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EVALUATION OF THE INFLUENCE OF EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS ON MEXICAN-AMERICANS.

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THIS MONOGRAPH EXPLORES PROBLEMS CONNECTED WITH THE EVALUATION OF THE INFLUENCE OF EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS ON MEXICAN-AMERICANS, BY CONSIDERING THE OBJECTIVES OF THE FORMAL SCHOOL PROGRAM AND THE INFLUENCE OF INFORMAL EDUCATION. SUCCESSFUL STUDENTS IDENTIFIED THREE FACTORS CONTRIBUTING TO THEIR SUCCESS--A GOOD SELF-CONCEPT, PARENTAL LOVE, AND TEACHER CARE AND INTEREST. THESE FACTORS ARE THE TYPE TO CONSIDER WHEN EVALUATING THE INFLUENCES OF EDUCATION PROGRAMS ON UPWARD SOCIAL MOBILITY, EDUCATIONAL GOALS, AND ACCULTURATION. EDUCATIONAL SUCCESS HAS BEEN RESTRICTED DUE TO SOCIO-ECONOMIC LEVEL, CULTURAL DIFFERENCES, FAMILY COHESIVENESS AND SIZE, THE FATHER'S OCCUPATION, PARTICIPATION IN COMMUNITY AFFAIRS, DEGREE OF BILINGUALISM, AND PARENT'S ASPIRATION. A LIST OF PROBLEMS IS INCLUDED WHICH ARE ASSOCIATED WITH EVALUATION OF MEXICAN-AMERICAN STUDENTS AND WITH SUCCESSFUL EVALUATION PRACTICES, THE LATTER INCLUDING USE OF OBJECTIVE QUESTIONS, ORAL REPORTS, VERBAL METHODS, DRAMATIC PLAY, GROUP ACTIVITIES, AND LEARNER'S OWN EXPERIENCES. FOR BEST TEACHING RESULTS, TEACHERS MUST BE CONCERNED AND SINCERE, MAKE HOME VISITATIONS, GIVE TANGIBLE REWARDS, DEVELOP SKILL IN OBSERVATION, RECORD OBJECTIVELY, PROVIDE APPROPRIATE MOTIVATION, AND DEVELOP FEELINGS OF EQUALITY, TRUST, AND MUTUAL RESPECT IN THE STUDENTS. THIS PAPER WAS PREPARED FOR THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR MEXICAN-AMERICANS, AUSTIN, TEXAS, APRIL 25-26, 1968. (JH)

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MEXICAN-AMERICANS

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The purpose of this monograph is to explore with you some of the problems connected with the evaluation of the influence of educational programs on Mexican-Americans. This task is unusually important, and at the same time, somewhat difficult. The evaluation of any educational program and its influence on a specific population requires insight, planning, and understanding. It is never easy to try to estimate the influence of any program on a group of people. This would require, among other things, a longitudinal study, and one which would take several years to complete.

In any evaluation program a clearly defined set of objectives is essential. In the evaluation of a cross-cultural nature, several sets of objectives may be in operation. In the case of the focus of this paper, both the objectives of the formal school program and those of the informal educational influences must be considered. Conflict of objectives and the understanding of them skew the results of many attempts to adequately evaluate educational programs and their influences.

We have some evidence, however, that education has been an ameliorating factor for many Mexican-Americans. The kind and degree of influence, and evidence can be explored as we examine the population which no longer are classified as Mexican-Americans, but perhaps have achieved their full status and stature in the dominant culture.

Madsen (10) refers to three groups or levels of Mexican-Americans in process of acculturation. "The base line of the Americanization process is the traditional folk culture derived from Mexico, but modified by. . .its setting. Strongly influenced by United States technology and economic factors, Mexican-American folk society still retains the core values of the Mexican folk culture.

"The second level of acculturation embraces those individuals who are caught in the value conflict between two cultures. They were born to the folk society, but have had enough education and experience outside of their own group to recognize the conflict between the Mexican values they learned from their parents and the values of the United States society. These people frequently learn to compartmentalize their lives, living by their parents' values on some occasions and by the values of the larger American society on others. On the same level of acculturation are individuals who are consciously attempting cultural transfer from Mexican-American folk culture to that of the dominant society. This attempted transition is marked by severe anxiety about individual identity and community affiliation.

"The third level of acculturation includes those Mexican-Americans who have achieved status in the English-speaking world. These individuals see science and progress as the twin keys to a brighter tomorrow. Patriotism, the third value requisite for Americanization, is equally shared by all Mexican-Americans. The three levels of Mexican-American acculturation frequently represent a three-generalization process.

"The three acculturative levels are further correlated with the class structure. In general, Mexican-American folk society consists of lower-class manual labor. Acculturation is actively pursued by the middle-class. Here, value conflicts are most keenly felt and solutions are sought through Americanization. By whatever criteria one judges successful acculturation among Mexican-Americans, it is generally a middle- or upper-class phenomena."

The major focus in this paper will concern those Mexican-Americans who are classified as "culturally disadvantaged," the large bulk of whom have moved from a peasant-cultured Mexico to the lower-class culture of the United States. While some of them may reflect the mood and conditions of the culture of poverty, as suggested by Oscar Lewis (8), it is my notion that in this paper we need to focus attention on the influence of the formal educational program in ameliorating the culture of poverty and those characteristics which inhibit the Mexican-American's educational opportunity from full participation in the dominant culture. We are therefore concerned in this paper with those base line Mexican-Americans who have a strong identity with the core values of the Mexican folk culture as well as those caught in value conflict between the dominant culture and their participation in it.

In evaluating the influence of educational programs on Mexican-Americans, the other side of the same question might be: What were the factors of acculturation and accessibility that permitted some of them to move up to the level they have achieved? Wattenberg (16) reported a study by Reckless and Dinitz who explored the differences among those youngsters who came from the inner city (the disadvantaged neighborhoods) who succeeded, from some of their friends coming from the very same neighborhoods who did not succeed. They discovered that the successful pupils felt that there were three factors in their lives which contributed to their successful participation.

First of all, the successful youngster was a youngster who had a good self-concept and felt successful in what he was doing in school. Secondly, he felt that his parents loved him and were concerned about him. Thirdly, he

felt that his teachers cared and were interested in him. A total evaluation program would have to consider the learner's self-concept, his feelings of success in school, how the learner felt about his parents' interest in him, and how the learner felt about his teachers and their interest in him. Along with this would be some notions about his parents, or other adults assuming this role, and the attitudes of the teachers and their feelings toward the pupils.

One factor, which did not show up in this study, but which has significant influence, is the peer group culture, system of rewards and evidence of support or rejection.

These findings indicate some of the kinds of things that we need to consider when we start evaluating the influence of educational programs on Mexican-Americans. The discovery of successful influences would tend to suggest immediate curriculum and instructional changes which would tend to ameliorate the conditions of poverty and its cultural restrictions.

Another way, of course, is to explore the negative influences, the kind of rejection component that is in a failure syndrome that Dollard aptly described as the "reciprocal reinforcement of inferiority." This reciprocal reinforcement of inferiority exists where youngsters are placed in situations over which they have little or no control, no feelings of success, and out of which there is no escape, except rejection or withdrawal.

Martin Deutsch (3) focused on an important consideration when he said that there is a distinct difference between a middle-class youngster and the lower-class youngster when encountering failure. The middle-class youngster characteristically finding himself in a failing situation will attempt to shore up his reserves and resources and focus more sharply on trying to solve the problem that caused failure. But the lower-class youngster, the one whose life has tended toward repetitive failing situations, has very little resources to draw upon. Consequently, when encountering any failing situation, he will tend to be overwhelmed by it, withdraw from it, and consequently not attempt solution.

Both Wattenberg and Deutsch have suggested to us that we have a real responsibility of providing an educational program that attempts to develop self-concept, resources with which to cope with failure, and a feeling of success and ability, rather than the opposite, a poor self-concept, another kind of failing situation, and a feeling of helplessness and hopelessness which so often characterizes those caught in the culture of poverty.

This paper will focus on the Mexican-Americans and Spanish-Americans who live in the Southwest and who have for many reasons been somewhat excluded from full participation in and by the dominant Anglo culture. One interesting factor of upward social mobility is that those who have strong ethnic or racial affiliations tend to be inhibited in attempting upward mobility. For Mexican-Americans and Spanish-Americans the notion of la familia, extended into the notion of La Raza, are strong counter-formal educational forces inhibiting full acceptance of the culture reflected in the middle-class school programs and styles. These forces tend to focus on a real problem dealing with cultural and social change. The evaluation of the influence of educational programs on Mexican-Americans, in basic terms, is the evaluation of cultural and social change and the effect of the intervention of the educational enterprise in attempting to bring about radical changes which would influence the status and cultural level of Mexican-Americans.

Characteristically, the educational programs which have been devised to motivate and assist Mexican-Americans have been developed from the middle-class point of view. The public schools have tended to become middle-class enclaves or islands situated and sprinkled throughout poverty pockets of the Southwest where youngsters who have the skill of assimilation and are able, and who are supported in the notion of acculturation, can move up and make the grade. But the youngsters who find rejection from full participation in these enclaves have sought support in la familia and La Raza, the language, and traditional cultural values, and found them more comfortable, more affectionate, and more meaningful to them, and have withdrawn from the opportunities provided by these schools. These youngsters have been rejected from full participation and have found themselves unable to acquire the skills necessary for the acquisition of the techniques and methods of upward social mobility. They have been caught in a trap that constantly restricts and identifies them as members of a sub-cultural group, a group who has close identity and affiliation with the Mexican nation, whose language and cultural patterns, though rich in tradition and history, no longer serve them in their quest for full participation in the dominant Anglo culture.

In this monograph, for purposes of brevity, I shall consider the Mexican-American and the Spanish-American as one category, although points of origin are distinctly different. It is recognized that the Spanish-American has his origin in Spain; while the Mexican-American has his origin in Mexico. But

there is a similarity of language and culture which permit us to generalize to this point.

One of the factors which we need to carefully consider is the tendency to over-generalize either the educational programs or the Mexican-American. We must focus on specific programs of specific groups of Mexican-Americans, because the range of residency in the United States and the range of acculturation result in great differences in the value system and the life space of specific groups of people.

The concept of evaluation emphasized in this paper is cross-cultural in nature. This requires a great deal of sensitivity on the part of the evaluator. It requires a knowledge of one's own culture, as well as that of the culture in which one is attempting to operate. Linton (9) said that one could not know his own culture unless he knew another. There is an urgent need for evaluators and educators to become sophisticated, to become culturally literate, in the methodology, attitude, and feeling of working with cultures that are different.

There is no such thing as a "culturally deprived" child, because each person has a culture. But there is a handicapped child, a culturally disadvantaged child, a child who, by the system of education, has been alienated from full participation. The shocking evidence coming out in research, and in the visibility of the Mexican-American, is that a long history of discrimination, both socially and academically, has resulted from their lack of ability as well as their lack of motivation to fully participate in the educational enterprise as it has been conceived and practiced.

In 1960, the overall medium number of school years completed by the Mexican-American was 8.1, with 8.4 years completed in urban areas. At the same time for the Anglo, the overall medium number of years completed was 10.3, with 11.0 years completed for those living in urban areas.

There are many reasons why youngsters drop out of school. While economic factors are important, the social factors tend to have priority. A number of studies have indicated that the major reason for youngsters dropping out of school was a lack of participation or involvement in any extra-curricular activities. Hollingshead (6) pointed out in his study that youngsters coming from the highest socio-economic levels participated 100% in extra-curricular activities. Seventy-five per cent of the students coming from the upper-middle level participated in extra-curricular activities. Only 57% of

those coming from the lower-middle participated, and only 27% of those coming from the lowest level participated in extra-curricular activities. Abrahamson pointed out that the participation in extra-curricular activities in school functions as a reward and that students involved in the activities develop a deeper sense of appreciation for school, a higher morale, and have a feeling of sharing in a school program. The higher the social class background of the students, the more they tended to participate in extra-curricular activities. The study conducted by Abrahamson found no lower-class students in elected offices.

In some of the surveys my students have done, they have discovered that one of the major factors for many Mexican-Americans attending higher education institutions in Arizona is that they tended to be encouraged to continue in high school and go on to university education because of their participation in athletic programs. Some of the students are attending university on athletic scholarships, where they would not have attended at all. They probably would not have remained in school had they not felt they were making a contribution and were involved with the sports program. They felt they had a place because they had the talent and skill which was needed by the school.

Evaluation of the influence of educational programs on Mexican-Americans, or any group, would be reflected in the notion of upward social mobility and a successful accomplishment and achievement toward this goal. Education, the opportunity to observe and to imitate, the opportunity to develop appropriate attitudes and feelings, understand the accessibility of mobility, and the drive and motivation toward this achievement, all enter into the picture of a successful person attempting to achieve in this kind of direction.

There are many problems connected with the evaluation and assessment of youngsters coming from cultures that are different from the school dominant culture. Youngsters in the process of acculturation have a difficult time attempting to fit into the overall patterning of the dominant culture, or the middle-class school enclave. There is a definite need for the middle-class schools to provide in their curriculum the methodology, technique, and skill of helping youngsters learning how to accomodate, so that they can be assimilated into the overall culture pattern, with feelings of self-worth, successful participation, and a sense of belonging. Some of the more devastating psychological characteristics of the culture of poverty are those characteristics of helplessness, of not belonging, of being marginal people, almost displaced people in their own land.

The problem of cross-cultural evaluation and assessment has interested numbers of people over the years. Allison Davis and others have attempted to develop what they called a "culture-free" test. They soon discovered that no test could be culture-free, and they attempted to re-do the test in the area of cultural fairness. Non-verbal instruments, such as drawings, maze tests, projective techniques, and oral interviews, have been used with many culturally different groups. All of these tend to claim notions of developing instruments or schedules that have no cultural bias, but have tended to overlook an important factor. That factor consists of the notion that tests require specific skills. The very act of being tested tends to be alien in many cultures.

The typical Mexican-American child is sent to school with certain predetermined values that indicate cooperation rather then competition, that indicate a kind of leisure-time orientation rather than compulsive-time orientation; a value which indicates the worth of the individual, rather than the acquisition of lots of knowledge to show up an individual. They are prone to the valuing of mystery and magic, rather than a scientific process. The whole notion of being tested, of being put to the test, of having to speculate, of having to make choices, of having to select from various alternatives, is an alien kind of notion for the majority of Mexican-American children coming from homes where acceptance, not testing nor strong competition, is apparent.

It was interesting to note that a teacher in one of the communities in the State of Arizona, as a part of a small study, asked her fourth grade class if they had three wishes, for what would they wish. Only one youngster out of a class of approximately thirty-five Mexican-Americans had more than one wish. The whole idea of being given an opportunity to wish, to speculate, is alien when one comes from a background that is a survival background, a background which depends upon day-to-day existence and where wishing has never been fulfilled and where hope has been consistently denied.

The stereotype of school behavior is a factor to consider. The typical Mexican-American child comes to school with a notion of being good, and being good from the point of view of the typical family, is to not become overly involved, overly inquisitive or questioning, nor overly interactive with others in a learning situation. For them, going to school means being docile, being quiet, being able to listen, but not to participate, not to question, not to speculate. Going to school means being told what to do, how to act, and what is "right" by a person who knows more. For the Mexican-American child, the

world of interaction is within the family and not with members outside the family, and not with ideas, nor foreign teachers, nor with things that the school values.

A testing situation requires an interaction with ideas and things with which they may have no experience or familiarity. Within the cloak of anonymous behavior, is the great threat of exposure. The Mexican-American's ethnic and familian affiliations tend to force an indifference to the school-valued tasks of being evaluated and assessed in order to be classified, and consequently stratified, in some kind of placement system according to some kind of criteria, including the level of ability.

Heller (5) pointed out that Mexican-American children tend to start out much on the same level as Anglo children, both in IQ scores and scholastic achievement, but that the longer the Mexican-American children stay in school, the less they resemble the other children in these endeavors. Part of the reason for this decline in performance and measured ability is the notion that curriculum does not tend to facilitate transition from the Mexican home to the American school. In Los Angeles, for example, Heller pointed out that only 20% of the Mexican-American youngsters are following an academic curriculum, while 50% of the Anglo youngsters are in this curriculum stream.

Over and over we have found in the studies that the Mexican-American youngster tends to be over-age for his grade level and that perhaps one of the reasons for poor performance, and consequently one of the reasons for drop-out, is that the test skills required for a particular grade level may not be of the maturation or age level of the youngsters involved in this testing program. If a test is geared for third graders, and the Mexican-American youngsters are fourth grade in age, or even older, then the kind of skill and performance and what is expected of third graders is a kind of indication that they are expected to do simple child-like things that they have outgrown in their own maturation and chronological growth.

Both the ability to focus at any sustained level and the skill of acute observation on non-personal or non-human factors tend to not be a part of the interpersonal social and cultural value system of Mexican-American families. The skill of testing requires a certain mental set. It requires an observational pattern and a data collecting process. To be successful, there must be a similar kind of value or motive for the test and the tester. The pupil has to focus sharply on what is being asked and understand what is being

asked. He also has to know the style of response most acceptable. An involved and sustained attention span is essential and the need for reinforcement, if the person is insecure, would contribute much to the testing success.

Mexican-American children who have experienced a history of failure and over-exposure withdraw from evaluation and testing situations that could continue to reinforce failure and lack of understanding. To overcome this major barrier to the successful acquisition of test skills, instruction in evaluation and test techniques is essential. This would include teaching paper-and-pencil techniques, and how to understand to respond to what is expected. The importance of time orientation, language skill, and interpretation skills must be taught.

Many youngsters who are Mexican-American in origin come to school with language handicaps which inhibit their opportunity in being tested and their understanding of what is being tested. Tests so often require an individual kind of participation and organization, where much of the Mexican-American life functions in a la familia-La Raza complex and mystique, where the individual is submerged in the total environment and within the group. The testing situation is not a free situation, it is one which is emotionally charged. As the youngsters grow older, they recognize that this is an Anglo culture, and generally an Anglo or Angloized person asking questions and making decisions which have devastating reactions later on in a consequence of curriculum and educational opportunity.

In a study conducted at Arizona State University (1), some of the cultural and bilingual factors contributing to apparent retardation and pseudo-mental retardation, tended to be the socio-economic level, the general cultural difference, family cohesiveness and family size, the father's occupation, participation in community affairs, and the degree of bilingualism. It was found that children whose fathers had the most education not only seemed to attain higher IQ scores, but the advantage appeared to increase slightly with the increased importance of verbal materials of the tests. Children were found to be older in grade level, but their median performance on most tests was about one standard deviation below the Anglo groups. On achievement tests, the apparent retardation varied from one subject area to another, showing a progressive retardation in reading, with advancing grade, but no clear trend in arithmetic or the English language.

There seemed to be a distinct relationship between the amount of retardation and extent to which test use required knowledge of English. There was little relationship between ability measures as school achievement as measured by standardized tests. There was a definite relationship suggested between test performance and parental aspiration as judged by social welfare workers. The degree to which the family participated in community affairs is related to performance on tests of ability. It was discovered that children who come from definitely bilingual or practically uni-lingual homes do better on tests than do children from homes of average facility with two languages.

Caplan and Ruble (2), in a study of culturally imposed factors on school achievement in a metropolitan area, suggested that there is some evidence that students from bilingual backgrounds lack essential communication skills in school and their lack of these skills has an adverse effect upon their achievement as measured by standardized tests. The study suggested that bilingual students may have somewhat higher potentialities than mono-lingual students from a similar environment. Bilingual students tend to demonstrate that the values held in the home are different from those held by the community as a whole. Bilingual students have not been encouraged by the home to value certain personality characteristics which contribute to school achievement.

These studies and others in the same area indicate strongly that when a person sets out to evaluate the influence of educational programs on Mexican-Americans, there are a number of socio-cultural factors which need to be carefully analyzed. In addition to the factors of bilingualism is the notion that test-taking skills and test sophistication, study skills, and other kinds of school success-oriented techniques need to be carefully thought through in terms of the curriculum program and the assessment of the success of such a program with the particular group we have in focus.

In preparing this paper, I asked a group of graduate students, many of whom are teaching Mexican-American pupils in lower economic areas, a series of questions as to their perception of the problems involved in evaluating the influence of educational programs on Mexican-Americans.

Approximately twenty-five graduate students, most of whom are elementary teachers in the public schools of Tucson, Arizona, responded to a questionnaire which included these six questions:

1. How would you evaluate the influence of educational programs on Mexican-Americans?

2. What are some of the school problems in evaluating Mexican-Americans?
3. What are some of the problems that Mexican-American pupils have in being evaluated?
4. What are some of the successful practices in evaluating Mexican-Americans?
5. What are some of the tools and techniques useful in evaluating Mexican-Americans?
6. What are some of the things to be aware of or to avoid in evaluating Mexican-Americans?

One of the major concerns expressed by most of the twenty-five teachers involved in this survey was the tendency teachers have of stereotyping the Mexican-American learner. They felt that this type of stereotype hindered the development of the education program as well as the learner's ability to fully accept the school program and curriculum. Fernando Penalosa, in an article in the Sociology and Social Research Journal (13), stated: "There is a reaction among educated Mexican-Americans and among informed social scientists against the characterization of Mexican-American culture to be found in authoritative books and articles on the subject. They feel that these sources tend to create stereotypes by which even well-trained and well-meaning Anglos will tend to perceive the group, not taking account of individual differences and achievement." The concern and warning that the teachers voiced indicated that making over-generalizations and employing stereotypes would be detrimental to any kind of evaluation program.

The general response to these questions was something like this: The school problems in evaluating Mexican-Americans tended to fall into categories such as improper instruments and improper use of these instruments for evaluation. Instruments requiring verbal reasoning ability did not seem valid, as Mexican-American children had major language problems and language barriers. In addition to the language barriers, the notion of the culture barrier and the problems of "test-wiseness" tended to be contributing factors to poor performance. The English language itself tended to become a testing base and the Americanized tests are often too difficult culturally for the youngsters to understand and respond. The translation factor quite often required imputed meaning into the problem which either did not exist, or which was not acknowledged.

Some of the teachers, when analyzing the test results, could not determine whether the child was merely a slow learner, or simply was unable to

understand. Additional problems in evaluating Mexican-Americans included difficulty of getting some parents to attend parent-teacher conferences and to involve the parent in the educational process. There was a failure syndrome and a negative self-concept which tended to result from some of the testing programs. Several of the teachers felt that the schools must recognize that Mexican-Americans are extremely concerned in the education of their children, but that the parents may not speak out freely. Some felt that the tests should be developed in the native language and should not be translated versions from English into Spanish. Skills should be taught in testing and use of idiomatic English to help the youngsters have an opportunity to utilize the language to its utmost.

In spite of the problems, a number of the teachers felt that the evaluation program was important in order to develop an objective record of the pupil's progress and establish some notion of placing students in a school curriculum so that if they are transferred, they would not be out of phase with their ability. A number of the teachers felt that the evaluation program tended to provide opportunity to explore the curriculum and to re-teach hazy concepts and difficult areas where tests indicated youngsters had not achieved efficiency.

Some of the problems which the teachers felt that the Mexican-American pupils had in being evaluated tended to include these kinds of concerns: That the Mexican-American youngsters felt that the Anglo teachers, or teachers in general, did not really understand them. Some of the teachers felt they were outsiders in a cultural and language situation. They felt that the Mexican-American youngsters are influenced by strong traditional and historical factors which tend to inhibit their full acceptance and participation in the school culture. A number of them felt that in problem situations, they turn to the Church or to their family for support, or that they suffer alone in silence, rather than to expose the deficiency to people who are not members of an intimate relation group. Many teachers felt that language skills and reading problems, most of all, were the greatest handicaps that Mexican-American pupils encountered in any kind of evaluation technique. A number of other responses tended to fall into the categories of certain physical handicaps and problems due to hearing and eye-sight difficulties, as well as a general energy level of the pupils. They also felt that the school and educational purposes of the dominant culture tended to be unrecognized or not familiar to the parents and family.

Over and over again this notion of fear of failure, of being exposed, of being laughed at, tended to be a problem with Mexican-American youngsters facing evaluation situations. Some of the teachers felt that the Mexican-American youngsters may resent school superiors and that they are culture-bound and did not want to rise above the level of their family or peer group. The values relating to lack of competition in their own culture may have tended to perpetuate this idea. The present-time orientation, which tends to be one of the Mexican-American values, some of the teachers felt, caused the youngsters to rush through uninteresting tests to get on to more pleasant things without having to consider the task at hand as a task worth completing to the fullest sense. The general notion held by many teachers that Mexican-American youngsters have a negative self-concept and an inferiority component in their personality tends to keep them from fully participating and working at top capacity.

In relation to successful practices useful in evaluating Mexican-Americans, the teachers felt that a different kind of approach to evaluation might be more effective. One teacher wrote, "The only time I felt that I was getting the real picture of what students had learned was when we just talked, as a class, in groups, or individually, preferably when we were doing something that had nothing to do with the subject matter. We did a lot of talking on field trips. We chatted lots on the way." A number of the teachers felt that verbal, rather than written, types of evaluation were far more effective in estimating the pupil's ability. Above all, there was a need to show concern, sincerity, and honesty in relating to Mexican-American youngsters. Home visits was a good technique to use in assessing the background and environment of the pupils, as well as to get some feeling of acceptance as teachers. They felt that giving certain tangible rewards was one way to assure better participation in evaluation situations. Over and over again, the teachers suggested that the use of objective, rather than subjective, questions tended to evoke more accurate responses and were tests that the youngsters were more able to handle. This tended to be verified in a questionnaire which was submitted to some 130 youngsters in the fourth through eighth grades, who were Mexican-Americans in low economic neighborhoods. They too felt that multiple-choice and true-false type tests were their "favorite" tests.

Manipulation of materials and oral reports were very important in assessing the pupil's understanding of what is being taught. The use of puppets and

drawings tended to be other ways in which teachers could develop insight into the successful acquisition of concepts and generalizations. Situational-type tests with observation and simulated experiences have proven successful in attempting to evaluate the pupil's understanding of the curriculum, particularly in science and social studies. This leads to dramatic play and role-playing techniques, as well as simplified experiments, in which participation is a valued kind of technique in assessing the influence of educational programs.

Group, rather than individual, activities might be more useful in order to avoid singling out individuals who would become conspicuous or very visible. Attracting individual attention at the expense of the group is not highly valued among many Mexican-Americans. It is important to consider concepts with the learner's own experience and in whatever developmental style seems appropriate to them. This includes language skills, whether it be Spanish or a dialect. The theory underlying this notion is that language development should be additive rather than substitutive. Riessman and Alberts (14) make this additive concept very clear in their article in the Saturday Review, entitled "Digging 'The Man's' Language." Instruments or techniques of evaluation dependent upon verbal ability and fluency restrict natural interaction with the process.

The skill and observation and of recording objectively tended to be one of the things that the teachers also indicated as a tool or technique in evaluation. This included observing the child outside of the class, and in his home environment, where possible, so that there would be an opportunity to see the relationship between what was expected in the classroom and what transferred or carried over into outside classroom activities. This further suggests an acceptance of more of la familia in the process of evaluation. One of education's greatest needs and problems is family involvement in supporting the educational enterprise. For Mexican-Americans, family generally includes more adults than merely the biological parents.

In answering the question relating to some of the things to be aware of or to avoid in evaluating Mexican-Americans, most teachers responded that it was important to help the pupils learn that they were not being treated differently nor insignificantly. Developing a sense of trust and mutual respect between the teacher and the learner was considered essential. This kind of collaborative relationship suggests the teacher's need to understand the sociocultural background of the pupils and their families, and relate it to the school

culture as much as possible. Too often, we have expected the families and their children to accomodate and assimilate the school culture without fully recognizing the complex process involved.

A kind of permanent relationship, a warm collaboration between the teacher and the learner, tends to permit more involvement and emotional attachment to school than departmentalized programs where the Mexican-American youngsters have to accomodate to different kinds of teaching styles and personalities with adults who reflect a different culture and are predominantly strangers to them.

It was considered important to not assume too much in the evaluation of pupils because of the foreign nature of their background and the different emphasis on what they recognize as important in life. Teachers frequently stated that we should not use materials which look at life from a middle-class Anglo point of view, but that we must keep Mexican-American values in mind in any kind of evaluation program. This suggests that it is important to understand the Mexican-American cultural and political systems, as well as something of the history of their development.

This infers to me that the case-study technique, even modified, is useful in curriculum and instructional planning. I have had teachers in a number of graduate classes develop modified case studies of two or three youngsters that are culturally different. It was always amazing to them that they had assumed too much in regard to the children in their classroom. They discovered in a depth investigation that they gained a great deal more understanding and insight into the family patterns and life-space of these youngsters, as well as some of the school problems.

In planning an evaluation program, the sense of timing and the expected speed of performance should be taken into consideration. A number of the teachers suggested that many of these youngsters needed a great deal more time to respond to questions and instruments than is often allotted in standardized testing procedures. Knowing the life cycle or socio-cultural calendar of the pupils would help the school in timing evaluation periods. Selecting an "off season" period would tend to minimize the diversion of motivation and interest and the fatigue factor. Much energy and time is often spent during ceremonial occasions which have deep religious and cultural significance to many Mexican-Americans.

The problem of language interpretation and of test skill enters into the responses and often skews the results. As indicated before, a number of the teachers expressed a need to find ways of helping the family change their notions of what is "schooling," which tends to inhibit the children's capacity to problem-solve and function as middle-class children are expected to behave. The notion that "good children" do not ask questions, disturb the teacher, nor become a problem, sometimes restricts Mexican-American children from clarifying questions or instructions related to the evaluation program. As a consequence, they may just sit and do nothing until the test is over.

A number of the teachers were very realistic in expressing their difficulty and frustration over the evaluation of Mexican-Americans and the influence of the educational programs on them. They suggested they needed to recognize that teachers were human and that they were subject to error in evaluation. The teacher's personal prejudice can color evaluation and feelings toward certain youngsters. It was important to avoid too much pressure and to be aware of the difficult task that many of these youngsters are going through in accomodating to more than one cultural set of values or level expectations.

The teachers in this survey tended to recognize that the State-adopted courses of study and a number of texts which are required have little subject matter or concepts in them which relate to the pupil's background. They felt that practical skills of language development and problem solving were important and should be taught. The teachers stated they needed to understand the vernacular of the pupils in order to communicate with them effectively. One of the most important things, they felt, was that the teacher needed to be aware of the infuriating feelings of helplessness, inferiority, and frustration which resulted from an uneven learning experience, both for the pupils and the teachers involved.

One way to determine the effectiveness and the meaning which testing and evaluation programs have on the children is to ask them. Most of the 130 fourth through eighth grade Mexican-American children in the Tucson area knew fairly well why they were being tested and why they were graded. They expressed a preference for objective-type questions rather than subjective or essay. They said that their families would praise them if they brought home a good report card and that they would be punished or deprived privileges if they took home a poor one. Most of them expressed a sense of fear or being nervous when about to take a test. Many said that their biggest problem in taking

a test was not understanding the questions or knowing if they were right in their answers. This was an informal questionnaire, but it indicated that they were aware and understood fairly well the "testing culture" of the school and the purposes of testing, even though many did not participate well in it.

The research related to preparing this paper and the survey given to the graduate students and teachers in the Tucson area indicated that the evaluation of the influence of educational programs on Mexican-Americans was very often an individual, attitudinal reaction to the teaching-learning situation. Much evidence suggests that the teacher's attitude and academic expectancy of the pupils influence a great deal the kind of evaluation that was given, as well as the growth and progress of the pupils in their classes. Martin (12) pointed out: "We have seen clearly in recent years that when teachers' expectations of slum children's capacity to learn are depressed, the children learn less and less the longer they remain in such a school." The relation of teacher's expectancy and the use of middle-class-designed instruments for evaluation and the fallacy of their results has been indicated over and over again in the research literature.

In a new book entitled, Pygmalion in the Classroom, by Rosenthal and Jacobson (15), the authors reinforce the notion that the IQ is no more than the score of a person's intellectual performance at a given time. In their book, the authors tell of temporarily deceiving a group of public school teachers in regard to the IQ scores of selected pupils. The experimentors informed the teachers that certain groups of pupils rated high on IQ scores and could be expected to push ahead fast. Actually, the "gifted" children had been picked at random from all three achievement tracts in the school. The outcome of this grouping resulted in the fact that the children believed by the teachers to be brighter than average, progressed much faster than the rest of the school, the supposedly average. Even more significant was the rise in the IQ in the group labeled as superior. Tested after some months, the "brighter" pupils showed an average gain in IQ of 12.22 points, compared with an 8.42 gain by the rest of the student body.

In an editorial in The Christian Science Monitor (7), in relation to IQ testing and this study, the editor stated, "It has been found, for example, that certain IQ tests are drafted in such a way that children from one cultural background will almost inevitably do better than those from another, and less toward, environment.

"Now has come one of the most potent reasons of all for refusing to accept such unscientific judgment on children. It has been found that when children who have actually done rather poorly on an IQ test are placed in several classes under teachers who have been given to believe that the children were especially gifted, the latter showed a swift and remarkable rise in scholastic progress.

"What we find particularly encouraging in this is that clearly the teacher's attitude toward her pupils was the most important element. Believing them endowed with unusual intelligence, seeing them as able and gifted, she acted in line with her conviction and the result was gratifying and heartening.

"Think for a moment of the possible fact of believing that pupils are below the norm in intelligence, something very likely to happen once a teacher is given reports showing poor IQ test results. Her whole attitude could change. She might be just as loving, just as concerned, work just as hard, but there would be missing that element of special confidence which the children would feel and which would encourage them to reach their full capacity."

The problem of evaluating the influence of educational programs on the Mexican-American is more than testing and individual assessment. Much of what has been said in this paper has been geared to the notion that the effectiveness of the educational program is determined by the pupil's participation and understanding through a testing of program. In addition to just testing youngsters, there is a major need to look at the overall impact of the educational program, representing a middle-class point of view, on the life space of those who have not fully participated in the dominant culture.

A number of models have been developed recently to evaluate the effectiveness of educational programs throughout the country. Of particular interest and importance is the EPIC Project (4), meaning Evaluative Programs for Innovative Curriculums. In a real sense, the impact of the middle-class educational curriculum and instructional program undergirded with the values of the middle-class, functions as an innovative program to Mexican-Americans who come from the base line and transitional groups which we have been concerned with in this paper.

The EPIC program has been designed to evaluate innovative practices. The EPIC model takes into consideration a structural analysis of the educational enterprise in attempting to evaluate certain component factors. There are three major dimensions which the structure encompasses. These are the

Instructional Dimension, the Institutional Dimension, and the Behavioral Dimension. Each of these dimensions has an influence on the outcome of educational programs on any group, including the Mexican-Americans.

It is important to recognize that the Institutional factors of the EPIC evaluation model influence the Instructional and Behavioral factors and, in turn, these factors also influence the Institutional factors. Such things as perceptual, psychomotor, affective, and cognitive behavior are considered in the Behavioral component. Under Instruction, the organization, content, method, facilities, and cost are considered. In the Institutional Dimension, the teacher, student, administrator, specialist, family, and community all enter into the evaluation scheme. Such an over-arching model is essential in fully evaluating the impact and influence of educational programs on Mexican-Americans. It is in this kind of evaluation scheme that segments or factors can be isolated and more carefully diagnosed for prescriptive amelioration.

CONCLUSION

As stated at the beginning of the paper, one of the most effective ways of evaluating the influence of educational programs on Mexican-Americans would be to thoroughly study those successful Mexican-Americans who are fully participating and who have been fully accepted by the dominant culture. For these successful Mexican-Americans, as judged by the dominant culture, it required cultural change and the acceptance of new cultural patterns which permitted them to be a fully participating member of the culture which grants rights and privileges and opportunity. It is recognized that the third level of Madsen's (10) categories applies most aptly to this group. They are the ones who have moved into the dominant culture and have completed the Americanization, vis a vis Angloization, of the process of acculturation and assimilation.

But of major importance would be the opportunity to assess the effectiveness of educational programs and the influence these programs have on those Mexican-Americans who are still in the lower two categories of Madsen's stratification outline. It is with these that we have an important task to accomplish. It is a vital necessity for us to recognize that there is opportunity for curriculum and instructional improvement as well as opportunity for us to re-design an educational program which would be effective and have a more dramatic influence on the participants seeking some kind of upward social mobility.

Even for the Mexican-American in the lower two categories, who are not self-motivated toward upward mobility, part of the task of the educational enterprise would be to provide the stimulation and motivating factors which would enhance their opportunity to achieve the maximum from their educational experiences. This can be done only if we understand the accelerating factors of the school program which tend toward this direction and attempt to ameliorate the inhibiting or negative factors of such school programming.

It was pointed out in this paper that one of the greatest handicaps facing Mexican-Americans is that of discriminatory practices of trying to compare performance and ability on standardized tests given to both Mexican-Americans and Anglos. These tests and instruments which have been standardized and validated on populations different from Mexican-Americans tend to disservice them.

Intelligence, performance, and ability testing all tend to have some kind of cultural bias related to them. It is either a language barrier, a test skill inability, a lack of sophistication and understanding of what the culture of the school anticipates, lack of parental and peer motivation, or ethnic affiliation, which retards the full response and required motiviation for school success. These factors tend to restrict Mexican-Americans from performing adequately in school-generated stress situations.

It was suggested in this paper that there are a number of ways to look at the evaluation of educational programs in connection with Mexican-Americans. These included the use of more objective-type tests, of oral discussion and oral testing in any language or dialect pattern. Situational tests, such as role-playing and dramatic play, use of other media than pencil-and-paper technique for expressing acquisition of content and concept as well as analysis, were also suggested.

It was pointed out over and over again, both in research data and from the response of graduate students and teachers in the Tucson area, that the attitude of the tester, the attitude of the teacher and evaluator, is of primary importance in considering the functioning level of the Mexican-Americans in regard to an evaluation program. If the Mexican-Americans are made to feel that they are on the spot, their failure will tend toward exposure and lack of acceptance both by the school and by the home. This would cause undue psychological reaction among those being evaluated to the point where they become totally disfunctioning individuals.

Perhaps the major focus on any kind of evaluation program with youngsters from a culture different from that of the school culture would be to find some estimate of how much the youngsters are getting from their school experience, rather than trying to estimate what distance they are from the expected goals of the original intent of the school experience. Education and schooling mean different things to different sub-cultures. It is significant to recognize that in any kind of program in which we are dealing with people who represent a culture unlike that of the dominant culture, we are in a sense assessing the process of cultural and social change.

It is in this mood that models of evaluation, such as the EPIC model, take into consideration other factors than merely the school curriculum and instructional program. We need to understand how concepts and generalizations which are taught at school tend to transfer into family and peer group experiences, as well as other kinds of activities outside the school program. We have some evidence that even though a great deal of time is focused on the teaching of English as a primary language of communication, these youngsters return to their play groups and familial situations using the language of affection, rather than the language of instruction. This says something to us in terms of the effectiveness of the instructional program. If the English language became also the language of reward, gratification, success, and affection, it could parallel, and perhaps even supplant, the non-standardized Spanish language, or border patois which is used by so many Mexican-Americans in their transition between a Spanish-speaking culture and the English-speaking culture reflected by the public school enterprise.

In evaluating the influence of educational programs on Mexican-Americans, it is important to avoid the notion of stereotyping and over-generalizing. Each individual case requires careful analysis and prescription. The diagnostic factors include an understanding of the family and the culture represented by the family. If, in the total ameliorative process, all socializing agents could be focused in the same direction, then the task of the public school program would be one of a kind of reconstruction, a cultural renewal, in which the school would lead toward the direction of full participation and ways of achieving acceptance in and by the dominant culture. To me, this is the meaning of the notion of the classless society. It provides an opportunity for all members to move upward in the social scale, regardless of class levels. The tools of upward social mobility, and the rewards of that mobility, coincide with the

motivational process of those involved to further the cause of developing a people toward self-actualization and self-realization.

It is recognized that while the Mexican-Americans have rich traditional and historical pasts, these no longer fully serve them to participate in the middle-class dominant culture of a technological age. If the Mexican-American is to achieve his rewards commensurate with those of other members of the dominant American culture, then surely the influence of the public educational program must be reflected in the trend toward upward mobility and a modification of culture patterns which tend to inhibit and restrict their full membership.

The choice ultimately must be that of the individual. But he must have the opportunity to see the alternatives that are possible. The program which helps the individual assess for himself his place within the upward trend and to evaluate how he feels toward the goals which have been prescribed for him as successful, is the useful program having great influence. This kind of educational evaluation will influence his own educational program and he will benefit from the opportunities provided by the public school in relation to his understanding of his skills and ability to acquire the necessary competence to fully function as an equal member in the dominant culture. The influence of the educational programs toward these goals can be enormous, if the public school enterprise would function as an including, rather than an excluding, institution. It is in this mood of evaluation, one in which the individual in the process is also a member of the evaluation team, that great progress can be made toward increasing the effectiveness and influences of the educational enterprise on Mexican-Americans.

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