# The SAGE Handbook of Research in International Education

## Classroom Management around the World

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# Chapter 24: Classroom Management around the World

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The ability to manage a class positively is recognized as a universal prerequisite for effective teaching (Shimahara 1998a). Teachers throughout the world cite classroom management, including discipline and student misbehaviour, as one of the most important problems they face. This is especially true with beginning teachers, who consistently indicate that classroom management is their highest priority (Evertson and Weinstein 2006a). One might expect therefore that student teachers are concerned about relationships with their students and discipline problems and it is somewhat surprising that Murray-Harvey, Silins and Saebel (1999) found these concerns but also found that other concerns such as high workload and being observed were even more stressing. Their comparison between student teachers in Singapore and Australia did not show differences between these two countries.

Further, management issues are a major cause for teacher burnout and job dissatisfaction (e.g. Blase 1986; Friedman 1995; Ingersoll 2001). Lewis, Romi, Qui and Katz (2005) also point to the detrimental effects of poor classroom management: it stimulates student resistance and subsequent misbehaviour and it may produce school violence. The opposite is also true: orderly classroom environments are consistently related to student achievement and student assumption of responsibility for learning (e.g. Creemers 1994; Fraser 1998, Lewis et al. 2005). Clearly, when students are able to plan and carry out their own learning they are better prepared for their later role in society. Teachers' effectiveness in classroom management and students' assumption of responsibility will strengthen each other mutually.

In studies in the USA, classroom management is usually defined as the actions teachers undertake to create an environment that facilitates both academic and social-emotional learning. While definitions differ slightly in other countries, in general it is clear that classroom management has two distinct purposes: it seeks to establish an orderly environment so students can engage in meaningful academic learning and it aims to enhance student social and moral growth. Most publications on classroom management also mention the need to effectively handle student misbehaviour and disruptions as a requisite for creating an orderly environment. Evertson and Weinstein (2006a) mention five teacher tasks in the domain of classroom management: developing caring supportive relationships, organizing **[p. 268 ↓ ]** and implementing instruction in ways that optimize students' access to learning, using group management methods, promoting students' social skills and self-regulation and using appropriate interventions for students with behaviour problems. This chapter provides an overview of the varied approaches to classroom management throughout the world. It focuses on the first purpose listed above: the actions teachers undertake to create a productive environment for meaningful academic learning.

This chapter begins with the observation that attention to classroom management issues is amazingly low in teacher education, educational research and in descriptions of teacher competence. Comparative studies alluding to classroom management are then reviewed, followed by a description of six approaches to classroom management and some examples of strategies found in particular countries. Thus, the chapter does not offer a cross-cultural comparison of classroom management between countries, but rather provides an overview of the varied approaches to classroom management available across the world.

# Classroom Management: A Neglected Area?

Given the concern of teachers with classroom discipline and difficult student behaviour it is remarkable how few teacher education programmes explicitly address the topic. Stough (2006) showed that only about 30 per cent of the teacher education programmes in the USA have a course whose title refers to classroom management

issues. Courses on this topic often conceal it in euphemisms such as 'Creating community in the classroom' or 'Curriculum and management' etc. There is no indication that the situation differs in other countries. A quick glance at teacher education programme websites from Australia, Germany and the Netherlands revealed very few courses explicitly referring to discipline. Similarly, professional standards for teachers in the USA, the UK, Australia, Canada (Ontario) and the Netherlands include little about classroom management skills. Underlying this low emphasis clearly is the idea that if teachers are able to motivate students the need for disciplinary actions is low.

Similarly the amount of research on classroom management is limited compared to other educational fields. There are few presentations made on the topic at research conferences (Evertson and Weinstein 2006a). The recent publication, however, of the *Handbook of Classroom Management: Research, Practice and Contemporary Issues* (Evertson and Weinstein 2006b), has brought together an impressive knowledge base. As a result, it is clear that a great deal of attention is paid to discipline issues, but they are frequently presented under titles as varied as 'managing group work in the heterogeneous classroom', 'building and sustaining caring communities' or 'extrinsic rewards and inner motivation'. Apparently 'classroom management' is not a term *en vogue* and authors therefore prefer to use phrases that elucidate the aims that classroom management pursues rather than its techniques.

# Comparative Studies

Comparative studies on education show both similarities and variations between countries. It is striking that all over the world primary and secondary education is conceived of as bringing 25–45 students together (usually peers from the same age) in classrooms with one teacher. The recent video segment of the Third International Mathematics and Science Study of 8th grade mathematics teaching revealed that teachers all over the world talk much more than their students: the teachers said eight words for every word uttered by students. In 90 per cent of the lessons textbooks or worksheets were used. In general, then, classrooms are teacher-centred – the teacher instructs and students listen or answer questions. Some variation was noted in the amount of seatwork and group work (relatively high in the Netherlands, Switzerland and

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Australia) and the pedagogical approach to mathematics. Further, there were very few differences noted **[p. 269 ↓ ]** in the relationships between teacher and students (Hiebert et al. 2003).

LeTendre, Baker, Akiba, Goesling and Wiseman (2001) mention that in education world-wide many things have become globally isomorphic: the overall 'charter' of the modern school is by and large a global one, with similar curricula, textbooks and materials. Nonetheless, local cultures have influenced schooling on the micro-social level, and it is these differences that often account for variations between schools and teaching.

Searching the literature through the ERIC and Google Scholar databases with keywords such as 'international', 'cross-cultural', 'cross-national' in combination with 'classroom management' or 'misbehaviour' and 'discipline' yields relatively few citations. Not many are added from a contents review of educational and international education journals such as the *Journal of Research in International Education, Compare, Prospects (Quarterly Review of Comparative Education)*, and *Current Issues in Comparative Education.* Comparative studies of classroom management in different countries (teacher beliefs, strategies, programmes to cope with violence or discipline problems) are almost nonexistent.

The available comparative research falls into two categories. The first group of studies focuses on teacher beliefs and student perceptions of classroom management. The second directly relates to teaching practices and tangen-tially provides insights on class management.

# Classroom Management Studies

Lewis et al. (2005) studied students' perceptions of classroom discipline strategies in Australia, China and Israel as a follow-up to a similar study by Lewis (2001) in Australia. The issue of classroom discipline was of moderate concern for teachers, and they did not perceive much student misbehaviour. One noteworthy result was that the differences between countries were small. Naturally, perceptions of classroom management are influenced by many variables, not least of which are the nationality

and culture of the observer. For example, in previous research it appeared that Dutch teachers' view of an orderly classroom was interpreted as disorder by American teachers (Wubbels et al. 2006). This may also have been the case in the Israeli classrooms, which are often judged to be well-managed by Israelis but unruly by outsiders. Because of varying cultural norms, teachers in different countries will interpret the amount and severity of discipline issues differently than outside observers. There were several strategies in the Lewis et al. (2005) study that were measured reliably: punishment, discussion, recognition of appropriate behaviour, aggression (negate students' sense of well-being and natural rights), involvement in decision-making and hinting (providing students with awareness that all is not as it should be). Hinting, recognition and discussion appeared to be the most commonly utilized strategies in the countries studied. Despite the general similarities, small differences were observed. Punishment was used fairly often in Israel and Australia. Aggression was employed the least across the countries, while the Australian and Israeli teachers generally refrained from using involvement in decision-making. Chinese teachers were rated as less punitive and aggressive than their Australian and Israeli colleagues, and more inclusive and supportive of student voices. This result might be explained by a lower level of disruptive student behaviour in Chinese classrooms. Australian teachers allowed the least amount of discussion, and were seen as the most punitive.

Whitman and Lai (1990) compared classroom management in selected schools in Hawaii and Japan. This is one of the studies that confirms the notion (Katz 1999) that classrooms in the United States (in this case Hawaii) are less orderly than those in Japan. In addition, this research demonstrated that Hawaiian teachers' vision of effective classroom management emphasized clear structure and rules for acceptable student behaviour, an approach that was not preferred by the Japanese teachers. The authors felt that the Japanese teachers needed to better anticipate and forestall student disturbances before they occured.

**[p. 270 ↓ ]** Several cross-national studies on teacher-student interpersonal relationships have been conducted with implications for classroom management. These are reported in this Handbook by Perry den Brok and Gerrit Jan Koopman in Chapter 20. In addition, Mitchel (2001) demonstrated that in the United States, Chinese-American teachers tend to model submission to authority rather than assertiveness and individualism, in contrast to their non-Asian American teacher peers.

# Teaching Practices Studies

Osborn et al. (2003) studied classrooms in Denmark, France and England. While classroom management and discipline issues were only analysed in a small part of this research, it did yield some instructive results. In general, teacher roles and classroom interaction across the three countries were similar, though there were some differences. For example, Danish teachers saw themselves primarily responsible for the entire development of students, whereas their French counterparts saw themselves more as subject specialists (the English teachers fell in between). From the classroom management perspective this implies that Danish teachers saw a greater role in building social skills with their students. French classrooms seemed to be more orderly than the English or Danish in terms of noise level, with students remaining in their seats all the time. English and Danish teachers seemed to be more flexible in allowing student talk and movement related to the learning task, whereas the French teachers more than their English and Danish colleagues controlled students all the time. This result may be due to the fact that in France less group work was observed than in the two other countries. A striking issue in England was the concern about dress (school uniforms) and the appearance and behaviour of students out side the classroom. In Britain teachers and researchers alike seemed to be bothered by students' deviations from the norms regarding the dress code in and outside school, whereas in France and Denmark such aberrations (dyed hair, wearing baseball caps, etc.) were not an issue.

There is a long tradition of comparative studies on teaching and learning by the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA). Examples of their studies are the First, Second and Third International Mathematics and Science Study. The third study (TIMSS) was later continued as the Trends in Mathematics and Science Study. It is noteworthy that an examination of this research yields hardly any mention of classroom management practices. There is some reference to the amount of time spent off-task, which varied between 5 per cent (USA, Australia and the Netherlands) and 2 per cent (Czech Republic and Japan). Interestingly, outside interruptions in classroom activities were seen rather frequently in Australia, Hong Kong, the Netherlands and the USA (about 30 per cent of the lessons had at least one outside interruption), whereas in Switzerland, the Czech Republic

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and Japan the figure was approximately 10 per cent. Interruptions that seemed to be under the teacher's control were also relatively frequent in the Netherlands and the USA (about 20 per cent of the lessons had at least one interruption of more than 30 seconds) whereas these were virtually absent in Japan. Finally, teachers in the Netherlands stood out in interrupting students during individual work by making public announcements (64 per cent of the lessons). Teachers in the USA did this in 28 per cent of their lessons, and in other countries this occurred in only about 10 per cent. The level of uninterested students reported by teachers was lower in Japan than in the USA (Hiebert et al. 2003).

As a follow-up of the TIMSS research several publications have studied differences between American and Japanese (and occasionally, German) primary mathematics lessons. It is striking that despite teachers' concerns about classroom management there is not much in these studies that refers either directly or indirectly to classroom management. Although the Classroom Environment Study of the IEA (Anderson et al. 1989) focused on classroom environments, this study, in terms of classroom management, also mainly refers to the amount of off-task behaviour and hardly **[p. 271 ↓ ]** to what teachers do about this. The study reported that the number of teacher disciplinary actions varied from about 1 per cent of the teacher acts in Thailand, Korea, and Canada (Ontario) to about 5 per cent in Australia and 8 per cent in Israel. Hungary, the Netherlands, Nigeria and Canada (Quebec) fell in between these extremes (Anderson et al. 1989: 114). Similarly the on-task behaviour varied widely from about 96 per cent of the time in Thailand to only 60 per cent in Israel. In a similar vein, students in Australia and Canada (Ontario) reported more often than in most other countries that their teachers had problems in coping with misbehaviour. Interestingly, in both Australia and Thailand students indicated that their teachers quite often raised their voices because of classroom noise.

# Summary of Comparative Studies

Generally, lesson structures seem to converge across countries but the concern for discipline problems may differ. In South East Asia, China and Japan classrooms seem to be more orderly than in the West. This is probably related to the esteem for teachers exhibited in the various societies, from high in the East to low in the West. Fewer discipline problems naturally contribute to a more stable class atmosphere.

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Differences in discipline problems may explain some of the observed differences between nations in teaching methods. In the USA teachers seem to be preoccupied with student motivation and attention, whereas Japanese teachers tend to focus on engaging students in difficult problems (Stigler and Hiebert 1999). This may explain why American teachers use transparencies (and more modern technology, such as the Internet) often as a cognitive focus whereas Japanese teachers are much more reliant on the blackboard.

The development and maintenance of student self-esteem is a greater concern in the USA than in Japan (Stigler and Hiebert 1999), and to a lesser degree in the UK compared to France (Osborn and Planel 1999). This might explain why American teachers quickly redirect incorrect responses to other students to arrive at the right answer, whereas in Japan they are more carefully analysed to ensure full understanding. A noteworthy study by Santagata (2005) reported that Italian teachers were more like Japanese than American teachers in this respect.

Taken together, the foregoing research does not provide a clear picture of cross-national differences in classroom management practices. This is due to the aforementioned lack of effort to conduct such research, as well as the fact that comparative studies address numerous variables and vary a great deal from country to country. Nonetheless, one possible conclusion from the literature is that in Western countries classrooms seem to be less orderly than in Asia. It is interesting to note that from a Chinese perspective the Japanese are concerned more about classroom discipline than are the Chinese (Mak 1998). Whereas American observers often refer to China and Japan in a similar way, the Japanese and Chinese observers see differences between themselves. Probably the further an observer is away from what is familiar the more things seem similar.

# Approaches to Classroom Management

A framework for an international analysis of the different approaches to classroom management can be found in the recent *Handbook of Classroom Management* (Evertson and Weinstein 2006b). Six distinct classroom management strategies were selected: those that focus on external control of behaviour, on internal control, on

classroom ecology, on discourse, on curriculum, and on interpersonal relationships. The core beliefs of each approach are presented below. Actual classroom management programmes usually integrate elements of these different types. For example, McCaslin et al. describe a programme for self-regulation that combines principles of behaviour modification in order that students develop internal control over their own learning (McCaslin et al. 2006).

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# Behavioural

The behavioural approach is probably the oldest research-based strategy for classroom management (Landrum and Kauffmann 2006). The approach can be traced to five behaviourist learning principles first espoused by Skinner. The first states that positive reinforcement will strengthen behaviour by applying a stimulus (or reward) following the desired behaviour. For example, teachers following this principle will reward children with recess time or a sticker once the child behaves in the desired manner. The second principle, called negative reinforcement, removes a (usually negatively experienced) stimulus in return for the desired student behaviour. For example a teacher might not assign homework if students complete their tasks in class on time. The third principle, extinction, may occur when a reinforcer declines or disappears. With time, the disruptive student behaviour will usually also gradually decline. Teachers who ignore attention-getting student behaviour are implementing the Extinction principle. 'Response cost punishment', the fourth principle, refers to a reinforcer that is withdrawn: if, for example, students have not been given homework they may receive an additional assignment if they do complete their tasks on time (in other words, freedom from homework is withdrawn). Finally, the most controversial principle is punishment, in which teachers present aversives. In general, this principle is used as a last resort and only for severe student misbehaviour. The earliest (mid-twentieth century) empirical studies on classroom management (see Brophy 2006) compared punishment with reward, and usually concluded that praise and reward had more positive effects.

Based on these principles, several programmes for behaviour modification aimed at shaping wanted student behaviour, and translating laboratory approaches

to the classroom, have been developed (often with special needs children). In general, interventions based on the five principles are not used haphazardly, but are applied after a thorough student behaviour analysis. Students are usually observed systematically first and then single variables are manipulated in interventions. After a lot of experience with interventions aimed at individual students these have also been applied to whole classes (Brophy 2006).

Contemporary behaviourists typically distinguish between procedures for increasing desired behaviour and procedures for decreasing undesired behaviour (Brophy 2006). The former techniques include token reinforcement programmes, earned points credit systems, praise and approval, modelling, programmed instruction, self-specification of contingencies, self-reinforcement, establishment of clear rules and directions, and shaping through successive approximations. The latter techniques include extinction, reinforcing incompatible behaviours, self-reprimands, time-out from reinforcement, relaxation (for fears and anxiety), response cost, medication, self-instruction and self-evaluation.

The behavioural approach is found most prominently in special education and early childhood classrooms. Because it focuses on external control of student behaviour it has become quite controversial. In contrast, there are behavioural interventions that emphasize self-regulation with little external reinforcement, so there is a clear overlap with strategies used by non-behavioural psychologists and teachers following the theories discussed below.

# Internal Control

The 'internal control' approach is more humanistic and emphasizes students' integration of society's values and attitudes so that prosocial behaviours are internally motivated (Elias and Schwab 2006). This is manifested by a student-centred orientation to classroom management. Weinstein (1998) observed in the United States a shift between 1970 and 1995 from emphasis on behavioural external control to classroom management practices for internal control. Two distinct approaches aim at developing internal control – the first focuses on social emotional learning (Watson and Battistich 2006) and the second on the community (Elias and Schwab 2006).

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**[p. 273 ↓ ]** When focusing on social emotional learning, self-discipline and self-control are promoted by developing emotional competence. According to Elias and Schwab (2006), four essential steps have to be followed by teachers: teaching social emotional skills (such as knowing yourself, making responsible decisions, caring for others), building caring relationships with students, setting firm and fair boundaries and sharing responsibilities with students.

The 'caring community' movement can be traced back to Neill's creation of an alternative school community in Summerhill (1960), and to many other educational reformers in the twentieth century (Freire, Freinet, Boeke). The second and fourth steps of the social emotional approach describe the central theme of the caring community movement. One goal of this child-centred approach is to build discipline with dignity, usually in school-based intervention programmes. These programmes theoretically emanate from a variety of perspectives: humanistic, social cultural, moral development, etc. Proponents therefore believe that it is possible to follow a number of educational avenues and arrive at the conclusion that caring communities are important for socializing students. As a result, there are varying conceptions of community in these programmes, since some are constructivist, others democratic, still others caring. What they all have in common, however, is a positive developmental view of children and recognition of the social context of their lives. Coercion in this approach is seen as incompatible with respect for students' autonomy and a positive child view.

# Ecological

The ecological approach originates from a biological concept referring to the study of behaviours in natural habitats. This approach to classroom management emphasizes the organization of classrooms (the natural habitat). According to Doyle (2006), classrooms are characterized by multidimensionality (the large quantity of events and tasks), simultaneity (many things happening at once), immediacy (the rapid pace of events), unpredictability (unexpected turn of events), publicness (the teacher being witnessed by many students) and history (the accumulation of common sets of experiences and norms). Educators who adhere to this perspective define order in terms of students following a teacher-centred orientation in class (i.e. following the teacher's programme of action).

As noted, the 'natural habitat' of classrooms is multidimensional. Based on extensive observation of American classrooms several common types of activities have been noted. These include recitation, seatwork, small group and cooperative learning teams, and transitions. It is important to note that this research was conducted mostly in primary classrooms in the USA, with less representation of secondary contexts. Clearly in other cultures other classroom formats might be found. Important points of leverage for creating a productive environment are the management of transitions between lesson parts, orchestrating classroom activities, establishing classroom rules and procedures, in conjunction with developing routines in particular at the start of the school year, and the physical design of the classroom setting (Doyle 2006).

Landmark studies of the ecological perspective on classroom management were conducted by Gump (1967) and Kounin (1970), who introduced the concept of the ripple effect. This is the effect that teacher 'desists' (when the teacher calls a halt to misbehaviour) have on students other than those who were behaving inappropriately and to whom the intervention is directed. Clarity of desists appeared important for effects on both target students and the other students in the classroom. Other important teacher behaviours were 'withit-ness' (showing that the teacher was aware of what was going on in the classroom, and communicated this awareness to students), 'overlapping' (being able to attend to two or more events at the same time) and maintaining a smooth momentum in a lesson. In the case in which students are reluctant to participate, a teacher must stimulate student involvement through group alerting and accountability signals to indicate a warning, such as the raising of a finger, or shutting off the lights. Further, **[p. 274 ↓ ]** they need to enforce continuity, and to use challenges and variety. Successful managers create order by creating all kind of academic student activities, thus anticipating potential misbehaviour, and they catch misbehaviour early when it occurs. Interventions are inherently risky because they call attention to potentially disruptive behaviour and might, ironically, lead the class further away from the task at hand, while not necessarily regaining stability. Because of these risk factors, successful interventions tend to have a private and fleeting quality that does not interrupt the flow of events. In addition to occurring early, they are often quite brief and do not invite further comment from the target or audience students (see Doyle 2006). An example of this can be seen when a teacher stands next to an offending student, but does not interrupt the lesson.

# Discourse-Centred

Stubbs (1976) in Great Britain and Cazden (1986) in the United States were originators of studies of classroom management that focused on the discourse patterns of teachers and students. From a sociolinguistic point of view it was assumed that participants' interpretations of the social situation influenced both the speaker's choice of what could be said and the listener's interpretation. Discourse-centred classrooms place the emphasis on communication, constructivism and teacher-student relationships (Morine-Dershimer 2006). The relationships between teachers and students are asymmetrical; communicative participation affects student achievement; contexts are constructed during interactions (e.g., rules for participation are implicit; behaviour expectations are construed as part of interactions); meaning is context-specific (e.g., meaning is signalled verbally and non-verbally, communicative competence is reflected in appropriate behaviour); and inferencing is required for conversational comprehension (e.g., form and function in speech used in conversations do not always match, and frames of reference may clash).

Classroom discourse studies generally corroborate ecological teacher strategies for class management. These include active listening, varying questioning processes, listening to conversations of students to understand the social processes being enacted, and providing students time to understand and practice patterns of interaction appropriate to each new type of learning activity. Teachers are encouraged to establish a clear set of rules and routines early in the school year (Doyle 2006). To assist students with behaviour problems, Morine-Dershimer (2006) advises teachers from the discourse perspective to provide all students with extensive opportunities to learn, to reconsider attitudes and perceptions of pupils' abilities while observing them in atypical activity settings, to use communication patterns and participation structures that promote inclusion of students who exhibit communicative differences, and to be alert to ways communicative behaviour of the teacher may constrain instructional discourse.

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# Curricular

In this approach the curriculum becomes the starting point for efforts to engage students in academic activities. Curricular content is created in such a way that students are motivated to participate enthusiastically, thus indirectly reducing misbehaviour (Hickey and Schafer 2006). The aim is the collective participation of students based on sincere academic interest and with as few external rewards as possible -in contrast to the behavioural approach, which engages individual students according to the principles of behaviour modification.

There is a wealth of literature about the design of intrinsically rewarding learning environments (see, for example, Jacobson and Kozma 2000). An interesting example is the problem-posing approach in science education (Klaassen 1995; Lijnse and Klaassen 2004), which demonstrates how familiarity with student thought processes can help teachers develop meaningful, motivational curricular materials. Another example of the curricular approach is the participation-centred method by Hicke and Schafer (2006). They focus on the organization of classroom activities that help students engage in **[p. 275 ↓ ]** domain-specific discourse. This implies a curriculum as authentic domain knowledge practice, as representations of what happens in authentic discussions associated with expertise in the domain, for example, forms of mathematical discourse. They construct materials, instructions and activities that enhance the extent to which students try out the nuances of authentic mathematical discourse.

# Interpersonal

A last approach to class management originated from the seminal work of Lewin, Lippitt and White (1939) on social climate and leadership. They described three leadership styles: authoritarian (the leader assigns tasks and gives step-by-step instructions, praises or blames), democratic (group members decide about tasks in group discussion, responsibility-taking is encouraged with input from the leader as a resource person), or *laissez-faire* (group members are left on their own to determine what to do and how to do it, with the leader ostensibly participating as little as possible).

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The democratic leadership style outperformed the other two in terms of student responsiveness and initiative.

The interpersonal approach to classroom management focuses on creating productive relationships between teachers and students. As noted in this Handbook by den Brok and Koopman (Chapter 20), two independent characteristics of teacher behaviour can be used to map the teacher-student relationship: Influence and Proximity. As described by Wubbels et al. (2006), a number of studies conducted over nearly three decades demonstrated that successful teachers exhibit dominant (high influence) and cooperative (high proximity) behavioural patterns. The research revealed the non-verbal behaviours and strategies that facilitate this profile in teachers. These include behaviours such as continuous eye contact with students, and loud, emphatic speech. In addition, the research established the importance of accurate teacher understanding of their relationship with students, based on students' interpretations of teacher behaviour. The authors point to the risk that beginning teachers take when they try to be friendly to students (high proximity) without first establishing control (low influence). The challenge, of course, is to establish classroom control as well as exhibiting helpful, friendly and understanding behaviour.

# Synthesis of Classroom Management Approaches

An analysis of the foregoing six approaches reveals some commonality in terms of desirable classroom management strategies. An important distinction between successful and unsuccessful managers is the focus on learning rather than on a noise-free atmosphere. Good managers show personal acceptance of students, they frequently praise them, have good senses of humour and frequently offer students helpful suggestions. Further, such teachers excel in their lesson preparation and organization. In the beginning of the school year they gradually introduce procedures and routines as needed without overloading students. They model appropriate student behaviour. When it comes to disruptions they intervene early and are able to stop them before they evolve into real problems.

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# Classroom Management across Countries

The catalogue of approaches to classroom management may help describe emphasis in particular practices, strategies, procedures or habits in classrooms. We will look at some examples of practices described by authors in several countries. It is important to keep in mind that usually several different approaches in countries can be found and therefore what follows describes the practices of a particular author, not necessarily the predominant approach in a country.

Ben-Peretz, Eilam and Yankelevitch (2006) report two practices in classroom management in Israeli elementary education -individualistic and systemic. Usually these are found to be combined in practice. The individual practice focuses on single students **[p. 276 ↓ ]** as targets of the teacher's actions. Because careful observation of an individual student's misbehaviour is the basis for deliberate teacher choice of action we can interpret this as a behavioural approach. Israel is a multicultural and multiethnic country and classrooms can be characterized by clashes of cultures. Israeli society is in need of citizens who are socialized in their new home country. Therefore a second practice, the systemic, is important. This practice focuses on the group as target of the teacher's actions. Based on the assumption that the individual is shaped by the social context, it seeks to establish group norms and relations in order to create a productive learning environment. The systemic practice clearly has its roots in the internal and ecological approach to classroom management.

Materials used in German and Swiss teacher education programmes were sampled to see what pre-service teachers are exposed to in their training (Berliner Bildungsserver 2005; Lohman 2003; Rüedi 2002). The materials revealed that elements from all approaches are presented in the programmes, though not all of them with equal attention. In line with the shift in orientation in the USA (Weinstein 1998), not very much is said about behavioural approaches. Rather, the focus is on curricular and internal control methods with some emphasis on interpersonal issues. The materials emphasize analysis and theoretical reflection by teachers, and advise them on appropriate behaviour. These recommendations predominantly stem from the ecological and, to a lesser degree, the discourse approach.

In a Slovenian study primary students were surveyed to determine the teachers' predominant disciplinary techniques (Pšunder 2005). The study found that in Slovenia disciplinary techniques with a higher degree of teacher control and lower student autonomy predominate. This description exemplifies a conceptualization of classroom management from an interpersonal perspective. From the study it is not clear whether teachers follow other approaches, since they are not mentioned. A Jordanian study (Haroun and O'Hanlon 1997) on teachers' perceptions of causes of discipline problems raises students' interference with the teacher authority as the main topic. Again this is predominantly an interpersonal issue.

Shimahara (1998b) and Nishioka (2006) show that generally in Japan the most important task of classroom management is to socialize students to the group. This reflects the cultural emphasis on group life in Japan. Therefore classroom management practices focus on the process of building a classroom community where interpersonal relations and emotional bonding between teachers and students and among students are developed. Students do learn to control themselves through elaborate and sophisticated strategies for development of self-management. In this description mainly the internal control approach is recognized.

Granström (2006) in Sweden studied troublesome behaviour and undesired dynamics in secondary classrooms. He considers students' provocative behaviour to originate from emotions, expectations, disappointments, fears and fantasies that may be projected on to the teacher. He argues that students in class have their own (social) life and want to pursue their own projects. Thus they hinder the teacher's project, though not as an attack but as a value in its own right. Teachers have to be trained to treat provocations and projections not as personal assaults and act accordingly. This analysis shows some elements from the behavioural and ecological approach, but it adds to these by introducing psychodynamic theories in the light of the programme of action of both teachers and students. Psychodynamic theory is used in order to help teachers focus more on students' inner worlds and their own more-distant role. Lewis et al. (2005) observed that the greater the student misbehaviour, the more teachers used aggressive strategies. This is not helpful because these techniques are not often effective and may harm students. This reinforces the importance of the need to help teachers not regard student misbehaviour as a personal attack. If successful, teachers might be less inclined to respond aggressively and might use more productive strategies.

# Conclusion

In the second half of the twentieth century across the world, a shift has been observed from behavioural to internal approaches to classroom management. Nowadays, in addition to the internal approach, the ecological and interpersonal seem to be popular. In special education the behavioural approach is still valued. No large, clear or consistent differences can be found between classroom management strategies across countries. Naturally, there are small differences in emphasis between countries or cultures, but a larger variation occurs within countries or among people with similar ethnic backgrounds. For example, differences in classroom atmosphere and orientation to management can be found in the Netherlands and Belgium, countries that have similar cultures. Dutch parents might send their children to Belgian schools because they feel that discipline there is still important. On the other hand, Belgian parents may do the reverse so that their children will receive more attention from Dutch teachers. Nonetheless, in the Netherlands schools with strict discipline can be found, while student-centred schools exist in Belgium. Approaches to classroom management may vary from culture to culture but these methods probably depend more on local circumstances than on culture *per se.* For example, in Israel the influence of extensive immigration has created a specific need for classroom management as a tool to socialize students into Israeli society. Classroom management in a Darfur refugee camp with 80 students in a 30-square-metre tent is quite different from the management in schools in Sudan's capital city, in spite of the similar culture. It seems that governments, schools and teachers throughout the world adapt to these local circumstances by choosing classroom management practices that are best-suited to their aims.