

THE FACTORS OF A VOLUNTARY SCHOOL UNIFORM POLICY

by

Eugene F. Soltner

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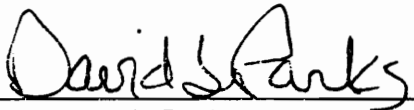
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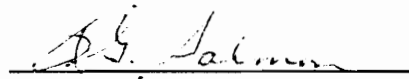
APPROVED:




M. D. Alexander, Chairman



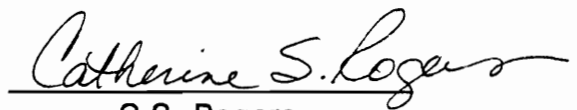
D.J. Parks



R.G. Salmon



J.C. Fortune



C.S. Rogers

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By

Eugene F. Soltner

Committee Chairman:

M. David Alexander, Educational Administration

(ABSTRACT)

The purposes of this study were to examine how a voluntary compliance school uniform policy was implemented at a public elementary school, what the results of the implementation were, and why the policy was rescinded.

Utilizing a descriptive case study design, data were collected through document collection and interviews with a minimum sample (N = 25) of teachers, parents, and administrators who most intensely manifested an interest in the school uniform policy. Through interviewing the minimum sample, an additional information-rich sample (N = 2) was identified.

Data were organized utilizing summary sheets and pattern coding, and matrices were used to display data and draw conclusions. Findings were presented in full narrative text and display, and conclusions were drawn from the data and the empirical framework established in the conceptual framework.

An analysis of data indicated that the organization's adoption and implementation decisions were decentralized decisions in which decisions were shared by a wide variety of stakeholders. Individual decisions to adopt or reject occurred through the diffusion of information between and among opinion leaders and interpersonal networks. A "moderate plan" for implementation was in place, and the organization utilized regular feedback to reshape and develop the uniform policy.

Initial compliance rates averaged 70%, and findings showed that no measurable outcomes were evident from the effects of uniforms. Initial compliance rates waned to a range between 30% and 40%; however, findings indicated that the decline was due to a variety of reasons other than outright rejection of the policy.

As compliance waned, power and conflict were strategically used to create a dominant view and to influence rescission of the policy. The undesirable and unanticipated consequences of the policy outweighed those of the desirable and anticipated, and the policy was rescinded.

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CHAPTER I

Introduction

Twenty-eight years after the Supreme Court decision Tinker v. Des Moines Independent Community School District (1969) established the right of students to freedom of expression in school unless the exercise of such right would substantially and materially interfere with the rights of others or create disruption of the orderly process of a school, there is now a nationwide trend to adopt stricter dress codes, in some instances, uniform policies (Majestic, 1991).

In his January 23, 1996, State of the Union Address, President Clinton challenged schools to teach character education, stating, "And if it means teenagers will stop killing each other over gang jackets, then public schools should be able to require school uniforms" (Clinton, 1996, p. 5).

Encouraging students to wear school uniforms has become a national experiment. School districts across the nation are looking toward uniforms to improve the learning environment. Several states have passed legislation enabling districts to implement uniform policies. Virginia House Bill 1206 granted authority for districts to develop uniform policies and resulted in the issuance of model guidelines for planning, implementing, and evaluating a

school uniform program (Virginia State Department of Education, 1992).

Other states have also moved forward with their own policies, some opting for mandatory compliance, others for voluntary. In California, the state assembly passed legislation enabling school districts to impose mandatory uniform requirements. The Long Beach Unified School District instituted a mandatory program for all elementary and middle school students, yet most other California districts have opted for voluntary compliance (Loesch, 1995).

Those public schools which have implemented school uniform policies have done so for a variety of reasons. Some cite an intended increase in the students' sense of membership in the school community, improvement in the students' self-image, a reduction in the cultural and economic differences among students, improved focus on school work, a reduction in crime, improved discipline, and reduced costs for the family (Virginia State Department of Education, 1992).

Statement of the Problem

Various interest groups within the school and community are often involved, directly or indirectly, in the establishment or rescission of school policy. Initiating and implementing reform involve a careful orchestration of all stakeholders. Gaining and maintaining the support of students, parents, community members, teachers, administrators, central office personnel, and

board members are critical to the success of an initiative. The recent reform movement to encourage school uniform policies is one such initiative where support is paramount; the influences of stakeholders will dictate success or failure. This study examined how a voluntary compliance school uniform policy was implemented in one public school, what the results of the implementation were, and why the policy was rescinded. Specific and general research questions follow:

How was the adoption decision made? (Who was involved? Why was the decision made?)

How was the plan implemented? (Did it deal with anticipated problems? How was the plan disseminated? What was the initial satisfaction level?)

What was the initial level of compliance? (What percent of students participated? Why did students participate? Was anything done to encourage or reward participation?)

Were any outcomes noted as a result of the policy? (Attendance? Climate? Discipline?)

Why did participation decrease? (What were administrators' perceptions? teachers'? parents'?)

Why was the decision to end the policy made? (Who was involved in resisting or supporting the policy? What issues were involved? How was

the decision made? Who made the decision?)

Background

In the fall of 1994, the school board of a large Southeastern Virginia school division, at the direction of the board's At-Risk Committee, surveyed the principals of 45 elementary schools to gauge interest in establishing a voluntary school uniform policy. Thirty-eight of 45 principals responded, with 20 indicating no interest, 11 indicating an interest in further exploring a uniform policy, and 7 indicating uncertainty. The board found the response favorable and directed the division's educational planning center and interested schools to pursue the issue.

A follow-up workshop was held for interested principals to share current research and provide direction to schools that wished to serve as pilot sites for a voluntary policy. Schools wishing to serve as pilots were directed to survey staff and community to ascertain levels of support and develop a detailed proposal for board approval. On June 6, 1995, the school board approved four elementary schools to pilot a voluntary school uniform policy for the 1995-96 school year.

One elementary school (see Table 1), the unit of analysis for this study, adopted a uniform consisting of navy colored shorts or slacks for boys and girls, with girls free to wear navy jumpers or skirts. Solid, non-logo red, white, or blue polo shirts, sweaters, or turtlenecks were also

permitted. Students who chose not to participate adhered to a dress code.

**TABLE 1
SITE DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE**

	CHARACTERISTIC	PROFILE
Student Population	Student Population	739
	Caucasian	66%
	African-American	29%
	Pacific Islander	.01%
	Other	.04%
	Academically Gifted	2.1%
	Free/Reduced Lunch	37%
	Special Education	14.7%
	Average Daily Attendance	95.6%
	Mobility Index	34%
Grade 4 Iowa Test of Basic Skills, Form G, Above 50th Percentile	70%	
School	Building Capacity	855
	Age	40
	Average Class Size	
	K	23.1
	1	19.4
	2	16.5
	3	18.8
	4	22.0
5	14.2	
Staff	Administrators	2
	Teachers	46
	Classified	40

The site began the 1995-96 school year with a 70% compliance rate for voluntary participation by students wearing the prescribed uniform. By the spring of 1996, participation had waned to 35%, and on June 20, 1996, the School Planning Council voted to rescind the policy.

Significance of the Study

The results of this research will prove beneficial to school districts or schools which are considering the adoption of a voluntary compliance school uniform policy. In particular, a review of those practices and procedures which proved both successful and unsuccessful would enhance a school or division's implementation of a voluntary compliance uniform policy.

Limitations of the Study

This study does not include interview data gathered from students due to school division restrictions. The principal of the site wished to protect the privacy of the student population, allowing students to focus on learning rather than the uniform controversy. Interviews with parents attempted to capture student perceptions.

Organization of the Study

This study has been organized into five chapters. Chapter I contains the introduction, statement of the problem, background, significance and limitations of the study, and the study's organization. Chapter II provides a

conceptual framework for understanding school uniform policies as well as related legal issues and legislation. In addition, an overview of micropolitics, innovation, and change provides a perspective for analyzing the influences of stakeholders in the establishment and rescission of the uniform policy.

In Chapter III, research methodology is presented. Topics include the research design, population and sample design, instrumentation, data analysis, validity and reliability, implementation of the study, and an explanation of the interview process.

The findings of the study are reported in Chapter IV, and Chapter V provides a summary and discussion of the study's findings as well as conclusions and recommendations for further study. The researcher's reflections conclude the chapter.

CHAPTER II

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Introduction

A conceptual framework for understanding school uniforms as well as related legal issues and legislation are included in this chapter. Further, the empirical framework for analyzing the influences of stakeholders in the adoption, implementation, and rescission of the policy are established through an examination of the literature on micropolitics, change, and innovation.

Despite the increasing popularity of mandatory and voluntary school uniform policies across the nation, there exists only a paucity of empirical evidence regarding the shortcomings and effectiveness of school uniform policies in accomplishing intended outcomes. Paliokas and Rist (1996) attributed this lack of evidence to the fact that uniform policies in the public schools are a recent development.

Nonetheless, a myriad of testimonials and anecdotal information persists. School districts, parents, administrators, and teachers claim undocumented improvements in climate, attendance, self-esteem, and

achievement as well as a reduction in disciplinary incidence and violence (U.S. Department of Justice, 1996).

In California, the Long Beach Unified School District, which in the fall of 1994 became the first district in the nation to require uniforms for its 60,000 children in elementary and middle schools, has been touted as an exemplar of uniform success. The district, comparing data from one year to the next, documented a 51 percent drop in physical fights between students and 32 percent fewer suspensions (Portner, 1996). Yet, Paliokas and Rist (1996) asserted that these findings are problematic, citing the need to eliminate a host of competing explanations.

Paliokas and Rist (1996) recommended that future research must measure policy effects from a historical series of observations to determine if the change is real change. They further posited that data must be gathered from two groups of students, experimental and control groups, and that data must be gathered on other factors so that statistical analyses would control for these factors. The authors concluded by stating that data now available in the United States do not support any specific conclusions about the effects of school uniforms on violence.

Stevenson and Chun (1991) conducted a study of the District of Columbia Public Schools analyzing school profile data and survey data from parents, teachers, and principals of schools where a uniform policy was

implemented or under consideration for implementation. They found that the development of uniform policies was viewed as a strategy for refocusing student attention to learning, that a uniform policy was perceived more positively at the elementary level, and that parent involvement at the local school level was critical to policy establishment. Lastly, Stevenson and Chun found that the effects of wearing uniforms on school climate, achievement, and attendance were inconclusive due to the host of intervening variables which may contribute to climate, achievement, and attendance.

Because of the difficulty of establishing a direct correlation between what children wear to school and how they perform in school, the authors recommended that future investigations which seek to determine the effects of a school uniform policy focus instead on parent, student, and staff perceptions as measures of uniform policy effect.

In conclusion, a limited body of research exists on school uniforms, and much of that research is anecdotal. That which is not anecdotal is problematic. Researchers note that future investigators must eliminate a host of competing explanations and isolate the many variables which may have an impact on a uniform policy's effects. Further, the researcher was unable to find research related to the wearing of uniforms in private and parochial schools or the military.

Legal Aspects

Requirements for a school uniform policy are a recent development which have not yet been legally tested through to the Supreme Court. However, an analysis of the constitutionality of previously heard court cases provides a basis for surmising how the courts may rule on the school uniform issue. Dress code cases are most often based on the claim that the school has infringed on the student's First Amendment right to freedom of expression or a liberty interest in controlling personal appearance under the Fourteenth Amendment (Paliokas, Futrell, & Rist, 1996).

In Tinker v. Des Moines (1969), the Supreme Court held that students do not forfeit their constitutional rights of freedom of speech "at the schoolhouse gate." The court further qualified this statement by noting that students' free speech rights are not absolute and that schools have a "comprehensive authority, consistent with fundamental constitutional safeguards, to prescribe and control conduct in the schools." In doing so, the court established a strict standard of review, requiring schools to show a likelihood of substantial and material disruption prior to regulating political speech. Paliokas, Futrell, and Rist (1996) described the Tinker case as the crux of the debate over dress code policy.

In a more recent Supreme Court decision focusing on the expressive rights of public school students, Bethel v. Fraser (1986), the court stressed

the role of public education in inculcating "the habits and manners of civility." Consistent with this decision, the Supreme Court in Hazelwood v. Kuhlmeier (1988) found that schools generally are not open public forums and that schools may reasonably place restrictions on free speech.

The lower courts have used these landmark cases in deciding First Amendment dress code issues. In Bannister v. Paradis (1970), the court ruled that the banning of clothing related to style was unconstitutional unless it related to the health and safety of others or caused a substantial or material disruption. In Wallace v. Ford (1972), the courts allowed the restriction of immodest or revealing clothing yet found other restrictions in the school's dress code unconstitutional, noting that the school failed to show that the clothing disrupted the educational mission of the school. The courts in Broussard v. Sch. Bd. of City of Norfolk (1992) agreed with the school board's contention that clothing containing offensive or vulgar messages was disruptive and further found that the school may regulate such clothing over concern for values and decency.

Two cases involving constitutional challenges to dress codes prohibiting students from wearing gang apparel have also been heard by the lower courts. In Olesen v. Board of Education (1987), a student argued that an anti-gang rule prohibiting earrings on males violated his right of free speech and expression. The courts found that the policy was not

unconstitutional and supported the school's rationale and concern for student safety and the curtailment of gang activities. In Jeglin v. San Jacinto (1993), the constitutionality of a ban on professional sports' teams attire was challenged. Although the school board established the ban due to concerns that the apparel was related to gangs, the courts drew upon Tinker, supporting the ban only at the high school level where gang activity was demonstrated. On the contrary, the ban was found to be unconstitutional at the elementary and middle school levels where the school district failed to show the presence of any gang activity.

A First Amendment balancing test was applied by the courts in the only ruling to date on a mandatory uniform policy in the public schools. A Superior Court judge in Maricopa County, Arizona, upheld a mandatory uniform policy with no opt-out provision finding that although the policy regulated free expression, the school's reasons for the policy were appropriate matters of concern to the board. The court further found that the interests of the entire student body outweighed the defendants' free expression rights (Paliokas et al., 1996).

Mandatory uniforms met legal challenges in the Long Beach Unified School District where low income families represented by the Legal Aid Foundation and the American Civil Liberties Union of Southern California, who claimed to support the policy fully, found the uniform policy

discriminated against poor children who couldn't afford the uniforms. The case was settled out of court, and the district further agreed to do more to help poor students get uniforms and let families know they can ask for exemptions to the policy ("Schools Try Uniforms," 1996).

Majestic (1991) summarized the boundaries of school authorities to adopt strict dress codes noting that attire which conveys a message of public concern is symbolic speech which is protected by the Tinker material and substantial disruption standard, that under Bethel vulgar and lewd dress may be restricted, that dress which carries a message contrary to educational purposes may be restricted under Kuhlmeier, and that expressions of individuality may be restricted if there is a reasonable basis for doing so.

Legislation

The Virginia State Board of Education (1996) in their publication, Guidelines: The Wearing of Uniforms in Public Schools, written in response to legislation enacted in May 1996 allowing school districts within the Commonwealth to require uniforms, provided legal advice to schools, suggesting that schools demonstrate that their policy is necessary to further a legitimate school interest, including verifiable data as part of the rationale.

The California legislature agreed that dress could affect the quality of education received in the classroom when it passed legislation which made

uniforms permissible in California Public Schools. The code articulated in detail valid educational purposes for the schools as well as supporting documentation (Mahling, 1996).

The U.S. Department of Justice (1996) reported in their publication, Manual on School Uniforms, that ten states have enacted school uniform legislation including California, Florida, Georgia, Indiana, Louisiana, Maryland, New York, Tennessee, Utah, and Virginia. The publication which highlights policy models implemented in schools across the nation offers eight guidelines for schools to follow when adopting uniform policy: (a) get parents involved from the beginning; (b) protect students' religious expression; (c) protect students' other rights of expression; (d) determine whether to implement a voluntary or mandatory policy; (e) consider an opt-out provision for a mandatory policy; (f) do not require students to wear a written message; (g) assist families that need financial help; and (h) treat school uniforms as part of an overall safety program.

Micropolitics

Wiles, Wiles, and Bondi (1981) stated that the change process has undertaken new meanings for who, what, when, where, and how change occurs. They noted that rational planning has been replaced by political practices. The recent reform movement to encourage school uniforms is an initiative where support of stakeholders will often dictate success or failure.

Various interest groups within the school and community are politically involved in the establishment or rescission of school policy. A micropolitical analysis provides a perspective for analyzing the influences of actors involved in shaping school policy.

Micropolitics, an emerging field of study, evolved from the macropolitical perspective of the 1960s and 1970s where researchers focused on intergovernmental conflicts and societal demands emanating from federal government, state government, and local school districts. Scarce federal resources, public confidence in the schools, and innovations such as shared decision making and teacher empowerment redirected political researchers in the past two decades to take a closer look at politics in the classroom and in and around the school thus resulting in the micropolitical perspective (Marshall & Scribner, 1991).

Much can be gained by looking at schools using a micropolitical perspective. Kimbrough (1964) concluded that educational leaders have failed to recognize the tremendous influence exercised covertly by informal groups in educational projects, policies, and issues. Morgan (1986), too, recognized the influence of politics on the organization, stating:

By recognizing that an organization is intrinsically political, in the sense that ways must be found to create order and direction among people with potentially diverse and conflicting interests, much can be learned about the problems and legitimacy of management as a process of government, and about the relation of the organization to society. (p. 142)

Brown (1978) discussed the paradigm of reality creation in organizations as the most powerful micropolitical process in the school organization. He asserted that people use power, language, symbols, and interactions to define reality. Those with the power to determine what issues are correct or incorrect, rational or relevant, define the acceptable reality of the school.

Hoyle (1986) defined micropolitics as those strategies which individuals and groups in organizational contexts seek to use their power and influence to further their interests. Similarly, Iannaccone (1975) described micropolitics as those politics which take place in and around the school while Ball (1987) contended that micropolitics encompassed the arenas of struggle where actual or potential conflict among members of the school as a polity occurs.

Whether approaching politics from a macro or micro perspective, the concepts of power, coalitions, conflict, and policy come into play. Power relationships, informal and formal, develop in organized systems wherever power is used to manage conflict, create a dominant view, or regulate and

maintain behavior through influence or authority.

Conflict exists when those with competing values and priorities seek to have their values prevail. Individuals and groups seize upon conflict as a change agent to affect existing power relationships. Policy focuses on the policy choices, decisions, and actions of a group or individual as resolution to conflicting values (Marshall & Scribner, 1991).

Hoyle (1988) described the major components of micropolitics as interests, interest sets, power, and strategies. According to Hoyle, interests, including personal, professional, and political interests, are pursued by individuals, usually as a cohesive group, or by interest sets, loose formations of individuals who come together when a common concern surfaces. Power, a dichotomous concept, includes both power by authority and power by influence. Hoyle noted that the power deployed in micropolitics frequently takes the form of the latter because interest sets must draw on resources other than those of authority. Strategies are used in micropolitics by interest sets in an attempt to attain their desired means.

Micropolitics is the subject of a number of disciplines, including political science, psychology, anthropology, sociology, economics, and education, yet no interdisciplinary approach has emerged (Hoyle, 1986). Micropolitics is, however, closely related to the study of organizational theory. Hoyle distinguished between the two in his text The Politics of

School Management, labeling management and organizational theory figure and micropolitics ground. Figure includes the rules of behavior and structural imperatives on the governance side of the equation while ground constitutes the interplay on the people side of the equation. When discussing ground, Hoyle noted that school-centered decisions and policies result not only from political life within the building but also from external messages and perceived threats from outside individuals and groups.

Hoyle (1986) further posited that the traditional paradigm in organizational theory is based on rational models of order and control which exclude the realm of micropolitics. He further noted that alternative paradigms exist which account for some micropolitical components. One such model, Cohen, March, and Olsen's (1972) "garbage can" model, focuses on how decisions emerge out of a complexity of micropolitical activities.

Several researchers have conducted micropolitical studies in educational contexts. Gronn (1983) analyzed the use of language by school managers, and Marshall and Mitchell (1991) identified how the assistant principal learns to function effectively within the political arena of the school site. The researchers concluded that the assistant principal who fails to work within the political constraints of a given building is in violation of the assumptive world and will ultimately lose power.

Blase (1991), utilizing an inventory of teacher influence strategies, identified political strategies which teachers use to cope with ineffective principals. Blase discovered that both teachers and principals use manipulation as political strategies.

Noblitt, Berry, and Dempsey (1991) conducted a comparative case study of stakeholders in school reform, noting that political actors will take advantage of reform by taking control of agendas and resources in the temporary vacuum created by reform.

Innovation and Change

While an innovation presents the individual or organization with a new means of solving problems, it further generates uncertainty as to whether the innovation will provide a better alternative to previous or existing practices or alternatives. As a result of the uncertainty generated by those considering the adoption of an innovation, stakeholders are motivated to seek out further information through an exchange of ideas involving interpersonal networks. Thus, the diffusion of an innovation involves a process of two-way communication in which participants create and share information about a new idea within a social context. The diffusion model provides an additional framework for analyzing the adoption, implementation, and consequences of innovations within an organizational context such as the school (Rogers, 1983).

In examining the innovation decision process, Rogers distinguished between centralized diffusion, dissemination decisions involving a small number of officials, and decentralized diffusion, dissemination decisions shared by a wide variety of clients. He further conceptualized five steps in the innovation decision process for the individual including knowledge, persuasion, decision, implementation, and confirmation. Knowledge, persuasion, and decision encompass the mental processes in which the individual passes from first knowledge of the innovation to forming and sharing an attitude, to making a decision to adopt or reject. Within the decision stage, an individual may exhibit active rejection in which the individual considered the innovation but chose not to adopt, passive rejection in which the individual never considered the adoption, or acceptance in which the individual implements the innovation.

Rogers noted that most individuals evaluate an innovation not on available research but on the subjective opinions of others, frequently peers who have often adopted the idea. He further discussed the role of informal opinion leaders within the social system who are able to influence others by promoting the innovation or actively opposing it. Opinion leaders are members of the social system in which they exert their influence, and when compared with their followers, display a somewhat higher social status, reflect the system's norms, and are often at the center of the organizations

interpersonal networks.

From an organizational perspective, Rogers stated that with initiation of an innovation, five stages emerge. The organization is involved in agenda setting in which the organization defines its problems and may create a perceived need for innovation or may search for innovations of value to the organization. The organization is then involved in matching, the process in which the organization's perceived problems are fit with a matching innovation. Upon implementation, the organization redefines and restructures the innovation to fit its perceived problems, and as the innovation is put into use, the relationship between the organization and the innovation is clarified. Lastly, the innovation is routinized, in which the innovation becomes an element in the organization's ongoing activities or it is discontinued.

Consequences of innovation are difficult to measure because of the subjective nature of such a judgment. Rogers noted that "every judge of the desirable or undesirable impacts of an innovation is influenced by his or her personal experiences, educational background, philosophical viewpoint, and the like" (p. 378). Rogers posited that consequences can be clarified as desirable or undesirable, anticipated or unanticipated, and direct or indirect, and that the three can be examined together when looking at an innovation.

The degree to which an innovation is seen as desirable or undesirable

depends on how the innovation affects the members of the social system. Rogers noted that consequences result not only for the adopters, but for everyone in the system, and he further cautioned that when determining the consequences of an innovation, it is dependent on whether one examines the effects for certain individuals or the entire system as a whole.

Anticipated consequences are changes due to an innovation that are intended by members of the system where unanticipated consequences are often unknown by members of the system at the time of adoption. Desirable consequences are the functional effects of an innovation and undesirable consequences are considered the dysfunctional effects of the innovation to an individual or system. Direct consequences are changes to the individual or system that occur in immediate response to an innovation where indirect consequences are changes that occur as a result of the direct consequences.

Fullan (1986) examined change and innovation, focusing specifically on managing change. He concluded that the problems encountered with change indicate that "change in social systems can never be managed in a step-by-step fashion." Instead, change agents must operate integratively, bridging multiple realities, reconceptualizing change to take into account new, shared realities. In response, Fullan (1991) acknowledged that a plan may be moderately helpful, yet he identified assumptions about change that

may enable change agents to plan more effectively and implement change.

Fullan advocated the assumption that the main purpose of the process of implementation is the exchange of ideas which leads to the transformation or continual development of initial ideas. In short, Fullan noted that an architect for change must never assume that one's own version of change is the one that should be implemented. He further noted that significant innovation, if it is to result in change, requires individual implementers to form their own meaning, to interact with other implementers to work through uncertainty or ambivalence.

Fullan also assumed that because individuals possess their own multiple realities, conflict and disagreement are both inevitable and fundamental to successful change. Significant change through the implementation of innovation, Fullan noted, is a process of development which can be expected to take minimally two or more years.

Fullan addressed lack of implementation in another assumption. He cautioned that one must not assume that lack of implementation is due to outright rejection of the innovation or resistance to change. On the contrary, one must assume that there are a number of possible reasons including value rejection, inadequate resources, or insufficient time lapse. In addition, Fullan noted that one must not expect all groups to change; the complex nature of change in the social system makes this impossible.

Instead, one must make progress through increasing the number of people affected.

Lastly, Fullan presented the assumption that decisions are a combination of valid knowledge, political considerations, on the spot decisions, and intuition. Better knowledge of the change process, Fullan asserted, will improve the mix of resources upon which one might draw when implementing change.

Examining the influences of stakeholders in the establishment and rescission of a uniform policy from the perspective of micropolitics, change, and a diffusion model provided a framework for an analysis of the data gathered.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

Overview

A descriptive case study was conducted of a public elementary school which had implemented and rescinded a voluntary compliance school uniform policy during the 1995-96 school year. The study examined how the policy was implemented, what the results of the implementation were, and why the policy was rescinded.

Data were collected through interviews with stakeholders and through document examination. Data were organized utilizing summary sheets and coding, and matrices were used to display data and draw conclusions. Validity and reliability of the study were addressed through triangulation of multiple sources of data, multiple methods of data gathering, and the maintenance of a chain of evidence.

Research Design

A qualitative research approach was used for this study. Qualitative studies, Miles and Huberman (1994) purported, are well suited for examining the meanings people place on the events, processes, and structures in their lives. Miles and Huberman further cited the power of the qualitative study for collecting data over a sustained period.

The case study, one method of qualitative research, is favored by Yin

(1994) who stated, "...case studies allow an investigation to retain the holistic and meaningful characteristics of real-life events--such as individual life cycles, organizational and managerial processes..." (p. 3). Yin further found that questions which focus on how and why favor the use of the case study.

Population and Sample Design

The population for this study included the students, parents, teachers, and principals of the site as well as central office administrators and school board members who were involved in the initiation, adoption, and rescission of the site's school uniform policy. From the population two purposeful sampling methods were employed to select the sample, intensity sampling and chain sampling. Patton (1990) found that utilizing more than one sampling method, or mixed sampling, would further contribute to sample reliability.

Intensity sampling was used to identify a minimum sample ($N = 25$) of individuals who most intensely manifested an interest in the school uniform policy. The principal of the site was informed of the purpose of the study and was asked to identify stakeholders whom she believed would be the most informed about the site's school uniform policy. The principal identified 27 stakeholders, including members of the School Planning Council, the Parent Teacher Association Board, central office administrators,

board members, and administrators. In addition, the principal provided mailing addresses of these individuals. No students were identified in the sample at the request of the site's principal who wished to protect the privacy of students. In addition, 2 of the 27 stakeholders, parents, had moved from the area and were not included in the sample.

The minimum sample (N = 25) consisted of 12 members of the site's 14-member School Planning Council whose membership included 8 teachers and 6 parents. An additional 8 were members of the Parent Teacher Association Board, and the remaining 5 included the principal, assistant principal, assistant superintendent for elementary education, and 2 board members who were responsible for initiating the division's study of uniforms.

Interviews with the minimum sample (N = 25) resulted in the identification of an additional sample (N = 2) (see Appendix G). Each interview with the minimum sample concluded with the interviewee identifying others whom they believed were influential in the establishment or rescission of the uniform policy.

Instrumentation

General interview guides were utilized with all stakeholder groups: the principal and assistant principal, assistant superintendent for elementary education, school board members, School Planning Council members, and

Parent Teacher Association Board members. Patton (1990) summarized the advantage of the general interview guide approach as providing topics within which the interviewer is free to explore, probe, and ask questions that will illuminate the particular subject. The interviewer remains free to build conversation and to word questions spontaneously yet with a focus on a particular subject.

Specifically, four general interview guides (see Appendix A) were used, one for the assistant superintendent and school board members, one for the principal and assistant principal, one for parent members of the Parent Teacher Association Board and School Planning Council, and one for teacher members of the School Planning Council. Research questions were correlated with interview questions to ensure that data from the interviews would yield findings that corresponded with the research questions (see Table 2).

In each instance, the researcher served as interviewer, and interviews were tape recorded and transcribed into text. The instruments for parents, teachers, and principals were field tested at another elementary school site within the same district where a voluntary uniform policy was simultaneously implemented and where participation in the policy was waning. The researcher was unable to field test the instrument for the school board member or the assistant superintendent as no like group was

available.

TABLE 2
CHAIN OF EVIDENCE MATRIX

Chain of Evidence Matrix: Interview Questions				
Research Questions	Interview Questions			
	Assistant Superintendent School Board	Principal and Assistant Principal	Parents	Teachers
<p>How was the adoption decision made? (Who was involved? Why was the decision made?)</p>	<p>What can you tell me about initiating a school uniform policy? (Prompts: Board policy? rationale? origination? research?)</p>	<p>What can you tell me about how a school initiates a school uniform policy? (Prompts: Board initiative? rationale?)</p> <p>What procedures did your school follow to initiate the policy? (Prompts: Who was involved? How was the decision made?)</p> <p>How did this decision affect the staff and your community? (Prompts: With what kinds of initial resistance and support did it meet? What groups formed? What were their issues?)</p>	<p>Think back to when you first became aware that a uniform policy was under consideration for your school. What can you tell me about how this whole thing got started? (Prompts: What was the rationale? What were your feelings on the issue? How have your feelings changed?)</p> <p>What procedures did your child's school follow to initiate the policy? (Prompts: Who was involved? What opportunities did you have for input? How was the decision made?)</p> <p>How did this decision affect you and your community? (Prompts: With what kinds of initial resistance and support did it meet? What groups formed? What were their issues?)</p>	<p>Think back to when you first became aware that a uniform policy was under consideration for your school. What can you tell me about how this whole thing got started? (Prompts: What was the rationale? What were your feelings on the issue? How have your feelings changed?)</p> <p>What procedures did your school follow to initiate the policy? (Prompts: Who was involved? What opportunities did you have for input? How was the decision made?)</p> <p>How did this decision affect the staff and your community? (Prompts: With what kinds of initial resistance and support did it meet? What groups formed? What were their issues?)</p>

TABLE 2 (Continued)

Chain of Evidence Matrix: Interview Questions				
Research Questions	Interview Questions			
	Assistant Superintendent School Board	Principal and Assistant Principal	Parents	Teachers

<p>How was the plan implemented? (Did it deal with anticipated problems? How was the plan disseminated? What was the initial satisfaction level?)</p>	<p>What procedures does a school follow if they wish to implement a uniform policy? (Prompts: guidelines? parent support level? staff support? Board approval?)</p>	<p>How was your school's plan implemented? (Prompts: Did it deal with anticipated problems? How was the plan disseminated? With what kinds of initial resistance and support did you meet?)</p> <p>What steps did you take to orient parents to the uniform policy? students? teachers? (Prompts: assemblies? meetings? newsletters?)</p>	<p>How was your child's school's plan implemented? (Prompts: Did it deal with anticipated problems? How was the plan disseminated?)</p> <p>What steps did the school take to orient you to the uniform policy? students? (Prompts: assemblies? meetings? newsletters?)</p>	<p>How was the plan implemented? (Prompts: Did it deal with anticipated problems? How was the plan disseminated?)</p> <p>What steps did the school take to orient parents to the uniform policy? students? teachers? (Prompts: assemblies? meetings? newsletters?)</p>
<p>What was the initial level of compliance? (What percent of students participated? Why did students participate? Was anything done to encourage or reward participation?)</p>		<p>What was the initial level of compliance? (Prompts: What percent of students participated? Was anything done to encourage or reward participation?)</p>	<p>Did you choose to comply with the policy? Why or why not? (Prompts: How did your child feel about this? Was anything done to encourage or reward participation?)</p>	<p>As you looked around the school and your classroom, what would you estimate as the initial level of compliance? (Prompts: What percent of students participated? Why did students comply? Was anything done to encourage or reward participation?)</p>
<p>Were any outcomes noted as a result of the policy? (Attendance?)</p>	<p>What feedback, positive and negative, have you received? (Prompts: parents? students? staff?)</p> <p>Most programs require an evaluation component. Of what evaluation data are you aware? (Prompts: outcomes? perceptions?)</p>	<p>What outcomes were noted as a result of the policy? (Prompts: attendance? discipline? case studies? climate?)</p> <p>What feedback, positive and negative, did you receive? (Prompts: parents? staff? students?)</p>	<p>What have you heard about the policy? (Prompts: parents? staff? students?)</p> <p>What positive and negative effects did you note as a result of the policy? (Prompts: attendance? discipline? case studies? climate?)</p>	<p>What feedback, positive and negative, did you receive? (Prompts: parents? staff? Students?)</p> <p>What positive and negative effects did you note as a result of the policy? (Prompts: attendance? discipline? case studies? climate?)</p>

TABLE 2 (Continued)

Chain of Evidence Matrix: Interview Questions				
Research Questions	Interview Questions			
	Assistant Superintendent School Board	Principal and Assistant Principal	Parents	Teachers
<p>Why did participation decrease? (What were administrators' perceptions? teachers? parents?)</p>	<p>Why do you feel participation has decreased at schools which implemented the uniform policy? (Prompts: costs? peer pressure? individual expression issues? parent support? mobility index? community pressure?)</p> <p>Do you support uniform policies? Why or why not? (Prompts: level playing field? cost reductions? improved learning or discipline environment?)</p>	<p>Why do you believe participation decreased? (Prompts: costs? community pressure? individual expression issues? central office support? parent support? availability? other issues?)</p>	<p>Why do you believe participation decreased? (Prompts: costs? community pressure? individual expression issues? central office support? availability? other issues?)</p>	<p>Why do you believe participation decreased? (Prompts: costs? community pressure? individual expression issues? central office support? availability? other issues?)</p>
<p>Why was the decision to end the policy made? (Who was involved in resisting or supporting the policy? What issues were involved? How was the decision made? Who made the decision?)</p>	<p>After one year with the pilot, what direction do you suppose the board may take in regards to uniforms?</p>	<p>What issues were involved in the decision to end the policy made? (Prompts: Who was involved? What people or groups? What was the catalyst? How was the decision made?)</p> <p>Personally, how do you feel about the demise of the policy? (Prompts: Would you do it again? How have you changed as a result?)</p>	<p>What issues were involved in the decision to end the policy? (Prompts: Who was involved? What people or groups? What was the catalyst? How was the decision made?)</p> <p>Personally, how do you feel about the demise of the policy? (Prompts: In what ways did your opinion of the uniform policy change from conception of the idea to its rescission?)</p>	<p>What issues were involved in the decision to end the policy? (Prompts: Who was involved? What people or groups? What was the catalyst? How was the decision made?)</p> <p>Personally, how do you feel about the demise of the policy? (Prompts: In what ways has your opinion of the uniform policy changed from conception of the idea to its rescission?)</p>

TABLE 2 (Continued)

Chain of Evidence Matrix: Interview Questions				
Research Questions	Interview Questions			
	Assistant Superintendent School Board	Principal and Assistant Principal	Parents	Teachers

	<p>Is there anything else you may wish to tell me about uniforms that I neglected to ask?</p> <p>Can you name for me other individuals whom you believe were influential in the establishment or rescission of a uniform policy?</p>	<p>Is there anything else you can tell me about uniforms that I neglected to ask?</p> <p>Can you name for me other individuals whom you believe were influential in the establishment or rescission of the uniform policy?</p>	<p>Is there anything else you can tell me about uniforms that I neglected to ask?</p> <p>Can you name for me other individuals whom you believe were influential in the establishment or rescission of the uniform policy?</p>	<p>Is there anything else you can tell me about uniforms that I neglected to ask?</p> <p>Can you name for me other individuals whom you believe were influential in the establishment or rescission of the uniform policy?</p>
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Document Collection

A wide range of documents including agendas, brochures, correspondence, surveys, minutes, and parent conference summaries were collected from the site. Each was summarized on a document summary form (see Appendix B), and each was entered in chronological order into a document matrix (see Appendix F). Documents provided additional information and corroborated interview data. Each document was correlated with specific research questions.

Data Analysis

Data collection and analysis were interwoven to allow for early

analysis and to provide the opportunity for the researcher to think not only about the existing data but also to generate strategies for collecting new, often better data (Miles & Huberman, 1994).

A contact summary form (see Appendix B) was utilized after each interview and prior to transcription to note the main concepts and issues of each contact and to allow more rapid retrieval of data.

Transcribed interviews were pattern coded (see Appendix D) utilizing domain analysis, wherein related terms, themes, ideas and processes formed clusters which became major coding categories (Spradley, 1979).

To increase coding reliability, the researcher and a second researcher separately coded the first 10 pages of transcribed notes and collectively compared coding results until a minimum intercoder reliability index (.80) was achieved where $\text{reliability} = \frac{\text{number of agreements}}{\text{total number of agreements} + \text{disagreements}}$. Further, to aid definitional clarity of codes, the two researchers also discussed coding terms and definitions, amending them as needed.

Similarly, to increase internal consistency, the researcher also completed intracoding, double coding the first 10 pages of transcribed notes, once right away and again a few days later on an uncoded copy until a minimum reliability index (.90) was achieved. In the same manner, documents were pattern coded utilizing domain analysis with the same

pattern codes developed for the interview data.

Coded data were extracted from the transcribed interviews and entered onto raw data matrices (see Appendix E), which were developed as themes emerged from the coded data. Data were then entered onto a stacked matrix (see Table 3).

TABLE 3
Stacked Matrix
Sample

Stakeholder	Adoption	Implemen- tation	Compliance	Outcomes	Decrease	Rescission
School Planning Council						
PTA Board						
Assistant Super.						
Adminis- trators						
School Board						
Information Rich Sample						

From these matrices, both findings and conclusions were drawn through noting patterns and themes, making comparisons and contrasts, and counting. Miles and Huberman (1994) compare the validity of drawing conclusions from displays with extended text:

Most important, the chances of drawing and verifying valid conclusions are much greater than for extended text, because the display is arranged coherently to permit careful comparisons, detection of differences, noting of patterns and themes, seeing trends, and so on. (p. 92)

Conclusions were presented in full text narrative form and supporting displays.

Validity and Reliability

Data were triangulated through multiple sources of data including teachers, parents, administrators, and board members (see Table 2).

Multiple methods, which included document collection and interview, further contributed to the corroboration of findings (see Table 4). Triangulation also occurred through the creation of a chain of evidence, creating a transparency in the process of data collection (Rubin & Rubin, 1995).

TABLE 4
TRIANGULATION DATA SOURCES MATRIX

Triangulation Matrix: Data Sources											
Research Questions	Data Sources										
	Interviews				Documents						
	Principals	Teachers	Parents	School Board/Asst. Superintendents	Memos	Minutes	Correspondence	Flyers	Notes	Newsletters	Miscellaneous
How was the adoption decision made?	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
Who was involved?	•	•	•	•	•	•	•			•	•
Why was the decision made?	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•		•	•
How was the plan implemented?	•	•	•	•			•	•		•	
Did it deal with anticipated problems?	•	•	•				•				
How was the plan disseminated?	•	•	•		•		•			•	•
What was the initial satisfaction level?	•	•	•								
What was the initial level of compliance?	•	•	•				•				
What percent of students participated?	•	•	•				•				
Was anything done to encourage or reward participation?	•	•	•					•			
Why did students comply?	•	•	•				•		•		•
Were any outcomes noted as a result of the policy?	•	•	•	•							•
Attendance?	•		•	•							•
Climate?	•		•	•							
Discipline?	•		•	•							•
Why did participation decrease?	•	•	•	•			•				
What were administrators' perceptions?	•			•			•				
Teachers'?	•	•		•			•				
Parents'?	•	•	•	•			•				•
Why was the decision to end the policy made?	•	•	•	•			•		•		
Who was involved in resisting or supporting?	•	•	•	•			•				
How was the decision made?	•	•	•	•			•		•		
Who made the decision?	•	•	•	•			•		•	•	•
What issues were involved?	•	•	•	•			•		•		

The interview instruments were field tested for validity, and the internal consistency of the coding patterns was established through inter and intra coding methods.

Implementation of the Study

To gather data, the researcher first secured permission from the division's superintendent and then contacted the principal of the site to explain the purpose of the study, to ask permission to conduct the study, and to identify the sample.

Each teacher and parent identified in the sample was sent a letter (see Appendix C) explaining the purpose of the study and the interview process as well as a solicitation of their willingness to participate in the study and the time of day most convenient for them to be interviewed. A second letter (see Appendix C) soliciting consent to participate in the study was sent to one teacher and eight parents who did not respond within two weeks.

One week later, a follow-up phone call was made to six nonrespondents to the second letter and an interview was scheduled for four of them. The remaining two nonrespondents, parent members of the School Planning Council, had moved out of the area with no forwarding address. Their phone numbers were no longer in service. All remaining respondents were contacted by telephone to schedule an exact time and

date for the interview.

Administrators, board members, and central office stakeholders were contacted by telephone, and the purpose of the study and the interview process were explained. Their consent to participate in the study was secured and an interview was scheduled.

Three additional stakeholders were identified through interviewing the minimum sample (N = 25) and were contacted by telephone to schedule an interview. A parent from the site who was in opposition to uniforms declined to be interviewed, and the remaining two, an assessment specialist from the educational planning center and the principal of another uniform pilot site within the same division, consented to the interview.

The Interview

Face-to-face interviews began on September 28, 1996, and were completed by October 26, 1996. All teacher members of the School Planning Council, as well as the principal and assistant principal, were interviewed at the site, either before school, after school, or during a planning bell. Parent members of the PTA Board and School Planning Council with the exception of six were also interviewed at the site at the times they indicated were most convenient for them. Of the six exceptions, three were interviewed at their homes, one was interviewed at the public library, one was interviewed at her place of employment, and one was

interviewed at a high school near her home. Interviews conducted at the site were held in the teachers' classroom, the library, or a conference room.

The former assistant superintendent was interviewed at the school where he currently serves as principal, and board members were interviewed at their homes.

Each of the interviews was conducted using general interview guides (see Appendix-A) and lasted no longer than twenty minutes. Stakeholders were introduced to the study and permission to audiotape the interviews was secured. As the interviews were conducted, the researcher probed and explored, wording questions spontaneously with a focus on the general interview guide.

Three information-rich cases were identified during the interviews and were contacted by phone to schedule an interview. One interview was conducted at the researcher's place of employment, another was interviewed at the elementary school where she serves as principal, and the third declined to be interviewed stating that the issue was over. Each interview lasted approximately ten minutes. When no new information was gleaned from the interviews, the researcher determined that saturation had occurred and no further interviews were conducted.

CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS

The purposes of this study were to examine how a voluntary compliance school uniform policy was implemented at an elementary school, what the results of the implementation were, and why the policy was rescinded. The data to answer these questions were gathered through interviews with the minimum sample (N = 25) of stakeholder members of the site's School Planning Council, the Parent Teacher Association Board, the assistant superintendent for elementary education, site administrators including the principal and assistant principal, and two school board members. Interviews with an information-rich sample (N = 2) which included a planning assessment specialist for the division and the principal of another uniform pilot site were also included (see Appendix E). Data were further gathered from documents collected from the site and entered chronologically into a document matrix (see Appendix F).

Six research questions addressed the areas of adoption, implementation, compliance, outcomes, decrease in participation, and rescission of the policy. For each of the six areas addressed by research questions, a table of findings was constructed (see Tables 5 - 10). Narrative text further details the tables.

Adoption

Research Question I: How was the adoption decision made? (Who was involved? Why was the decision made?)

TABLE 5

Table of Findings: Research Question I

Question I	Findings
I.A How was the adoption decision made?	<ol style="list-style-type: none">1. The At-Risk Committee of the division's board initiated the study of uniforms, soliciting four elementary schools to pilot a voluntary compliance school uniform policy (T.E2, E3, E5, E6, F1).2. The principal of the site presented School Planning Council with the uniform idea, and the council researched uniforms (T.E1, E2, E3, E4, F1).3. The site's PTA Board and parents were informed of the council's investigation of uniforms (T.E1, E2, E4, F1).4. A uniform sub-committee of the School Planning Council formed and reported directly to the council (T.E1, E2, F1).5. The site's teachers were surveyed on interest in pursuing uniforms (T.E1, E2, E4, F1).6. A uniform fashion show provided a public forum for all staff and parents and concluded with an interest survey (T.E1, E2, E3, E4, F1).7. The interest survey was discounted due to inadequate family representation (T.E1, E2, E3, E4, F1).8. A second survey mailed to all homes resulted in 70% parent support on a 70% return and 90% support from staff on a 100% return (T.E1, E2, E4, F1).9. An expanded uniform committee selected a uniform and worked with vendors (T.E1, E2, E4, F1).10. The division's board approved the site as a pilot for the 1995-96 school year (T.E1, E2, E4, F1).

Table of Findings: Research Question I (Continued)

Question I	Findings
I.B Who was involved?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Stakeholders who supported the uniform proposal were involved in adoption of the policy (T.E1, E2, E3, E4, E5, E6, F1). 2. Stakeholders who opposed the uniform proposal were involved in adoption of the policy (T.E1, E2, E3, E4, E5, E6, F1). 3. Stakeholders who disagreed with the uniform proposal but agreed to support it were involved in adoption of the policy (T.E1, E2, E3, E4, E5, F1). 4. Stakeholders who were neutral toward the uniform proposal were involved in adoption of the policy (T.E1, E2, E3, E4, E5, E6, F1). 5. Stakeholders who opposed incentives offered for parents to attend the uniform proposal fashion show were involved in adoption of the policy (T.E1, E2).
I.C Why was the decision made?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The primary reason for adopting uniforms was to equalize the student body which drew from two distinct socio-economic levels (T.E1, E4, F1). 2. The acronym REAP summarized the goals of uniforms as promotion of <u>R</u>espect for self and school, <u>E</u>quality for all students, <u>A</u>cademic excellence, and <u>P</u>ride in school and self (T.E1, E2, E3, E4, E5, E6, F1).

Finding I.A1: The At-Risk Committee of the division’s board initiated the study of uniforms, soliciting four elementary schools to pilot a voluntary compliance school uniform policy.

In September 1994, one year prior to the site’s implementation of a voluntary compliance school uniform policy, a memorandum which requested an accounting of the number of apparel related crimes, misconduct, and violent incidents at each of the division’s schools was

issued by the division's deputy superintendent to all elementary school principals. The information from this report was forwarded to the school board's At-Risk Committee which was investigating ways to improve achievement for at-risk students.

School Board Member Two detailed how the At-Risk Committee unwittingly discovered the idea of uniforms stating, "We were putting together some things, and uniforms weren't there...but during the research it came out that uniforms could be advantageous to our at-risk kids. We decided to put a flier out to the principals. It was just a questionnaire to find out what kind of interest was out there."

School Board Agenda Item #6.C, dated October 18, 1994, identified results of the questionnaire, noting that 35 principals responded to the question: Do you feel the school climate or academic achievement would improve if students wore a uniform to school? Of the 35 respondents, 13 checked "yes," 17 checked "no," and 5 checked "unsure." Minutes of the Regular School Board Meeting of October 18, 1994, showed that results of the survey were shared with the entire board, and the board agreed to further pursue the issue. Minutes further indicated that some board members felt interested schools should take the lead while others expressed that the division's central office should offer direct assistance.

School Board Member Two indicated that when the board was

briefed, there were "some misgivings on it (proceeding with the uniform policy), but there were enough ayes to say let's give it a try as a pilot program." The assistant superintendent also stated that the uniform policy got started as the result of former school board members who served on a committee for at-risk students and safe schools. He noted that the board was "looking for four pilot sites."

A memorandum from the deputy superintendent and the special assistant to the superintendent dated November 15, 1994, was addressed to all principals interested in attending an informational presentation on school uniforms as a follow up to the uniform questionnaire. Personal notes from Principal One on the board's uniform presentation to interested principals cited reasons why they might implement a uniform policy, reviewed existing uniform models from other school divisions, and gave principals guidelines for implementation. Principal One's personal notes also indicated that the board was seeking four pilot schools for the 1995-96 school year and four more for the following year. Lastly, the notes stated that interested principals must develop an action plan which included presentations to the School Planning Council, faculty, and community. Plans were also to include surveys and emphasize shared decision making. A follow up survey dated December 1, 1994, was sent by the special assistant to the superintendent to all principals who attended the presentation to

assess principals' interest after the presentation. A copy of Principal One's response showed two checks: one to indicate that Principal One was still interested and another requesting additional information. The survey stated that if a school wished to be considered a pilot, a public meeting and survey of all stakeholders must be completed. The principal of another uniform pilot site stated that principals were given an overview of uniform policies and that a presenter from an elementary school which had a uniform policy answered principals' questions. The same principal indicated that she then took everything back to her school "to find out what people's feelings would be on such a policy."

School Board Member Two stated that the educational planning center and the special assistant to the superintendent "put together a briefing for principals and PTAs." An assessment specialist for the educational planning center as well as the assistant superintendent explained that the special assistant to the superintendent put together the presentation but resigned after giving the first presentation. The assistant superintendent indicated that because he was responsible for elementary education, he continued giving the presentations. He stated that the school had to show an "overwhelming supportive community and that the educational planning center had to develop surveys that helped the schools survey their parents. We looked for 70% or better in support of uniforms." He concluded noting

that in doing the presentations "there wasn't anybody that was in the middle.... They were either for or against it."

An educational planning center assessment specialist also made presentations after being asked by the assistant superintendent to assist. The Educational Planning Center Assessment Specialist stated, "I would go do the presentations...and see the wide range of emotions this issue brought out in parents."

Teacher and parent members of the School Planning Council without exception did not discuss the uniform as a school board initiative, and only one parent of the eight PTA Board members noted that uniforms were a school board initiative. PTA Board Parent Two stated, "The school board came out with some big thing that said we were allowed to put uniforms to a vote, and so the School Planning Council first initiated it and then took it to the parents and the PTA."

Finding I.A2: The principal of the site presented School Planning Council with the uniform idea, and the council researched uniforms.

At the school site, the uniform policy originated with the principal, who also serves as chair of the Faculty Council and its larger body, the School Planning Council. Ten of twelve School Planning Council members noted that exploration of the uniform policy began with the School Planning Council. School Planning Council Teacher Five stated, "I was on the School

Planning Council, and the principal started bringing articles in on uniform policies." Likewise, School Planning Council Parent One stated, "I was on the original committee to...do a little research and come up with information on implementing a uniform policy. The way we approached it was to talk to people downtown in the administration and to research on our own what was going on across the country." School Planning Council Parent Four said, "I was on the School Planning Council and we started discussing uniforms at our meetings."

PTA Board parents were not as knowledgeable as to how the policy originated; however, five of eight parents indicated knowledge of the principal and School Planning Council's role in originating an exploration of uniform policies. PTA Board Parent Five stated, "The principal introduced it ...," and PTA Board Parent Six said, "I think the idea evolved from a principal who's a leader." PTA Board Parent Seven, too, stated, "...it started about two years ago now through the School Planning Council. The principal had basically put it on the agenda for us...."

The assistant principal indicated that the policy began with the principal and the School Planning Council. The assistant principal said, "Our principal shared with the School Planning Council all the information...concerning uniforms...." Principal One stated, "...we started with...our planning council...."

Finding I.A3: The site's PTA Board and parents were informed of the council's investigation of uniforms.

PTA Board members were introduced to the uniform policy shortly after the School Planning Council began its research. PTA Board Parent Two explained that the idea originated with the School Planning Council who then "took it to the parents and the PTA." School Planning Council Teacher Six responded similarly, noting that the policy began with the School Planning Council and was then "taken to our PTA...."

A school newsletter, Vol. 2, No. 2, dated November 1994, featured a page one article authored by the principal titled "Uniforms." The article reviewed the school board's action on uniforms, cited the strengths and weaknesses of a uniform policy, and stated, "In testing the waters...." The article concluded with an emphasis on the fact that no decision had been made, that a survey was forthcoming, and that parents may contact the principal to offer comments. PTA Board Parent Five emphasized that "the principal took great pains to keep parents involved. She thoroughly briefed the parents in what she was planning to do...." School Planning Council Teacher Six stated, "It was taken to our PTA and they were allowed to vote on different styles of uniforms."

Finding I.A4: A uniform sub-committee of the School Planning Council formed and reported directly to the council.

While two School Planning Council teacher members neglected to note that a uniform sub-committee formed which reported to the School Planning Council, six teacher members indicated such. School Planning Council Teacher Three stated, "A separate uniform committee was formed and they reported back to us." Teacher Six indicated that "the Faculty Council formed a team to formulate the best way to implement the program...." School Planning Council Parent One noted the formation of the committee, yet the remaining three parent members did not include it in their remarks.

Only two PTA Board members discussed the formation of the uniform committee. PTA Board Parent Two stated, "Then a committee formed to determine how to implement the uniforms," and PTA Board Parent Seven said, "Basically, we sat down as a committee...."

Both the principal and the assistant principal also neglected to note that a uniform committee formed which reported back to the School Planning Council. Instead, like the six PTA Board members and five School Planning Council members who made no mention of this, both the principal and the assistant principal glossed over the issue, talking instead about actions the School Planning Council had taken as a result of the committee reporting to them. The assistant principal stated, "The School Planning Council had decided to survey the community...."

School Planning Council Parent One indicated, "We checked out the teachers' feelings...." In the same manner, School Planning Council Teacher Eight noted that the School Planning Council "did some consensus gathering and decided to put together a community question and answer session...."

Finding I.A5: The site's teachers were surveyed on interest in pursuing uniforms.

An undated flier to the site's staff on the subject of uniforms contained an interest survey for all staff to complete and return. The flier made reference to the November 1994 parent newsletter and provided information learned to date about uniforms and provided a section titled "Where Do We Go from Here?" This section addressed the need to survey staff and community and discussed the formation of committees to continue planning the uniform policy. A staff response form was included on the bottom of the flier. Published results of the initial staff survey included the responses of 44 of 58 staff members with 12 "sold on the idea," 10 who wished to "move on to the next step," 19 who had "reservations but willing to move on to the next step," and 3 "opposed."

In addition, six of eight School Planning Council members also noted that teachers were surveyed. School Planning Council Teacher Four stated, "...we sent a survey out to the teachers...." School Planning Council Parent Four also stated, "We checked out the teachers' feelings; then we moved to

the community." No parent members of the PTA Board indicated awareness of the initial teacher survey, and again, both principals neglected the survey in their remarks, focusing instead on the community survey which followed.

Finding I.A6: A uniform fashion show provided a public forum for all staff and parents and concluded with an interest survey.

A myriad of documents from the site corroborated the occurrence of the uniform fashion show and interest survey. An undated memorandum from the PTA president to uniform committee members addressed the subject of the uniform presentation, noting that a meeting in the auditorium of a neighboring high school had been scheduled for May 2, 1995, and that committee members must prepare for this. The memo scheduled a committee meeting to begin this process. A school newsletter, Vol. 1, No. 6, dated April 1995, featured an article authored by the principal titled "REAP the Benefits," which invited parents to attend a uniform proposal presentation. The principal offered each class with 100% attendance a pizza party. Free ice cream was offered to those individuals whose parents attended but whose class did not have 100% attendance. An approved request form, dated April 22, 1995, for a bus to transport parents who needed transportation to the uniform presentation was also collected, and six different promotional fliers for the uniform presentation focused on the who, what, where, when, why, and how of the uniform proposal. Each of

the six promotional fliers was sent home with students for six days prior to the presentation, a different one for each day. Three of the fliers noted free ice cream for students whose parents attended the meeting or a pizza party for students whose class had 100% parent attendance. A program for the uniform presentation proposal dated May 2, 1995, highlighted the REAP theme and an agenda which included the fashion show, a vote, and special thanks.

The majority of School Planning Council members and PTA Board parents indicated knowledge of the uniform proposal fashion show and survey. Two School Planning Council teachers and two PTA parents made no mention of either. School Planning Council Parent Four reiterated what those with knowledge of the fashion show said: "We had a big fashion show for our community and then we surveyed them." PTA Board Parent Six stated, "...there was a forum at the high school where parents came in with their children, and we had a fashion show and questions and answers.... Then there was a vote."

Both the principal and the assistant principal discussed in detail the fashion show. The assistant principal stated, "...we got into a major production at the local high school, holding a special meeting...to see how many expressed an interest in the program. I believe it was 70% of the parents who came were in favor of the uniform policy." Principal One

expounded, stating, "...the fashion show was more of a sales pitch for the uniform. We got everyone we could think of involved. After the fashion show, we then polled the parents as to their feelings on the uniforms they'd seen and gave them a chance to voice their opinions."

Finding I.A7: The interest survey was discounted due to inadequate family representation.

Only one of the stakeholders, Principal One, acknowledged the results of the interest survey. Principal One recollected the results of the survey, stating that "31% of our families were represented in the survey, 84% of the neighborhoods were represented and representation was across grade levels, 88.5% of the parents polled would support a uniform policy being implemented, and 84% were comfortable with the uniform we'd (the uniform committee) chosen." The remainder spoke instead only of the second survey sent by the School Planning Council which led to uniform approval. Nonetheless, documents illustrated that the survey administered at the uniform fashion show was discounted by the School Planning Council. Minutes of the School Planning Council meeting dated May 4, 1995, summarized that the purpose of the meeting was to tally the uniform presentation survey results. Minutes further showed that discussion ensued among School Planning Council members due to an inadequate return. The council determined that a second survey would be sent home to all families,

and the survey was created.

A copy of the multiple question survey administered at the fashion show with accompanying tallied results dated May 2, 1995, indicated that 175 of 568 families were represented or 31% of all families. The results further showed that 21 of 25 neighborhoods were represented. Of those present, 31% stated they would not like a uniform. An additional question revealed that 88.5% would support a uniform policy if it were adopted, and 21% stated that they would not support a voluntary uniform policy if it were adopted. A notation indicated that these results were sent home by the School Planning Council on May 5, 1995, with a second survey which sought a minimal 70% return.

Finding I.A8: A second survey mailed to all homes resulted in 70% parent support on a 70% return and 90% support from staff on a 100% return.

Documents and the comments of all stakeholders with the exception of three School Planning Council members and two PTA Board parents corroborated the second uniform survey. The assistant superintendent indicated that when schools conducted surveys, the division "looked for 70% or better in support of uniforms." Principal One stated, "One of our surveys (the second survey) asked would you support the program if implemented, not do you want the program. We really got good returns on it (the uniform survey) and most agreed." The assistant principal stated, "I

believe it was 70% of the parents...were in favor of the uniform policy." Four School Planning Council members also recalled the specific results. School Planning Council Teacher One stated, "The survey was the main communication because out of that we got a 70% return. Then out of that 70% that responded, 70% said, 'yes'...." PTA Board Member Seven stated, "...we distributed a survey and the response was enough that we had the seventy percent the board requires...." Five other PTA Board members acknowledged the favorable survey.

Documents which corroborated the survey include the questionnaire sent home on May 8, 1995, along with the tallied results. The survey included two questions asking for either a yes or no response. The first question asked, "If the site adopts a voluntary policy, would you support it?" The second question asked, "If you would not support a voluntary policy, would you support a rigid dress code?" Results showed that 70% stated they would support a voluntary policy and 30% stated they would not. Results also indicated that 379 out of 535 families returned the survey. Additionally, teacher survey results showed 90% would support the policy while 10% would not. A memo dated May 18, 1995, from the site principal to selected parents, students, and staff regarding work to be accomplished before board approval noted a 70% favorable vote on a 70% return of the final survey.

Finding I.A9: An expanded uniform committee selected a uniform and worked with vendors.

The May 18, 1995, memo to selected parents, students, and staff, also served to validate the formation of an expanded uniform committee. It stated the need to select a uniform, consult and secure vendors, and it set a May 22, 1995, meeting date. Minutes of the School Planning Council meeting dated May 24, 1995, noted the selection of a casual uniform by a uniform committee.

The majority of stakeholders discussed the survey results and moved immediately to a discussion of the board approval; however, three School Planning Council members, four PTA Board parents, and the assistant principal noted the formation of the expanded uniform committee. School Planning Council Teacher Seven stated, "When it actually came back to the School Planning Council, we had parents there, even more parents for community input, and we went with dark pants and white or red and blue tops." PTA Board Parent Six said the "vendors were selected by a parent committee who investigated vendors," and PTA Board Parent Eight stated, "My husband and I attended all the different meetings they had in order to choose the colors and the outfits. The assistant principal stated, "We next set up a uniform committee...."

Finding I.A10: The division's board approved the site as a pilot for the

1995-96 school year.

Several documents illustrated that the division's board approved the site as a pilot for the 1995-96 school year. An unnumbered school board agenda item, dated June 6, 1995, provided a background summary on the site's uniform action plan which included survey results and stated that a vendor had not been specified due to the casual "nature of the uniform selected. Prices and pieces from a variety of vendors have been secured and will be communicated to families." A June 6, 1995, memo to members of the school board from the site's PTA president and the principal requested permission to adopt a uniform policy and contained a verbatim script to be read for the presentation to the board as well as attachments of the May 2 and May 8 questionnaire. Lastly, minutes of the regular meeting of the school board, dated June 7, 1995, noted that the board heard proposals from four elementary sites, including the site studied, and approved all four sites for a voluntary compliance school uniform policy to be implemented in the fall of 1995.

Only three stakeholders noted board approval. School Planning Council Teacher One stated, "We also had to petition the school board," and PTA Board Parent Seven stated, "...we had the 70% the board requires and from there the principal and I went to the school board and did a presentation. We got approved...." Principal One noted, "We then took the

results of the survey to our school board. We gave them a cursory overview of our results." The majority of the remaining stakeholders stated, as School Planning Council Teacher Two stated, that after receiving a favorable return from the survey, "that was good enough to say let's go."

Finding I.B1: Stakeholders who supported the uniform proposal were involved in adoption of the policy.

Teacher members of the School Planning Council supported the policy. School Planning Council Teacher Two stated, "My first reaction was that it was a good movement.... I stated very clearly that whatever the decision, I would give it 100% support," and School Planning Council Member Three said, "I thought it was a great idea. My feelings never changed." School Planning Council Teachers Five and Seven indicated that the Faculty Council, composed only of the teacher members of the School Planning Council, supported the program. Teacher Five stated, "It was really the Faculty Council that jumped on the idea of the uniform policy," while School Planning Council Teacher Seven said, "As a Faculty Council, we were just trying to find a way that everyone could come to school and feel comfortable."

The majority of the PTA Board supported the policy. School Planning Council Teacher Six stated, "There was a lot of discussion at the PTA on the pros and cons of the policy, but in the end, the majority wanted to go with

the program." Likewise, PTA Board Parent Five stated, "There was some disagreement initially when we went forward with the proposal. I don't think there was any major disagreement. Six of eight PTA Board parents expressed their individual support for the uniform policy. PTA Board Parent Two proclaimed herself "the spokesperson for uniforms" because she was "on the bandwagon." PTA Board Parent Three explained that she and her daughter modeled uniforms in the fashion show because the uniform committee "had asked several students and parents who were in favor of it (the uniform policy) to show support first and participate in the demonstration."

The majority of parents supported the uniform policy. PTA Board Parent Five, when discussing parent support, indicated that the principal had "a ground swell of support from the parents," and PTA Board Parent One stated, "Then we presented a program to the parents and got enough positive feedback to decide we wanted to go ahead and try this (the uniform policy)." A copy of the survey administered at the fashion show with accompanying tallied results dated May 2, 1995, showed that 31% of parents stated they would not like a uniform; however, only 21% stated that they would not support the policy.

A majority of teachers at the site supported the uniform policy. School Planning Council Teacher One stated, "The staff bought into

uniforms...." School Planning Council Teacher Seven stated, "Because it (wearing a uniform) wasn't mandatory for us, there wasn't a lot of opposition." PTA Board Parent Seven noted, "In terms of the actual uniform policy, there was no real resistance from the staff," and PTA Board Parent One stated, "The teachers had been polled and the majority of teachers were interested in trying uniforms." Two survey documents corroborate the staff's support for the uniform policy. The results of an undated initial staff survey showed that only 3 teachers were opposed to the policy, and a second document, a questionnaire on uniforms sent home with children and completed by teachers included tallied results dated May 8, 1995, which showed that 90% of teachers surveyed would support a uniform policy.

School Board Member One and Two supported the uniform policy. School Board Member One stated, "One reason I supported the uniform policy was to help create a better learning environment. I didn't see this as a fix-all but part of the fix."

Finding I.B2: Stakeholders who opposed the uniform proposal were involved in the adoption of the policy.

All but three School Planning Council members and three PTA Board members discussed stakeholder opposition to the uniform policy. School Planning Council Parent Four described parent opposition to the policy at the uniform proposal fashion show: "There was some opposition at the fashion

show, but it was really only a few vocal people. Similarly, School Planning Council Teacher Eight described the opposition. Teacher Eight stated, "You're always going to have one heckler. Let's see if we can beat up the principal and the people who put this together because a very small select few were all that showed up to make trouble. Two individuals basically got up and expressed their dislike of the idea...which didn't give the others much of an opportunity to discuss their feelings." Two School Planning Council members cited specific reasons why some parents were opposed. School Planning Council Teacher Five and Seven both stated that parents in opposition felt that uniforms would take away a child's freedom of expression. PTA Board Parent Seven stated, "The biggest opposition at the time was I think my child should express his identity." School Planning Council Teacher Five also stated, "They (parents in opposition) were aware the policy would be voluntary but feared their child might be ostracized for not participating."

Survey documents corroborate the evidence that a minority of parents were in opposition. The survey for the uniform proposal presentation and tallied results dated May 2, 1995, showed that 21% would not support a uniform policy if it were adopted, and the results of a second survey dated May 8, 1995, showed that 30% of parents and 10% of staff would not support a uniform policy.

Finding I.B3: Stakeholders who disagreed with the uniform proposal but agreed to support it were involved in adoption of the policy.

School Board Member Two indicated that a few on the board disagreed with the uniform policy but agreed to support it. School Board Member Two stated, "When we briefed the school board on it, there were some misgivings on it, but there were enough ayes to say let's give it a try as a pilot program."

Three School Planning Council teachers and two School Planning Council parents cited instances where stakeholders who disagreed with the uniform policy agreed to support it. School Planning Council Teacher One stated, "There was dissent and the parents who agreed to disagree were vocal but they went along with it as they knew their children were not going to be forced to do this. A couple of parents who were in disagreement were very vocal and very participatory parents, and we encouraged their support. ...some actually joined the committee." Teacher Five stated, "A lot of the members (School Planning Council) could have been swayed one way or the other, but most approved of the idea of going with what the majority wanted." PTA Board Parent Four echoed the same sentiments and stated, "Everyone on the council agreed to support uniforms, even they (those in opposition) agreed to disagree." PTA Board Parent One noted, "Even though I was against it, I solicited businesses for donations for the uniform bank."

Principal One cited two instances of support from those who disagreed. Principal One noted that although one family was opposed, the family "made it clear they would not undermine" the policy. Principal One also noted a favorable return on one of the surveys that asked whether parents would support the program if implemented, not whether they wanted the program. Documents from the questionnaire on uniforms and tallied results dated May 8, 1995, showed that on a 70% return, 70% indicated they would support a voluntary uniform program. Another survey document dated May 2, 1996, showed that while 31% stated they would not like a uniform, 88.5% stated they would support if adopted.

Finding I.B4: Stakeholders who were neutral toward the uniform proposal were involved in adoption of the policy.

One stakeholder was neutral toward the uniform proposal. PTA Board Parent One stated, "I tried to stay very objective in my feelings. I didn't want to make a decision one way or the other until I had all the information. She continued, "It was a matter of seeing if it would fly and not really feeling that there was an internal commitment being made."

Finding I.B5: Stakeholders who opposed incentives offered for parents to attend the uniform proposal fashion show were involved in the adoption of the uniform policy.

Two School Planning Council members and two PTA Board members

noted that some of the parents who attended the uniform proposal fashion show opposed the incentives that were offered for parents to attend. PTA Board Parent Five detailed this: "There was some pretty serious disagreement with the whole fashion show because...as everybody knows, parents don't have a reason to come to PTA unless they have a reason to come. The school put a carrot out in front of the kids. If they could get their parents to come, they'd get some type of ice cream party...and some of the parents thought that was bribery." School Planning Council Teacher Three concluded, "...we learned that we couldn't offer rewards with uniforms and we stuck by that."

Finding I.C1: The primary reason for adopting the uniform was to equalize the student body which drew from two distinct socio-economic levels.

The site administrators both cited socio-economic reasons as the primary reason for adopting uniforms. Principal One detailed, "Our school has a bi-modal curve in terms of achievement, in terms of socio-economics. We have north of the boulevard, nice community, single family homes.... We also have south of the boulevard which includes mostly rented properties and a section of public housing. ...we had a thirty point differential in test scores between our African-Americans and our Caucasians. With our bi-modal curve, we thought that by using uniforms, we could create a more level playing field so our teachers wouldn't have any

preconceived notions about what those kids could do as opposed to these kids." The assistant principal provided the same response stating that the school wanted uniforms "...because we are bi-modal and we thought that...it might eliminate differential treatment due to their (poorer students) dress and focus on education."

Five of eight School Planning Council teacher members addressed the socio-economic differences between students as a catalyst for uniforms. School Planning Council Teacher Seven stated, "We had talked about trying to fix the disparity between the haves and have nots...because we really are bi-polar. We have the very, very rich and the very, very poor, so we were trying to find a way to put everybody on the same playing field." The remaining three teacher members of the School Planning Council cited other secondary goals of uniforms. Three of four School Planning Council parents neglected to state reasons for the policy, and School Planning Council Parent Three noted that he joined the School Planning Council after the adoption stage of uniforms.

PTA Board parents were not privy to the early discussion of uniforms which began in the School Planning Council, yet PTA Board Parents Four and Five both cited the socio-economic reasons for uniforms. PTA Board Parent Four said, "The rationale was that if the uniform policy came into being, all students would be equal because there would be no difference,

appearance wise. We have a large difference between our clientele. We have some on welfare that get free lunches, and then there's the middle line in there and the rich."

Finding I.C2: The acronym REAP summarized the goals of uniforms as promotion of Respect for self and school, Equality for all students, Academic excellence, and Pride in school and self.

Several documents corroborate the REAP acronym. A school newsletter, Vol.1, No. 6, dated April 1995, featured a page one article authored by the principal titled "REAP the Benefits." The article explained the REAP theme as an acronym "of what we (the school) hope to accomplish through such a policy." Six different promotional fliers for the uniform fashion show featured the REAP acronym as did the program for the uniform proposal fashion show dated May 2, 1995.

Only two stakeholders utilized the REAP acronym in their responses. Principal One stated, "What we started with when our planning council decided we wanted to look at uniforms was a catchy phrase to REAP the benefits. School Planning Council Teacher Seven said, "...so I can tell you, REAP the benefits...basically more respect for each other, trying to excel for academic excellence."

While other stakeholders did not mention the REAP acronym directly, their responses included the REAP components. School Planning Council

Teacher Two stated, "The rationale was that we thought we could increase the students' awareness to respect their school and act appropriately in school." School Planning Council Teacher Five said, "We (the School Planning Council) also hoped that uniforms would change the children's attitudes and give them more pride, a school pride and personal pride." School Planning Council parent members did not discuss the REAP acronym nor did they respond to any of its components. Two parent members noted that the purpose of the uniforms had been discussed prior to their membership on the School Planning Council.

PTA Board parents addressed several reasons for adopting a uniform policy which were encompassed by the REAP theme. PTA Board Parent Five stated, "...we thought it would be easier for our children not to have to worry about their clothing and to be able to focus on learning," and PTA Board Parent Six stated, "There were a lot of positive reasons but foremost, to improve discipline and order, test scores, safety."

The assistant superintendent and a school board member cited several reasons why a school might adopt uniforms including reasons encompassed by the REAP theme. The assistant superintendent said that they (the School Board) were looking for better attendance, increased student learning as measured by test scores, and better student discipline. School Board Member One stated, "One reason I supported the uniform policy was to help

create a better learning environment. I had hoped the uniform would eliminate some of the distractions in the classroom."

Implementation

Research Question II: How was the plan implemented? (Did it deal with anticipated problems? How was the plan disseminated? What was the initial satisfaction level?)

TABLE 6

Table of Findings: Research Question II

Question II	Findings
II.A How was the plan implemented?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Parents and staff were notified of the policy and provided with information on purchasing the uniform components (T.E1, E2, F1). 2. Teachers were encouraged to participate in the policy by wearing the uniform or uniform colors (T.E1, E2, E4,). 3. Feedback was reviewed on a regular basis with the School Planning Council and PTA (T.E1, E2, F1).
II.B Did it deal with anticipated problems?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The problem of declining participation was not anticipated but was acted upon during implementation (T.E1, E2, E4, F1).
II.C How was the plan disseminated?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The plan was disseminated from the School Planning Council and PTA through various means of communication and meetings with the site’s parents and teachers (T.E1, E2, E3, F1).
II.D What was the initial satisfaction level?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Due to the voluntary nature of the policy, the initial level of satisfaction was generally perceived as positive and supportive (T.E1, E2). 2. Only a few stakeholders expressed dissatisfaction with the implementation of the policy (T.E1, E2).

Finding II.A1: Parents and staff were notified of the policy and provided

with information on purchasing the uniform components.

The statements of School Planning Council members, PTA Board members, and administrators as well as documents depicted that parents and staff were notified of the policy and provided with information on purchasing the uniform components. Four School Planning Council teachers discussed notification of the policy. School Planning Council Teacher One stated, "We sent out regular communication through the newsletter and it came on line the first day." Three of four School Planning Council parents discussed the notification component. School Planning Council Parent Three stated, "Things from the planning council and PTA went home explaining what it was, how to help us with our REAP goal so that parents would have some idea why and how uniforms affect the climate within the school." All but one PTA Board member discussed parent notification of the uniform policy and the uniform components. PTA Board Parent Seven stated, "We got approved and before school closed, we notified our parents that we would be officially implementing it (the uniform policy) with the start of the new year."

Documents corroborate that parents and staff were notified of the policy and substantiate the finding that parents were provided with information on purchasing the uniform components. A school newsletter dated June 1995 included a page one article titled "Uniforms...A Reality?"

Authored by the site's principal, the article described the uniform components and noted that no vendor had been specified. The last page of the newsletter was devoted to specifying the policy and announcing that purchasing information would be sent with report cards when mailed in June. A June 1995 letter to the site's parents from the uniform committee on the subject of a vendor survey included a description of the uniform and noted that most stores refused to stock specific components. The letter included a survey from the J.C. Penney Company who had agreed to increase their stock of the components. Lastly, an undated flier to the site's parents included a table listing 14 area stores and prices for each component which the store stocked.

Finding II.A2: Teachers were encouraged to participate in the policy by wearing the uniform or uniform colors.

School Planning Council teacher members most frequently noted that teachers were encouraged to wear the uniform or uniform colors. Six teacher members of the School Planning Council commented on teachers' wearing the uniform or uniform colors. School Planning Council Teacher One stated, "...most of the staff was wearing a uniform...even though they said they didn't want to be forced to wear a uniform themselves. A lot of people wanted to try to promote it (the uniform) as best as possible." Teacher Two reported that she "wore a uniform 95% of the time" and that

"teachers were encouraged to wear a uniform in the beginning" but there was "never any pressure." In the same manner, School Planning Council Teacher Seven "wore the uniform every day," and Teacher Four noted, "The principal and assistant principal were very faithful to it, and a lot of teachers were." Teacher Eight stated, "We started the year with the staff if not wearing a uniform at least wearing the colors."

No parent member of the School Planning Council acknowledged the wearing of uniforms by teachers; however, PTA Board Parent Seven stated, "We asked the teachers to participate. Maybe we had about 50/50. My son would come home and say my teacher and I wore the same colors. I'd see other teachers wear the uniform, and the kids were like she's wearing it, so it must be important." Lastly, the assistant principal voiced the opinion of the site's administration: "...we didn't expect them (staff) to go out and buy all new clothes. They wore the colors of the uniforms, and as they bought new clothes, they seemed to buy more of the colors of the uniform."

Finding II.A3: Feedback was reviewed on a regular basis with the School Planning Council and PTA.

While many of the stakeholders discussed the council dealing with issues that had arisen, School Planning Council Parent Three specifically addressed reviewing feedback. School Planning Council Parent Three stated, "As feedback was coming in, we (the uniform committee) were taking that

back to the council, good and bad. Everything was brought back to the council." School Planning Council Member Two discussed how both husband and wife investigated area merchants to provide feedback on which merchants were supporting the policy. Member Two stated, "We turned in our findings (to the council), so we were probably a little more aware of how things were going with the policy." PTA Board Parent Seven indicated, "As PTA President, we (the council) constantly kept the PTA updated...."

Finding II.B1: The problem of declining participation was not anticipated but was acted upon during implementation.

Minutes of the School Planning Council meeting of January 11, 1996, indicated that the council sought to implement measures to increase participation in the uniform policy. Ideas for enhancing the uniform program were discussed including hosting a uniform exchange, grouping students by uniform classes, meeting with other pilot sites to discuss successes, developing a site emblem for the uniform, and encouraging more teachers to participate. As a result, minutes indicated that a swap shop committee was formed. Another document, a letter to local businesses dated February 1996, solicited monetary support to make uniforms more affordable for the less fortunate at the school. It explained the uniform policy and a proposed exchange program whereby parents would exchange volunteer hours for uniform chits.

Two School Planning Council Members discussed the implementation of the swap shop. School Planning Council Teacher Six discussed the swap shop and offered an opinion on the late implementation. "They (the council) established a type of swap shop to get uniforms in their sizes. This type of network should have been instituted before the policy took effect." School Planning Council Parent Three discussed her role in the swap shop stating that "we were doing a swap shop type thing...the winter things came in as the summer things needed to go on, so we never really got to the selling part...." The assistant principal said, "We tried several ways to ignite interest in the policy.... We (the council) had begun planning for vouchers for uniforms.... We even tried to have a used uniform sale."

Finding II.C1: The plan was disseminated from the School Planning Council and PTA through various means of communication and meetings with the site's parents and teachers.

The statements of School Planning Council members, PTA Board members, and administrators illustrated the various means of communication used by the School Planning Council and PTA to disseminate the plan. Seven School Planning Council members discussed the plan's dissemination. School Planning Council Teacher Four stated, "There were memos that went out, some meetings that were open after PTA where there was going to be an open forum to discuss it. The PTA and School Planning Council informed

parents of what was going to happen." School Planning Council Teacher Three noted, "We had several publications that went to the parents, basically, a lot of publicity that went to the parents. Things from the planning council and PTA went home explaining what it was...." School Planning Council Teacher Two explained additional communication that she sent home: "Information went home to the parents but knowing parents will skim over typed information, I went ahead and wrote notes to the parents letting them know what we were going to do with the uniform policy."

Six PTA Board parents also discussed dissemination of the plan. PTA Board Parent Seven stated, "We did everything from keeping it in the newsletter for parents to keeping it in the tickler for teachers." PTA Board Parent Eight stated, "Parents were informed of the uniform policy after it was decided in committee and then presented here at the PTA."

Numerous documents also provided insight into the various means of communication used to disseminate the plan. A school newsletter dated June 1996 contained an article titled "Uniforms...A Reality," which explained that no vendor had been selected so as to "assist families with hand-me-downs and utilization of existing elements." The newsletter ended with the final page dedicated to the uniform policy, announcing board approval, specifying the uniform, and noting that information on vendors would be mailed with report cards. A letter to the site's parents from the

uniform committee included a merchants' survey as well as a description of the uniform components. A flier for the site's parents featured a table listing area merchants and noted which merchants were or were not stocking uniform components. Prices for each component were also included and listed as polo, turtleneck, slacks, shorts, and sweatshirts. Another undated flier reviewed the REAP goal, noted uniform components, and discussed vendors. The flier invited parents to stop at the school to see students wearing the uniform. It concluded with remarks regarding teacher perception of the impact of uniforms on the start of the school year.

Finding II. D1: Due to the voluntary nature of the policy, the initial level of satisfaction was generally perceived as positive and supportive.

The majority of stakeholders perceived the level of satisfaction with implementation in a positive and supportive manner. School Planning Council Teacher Three reported, "I can think of two on the council who were totally against it, but as a group, they said they would go along with it." School Planning Council Teacher One stated, "I think the parents were on the uniform committee to make sure nothing happened to their children who weren't participating. Once they realized that nothing was going to happen, they didn't oppose the program." PTA Board Parent One said, "Even though I was against it, I solicited businesses for donations...." PTA Board Parent One when discussing implementation noted, "I don't think

there was any major disagreement."

Principal One noted the supportive and positive nature of the implementation: "One family who was not supporting the program...made it clear that they would not undermine it," and the assistant principal stated, "We (the council) felt a lot of their support was because it was not mandatory." The assistant superintendent repeated the same when he noted, "I did not hear any static or complaints because it was a voluntary program...and parents were willing to go along with it and give it a try."

Finding II.D2: Only a few stakeholders expressed dissatisfaction with the implementation of the policy.

The majority of stakeholder responses showed a positive and supportive satisfaction level with the implementation; however, a few stakeholders' responses indicated that a very small minority were dissatisfied. School Planning Council Teacher Eight stated, "The community continued to come back, usually only one or two but that's all it takes to cause an opposition," and School Planning Council Teacher Seven and PTA Board Parent Three both noted that parents in opposition felt the policy was taking away "freedom of expression" and "choice" for children. Lastly, School Planning Council Teacher Five noted that some of the opposition's "issues were as simple as their son was thin and didn't want him to tuck his shirt in because...it would leave him open to ridicule." Teacher Five

concluded, "They (parents who opposed the policy) were aware the policy would be voluntary but feared their child would be ostracized for not participating."

Compliance

Research Question III: What was the initial level of compliance? (What percent of students participated? Was anything done to encourage or reward participation? Why did students comply?)

TABLE 7

Table of Findings: Research Question III

Question III	Findings
III.A What was the initial level of compliance?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Initial compliance averaged 70% (T.E1, E2, E4, F1). 2. Compliance was higher in the lower grades (T.E1, E2, F1).
III.B What percent of students participated?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The initial compliance level of 70% declined to a range between 30 and 40% (T.E1, E2, E4, F1).
III.C Was anything done to encourage or reward participation?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. To avoid discriminating against those who were not participating, rewards were not offered (T.E1, E2, E4).
III.D Why did students comply?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Students and parents complied for a variety of reasons, yet most frequently noted was the convenience of the uniform for both parent and child (T.E1, E2). 2. Students and parents chose not to comply for a variety of reasons, yet the two most frequently mentioned were the right or desire to wear what one chooses to wear as an individual and the lack of a mandatory policy (T.E1, E2).

Finding III.A1: Initial compliance averaged 70%.

Two documents suggested that initial compliance averaged 70%. The first document, an undated flier to the site's parents on the subject of uniform participation, noted that 90% of students in the lower grades were complying with the policy while 50% were complying in the upper grades. The resulting average was a 70% compliance. A second document, a letter to the city attorney from the site's principal, noted initial compliance at 70%. Two School Planning Council members as well as the principal cited a 70% initial compliance rate. School Planning Council Teacher Eight stated, "In the beginning of the school year we started with about 70% participation," and School Planning Council Parent Three repeated, "It started out 70%." Principal One also stated, "We started the year with 70% compliance...."

The remaining stakeholder responses, with the exception of four, did not state a percentage but instead referred to participation by stating the number of students in an individual classroom who participated or by describing participation. School Planning Council Teacher Seven stated that she had "nine kids wearing the uniform on a regular basis," while School Planning Council Teacher One stated, "I started out with very high participation."

Finding III.A2: Compliance was higher in the lower grades.

The primary evidence which indicated that participation was higher in

the lower grades was an undated flier to the site's parents on the subject of uniform participation which noted that 90% of students in the lower grades were complying with the policy in contrast to 50% in the upper grades. The comments of three School Planning Council members corroborate this finding. School Planning Council Teacher Five stated, "The lower grades did a better job of staying in uniform because they didn't have the pressure of older kids feeling like they wanted to wear something different." Similarly, School Planning Council Teacher Six stated, "The policy seemed to do better in the lower grades, and I always suspected by the time the students reached fifth grade, we might expect them to be on the lower end of the stats of children wearing uniforms." School Planning Council Parent Four noted that although she had two children at the school, only the younger one wore the uniform. She stated, "Since my son was a fifth grader last year, the parents I knew said they weren't going to go out and buy uniforms for their last year." PTA Board Parent Six noted that her younger child "loved the uniform," but with her older child, she stated, "...we had to negotiate certain days of the week."

Finding III.B1: The initial compliance level of 70% declined to a range between 30 and 40%.

A single document, a letter to the city attorney from the site's principal, dated May 20, 1996, stated that initial compliance had waned

from 70% to 35%. Four site stakeholders noted percentage declines in their responses. School Planning Council Teacher One stated, "I started out with very high participation.... I still had 30% of my class wearing it at the end of the year." School Planning Council Teacher Eight noted that participation "dwindled down by the end of the year to more like 30%." The site's administrators also noted a similar decline. The assistant principal stated that the percentage of students wearing uniforms at the end of the year "averaged 35-40%," and Principal One said, "Toward the end we averaged approximately .34%." Nine other stakeholders indicated that participation declined yet did not cite a percentage.

Finding III.C1: To avoid discriminating against those who were not participating, rewards were not offered.

PTA Board parents were not aware of any rewards offered to encourage students to participate, and only three School Planning Council members and the assistant principal addressed the absence of rewards in their responses. School Planning Council Teacher One stated, "...I had to tread very gently to make sure I wasn't trying to push uniforms on the children. I didn't want anyone to feel like they absolutely had to wear a uniform." School Planning Council Teacher Two explained the reason for not offering rewards: "I was encouraged not to give too much incentive to those who were participating lest I slight those who weren't." School

Planning Council Teacher Seven gave the same reason when stating that "We (the staff) weren't allowed to offer rewards because it would discriminate against the kids who didn't wear uniforms. We had decided it from the start so we didn't alienate anyone." The assistant principal stated, "We had to be very careful not to show any favoritism to the children wearing the uniforms."

Finding III.D1: Students and parents complied for a variety of reasons, yet most frequently noted was the convenience of the uniform for both parent and child.

Three stakeholders noted the ease and convenience of uniforms for both parent and student. School Planning Council Teacher One stated that the children didn't have to "worry about what do I wear today." School Planning Council Parent Two detailed, "I thought uniforms would be easier for the younger students like my daughter who have trouble deciding what to wear to school. Those who supported the policy thought it would make life easier, less shopping, and less decision making on what their children should wear to school." PTA Board Parent Two exclaimed, "Believe me! It made my life easier."

Two parents noted that they supported compliance because they believed in the equality that uniforms would bring for all students. School Planning Council Parent Three stated, "No matter how hard we try as

parents or educators, or community, there are judgments made everyday. I think it puts everybody on a level playing field," and PTA Board Parent One noted, "...if they all looked alike, maybe the differences would just go away." Other responses included compliance because of the reduced cost as stated by School Planning Council Parent Two, and School Planning Council Parent Three noted that her husband believed that a uniform "brings discipline" and "inspires work."

Finding III.D2: Students and parents chose not to comply for a variety of reasons, yet the two most frequently mentioned were the right or desire to wear what one chooses to wear as an individual and the lack of a mandatory policy.

Four stakeholders who chose not to comply with the uniform policy cited the child's right to be an individual and to wear what one chooses. School Planning Council Parent Two chose to comply with the policy but noted that those who did not support the policy "felt they were capable of dressing their own children in decent clothes appropriate for school." PTA Board Parent Three also chose to support the policy but noted that her husband "was one who did not want to be told what his children had to wear." PTA Board Parent Eight stated that her child "...is individual enough that he didn't want to be like everyone else."

Three stakeholders also contributed non-compliance to the fact that

the policy was not mandatory. School Planning Council Teacher Four concluded, "I don't know with a voluntary policy how much we can expect because it's voluntary," and School Planning Council Parent One stated that "Because it was voluntary, we would choose not to buy into the program." PTA Board Parent Six conducted a random survey as part of his masters thesis. He stated that of the parents surveyed "who did not support the program, 36% said if the policy had been mandatory, they would have supported it."

Two School Planning Council members offered other reasons for non-compliance. School Planning Council Teacher Six noted that "availability of the uniforms in the beginning" was a problem, and School Planning Council Teacher One stated, "The children who didn't wear them were opposed to it because they wanted to wear the new clothes."

Compliance

Research Question IV: Were any outcomes noted as a result of the policy? (Attendance? Climate? Discipline?)

TABLE 8

Table of Findings: Research Question IV

Question IV	Findings
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IV.A Were any outcomes noted as a result of the policy?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Students and parents benefitted from uniforms because of their ease and economy (T.E1, E2). 2. A majority of stakeholders believed that uniforms produced no measurable outcomes (T.E1, E2, E3, E5, E6).
IV.B Attendance?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. There were no outcomes in terms of attendance (T. E1).
IV.C Climate?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. A minority of stakeholders believed that uniforms improved school pride and readiness to learn(T.E1, E2, E4).
IV.D Discipline?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. A small minority believed that school uniforms improved school behavior (T.E1, E2, E4).

Finding IV.A1: Students and parents benefitted from uniforms because of their ease and economy.

One third of the stakeholders noted that uniforms were more economical for families and eliminated problems in the morning with what the child would wear to school. Six School Planning Council members discussed the ease and economy of uniforms. School Planning Council Teacher Seven stated that uniforms were "cheap" to purchase compared to a regular wardrobe and further noted that parents "didn't have to fight" with their children over what to wear each morning. School Planning Council Teacher One stated, "The children who wore uniforms...liked getting up in the morning knowing what they were going to wear." School Planning Council Parent Three noted, "It sure cleared up my mornings. It cut down on frustration. Economically, it's cheaper," and School Planning Council

Parent Four said, "Most of the parents commented to the effect what am I going to wear today was eliminated and that seemed to be the biggest thing with parents."

PTA Board Parents Six and Seven also noted the ease and economy of uniforms. PTA Board Parent Six stated, "It was economical. It was easier. We didn't argue about what we were wearing in the morning."

Finding IV.A2: A majority of stakeholders believed that uniforms produced no measurable outcomes.

Sixty percent of stakeholders believed that uniforms made no measurable differences in children at school. Ten School Planning Council members discussed the absence of measurable differences. School Planning Council Teacher One stated, "I didn't personally notice any effects on the kids who wore uniforms," and School Planning Council Teacher Seven stated, "I really support the uniform, but I didn't really see any difference." School Planning Council Parent One noted that wearing uniforms "did not phase them (her children) one way or another. It did not change anything although I hoped it would." Likewise, School Planning Council Parent Five stated, "Many parents could not see any proof that their children were actually benefitting from the program."

The assistant superintendent explained, "What we (the school division) were looking for was maybe evidence over time that would show

improvement. I never did see any data (of improvement)." School Board Member Two expressed the same: "...in a one year pilot, I doubt it (outcomes) could be conclusive," and the Educational Planning Assessment Specialist concluded, "...I just don't think our schools had the kinds of problems uniforms were trying to address."

Finding IV.B1: There were no outcomes in terms of attendance.

Of the sixty percent of stakeholders who noted no measurable outcomes from uniforms, only one stakeholder specifically mentioned attendance. School Planning Council Teacher Three stated, "No. I didn't notice any results from uniforms in terms of behavior, attendance, or discipline."

Finding IV.C1: A minority of stakeholders believed that uniforms improved school pride and readiness to learn.

Eight stakeholders addressed climate related outcomes resulting from uniforms. Three School Planning Council members addressed school pride. School Planning Council Teacher Two stated, "I think it just made them (students) feel more a part of the school, the unity thing," and School Planning Council Teacher Six stated, "In the beginning, there was absolutely more pride exhibited by the children wearing uniforms." School Planning Council Parent Four noted that "It did seem children were looking more proud in their uniforms.... The pride was there."

Four stakeholders also addressed readiness to learn. PTA Board Parent Two stated, "I believe that my kids were more ready to learn when they were in uniform." PTA Board Parent Six noted the difference in her children now that the uniform policy was rescinded: "I know the difference this year because of the lack of uniforms. They (children) used to be about the business of learning." Lastly, Principal One stated that students seemed "more ready to learn." Principal One concluded, "I know that it's very subjective."

Finding IV.D1: A small minority believed that uniforms improved student behavior.

PTA Board Parent Four stated, "It seems to the teachers I talked to it made a difference in the child's behavior." The assistant principal and principal as well as one PTA Board parent cited statistics in the number of students wearing uniforms who were seen for discipline referrals. Principal One stated, "We did notice positive differences such as a reduction in the number of referrals and kids (wearing uniforms)." The assistant principal detailed, "We presented in January to the School Planning Council the fact that there were seventy-two referrals...and only six or eight had worn uniforms."

Decrease in Participation

Research Question V: Why did participation decrease? (What were

administrators' perceptions? Teachers'? Parents'?)

TABLE 9

Table of Findings: Research Question V

Question V	Findings
V.A Why did participation decrease?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The primary reason for decrease in uniform participation was peer pressure (T.E1, E2, E4, E5). 2. The fact that the policy was not mandatory was a factor in the decline of uniform participation (T.E1, E2, E6). 3. The fact that the change of seasons precipitated winter components which vendors did not always have available was a factor in the decline of uniform participation (T.E1, E2, E4, E6). 4. Less frequently noted factors for decline in participation included the transient nature of the population and a loss of interest in the policy (T.E1, E2, E3, E5, E6).
V.B What were administrators' perceptions?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Perceptions of administrators did not vary from those of other stakeholders (T.E1, E2, E3, E4, E5, E6). See Findings V.A1, 2, 3, 4.
V.C Teachers'?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Perceptions of teachers did not vary from those of other stakeholders (T.E1, E2, E3, E4, E5, E6). See Findings V.A1, 2, 3, 4.
V.D Parents'?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Perceptions of parents did not vary from those of other stakeholders (T.E1, E2, E3, E4, E5, E6). See Findings V.A1, 2, 3, 4.

Finding V.A1: The primary reason for decrease in uniform participation was peer pressure.

Fifty-seven percent of all stakeholders cited peer pressure as a reason for decrease in uniform participation. Nine School Planning Council members

discussed peer pressure as it contributed to the decline in uniform participation. Six School Planning Council teachers discussed peer pressure including School Planning Council Teacher One who captured student perceptions when he conveyed that students often said, "I'm not wearing it (the uniform) because nobody else is." School Planning Council Teacher Two stated, "I think the peer pressure sort of worked against the policy..." and School Planning Council Seven detailed: "If I send my kid to school in a uniform and the kid next to him is not doing it, then there is no way it's going to work. It's a domino effect...the pressure on kids...." School Planning Council Parent Two was one of three council parents who cited peer pressure. Parent Two discussed that her daughter continued to wear the uniform until "she began to feel like an outsider, " and School Planning Council Parent Four discussed the difficulty getting her child to wear the uniform after others had stopped noting, "One of my points bringing it up was to see what peer pressure does...."

Three PTA Board parents also discussed the effects of peer pressure. PTA Board Parent Two stated, "When the other kids stopped wearing, peer pressure was evident." Parent Six echoed the same sentiments when she stated that "As more kids stopped wearing, more came home complaining, and more parents gave in."

The principal and the assistant principal of the site as well as a school

board member cited peer pressure as a factor for the decline in the wearing of uniforms. Principal One stated, "...parents no one was wearing them," and the assistant principal stated, "...the kids started to say that it wasn't fair that the other kids weren't wearing uniforms, and they didn't want to have to wear them anymore." School Board Member Two stated, "I imagine that the waning was actually due to peer pressure."

Finding V.A2: The fact that the policy was not mandatory was a factor in the decline of uniform participation.

Forty-two percent of stakeholders believed that the voluntary nature of the policy contributed to a decline in participation. Seven School Planning Council members believed that the voluntary nature of the policy contributed to the decline. School Planning Council Teacher Eight stated, "Mandatory or not at all. It's like anything else. You're going to get participation for a certain amount of time and then it's going to wane." Likewise, School Planning Council Teacher One concluded, "I don't think a voluntary policy can succeed because...half your kids are and half your kids aren't." School Planning Council Parent One stated, "I think that because it was not mandatory, there was going to be some waning." School Planning Council Parent Three repeated the same: "If it's mandatory, then you comply.... If it's voluntary, then they (parents) give in to their kids just to shut them up."

Three PTA Board parents also stated the same. PTA Board Parent

Eight said, "A big part of why participation declined was because they (the site) could not make the policy mandatory," and PTA Board Parent Four noted, "I think it was a case where it needed to be enforced."

The Educational Planning Center Assessment Specialist stated, "I think the newness of the issue wears off, and I think you have to market it hard if it's not mandatory."

Finding V.A3: The fact that the change of seasons precipitated winter components which vendors did not always have available was a factor in the decline of uniform participation.

Thirty-eight percent of stakeholders cited vendor availability and the change of seasons as a factor in the decline of uniform participation including three School Planning Council members. School Planning Council Teacher Five detailed, "One reason I think was the crossover from autumn to winter clothes. The parents bought most of the uniforms during warm weather and hadn't prepared for cold weather. When it came to wearing sweaters...the cost went up." School Planning Council Parent One stated, "If people had been able to get what they needed, plan ahead, then it would have been so much easier."

PTA Board Parent Five and three other board parents stated the same reasons: "...we began to see a serious decline in the wearing of uniforms around the time it started to get cold because kids had to switch into

warmer uniforms and they just hadn't bought them. The vendors who agreed to stock the uniforms just hadn't come through." PTA Board Parent Two stated, "Well, I think the change of seasons and people not purchasing the winter ones. The big department stores did not always have the stuff in stock and people got frustrated with that...."

The assistant principal discussed the seasons and vendors, stating, "When winter came, we didn't know if the stores were carrying enough of the colors, or children had outgrown their outfits." Two information-rich stakeholders also discussed the change of seasons. The principal of another uniform pilot school stated, "I think what happened was the weather became colder and the students wore the uniform less and less," and the Educational Planning Center Assessment Specialist noted, "Also, as soon as the weather got cold, you had to start wearing top clothes, and it didn't look like a uniform anymore."

Finding V.A4: Less frequently noted factors for decline in participation included the transient nature of the population and a loss of interest in the policy.

One stakeholder, School Planning Council Parent Three, noted that transience was a factor in the decline of uniform participation. Parent Three stated, "...the position we were in with people moving in and out, our numbers dropped severely. I'm a military family myself, and we have

parents moving in...not aware of the uniform or coming in from a different uniform school." Table 1, a demographic profile of the site, illustrates a mobility index of 34% for the site, corroborating this finding.

Four stakeholders discussed a loss of interest in the policy by supporters of the policy or by students. School Planning Council Teacher Eight stated, "I think you have to continue to sell something, continue with the dog and pony show," while the assistant superintendent noted, "I think there was a loss of interest over time. Probably people weren't realizing the results immediately that they were looking for." School Board Member One lamented the board's lack of interest: "I think that when something is important in your school, you know it, and I think that the school board did not work to push the policy enough. I think we've been distracted the last year or so with other pressing matters, and these took away from a lot of other issues, and uniforms was one of these." Lastly, the Educational Planning Center Assessment Specialist stated, "It was one thing to get pumped up in the beginning of the year, but by February you had so many other things to do, that you got tired of it...."

Rescission

Research Question V1: Why was the decision to end the policy made?

(Who was involved in resisting or supporting? How was the decision made?

Who made the decision? What issues were involved?)

TABLE 10

Table of Findings: Research Question VI

Question VI	Findings
VI.A Why was the decision to end the policy made?	1. The decision to end the policy was made because misperceptions about efforts to continue the policy resulted in division within the community (T.E1, E2, E4).
VI.B Who was involved in resisting or supporting the policy?	1. A small, closely knit group of parent stakeholders from the higher socio-economic community were involved in resisting the policy (T.E1, E2, E4). 2. Stakeholders who were committed to uniforms were involved in supporting the policy yet acquiesced due to the controversy created by the opposition (T.E1, E2, E4). 3. The School Planning Council composition had changed since the adoption of the policy and the parent majority was now in opposition to the policy (T.E1, E2).
VI.C How was the decision made?	1. The School Planning Council discussed the issues surrounding the uniform policy and voted to rescind it (T.E1, E2, E4).
VI.D Who made the decision?	1. The School Planning Council made the decision to end the policy (T.E1, E2, E4).
VI.E What issues were involved?	1. A survey to determine interest in uniform classes for the following school year was perceived as discriminatory and became an issue for ending the policy (T.E1, E2, E4). 2. The voluntary nature of the policy became an issue for ending the policy (T.E1, E2, E3, E4, E5, E6). 3. The school's focus on uniforms was perceived to be the school's only focus and became an issue for ending the policy (T.E1, E2, E4).

Finding VI.A1: The decision to end the policy was made because misperceptions about efforts to continue the uniform policy resulted in division within the community.

While a majority of stakeholders addressed the issues which led to the

rescission of the uniform policy, only ten stakeholders noted that the primary issues developed out of misperceptions which eventually divided the community. Four School Planning Council members discussed the misperceptions of the community or the division created by these misperceptions. School Planning Council Teacher One noted that when a survey was mailed to parents regarding the possibility of separating students who wore uniforms on each grade level into designated uniformed classes, parents' "imagination took over." Teacher One noted that parents "visualized that things were going to happen that nobody even considered." School Planning Council Parent Four discussed the division that resulted. School Planning Council Member Four stated, "...one of the purposes of adopting the uniform policy was to eliminate the line of division with the clothing between the haves and have nots. I think we ended up getting a division. It became the same issue we were trying to avoid." School Planning Council Parent Three noted the same division: "Where we (the council) thought it (the uniform policy) would bring people together, it did the opposite but in a different way. Now we did not have two divisions, the upper and lower, but we had four. The division was within the neighborhoods." Parent Three continued, explaining the misperception: "...what ended up happening was the haves thought only the have nots were wearing them and the have nots thought only the haves were wearing

them. In actuality, wearing was across the board, but in perception it was not." Parent Three also discussed the misperceptions behind the uniform classroom issue. Parent Three stated, "I was behind the issue of uniform classes, but the perception was that it was discriminatory...but there was such an outcry that it was the straw that broke the camel's back."

Four PTA Board parents also discussed the division in the community and the community's misperceptions. PTA Board Parent Five stated, "Some parents felt the kids wearing uniforms were being discriminated against. Anyone with any faith in the principal knew she wouldn't do something like that." PTA Board Parent Seven stated, "I think that when the uniform class survey went out, it was misinterpreted. A lot of parents immediately thought that was singling them (the students wearing uniforms) out," and Parent Six noted, "You began to get the feeling that it (the uniform survey) was causing a division in the community. We (council) knew unanimously that we had to do this (end the policy) on behalf of the community."

Both the principal and assistant principal discussed the misperceptions and the resulting division. The assistant principal stated, "There was a lot of misunderstanding about the uniform class survey. People thought it would be a type of segregation...." Principal One stated, "We could no longer battle the misconceptions of the community as to why we were trying to continue the uniform policy by going with classes of uniformed kids. When

the community began to divide and the opposition began to build its forces, trying to undermine, that's when we had to take action." Principal One further detailed the division within the community: "What had started out as an idea to bridge our socio-economic groups put a division among neighbors. In terms of the groups that came to the meetings, these neighbors, friends, even sat on different sides of the room. When we were able to show data that a lot of their anxieties were based on misperceptions, they were able to change their tone to what can we do to rebuild the community that had tripped and fallen."

Documents further corroborate the finding that the policy was rescinded due to misperceptions and division within the community. A memorandum to the site's parents from the principal on the subject of uniform classes dated May 7, 1996, stated that concerns were received at the site regarding uniform classes for the following school year. The memo stated that the policy was never perceived by the school as discriminatory but a way for uniformed kids to feel less discriminated against. It further noted that uniformed classes were a result of parents and teachers on the council looking for ways to "grow our program." The memo reiterated the goal of uniforms to "level the playing field" and invited parents to remain after a May 21, 1996, PTA meeting for a question and answer session.

Site conference reports generated by the principal from phone and

personal visits with parents dated May 6 and 7, 1996, illustrated the misperceptions about the policy and the community division. Several parents expressed concerns including six who felt that uniform classes would be discriminatory and one who stated that the "uniform stuff had stirred up a lot of negative in the community."

A second letter from the principal to site's parents dated May 13, 1996, provided parents with a uniform update and noted that the uniform survey had been counted and that there was insufficient interest to warrant uniform classes for the following school year. The letter closed noting the divisiveness of the uniform issue and the hopes that it would provide the impetus to "draw us (the school community) together...." Lastly a letter to the city attorney from the site principal dated May 20, 1996, requested a ruling on the constitutionality of uniform classes and noted parent complaints of discrimination.

Finding VI.B1: A small, closely knit group of parent stakeholders from the higher socio-economic community were involved in resisting the policy.

Eleven stakeholders identified a small group of parents from the higher socio-economic community who had organized in opposition to the policy. All teacher members of the School Planning Council identified this group of parents who were in opposition. School Planning Council Teacher One provided great detail on the composition of this group: "It was a small

group, but in this community small groups get very vocal. These parents were from the higher economic status, and they all got together on weekends and with little leagues. The letter (the uniform classes survey) went home on Friday, and they all got together at baseball or something and on Monday we had this group...they did it over the weekend." School Planning Council Teacher Four noted, "We had a few vocal parents, a core group of people, that were adamant about not having uniforms." Teacher Six stated, "I think there was a group of parents from the higher echelon who really didn't want the policy," and School Planning Council Teacher Seven observed, "It was like ten parents and they were so vocal. They were from this side of the boulevard, the rich side...." Two School Planning Council parent members also noted the small, vocal group. Parent One stated that the feedback received was "from the people in her neighborhood." Parent One had not spoken to "the financially strapped...." Parent Four, referring to the small group in opposition, said, "Some people try very hard to find the negative to make an issue."

One PTA Board parent identified the small vocal group. PTA Board Parent Two stated, "It just seemed like a group of three or four parents, a small vocal group, the kind of underhanded type thing that I found out after the fact, and it was a select group of parents that organized. I guess we're naive...."

In addition, the assistant superintendent also identified the group in opposition stating, "...this is the case of a minority, meaning number, really making themselves vocal, probably no more than four parents and they all knew each other and fed upon each other...."

Finding V.B2: Stakeholders who were committed to uniforms were involved in supporting the policy yet acquiesced due to the controversy and stress created by the opposition.

Thirteen stakeholders stated their commitment to the uniform policy while acknowledging the need to acquiesce due to the controversy and stress created by the opposition. Eight of the twelve School Planning Council members discussed their commitment and realization that the policy must end. School Planning Council Teacher Two stated, "You heard from the School Planning Council that others weren't supporting the program.... I still thought we should let it go on. I was committed to it but the consensus from much of the community was kill it. I would support it again if it came back." School Planning Council Teacher Four noted, "Even the ones that were supportive could see it (the policy) wasn't going anywhere, " and School Planning Council Teacher Seven stated, "This was so good for the poor kids. I don't think uniforms were given a fair chance." School Planning Council Parent One discussed the principal's commitment to the policy and the principal's sadness that the policy had ended: "The principal was

absolutely wonderful as far as her open-mindedness. It (the decision to end the policy) was difficult for her because it was something she felt very strongly about," and School Planning Council Parent Three stated, "I was for it (the policy)...but there was such an outcry.... People who were for it said they didn't want to do it anymore."

PTA Board Parent Six focused on the need to acquiesce, stating, "You began to get a feeling it was causing a division.... ...we knew unanimously that we had to do this on behalf of the community." PTA Board Parent Seven focused on the stress the opposition had caused supporters. Parent Seven stated, "Unfortunately, by the time the pressure came, everyone was a little stressed out. ...a lot of people who were on the committee who had worked so hard just didn't want to do it anymore."

The site principals also supported the program but resigned themselves to accept its defeat. The assistant principal stated, "We started feeling that we were putting a lot of time and effort in drawing interest in the program, and again it was becoming difficult. I think if we'd given it another year, we'd have made more progress." Principal One stated, "We could not battle the misconception of the community as to why we were trying to continue the uniform policy.... I did not want them to lose faith in the school."

Finding VI.B3: The School Planning Council's composition had changed

since the adoption of the policy and the parent majority was now in opposition to the policy.

Five School Planning Council members noted that the School Planning Council had members who were in opposition to the policy, and School Planning Council Teacher Seven stated, "...the parents who had the most voice became the majority on the School Planning Council when our terms expired and several opponents cycled onto the council. We didn't all go off at the same time, but the opponents became the majority." Teacher Two noted that "basically it narrowed down to a few people who were involved in the School Planning Council who opposed the policy," and Teacher Eight stated, "I honestly believe that it is individuals that feel they have a stronger voice, can bark the loudest, sit on a committee where the principal or faculty sits."

Finding VI.C1: The School Planning Council discussed the issues surrounding the uniform policy and voted to rescind it.

Twelve stakeholders discussed the School Planning Council meeting that led to a vote to rescind the policy. Seven School Planning Council members specifically explained how the decision was made. School Planning Council Teacher Two stated, "It narrowed down to a few people who were on the School Planning Council that opposed the policy. Finally, that pressure put on the Faculty Council and the principal caused them to

drop the policy." School Planning Council Teacher Three said, "I think that it (opposition to the policy) was so overwhelming, that since we saw a decrease, we decided to drop it." Teacher Three concluded, "It didn't take long to make the decision." School Planning Council Parent One noted how the issue to end the policy was initiated: "The following planning council meeting I had a letter written by one of my neighbors that I presented to the principal that would rescind the policy. I think the motion to rescind the policy was easily accepted."

PTA Board parents also discussed the council meeting which resulted in the ending of the uniform policy. Parent Two detailed how at an informal meeting of neighbors, the uniform issue was discussed and all were made aware that a vote would be taken at the next council meeting. PTA Board Parent Two stated, "...this group of people told us we're going to have a vote and told my husband and me that we allayed their fears about this (the uniform issue). We never thought it would end. These people outvoted it." PTA Board Parent Six stated, "...we (the council) knew unanimously that we had to do this (end the policy) on behalf of the community. We knew we couldn't bring it back next year so we ended up with a strict dress code."

Principal One also detailed the council meeting. Principal One stated, "The amount of negative reaction to this idea (the uniform classrooms) and the stressful situations it caused us (the council), made us decide to drop

the uniform policy in favor of a strict dress code."

Finding VI.D1: The School Planning Council made the decision to end the policy.

Twelve stakeholders identified the School Planning Council as the governing group who made the decision to end the policy. Six School Planning Council members acknowledged their role in making the decision. School Planning Council Teacher One stated, "The School Planning Council makes the policy decisions for the school, and they made the decision...." School Planning Council Teacher Two discussed the pressure put on teacher members of the School Planning Council and the principal and stated that it "caused them to go ahead and drop the policy." School Planning Council Parent Two discussed the School Planning Council meeting where the policy was rescinded and stated, "At that point, I think there was enough opposition to the policy to constitute abandoning it."

PTA Board Parent Six stated, "We (the School Planning Council) knew unanimously that we had to do this (end the policy) on behalf of the community," and PTA Board Parent Seven stated, "So I guess what happened was the members of the council weren't willing to try to revamp it. It was like let's just drop it."

Both site principals discussed the council's role in the rescission of the policy. The assistant principal stated, "Once the School Planning Council

decided they wanted to drop it, that was it. It was their decision."

Finding VI.E1: A survey to determine interest in uniform classes for the following school year was perceived as discriminatory and became an issue for ending the policy.

A myriad of documents show that a survey was released which was perceived as discriminatory. A school newsletter, Vol.9, No. 1, dated May 1996, featured a page one article authored by the principal titled "Uniformed Classes for 96-97." The principal noted that a uniform survey form would be sent to all parents in the weeks that followed. It stated, "In an effort to collect better data on the benefits of our uniform policy..., we will be designating uniform classes at each grade level next year." Another document, a survey sent to the site's parents requesting intentions for the 1996-97 school year, dated May 1996, requested information on returning students and asked parents to check if they wished for their child to be included in an all uniform class for the following year. Of the many returned responses, seven completed intention forms were retained by the principal which included written remarks. Three of the seven included parent remarks which stated that the parent found the idea of uniform classes discriminatory.

The site principal also retained site conference reports dated May 6 and 7, 1996, which included written records of telephone and face-to-face

meetings with parents regarding the uniform class survey response. Parent responses included seven parents who believed that the proposed uniform classes would be discriminatory. One parent indicated that the American Civil Liberties Union had been notified. Two parents also indicated that they felt the issue of proposed uniform classes had divided the community.

A memo from the site principal to parents dated May 7, 1996, discussed concerns received at the site over the proposed uniform classes. The memo further explained that the policy was never perceived by the school as discriminatory but a way for uniform kids to feel less discriminated against. The memo closed inviting parents to remain after the May 21, 1996, PTA meeting for a question and answer session.

A letter from the site principal to parents dated May 13, 1996, noted that surveys had been counted and that insufficient interest in the proposed uniform classes existed. The letter summarized that the site would remain a uniform school for 1996-97 and closed noting the divisiveness of the issue and the hopes that uniforms would provide an impetus to "draw us (the school community) together."

A final document, a letter to the city attorney from the site principal, sought a ruling from the city attorney on the constitutionality of the proposed uniformed classes. The letter noted that parents had perceived the policy as discriminatory.

Thirteen stakeholders discussed the proposed uniformed classes survey and parent perceptions of the policy as discriminatory. Seven School Planning Council members discussed the issue. School Planning Council Teacher Four stated, "When the uniform class thing came out, they (parents in opposition) felt it was discrimination," and School Planning Council Teacher Seven stated the same: "We sent a survey out to have uniform classes. They (parents in opposition) said it was discrimination."

PTA Board parents also noted that the proposed uniform classes created an issue of discrimination. PTA Board Parents One, Five, and Seven noted that the policy was perceived by parents as discriminatory. PTA Board Parent Seven stated, "I think when the uniform class survey went out, it was misinterpreted. A lot of parents immediately thought that was singling out."

The assistant superintendent noted that he had been notified by a few parents who "saw that (the uniform classes) as unconstitutional and segregational." Both site principals noted the same. The assistant principal stated, "There was a lot of misunderstanding about the uniform classes survey. People thought it would be a type of segregation...." Principal One stated, "The parents' response took us totally off guard. Parents thought we were trying to segregate their children. Parents threatened to have the ACLU come after us."

Finding VI.E2: The voluntary nature of the policy became an issue for ending the policy.

Fifteen stakeholders discussed the lack of success with a voluntary policy and noted that for a uniform policy to be successful, it must be mandatory. Seven School Planning Council members discussed the problems with a voluntary policy. School Planning Council Teacher Two stated, "I felt from the beginning it was not going to work because it was not mandatory. I supported it, but without a mandatory policy, it won't work." The responses of other School Planning Council teachers mirrored Teacher Two's perception. School Planning Council Teacher Three stated, "I wish we had uniforms back but they would have to make it mandatory," and Teacher Eight stated that for the "policy to be successful, it would need to be mandatory...." School Planning Council Parent One noted, "If we're going to have any type of uniform policy, it must be absolutely mandatory. I think that (the voluntary nature of the policy) became an issue as the energy needed to support the policy increased." School Planning Council Parent Four discussed the problems encountered with the voluntary policy and noted that "I think that's where a voluntary policy would have eliminated that (problems with compliance)."

Three PTA Board parents discussed the issue of the voluntary nature of the policy including Parent Seven who stated, "I think the main problem

out there was the key word voluntary. In order for it to be successful, it has to be mandatory. ...make it mandatory or leave it alone." PTA Board Parent One also discussed the problems due to the voluntary nature of the policy and concluded, "A mandatory policy would take care of everything. You can't do anything with a voluntary policy."

Four other stakeholders discussed the issue of the voluntary nature of the policy. The Educational Planning Center Assessment Specialist detailed, "The program is not going to succeed unless it is mandatory. In a voluntary program like the one we were trying to run, it was just going to take a massive amount of time for the administrators and teachers to continually reinforce the ones who were wearing so the other children would want to do it." Principal One also noted that "a mandatory policy is the only way the site would tackle uniforms again." School Board Member One and Two as well as the Principal of Another Pilot Site all agreed that the policy must be mandatory to be successful. School Board Member Two stated, "Mandatory is the way to go. We have tried it, and it hasn't been so successful."

Finding VI.E3: The school's focus on uniforms was perceived to be the school's only focus and became an issue for ending the policy.

Six stakeholders discussed the issue of the school's focus on the uniform policy as an issue which also contributed to rescission. School Planning Council Teachers Four and Seven discussed the community's

perception that the school focused too much time on uniforms. Teacher Seven stated, "Our principal did a great job of trying to promote it (uniforms) and let everybody know , but a lot of people saw it as shoving uniforms down their throats. All we were trying to do was make uniforms successful," and Teacher Four stated that parents "felt that our communications home always talked about uniforms." Two PTA Board members presented views on the communications home issue. PTA Board Parent Five stated, "Finally, I think there was a lot of disagreement with the program because the way the principal approached it. ...parents feel she was spending too much time on the uniforms and not teaching kids." PTA Board Parent Three noted, "An awful lot went into the uniform policy with very minimal results. My feeling was we could spend this energy on something else." The site's principal, too, discussed parent perception of the communication home regarding uniforms. Principal One stated, "The perception of most people who came into to talk to me was that nothing else was going on in the school. We had made a commitment to keep it in the forefront and even though other things that were going on were included, their perception was the only thing we were doing was uniforms."

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, RECOMMENDATIONS, AND REFLECTIONS

This chapter presents a summary of the study and an analysis of the major findings of the collected data. The conclusions and recommendations are then presented followed by the researcher's reflections.

Summary

The purposes of this study were to examine how a voluntary compliance school uniform policy was established, what the results of the implementation were, and why the policy was rescinded. Utilizing a descriptive case study design, data were collected through interviews with a minimum sample (N = 25) of teachers, parents, and administrators who were stakeholders in the policy. Data were also collected through identification of an additional information-rich sample (N = 2) and a plethora of documents gathered at the site.

How was the policy established?

Stakeholder responses and documents showed that the policy was first initiated on the division level by the At-Risk Committee of the school board who was seeking four pilot schools to implement a voluntary compliance school uniform policy. At the site, the principal initiated the study of uniforms with the School Planning Council who formed a uniform

sub-committee that reported their findings to the School Planning Council. The School Planning Council informed parents and teachers of their investigation and determined that a uniform policy would help to equalize the student body who drew from two distinct socio-economic levels, upper and lower income.

The School Planning Council coined the acronym REAP to summarize the goals of uniforms as promotion of Respect, Equality, Academic excellence, and Pride. A public forum for parents, teachers, and students was held, and parents and teachers were surveyed on their interest in adopting a voluntary compliance uniform policy. Due to inadequate family representation in the survey, a second survey was conducted which resulted in 70% parent support on a 70% return and 90% staff support on a 100% return.

An examination of stakeholder support for the policy revealed that staff and parents who supported the uniform policy were in the majority. In some instances, a minority who disagreed with the policy agreed not to oppose it, and a small vocal minority of parents were in opposition.

With the majority supporting the policy, an expanded uniform sub-committee consisting of interested parents, staff, and students selected a uniform and surveyed vendors. The School Planning Council presented their proposal to the School Board who approved the policy for the 1995-96

school year.

The plan for implementation of the policy included dissemination of the plan by the School Planning Council and PTA through various means of communication and meetings with the site's parents and staff. Parents were notified of the uniform components and provided with information on purchasing the uniform. The casual nature of the uniform resulted in no single vendor selection; instead, parents were notified of vendors who regularly stocked the components.

The plan for implementation also included encouraging teachers to participate in the policy by wearing the uniform colors or components, and a plan to review feedback on a regular basis was established. As the sub-committee did not foresee declining participation, there were no plans made for such.

Due to the voluntary nature of the policy, the initial level of satisfaction with the policy adoption was generally perceived to be positive and supportive. Only a small minority voiced their dissatisfaction with the uniform policy, citing fears of their children being ostracized for not participating or citing individual freedom of expression issues.

What were the results of implementation?

An initial average compliance level of 70% was noted, with participation generally higher in the lower grades where peer pressure and

the desire to express individuality were not as evident. Students and parents complied for a variety of reasons, yet the most frequently noted was the convenience of the uniform for both parent and child. Those who chose not to comply most frequently mentioned the lack of a mandatory policy and the individual's desire for freedom of expression in dress.

A majority of stakeholders believed that uniforms produced no measurable results, and no statistical data were gathered. Some parents and students believed that uniforms were beneficial because of their ease and economy, and a small minority of staff and parents believed that uniforms increased school pride and improved student behavior.

Why was the policy rescinded?

Compliance with the voluntary uniform policy began to wane. Several reasons were cited for this decline. The primary reason for the decrease in uniform participation was cited as peer pressure. As fewer students wore the uniforms, others followed suit. Equally important in the decline of uniforms was the stakeholder observation that the voluntary nature of the policy made it virtually unenforceable. Stakeholders at the site had previously determined that no rewards would be offered for those who participated so as not to discriminate against those who did not participate. Less frequently cited reasons for the decline included the transient nature of the population and a general loss of interest in the policy.

Compliance by the end of the school year had declined to a range between 30 and 40%, and several issues rose which led to the rescission of the policy. A survey to determine interest in uniform classes for the following school year was perceived by some parents as discriminatory and became an issue for ending the policy. In an attempt to continue the uniform policy, the principal and School Planning Council proposed surveying parents of students who would be returning the following year to determine if there was sufficient interest in placing those students who wished to continue to wear uniforms in uniform classes by grade level. Some parents perceived this to be discriminatory and further believed that uniformed classes would receive preferential treatment, thus discriminating against those who did not wear uniforms.

A second issue which led to rescission of the policy also involved parental perceptions. Some parents perceived the school's focus on uniforms to be the school's only focus. The School Planning Council had made a commitment to keep uniforms in the forefront to promote uniform wearing and improve the program's chances of success; however, some parents perceived this to be the only focus of the school despite the fact that many other activities were promoted.

The voluntary nature of the policy also became an issue for ending the policy. The majority of stakeholders discussed that the energy needed to

maintain the voluntary program proved to be tremendous. A majority of the respondents noted that without a voluntary policy, the uniform policy could not be successful.

Misperceptions about efforts to continue the policy, primarily the proposed uniformed classes survey and the perception that the school's only focus was uniforms, led to division within the community. The policy that was implemented to bridge the upper and lower socio-economic communities proved divisive, a condition which had not existed previously. The upper socio-economic community had become divided over the uniform issue.

A small, closely knit group of parent stakeholders from the higher socio-economic community organized in opposition to the policy when the survey for proposed uniformed classes was distributed. The group created a controversy which supporters of the policy could no longer ignore. Stakeholders who were committed to uniforms and supported the policy acquiesced due to the controversy created by the opposition as well as an effort to save the community which had become divided.

The School Planning Council, whose composition had shifted to include a parent majority which was now in opposition, voted to rescind the policy after discussing the issues which resulted in opposition and community division. A parent member of the council presented a letter

from a neighbor requesting that the policy be rescinded, and the motion was easily accepted. A strict dress code for the 1996-97 school year was later established.

Conclusions

Conclusions are based on the theoretical framework established in Chapter II, Conceptual Framework.

How was the policy established?

Conclusion 1: With one exception, the policy was established in accordance with Virginia State Department of Education guidelines.

The Virginia State Board of Education (1992) in their publication Model Guidelines for the Wearing of Uniforms in Public Schools prescribed practical guidelines for planning, implementing, and evaluating a school uniform program. A host of reasons for initiating a school uniform policy was presented in the publication, among them, a reduction in differences between the "haves" and "have nots."

The site's primary reason for adoption (Finding I.C1) was to equalize the student body that drew from two distinct socio-economic levels. In addition, guidelines also suggest that initiation will be facilitated by active parental participation (Findings I.A2, 3, 9), the formation of a uniform committee (Finding I.A4, 9), and the survey of parents and teachers (Finding I.A6, 8).

One exception to the guidelines involved the suggestion that provisions be made to assist families who could not afford the uniform. The site acted upon this suggestion six months after implementation, only after noticing a decline in participation (Finding II.B1). A letter from the principal to local businesses dated February 1996 solicited monetary support to make uniforms more affordable for the less fortunate at the school, and a swap shop was being planned. School Planning Council Teacher Six lamented, "This type of network should have been instituted before the policy took effect."

Conclusion 2: Initiation of the uniform policy for the individual occurred through the diffusion of information between and among opinion leaders and interpersonal networks.

Rogers (1983) posited that most individuals evaluate an innovation not on available research but on the subjective opinions of others, frequently peers who have often adopted the idea. Rogers discussed the role of informal opinion leaders within the social system who are able to influence others by promoting the innovation or actively opposing it. Opinion leaders, Rogers noted, are members of the social system in which they exert their influence and are often at the center of the organization's interpersonal networks.

Fullan (1986) also advocated that change requires individual

implementers to form their own meanings and to communicate with other implementers to work through uncertainty or ambivalence.

The principal of the site, as well as the School Planning Council members, served as opinion leaders who promoted the implementation of the uniform policy. PTA Board parents referred to the principal's influence in placing uniforms on the agenda. PTA Board Parent Six stated, "I think the idea evolved from a principal who's a leader," and PTA Board Parent Seven stated, "The principal had basically put it on the agenda for us" (Finding I.A2). Principal One when referring to her role in the fashion show stated, "...the fashion show was more of a sales pitch for the uniform. We got everyone involved" (Finding I.A6).

Members of the School Planning Council who actively supported the policy exhibited the characteristics of opinion leaders, favorably influencing the opinions of others. School Planning Council Teacher Two explained communication that she sent home: "Information went home to the parents...but I went ahead and wrote notes to the parents letting them know what we were doing with the uniform policy" (Finding II.C1).

PTA Board parents also served as opinion leaders. PTA Board Parent Two proclaimed herself "the spokesperson for uniforms" because she "was on the bandwagon," and PTA Board Parent Three explained that she and her daughter participated in the uniform fashion show because the uniform

committee "had asked several students and parents who were in favor of the ideas to show support first and participate in the demonstration" (Finding I.B1). School Planning Council Teacher Six showed how others were influenced: "There was a lot of discussion at the PTA on the pros and cons of the policy, but in the end, the majority wanted to go with the program" (Finding I. B1).

Conclusion 3: The organization's decision to adopt was a decentralized decision.

Rogers (1983) in examining the innovation process, distinguished between centralized diffusion, dissemination decisions involving a small number of officials, and decentralized diffusion, dissemination decisions shared by a wide variety of clients. The site utilized a decentralized diffusion model for all adoption decisions. An abundance of findings illustrated that decisions were shared by a wide variety of the site's stakeholders. The site's School Planning Council made the decision to proceed with investigation of uniforms (Finding I.A2), stakeholders were surveyed for a majority opinion on whether to adopt uniforms (Finding I.A5, 6, 8), and implementation decisions were shared with parents, teachers, and parents. School Planning Council Teacher Seven illustrated just one example of community input into the implementation decision process: "When it actually came back to the School Planning Council, we had parents there,

even more parents for community input...," and PTA Board Parent Eight told of parent involvement in the selection of vendors: "My husband and I attended all the different meetings they had in order to choose the colors and the outfits" (Finding I.A9).

Conclusion 4: Although a plan for implementation was in place, the organization utilized regular feedback continually to develop and transform the uniform policy.

Fullan (1986), March, Cohen, & Olsen (1972), and Hoyle (1988) noted that change is not a rational process and that change can never be managed in a step-by-step fashion. Instead, Fullan (1991) acknowledged that a plan may be moderately helpful, yet he asserted that the main purpose of the process of implementation is the exchange of ideas which leads to the transformation or continual development of initial ideas.

The site's plan for implementation included several components including dissemination of the plan through various means of communication with the site's parents and teachers (Finding II.A1) and encouraging staff to wear the uniform or uniform colors (Finding II.A2); however, review of feedback on a regular basis provided for the continuous reshaping of the policy (Finding II.A3).

Unanticipated problems with implementation were addressed through regular feedback, and the uniform committee discussed feedback and

possible resolutions. School Planning Council Parent Three specifically addressed reviewing feedback: "As feedback was coming in, we (the uniform committee) were taking that back to the council, good and bad" (Finding II.A3). Further, minutes of the School Planning Council meeting of January 11, 1996, indicated that the council discussed problems with the decline in participation and created several resolutions for enhancing implementation (Finding II.B1).

What were the results of implementation?

Conclusion 5: The effects of uniforms on climate, attendance, and discipline were inconclusive.

A majority of stakeholders believed that uniforms produced no measurable outcomes (Finding IV.A2). Paliokas and Rist (1996) and Stevenson and Chun (1991) noted that a host of competing variables must be controlled to determine the effects of uniforms on climate, attendance, and discipline. Paliokas and Rist suggested that future researchers measure effects from a historical series of observations to determine if change is real. They further recommended that data be gathered from two groups, control and experimental, and that data must be gathered on other factors so that statistical analysis would control for these factors.

Conclusion 6: Initial compliance levels which declined from 70% to a range between 30 and 40% were not due to outright rejection of the innovation or

resistance to change but focused instead on a variety of other factors.

Fullan (1991) noted that a lack of implementation must not be assumed to be the rejection of the innovation or resistance to change. He cautioned architects of change to examine other assumptions including insufficient time lapse, inadequate resources, and value rejection.

Significant change through the implementation of innovation, Fullan noted, is a process of development which can be expected to take minimally two or three years.

Stakeholders at the site attributed declining compliance to several factors including peer pressure, inadequate resources, and the fact that the uniform policy was not mandatory. School Planning Council Teacher Two stated, "I think peer pressure sort of worked against the policy" (Finding V.A1), and 38% of stakeholders cited vendor availability and the change of seasons as factors in the decline of uniform participation (Finding V.A3). Value rejection was also evident. Among the stakeholders 42% of them felt that the voluntary nature of the policy contributed to the decline. School Planning Council Teacher Eight displayed rejection of values inherent in a voluntary policy when stating, "Mandatory or not at all" (Finding V.A2).

How was the policy rescinded?

Conclusion 7: Power and conflict were strategically used to create a dominant view and to influence rescission of the policy.

Marshall & Scribner (1991) noted that conflict exists when those with competing values seek to have their values prevail, and that individuals and groups seize upon conflict as a change agent to create a dominant view and affect power relationships. Brown (1978), too, recognized the influence of power and conflict to influence change. Brown posited that people use power, language, and intentions to define reality, and those with the power to determine issues define the acceptable reality. Hoyle (1988) concurred when he defined micropolitics as the strategies in which individuals and groups in organizational contexts seek to use their power and influence to further their interests. Hoyle further noted that interest sets, loose formations of individuals, deploy power in the form of influence or authority when common concerns surface. Interest sets utilize strategies to attain their desired means.

A small closely knit group of parent stakeholders from the higher socio-economic community constituted an interest set that strategically created a dominant view of reality based on misperceptions which led to the rescission of the policy. School Planning Council Teacher One described in detail this group and their formation over the issue of the proposed uniform classes survey: "It was a small group, but in this community small groups get very vocal. These parents were from the higher economic status, and they all got together on weekends and with little leagues. The letter (the

uniform classes survey) went home Friday, and they all got together at baseball or something, and on Monday we had this group.... They did it over the weekend" (Finding VI.B1).

School Planning Council Teacher Four and Teacher Seven described the opposition group's misperception that the uniformed classes survey was discriminatory. School Planning Council Teacher Seven stated, "We sent out a survey to have uniform classes. They (parents in opposition) said it was discrimination," and School Planning Council Teacher Four stated, "They (parents in opposition) felt it was discrimination" (Finding VI.E1). The assistant superintendent identified the small, vocal group that had contacted him who saw the uniform classes as "unconstitutional and segregational."

The same small group of vocal parents also created the misperception that the school's only focus was uniforms. Principal One stated, "The perception of most people who came in to talk to me (those in opposition) was that nothing else was going on in the school. We had made a commitment to keep it in the forefront and even though other things that were going on were included, their perception was the only thing we were doing was uniforms" (Finding VI.E3).

PTA Board Parent Two, a supporter of the uniform policy, described how she met with the small group of vocal parents who opposed the policy and created the misperceptions. Parent Two described how she and her

husband dispelled the misperceptions with this group: "This group of people told us we're (School Planning Council) going to have a vote and told my husband that we allayed their fears about this (misperceptions about the uniform policy). We never thought it would end. These people outvoted it" (Finding VI.C1).

The small group of vocal parents relied not only on their influence in the community but they also deployed power of authority as they were represented by parents on the School Planning Council. School Planning Council Teacher Seven described the shift in power on the council: "...the parents who had the most voice became the majority on the School Planning Council when our terms expired and several opponents cycled onto the council. We didn't all go off at the same time, but the opponents became the majority," and School Planning Council Teacher Eight stated, "I honestly believe that it's individuals that feel they have a stronger voice, can bark the loudest, (and) sit on a committee where the principal or faculty sits" (Finding VI.B3). School Planning Council Parent One, a parent in opposition, described how the issue to end the policy was initiated: "The following council meeting I had a letter written by one of my neighbors that I presented to the principal that would rescind the policy. I think the motion was easily accepted" (Finding VI.C1).

Principal One summarized the sentiments of those who supported the

policy yet acquiesced due to the conflict the opposition created: "The amount of negative reaction...and the stressful situation it caused us (the council) made us decide to drop the uniform policy in favor of a strict dress code" (Finding VI.C1).

Conclusion 8: The undesirable and unanticipated consequences of the uniform policy implementation outweighed those of desirable and anticipated consequences.

Rogers (1983) noted that consequences of innovations result not only for the individual adopter but for the entire social system. Unanticipated consequences are unknown by the adopters before implementation, and undesirable consequences are those consequences which are considered dysfunctional effects of the innovation to the individual or system.

The consequences of the uniform policy were threefold. The first undesirable and unanticipated consequence was the division in the community which resulted from misperceptions. School Planning Council Parent Four summarized the unanticipated and undesirable nature of the community division issue: "...one of the purposes of adopting the uniform policy was to eliminate the line of division with the clothing between the haves and have nots. I think we ended up getting a division" (Finding VI.A1).

The second consequence of the policy which was unanticipated was

that the voluntary nature of the policy made the policy difficult to enforce. School Planning Council Parent One and fourteen other stakeholders discussed the lack of success with a voluntary policy, the need for a mandatory policy, or the great amount of energy needed to support the policy. School Planning Council Parent One stated, "If we're going to have any type of uniform policy, it must be absolutely mandatory. I think that (the voluntary nature of the policy) became an issue as the energy needed to support the policy increased." The Educational Planning Center Assessment Specialist, too, noted the unanticipated consequences of a voluntary policy: "The program is not going to succeed unless it is mandatory. In a voluntary program like the one we're trying to run, it was just going to take a massive amount of time for administrators and teachers to continually reinforce the ones who were wearing so the other children would want to do it" (Finding VI.E2).

A third consequence, an undesirable consequence, was the stress created by the opposition. Principal One summarized the feelings of supporters of the policy: "The amount of negative reaction and the stressful situations it caused us (the council), made us decide to drop the uniform policy in favor of a strict dress code" (Finding VI.C1).

Recommendations

Recommendation 1: Architects of change must recognize that

organizations are intrinsically political and must never fail to recognize the influence exercised by both formal and informal groups in policy issues. As Fullan (1986) noted, while a plan may be moderately helpful, the architect of change must understand the assumptions about change in order to prepare more effectively to implement innovation.

Recommendation 2: The undesirable and unanticipated consequences of a voluntary policy suggest that a school or district opting for a uniform policy should consider a mandatory policy. The site studied was not able to implement a mandatory policy because legislation in the Commonwealth of Virginia permitted only voluntary compliance uniform policies (Virginia State Department of Education, 1992). However, legislation enacted in May 1996 now allows school districts within Virginia to establish requirements for students to wear uniforms (Virginia State Board of Education, 1996).

Recommendation 3: When implementing a uniform program, ensure that accommodations are made to assist families with financial needs and further ensure that vendors are contracted to stock all uniform components. Ensure that vendors provide for seasonal demands in the uniform components.

Recommendations for Further Study

Recommendation 1: Examine the change and innovation process in a school setting where a voluntary uniform policy has been successfully implemented.

Recommendation 2: Examine the implementation of an innovation in terms

of the many aspects of the diffusion model. Rogers (1983) discussed the role of adoption stages. Rogers identified the five adopter stages as innovators, early adopters, early majority, late majority, and laggards.

Recommendation 3: Examine the change and innovation process in a centralized diffusion model such as a mandatory compliance school uniform policy.

Reflections

Perhaps the researcher in an effort to remain objective intuitively knows much more than the document reflects. He strives not to veer too far from the data, and the picture he paints is a still life, in black and white. Yet, what the researcher discovered in this case study was a colorful picture of the evolution of a principal involved in much more than the adoption of an innovation. The researcher found a principal whose heartfelt ideals and ownership of a uniform policy blinded her to the reality of the uniform policy's demise.

The principal of this case study first approached the notion of a uniform policy cautiously, simply placing the idea on her council's agenda. She was neither committed to the idea nor certain that uniforms would be the fit to address the bimodal curve of her student body's achievement and socio-economic status. However, as enthusiasm and support for uniforms gained momentum, so, too, did her belief that uniforms would be a panacea.

Never mind that the research on uniforms which her uniform committee had reviewed was not only anecdotal but based on mandatory policies. Never mind the fact that an influential minority of stakeholders were in opposition. The principal became the prime mover of the policy, presenting it in newsletters and fliers to parents, hosting a public forum fashion show, securing local news coverage, soliciting corporate sponsorship, and constantly keeping it in the forefront of the public's eye. She became wed to uniforms, a firm believer in their proclaimed benefits. In her zeal to see the policy succeed, perhaps to avoid failure, or more likely, her belief that uniforms would genuinely benefit her children, she ignored several tell-tale signs that the policy was losing support. As support waned, she tried even more desperately to keep the policy alive.

In an effort to save the policy, the principal unwittingly brought about the policy's demise. A survey sent home with all students one Friday afternoon in early May "became the straw that broke the camel's back." In the survey, the principal solicited from parents an interest in establishing separate classes for those students who wore the uniform. Parents immediately saw this as discriminatory, segregating those who wore the uniform from those who did not. The idea of segregating students based on uniform compliance was seen not only as a notion that would result in discrimination but also as favoring those students who would be in the

uniformed classes. Would the principal who wanted the policy to succeed assign the best teachers to uniformed classes? Would this principal provide the best equipment and opportunities to the uniformed classes? Parents believed that she would. This single issue became the catalyst for the rescission of the uniform policy.

Only hours after the release of the survey, phones rang off the hook in this school community and soccer moms, enraged by the survey, talked vehemently on the sidelines. Within only a few days, the community became divided on the issue of uniforms, and the principal and her superiors were inundated with conferences and phone calls. Parents suggested that the policy was not only discriminatory but that the principal had become so absorbed by the issue that she was ignoring other important aspects in the school. The policy to which she was wed created the most trying experiences of her tenure, and the clamor over the uniformed classes survey became the catalyst for removing her blinders.

Healing has since occurred and wounds which festered in the community have begun to heal as well. A community which had become divided has rebuilt itself around a leader whose experiences have taught her many lessons.

The experiences of this principal can contribute to the educator's understanding of the change process. The logical and rational approach with

which the principal of this case study implemented change proved of little value. This technical plan meant nothing when there were a dozen stakeholders in opposition. The principal's approach was naive. Change is a political and cultural process which involves people and unpredictable outcomes. Educational leaders often fail to recognize the tremendous influences exerted by both formal and informal groups in the political arena of the school setting. Architects of change must foresee not only the anticipated and desirable outcomes of change but also the negative and unanticipated as well. To approach change in any other fashion will lead to conflict and demise as was the result of the school in this case study.

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APPENDIX A: GENERAL INTERVIEW GUIDES

GENERAL INTERVIEW GUIDE: ASSISTANT SUPERINTENDENT FOR ELEMENTARY EDUCATION AND SCHOOL BOARD MEMBERS

The purpose of my doctoral study and this interview is to get information that will help other schools considering the implementation of a voluntary school uniform policy. As a school official, your insights into the uniform policy will make important contributions to my study. And that's what this interview is about: your experiences and thoughts about the uniform policy.

The answers from all the people I interview will be combined for my study. Nothing you say will ever be identified with you personally. You have received a consent form to sign which indicates your consent to this interview. This interview will be recorded. As we go through the interview, if you have any questions about why I'm asking something, please feel free to ask. Or if there's something you don't want to answer, just say so. Any questions before we begin?

1. What can you tell me about initiating a school uniform policy?
(prompts: board policy? rationale? origination? research?)
2. What procedures does a school follow if they wish to implement a uniform policy?
(prompts: guidelines? parent support level? staff support? board approval?)
3. What feedback, positive and negative, have you received?
(prompts: parents? students? staff?)
4. Most programs require an evaluation component. Of what evaluation data are you aware?
(prompts: outcomes? perceptions?)
5. Why do you feel participation has decreased at schools which implemented the uniform policy?
(prompts: costs? peer pressure? individual expression issues? parent support? mobility index? community pressure?)
6. Do you support uniform policies? Why or why not?
(prompts: level playing field? cost reductions? improved learning or discipline environment?)

7. After one year with the pilot, what direction do you suppose the board may take in regards to uniforms?

8. Is there anything else you may wish to tell me about uniforms that I neglected to ask?

9. Can you name for me other individuals whom you believe were influential in the establishment or rescission of a uniform policy?

GENERAL INTERVIEW GUIDE: PRINCIPAL AND ASSISTANT PRINCIPAL

The purpose of my doctoral study and this interview is to get information that will help other schools considering the implementation of a voluntary school uniform policy. As a school leader, you are in a unique position to describe how the policy was implemented and why participation waned. And that's what this interview is about: your experiences and thoughts about the uniform policy.

The answers from all the people I interview will be combined for my study. Nothing you say will ever be identified with you personally. You have received a consent form to sign which indicates your consent to this interview. This interview will be recorded. As we go through the interview, if you have any questions about why I'm asking something, please feel free to ask. Or if there's something you don't want to answer, just say so. Any questions before we begin?

1. What can you tell me about how a school initiates of a school uniform policy?

(prompts: board initiative? rationale?)

2. What procedures did your school follow to implement the policy?

(prompts: Who was involved? How was the decision made?)

3. How did this decision affect the staff and your community?

(prompts: With what kinds of initial resistance and support did it meet? What groups formed? What were their issues?)

4. How was your school's plan implemented?

(prompts: Did it deal with anticipated problems? How was the plan disseminated? With what kinds of initial resistance and support did you meet?)

5. What steps did you take to orient parents to the uniform policy? students? teachers?

(prompts: assemblies? meetings? newsletters?)

6. What was the initial level of compliance?

(prompts: What percent of students participated? Was anything done to encourage or reward participation?)

7. What outcomes were noted as a result of the policy?
(prompts: attendance? discipline? case studies? climate?)
8. What feedback, positive and negative, did you receive?
(prompts: parents? staff? students?)
9. Why do you believe participation decreased?
(prompts: costs? community pressure? individual expression issues?
central office support? parent support? other issues?)
10. What issues were involved in the decision to end the policy made?
(prompts: Who was involved? What people or groups? What was the
catalyst? How was the decision made?)
11. Personally, how do you feel about the demise of the policy?
(prompts: Would you do it again? How have you changed as a result?)
12. Is there anything else you can tell me about uniforms that I neglected to
ask?
13. Can you name for me other individuals whom you believe were
influential in the establishment or rescission of the uniform policy?

GENERAL INTERVIEW GUIDE: PARENTS

The purpose of my doctoral study and this interview is to get information that will help other schools considering the implementation of a voluntary school uniform policy. As a parent involved in your school, you are in a unique position to describe how the policy was implemented and why participation waned. And that's what this interview is about: your experiences and thoughts about the uniform policy.

The answers from all the people I interview will be combined for my study. Nothing you say will ever be identified with you personally. You have received a consent form to sign which indicates your consent to this interview. This interview will be recorded. As we go through the interview, if you have any questions about why I'm asking something, please feel free to ask. Or if there's something you don't want to answer, just say so. Any questions before we begin?

1. Think back to when you first became aware that a uniform policy was under consideration for your school. What can you tell me about how this whole thing got started?

(prompts: What was the rationale? What were your feelings on the issue? How have your feelings changed?)

2. What procedures did your child's school follow to initiate the policy?
(prompts: Who was involved? What opportunities did you have for input? How was the decision made?)

3. How did this decision affect you and your community?
(prompts: With what kinds of initial resistance and support did it meet? What groups formed? What were their issues?)

4. How was the plan implemented at your child's school?
(prompts: Did it deal with anticipated problems? How was the plan disseminated?)

5. What steps did the school take to orient parents to the uniform policy?
students?
(prompts: assemblies? meetings? newsletters?)

6. Did you choose to comply with the policy? Why or why not?
(prompts: How did your child feel about this? Was anything done to encourage or reward participation?)
7. What positive and negative effects did you note as a result of the policy?
(prompts: attendance? discipline? case studies? climate?)
8. What have you heard about the policy?
(prompts: parents? staff? students?)
9. What positive and negative effects did you note as a result of the policy?
(prompts: attendance? discipline? case studies? climate?)
10. Why do you believe participation decreased?
(prompts: costs? community pressure? individual expression issues? central office support? parent support? other issues?)
11. What issues were involved in the decision to end the policy?
(prompts: Who was involved? What people or groups? What was the catalyst? How was the decision made?)
11. Personally, how do you feel about the demise of the policy?
(prompts: In what ways did your opinion of the uniform policy change from conception of the idea to its rescission?)
12. Is there anything else you can tell me about uniforms that I neglected to ask?
13. Can you name for me other individuals whom you believe were influential in the establishment or rescission of the uniform policy?

GENERAL INTERVIEW GUIDE: TEACHERS

The purpose of my doctoral study and this interview is to get information that will help other schools considering the implementation of a voluntary school uniform policy. As a teacher in this school, you are in a unique position to describe how the policy was implemented and why participation waned. And that's what this interview is about: your experiences and thoughts about the uniform policy.

The answers from all the people I interview will be combined for my study. Nothing you say will ever be identified with you personally. You have received a consent form to sign which indicates your consent to this interview. This interview will be recorded. As we go through the interview, if you have any questions about why I'm asking something, please feel free to ask. Or if there's something you don't want to answer, just say so. Any questions before we begin?

1. Think back to when you first became aware that a uniform policy was under consideration for your school. What can you tell me about how this whole thing got started?
(prompts: What was the rationale? What were your feelings on the issue? How have your feelings changed?)
2. What procedures did your school follow to initiate the policy?
(prompts: Who was involved? What opportunities did you have for input? How was the decision made?)
3. How did this decision affect the staff and your community?
(prompts: With what kinds of initial resistance and support did it meet?)
4. How was the plan implemented?
(prompts: Did it deal with anticipated problems? How was the plan disseminated?)
What groups formed? What were their issues?)
5. What steps did the school take to orient parents to the uniform policy? students? teachers?
(prompts: assemblies? meetings? newsletters?)

6. As you looked around the school and your classroom, what would you estimate as the initial level of compliance?
(prompts: What percentage of students participated? Why did students comply? Was anything done to encourage or reward participation?)
7. What feedback, positive and negative, did you receive?
(prompts: parents? staff? students?)
8. What positive and negative effects did you note as a result of the policy?
(prompts: attendance? discipline? case studies? climate?)
9. Why do you believe participation decreased?
(prompts: costs? community pressure? individual expression issues? central office support? parent support? other issues?)
10. What issues were involved in the decision to end the policy?
(prompts: Who was involved? What people or groups? What was the catalyst? How was the decision made?)
11. Personally, how do you feel about the demise of the policy?
(prompts: In what ways has your opinion of the uniform policy changed from conception of the idea to its rescission?)
12. Is there anything else you can tell me about uniforms that I neglected to ask?
13. Can you name for me other individuals whom you believe were influential in the establishment or rescission of the uniform policy?

APPENDIX B: DATA ORGANIZATION FORMS

CONTACT SUMMARY FORM

Contact type: ph: _____
visit: _____

Site: _____
Contact: _____
Date: _____
Today's date: _____
Time: _____ - _____

1. What were the main issues or themes in this contact?

2. Summary of information on each of the target questions:

3. Other salient or important points about this contact:

DOCUMENT SUMMARY FORM

Site: _____
Document: _____
Date acquired: _____
Today's date: _____

1. Name or description of document:

2. Event or contact with which document is associated:

3. Significance or importance of document:

4. Summary of contents:

APPENDIX C: INTERVIEW REQUEST LETTERS AND FORMS

5605 Dawson Road
Virginia Beach, VA 23451
September 15, 1996

Thalia Elementary School
421 Thalia Road
Virginia Beach, VA 23452

Dear :

I am a doctoral candidate at Virginia Tech conducting research for my dissertation. The purpose of my study is to gather information that will help other schools considering implementation of a uniform policy. As a teacher at Thalia, you are in a unique position to describe your experiences with the policy and your thoughts about why the policy failed.

I have been granted permission by Dr. Felty and the Educational Planning Center to contact you, and I am hoping that you will allow me to interview you about your experiences and thoughts regarding the uniform policy. Should you decide to help me with my research, I would ask you to participate in a taped interview which should take approximately twenty minutes. Your responses will remain strictly confidential and nothing you say will ever be identified with you personally. The audiotapes will be destroyed at the conclusion of the study.

I plan to conduct my interviews during the month of October, either before school, during your planning bell, or after school, whichever is more convenient for you. I will make a schedule by contacting you to determine which date would be best.

I would be grateful if you would please complete the enclosed form and return it to me in the self-addressed stamped envelope. If you need more information, please do not hesitate to contact me at work [(804) 473-5053] or home [(804) 428-7749]. Thank you in advance for your kindness and consideration. I look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,

Eugene F. Soltner

NAME: _____

IT IS MORE CONVENIENT FOR ME TO BE INTERVIEWED:

_____ BEFORE SCHOOL

_____ AFTER SCHOOL

_____ DURING A PLANNING BELL (SPECIFY DAYS OF WEEK/TIMES:

_____)

_____ AT ANOTHER TIME (SPECIFY TIME: _____)

_____ I REGRET THAT I WILL NOT BE ABLE TO PARTICIPATE IN YOUR RESEARCH.

PLEASE RETURN IN THE ENVELOPE PROVIDED. I WILL CONTACT YOU TO SCHEDULE A DATE AND CONFIRM A TIME. THANK YOU.

5605 Dawson Road
Virginia Beach, VA 23451
September 15, 1996

Virginia Beach, VA 23462

Dear :

I am a doctoral candidate at Virginia Tech conducting research for my dissertation. The purpose of my study is to gather information that will help other schools considering implementation of a uniform policy. As an involved parent at Thalia, you are in a unique position to describe your experiences with the policy and your thoughts about why the policy failed.

I have been granted permission by Dr. Felty and the VBCPS Educational Planning Center to contact you, and I am hoping that you will allow me to interview you about your experiences and thoughts regarding the uniform policy. Should you decide to help me with my research, I would ask you to participate in a taped interview which should take approximately twenty minutes. Your responses will remain strictly confidential and nothing you say will ever be identified with you personally. The audiotapes will be destroyed at the conclusion of the study.

I plan to conduct my interviews during the month of October at Thalia Elementary, the Central Library, or any other location that is convenient for you. I will make a schedule by contacting you to determine which time, date, and location would be best.

I would be grateful if you would please complete the enclosed form and return it to me in the self-addressed stamped envelope. If you need more information, please do not hesitate to contact me at work [(804) 473-5053] or home [(804) 428-7749]. Thank you in advance for your kindness and consideration. I look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,

Eugene F. Soltner

NAME: _____

PHONE: _____

IT IS MOST CONVENIENT FOR ME TO BE INTERVIEWED:

____ AT THE CENTRAL LIBRARY

____ AT THALIA ELEMENTARY

____ AT ANOTHER LOCATION (SPECIFY: _____)

THE MOST IDEAL TIME WOULD BE
(SPECIFY: _____)

____ I REGRET THAT I WILL BE UNABLE TO PARTICIPATE IN YOUR
RESEARCH.

***PLEASE RETURN IN THE ENVELOPE PROVIDED. I WILL CONTACT YOU
TO SCHEDULE THE INTERVIEW. THANK YOU.**

APPENDIX D: PATTERN CODING SYMBOLS

TABLE D1

Pattern Codes

Code	Definition	General Research Question
ADO	Adoption	How was the adoption decision made?
IMP	Implementation	How was the plan implemented?
OUT	Outcomes	Were any outcomes noted as result of the policy?
COM	Compliance	What was the initial level of compliance?
DEC	Decrease	Why did participation decrease?
FAL	Fail	Why was the decision to end the policy made?
INF	Information-Rich	(Identification of additional information-rich sample)

APPENDIX E: RAW DATA MATRICES

TABLE E1

RAW DATA MATRIX: School Planning Council

Stakeholder	Area	Raw Data Responses
Teacher 1	Adoption	<p>A committee was put together..., and they looked at very specific goals they wanted to accomplish.... The school has two very distinct populations. One from a high economic status and one from a very low economic status. The hope was that...it would bring together the two groups. ...we had sort of a town meeting. It packed the house, and there was a lot of debate.... We had a fashion show, and we had kids modeling the different uniforms.... Then we surveyed the homes and asked would you like the program at our school. The survey was the main communication because out of that we got a 70% return. Then out of the 70% that responded, 70% said yes, 'let's do it.' We also had to petition the School Board.... The community members agreed to do it (petition the board). There was dissent, and the parents who agreed to disagree were vocal, but they went along with it as they knew their children were not going to be forced to do this. A couple of parents who were in disagreement were very vocal and very participatory parents, and we encouraged their support.... ...with the voluntary policy it allowed for them to disagree. They were there to make sure we weren't giving preferential treatment to those kids with uniforms. They were mostly PTA Board, and some actually joined the committee.</p>
Teacher 1	Implementation	<p>The staff bought into uniforms. ...most of the staff was wearing a uniform because it was a very casual uniform even though they said they didn't want to be forced to wear a uniform themselves. A lot of people wanted to try to promote it as best as possible. I think the parents were on the uniform committee to make sure that nothing happened to their children who weren't participating. Once they realized that nothing was going to happen, they didn't oppose the program. They were monitoring to make sure everything went fairly. We sent out regular communication through the newsletter, and it came on line on the first day.</p>

TABLE E1 (Continued)

Stakeholder	Area	Raw Data Responses
Teacher 1	Compliance	<p>...I had to tread very lightly to make sure that I wasn't trying to push uniforms on the children. I didn't want anyone to feel like they absolutely had to wear a uniform. I did make a comment every now and then telling a kid we were twins when we were dressed alike. I started out with very high participation, and it dwindled. I still had 30% of my class wearing it at the end of the year. The students who didn't wear them were opposed to it because they wanted to wear the new clothes. I did survey my class at the end of the year. We had considered having a class of students for each grade level for kids wearing uniforms and asked if everybody in the class wore uniforms, would you? 85% ...raised their hands....</p>
Teacher 1	Outcomes	<p>I can't say I got any feedback from parents. The students who wore the uniforms enjoyed it, and they liked getting up in the morning and knowing what they were going to wear. I didn't personally notice any effects on the kids who wore uniforms.</p>
Teacher 1	Decrease in Participation	<p>I asked my children...who stopped wearing it why. One said it was comfort. Another only wore it because her parents forced her to. Others would say, 'I don't know. I just don't feel like doing it. I'm not wearing because nobody else is.' I don't feel that a voluntary program can succeed because...half your kids are and half your kids aren't. To sway a child out that's not wearing a uniform into a uniform, you have to talk mom into buying.... For those kids that are wearing uniforms, all they have to do is take something else out and put it on. Which is easier?</p>

TABLE E1 (Continued)

Stakeholder	Area	Raw Data Responses
Teacher 1	Rescission	<p>The School Planning Council makes the policy decisions for the school, and they made the decision, but I wasn't there for the decision. The issue about the classroom for uniforms survey was an issue about communication. There were parents who weren't really involved in the uniform issue before, and the way the information was presented to the parents...was a shock to them. We ended up with people speaking out saying this was unfair. They visualized that things were going to happen that nobody even considered would happen. They visualized these kids getting separate treatment. ...they got a piece of paper home, they read it, and their imaginations took over. Most of the people who were in the argument were never in the initial debate for or against uniforms. It was a small group, but in this community, small groups get very vocal. These parents were from the higher economic status, and they all get together on weekends and with little leagues. The letter went home on Friday, and they all got together at baseball or something, and on Monday, we had this group...they did it over the weekend.</p>

TABLE E1 (Continued)

Stakeholder	Area	Raw Data Responses
Teacher 2	Adoption	<p>...they screened and polled the teachers and asked, 'What do you think?' My first reaction was that it was a good movement...I stated very clearly that whatever the decision, I would support it. I didn't think it would work but would give it 100% support. The rationale was that we thought we could increase the students' awareness to respect their school and act appropriately in school. If they were in a uniform, they would realize they weren't playing in the street...they were dressed for school...they would act accordingly. That was the goal and drive in the beginning. It was discussed heavily with the Faculty Council. They (Faculty Council) mulled it over with surveys to the parents. It went to the community for a vote.... It came back with 70% who were in favor and that was good enough to say let's go.</p>
Teacher 2	Implementation	<p>Information went home to parents, but knowing how parents will skim over typed information, I went ahead and wrote notes to the parents letting them know what we were going to do with the uniform policy. ...I wore a uniform 95% of the time last year. Teachers were encouraged to wear the uniform in the beginning but never any pressure. Once you were doing it, you weren't overly encouraged to keep doing it.</p>
Teacher 2	Compliance	<p>I maintained a good 35% the whole time. I had ten kids, so it was very easy. I had three or four that always wore the red and blue or the black and white and dressed in uniform style. The others didn't participate. I was encouraged not to give too much incentive to those who were participating lest I slight those who weren't.</p>
Teacher 2	Outcomes	<p>They (students) seemed to feel more a part of the school day. They thought it was cool...a good idea. ...mothers particularly liked them because it was easy to dress them. I have special education, and I think it just made them feel more a part of the school, the unity thing. They enjoyed it themselves and did it consistently. Did it change their behavior? No. They were still kids. I really liked seeing the children in uniforms. It was simple yet sophisticated. I think for children who are lacking identity or lacking things at home that it's a good idea. ...it focuses them, gets them ready for school, and it simplifies a parent's role.</p>

TABLE E1 (Continued)

Stakeholder	Area	Raw Data Responses
Teacher 2	Decrease in Participation	<p>I was still supporting it when it began to fizzle. ...we started to plateau at about 35%. It seemed to me that the higher socio-economic community did not care for the policy and that the lower socio-economic community were the ones who participated most. I think the peer pressure sort of worked against the policy where eventually the higher and middle stopped participating.</p>
Teacher 2	Rescission	<p>You heard from the School Planning Council that others weren't supporting the program.... I still thought we should let it go on. I was committed to it, but the consensus from much of the community was kill it. It suffered a slow death of probably four to six weeks. Basically it narrowed down to a few people who were very involved in the School Planning Council who opposed the policy. They are from the higher socio-economic part of the community and were very active and outspoken in their opposition. Finally that pressure put on the Faculty Council and the principal caused them to go ahead and drop the policy. It went from a very positive program to where you had the most active in the school speaking out against it. We no longer saw the benefits. The people who spoke out had not been supportive of the policy before. They never liked it in the beginning. They felt it stifled a child's individuality. I felt from the beginning it was not going to work because it was not mandatory. I would support it again if it came back. ...I supported it, but without a mandatory policy, it won't work.</p>

TABLE E1 (Continued)

Stakeholder	Area	Raw Data Responses
Teacher 3	Adoption	<p>It started basically as an idea...to meld the higher economic with the lower economic because it seemed like the lower economic were into the athletic stuff--the expensive stuff and making comparisons. It was basically to make the lower economic kids feel like they were part of the group. It was brought up to Faculty Council, School Planning Council, thrown around the table. A separate uniform committee was formed and they reported back to us. They were planning to do a lot of ideas...but it went too fast. We sent a poll out to the teachers and gave them a choice: 'Would you or would you not? Are you totally against it? Would you consider it?' It then worked its way down from six choices down to three then down to yes or no. We also sent a poll to parents. Basically the whole thing was a kind of learning experience. The uniform committee had a good program set up. They determined the uniform.... Basically we decided on casual as opposed to...more of the formal. ...we had a presentation...that was kind of controversial too. There was a good turn out. Things like the rewarding of ice cream or pizza...but if your class had 100% then you'll get an ice cream party or whatever. People started claiming that this was bribery and that caused a heated discussion, and we learned that we couldn't offer rewards with uniforms and we stuck by that. There was a lot of discussion at the presentation we had among the staff. It was basically 50/50--those that really liked it and those that--but once it passed, from my perspective, there was no problem.</p>
Teacher 3	Implementation	<p>I thought it was a great idea. My feelings never changed. I wore a uniform myself.... I can think of two on the council who were totally against it, but as a group, they said they would go along with it. In fact, one even offered to be in contact with vendors to arrange uniforms.</p>

TABLE E1 (Continued)

Stakeholder	Area	Raw Data Responses
Teacher 3	Compliance	<p>Being in special education, we really didn't have the numbers in our room where we could take a poll or hear comments. We had a few that wore uniforms every day. ...the parents tried to teach their kids to be an individual. What they looked like didn't matter. Participation at the beginning of the school year--I noticed about a 50/50 split, but I wasn't outside too much. I think kids complied because of the price. You don't have to worry about what do I wear today. The other kids still came in their expensive clothing.</p>
Teacher 3	Outcomes	<p>The parents of our kids who wore uniforms just said it was much easier. Other parents, I just don't know. Well, I'd hear a parent say that I don't have to hear my child complaining anymore about what to wear, fussing before it's time to go to school. No. No I didn't notice any results from uniforms in terms of behavior, attendance, or discipline.</p>
Teacher 3	Decrease in Participation	<p>Some of the people that were really gung-ho who were even on the uniform committee never even started. I didn't really see any peer pressure problems. Do you run an exchange program because kids grow? And there really was no vendor that was solidified, so when people went to get uniforms, they didn't have them.</p>
Teacher 3	Rescission	<p>The community. Community! I happened to be at a person's house the day of the memo surveying parents' interest in uniform classes for next year, and it seemed that this side of the road (upper/middle socio-economic) was very verbal. I don't know about the other side (lower socio-economic). It just takes a few mouths. A few of the upper class that had the money were the vocal group, and their issue was individuality. They felt like we shouldn't be forcing our kids to wear uniforms even though it was voluntary. They were also concerned that the uniformed classes would be singled out for better treatment. When the poll went out for uniform classes, the phone rang off the hook the whole afternoon. I think that it was so overwhelming that since we saw a decrease, we decided to drop it. It didn't take long to make the decision. I wish we had uniforms back, but they would have to make it mandatory. Experience is the best teacher. We were guinea pigs, and now we can say, don't do this or that. I'd tell people to take time to think about decisions.</p>

TABLE E1 (Continued)

Stakeholder	Area	Raw Data Responses
Teacher 4	Adoption	<p>...it started in Faculty Council. We had talked about establishing different classrooms...like gender classrooms...when they (Faculty Council) heard the word uniforms, their ears perked up. It was brought up to School Planning Council, and there was enough interest generated that we sent a survey out to teachers and then we sent a survey out to parents. The school council...discussed how we were going to establish uniforms, what the uniform was going to be, how we were going to make it available, what was the feasibility of it. It went really fast. It snowballed. I don't remember the stats. There was also enough interest from the community that we did start....</p>
Teacher 4	Implementation	<p>There were memos that went out, some meetings that were open after PTA where there was going to be an open forum to discuss it. The PTA and the School Planning Council informed parents of what was going to happen. Some of the Faculty Council thought they would try to boost that (participation) by wearing the uniform colors. The principal and the assistant principal were very faithful to it, and a lot of teachers were, but our response was not as great as we had hoped.</p>
Teacher 4	Compliance	<p>I don't know with a voluntary policy how much we can expect because it's voluntary.</p>
Teacher 4	Outcomes	<p>I'm a resource teacher so I don't have a classroom per se. I couldn't tell a difference. I also have bus duty...and the rowdiest busses were the ones wearing uniforms. I did not see a difference with a large group like the bus situation. I didn't see any increase in pride either. Maybe we as adults just saw it that way. Even though there's research to back it (outcomes) up, I don't know if there's research to back it when there's such a conflict with people wearing and not wearing them. We may have had a different response had it been required.</p>

TABLE E1 (Continued)

Stakeholder	Area	Raw Data Responses
Teacher 4	Decrease in Participation	<p>When I've been connected with the uniform policy, it was always in a school situation where it was a requirement. The uniform or very stringent dress code like the college where I went where we were required to wear...I always saw as a monitoring situation. You had to make sure everyone was doing it. I think it has to be required is the only thing. I think you can't have half do it and half not. That's still perceived as discrimination.</p>
Teacher 4	Rescission	<p>We had a few vocal parents, a core group of people, that were adamant about not having uniforms. They felt that our communications home always talked about uniforms. I wasn't the parent receiving the notices. Maybe we were focusing too much on the uniform issue. They were always vocal. They were not mean about it, but they didn't like the uniform issue. They weren't supportive. They had the idea that if it's voluntary, go ahead and do it, but I'm not.... Even the ones that were supportive said they could see that it wasn't going anywhere. When the uniform class thing came out, they felt it was discrimination. They felt that we would definitely put those children in there and make them successful. Yet, most of the children who were wearing uniforms were from the areas we consider at risk, the lower socio-economic. I think this group kept their conversations within their group, and if they talked to our teachers, I wasn't privy to it.</p>

TABLE E1 (Continued)

Stakeholder	Area	Raw Data Responses
Teacher 5	Adoption	<p>I was on the School Planning Council, and the principal started bringing articles in on uniform policies.... I was the one who was very much in favor of the idea. The rationale for uniforms was that children being in uniforms would eliminate the variance of the different types of dress...children having to have 'Starter' jackets or the most expensive kind of tennis shoes.... We also hoped that uniforms would change the children's attitudes and give them more pride, a school pride and personal pride. It was hoped that uniforms could eliminate differences, and we could get down to doing actual instruction and not have to worry so much about discipline. We didn't really talk it up with the children...we didn't want the students taking the idea home to the parents before they knew too much about it. We started to gather statistics that would help drive the decision. We had talked the issue in enough forums that by the time the surveys went out, everyone had heard talk of the idea. I think we did it slowly although it seemed to many of the staff that this had exploded suddenly and had all been the principal's idea. It was really the Faculty Council that jumped on the idea of the uniform policy.... We did have people on the faculty who were against the policy from the beginning and at least three or four members of the council who were totally against it. A lot of the members could have been swayed one way or the other but most approved of the idea of going with what the majority wanted. The principal remained adamant that we were not going to force the idea on the community, and she insisted that we get at least 80% positive feedback from our polls....</p>

TABLE E1 (Continued)

Stakeholder	Area	Raw Data Responses
Teacher 5	Implementation	<p>Three of four members of the planning council remained staunch in their opposition. Some of their issues were as simple as their son was thin and they didn't want him to tuck in his shirt because...it would leave him open to ridicule. Some felt the uniform would not be cost efficient. We had looked around at several stores...and had determined that it would be cost effective. Some parents felt the uniform would take away their child's freedom of choice. Some had specific complaints such as their child didn't like blue. They were aware the policy would be voluntary but feared their child might be ostracized for not participating. ...there were parents who felt their children might be ostracized because they did not wear the uniform.</p>
Teacher 5	Compliance	<p>We started with impressively high participation and I had several students who wore uniforms for the entire year. I had a good 40% of students who participated in the program for about five months before it started petering off. The lower grades did a better job of staying in uniform because they didn't have the pressure of the older kids feeling like they wanted to wear something different.</p>
Teacher 5	Outcomes	<p>It (wearing uniforms) did not affect their (children's) behavior one little bit....</p>
Teacher 5	Decrease in Participation	<p>One reason I think was the cross over from the autumn clothes to the winter clothes. When it came to wearing sweaters.., the cost went up. ...the parents bought most of the uniforms during warm months and hadn't prepared for the cold weather. I did notice in the spring a lot of kids did go back to wearing the uniform again. Plus the fact that children began to just get tired of the uniforms.</p>
Teacher 5	Rescission	<p>(no knowledge of rescission)</p>

TABLE E1 (Continued)

Stakeholder	Area	Raw Data Responses
Teacher 6	Adoption	<p>The Faculty Council started talking about the children criticizing one another for their clothes and the sloppiness of the children’s dress and...basically got the discussion of the policy started. The Faculty Council formed a team to formulate the best way to implement the program.... It was taken to our PTA and they were allowed to vote on the different styles of uniforms. There was a lot of discussion at the PTA on the pros and cons of the policy, but in the end, the majority wanted to go with the program. A very simple uniform was opted for, kind of open-ended policy. I thought it was wonderful....</p>
Teacher 6	Implementation	<p>They established a type of swap for the children to get uniforms in their sizes. This type of network should have been instituted before the policy took effect.</p>
Teacher 6	Compliance	<p>In the beginning I did have a lot of little boys and girls wearing uniforms, but as the year went on, participation sort of dropped off a little bit. The policy seemed to do better in the lower grades, and I always suspected that by the time the students reached fifth grade we might expect them to be on the lower end of the stats of children wearing the uniform. One thing I think caused some problem was the availability of the uniforms in the beginning. Once the school began rounding up places who could provide the elements of the uniform, it became easier to comply.</p>
Teacher 6	Outcomes	<p>In the beginning there was absolutely more pride exhibited by the children wearing the uniforms. Many of the children seemed to behave better in uniform.</p>
Teacher 6	Decrease in Participation	<p>One parent expressed concern that her daughter could not handle the teasing she was getting at school for always being in uniform. That’s just a reflection of the age group.</p>
Teacher 6	Rescission	<p>I think there was a group of parents from the higher echelon who really didn’t want the policy. They felt it was taking away from their children’s creativity. There was a group of parents that were involved in the school who were very negative concerning the policy. I’ve had parents this year who don’t understand why we stopped. One set of parents had moved back to our school because of the uniform policy.</p>

TABLE E1 (Continued)

Stakeholder	Area	Raw Data Responses
Teacher 7	Adoption	<p>We had talked about trying to fix the disparity between the haves and the have nots...because we really are bipolar. We have the very, very rich and the very, very poor, so we were trying to find a way to put everybody on the same playing field. As a Faculty Council, we were just trying to find a way that everybody could come to school and feel comfortable. That way everybody was the same, and it would take away the distractions that come with clothing that take away from school. I'm a good politician, so I can tell you, "REAP the BENEFITS," basically more respect for each other, trying to excel for excellence. We set up a committee...and we sat down and tried to figure out what we want to do with the uniforms. We put this fashion show together to show the parents that everybody wears uniforms. We just wanted to sell the uniform idea. When it actually came back to School Planning Council, we had parents there, even more parents for community input, and we went with dark pants and white or red and blue tops. We also did some survey and we had 74% of parents say they would support a uniform policy although I think most people really wanted a mandatory policy.</p>
Teacher 7	Implementation	<p>...we sent fliers home all the time. Our principal did a great job of trying to promote it and let everybody know, but a lot of people saw it as shoving uniforms down their throats. All we were trying to do was help this thing be successful. We weren't allowed to offer rewards because it would discriminate against the kids who didn't wear uniforms. We decided it from the start so, we didn't alienate anyone. I would tell kids, 'Oh, you look so nice today.' I would do it that way. Parents who didn't want the uniform, those in opposition, said, 'You're taking away my child's right to expression. Why should I have to wear a uniform to school? ...we're not in a military state....' I wore the uniform everyday; it made it easy. Because it wasn't mandatory for us (teachers), there wasn't a lot of opposition. Probably about thirty percent of the staff wore the uniform just like it became thirty percent of the kids....</p>
Teacher 7	Compliance	<p>I was teaching two classes at the time and one class had maybe eight or nine kids wearing the uniform on a regular basis. By the end of the year, maybe two because nobody else was wearing them.</p>

TABLE E1 (Continued)

Stakeholder	Area	Raw Data Responses
Teacher 7	Outcomes	It was cheap for them (parents), their kids looked nice, they didn't have to fight with them. ...I really support the uniform but I didn't really see any difference. They would still do things like not do their homework, but I don't think they ever really got as physical as much, so maybe in some respects. I didn't really even hear things from the parents during parent-teacher conferences.
Teacher 7	Decrease in Participation	If I send my kid to school in a uniform and the kid next to him is not doing it, then there is no way it's going to work. Because not everybody was wearing it. It's a domino effect. They'd (students) go home and say, 'Why do I have to wear it if nobody else is?' It would have worked if everybody was doing it. The pressure on kids...because it wasn't enforceable, it wasn't mandatory.
Teacher 7	Rescission	It was like ten parents, and they were so vocal. They applied pressure big time. They were from this side of the boulevard, the rich side, and I didn't understand that. This was so good for the poorer kids. And the parents that had the most voice became the majority on the School Planning Council when our terms expired and several opponents cycled onto the council. We didn't all go off at the same time, but the opponents became the majority. We sent a survey out to have uniform classes.... ...but the parents didn't like it all. They said it was discrimination. I don't think uniforms were given a fair chance. I believe you can really build camaraderie if you have everybody in uniform. ...but I'd make it mandatory. A uniform policy would be really good for them (students).

TABLE E1 (Continued)

Stakeholder	Area	Raw Data Responses
Teacher 8	Adoption	<p>...Faculty Council initiated this to unify some kind of positive attitude through out the school. They did some consensus gathering of the faculty and decided to put together a community question and answer session prior to adopting the policy. There was a lot of planning that went into this presentation. They really did their homework. ...a fashion show to convey an understanding of why a uniform is a uniform, how it helps to identify the individual. The session went from good to bad to worse--you're always going to have the one heckler. One woman said her child's personality would be infringed on, and it went on from there. Let's see if we can beat up the principal and people who put this together because a very small select few were all that showed up to make trouble. Two individuals basically got up and expressed their dislike of the idea and their reasoning behind their feelings which didn't give the others much of an opportunity to discuss their feelings.</p>
Teacher 8	Implementation	<p>We started the year with the staff if not wearing a uniform at least wearing the school colors. The community continued to come back, usually only one or two, but that's all it takes to cause an opposition.</p>
Teacher 8	Compliance	<p>In the beginning of the school year we started with about 70% participation. That dwindled down by the end of the year to more like 30%.</p>
Teacher 8	Outcomes	<p>I felt that the fourth graders I taught were too young to gauge and that the results would show in the later years.... They certainly looked crisp. The uniform made for less distractions. If children this age are discipline problems, they're going to be discipline problems. I think uniforms actually eliminated a lot of problems between children who are critical of each other's dress.</p>

TABLE E1 (Continued)

Stakeholder	Area	Raw Data Responses
Teacher 8	Decrease in Participation	<p>I really think it was a what's hot, what's not thing. We sold it, they bought it, and it didn't get the support from the community it should have. I think the staff supported it. I think you have to continue to sell something, continue with the dog and pony show. If a child had an older sibling, they would usually follow their lead in dropping the uniform. Once the number of uniformed students dwindled....that put pressure on the remaining students. I think it should have been one way or the other. Mandatory or not at all. It's like anything else, you're going to get participation for a certain amount of time and then it's going to wane.</p>
Teacher 8	Rescission	<p>I honestly believe it's individuals that feel they have a stronger voice, can bark the loudest, sit on a committee where the principal or faculty or sits. I think this (uniform class survey) was the final straw. I really think that individuality was the most mentioned opposition to the policy. I think that for this policy to be successful, it would need to be mandatory, and not just one school can pull it off. It would have to be done across the board.</p>

TABLE E1 (Continued)

Stakeholder	Area	Raw Data Responses
Parent 1	Adoption	<p>I was on the original committee to...do a little research and come up with information on implementing a uniform policy. The way we approached it was to talk with people downtown in the administration and to research on our own what was going on across the country. From there we came to a decision that this was something we wanted to try, and we needed to come up with some idea as to what the uniform should be and how it should be implemented. Prior to my becoming part of the committee, the teachers had been polled and the majority of teachers were interested in trying uniforms. As part of the committee, I tried to stay very objective in my feelings. I didn't want to make a decision one way or another until I had all the information. In our core group of people who were researching the possibility of a uniform...there was no negativity. ...then we presented a program to the parents and got enough positive feedback to decide we wanted to go ahead and try this. This was in the spring and in the following fall we were in uniforms. It was very fast. I think from the beginning everyone was going to try to remain open-minded. There was some negative feedback at the program that we presented...familiarizing the community with the possibility of a program like this. Some of the people felt like they'd been railroaded. I never felt there was anything negative being projected from the planning council. It was a matter of seeing if it would fly and not really feeling that there was an internal commitment being made.</p>
Parent 1	Implementation	<p>We did not set up a vendor prior to this. I think that caused tremendous problems. If people had been able to get what they needed...it would have been so much easier.</p>
Parent 1	Compliance	<p>I gave it a lot of thought. I decided...because it was voluntary, we would not choose to buy into the program. I wanted to wait and see what was going to happen, how my child's perception of this would change. My child was very cooperative. When we bought clothes for school, we tried to go with the school colors. I tried to be as cooperative as possible outside the framework of the uniform policy.</p>
Parent 1	Outcomes	<p>(no knowledge of outcomes)</p>

TABLE E1 (Continued)

Stakeholder	Area	Raw Data Responses
Parent 1	Decrease in Participation	<p>I think that because it was not mandatory, there was going to be a waning. When something is new and the school year is new, people are excited and by Christmas they're tired and parenting and dressing for school...so that most things that are going to fall off as a result of the expanse of energy are the easiest things to dispense with. These are busy people. The people who don't have the advantages we do are busy trying to get from one day to the next..., and I really think that has a lot to do with it. We did not set up a vendor prior to this. I think that caused tremendous problems. If people had been able to get what they needed, plan ahead...then it would have been so much easier.</p>
Parent 1	Rescission	<p>I didn't get any feedback from the community until a letter went home that mentioned the possibility of a uniformed classroom on each grade level. I got many calls as a member of the community and a member of the planning council. Most of the feedback I got was very negative. ...that was only in my neighborhood. This is a bi-polar community. We have the haves on one side and the have nots on the other. I didn't talk to a lot of the people who were financially strapped... They (people in her neighborhood) felt this letter was a turning point for the school to either carry the policy all the way or we would stop it. At this point I was over it and didn't want to deal with it anymore. The following planning council meeting, I had a letter written by one of my neighbors that I presented to my principal that would rescind the policy. It had sort of become a community divider and rather than making it worse and aggravate the problem, it was better to just let it go. I think the motion to rescind the policy was easily accepted. I think there was a general sense of relief. It had gotten too far out of hand and was requiring too much discussion and effort. I had let the principal know my feelings on the issue.... The principal was absolutely wonderful as far as her open-mindedness. It was difficult for her because it was something she felt very strongly about. If we're going to have any type of uniform policy, it must be absolutely mandatory. I'd rather see the energy directed more toward learning than clothing. I think that became an issue as the energy needed to support the policy increased.</p>

TABLE E1 (Continued)

Stakeholder	Area	Raw Data Responses
Parent 2	Adoption	The big meeting they had at a local high school was the first I'd heard about uniforms. My wife went to that meeting and brought home a bunch of information.
Parent 2	Implementation	We had a couple of things sent home from the school, but we were involved in going around and looking for uniforms and finding out what merchants were supporting it. We turned in our findings on that, so we were probably a little more aware of how things were going with the policy. I don't know if we were officially on any committee, but we put a lot of effort out doing research on the subject. The merchants seemed to be supportive of the policy but they wanted to be sure it would be profitable for them. Some stores felt they wouldn't be able to provide the uniform choices in their fall selection because they'd already stocked up for their fall lines, and they wouldn't be able to help us until later
Parent 2	Compliance	My daughter agreed to wear uniforms, and she did in the beginning of the year. My wife and I discussed all the pros and cons and decided to support the policy. My daughter continued to wear the uniform until eventually it was only she and two other students in her class that were participating. That's when she decided she didn't want to wear the uniform anymore. She began to feel like an outsider. This was somewhere around the Christmas season. I thought uniforms would be easier for the younger students like my daughter who have trouble deciding what to wear to school. Those who supported the policy thought it would make life easier, less shopping and less decision making on what their children should wear to school. Those against it felt they were capable of dressing their own children in descent clothes appropriate for school....
Parent 2	Outcomes	It was a good year for her, but I don't think it had anything to do with her wearing a uniform.

TABLE E1 (Continued)

Stakeholder	Area	Raw Data Responses
Parent 2	Decrease in Participation	<p>If they had made the uniform policy mandatory, they would have gotten around so many variables because every family was making their own individual decision. There was such a wide variety of reasoning in people's support and opposition to the policy that the only way to make the policy work was to make it mandatory. My daughter continued to wear the uniform until eventually it was only she and two other students in her class who were participating. She began to feel like an outsider. That's when she decided she didn't want to wear the uniform anymore.</p>
Parent 2	Rescission	<p>There simply wasn't enough participation. They tried to go with certain classes being mandatory uniforms. That struck me wrong. It seemed to go against the policy and to be branding the students who had discipline problems etc. while the other kids were not. I attended the planning council meeting and several of us expressed the same kinds of feelings on the subject of uniformed classes. I think at that point there was enough opposition to the policy to constitute abandoning it.</p>

TABLE E1 (Continued)

Stakeholder	Area	Raw Data Responses
Parent 3	Adoption	I wasn't really privy to it in the very beginning. They were discussing it before I had been on planning council, and after I had joined planning council, it was basically being implemented.
Parent 3	Implementation	We had several publications that went to the parents, basically a lot of publicity that went to the parents. Things from the planning council and PTA went home explaining what it was, how to help us with our REAP goal, so that parents would have some idea why and how uniforms affect the climate within the school. As feedback was coming in, we were taking that back to the council, good and bad. Everything was brought back to the council. My major sub role on the uniform committee was how we could do a uniform swap shop.... Actually we were doing a swap shop type thing...the winter things came in as the summer things needed to go on, so we never really got to the selling part because the numbers went down and well....
Parent 3	Compliance	It started out 70%. As a parent I was totally in favor of uniforms. I think it puts everybody on a level playing field. No matter how hard we try as parents or educators or community, there are judgements made about how we look, and so for my child, I supported everyday. I fully supported it through the entire year. I would still be completely behind the uniform if it were mandatory. My husband is military, so he likes the uniform. He thinks it brings discipline, inspires work, and I feel the same thing. My daughter became only one of two in her class who wore the uniform, but I bought the uniform, and she was going to wear the uniform. She wore to the end.
Parent 3	Outcomes	It sure cleared up my mornings. It cut down on frustration. Economically it's cheaper. This year I spent three to four times more than I did last year because she's not in uniform. The cost was a real plus.

TABLE E1 (Continued)

Stakeholder	Area	Raw Data Responses
Parent 3	Decrease in Participation	<p>Because it was voluntary and not mandatory, and the position we were in with people moving in and out, our numbers dropped severely. Moving definitely affected things. I'm a military family myself, and we have parents moving in, coming into the area, not aware there's a uniform, or coming in from a different uniform school, and it takes people time to gear up to the uniform mentality. My daughter came home saying, 'I'm the only one wearing a uniform.' But I'm the parent. If it's mandatory, then you comply, just like they send their children to school. If it's voluntary, they give into their kids just to shut them up. That's part of the issue why uniforms declined. When you came in and walked the halls, as a parent, you too saw that kids stopped wearing the uniform. One of my points bringing it up was to see what peer pressure does.</p>

TABLE E1 (Continued)

Stakeholder	Area	Raw Data Responses
Parent 3	Rescission	<p>An awful lot went into the uniform policy with very minimal results. My feeling was that we could be spending this energy on something else. That was my bottom line for saying at this point in time I would not support uniforms. Let's do something else to better the school. Where we thought it would bring people together, it did the opposite, but in a different way. Now did we not have two divisions, upper and lower, but we now had four. The division was within the neighborhoods. ...it started out that the children who were disadvantaged...were meant to come together, but what ended up happening was the haves thought only the have nots were wearing them and the have nots people thought only the haves were wearing them. In actuality, wearing was across the board, but in perception, it wasn't. I was behind the issue of uniform classes, but the perception was that it was discriminatory, that they're going to get the best teachers. I was for it because you'd finally have data...a control group, but there was such an outcry that it was...the straw that broke the camels's back. People who were for it said they didn't want to do it anymore. There were people still on the council, myself included, that were disappointed that the policy failed because there was so much work that had gone into it. It had been talked enough. It was cut and put aside. I would never tackle this again unless it were mandatory. It's too hard to regulate something you can't regulate. And when it was begun, all the studies and everything we looked at was on mandatory.</p>

TABLE E1 (Continued)

Stakeholder	Area	Raw Data Responses
Parent 4	Adoption	I was on the School Planning Council, and we started discussing uniforms at our meetings. We checked out the teachers' feelings then moved to the community. We put on a big fashion show for the community and then we surveyed them. Our survey had a 70% response rate and of that, 70% favored uniforms, so we went with it. There was some opposition at the fashion show, but it was really only a few vocal people. Everyone on the council agreed to support uniforms even if they agreed to disagree.
Parent 4	Implementation	We kept the parents well informed through our newsletter and fliers. Things were also sent home with the kids in their daily folders.
Parent 4	Compliance	I had two children at the school but only one wore the uniform. Since my son was a fifth grader last year, the parents I knew said they weren't going to go out and buy uniforms for their last year. ...yet I can't remember anyone saying that they didn't think it would be a good thing.
Parent 4	Outcomes	It did seem that children were looking proud in their uniforms...and they walked down the halls with their shoulders high.... The pride was there. I really felt that my child performed better wearing a uniform, in other words, he had his business clothes and his play clothes.... Most of the parents commented to the effect that what am I going to wear today was eliminated and that seemed to be the biggest thing with the parents.
Parent 4	Decrease in Participation	...one of my friends who has a younger child said it was getting harder and harder to get her kid to wear a uniform at the end of the year because I think participation had dropped off because the newness of it had ended, and they started to realize that other kids weren't wearing a uniform. Other parents were very adamant. They were speaking out, but not in public forum, but they were making their feelings known to anybody that wanted to listen.

TABLE E1 (Continued)

Stakeholder	Area	Raw Data Responses
Parent 4	Rescission	<p>...one of the purposes of adopting the uniforms was to eliminate the line of division with the clothing between the haves and have nots. I think we ended up getting a line of division.... It became the same issue that we were trying to avoid. I think that's where a mandatory policy would have eliminated that. When I saw the survey (uniform classes), I took it very innocently. It wasn't until the principal put a memo out that mentioned segregation that I even saw anything negative in uniform classes. ...to me we were just trying to give parents an option if they wanted. Some people try very hard to find the negative to make an issue.</p>

TABLE E2

RAW DATA MATRIX: PARENT TEACHER ASSOCIATION BOARD

Stakeholder	Area	Raw Data Responses
Parent 1	Adoption	<p>I first saw something in the paper, but we had been talking about uniforms at PTA the entire year before, and there were only three of us who were against it, and everyone else was for it. I did go to the meeting after we decided to have them, but the uniform we selected wasn't chosen. There was an assembly at the high school. The things that I thought were important weren't addressed. Athletic shoes were a big issue...and footwear was not even a part of the policy. There was too much varying degree in the whole uniform. It should have been a uniform.</p>
Parent 1	Implementation	<p>Initially I was against it because I thought children needed freedom of expression.... Then after we got into it, if it were mandatory, I absolutely would have done it without an argument, and in fact, we ended up doing the uniform part of the time. Even though I was against it, I solicited businesses for donations for the uniform bank. Out of respect for the school and the principal, I just really felt I should do it. Notices were sent home almost weekly. The one thing I was aware of...the notices would say 25 out of 'blank' kids wore uniforms this week....</p>
Parent 1	Compliance	<p>I had a kindergartner and a fourth grader. The kindergartner loved it and the fourth grader did not want to do it. The fourth grader just didn't like the rules...the way boys are at that age. My children wanted uniforms at first because they thought it was going to be school logo shirts, but they were upset that they changed it to no logo. We didn't start until half way through. Sometimes when they got dressed they were in uniform without even trying. My fifth grader...wore them most of the time but not all of the time. My kindergartner wore them all of the time. My husband was adamantly opposed to the uniform. I put my kid in a uniform and still I said I don't agree with it. They also tried to plant little seeds with the kids, saying if you wore a uniform, that would happen.</p>

TABLE E2 (Continued)

Stakeholder	Area	Raw Data Responses
Parent 1	Outcomes	It (wearing uniforms) did not phase them one way or another. It did not change anything although I hoped it would. Maybe if the uniform had been a little more stuffy it would have changed the behavior. For my children there was no effect from wearing the uniform. I don't think they even noticed the uniform.
Parent 1	Decrease in Participation	
Parent 1	Rescission	A lot of people who were actually for it, once they had mentioned separating the kids in uniform classes, ...started turning against it. They felt that the children were being singled out. I felt the same way too. I wanted to know that the children who were out of uniform wouldn't be discriminated against educationally. ...the survey was the straw that broke the camel's back. It was the topic everywhere you went, you know the soccer games, the cub scouts. It went on for about two weeks, and we had a PTA meeting and the principal was very worried about what was going to happen like she was going to be attacked or something, but that didn't happen. It went very smoothly. Everyone was very nice. I had friends that were adamantly for uniforms, but they said I'm not for it anymore. That issue changed a lot of people's minds. My phone was ringing constantly because I was on the PTA Board. I thought there was too much emphasis on uniforms instead of education. A mandatory policy would take care of everything. You can't do anything with a voluntary policy.

TABLE E2 (Continued)

Stakeholder	Area	Raw Data Responses
Parent 2	Adoption	The school board came out with some big thing that said we were allowed to put uniforms to a vote, and so the School Planning Council first initiated it and then took it to the parents and the PTA. Then a committee formed to determine how to implement the uniforms. I had opportunity for input through a survey about what type of uniform you'd like to wear....
Parent 2	Implementation	Neighborhood talking was a big part of it. Somebody would talk to somebody and say are you going to do uniforms and blah...and because I was on the band wagon, whenever anybody would ask, I'd tell them we found this out and this out. I was like the spokesperson for uniforms, especially with the persons we'd visit with. I know at least three families that did because I influenced them in that way. In addition to the fashion show, the newsletter kept parents informed. The principal always put an article in there to let you know where it was, percentage, how many students were and were not. Then there was some information about possible vendors coming to visit. Mostly the newsletter and at least one letter as I remember.
Parent 2	Compliance	My view of compliance is more of a teacher view on it, being in schools myself, seeing children looking like rag-a-muffins, and looking at the others and saying if they all looked alike, maybe the difference would just go away. My kids supported it everyday for almost the entire year. It broke my heart when they would come home and tell me they were the only ones wearing uniforms.
Parent 2	Outcomes	I believe that my kids were more ready to learn when they were in uniform.
Parent 2	Decrease in Participation	Well I think the change of season and people not purchasing the winter ones, the big department stores did not always have the stuff in stock, and people got frustrated with that, and probably because parents just didn't know what to do when it came to fighting with the kids. They just got tired of it. There were a couple of times I did. It was like, 'Fine. Wear whatever you want.' When the other kids stopped wearing, peer pressure was evident.

TABLE E2 (Continued)

Stakeholder	Area	Raw Data Responses
Parent 2	Rescission	<p>It just seemed like a group of three or four parents, a small vocal group, that kind of underhanded type thing that I found out about after the fact, and it was a select group of parents that kind of organized. I guess we're naive, but they did, and at the end of the year we had a meeting and this group of people sat and told us we're going to have a vote and said to my husband and I that you allayed my fears about this. We never thought it would end. These people outvoted it. I was bitter about this. It was a cheesy thing the way it was done. I think even the school has some fault because there were some wranglings with the planning council, and they were smarter than we were.</p>

TABLE E2 (Continued)

Stakeholder	Area	Raw Data Responses
Parent 3	Adoption	<p>They were going to have a special meeting at a nearby high school. They were inviting the community, and they had asked several students and parents who were in favor of it to show support first and participate in the demonstration. They asked my daughter to wear a uniform, and they asked me to wear a uniform. I believe a letter went home with a survey giving parents choices about what they would like to see their children wearing to school. I think they gave us three or four choices....</p>
Parent 3	Implementation	<p>We waited for the surveys to come back and based on the results of the survey, proceeded with the policy for next year. Reactions were mixed. It depended on how you felt about uniforms initially. A lot of the children did not like the idea of uniforms. They liked going to stores and picking out what they were going to wear to school. Parents were also mixed. Some thought it was a great idea. I agree with the policy. Only good could come of it, not anything bad. Some adults thought we were taking their freedom of choice away and did not want to be told what to send their kids to school in. So it was a mixed reaction from the very beginning. Letters went home, it was written in the newsletter, and it was discussed at all the PTA meetings.</p>
Parent 3	Compliance	<p>My child complied mildly. I have to say my husband was one who did not want to be told what his children had to wear.... So right inside some households you had different points of view. So what I ended up doing was...buying basic uniform colors. That was maybe my way of not sticking to the particular item but feeling that my daughter was going to school dressed for school and she was happy with that compromise and I was happy.</p>
Parent 3	Outcomes	<p>She came home a couple of days and she looked really cute...and said I'm not going to wear this again. She felt uncomfortable wearing it. She said, 'Yea, but they're bringing extra clothes to school.' I think the kids stashed t-shirts in their back packs and changed when they got there.... Effects? I don't think so in terms of my daughter.</p>

TABLE E2 (Continued)

Stakeholder	Area	Raw Data Responses
Parent 3	Decrease in Participation	Because we were given a choice. I think if the school board had adopted the policy and said the students of the city have to wear the uniform, parents have to comply, and maybe it would take a year or so, but we would all know that the children of this city had to wear uniforms. Giving each school the choice...really doesn't make people comply.
Parent 3	Rescission	I just feel the principal, planning council, or whoever implemented it first, realized that it was not as successful as they wanted it to be, and they had put a lot of hours and a lot of work into it, and I guess they realized it wasn't worth it. If there was any resistance, I'm not aware of it.

TABLE E2 (Continued)

Stakeholder	Area	Raw Data Responses
Parent 4	Adoption	The rationale was that if the uniform policy came into being, all students would be equal because there would be no difference, appearance wise. We have a large difference between our clientele. We have some on welfare that get free lunches, and there's the middle line in there and the rich. It was a good thing if it negated the kidding thing and the wanting those sneakers you can't have. ...we sent out surveys to the parents to get their feeling on it, and from there the School Planning Council decided it was worth the shot of trying it for a year voluntary to see if it was going to work.
Parent 4	Implementation	Parents were notified through the newspaper which goes out every so often, and we also sent it home in the children's folder which they bring home everyday.
Parent 4	Compliance	It was doing pretty well and there towards the end there were less than five kids. I never really saw 70%, more like 50%.
Parent 4	Outcomes	The kids who participated didn't have to worry about what to wear in the morning. It seems to the teachers I talked to it made a difference in the child's behavior. It seemed to be something that calmed them down...like those little kids with the badges, safeties.
Parent 4	Decrease in Participation	I think it was a case where it needed to be enforced.
Parent 4	Rescission	Some of the parents in my neighborhood did not like being told what their kids could or could not wear and yet it was a voluntary program, so I have a hard time following that logic. They felt their kids were being forced into wearing uniforms. We fought hard for our freedoms and freedoms are supposed to be freedoms. As long as it was voluntary, it was good. There are a lot of things which are mandatory.

TABLE E2 (Continued)

Stakeholder	Area	Raw Data Responses
Parent 5	Adoption	<p>The principal introduced it, and she had mentioned it through some fliers to parents and we picked up on it because my wife and I had read some articles on it about five years ago and decided that was what we'd like to see for our kids.... So we supported it right from the beginning. It came to fruition rather quickly. The principal drove the issue and got the parents involved. We were behind it because we thought it would be easier for our children to not have to worry about their clothing and be able to focus on learning. None of the decisions was made in a vacuum. The principal took great pains to keep parents involved. There were frequent fliers sent home. She thoroughly briefed the parents in what she was planning to do.... Once she realized she was going to have a ground swell of support from the parents, she organized a marvelous fashion show where they showed not only the uniforms available for kids, but showing the parents that uniforms were a part of everyday life.... There was some pretty serious disagreement with the whole fashion show...because as everybody knows, parents don't have a reason to come to PTA unless they have a reason to come. The school put a carrot out in front of the kids. If they could get their parents to come, they'd get some type of ice cream party...and some of the parents thought that was like bribery.</p>
Parent 5	Implementation	<p>There was some disagreement initially when we went forward with the proposal. I don't think there was any major disagreement.</p>
Parent 5	Compliance	<p>At first my kids thought it was great. As the season wore onto to spring time, they began to dislike it. They felt not enough other children were wearing uniforms. Our kids don't run this house and continued to wear uniforms 90% of the time. Of those who didn't support the program, 36% said that if the policy had been mandatory, they would have supported it.</p>
Parent 5	Outcomes	<p>I'm very biased toward the program, so I think I'm not a very good person to ask that question. I think when kids were in their uniforms, they felt more ready to go to school, more pride in themselves.... Many parents could not see any proof that their children were actually benefitting from the program.</p>

TABLE E2 (Continued)

Stakeholder	Area	Raw Data Responses
Parent 5	Decrease in Participation	<p>There are a couple of things that probably started the decline. The principle reason was nothing to do with the policy. People just ran out of clothes. People started to think that maybe the policy wasn't going to fly next year, and we began to see a serious decline in the wearing of uniforms around the time it started to get cold because kids had to switch into warmer uniforms and they just hadn't bought them. The vendors who agreed to stock the uniforms just hadn't come through. When you have people on the fence as to whether to participate, and you make it hard for them, they're gone. Finally I think there was a lot of disagreement with the program because the way the principal approached it. Sometimes your delivery method can be very business like and parents sometimes want to be spoon fed and coddled and this made parents feel she was spending too much time on the uniforms and not on teaching kids.</p>
Parent 5	Rescission	<p>Some parents felt the kids wearing uniforms were being discriminated against. It just degraded from there, and I think some very vocal opponents developed. The survey (uniform classrooms) was a huge mistake on the principal's part. That was not something that was shopped out to the parents and teachers. It was something the principal sent out on her own. If more people had read it before it went out, someone would have said it was a dumb idea. It offended a lot of people right away and I can understand a lot of the concerns the parents had. Some felt that by supporting the uniform policy, children would be labeled as the best kids and would wind up with the best teachers. Anyone with any faith in the principal knew she wouldn't do something like that. It seems the only uniform policies that are successful are the mandatory ones.</p>

TABLE E2 (Continued)

Stakeholder	Area	Raw Data Responses
Parent 6	Adoption	<p>I think the idea evolved from a principal who's a leader. She's about making positive changes for young people. There were a lot of positive reasons but foremost to improve discipline and order, test scores, and safety. The school did an excellent job. First of all there was a forum at the high school where parents came in with their children, and we had a fashion show and question and answers.... Then there was a vote. Then vendors were selected by a parent committee who investigated vendors.</p>
Parent 6	Implementation	<p>The PTA and School Planning Council also tried a swap shop for clothing exchange for when children outgrew clothing. It was very well planned and everyone had their voice even though we knew in the beginning that there were some people that if they want their child to be in uniform, they would put them in private school. Our school, our look, our spirit became an everyday thing.</p>
Parent 6	Compliance	<p>The younger child loves the uniform. The older child...we had to negotiate certain days of the week. She still wears parts of the uniform this year with her clothing. The children on my street were in uniform, even the high school parents were rallying saying this was great. A lot of kids decided they were not going to wear the uniform, that they were grown up. They took their stand and they really won.</p>
Parent 6	Outcomes	<p>My husband and I thought that it did not in any way affect the grades, but I thought my pocketbook likes it. I know the difference this year because of the lack of uniforms. The children looked so very nice. They used to be about the business of learning. It was economical. It was easier. We didn't argue about what we were wearing in the morning. It put everyone on the same playing field. I think the uniforms accomplished this, but I think some other issues came in and caused more problems. My children, no. They were not changed. I do know from the reports in the planning council that there was statistical data that showed that the problems with discipline came from the children who were not in uniform, something like six out of seventy had on uniforms.</p>

TABLE E2 (Continued)

Stakeholder	Area	Raw Data Responses
Parent 6	Decrease in Participation	<p>I think children now in this day and time dictate to their parents what they're going to do. So many adults decide, 'Wait a minute. This is too much of a problem for me to go through. It's causing me stress to argue about the uniform, so forget the uniform.' As more kids stopped wearing, more came home complaining and more parents gave in. These are the things in child rearing that suck. I would listen to my daughter come home and complain about the fact that only she and ten others in the class wore a uniform and the others were not. Some of the children by Christmas were no longer in uniform because they outgrew their clothes and those are financial circumstances.</p>
Parent 6	Rescission	<p>My heart really goes out to the principal because she was the one who received the phone calls and letters.... You began to get the feeling it was causing a division in the community and that was never the intent. ...we knew unanimously that we had to do this (end the policy) on behalf of the community. We knew we couldn't bring it back next year, so we ended up with a strict dress code. I did not see the division in the community myself.</p>

TABLE E2 (Continued)

Stakeholder	Area	Raw Data Responses
Parent 7	Adoption	<p>...it started about two years ago now through the School Planning Council. The principal had basically put it on the agenda for us and boy the 'caca' was flying. You heard the pros and the cons...however as a School Planning Council our idea was to approach every idea objectively. Basically when we sat down as a committee we put together a brief survey which said we are looking at uniforms, what are your ideas? We sent this to the parents and faculty. The survey showed that there was enough interest here at the school to go with it. We found that both of our economic groups were represented. We first approached the idea in December, and by the time we got the surveys back, we had to do some major pushing to get it going between spring break and the start of the new year. ...we did a big function at the high school. We approached it with the aspect hoping the parents would be a little more receptive to it. It was very successful. We had a question and answer which was very good because it gave a chance for interaction. The biggest opposition at the time was 'I think my child should express his identity....' After the session, we distributed a survey and the response was enough that we had the 70% the board requires, and from there the principal and I went to the school board and did a presentation. We got approved....</p>

TABLE E2 (Continued)

Stakeholder	Area	Raw Data Responses
Parent 7	Implementation	<p>We got approved and before school closed, we notified our parents that we would be officially implementing it with the start of the new school year. We did everything from keeping it in the newsletter for parents, to keeping it in the tickler for teachers, letting them know we'd gone this far and so on. And as PTA president at the time, we constantly kept the PTA updated on that. Whatever the opposition was, their thoughts were published along with it in the newspaper. They always asked parents and kids to give their opinions. It's one of those deals where if the parent is going to accept it, it is going to filter down to the child. The teachers also had a lot to do with it. We asked the teachers to participate. Maybe we had about 50/50. ...which I think was a factor which hampered us. My son would come home and say my teacher and I wore the same colors. We looked alike. I'd see other teachers wear the uniform and the kids were like she's wearing it, so it must be important. In terms of the actual uniform policy, there was no real resistance from the staff.</p>
Parent 7	Compliance	<p>My son wore the uniform and believe me it made my life easier. I understand the identity thing, but I don't think you have to express it in the way you dress. My son, towards the end of the year, started to say, 'Mom, do I have to wear a uniform again.'</p>
Parent 7	Outcomes	<p>For my son, I did notice a difference. Starting off with there was no struggle every morning of what to wear. His whole attitude was great. He was in school to learn. He did great. A's and B's, great attitude. In seeing the kids now that it is not implemented, I can see a difference.</p>
Parent 7	Decrease in Participation	<p>Parents through the course of the year were like tired of it, saying to their kids, 'OK, fine. Wear what you want.' He's (son) never been one to get in the cliquish thing but after wearing the same thing over and over, he'd say, 'Mom, do I have to.' Parents even started to question why kids weren't participating when the teachers aren't. I think that caused the uniform wearing to kind of dwindle down.</p>

TABLE E2 (Continued)

Stakeholder	Area	Raw Data Responses
Parent 7	Rescission	<p>Personally, I think when we did uniforms, we rushed. We should have gone maybe a little bit slower at it, worked gradually. We thought we had vendors but we didn't. Parents would say I can't find the uniform. Parents were getting frustrated. It was one stumbling block after another. ...but I feel that maybe had we gone a little slower, maybe rethought some of the things and avenues we had done, we probably could still be doing it this year. Unfortunately, by the time the pressure came, everyone was a little stressed out. It was like, are you willing to sit down and rework this, but a lot of the people who had been on the committee and who had worked so hard just didn't want to do it anymore. I got it going, but I couldn't keep putting all the energy into it. So I guess what happened was the members of the council weren't willing to try or revamp it. It was like let's just drop it. I think that when the uniform class survey went out, it was misinterpreted. A lot of parents immediately thought that was singling out. I think that the main problem out there was the key word <u>voluntary</u>. In order for it to be successful, it has to be <u>mandatory</u>. Personally, make it mandatory or leave it alone.</p>

TABLE E2 (Continued)

Stakeholder	Area	Raw Data Responses
Parent 8	Adoption	The meeting we had at our high school was a really big thing because they offered ice cream to everyone that attended. People were like being bribed to get them to the meeting. My husband and I attended all the different meetings they had in order to choose the colors and the outfits....
Parent 8	Implementation	Parents were informed of the uniform policy after it was decided in committee and then presented here at the PTA. They (the school) told us what the uniform would consist of. I think they may have had more success with it if they had the school name on the uniform.
Parent 8	Compliance	My child knew enough children that would wear the uniform, but at the same time he's individual enough that he didn't want to be like everyone else. He had pieces of the uniform, but I didn't make him wear them regularly.
Parent 8	Outcomes	(no knowledge of outcomes)
Parent 8	Decrease in Participation	A big part of why participation waned was because they could not make the policy mandatory. That's what a lot of parents had wanted. There were enough people who felt that in public school the policy could not be mandatory. Children's attitudes to dress change so often. First they're into one thing and then another. As the seasons changed, I think the desire to wear different clothing had an effect.
Parent 8	Rescission	The main thing that caused the rescission was the level of participation had dropped to such a level, and I didn't feel I should pressure my child into wearing the uniform and possibly being called a geek. I think the interest level just fell off, and they no longer had support for the policy. The uniform letter--several parents felt that it would segregate the children so that these are the good kids and they would get better teachers or whatever. Being raised in the South, I had a fear of segregation myself. I don't think these troubled kids need uniforms, I think they need attention and hugs. The uniforms would just be one more thing for parents to fuss at children about keeping up.

TABLE E3

RAW DATA MATRIX: ASSISTANT SUPERINTENDENT

Stakeholder	Area	Raw Data Responses
Assistant Super.	Adoption	<p>It all got started as a result of our former school board members. Both were members of the school board committee for at-risk and safe schools, and they came up with the idea of a pilot. Originally they wanted to have four schools choose to participate in a voluntary uniform pilot and they did get four. ...they were looking for better attendance, increased student learning as measured by test scores, and better student discipline. ...the superintendent's assistant was given the task of going out and giving presentations, but after she did the first one, that's when she left.... Since this was an elementary target, the job was given to me. I had a computer program for the schools that called on me for presentations, and I'd sit there with the planning councils and PTA boards who were interested in getting information, pursuing the idea. ...I'd give the presentations and answer questions. I think I probably did 17 to 20 presentations. The school had to show that they had an overwhelming supportive community, and the Educational Planning Center helped to develop surveys that helped the school survey their parents. We looked for 70% or better in support of the uniforms. In doing the presentations, there wasn't anybody that was in the middle.... They were either for it or against it. A couple of times I excused myself and let them continue their arguing.</p>
Assistant Super.	Implementation	<p>I really didn't get a lot of feedback. I checked up on a different school because I had gotten a couple of calls concerned that it was going to cost more to buy the uniforms, and I don't know that anything was done to show that buying uniforms in the long run would cost more or less. I did not here any static or complaints because it was a voluntary program and for the most part, the planning councils had done a good job of getting information out to their parents and community and parents were willing to go along with it and give it a try.</p>
Assistant Super.	Compliance	<p>(no knowledge of compliance)</p>

TABLE E3 (Continued)

Stakeholder	Area	Raw Data Responses
Assistant Super.	Outcomes	As I told them at the presentations, that because your child puts on a uniform, your child's not going to become an honor roll student overnight or have less discipline problems...what we were looking for was maybe evidence over time that would show improvement. I never did see any data (of improvement).
Assistant Super.	Decrease in Participation	I think there was a loss of interest over time, probably people weren't realizing the results immediately that they were looking for.
Assistant Super.	Rescission	The only time I really heard any static was when the principal of your case study, and this is the case of a minority, meaning number, really making themselves vocal, probably no more than four parents, and they all knew each other and fed upon each other, and they were adamantly opposed to having a class at each grade level strictly who wore uniforms. They saw that as unconstitutional and segregational. ...they were just of the opinion that if you have all the kids in uniform in one class and the kids without in the other, then you were segregating the students.

TABLE E4

RAW DATA MATRIX: PRINCIPAL/ASSISTANT PRINCIPAL

Stakeholder	Area	Raw Data Responses
Assistant Principal	Adoption	<p>Our principal shared with the School Planning Council all the information coming from the General Assembly concerning uniforms and articles from newspapers and magazines talking about uniforms in public schools. It did spark an interest from the council...because we are bi-modal, and we thought that...it might eliminate differential treatment of children due to their dress and focus on education. The School Planning Council...decided to survey the community to see if there was parent interest. ...We got into a major production at a the local high school holding a special meeting...to see how many expressed an interest in the program. I believe it was 70% of the parents who came were in favor of the uniform policy. We next set up a uniform committee.... We invited the community for and against to meetings to express their concerns.</p>
Assistant Principal	Implementation	<p>The teachers initially loved it because there wasn't the focus on who was wearing what although they found it more difficult to learn names. We tried several ways to ignite interest in the policy, local articles with pictures of children in uniform, etc. We had begun planning for vouchers for uniforms and sponsors.... We even tried to have a used uniform sale. We had maybe four donations, a very poor participation, but we tried. We knew that the staff had gone out and bought clothes over the years and we didn't expect them to go out and buy all new clothes. They wore the colors of the uniforms and as they bought new clothes, they seemed to buy more of the colors of the uniform. We felt a lot of their support (wearing the uniform) was because it was not mandatory,</p>
Assistant Principal	Compliance	<p>We had a wonderful turnout at the beginning of the school year. We had to be very careful not to show any favoritism to the children wearing the uniforms. ...but near the end, participation fell to near 35%. Then in the summer the principals met and had to admit that participation in the uniform program had dropped to 35-40%.</p>

TABLE E4 (Continued)

Stakeholder	Area	Raw Data Responses
Assistant Principal	Outcomes	We didn't want to differentiate between students although one thing we did subtly was to see if there was a decrease in referrals due to uniforms. We presented in January to the council the fact that there were 72 referrals...and only six or eight had worn uniforms.
Assistant Principal	Decrease in Participation	When winter came, we didn't know if the stores weren't carrying enough of the colors or children had outgrown their outfits. We really didn't know what happened. Eventually, though, the kids started to say that it wasn't fair that the other kids weren't wearing uniforms, and they didn't want to have to wear them anymore.
Assistant Principal	Rescission	We started feeling that we were putting out a lot of time and effort in drawing interest in the program and again it was becoming very difficult. We announced to the PTA that it wasn't working. We had several folks say, 'I went out and bought uniforms, why are we getting rid of it now?' There was a lot of misunderstanding about the uniform classes survey. People thought that it would be a type of segregation, that we would give these classes more computers, more attention, better teachers.... ...I know that really stirred up a lot. It was just a few. It might be one or two parents that go into the neighborhood and share their interpretation and then everyone calls in and causes an uproar. We were meeting with the PTA explaining what the principal was doing, that she had checked with a lawyer to make sure it wasn't discrimination and what our rationale was behind the idea. It caused such a ruckus. That's when we began to wonder how much we'd have to do to keep this program alive. Once the School Planning Council said they wanted to end it, that was it. It was their decision. I think if we'd given it another year, we'd have made more progress.

TABLE E4 (Continued)

Stakeholder	Area	Raw Data Responses
Principal	Adoption	<p>What we started with when our planning council decided we wanted to look at uniforms was a catchy phrase to REAP the benefits. Our school has a bi-modal curve in terms of achievement, in terms of socio-economics. We have north of the boulevard, nice community, single family homes.... We also have south of the boulevard which includes mostly rented properties and a section of public housing. ...we had a 30 point differential in test scores between our African-Americans and our Caucasians. With our bi-modal curve we thought that by using uniforms we could create a more level playing field so our teachers wouldn't have any preconceived notions about what those kids could do as opposed to these kids. There was also an element of our community that would like to be private school, and we thought this would be a way of elevating it to that kind of perception about school. We felt that by improving discipline, we have more time focused on academics and discipline. ...we planned a fashion show. ...the fashion show was more of a sales pitch for the uniform. We got everyone we could think of involved. After the fashion show we then polled the parents as to their feelings on the uniforms they'd seen and gave them a chance to voice their opinions....We then took the results of the survey to our school board. We gave them a cursory overview of our results. 31% of families were represented in the survey. 84% of the neighborhoods were represented and representation was across grade levels. 88.5% of the parents polled would support a uniform policy being implemented. 84% were comfortable with the uniform we'd chosen. If there was a division at that time, we didn't detect a division. One of our surveys asked would you support the program if implemented, not do you want the program. We got really good returns on it and most agreed.</p>
Principal	Implementation	<p>One family who was not supporting the program, they it made it clear they did not want their children to wear the uniform, but they made it clear they would not undermine it.</p>
Principal	Compliance	<p>We started the year with a 70% compliance. ...by the end of the year we were down to 33% participation. We tried counting different classrooms to see what percentage of kids were in uniform. Toward the end we averaged approximately 34%.</p>

TABLE E4 (Continued)

Stakeholder	Area	Raw Data Responses
Principal	Outcomes	We did notice positive differences such as a reduction in the number of referrals and the kids seeming to be more ready to learn. I know it's very subjective.
Principal	Decrease in Participation	...children would go home and tell their parents that no one was wearing them, or the family would purchase only one uniform and when it was in the laundry, they wouldn't wear it...

TABLE E4 (Continued)

Stakeholder	Area	Raw Data Responses
Principal	Rescission	<p>We decided to try and save the uniform policy by implementing it by classes. We sent our usual end of the year survey concerning students who would be returning, and we added some questions about students attending strictly uniform classes. The parents' response took us totally off guard. Parents thought we were trying to segregate their children. We were immediately thrown in a defense mode. Parents threatened to have the ACLU come after us. We were forced to contact the city attorney to verify that what we were doing was in fact legal. The amount of negative reaction to this idea and the stressful situations it caused us made us decide to drop the uniform policy in favor of a strict dress code. We could not battle the misconceptions of the community as to why we were trying to continue the uniform policy by going with classes of uniformed kids. When the community began to divide and the opposition began to build its forces, trying to undermine, that's when we had to take action. When it got out there with the soccer games on the weekends and this and that and the other, I guess it was about April then, but I didn't become aware of it until about the middle of May, when a few began asking me did I have any idea what was going on out there. I knew we'd taken a significant drop and I was still putting articles in the newsletters, and we had made contacts and started receiving monies from corporate sponsors and I guess the opposition didn't want it in their face for another year. The perception of most people who came into talk to me was that nothing else was going on in the school. We had made a commitment to keep it in the forefront and even though other things were included, their perception was the only thing we were doing was uniforms. The ones that were pushing to keep the programs alive were next door neighbors to the ones that wanted it undermined. That's what I didn't want to happen, for our neighborhoods to divide. What had started out as an idea to bridge our socio-economic groups put a division among neighbors. In terms of the groups that came to the meetings, these neighbors, friends, even sat on different sides of the room. When we were able to show data that a lot of their anxieties were based on misperceptions, they were able to change their tone to what can we do to rebuild the community that had tripped and fallen.</p>

TABLE E5

RAW DATA MATRIX: SCHOOL BOARD MEMBERS

Stakeholder	Area	Raw Data Responses
School Board Member 1	Adoption	One reason I supported the uniform policy was to help create a better learning environment. I didn't see this as a fix all but a piece of the fix. I had hoped the uniform would eliminate some of the distractions in the classroom.
School Board Member 1	Implementation	(no knowledge of implementation)
School Board Member 1	Compliance	(no knowledge of compliance)
School Board Member 1	Outcomes	(no knowledge of outcomes)
School Board Member 1	Decrease in Participation	I think that when something is important in your school, you know it, and I think that the school board did not work to push the policy enough. We got people to buy into the idea, but then we cut the umbilical cord and just said, 'OK. Are you living or dying.' I think we should have remained more connected with the schools and their uniform policies and help encourage and support some of the financials of the policy and help to keep people excited and involved with the policy. I think we've just been distracted the last year or so with other pressing matters, and these took away from a lot of other issues and uniforms was just one of those.
School Board Member 1	Rescission	Next time I'm going to push for a mandatory policy--that's the key. I think we're ready for a mandatory policy, and I think the dress codes in schools is a problem that needs to be addressed. My next goal is to look at the legal issue of can this policy be mandated.

TABLE E5 (Continued)

Stakeholder	Area	Raw Data Responses
School Board Member 2	Adoption	<p>When I first came on the board, the special assistant to the superintendent was doing some research on at-risk. We formed a very small committee. We put together some things and uniforms wasn't there...but during the research it came out that uniforms could be advantageous to at-risk kids. We did some more research and got an idea of some of the successes like Baltimore County Schools. We decided to put a flier out to the principals. It was just a questionnaire to try and find out what kind of interest was out there. We got about maybe ten positive responses, so the Educational Planning Center and the superintendent's special assistant put together a briefing for principals and PTAs. When we briefed the school board on it, there were some misgivings on it, but there were enough eyes to say let's give it a try as a pilot program. The basic question which came up early on was should it be a voluntary program. Unfortunately, now having heard back from it after the first year, maybe that's not the way to go. ...every school could establish what they wanted as a uniform.</p>
School Board Member 2	Implementation	(no knowledge of implementation)
School Board Member 2	Compliance	(no knowledge of compliance)
School Board Member 2	Outcomes	<p>I went around to each of the schools just to see participation and then I tracked it a little bit, but then last spring everything went to hell and I resigned. ...in a one year pilot I doubt it could be conclusive.</p>
School Board Member 2	Decrease in Participation	<p>I imagine that the waning was actually do to peer pressure. There's a lot of reasons why people don't want it. There are a lot of people who are just against uniforms.</p>
School Board Member 2	Rescission	<p>Mandatory is the way to go. We have tried it, and it hasn't been so successful. I don't know why.</p>

TABLE E6

RAW DATA MATRIX: INFORMATION RICH SAMPLE

Stakeholder	Area	Raw Data Responses
PRINCIPAL OF ANOTHER UNIFORM PILOT	Adoption	The principals were given an overview of uniform policies, and we had a gentlemen from an elementary school that had a uniform policy meet with the principals to answer their questions. We then took all of this information back to our schools to find out what people's feelings would be on such a policy.
PRINCIPAL OF ANOTHER UNIFORM PILOT	Implementation	(no knowledge of implementation)
PRINCIPAL OF ANOTHER UNIFORM PILOT	Compliance	(no knowledge of compliance)
PRINCIPAL OF ANOTHER UNIFORM PILOT	Outcomes	(no knowledge of outcomes)
PRINCIPAL OF ANOTHER UNIFORM PILOT	Decrease in Participation	I think what happened was the weather became colder and the students wore the uniform less and less.
PRINCIPAL OF ANOTHER UNIFORM PILOT	Rescission	I hope the board will approve a mandatory policy, even if they pilot it in certain schools....

TABLE E6 (Continued)

Stakeholder	Area	Raw Data Responses
EDUCATION PLANNING CENTER ASSESSMENT SPECIALIST	Adoption	<p>The principal of another school and the assistant to the superintendent decided that uniforms were an idea that we should investigate. They built on it, other principals heard about it, and they started looking at the idea and it got some coverage in the newspaper. The assistant to the superintendent had put together a presentation on uniforms and when she resigned, she left it with the Assistant Superintendent for Elementary Education and he gave a few presentations. Then he asked me to do the presentations to the schools that wanted it. That's how I ended up doing it. Not because I had any particular belief that uniforms were something we needed. I would do this with the School Planning Councils and typically they'd say they'd like to do it for the parents and do a survey. It is difficult to investigate even initially without stirring up the school and community, so we learned to do the survey process, that we had to be very careful how you worded the survey before you even determined interest. I would go do the presentations and during the question and answer period, I would see the strong range of emotions this issue brought out in parents. The idea rarely originated from the principal. It was usually a parent or two who brought the idea to the table, and I felt the principal in their hearts didn't want to get into it.</p>
EDUCATION PLANNING CENTER ASSESSMENT SPECIALIST	Implementation	<p>...the boards interest was not necessarily to have it any school but to help people get started if they wanted to have it. The board didn't have too much of a directive on it, only seed money to get the idea going the first year, but they expected the school to go out and raise funds to help people who maybe couldn't afford it. There wasn't any money at first. The board was inviting schools to pilot.</p>
EDUCATION PLANNING CENTER ASSESSMENT SPECIALIST	Compliance	<p>(no knowledge of compliance)</p>

TABLE E6 (Continued)

Stakeholder	Area	Raw Data Responses
EDUCATION PLANNING CENTER ASSESSMENT SPECIALIST	Outcomes	<p>What uniforms will do is lend a touch of professionalism to your school and let the children know they have their play clothes and their school clothes, and it's not play time. That was the main point we tried to say it would do. I'd always try to say do you have problems that uniforms could solve. Uniforms will take time away from other things. ...but I just don't think our schools had the kinds of problems uniforms were trying to address.</p>
EDUCATION PLANNING CENTER ASSESSMENT SPECIALIST	Decrease in Participation	<p>I think the newness of the issue wears off, and I think you have to market it hard if it's not mandatory. It was one thing to get pumped up at the beginning of the year, but by February you had so many other things to do, that you got tired of it and the principals and teachers stopped pushing it, and kids lost interest. Also, as soon as the weather got cold, you had to start wearing top clothes, and it didn't look like a uniform anymore.</p>
EDUCATION PLANNING CENTER ASSESSMENT SPECIALIST	Rescission	<p>The program is not going to succeed unless it is mandatory. In a voluntary program like the one were trying to run, it was just going to take a massive amount of time for the administrators and teachers to continually reinforce the ones who were wearing so other children would want to do it. I doubt the board is going to take any further action for several reasons. I haven't heard any of the new board members express any interest, and we've had enough dry runs in several schools to see that it doesn't really deal with the problems we have in our system. We have pretty good students. It just seems inappropriate for us.</p>

APPENDIX F: DOCUMENTS USED AS SOURCES OF DATA MATRIX

TABLE F1**Chronology of Documents Used as Sources of Data Matrix**

Document	Area of Uniforms Affected	Description of Document
memorandum from deputy super to principals Sept. 12, 1994	Adoption	School Board request from principals of the number of apparel related crimes, misconduct, and violent incidence within past 5 years.
School Board agenda item #6.C Oct. 18, 1994	Adoption	Results of a survey of school principals on their interest in implementing a voluntary uniform policy. 35 principals responded to the question: Do you feel the school climate or academic achievement would improve if students wore a uniform to school? 13 checked "yes", 17 checked "no", and 5 checked "unsure".
minutes of regular meeting of School Board Oct. 18, 1994	Adoption	Item 6.C, Uniforms in the Schools, gave an overview of the results of the principals' interest in exploring uniforms. One board member expressed a lack of response from principals as lack of interest. The At-Risk Committee was identified, and board agreed to pursue the issue further. Some board members felt interested schools should take the lead while others expressed that the central office should offer direct assistance.
memorandum from deputy super and special assist. to interested principals on subject of uniforms Nov. 15, 1994	Adoption	Invitation to attend an informational presentation on school uniforms as follow up to uniform survey.

TABLE F1 (Continued)

Document	Area of Uniform Affected	Description of Document
school newsletter, Vol. 1, No. 2 Nov. 1994	Adoption	Page 1 article titled "Uniforms" authored by principal of site reviewing school board action on uniforms, presenting options for the site, citing benefits and drawbacks of uniforms. Article stated, "In testing the waters at...." Emphasized that no decision has been made, that a survey is forthcoming.
memorandum to site's staff from principal on subject of uniforms no date	Adoption	Expressed Faculty Council concerns that staff may be un or misinformed about exploration of uniforms at site. Confirmed that no decision had been made, no teacher uniform in being considered, and that no one is withholding information. Requested teacher attendance at upcoming Faculty Council meeting.
flier to site's staff on subject of uniforms no date	Adoption	Referenced Nov. '94 parent newsletter and provided information learned to date about uniforms including voluntary nature and objectives of uniform policy. Provided a "Where do we go from here" paragraph including need to survey staff, presentation to community, and formation of committees under auspices of School Planning Council. Included a staff response form to current standing on issue.
results of initial staff survey no date	Adoption	44 of staff responded with 12 "sold on the concept," 10 wishing to "move on to the next step," 19 having "reservations but willing to move to the next step," and 3 "opposed."
site principal's personal notes on board's uniform presentation to interested principals Dec. 1, 1994	Adoption	Cited reasons for a uniform policy, reviewed models from other cities, and gave guidelines for implementation. Noted school board called for 4 pilot schools for '95-96 and 4 more following year. Required action plan to include presentation to faculty and School Planning Council, survey, community support, and emphasized site decision.

TABLE F1 (Continued)

Document	Area of Uniform Affected	Description of Document
follow up survey from special assist. to super. to site principal Dec. 1, 1995	Adoption	Assessed principals' interest after attending board informational presentation of Dec. 1. Site principal checked "I am still interested...and desire more information...." Also checked "I would like to have a presentation made to my staff and planning council members...." Survey stated that if a school wished to be a pilot after the presentation, a public meeting and parent survey would follow.
memorandum to uniform committee members from PTA president on subject of uniform presentation and first meeting no date	Adoption	Provided committee members with update on uniforms and scheduled committee's first meeting. Noted that the high school auditorium of neighborhood had been scheduled for May 2 presentation and that committee must prepare for this. Also requested that committee come with suggestions for presentation and parent questionnaire.
application for bus to transport parents needing transportation to uniform presentation April 22, 1995	Adoption	Approved request form for bus and driver for 50 adults to be transported from neighborhoods to presentation and back.
school newsletter, Vol.1, No. 6 April 1995	Adoption	Page 1 article titled "REAP the Benefits" authored by principal of site explained the theme for exploration of uniforms as an acronym for Respect, Equality, Academic excellence, and Pride. Invited parents to attend a uniform proposal presentation at neighborhood high school. Offered each class with 100% attendance a pizza party and free ice cream to students whose parents attend but class does not receive 100%.

TABLE F1 (Continued)

Document	Area of Uniform Affected	Description of Document
promotional fliers for uniform proposal presentation no date	Adoption	6 different fliers, one sent home each day with students for 6 days prior to the presentation. Included who, what, where, when, why, and how. Noted REAP theme and transportation pick up points. Three noted free ice cream and pizza party information. Recurring phrase "Does School want uniforms"?
program for uniform presentation proposal May 2, 1995	Adoption	Highlighted the REAP theme, an agenda including fashion show, a vote, and special thanks.
survey for uniform proposal presentation and tallied results May 2, 1995	Adoption	Results of survey of parents attending presentation indicated that 175 of 568 families were represented or 31% of families. Further noted that 21 of 25 neighborhoods were represented. 31% present stated they would not like a uniform. 88.5% stated they would support if adopted, while 21% would not support if adopted. Notation that results were mailed home May 5. Also included parent comments.
questionnaire on uniforms sent home with children and tallied results May 8, 1995	Adoption	Two question survey sent to all homes. Survey noted that only 31% of families attended presentation and that everyone's input is needed. 70% stated that they would support a voluntary policy and 30% stated they would not. Teacher results included 90% would support, 10% would not. Note that 379 out of 535 families returned the survey.
minutes of site's School Planning Council meeting May 4, 1995	Adoption	Purpose of the meeting was to tally the results of the uniform survey. Discussion ensued due to inadequate return. Council determined a second yes/no survey would be sent home to all families. Survey was created.

TABLE F1 (Continued)

Document	Area of Uniform Affected	Description of Document
script for uniform proposal presentation proposal no date	Adoption	Verbatim script used for presentation. Depicted students modeling possible uniforms, discussed survey, advantages of uniform, and components of site's voluntary proposed policy.
memo from site's principal to selected parents, students, and staff regarding work to be accomplished before board approval May 18, 1995	Adoption	Noted 70% favorable vote on 70% return of final survey, target date for board approval, and need to select uniform, consult and secure vendors, and set a May 22 date for meeting.
minutes of site's School Planning Council meeting May 24, 1995	Adoption	Site's principal discussed previous surveys and the casual uniform selection. Board approval date noted.
School Board agenda item, unnumbered June 6, 1995	Adoption	A background summary on action plan to date for site's uniform including survey results was included. Item noted that council did not specify a vendor due to the casual "nature of the uniform selected. Prices and pieces from a variety of vendors...have been secured and will be communicated to families."

TABLE F1 (Continued)

Document	Area of Uniform Affected	Description of Document
memo to members of the School board from site's PTA president and principal for request to adopt a uniform policy June 6, 1995	Adoption	Verbatim script for board presentation and attachments including May 2 and May 8 questionnaire. Students participated modeling uniform.
minutes of regular meeting of School Board June 7, 1995	Adoption	Noted that the Board heard proposals from four site's and approved all four to begin in fall '95.
school newsletter, no Vol/No. June 1995	Implementation	Page 1 article titled "Uniforms...a Reality?" authored by site's principal reviewed all survey data, the selection and board approval process, and a copy of the proposed uniform policy. The uniform components were described, and the decision not to specify vendors was explained to assist families with hand-me-downs and utilization of existing elements. The final page was devoted to announcing that the board had approved the policy, the policy was specified, and a notice that purchasing information would be sent with report cards when mailed later in June.
letter to site's parents from uniform committee on subject of vendor survey June 1995	Implementation	Included description of uniform, noted that most stores refused to stock specific components. Included a survey from JC Penney who had agreed to increase their stock of the components.

TABLE F1 (Continued)

Document	Area of Uniform Affected	Description of Document
flier for site's parents noting area vendors and uniform availability no date	Implementation	Table listing 14 area stores, 3 who cannot supply, 2 which require a contract with site, 1 which has not yet opened, and one with no contact. Prices for each component where available listed as polo, turtleneck, slacks, shorts, sweatshirts
flier to site's parents on subject of uniform participation no date	Implementation/ Compliance	Noted that 90% of students in lower grades complying with policy with about 50% in upper grades. Reviewed acronym REAP, noted uniform components, and discussed vendors. Invited parents to stop at school to see uniform. Stated that teachers perceive classroom behavior as more courteous and hallways and cafeteria more orderly. Further noted that office has seen no disciplinary referrals to date.
minutes of School Planning Council meeting January 11, 1995	Implementation/ Decrease in Participation	Ideas for enhancing the uniform program were discussed including hosting a uniform exchange, grouping students by uniform classes, meeting with other pilot sites to discuss successes, encouraging more teachers to participate, and the creation of a site emblem. An exchange or swap shop committee was formed. A local newspaper article of Dec. '95 was noted for uniform coverage of the site.
letter to local business and industry from site's principal	Implementation	Letter mailed to local vendors soliciting monetary support to make uniforms more affordable for less fortunate at school. Explained the uniform policy and an exchange program where parents would exchange volunteer hours for uniform chits.
letter to site's parents with uniform survey from thesis student no date	Compliance	Requested that parents of randomly selected classes on each grade level complete survey and return to school. PTA parent completed the study for graduate program thesis. No results included.

TABLE F1 (Continued)

Document	Area of Uniform Affected	Description of Document
letter from parent to site principal May 6, 1996	Disestablish. of Policy	Site parent wrote two page letter commending teachers, neighborhood, etc. Disappointed with the uniform issue. Stated, "This has become a political issue that is segregating our children into a stressful learning environment.
school newsletter, Vol.9 No. 1 May 1996	Disestablish. of Policy	Page 1 article titled "Uniformed Classes for 96-97" authored by principal of site noted that a uniform survey form would be sent to all parents in the next couple of weeks. Stated, "In an effort to collect better data on the benefits of our uniform policy...will be designating uniform classes at each grade level next year. A form was attached to the newsletter for parents to opt for their child to be in an all uniform class.
survey to site's parents requesting intention for '96-97 year May 1996	Disestablish. of Policy	Survey requested information on returning students and asked parents to check if they wished child to be in all uniform class for next year.
completed intention survey parent comments May 1996	Disestablish. of Policy	7 survey forms with written comments including 3 which noted that uniform classes would be discriminatory and would segregate children and 3 which supported the notion of uniform classes.

TABLE F1 (Continued)

Document	Area of Uniform Affected	Description of Document
Site conference reports May 6-7, 1996	Disestablish. of Policy	Site principal's written records of telephone and face-to-face conferences regarding the uniform class survey response. Parent responses included, 1) feels uniform is discriminatory, will children be low on the totem pole if not in uniform? 2) upset about segregation but supports the policy, vendors don't have stock and daughter is growing 3) concerned about the discriminatory factor, parents who are committed will drop out 4) feels uniforms have divided school. 5) will I still be getting a good teacher? 6) sick of the uniform stuff 7) feels uniform class is discriminatory and has contacted members of planning council, uniform stuff has stirred up a lot of negative in the community 8) hates 100 times more, feels children sense discrimination 9) does not want children discriminated against for not participating 10) ACLU has been notified
memorandum to site's parents from principal on subject of uniform classes May 7, 1996	Disestablish. of Policy	Memo stated concerns received at the site over uniform classes for next year. Stated that policy was never perceived by the school as discriminatory but a way for uniform kids to feel less discriminated against. Noted that the uniform classes were outgrowth of parents and teachers on planning council looking for ways "to grow our program.... Reiterated the desire to "level the playing field...." Invited parents to remain after May 21 PTA for question and answer.
letter to site's parents from principal on uniform update May 13, 1996	Disestablish. of Policy	Noted that surveys had been counted and not enough interest at any grade level to warrant uniform classes next year. Noted that the City Attorney was contacted by principal to offer judgement on discrimination issue. Invited all to attend School Planning Council meeting on May 22 to voice uniform issues. Summarized status of uniforms for next year as "still a uniform school." Closed noting divisiveness of the uniform issue and hopes that it will provide impetus to "draw us together...."

TABLE F1 (Continued)

Document	Area of Uniform Affected	Description of Document
letter to City Attorney from site's principal May 20, 1996	Disestablish. of Policy	Reviewed uniform program REAP acronym, noted that compliance had waned from 70% to 35%, and requested ruling on the constitutionality of uniform classes noting parent complaints of discrimination.

APPENDIX G: INFORMATION-RICH SAMPLE IDENTIFICATION

**TABLE G1
IDENTIFICATION OF INFORMATION-RICH SAMPLE**

Stakeholder	No	Yes	Persons Identified
School Planning Council			
Teacher 1		•	See PTA Parent 5 and SPC Parent 1
2	•		
3		•	See SPC Parent 1
4	•		
5	•		
6	•		
7	•		
8		•	Parent X who declined interview
Parent 1		•	See PTA Parent 7
2	•		
3	•		
4	•		
Parent Teacher Association	•		
Parent 1		•	Parent X who declined interview
2		•	See PTA Parent 7
3	•		
4	•		
5	•		
6	•		
7	•		
8	•		
School Board			
Member 1		•	See Member 2
Member 2		•	Principal of another pilot site
Administrators			
Assistant Superintendent 1		•	See Member 1 and 2
Principal 1	•		
Assistant Principal 1	•		

VITA

Eugene Francis Soltner is a graduate of a suburban Philadelphia school system and received his undergraduate degree from West Chester State University in Pennsylvania. He holds a Master's degree in Human Relations and Administration from The George Washington University, Washington D.C., as well as a Certificate of Advanced Graduate Studies from Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University in Blacksburg, Virginia.

His educational career has spanned 14 years in the Virginia Beach City Public School System where he taught English for 8 years and was recognized as the 1988 City of Virginia Beach Teacher of the Year. He served 1 year as a teacher trainer for the Office of Staff Development and has worked for the past 6 years as an assistant principal. He is currently an assistant principal at Bayside High School in Virginia Beach, Virginia.