
Using Rewards to Teach Students with Disabilities

Implications for Motivation

BRADLEY S. WITZEL AND CECIL D. MERCER

ABSTRACT

One of the most controversial issues in behavior management has been the use of rewards to motivate and teach students to follow classroom rules and routines and to complete academic assignments. This article presents and compares current research practices surrounding the use of rewards. A motivational model emerges from several research studies and meta-analyses, providing teachers with an opportunity to view the use of extrinsic rewards in the context of special needs learners to build intrinsic motivation. Teachers' use of praise as the focal point to multiple rewards and students' need for equity are also discussed.

ers and emergency-certified teachers but also for experienced teachers.

In special education, dealing with student behavior is important for minimizing distractions and having students focus on academic topics. It is logical to assume that classroom management is a concern for students with disabilities who may have repeatedly failed academically. Students with learning disabilities have indicated that their feelings of competence tie directly into their self-esteem (Deci, Hodges, Pierson, & Tomassone, 1992). When students have low self-esteem in academics, they may revert to means other than schoolwork for obtaining attention. Attention-seeking behaviors are among the most common forms of student noncompliance (Cipani, 1998; Sprick, Garrison, & Howard, 1998). For example, a student with a weak understanding of academics may behave poorly to gain the teacher's attention. The use of functional behavior assessment has helped teachers discover that if attention is provided as a result of the behavior, it is likely that the student will maintain or even increase the behavior (Iwata, Dorsey, Slifer, Bauman, & Richman, 1982; Mace, Page, Ivancic, & O'Brien, 1986). As educators have learned from positive behavior support, to prevent such disruptions, teachers should determine the function of the undesired behavior and then work to reduce the problem and improve student performance (Snell & Brown, 2000). Improving student performance involves teaching adaptive skills that can be generalized to the student's environment in and out of the classroom (Carr et al., 2002). For attention-seeking behaviors, it is important that teachers minimize the

THE AREA OF BEHAVIOR INTERVENTIONS IN CLASSROOMS receives more attention than many other aspects of schooling (Hamill & Everington, 2002; Palardy, 1988). The field of education is replete with books, articles, laws, policies, programs, and plans that focus on student behavior. Veenman (1984) listed the issue of classroom management as one of the most common problems facing beginning teachers. Classroom disruptions take up valuable learning time. Billingsley (1993) stated that teachers who repeatedly experience discipline problems in their classrooms may come to believe they are ineffective at working with children. This feeling of ineffectiveness may lead to teacher attrition (Billingsley & Cross, 1991; Brownell, Smith, McNellis, & Miller, 1997). Brownell et al. described how discipline problems are a concern not only for special education beginning teach-

contingent attention given to the student following the behavior (Fisher, Ninness, Piazza, & Owen-DeSchryver, 1996). Whereas eliminating the inappropriate behavior is one step in helping the student, the next step is to motivate the student to want to behave appropriately (Grossman, 1990). The question is, "How can this be done?"

MOTIVATION

Motivation can have both an extrinsic and an intrinsic delivery. *Intrinsic* motivation takes place when the person performing the task develops internally satisfying consequences during or after the behavior (Sprick et al., 1998). Some examples of intrinsic rewards are task completion, feedback or result, acquisition of knowledge or skills, and a sense of mastery. *Extrinsic* motivation takes place when someone engages in a certain behavior to reach satisfying consequences outside of the person during or after the behavior (Sprick et al., 1998). Some examples of extrinsic rewards are primary objects, tangible objects, token systems, social approval, and project activities.

Newby (1991) found that beginning teachers use extrinsic motivation (e.g., rewards and incentives) more frequently than any other classroom management technique. Rewards and extrinsic motivation may be popular, but their use in the classroom is controversial. Special educators typically use extrinsic rewards because of the nature of the students with whom they work. Argyris (1957) discussed how people develop on a continuum from emotionally immature to mature. When people are young or immature, they assume a subordinate position and are thus more dependent on others. This dependency on others is known as an *external locus of control*, which is often associated with students with disabilities (Lewis & Lawrence-Patterson, 1989). The repeated failures and low achievement associated with learning disabilities often lead to learned helplessness, in which students attribute failures to internal causes and successes to external causes, such as luck or the ease of the task (Dweck & Elliott, 1983; Settle & Milich, 1999). Therefore, students with learning disabilities often are more dependent on adults than are other students (Chapman, 1989). Teachers often act on students' high levels of dependence by issuing extrinsic rewards to shape behaviors. This pattern continues with the hope that students with learning disabilities will grow more mature and thus establish more intrinsic motivation for desired performances.

Historically, motivation models are grounded in the positivistic use of rewards and incentives. However, there has been much criticism about the limitations of reinforcement by rewards (e.g., Deci & Ryan, 1992; Kohn, 1995, 1999; Lepper, Kearney, & Drake, 1996; Ryan & Deci, 1996). The purpose of the model developed in this article is to clarify arguments surrounding the use of rewards, to explain possible intrinsic effects caused by extrinsic reinforcers, and to pro-

vide a motivational model that allows teachers to analyze their use of rewards according to student outcomes. The ultimate goal of this motivational model is for students to succeed by performing tasks that facilitate their future growth through sustained intrinsic motivation.

REWARDS

Researchers and theorists have argued for and against extrinsic rewards for many years. Sprick et al. (1998) stated that we do what we are motivated to do, and thus our behavior displays our motivation. Using Sprick et al.'s insight, investigating the effects of extrinsic motivation on intrinsic motivation may be valuable.

Rewards, although seemingly positive, do not always equate to positive reinforcement. Maag (2001) described how the definition of reinforcement is frequently confused. Reinforcement is an outcome, not a means. Something that is reinforcing leads to repeated performances. *Positive reinforcement* means that something was added to the environment to cause the recurrence of an action. Therefore, when teachers use a reward, they attempt to reinforce a desired behavior. The power of tangible rewards is evident in the dopamine discharge in the brains of primates who predict or expect the delivery of preferred rewards (Schultz, Tremblay, & Hollerman, 2000). However, *how* the delivery of the reward is received affects the possible long-term motivational effects of the reward. Whereas the delivery of a reward is important, both the receipt of the reward and the corresponding behavior determine the effectiveness of the stimulus. For example, a teacher who wants to reinforce a certain behavior may provide a tangible reward contingent on that behavior. However, if the student feels that the reason for the reward was a different behavior, the teacher may not be pleased with the results. Moreover, if the student does not find the tangible item to be worthy of the behavior, then the student's behavior may not be reinforced (Schultz et al., 2000).

Philosophical Arguments About Rewards

Although positivistic behaviorism is the key theory used in coursework on classroom discipline (Bondy, Ross, Sindelar, & Griffin, 1995), other disciplinary theories that have emerged as powerful influences are cognitive evaluation theory (Ryan & Deci, 1996), cognitivism (Cook, 1993), and constructivism (Richardson, 1996). These influences stem from the idea that behaviorism and the use of operant and neo-operant conditioning have severe limitations (Palardy, 1988). These limitations include but are not restricted to the following:

1. Not all reinforcement requires tangible rewards; thus, they are easily overused (Palardy, 1988; Sprick et al., 1998; Vander Will, 1996).

2. Rewards are ineffective at solving maladaptive social actions (Palardy, 1988).
3. Long-term dependency on rewards may have negative long-term effects on intrinsic motivation and self-discipline (Deci & Ryan, 1992; Kohn, 1999; Palardy, 1988).
4. Often, specific rewards do not generalize past the classroom (Palardy, 1988).

Researchers and theorists who argue against rewards suggest that teachers should motivate students by giving them power and autonomy through relevant lessons (Deci & Ryan, 1992; Kohn, 1995; Vander Will, 1996).

Conversely, many theorists have fought for the use of rewards, stating that extrinsic motivators are necessary for learning (Sprinthall, Sprinthall, & Oja, 1998), whereas other theorists have proposed that extrinsic rewards build a student's intrinsic motivation when the task is presented as relevant (McNinch, 1997). Thus, the proper use of rewards can allow a student to develop his or her own intrinsic motivation.

The Extrinsic Rewards–Intrinsic Motivation Conflict

Both researchers and theorists have debated for and against behaviorism and teachers' use of rewards. Researchers have conducted several studies on the short-term and long-term effects of rewards on students. Some researchers, (e.g., Deci, Koestner, & Ryan, 1999) have concluded that extrinsic rewards may ruin the chance for a student to become intrinsically motivated. On the other hand, other researchers have concluded that some extrinsic rewards either do not affect intrinsic motivation or may provide students the opportunity to develop intrinsic motivation (Cameron & Pierce, 1994). Furthermore, the work of Kohn has confused the use of reinforcement versus punishment procedures by classroom teachers (see Maag, 2001). Student outcomes rather than teacher motivation attempts differentiate reinforcement from punishment. For example, if a teacher adds a social approval following a specific behavior, and the student repeats the action, then the teacher used positive reinforcement. However, if the teacher adds social approval following a behavior, and the student does not repeat the action, then the teacher used punishment. Two positions on using rewards follow.

Arguments Against Extrinsic Rewards. Although beginning teachers use many extrinsic rewards to motivate students, they seldom use confidence-building exercises with relevant content (Newby, 1991). Newby found that explaining relevance provided a fairly strong relationship to on-task performance, whereas using tangible rewards had a negative correlation with on-task performance. In an analysis on reading programs, McQuillan (1997) reviewed several incentive programs and found that although five programs using tangible rewards led to positive results, another five presented

no significant gains. Deci et al. (1999) performed a meta-analysis on 128 studies involving the use of extrinsic rewards. They found that the use of tangible rewards (i.e., tokens or stars) with tasks that the students found interesting had a negative effect on the intrinsic motivation of preschool through college students. In other words, giving tangible rewards based on student performance to students who are already engaged in a task reduces the chance that the student will perform the rewarded task when a tangible reward is not offered. However, they found that a teacher's use of praise, an extrinsic reward, led to intrinsic motivation. Eisenberger, Pierce, and Cameron (1999) reacted by stating that it appears as if extrinsic rewards, depending on how they are delivered, may or may not have any effect on intrinsic motivation.

Arguments for Extrinsic Rewards. Although Palardy (1988) warned against positivistic behaviorism because of its limitations, he himself used rewards in 2 of his 15 strategies for motivating students (Palardy, 1997). In a published debate (Sax & Kohn, 1996) on whether monetary rewards should be given to students in early reading programs, Sax argued for rewards because of increased student performance. Even though Sax explained that a corporate-sponsored reading program had experienced significant growth over the past 10 years, Kohn argued that the long-term effects on the students were still questionable.

It has long been thought that students with disabilities require more extrinsic support (i.e., motivation) for both academic and social behavior. This is one of the many reasons why small classes are needed for students with learning disabilities. Grolnick and Ryan (1990) concluded from their work with elementary students that students with learning disabilities have less internal control for their academic behavior. Therefore, students with learning disabilities require more external control and, thus, more extrinsic motivation to increase the likelihood of their repeating effective academic behavior.

Cameron and Pierce (1994) presented one of the most compelling arguments for the use of rewards. They conducted a meta-analysis on 100 studies involving the use of rewards. Cameron and Pierce found that rewarded participants reported higher intrinsic motivation than did the nonrewarded participants. Furthermore, they found that students who received contingent verbal praise demonstrated significantly higher intrinsic motivation, as measured by both time on task and attitudes, than did the students who received no contingent verbal praise. They concluded that not only do rewards (verbal and tangible) increase behavior during the reinforcement phase, but also these rewards do not interfere with intrinsic motivation for low-interest activities.

Researchers arguing against Cameron and Pierce's (1994) meta-analysis stated that Cameron and Pierce discounted outliers and ignored evidence (Lepper et al., 1996; Ryan & Deci, 1996). Cameron and Pierce's (1996) rebuttal was that although some might argue, the statistics were still

clear. The problem with the conclusions of both meta-analyses is that little consensus appears to exist on whether extrinsic rewards are useful for reinforcing long-term behaviors. This lack of consensus causes concern in regard to the reliability of the meta-analyses' conclusions (Lepper, Henderlong, & Gringas, 1999).

Agreements in Research. Although the arguments appear to be unresolved because of the differences in research findings, some consensus exists. Deci and Ryan (1992), who have persistently argued against the use of tangible rewards, stated, "Although rewards do tend to be controlling, as we previously concluded, the context within which they are administered has an important influence upon how they are experienced and thus upon how they affect intrinsic motivation" (p. 22). Deci et al. (1999) confirmed in their meta-analysis that the delivery of rewards affects intrinsic motivation. They found that verbal rewards (positive feedback) had a positive effect on intrinsic motivation. Deci et al. (1999) also found that rewards, when taken as informational rather than controlling, affect a person's autonomy and competence, leading to intrinsic motivation. Eisenberger et al. (1999) agreed with Deci et al. (1999) that rewards can decrease, increase, or have no effect on intrinsic motivation. The consensus in this conflict is that the effect of rewards significantly depends on *how* they are delivered by the teacher.

How Rewards Need to Be Delivered

It is apparent from the combination of the meta-analyses aforementioned that rewards can increase a person's ability to gain intrinsic motivation to complete a task. However, merely handing out rewards like brass rings at a merry-go-round is not enough. The positive effects of teacher praise can be seen by the increased performance of students with disabilities who learn to recruit teacher praise (Alber, Heward, & Hippler, 1999). Contingent teacher praise does not need to be delivered in isolation. For example, teacher praise can be delivered in combination with other reinforcers. Contingent verbal praise must focus on the value and the relevance of the task rewarded. Students can react to the reward being extrinsically or intrinsically motivating. Incorporating contingent verbal praise sets up the opportunity for a student to perceive the intrinsic value of the activity.

Multiple Rewards Over a Continuum. Rewards are often viewed in a form similar to Maslow's (1962) hierarchy from extrinsic to intrinsic. Understanding rewards on a continuum from extrinsic to intrinsic makes it easy to organize reinforcement possibilities. However, teachers should be cautious about delivering rewards along a continuum. Although a continuum allows the teacher to align rewards with specific student needs, rewards do not need to be delivered singularly (e.g., praise vs. intrinsic). Rather, rewards can be delivered in

multiples. Sprick et al. (1998) agreed that there is no rigid continuum for extrinsic to intrinsic motivators. Their argument was that if a person is intrinsically motivated to do something, such as sketching superheroes, that person also may value the extrinsic reward, such as the social praise from friends and teachers. Sprick et al. suggested that most people's motivations comprise a complex mix of extrinsic and intrinsic rewards. To address the concerns of educators to meet students at their motivational level without undermining possible future intrinsic motivation, a motivational taxonomy was developed (see Figure 1). Although teachers may perceive motivation on a continuum, motivation appears to be much more complex in delivery. There may be multiple behaviors operating on multiple motivational needs at the same time.

Purpose of Extrinsic Rewards. Kohn (1999) stated that "the trouble with rewards is not that we hand them out too easily; it is that they are controlling, ultimately ineffective, and likely to undermine intrinsic interest" (pp. 115-116). Kohn generalized that the problem is behaviorism itself. To overcome the errors often associated with positivistic behaviorist reward delivery, Sprick et al. (1998) encouraged teachers to address both extrinsic and intrinsic motivation when trying to inspire students to behave appropriately. Whereas some students find respecting peers to be intrinsically motivating, because it leads to friendships and improved relationships, other students may not feel the same. For the students who have no apparent internal drive to show respect to others, it is important for teachers to provide a rationale as to why respect is desired. Only as a last resort should teachers use physical rewards, such as desired objects, in exchange for appropriate behaviors and tasks. The researchers, philosophers, and theorists who complain that rewards are inappropriate and detrimental might consider that extrinsic rewards are not the ultimate goal. Having students intrinsically rewarded to succeed is still the eventual goal of motivation.

How Students Perceive Rewards. Intrinsic and extrinsic motivation may occur simultaneously. For example, a student may appear to be intrinsically motivated to stay after school to improve his or her reading because he or she stays up to 3 hours a week working with a teacher on specific reading skills. But the student may also enjoy the extrinsic reward of spending time with the teacher discussing school and home. Whereas rewards may be delivered simultaneously through a taxonomy, the rewards are received either intrinsically or extrinsically. For example, if the student who is learning to read is truly intrinsically motivated, then the extrinsic reward of social time with the teacher is not important. The student will work hard to read even when a different teacher instructs him or her. Social time with a particular teacher may still be a bonus, but it does not sustain the activity. A teacher may use functional behavior assessment to de-

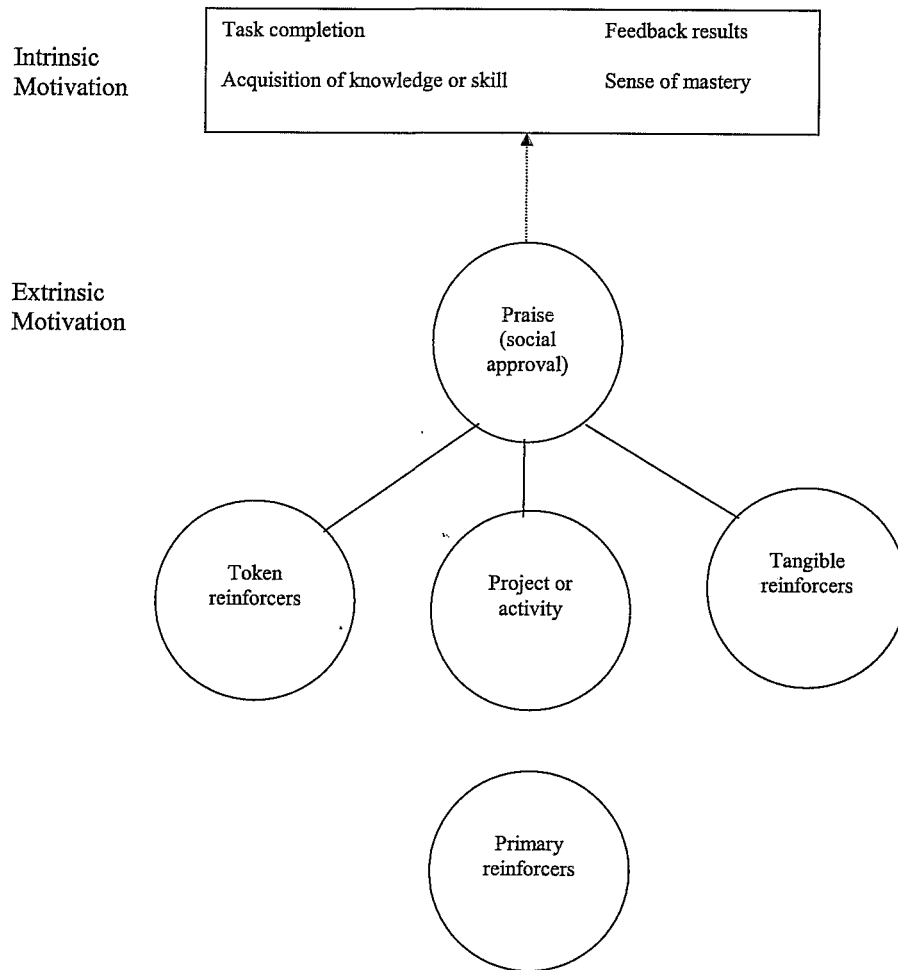


FIGURE 1. Motivation delivery taxonomy. *Note.* Primary motivation is not connected in the model. If a student has basic needs (e.g., food, shelter), more important issues need to be addressed than classroom activities and discipline.

termine what drives a behavior and, therefore, how best to focus the motivational efforts of the student.

Using Verbal Praise with Other Rewards. It is usually unclear whether a person is intrinsically or extrinsically motivated. For example, a student may not cooperate with peers in English class, requiring the teacher to implement a classwide token economy system. However, in another class, the same student may not show any signs of lack of cooperation with peers. This may make the student look like he or she is intrinsically motivated to cooperate with peers, when actually he or she only wants to be praised by the teacher for positive math performances. Although it is difficult to determine if a student is intrinsically motivated, teachers should not stop using extrinsic rewards as they risk immediate and long-term performance deficits.

If, through functional assessment, a teacher determines that a student is not intrinsically motivated, using extrinsic rewards is only one piece of building intrinsic motivation for cooperative activities. The teacher must also stress the im-

portance of cooperation while distributing extrinsic rewards. Kaplan, Hemmes, Motz, and Rodriguez (1996) suggested in their research on self-reinforcement and self-monitoring with people with developmental disabilities that effective behaviors decreased when the participants stopped self-reinforcing. This finding, among others, supports the need for students with disabilities to associate verbal praise with a behavior to produce intrinsic motivation. During initial behaviors, it is important for the student to associate the verbal praise with the desired behavior. The goal is to eventually have the student generalize the importance of the extrinsic reward as it relates to the desired behavior and increase the appropriate behavior. Teachers should focus on the student's action and not on the tangible reward when attempting to reinforce a behavior. As the students gain intrinsic motivation, the teacher fades out the delivery of tokens but continues using praise.

Equitable Rewards for All Students. Equitable rewards exist on two levels. Students not only compare their reward to those of equally performing students, but they also

compare the reward to the requirements and effort needed in the rewarded task. Adams's (1963) equity theory has been prevalent in expectancy models (e.g., Schermerhorn, Hunt, & Osborn, 1995) to explain how people expect equity in rewards. When rewards do not match the efforts or ability needed to complete a task, there is reason for concern. Setting rewards that a student does not find equal to the task may undermine student performance. In a study on reinforcer quality, Neef, Mace, Shea, and Shade (1992) discovered that students might sacrifice performance to obtain a reward of choice. If a teacher does not provide a favorable reward, then the student may search for other reinforcing activities or not complete the task at all.

Although adults recognize that equality is not always the same as fairness, it has long been known that young children vehemently follow erroneous concepts of equality rather than understanding adjustments for individual differences (Lerner, 1974; Nicholls, 1978). Nicholls (1978) suggested that as students progress in understanding, they realize that peers' differences in ability and efforts are separately related to performance outcomes. Students with learning disabilities are frequently educated in the same classroom as students without disabilities. Although teachers make a conscious effort to conceal the differences between students with disabilities and their nondisabled peers, students are likely to recognize the different achievement levels. Teachers need to emphasize equity with students who compare their performance and expectations. Students with learning disabilities need to receive rewards equitable to those of similarly performing peers. When students compare grades based on class performance rather than reflecting their individual growth, they take an unhealthy attitude toward grades (Ames & Ames, 1991). In other words, when a student thinks that a classmate is receiving better or more rewards for the same performance, then that student may not be satisfied with his or her own reward. For example, one preschool boy in the senior author's hometown attended a class with 20 other preschoolers. The mother of this preschool boy supplied his teacher with toy cars, one of which was to be given to her child each week if he behaved well. None of the other students in the class understood this arrangement; they thought the toy cars were to be given to any student who behaved. After a few weeks, the students and their parents became quite irritated that this boy received rewards, leaving the others with *only* praise. Once satisfied with verbal praise, the students were now in competition for the toy cars. Unwittingly, the teacher had undermined her own reward incentive (verbal praise) by adding a tangible reward for one student and not for the class.

How Should Educators Apply Extrinsic Rewards?

Instead of the standard, timesaving practice of handing out rewards like food samples at the local grocer, educators need to explain what they are doing and why. Rewards should be used only as a symbol of the behavior. Teachers should present rewards and contingency plans (e.g., an A will be given

for every completed homework) only after the task is explained and relevancy is established. Kohn (1999) agreed with this practice in his guidelines on rewards for students, stating that teachers need to (a) decide on the purpose of their activities, (b) put themselves in the shoes of the student, (c) determine if the reward drives the action, and (d) opt for more intrinsically motivating means over rewards. The first two guidelines are easy to handle, whereas the last two are problematic because it is difficult to determine if a person is intrinsically or extrinsically motivated. Sprick et al. (1998) stated that rewards become demeaning when the task is very easy. The same holds true when a student is already intrinsically motivated. Giving a toy to a student who keeps quiet may seem illogical if the student is always quiet; the reward does nothing for the action. Some have argued that rewarding a student who does not need extrinsic rewards actually undermines the student's future behaviors for the action being rewarded. Kohn argued that rewards are only effective for controlling the student and that the effect of the reward fades over time. Kohn's arguments present the question, "What causes the same student who received positive grades for math to continue to work?" Is it extrinsic motivation, intrinsic motivation, or a mix of intrinsic and extrinsic motivators (e.g., grades, peer acceptance, parent appreciation)? If the student stops trying in math one day, is it because he or she stopped receiving good grades or because of other reasons (e.g., interest in other subjects, occurrences in his or her personal life, the lack of feeling appreciated)? The point is that the effects of extrinsic *and* intrinsic rewards fade over time. The difference between the effects of extrinsic and intrinsic rewards is the type of satisfaction (pleasing self or others) that the person receives when acting on his or her motivation.

Proposed Motivational Model

This proposed taxonomy (see Figure 2) extends the motivation expectancy framework of Schermerhorn et al. (1995). Although Schermerhorn et al. posited that a person's performance leads to either intrinsic or extrinsic rewards with equity concerns, they did not suggest multiple simultaneous extrinsic motivators for teachers or possible student responses. They also left out researched possibilities that a teacher can instill intrinsic motivation in a student through extrinsic means. This model includes the use of teachers' interactions and student questioning.

To achieve a performance, a person with motivation uses effort and ability applied in context (Nicholls, 1992). Upon successful completion, the performance is rewarded extrinsically or intrinsically. As rewards are perceived from most desirable to least desirable, students act on their highest level of motivation. If a student is intrinsically motivated, he or she will likely repeat his or her performance for future tasks. If, on the other hand, the student is extrinsically motivated, he or she will compare his or her reward to that of other students. If the student believes the reward is equitable, then he or she

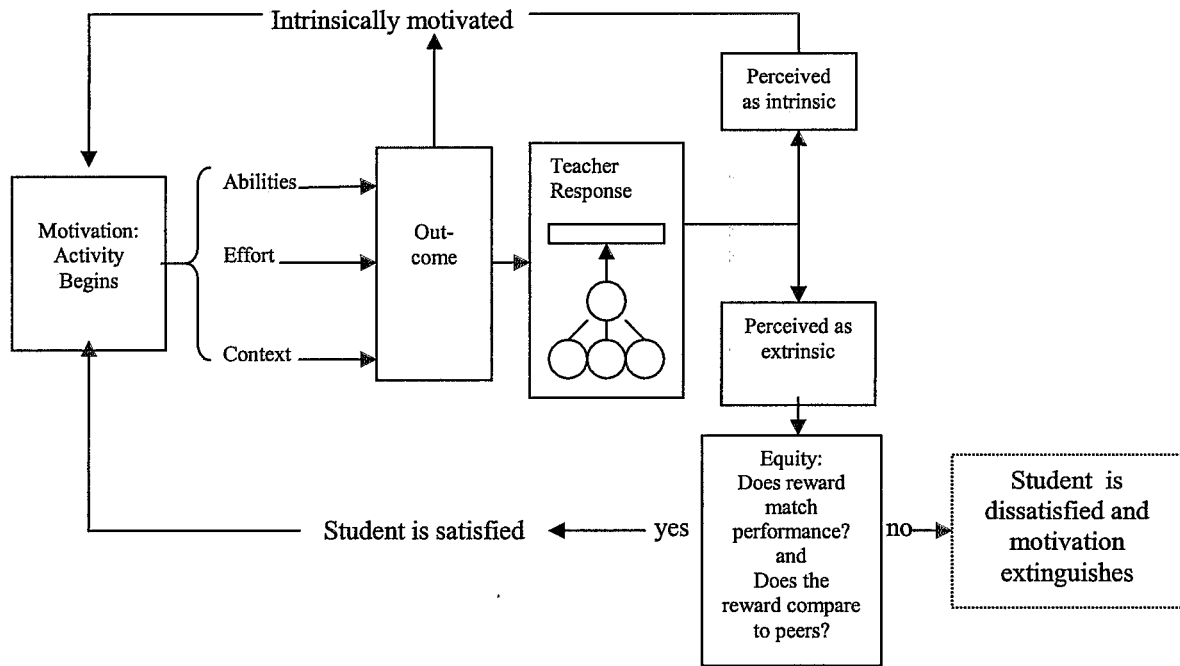


FIGURE 2. Proposed motivational model. *Note.* Teacher response is the same as that in Figure 1.

will determine whether the task was worth the reward or not. If the task was worth the reward, the student will be satisfied and thus will likely repeat the performance for future tasks. If the student does not perceive the reward as equitable to others' rewards, he or she may judge the task not worth repeating. Moreover, even if the reward is equitable to that of others, the student may still conclude that the effort of completing the task is not worth the reward and thus may not repeat his or her performance on future tasks.

IMPLICATIONS FOR EDUCATORS

Although many experienced teachers have read the compelling arguments against rewards, the arguments are often confusing and misleading. Those who have argued against rewards and referred to meta-analyses to support eliminating rewards may have ignored many of the follow-up comments from researchers. The consensus within the analyses shows that not only can rewards be effective at achieving short-term outcomes, they can also help build intrinsic motivation in a student. The need for extrinsic motivation increases for students with learning disabilities. Not only may the use of praise help these students develop an intrinsic purpose for a behavior, praise will also help them in the short term while they have difficulty maintaining and developing internal control.

The proposed motivational model (see Figure 2) diagrams possible student and teacher responses to and perceptions of interactions using rewards. This model may aid teachers in their functional analyses, as it can help determine

the purpose for student behaviors and, therefore, assist teachers in the development of positive behavior interventions. If a teacher determines that the function of a behavior is extrinsic, then the teacher can respond with positive behavior support, using verbal and tangible rewards to alter or maintain the behavior. However, if a desirable behavior does not have an obvious extrinsic function, then the teacher is advised to continue observing the behavior without extrinsic influence. If the function of an undesirable behavior appears intrinsic, then the student must learn another behavior and the rationale for another behavior.

Teachers need to act as researchers, in the developmentalist tradition (Zeichner, 1999), by questioning their goals when using rewards to determine if these rewards lead to intrinsic motivation. Such action research should then be presented to other teachers in publications, staff development, or any other form of dissemination in order to reinforce the effectiveness of rewards. Action research is especially important in assisting teachers who may be dealing with recurrent disciplinary problems in their classroom. This model may enable teachers to check their use of best practices found in research and guide their future classroom inquiries. As future motivational models become more finely honed, teachers and teacher education programs will be able to demonstrate more clearly the usefulness of rewards to strengthen the performance of students both socially and academically. The more educators learn about praise and other methods to increase motivation for learning and performing in a manner effective to students' future growth, the more likely it becomes that all students will achieve to their fullest abilities. ■

BRADLEY S. WITZEL, PhD, is an assistant professor of special education at Winthrop University. His research interests are in secondary math strategies and motivational strategies for students with learning difficulties. **CECIL D. MERCER**, EdD, is a distinguished professor of special education at the University of Florida. His research interests include academic interventions for students with learning difficulties. Address: Bradley S. Witzel, Winthrop University, Richard W. Riley College of Education, 204 Withers/WTS Bldg, Rock Hill, SC 29733; e-mail: witzelb@winthrop.edu

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