DeRoche (1997) who argues that when the California Standards for the Teaching Profession were modified to include character education, support and development of programs was significantly enhanced.

Hypothesis 18: Higher education programs in Colleges of Education that acknowledge and offer curriculum in CRE increase institutionalization. To date there has been little activity in this area. Only two programs in higher education (Lesley College linked with Educators for Social Responsibility and Goucher College linked with the Shepphard Pratt Institute in Maryland) have tried to provide specific curricula in CRE at the Masters degree level. Information about the prevalence of CRE-related courses in undergraduate curricula in colleges of education is not available. General sentiment seems to be that these courses are rare. There is no specific research that examines the presence of these programs and CRE institutionalization although the assumption is that colleges of education can play a major role in CRE institutionalization either in terms of pre-service education or in terms of continuing education initiatives.

There is some support for this hypothesis in state legislation that encourages conflict resolution to be a component of teacher preparation before certification and requires in-service training on violence prevention and CRE following certification (e.g., Connecticut, Texas, Florida, California, Georgia, Illinois, Minnesota, Kentucky, Michigan, Mississippi, Massachusetts, Maryland, and New Jersey).

The field of character education provides analogies that are illustrative for CRE. Berlowitz (1998) and Ryan (1997) discuss the difficulty in providing effective teacher training in character education. Weber (1998) also argues that universities and colleges of education must play a role in effective teacher education processes in character education. Wakefield (1997) documents the extent of the problem in her survey of 95 institutions of higher education with respect to provision of pre-service training in character education. She reports that, although these institutions supported the idea of pre-service programs, almost none actually offered them, even though models for pre-service training exist (Whitmer & Forbes, 1997).

Hypothesis 19: Support from Parent Teacher Associations (PTA) can significantly facilitate the development of CRE in both the school district and educational enterprise contexts. The assumption is that parents, as key stakeholders in the educational process, can exert considerable influence through PTAs if they value CRE. While no research exists that specifically involves CRE efforts, support for this general hypothesis is available from Silva and Marcos' (1994) study in collaborative learning processes. They discovered that parent involvement in the design and delivery of a telecommunication collaborative learning program was essential to ultimate program success. In the area of character education, Huffman (1993) reports on how parent and community involvement in a plan to create and implement a character education effort in a Pennsylvania community, was the determining factor in program success. Wood (1997), Martin (1996) and Fisher (1998) provide similar results in their reports of community-based character education efforts.

Hypothesis 20: CRE institutionalization is significantly enhanced by the presence of clear standards for quality CRE programs and guidelines for CRE program implementation from national or other oversight organizations. Again, though no specific research exists on this, our assumption is that a primary component of identity and credibility is for CRE specialists to be able to articulate their own standards for the field. Without such standards, the field is open to dismissal from critical policy-making bodies that establish standards and criteria for a variety of educational efforts. The more that they know about and understand CRE, the more they are likely to support it, and their support is critical to institutionalization at the highest levels. Strong evidence for this general assumption is found in the character education field. Lickona (1998) provides a thorough review of the importance of partnerships such as the Character Education Partnership (which includes organizations like the American Federation of Teachers, the National Education Association, the National Association of Secondary School Principals, the National Association of Elementary School Principals, the National School Boards Association, the National PTA, and the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development) which published basic principles for character education that defined standards schools could follow to implement and assess character education efforts.

Eve Ford from the Oregon Office of Dispute Resolution cautions that it may be a more efficient process to concentrate on endorsements at the state level rather than the national level. We would argue that it is similarly important for us to concentrate on local and community levels. Engaging the active support of a PTO in a specific school, district, and/or city-community, may be just as important to CRE institutionalization and much easier to accomplish.

Critique of Research

The issues surrounding institutionalization do not lend themselves to traditional approaches to research. Rather, they call for longitudinal, multi-method assessments of the processes by which innovations are diffused and institutionalized. Although some studies exist that are on point for CRE, there are far too few given the extent to which CRE programs have been developed and implemented since the early 1980s. Other than the criticism that the research simply has not been done, other criticisms can be articulated for the research that does exist.

The research is focused on school level implementation/institutionalization rather than district or educational enterprise level. We know considerably more about how to make a program work in a particular school than in a cluster, district, or larger system. Although these levels are related, we cannot assume complete congruence of institutionalization patterns between levels.

The research is not sufficiently longitudinal. All of the research reported here was conducted in periods of three years or less. While these studies provide insights into the initial stages of institutionalization, they cannot provide insights concerning the scope of learning and adjustment that large-scale innovation requires.

The research does not address pragmatic political issues in either context. Even in the research that investigates lack of support for CRE, there is no in-depth analysis about why the support is lacking or about the political and pragmatic factors in the school or district situation that are interfering with acceptance and promotion of CRE.

The research is summative; it lacks an action research orientation. The summative orientation provides important information, but does not allow for an assessment of how specific interventions in institutionalization processes alter the success of the effort. Given the difficulty of planning and conducting this kind of research, it makes sense to argue for an action research orientation in order to maximize the potential of the innovation and allow for careful monitoring of alterations to the innovation as diffusion progresses.

The research on institutionalization is rarely published in peer-reviewed journals. One of the general assumptions of research is that studies that have sufficient methodological rigor will eventually be published in academic peer-reviewed journals. The converse is the assumption that studies that are not published do not meet standards for good research. The research on CRE institutionalization is generally not published, although it is debatable whether it is fair to use this as an indictment of the quality. Instead, it is likely that, in this area, publications with interest in issues of institutionalization (instead of theory testing and development) are few. Still, the lack of peer-reviewed publication raises questions of quality and credibility in the eyes of external populations. Whether justified, it contributes to the possibility that the CRE field is seen as not deserving of support.

Some of the research may pose potential conflicts of interest in evaluation. One of the realities of the program/curriculum development evaluation research in CRE is that the developers and marketers of the programs are sometimes doing or overseeing the evaluation research. While we are not casting aspersions on specific programs or individuals, we raise this issue because we believe it may affect how others perceive the general quality of the research. The field needs to commit to having external evaluators/researchers investigating CRE.

Suggestions for Future Research

This section suggests specific research endeavors that we believe are critical in order for us to understand and accomplish CRE institutionalization. The ideas presented here are a combination of original ideas generated in the issue paper stage and additional ideas supplied through the symposium dialogue. In the symposium, groups were asked to generate additional suggestions for future research. Those suggestions were then "marked" by all symposium members in terms of priority, resulting in a list of three "most important" directions for future research. Then, for these-high priority future research areas, groups addressed three questions for each area: "What would be the benefits if this research were done?," "What would the research look like?," and "What are the challenges to doing this research (including what resources should we garner to help overcome these challenges)?"

In this section, we begin with the three highest ranked suggestions for future research. For each we summarize the thoughts of the symposium members with respect to benefits, form, and challenges. We then continue with additional suggestions for future research that were offered in the original issue paper or symposium discussion.

What are optimal processes for a curricular infusion approach? A curricular infusion approach for CRE seems to offer the best prospects for institutionalization, but poses a daunting process of implementation and diffusion. We need to understand much more about the optimal processes to accomplish these goals. Continued work with projects like the National Curriculum Integration Project may offer the best hope.

Symposium members articulated several benefits of this research. If we better understand optimal curricular infusion processes, we will not only have a model for replication, but also a greater chance for curriculum infusion programs to be sustained over time. We will gain information that would enable staff to discuss and collaborate around whole school design, thereby empowering them. We can develop models for teaching CRE through existing curricula and in a manner that coincides with existing testing mechanisms. Teachers can "teach to the test" and infuse CRE effectively. Finally, we will be able to better participate as a field in the larger dialogues about school change and reform issues.

The actual research may involve the following components. The first would be a continuing clarification of possible models of curricular infusion/integration. Currently, the predominant model in the field is the one developed by the National Curriculum Integration Project. However, the experience with this model in NCIP Year One research suggests that it may be streamlined by focusing on only some of the integrated curriculum pieces. Ideally, there would be alternate models of curricular integration developed and compared in field situations. A second component may be the careful monitoring of curricular infusion processes and models. By infusion, we refer to the process of infusing the delivery of the conflict resolution education into existing curricula. Several aspects of the infusion process may be usefully examined including: best practices on infusing CRE into specific curricula (e.g., mathematics, language arts, reading), issues of dosage (e.g., how much infusion is sufficient, insufficient or excessive), ways of tailoring infusion to different disciplines (e.g., do disciplines require different models of infusion, and, if so, what are they), learning curves for teachers (e.g., how long does it take teachers to learn this process and become facile with it), best infrastructures for sustaining infusion processes (e.g., what team and/or communication network structures are most necessary and beneficial for maximizing curriculum infusion processes), and the impacts on students and teachers of various models of curriculum infusion. A third component may address issues of building capacity in terms of program sustainability and true adoption of the innovation. This component would investigate factors that impede or support program sustainability and would shed light on the stages necessary for the innovation to become truly institutionalized as defined earlier in this chapter.

The challenges to be overcome before being able to pursue this research are significant. In addition to the ever-present challenges about finding funding, there are at least four other challenges. First, it is not easy to find schools that are interested in adopting a "whole school" approach to CRE. Often, schools shy away from what may seem like an intensive commitment of time and resources when they have so little of each. And, schools, like other organizations, are generally resistant to change. Curriculum infusion and integration "looks" to many teachers and administrators like a significant change in teaching practice. Second, even if schools are supportive of this innovation, there may be political realities in terms of resistance from district level administration, unions, parents, or community groups. Third, mechanisms for effectively teaching teachers how to do curriculum infusion/integration are problematic. There are really only three options: (1) having external CRE consultants provide training, (2) having other teachers who have mastered the process mentor their colleagues, or (3) having teacher preparation, pre-service and continuing education prepare teachers. The first option is limited in terms of the number of CRE trainers who are skilled and available. It also poses the difficulty of learned dependence on external training that we discussed earlier. The second option requires a sufficient number of willing mentors, obviously a problem until the process has been tried at some length. And, the third option, which is actually the superior option, requires the willingness of teacher education institutions to respond positively to the challenge. The fourth challenge is overcoming the traditional territoriality of discipline structures in schools (e.g., math, science, English) and encouraging schools to adopt a truly cross-curricular structure that would enhance a multidisciplinary team for teachers practicing curricular infusion and integration.

Survey Colleges of Education for CRE pre-service and continuing education readiness. We believe that a critical component of institutionalization lies in the ability of colleges of education to actively promote CRE courses and curricula as pre-service and continuing education components. However, there is almost no information now on the extent to which colleges of education are knowledgeable about CRE, are supportive of CRE, offer CRE, or are willing to offer CRE. The authors and symposium participants strongly support the idea of a nationwide survey that will provide information about these areas. Some states are already conducting surveys of similar information for fields like character education, that may be used as a model or may already provide some of the desired information.

This survey would benefit the CRE field in several ways. First, it would provide an accurate picture of the current state of effort in this area. We may discover that there are more courses or fledgling programs than our review for this chapter uncovered. We may also discover that colleges of education are clearly interested in developing such programs but have not found a leader organization to help them transform their interests into reality. Second, the survey would clearly identify colleges of education and their programs that may serve as models for other colleges of education to follow. Third, this survey would allow us to compare our progress with related fields like character education, a comparison that may enlighten us on best practices for moving forward.

A major challenge to this survey would be identifying the appropriate people as respondents. Administrators at Dean or Assistant Dean levels may be unfamiliar with the range of coursework and faculty interest, especially if the efforts are not legitimized in a "program" structure. Another challenge is to convince respondents that this is an area worth their time. We are fighting against a general lack of knowledge about what CRE is and why CRE may be important. It may be that some level of publicity and clarification about the field will be necessary before adequate response can be obtained from a survey.

Conduct case studies on social-political factors that impact institutionalization in a specific school or district. Understanding the realities that impact program institutionalization is important. For example, Ritter and Boruch (1999) reported on Tennessee's STAR project that sought to reduce class size. Their research portrays an intricate and serendipitous process that resulted in key impacts on program acceptance. Similar case study research on CRE innovation and institutionalization, for example in the Cleveland District, may help us better understand and attend to the social, political, and economic forces that affect the field. Case studies should be encouraged, especially on schools and districts where one or more of the following characteristics exists: there is a specific staff member or program coordinator (at the district level or a full time position at the school level); there has been a planning process in which the institutionalization of the CRE program has been a goal from the beginning; there is a clearly articulated K-12 coordinated effort in place and operating; and/or there is a communication infrastructure within the school and/or district that has been established and supported specifically to maximize the success of the CRE program.

Once these schools or districts are identified, the case studies could be conducted through retrospective interviews with key personnel. For example, it would be extremely valuable to understand how the program was started, what motivated the adoption of the program, what planning processes were involved, what were the challenges and barriers to implementation and institutionalization, which barriers were overcome and how, and which barriers were insurmountable and why.

Individual district or school case studies could then be analyzed and compared to generate a grounded theory of effective institutionalization. The contribution to the field would involve criteria for successful programs in different contexts, templates of action to increase opportunities for success, and insights about political processes that may prevent counterproductive initiation of programs.

There are three general challenges to this research. The first challenge is identifying the best schools and districts to have as a focus of the study. The second challenge is to find the key stakeholders and participants in those programs to provide information. And the third challenge (and by far the most significant) is to encourage people to share the successes and failures of their process. Most people are shy about exposing the less-than-ideal aspects of their efforts. In public education, where open discussion of shortcomings could have real political and economic consequences, there are more reasons for impression management.

Survey the current level of and knowledge about CRE. There is currently no database that identifies the number and types of CRE programs in the nation. We do not know the current level of diffusion and innovation. Other surveys have been conducted on the broader area of violence prevention, and these include reference to CRE efforts, but not exclusively. Thus, it is difficult to determine areas in which development is necessary. This survey could also be used to tap into the current level of knowledge about CRE, its definition and standards in the field. If educators are unaware of these issues, efforts could be targeted at increasing CRE identity and credibility.

Investigate large-scale institutionalization efforts in terms of political process and influence in related fields. We understand relatively little about the process used to build a political initiative for a field like CRE. Examining the process used for character education or collaborative learning will help identify the machinery and process that helps make collaborative efforts and implementation happen.

What are the support mechanisms available for CRE provisions in state legislation? Every state has some form of legislation that requires the provision of CRE in some form (teacher pre-service, in-service, continuing education, etc.). Yet, there are only 27 states with Offices of Dispute Resolution and many of these do not directly attend to CRE efforts. There is little information available on the support mechanisms that states assume will enable compliance with existing law. It would be valuable to find out about these support mechanisms and the nature of their use.

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CONFLICT RESOLUTION EDUCATION: ISSUES OF INSTITUTIONALIZATION

Randy Compton, Colorado School Mediation Project

As a practitioner, it became quite clear reading the summary article and research hypotheses that institutionalizing conflict resolution education into our schools and school districts requires a long-term, systemic approach. As a practitioner, it is quite clear that institutionalizing conflict resolution education is perhaps one of the most important tasks of our field. However, in my work I come face to face daily with the reality that education and schooling often lack the long-term systemic approach that is required for the institutionalization of conflict resolution in our educational system. Just how one manages working long-term in a system that is short-term focused seems to be a practical issue that should be acknowledged if not addressed early on in the dialogue between practitioners and researchers. Nonetheless, many educators, administrators and practitioners are working hard to develop long-term strategies that are required by institutionalization and this chapter lays out an excellent summary of the task.

The Importance of Institutionalization

From my perspective, it is absolutely vital that practitioners and program coordinators put institutionalization high on their list of priorities. While it is assumed in the chapter that institutionalization of CRE is important, I believe that we may need to remind ourselves and others of the benefits of institutionalization as well as the consequences of failing in this endeavor. So I begin my comments with a review of the reasons for institutionalizing CRE.

Despite the inherent difficulties of institutionalizing important innovations, four key reasons come to mind for attempting to do so: (1) sustainability, (2) maturity and depth, (3) innovation and integration, and (4) cohesion and focus. First, CRE will benefit from developing a sustainable approach that moves beyond trainer or organizational dependency. While it is true, as the chapter points out, that train-the-trainer approaches have shown lackluster results, it is critical that some form of sustainability be created. After working for over 15 years in the field, it is humbling to review the results of our training in hundreds of schools. Too many have found ways to forget, neglect or de-select conflict resolution skills and attitudes as they meander through the maze of change and shifting educational priorities. It seems clear from the chapter that practitioners should raise the question of sustainability early on in their work with schools.

Second, institutionalization is important because of its ability to develop field maturity and depth. Short-term thinking and short-term programming will likely develop weak and shallow initiatives that over time will lack interest, support and, worst of all, creativity. If the field is to develop legitimacy and credibility, as the chapter suggests in a number of places, then the ability to establish mature and deep thinking is critical in doing so. If nothing else, practitioners and program coordinators should stay the course to develop wisdom and mastery that only time and practice can achieve. In one middle school I have worked with, it has taken over five years of slow and steady work for the administration to buy into CRE. This is largely the result of one 8th grade teacher who has gained the admiration of key administrators and staff and then has been given increasing responsibility and influence in the school.

Third, setting a priority to institutionalize CRE is key because of its ability to ground the innovations of practice in a structured environment and offer a chance for the creative elements that have been discovered and tested to be successfully integrated into existing educational practices. Teachers may get excited about holding class meetings with their students in order to give them choice and democratic decision making, but if the practice is not institutionalized or inserted into the weekly schedule, then it is less likely for the new practice to "find a groove." The initial burst of energy that exists in finding a new practice will soon diminish. CRE will go the way of a good idea unused if it isn't soon integrated and institutionalized into existing practice and policy.

Finally, institutionalization is critical in helping to find some level of cohesion and focus in a complex and comprehensive field that has the ability to confuse and defuse educators. In my experience, administrators and educators want to implement concrete ideas and practices and a systemic approach to CRE will help them bring greater clarity and focus to their work. Listing the felt needs to be addressed, putting down on paper the outcomes to be achieved, and making the decision to focus on one area of interest—all key elements in institutionalization—help bring a sense of cohesion and focus which is much needed in today's schools. One of the more important strategies we have found is setting up site leadership teams and having them set performance goals and assessment strategies for each area of focus they select.

Challenges

It is stated early in the chapter that relatively few CRE programs have met the operational criteria for being considered an institutionalized innovation and I agree with this assessment. I found myself benefiting tremendously from reviewing the critical indicators for achieving institutionalization and I plan to hold them as "performance goals" as I work in the field. Because I found them so useful, I would like to go through Eiseman et al.'s (1990) list of criteria to review these points and the challenges we face.

"The acceptance by relevant actors or the perception by actors that the innovation legitimately belongs in schools" is indeed something yet to be achieved by the majority. The determination of what schools should be teaching and what it means to be an educated person is largely still in question. While studies have long shown that workplace basics include the ability to negotiate, work collaboratively and communicate effectively, there still seems to be some resistance to teaching these skills outright. My feeling is that much of this is due to a strongly held value within the status quo that emphasizes a hierarchical position of power and control "over" rather than an authoritative position of power and control "with." Our inherently adversarial, patriarchal system is afraid of change. Developing the legitimacy of CRE in schools will and should continue to bump up against deep cultural values. Nonetheless, the "innovators" and "early majority" of the CRE movement are making headway in changing the perception of the legitimacy of CRE and of increasing its acceptance. Continued advocacy, awareness building and risk taking should remain on our agenda, including the decision by key administrators to resource and support institutionalization efforts within our own schools and districts.

"Achieving stable and routinized implementation" is still quite a challenge given the high level of change and stress in our educational system. Many programs start but never achieve stability; most often, I believe, because there hasn't been the leadership and "legacy thinking" required to sustain the innovation. As the chapter states, too many programs are person dependent and haven't reached a critical mass for the innovation to become institutionalized. If CRE is to become a stable and routinized innovation, we need to set this as a goal to achieve. In one of the schools I have worked with, many teachers found that by focusing on one key classroom infusion strategy they could then develop mastery before taking on the next challenge. Perhaps developing stability and routinization requires working with teachers and administrators to develop a manageable list of skills to master.

"Developing a widespread use of conflict resolution throughout the school or district" is a challenge to many schools that have adopted the quick-fix mentality which often forces people to adopt one program after another, always looking for the magic pill. Widespread use may suggest that schools need to take a longer-term approach and it seems that practitioners could benefit from continuing to set long-term goals for adults and students alike.

Do schools have "firm expectations that the practice of conflict resolution will continue?" Imagine a principal of a school or a superintendent of a district setting such firm expectations for teaching conflict resolution within the context of content standards and assessments, within the context of staff norms, within the context of parent-teacher conferences. It is possible, however leadership and "legacy thinking" is required. Do practitioners set this as a goal when they work with schools or district personnel? We might do more in asking the schools we work with how they plan to develop such expectations.

"Continuation of the program based on organizational structure and values rather than on an individual person" still remains a major challenge. Many programs I am familiar with have yet to move past the stage of individual dependency, however this is again something that the early adoption of a sustainability goal can help achieve.

Finally, "routine allocations of time and money" remain a major hurdle for many schools interested in maintaining if not expanding an existing CRE program. Teachers need funding to continue their professional development. They need funds to write new, integrated curricula. They need funds and/or time to be able to plan among disciplines, even grades. And, they need time to be able to watch other teachers and other schools trying out an innovation that they might want to try.

Each of these indicators, along with the other criteria and suggestions, point to the fact that CRE is still working to mature past initial innovation into institutionalization. I believe if we are to develop an institutionalized CRE program, we should know what it looks like and of what it is made. I believe that this list is something all practitioners should have posted where we can see them daily.

Comments on Hypotheses

Reading through the various hypotheses was like experiencing a series of internal affirmations and exclamations. So many hit the nail on the head, beginning with the one stating that poorly resourced schools can't handle or sustain innovations. My experience also is that heavily resourced schools don't necessarily perform better than modestly resourced schools and practitioners need to recognize "how much is enough". There often seems to be an inverse relationship between desire and resources—the more desire, the fewer resources are needed. If this is true, it makes it difficult to create a packaged program where one size fits all. It also supports the importance of customizing programs to school needs and readiness.

Having a specific person in the building or district who can champion the cause has been critical. When this person is an administrator, much can be accomplished in a short period of time. This says to me that it is important to find these people and to let them know their importance. It is critical to work with them to build a strong relationship, a network of allies and a plan for sustaining their energy for the long haul.

One of the most provocative points of the chapter lies within hypothesis #4, which discusses the connection (or lack thereof) between teacher training and teacher competence. Teacher training has always been one of the more important and often amusing aspects of our work because of the timing and context within which the training is held. I have heard too many stories of trainings held at the last day before vacation or held as a mandatory in-service or held without the input of teachers. Teacher competency development is as much a factor of trainer competence as it is administrator expectation, teacher readiness, teacher participation and teacher mentoring and coaching. It seems true that for CRE to be institutionalized, effective teacher training is critical. It would behoove the field to develop some recommended standards for teacher training so that schools can be guided in using their resources as effectively as possible.

There does seem to be an inherent conflict between the amount of time trainers feel they need to train others and the amount of time educators have. The amount of time devoted for professional development of teachers seems minimal compared to other professions. This said, much can be accomplished by teachers when their motivation is high and when practical tasks are given to working teams. Perhaps rather than one training model, we should be offering a spectrum of training modalities to meet the diverse needs of teachers. These might include one-day trainings, after-school review sessions, study circles/dialogue groups, paid Saturday training, one-on-one coaching during planning periods, and co-teaching during classroom time.

In my experience it is quite true that teachers' commitment to the underlying ideology of CRE is a more important predictor of their active implementation of CRE programs than the level of training they have received. But it also seems true that training someone who is interested in CRE will go much farther than leaving the task to the person who is interested but has no training. I agree that it is vitally important to ask how we can create values for CRE among teachers. And, it seems important to develop a training model which focuses on the readiness of the teachers and the structure of a learning community to support the acquisition of new skills and values.

Learning how to link CRE with other programs and academic goals has been a passion of mine, largely exhibited by my involvement as director of the National Curriculum Integration Project (NCIP). The NCIP has sought to bring together related fields under one interconnected umbrella in order to increase its strength, inter-relatedness and sustainability. It is high time that teachers develop mastery in collaborative, integrated teaching efforts. The world is so interconnected that staying within one's own discipline without relating to other disciplines and issues of social/emotional responsibility strikes me as too limiting for our youth.

The downside to this approach is that it becomes difficult to describe what CRE is and where it ends and something else begins. Some teachers in NCIP complained that they didn't understand how it all fit together. But, it is my perception that many teachers are concrete sequential thinkers and larger visionary ideas need to be brought in and championed over time for them to make sense of it. Many teachers can and do benefit from expanding their vision to something larger, which gives them room for more creativity.

Lastly, in my mind, clear standards for quality CRE programs are critically important for the field. If we are to bring CRE into greater use and legitimacy in the educational, policy, parent and professional association communities, we must have a clear sense of what we are and what we expect. Setting high expectations works for students and so should it work for us.

Vision, Hope and Goals

It is my hope that we can find a variety of ways of institutionalizing CRE programs that meet the needs of different teachers, schools and districts. One size does not fit all and using an elicitive, infusion/integration approach to program design and implementation will, I believe, bring us greater rewards. My participation in the research aspect of the National Curriculum Integration Project has given me great rewards as a practitioner and I hope that more researcher/practitioner projects will continue in the future. Even the informal phone interviews done by an intern working with us here at the Colorado School Mediation Project have given us important feedback regarding our work and implications for future practice.

It also strikes me that we have to be clear about the transition of power—moving us as practitioners from asking teachers and administrators "how are we going to do this?" to "how are you going to do this?" Setting this expectation early in the process is critical for schools and districts to be able to take the reins when necessary. And, to make this work, schools and districts must be prepared to find ways for existing and new staff to receive ongoing professional development. Developing networks and relationships with colleges of education for CRE pre-service and continuing education is important and we need to continue to nurture these efforts.

After all this, a question I might ask more often of teachers and administrators might be, "If you really believe in this, how can you make this last for next year?" And then, "How can you make this something that will last after you are gone?" Pacing myself and having fun along the way have made all the difference for me in taking the long-term approach to integrating conflict resolution education in our schools.

CHAPTER 7
DOES IT WORK?
SHARED INSIGHTS AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS

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For several years the overriding question of all conflict resolution educators has been, "Does it work?" The most common interpretation of that question focused on whether CRE reduced or prevented violence. Years ago the evidence to answer this question was, at best, anecdotal, and often, nonexistent. The evidence presented in this book confirms that CRE educators and researchers have been able to provide a "conditional yes" to the violence reduction and prevention question. The totality of information strongly indicates that CRE is a necessary but not sufficient condition to reduce or prevent violence among students in our nation's schools.

Yet, our focus has not remained solely on outcomes of violence prevention or reduction. As important as those outcomes are, they are not the only contributions of significance that can or should be expected from conflict resolution education. As the field has matured, we have broadened our inquiries to include how well CRE prepares students to lead constructive and useful lives as well as how well CRE helps educational institutions and their members improve the educational experience for all. The five topic areas summarized in this book are a testament to the kinds of issues the field considers critical as well as to the efforts that CRE researchers and practitioners have already expended to provide answers.

CRE researchers also are maturing in their willingness and commitment to develop and use complex and sophisticated research methodologies, both qualitative and quantitative. They are employing scientifically rigorous methods to answer questions concerning impacts of CRE, and are more vocal about the need to enforce scientific rigor for those kinds of questions. They are more involved in and appreciative of qualitative methods that enable them to realize and reflect multiple realities and to assess on-going processes. And, they are more committed to long-term, complex research designs that triangulate methods for a more robust understanding of the dynamics and outcomes of CRE in a given context.

While this work is an important and positive contribution to the field, it has developed largely from individual efforts and individual research programs rather than as a result of a concerted dialogue among CRE specialists. The research symposium that undergirded the contributions in this volume came about because of our need to make this dialogue a reality, because of the desire to help develop a better framework for conducting research and evaluation. The symposium and its products provide a statement from the field and for the field (as well as for others interested in CRE) about what we believe is important to focus on in the next decade.

This chapter summarizes the shared insights across the five chapters that present the state-of-the-art report of CRE's impact on students, educators, diverse populations, school and classroom climate, and institutionalization. It provides us with the broader answer to the question "Does It Work?" This chapter also highlights orientations and insights that the practitioners who responded to the chapters held in common. Finally, the chapter turns to the recommendations for future research in conflict resolution education. Here, the focus is on identifying the most important aspects of the framework for the next decade of research. The preceding chapters provide detailed and specific information about our knowledge of CRE and our need for investigation in certain topic areas. This chapter reminds us of the basic principles and directions that we have commonly identified as important for future research.

Common Themes

One striking theme in these chapters is the interdependence among the five topic areas. No topic stands alone or is completely separable from the others. In fact, all of the writing teams, as well as practitioner respondents, acknowledge this interdependence. For example, Jones et al., in Chapter Five, argue that school climate is a complex construct that is dependent upon the diversity of students, educators, and plans for the long-term maintenance of CRE in the school. Sandy et al., in Chapter Two, reveals that student acquisition of CRE is partly dependent upon the school climate and commitment to CRE principles among a diverse array of educators. As Baker et al., in Chapter Four demonstrates, diversity issues are an emergent element across the topic papers and attention to diverse populations should be a focus in all future CRE work.

One theme that echoes throughout the chapters is the value of innovation in CRE work. In the first chapter, Heather Prichard discusses how innovation has been a touchstone in the development of CRE. Each of the five chapters, as well as the five practitioner responses, demonstrates the centrality of innovation to CRE in that area. Innovation presents many challenges, for example, when a CRE innovation emerges, the methods of evaluation and research must change as well. Since CRE is constantly innovating to meet the demands of ongoing change in educational institutions, it is difficult to develop a deep and broad body of research that attends to the varieties of service in the field.

Another striking theme found across the chapters is there has been little "basic" research conducted in CRE. The vast majority of the research has been in the form of evaluations of CRE programs. This raises some concern given the assumption made by some researchers that evaluation research is more prone to political pressures and is not held to rigorous, scientific standards. While we do not agree with these assumptions as a blanket indictment of all evaluation research, we do agree that more basic research is necessary. Further, as the next section articulates, it is imperative that evaluation research in the CRE field be held to very high standards in order to increase the potential for use of findings in policy making.

In addition, most of the research on CRE has produced positive, or at worst, inconclusive results. However, while the results are overwhelmingly positive, there are questions about the generalizeability of the findings. One explanation for the positive nature of results may be the strong reliance on evaluation research and the potential for evaluations to emphasize positive findings or soften negative findings in order to protect possible sources of funding for the efforts. As mentioned in a later section of this chapter, questions about generalizeabiility arise from weakness in research design as well.

Hardly any research has indicated negative or boomerang effects of CRE. One possible negative consequence, the "conflict awareness effect," was described by Sandy et al. in Chapter Two. One would expect that, as people are trained in conflict resolution, they would become more sensitive to conflict in general and would be more likely, especially in the initial stages of their development, to see more conflicts. Thus, the increase in reported conflict immediately after CRE training, may be a positive indicator that the participants actually learned how to recognize conflict more extensively.

A very dominant theme in the literature is the issue of optimal service delivery. Specifically, all of the chapters raised concerns about how little we know about the appropriate means for delivering maximally effective training. These concerns touch on issues of dosage, training models, trainees, trainers, and matching training to populations served.

The duration and intensity, or "dosage", of the training was a common concern. At issue is the necessary dosage (e.g., what is the necessary length and amount of training) to reach the goals and objectives of a CRE program. All of the chapters concerned with impacts of CRE hypothesize that dosage is a key factor in the effectiveness of the program. Dosage should be a central concern of conflict resolution educators for it addresses the fidelity of the CRE program and determines resource allocation needs. And, research examining the relationship of dosage levels and consequences is critical.

Closely related to "dosage" concerns is mode of service delivery. Across topics areas authors raised questions about how best to implement training, which includes considerations about training models and trainers. Are traditional training models antiquated in today's current politics of high-stakes testing? Should CRE be infused into the daily curriculum? If so, how? How effective are train-the-trainer approaches? All of these service delivery questions deserve much more attention in the research.

The fit between training and populations receiving training is largely unexamined. Concerns voiced included issues of developmental appropriateness for training models, "buy in" by prospective participants, and the impact of philosophical perspectives on conflict, resolution, and student empowerment that individuals bring to the training. And, as Chapter Four eloquently articulates, the best practices for service delivery in diverse populations deserves considerable attention.

A Critique of Existing Research

Before addressing the framework for future research, it is prudent for us to recognize the concerns about the existing research. In each chapter, authors attempted to provide a critique of research in the topic area of their review. Those critiques were intended to highlight the strengths as well as the weaknesses of extant research. Here, we take the opportunity to identify common concerns across chapters.

Following suggestions by the Carnegie Foundation (see Cohen & Wilson-Brewer, 1991) for violence prevention research, CRE researchers have been working to develop rigorous ways to evaluate the efficacy of the range of CRE programs. All of the chapters argue that methodological integrity is vital to conducting sound program evaluations as well as basic research. All of the chapters recognize the weaknesses inherent in earlier research and evaluations but also recognize that those pioneering efforts helped us learn how to construct and conduct more rigorous research for the future. Jones et al., in Chapter Six, especially emphasizes the need to recognize new research and evaluation methodologies in studying the institutionalization of CRE programs.

In addition to the honest recognition of weaknesses in the existing research, there is a corresponding realization of the difficulties of conducting field research in educational institutions, especially over a long period of time. Many of the researchers contributing to this volume have first-hand experience with the difficulties of conducting field research on CRE. For example, "pure" quantitative methods need adequate sample sizes and the use of treatment and control conditions to which subjects can be randomly assigned. However, educators often resist excluding some students from potentially beneficial training, forcing students to comply for research purposes, and determining class assignments to meet research needs.

Politics too play a role in limiting research access in CRE. For example, given the demands on educators as a result of the school accountability movement, with heavy emphasis on high-stakes testing, many educators are reluctant to pursue anything but the "curriculum" for fear that test scores will be negatively effected. Kmitta et al., Sandy et al., and Jones et al. demonstrate that conducting research and evaluation cuts into the allotted time schools have for the CRE training. CRE practitioners are very aware of these time constraints. Evaluation and research that is time-consuming may create tension between researcher and practitioner and is likely to become a casualty of the politics of education.

And, the ability to control factors in the field is limited at best. Many CRE researchers have learned the difficulty of insisting upon control that is often elusive and temporary at best. The reality of field research in CRE is that it is a very messy business, requiring researchers to uphold rigorous standards to the best of their ability but promising some degree of chaos no matter how well the plans are laid. In CRE research the goals of control (to enable claims of causal impact) and long-term assessment (to monitor degree of sustained impact over time) is almost mutually exclusive given the volatile nature of schools.

Nonetheless, even though field research is difficult, there are weaknesses in the current research that can and should be overcome. We detail some of those here.

There have been too few comparative studies investigating the effect of program types on students, educators, and schools. Jones et al. (Chapter Five), Sandy et al. (Chapter Two), and Kmitta et al. (Chapter Three) acknowledge that the Comprehensive Peer Mediation Evaluation Project (the CPMEP study) is probably the only study to date that examines cadre programs and whole school programs in any type of systematic comparative fashion. There is no research examining program types and educator training in CRE or examining diversity issues and program types.

Of equal importance, too few studies adequately describe the training or intervention. This failure to elaborate on the treatment creates a validity problem. If the training is not well defined, then connecting outcomes to the training becomes more difficult and replicating the impacts becomes almost impossible. Given the variety of CRE programs available, it is essential that the type of CRE used be clearly articulated with a detailed account of how the training was administered.

One common criticism is that few CRE programs rely upon "theory" which can and ought to inform the research. Few programs even mention the work of the prominent theorists or theories in CRE. This lack of theory is problematic for those looking for "cause and effect" relationships in their research. If we can not articulate why we anticipate an impact, we cannot justify what we are doing or explain what we are finding.

A serious weakness is the adequacy of current measurements. For example, even though behavioral changes are the most desired in CRE programming, there is a general absence of good behavioral measures in the research. Current behavioral indices (i.e., discipline referral and suspension data) are fraught with many serious limitations. Studies rarely measure the actual conflict behavior of students or educators in real-life conflict interactions. CRE research, like that of the related disciplines of violence prevention, character education, social and emotional learning, etc., is too reliant on paper and pencil measures.

Another apparent theme across topics is the need for clarification of the constructs used in CRE and in CRE research. For example, Jones et al. (Chapter Five) provides an excellent case regarding the issue of school climate and how researchers and educators use the construct differently. This makes the measurement of the construct "school climate" problematic. Similar arguments can be made about measurements of conflict competence, perspective-taking, social justice, community-building, and other constructs central to CRE program goals and research.

Another common weakness has been the area of instrumentation. Few norm-referenced instruments are available to measure the ever-growing number of constructs related to the research questions evolving from the field, even when those constructs are clearly defined. All five chapters address this lack of standardization of instruments. Even when standardized instruments are used, most reports fail to mention the technical data supporting the reliability and validity of the measure.

In addition, when conflict resolution educators and researchers create their own instruments they rarely determine the validity of the measure. Only a handful of studies that use "native measures" report examination of reliability in terms of test-retest, internal consistency, or inter-rater reliability. Even fewer studies provide evidence of the concurrent, predictive and/or discriminate validity of the measure.

When treatment and control group designs are identified in the research they are usually non-equivalent designs with limitations which may not be stated. Worse, some treatment and control designs that are published never mention how the groups were determined or what the limitations were on the sampling procedures. The lack of explicit sampling procedures negatively effects the external validity of the studies.

The statistics themselves are also a point of weakness in some research reports. Three of the five papers address the issue of the appropriate and inappropriate uses of statistical analyses in some CRE research. The chapter on impact on students is particularly explicit about the inappropriate uses of inferential statistics that are not supported by the evaluation design.

Qualitative methodology is a mainstay of CRE research and evaluation. When done well, qualitative research can provide much needed richness of description that facilitates the definition and operationalization of key variables in CRE. All five chapters acknowledge the positive contributions made by conflict resolution educators using qualitative methodology. School climate research has benefited because, as Jones et al. state, it is the theory-generating capacity of qualitative research which is guiding the quantitative research. Kmitta et al. also found that qualitative research is the foundational research for future studies on CRE efficacy on educators. Sandy et al. argue for the value of qualitative research in reporting the intrapersonal benefits that students receive from CRE.

Theoretically and methodologically, qualitative research is more congruent with process evaluation than traditional quantitative approaches. Qualitative methods are better suited to assess the processes of program development, implementation, and deployment. When done well, the results from qualitative methods contextualize the outcome or statistical results of triangulated research. A prime example of the relationship between qualitative and quantitative research is found in Jones et al.'s discussion of the institutionalization of CRE and the need for "action research."

Unfortunately, qualitative methodology has been regarded as an inferior form of research by "traditional" social scientists favoring hypothetico-deductive, experimental research using quantitative measures. Fortunately, it appears the dualism regarding qualitative and quantitative research is becoming less defensible (see Tashakkori & Teddlie, 1998). What is now of importance across paradigms is not the superiority of one method over another, but the rigor and honesty with which researchers employ the chosen methods. This helps practitioners and educators realize that a method is not inherently problematic or inherently superior. What matters is the fit between the question being addressed and the method being used as well as the fidelity with which the method is employed.

This brings us to the point that, regardless of topic, the research has to be more innovative in creating multiple measures of the constructs under investigation. This is true for all measures used in assessing the efficacy of CRE on students, educators, diverse populations, school climate and the institutionalization of CRE.

Finally, the lack of sufficiently longitudinal studies has been another general weakness of the CRE research. Regardless of program type or research method used, most evaluations occur only for the duration of the training and a few months after. Only a few studies have examined the effects of CRE for more than a year and even fewer studies cover two or more years.

Shared Insights for Practice

Does research and evaluation influence CRE practice? If so, how? These were the two major questions asked of five CRE practitioners. If the practitioners of CRE are not using the "knowledge base" in CRE what good is future knowledge generation? Reading the separate practitioner responses it is clear that the results of research and evaluation do influence practice in several ways.

First, research is used to inform future program applications. All respondents made clear reference to some past evaluation they had consulted to guide their own practice. One excellent example of this is found in Harris's response when he discusses the need for teacher training in CRE.

Next, practitioners look to the research as models for evaluating their own programs. The literature is consulted for new instruments and reports of validity on those instruments. Compton speaks to this issue in the evaluations of the "infusion" project that he is conducting.

Research findings also need to be disseminated in a timely fashion in order for the results to prove informative. If new information is available in a timely manner, practitioners are more inclined to use it.

Finally, there is a desire for more research to be done that would address specific practitioner interests. All of the respondents expressed a desire to continue in future research, working in collaboration, and contributing to the growing knowledge base in CRE. But, they were clear that they want to commit their efforts to questions that will yield important insights about maximizing the positive benefits of CRE and the best means to achieve these benefits.

The practitioners expressed concern that conducting evaluation and research may interfere with the deployment of CRE programs. Conducting an evaluation is labor intensive and places additional responsibilities upon practitioners and educators. A related concern is that the methodology may be insensitive to diverse cultural practices in CRE, as Bowland suggests.

The practitioners voiced concern for future funding, not only of their programs, but also of the evaluations that accompany federally funded programs. This relates to the possibility that evaluation and research can be disruptive of CRE training. Dollars that could be used towards the training are allocated to cover costs of the evaluation.

CRE program integrity is another shared concern. For some of the respondents integrity is directly tied to the theory that was used to develop the program (see Stevahn). For others integrity refers to the fidelity and inclusiveness of the program training and implementation (see Compton and Harris).

Continuation of the CRE programming is also a major concern for practitioners. All of the respondents expressed a desire that the programs they started continue in the schools. Research informing longevity and or institutionalization is highly desired by the majority of practitioners.

Future Directions

Four of the five chapters recommend a large-scale scientific survey as a future research need. The consensual call for a survey highlights the sense that we lack basic information about the nature of conflicts, conflict resolution mechanisms, and CRE efforts in our nation's schools. It underscores the need to ground programs in an assessment of current efforts in order to target our efforts effectively. It draws attention to the need to establish certain baseline data for use as the field develops and changes.

One challenge in creating such a survey is accommodating the multiple goals for the survey. Each chapter articulated a different reason for conducting a national survey. For example, the authors of the diversity chapter emphasize a need to survey respondents who have had successful experiences with culturally-based interventions, while the authors of the impact on educators chapter seek information on the nature and frequency of educator conflicts. It may be that these goals cannot be elegantly combined in one survey process. However, if possible, a general survey across content areas could provide valuable information about the relatedness of issues like program type, utility, population characteristics, and need.

Whether combined or individual, it is clear that the survey(s) should uphold strong standards. The survey would need to be designed carefully, with attention to item creation and inclusiveness. It would need to use random sampling from clearly identified populations so as to insure generalizability.

A second direction for future research is the need for intensive, longitudinal case studies of effective CRE implementation and institutionalization. While a national survey would provide a representative picture of the state of affairs and presumed need, intensive case study work would provide the opportunity for action research that informs us about the process of change and the consequences for impact and program sustainability.

Institutionalization is one of the most important topic areas of this work. Throughout this volume, educators, researchers and practitioners emphasize the futility of research if we cannot find a way to make CRE a more permanent component of the educational institution. Several chapters refer to the need to investigate processes like curriculum infusion in order to help us understand how CRE can become part and parcel of daily learning in our nation's schools. While we do not mean to give more credence to the specific research agenda of one chapter over another, we believe that the inherent necessity of institutionalization warrants an admonition to the reader to revisit and closely consider the suggestions for research in that chapter.

Diversity issues have to be an integral part in all future research and evaluations. Diversity means the inclusion of race, class, gender, and ethnic contributions and perspectives. All future research collaborations ought to honor and attempt to be inclusive of the myriad perspectives that are inherent in the CRE field.

There also appears to be a need for the continuation of the symposium gathering. Making sure that space is appropriated at national CRE conferences dedicated to the research could facilitate this. Having such a place at national meetings would help scholars hone the definitions and terms used in CRE, check on the current research, and share research innovations.

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ISBN 0-9704450-0-8
53500>
9 780970 445001