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ABSTRACT

This book presents a new set of heuristic notions that might be used in designing educational programs for low-income and ethnic-minority children. The authors see no hope for the concept of "compensatory education" as a way of improving the education of disadvantaged children; they hope that this selection of articles will provide a fresh point of view that must be adopted if "American society is to solve some of the pressing educational and social problems it currently faces." (Author/SB)

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BEYOND "COMPENSATORY EDUCATION"

A New Approach to Educating Children

by

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CONTENTS

Introduction

This book presents a new set of heuristic notions that might be used in designing educational programs for low-income and ethnic-minority children.

Each of the contributors, regardless of his or her ethnic heritage, clearly believes that education today must renew itself so as to provide better opportunities for children who are neither white nor middle-class. Yet we have discovered, individually and collectively, that many people of good will seem to be puzzled and perplexed when we, as professionals and as parents, speak disparagingly of so-called "compensatory education" programs. Are not these programs designed specifically to help children from low-income homes achieve more successfully in school and thus break out of the seemingly endless poverty cycle?

Does not the "compensatory education" notion seem workable, at least on the surface? Who, after all, can fault an effort to help these children by trying to lift the incubus of poverty?

We do not, of course, object to programs that actually improve the education of children. Clearly we want to see the cycle of poverty broken once and for all. But we very obviously, as shown in the pages that follow, see no hope whatsoever for the concept of "compensatory education" as a means of accomplishing those worthwhile objectives.

This selection of articles has been shaped to help make clear a fresh point of view that we believe must be adopted if American society is to solve some of the pressing educational and social problems it currently faces. We hope we have avoided posing as critics who profess to know what's wrong but who are unable to propose viable solutions for the problems cited. As educators, we tender these criticisms only because we believe such commentary is vital if we are to consider more promising alternatives.

We invite our colleagues and others outside the educational fraternity to scrutinize these comments, to sharpen the ideas or contradict them, and then to join forces with us in trying to assure that all children, [illegible] backgrounds, may have the very best educational opportunities we, as adults, can afford to provide them.

G. P. N.
J. A. J., Jr.

San Francisco, California
January 1973

Chapter 1

THE "CULTURAL DEPRIVATION" PERSPECTIVE

Dorothy C. Clement & Patricia A. Johnson

Educators (and their critics) employ many labels, like "culturally deprived," "disadvantaged," "retarded," and others equally pejorative. These categorizations have been developed from an ethnocentric viewpoint, since most American teachers to date have been mono-cultural in their background and training. And in all too many classrooms the teachers and the children come from different backgrounds, a situation that inevitably results in a broad variety of misinterpretations of behavior, values, language, and other aspects of culture. The notion that there is some sort of "correct" speech required if formal learning is to occur poses one cruel dilemma, but all the paraphernalia of learning--texts, tests, and other materials--have been permeated with a conspicuous white middle-class bias as well. The authors of this article examine the so-called "defect" perspective of educators and show that minority children are usually expected to give up their own life styles in order to "assimilate." One outcome of the present unfair achievement criteria (as evidenced by performance) is that teachers tend to hold low expectations for these ethnic-minority pupils. Re-education of teachers appears to be a basic first step if these long-ingrained wrongs are to be righted in coming years.

In every human society, people and groups are sorted into sets of informally accepted and institutionalized categories. Rights (or the lack of them), privileges, and expectations accompany these categories. A possible consequence of being labeled "insane," for example, is confinement in a mental institution; a consequence of achieving adulthood is receiving voting privileges; a consequence of being categorized as a medical doctor is being expected to be knowledgeable about ways of curing or preventing illnesses.

Categories often appear very natural, logical, and stable to those who use them, but, in fact, categories, definitions of categories, and consequences of categories change. Over the past four centuries, for example, the consequences or implications of being categorized as Black have gone through a number of variations. In the colonial period of United States history, Black people were condemned on the basis of the Biblical account (Genesis, IX 25-27) of Noah's curse upon Ham and Ham's descendants to the effect that they would be servants of servants to their brethren.* Slavery was said

*Silberman (1964, p. 173-4) argues that the passage is misinterpreted--that Noah actually cursed Ham's son, Canaan, not Ham.

to be "...a Christian institution of divine origin,...praiseworthy as a means of Christianizing the heathen..." (Dumond, 1963, p. 92), although there was some question as to whether or not Black people had souls.

Slave traders, slave holders and their sympathizers later emphasized that slavery was beneficial for Black people because it brought them elements of civilization in addition to religious enlightenment (Dumond, p. 92). The image of Black Africa as uncivilized, as the "Dark Continent" (Silberman, 1964, p. 168), as the homeland of Tarzan types, and as the inspiration for Little Black Sambo (whose adventures actually took place in India) became widespread. After emancipation, Black people were viewed as simple, inarticulate ex-slaves.

At present, the curse of Ham has less popularity than in the past, but the myth of Africa as the "Dark Continent," though somewhat passé, is still found in many currently used textbooks. A definition with more contemporary support is one that labels Black people as being genetically inferior (the ancient theme of "racial inferiority" now couched in scientific language). According to Jensen (1969), Shuey (1966), and others, Black people are inherently less intelligent than whites. Still, "cultural deprivation" or "disadvantage" is probably the most popular label currently used. And many Black people are thought to be "culturally deprived."

Over the past 200 to 300 years, emphasis on religion has decreased while emphasis on political philosophies and science has increased. Thus, the curse of Noah on his son, Ham, now seems less powerful; to some extent, concepts of "racial inferiority" are openly resorted to less frequently. On the other hand, scientific theories which link environmental conditions to emotional and cognitive development have a great deal of appeal. Many people are willing to believe that the home environments of a substantial number of children (especially ethnic-minority children*) are counter-productive to "normal" emotional and cognitive development.

The Power to Label

Opinions often differ as to whether or not an individual or a group fits a given category, or if, in fact, a particular category is valid. Different groups within a society may use different definitions of the same category or may use different categories altogether. The element that determines which system of categories prevails is usually power--as measured by ascertaining who has access to the

*Though the label "culturally deprived" supposedly pertains to specific types of environmental conditions, it is sometimes used interchangeably with names for social or ethnic groups. For example, Kersey (1970, p. 2), in a paper delivered at a recent meeting of the American Educational Research Association, discussed the background of two teachers on the Seminole Reservation; he mentioned that the teachers were "...not specifically trained to work with Indians or other deprived children."

resources and institutional systems. Members of the "youth-culture," for example, cannot apprehend those who violate the moral values of that culture*, but police can be and are sent to arrest members of the "youth-culture" for drug use, demonstrations, draft evasion, etc. In other words, youth-culture members have no machinery for forcing their categories upon the "establishment," but the establishment can impose measurable consequences (e.g., imprisonment, suspension from school) upon youth-culture members. Some groups have sufficient access to resources and power to cause their perspectives to impinge upon other groups, whereas others do not.

Categories often appear to be rationally established and objectively applied; however, invariably those without power are negatively labeled whereas those in power avoid placing negative labels upon themselves. Seldom do we hear from the judge, "I am a criminal"; from the king, "I am a traitor"; from the psychiatrist, "I am insane"; or from the teacher, "I am educationally mentally retarded." Among subgroups as well, those who handle the reins seldom say, "We are inferior and therefore should have fewer privileges than the other groups." The Nazis did not decide that the Aryan "race" was inferior to that of the Jews and then consign themselves to the gas chambers. Similarly, in this country educators seldom decide that their own children (or children like their own children) are "culturally deprived."

Categorization of Minority Groups in the United States**

Low-income people in this country, especially those whose life style differs from that of the dominant majority, have relatively

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*Youth-culture members in the early 1970's tended to believe in, or value, such concepts as an ecological approach to resources, honest human relationships, and peace. Thus, they were opposed to and, if they had had power, would probably have acted against those who polluted the atmosphere and those who brought about or participated in wars. See Reich (1970) for a comparison of American society as it was and American society as it might have become if youth-culture values had gained more ascendancy.

**In terms of the authors' own categories, "minority groups" refers to groups whose life style differs from that of the dominant life style Frequently "low-income" is also used as an adjective. It is well known that many minority-group individuals also have low incomes. The authors are primarily discussing those who both have low incomes and belong to a minority group; thus, the unemployed aerospace personnel of the early 1970's, for example, are not considered in the context of this article. "Ethnic minority group" is used here to refer to minority groups whose ties with other societies, cultures, and/or geographic areas are apparent, due to differences in observable behavior, and/or physical characteristics. "Minority groups" (in this article) also include minority social groups whose behavior patterns and dialect are viewed as low-status.

little access to educational, economic, and social resources or to the consequences of the categories into which they are arbitrarily segmented by the majority.

In such a categorization of minority groups with differing life styles, the labels frequently echo an ethnocentric point of view or reveal a tendency to interpret and evaluate the life styles and values of others on the basis of one's own life style. "Illegitimacy," for example, has negative connotations for many of us. It describes a social condition (a child's parents were unmarried at the time of the child's birth) which is taboo. Illegitimacy is a concept that we apply to other groups and cultures as well as our own--even if the "others" have a life style in which different aspects of the family situation are more important in determining children's and parents' social or marital status. Even though the social patterns and values of a group may be internally consistent and well-defined, with socially positive benefits for the majority of children in relation to the structure of the culture, we could probably consider the group disorganized and demoralized if it had a higher rate of "illegitimacy" than ours. Either the fact the culture had strong, internally consistent patterns and values would probably escape our notice, or the culture might simply be perceived as completely degenerate.

Ethnocentrism yields what might be termed the defect perspective in which behavior, life styles, and values divergent from one's own are generally viewed as: failure in performance due to inadequate environmental conditions or ignorance; irresponsible or criminal deviance; or foolish adherence to outmoded and inferior ways. Attitudes of the dominant majority toward minority life styles are typically based upon the defect perspective. The life styles of many Black people, for example, tend to be viewed as "substandard" variations of the dominant style since Black people are not recognized as having experienced, retained, or developed their own culture (Herskovits, 1941). On the other hand, some groups, such as white Appalachian poor and many American Indian communities are regarded as "interesting anachronisms." Their life styles, though recognized as different from the patterns of the mainstream, are stereotyped as primitive, out-of-date, or inferior.

Ethnocentric attitudes toward minority groups in this country not only limit the possibilities for majority members to perceive and respect alternative patterns, but also create a climate in which inequalities in treatment are acceptable. Individuals are seen either as similar to the majority person and therefore legitimately deserving of privileges or else as unlike the majority person and therefore subject to negative consequences. In this country, the egalitarian doctrine that "all men are created equal" has been interpreted to mean "all men are created equal if they behave in the same manner" (Baratz and Baratz, 1969, p. 6).

Because of this orientation, it is not surprising that a concept such as "cultural deprivation" and its proposed solution, "compensatory education," should enjoy the popular and professional support

they have elicited. (See also Friedman, 1967; Baratz and Baratz, 1969.)

In Theory and in Practice

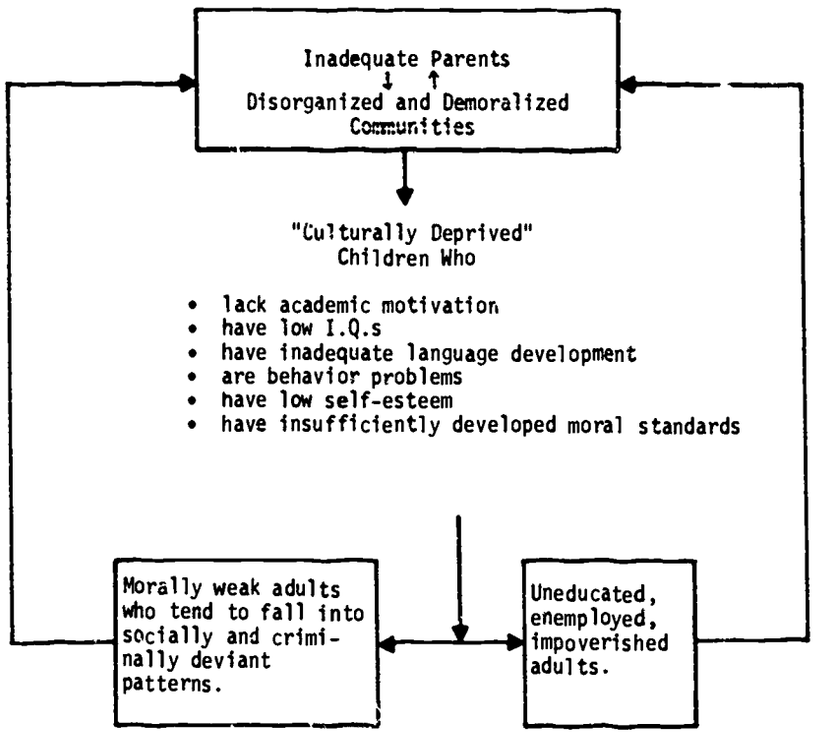
"Cultural deprivation" became popular in the 1960's as an explanation of why a large number of children from poor homes tended to fail in school. (See Friedman, 1967, for a historical account of the use of the concept.) Experimental research with animals and humans has shown that lack of exposure to the behavior of "knowledgeable" members of the same species during maturation results in emotional differences relative to norms for the species and in inability to perform learned behaviors as proficiently as unisolated peers. (See Nimnicht, Johnson and Johnson, 1972, in this volume for a more extensive description of these studies.) When theorists related these findings to the phenomenon of failure in school, they concluded that many low-income children fail in school because low-income home environments tend to provide inadequate stimulation for normal development. These low-income children were labeled "culturally deprived."

The funded solution to "cultural deprivation" was intervention in the preschool experience of "culturally deprived" children by means of "compensatory education"--catch-up courses or concentrated doses of "appropriate" stimulation--in an attempt to bring their developmental level closer to "norm" (that of their middle- and upper-income age-mates).

Though the theory of environmental deprivation may be supported by the research mentioned above, the environmental conditions observed in the research did not appear in the homes identified as producing "cultural deprivation." Eligibility for "compensatory education" programs was not stated in terms of the number of years the child had spent in an understaffed orphanage, alone in an attic, or in some other environment where interaction with anyone other than similarly isolated individuals* was at a minimum. Rather, features which seemed to the theorists to represent unsatisfactory environmental conditions and features revealed by research to be more common in lower-income homes were identified as critical. In application, "cultural deprivation" models proliferated, with little dependence on the supposed research base or on additional research. Figure 1.1 on the next page gives an example of such a model.

*In the Skeels (1966) orphanage study the children were in contact with one another, but the group of children was relatively isolated.

Figure 1.1



Possibly there are children in this country who are kept from contact with others to the point that their development is inhibited. However, it is quite an inferential leap to assume that exposure to a home environment which has certain obvious differences (few books; no indoor plumbing; families organized in some form other than that of the "nuclear family"; parents who are not married; or other varied social structures) is comparable to being locked in an attic room and having minimal contact with any other person. The research data thought to provide the foundations of the theory and the use of "cultural deprivation" notions have actually little relevance to the real-life situations to which the notion is being applied.

"Cultural deprivation" is an expressive category to many. Though it is not supported by existing research, it is supported by the assumptions and perspectives shared by producers of "cultural deprivation" literature and many of their consumers. The familiar phrase, "Beauty is in the eye of the beholder," indicates the relative nature of beauty; "cultural deprivation" (as currently used) is also an evaluative judgment that depends on one's perspective.

The "cultural deprivation" perspective is marred by speculation and evaluation based upon little knowledge and by a tendency

to make generalizations from any sample of behavior, no matter how small the sample or how restricted the circumstances surrounding the behavior. In many descriptions, elimination of the evaluative labels produces a fairly clear picture of the origin and implications of the phenomena that are supposedly "explained" by the "cultural deprivation" perspective. In other discussions, the actual events are more obscure.

Simple and Complex Ethnocentrism in Evaluation of Homes and Children

Kersey (1970, p. 6), in discussing a federal day school for Seminole Indians, made the following statement:

> Because most Indian children are unkempt through no fault of their own, personal hygiene and grooming are emphasized throughout the school days; the children wash before meals, brush their teeth after meals, are taught table manners and the use of silverware, napkins, etc.--things they rarely ever encounter at home but will be expected to know at school.

It may very well be the case that the Seminole children about whom Kersey is writing do not brush after meals or use "table manners," silverware, and napkins at home and therefore do not know how to use the utensils or observe "table manners" when they get to school. However, it is not the case that washing before meals and brushing after meals are the only possible hygienic techniques; that the use of silverware and napkins constitutes the only valid way of eating; or that table manners or etiquette patterns valued by a majority of people in the U.S. constitute the only possible system of etiquette. A similar error would be to conclude that horses are the only means of transportation and therefore someone who does not ride a horse has no form of transportation. Seminole practices are not the same as majority practices, but this fact does not mean ipso facto that Seminoles lack cultural patterns in these areas, as Kersey's comments seem to imply. Once this type of generalization is recognized as fallacious, Kersey's observation--that children who are not exposed to certain practices at home do not know them when they get to school--is very easy to understand and obviously says little or nothing about the children's level of cognitive and emotional development.

Other observations, unfortunately, are more difficult to interpret. Havighurst (1966), in an address given at the 1965 Annual Indiana Teacher Education Workshop, advised the group to distinguish among students who are "educationally and socially disadvantaged" according to degree of "educational retardation." Though he did not explicitly state the conditions which he feels bring about educational retardation, he gives two examples from which the negative conditions can be inferred (the words in quotation marks are his):

"Disadvantaged but not Retarded" Child	"Disadvantaged and Retarded" Child
Home Conditions	**Home Conditions**
1. father makes a good income, though he must be away for days at a time	1. father "deserted" the family five years ago
2. family lives in working-class section of town	2. family receives welfare payments
3. mother stays at home and "does her best to give her children a good start"	3. family lives in a "deteriorated" section of a large city
4. mother "looks after the children faithfully"	4. mother and four children (two of whom "have fathers that the mother did not marry") live in a two-room flat
5. mother wishes they lived in a better part of town where there are nicer children and fewer fights and less drinking	5. child's mother and father quarreled frequently when the child was young
6. mother would not allow child to continue using the library after he received a fine	6. child was "left to fend for himself" (no one read to him or paid much attention to him and he played with other children in the backyards of the "rundown houses or apartments where he happened to live")
7. parents bought books for the child, but did not read the books to him	7. mother "did not bother" to send him to kindergarten
Aspects of the Child	**Aspects of the Child**
1. could not read at proper grade level at end of first grade	1. was not reading when he entered the second grade
2. I.Q. of 97	2. was in the slow groups in each grade, had to repeat fourth grade, and continued reading at the second grade level
3. learned to read in a special second-grade class and frequently borrowed books from the library	3. has been "mischievious and unruly" the last two years
	4. I.Q. of 80

The implications are that the "disadvantaged" home conditions in the two examples brought about the below-standard school performance of the two children. How the results eventuated from the home conditions is not made clear. In fact, Havighurst's account reveals that Michael (the "disadvantaged" but not retarded child) liked books and liked to read (pp. 5-6) though his parents did not particularly enjoy reading (p. 6). In other words, he had not adopted his parents' level of interest in reading. What is clear are the author's values in terms of family circumstances and parental attitudes, and his possible lack of information (e.g., was the reason why Sam didn't attend a kindergarten really that "his mother did not bother to send him"?).

From another author (Brooks, 1966), we get the following description of a child from the "cultural deprivation" perspective:

> ...he is essentially the child who has been isolated from those rich experiences that should be his. This isolation may be brought about by poverty, by meagerness of intellectual resources in his home and surroundings, by the incapacity, illiteracy, or indifference of his elders or of the entire community. He may have to come to school without ever having had his mother sing him the traditional lullabies, and with no knowledge of nursery rhymes, fairy stories, or the folklore of his country. He may have taken few trips--perhaps his only one the cramped, uncomfortable trip from the lonely shack on the tenant farm to the teeming, filthy slum dwelling--and he probably knows nothing of poetry, music, painting, or even indoor plumbing.

As in the description of Seminole children, the ethnocentrism of the passage is evident. Here the implication is that the children being described are not exposed to any rich experiences because they are supposedly* not exposed to a particular set of lullabies, nursery rhymes, fairy stories, poetry, music and painting, or to indoor plumbing. The assumption seems to be that anyone would focus upon the same features in similar circumstances (e.g., that the trip was uncomfortable and cramped, that not having indoor plumbing is unthinkable) and derive the same results (i.e., nothing) from the experiences that a middle-class person in such a situation would derive. It is one notion to deplore impoverished circumstances and another to assume that people living under such conditions have no contact with literary, oral, or graphic art forms and that their experiences are completely devoid of meaning and importance for learning.

In Families of the Slums, Minuchin et al. (1967, p. 194) make the observations:

> One essential family [characteristic] (slum family) is its impermanence and unpredictability. These characteristics

*The belief that poor children are not exposed to the items mentioned is probably erroneous, in the authors' opinion.

> make it difficult for the child to define himself in relation to the world...objects and events have a transient quality. For example, a bed shared by two or more children can be turned over to a different child...meals have no set time...interpersonal contacts have these same and impermanent qualities.
>
> One conclusion which was made on the basis of these observations was that parents' responses to children's behavior are...therefore...deficient in the qualities....

It is quite clear in this example (as well as in the previous ones) that the authors have made a number of value judgments, implicitly using as standards such middle-class practices as a private bed for each child and fairly regular mealtimes.

It makes little sense to consider particular practices (like the allocation of beds) outside their cultural, social, and economic context or to assume that any practices other than those valued by the majority are inferior and negative. The features of a given life style, such as the allocation of a private bed to each child, may have meaning, importance, and function in one set of circumstances, but may be of little importance in another. These life styles are a function of many variables, including perspective, experiences, resources, and need. It is unreasonable to assume deficiency where differences in the variables have stimulated the development of different life styles or different practices within a life style.

Descriptions of phenomena (such as family structure, housing arrangements, shopping patterns, and speech styles) which use middle-class norms as the framework for observation are almost guaranteed to yield a picture of minority-group patterns as "defective" forms of the white institutions. On the other hand, studies which do not use middle-class values as a pre-ordained standard allow for observation of practices that differ from middle-class norms yet are significant within a total life style. Family patterns, especially Black family patterns (see Frazier, 1966, and Moynihan, 1965), are frequently raked over white ethnocentric goals and come out wanting. However, when studies are not based on the assumption that Black families are merely imperfect replicas of white families, researchers find patterns which are divergent from the white pattern and which are internally consistent (Young, 1970).*

It should also be pointed out that the standards used in evaluations of different life styles are those valued by a large proportion of the majority segment, but not necessarily practiced by an equally large proportion. For example, in the quote from the Havighurst address (p. 8, above), two conditions are cited in

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*Here it is important to emphasize "patterns which are divergent," because of the heterogeneity of life styles that exist among Black people (McCord et al., 1969).

regard to Sam, the child regarded as educationally retarded; two of Sam's siblings were "illegitimate" and Sam's father had "deserted" the family. Rates of illegitimacy, divorce, and separation were also key elements of Moynihan's (1965) contentions concerning the breakdown or disorganization of the Black family. Ryan (1967, p. 462), however, in discussing the Moynihan report, points out:

> If we were to use the authors' indices of family stability, principally divorce and illegitimacy, we should have to say that both white and Negro [sic] families--American families in general--are "crumbling." White divorce rates have zoomed almost 800 per cent in less than 100 years, and white illegitimacy has increased more than 50 per cent in the last twenty-five years--a rate of increase greater than that of Negroes [sic].

In the same vein, homes which supposedly produce "culturally disadvantaged" children are characterized as anti-intellectual--without emphasis on intellectual and academic pursuits--and lacking in intellectual resources (Riessman, 1962). This labeling seems to imply that the "non-disadvantaged" are surrounded by intellectual resources and intellectual values. In fact, the United States has a reputation (among "Western" nations) for and a history of being anti-intellectual. The history of school policy reveals that, before Sputnik, the emphasis of the schools was upon "life-adjustment" (Hofstadter, 1963; Silberman, 1964, pp. 14, 250-251); sixty percent of the American population was thought to lack the necessary intelligence for successful performance in college. Public schools were geared to meet the needs of the 60 percent, since it constituted the majority; courses were structured to present the practical applications of the subjects rather than their more academic dimensions. Many members of the current adult generation were exposed to these life-adjustment curricula. Even after Sputnik, according to Hofstadter, the emphasis was not on the academic and intellectual so much as on producing sputniks. A Gallup Poll in the 1960's revealed that 58 percent of adult Americans had never read a novel (Silverberg and Silverberg, 1971, p. 45). (Other countries, such as the Netherlands, have a much lower proportion of non-novel readers.) If the ratio of funds allocated to pay teachers in relation to funds allocated to pay individuals in other professions is considered an indicator of attitudes toward education, the United States places a low priority on education. This low priority becomes more obvious when the United States is compared to other countries. In 1964 the annual salaries of teachers ("relative to per capita income") were lower than those of teachers in every other country of the Western world--except Canada (Hofstadter, p. 311).

Examination of mainstream practices indicates that many children who, because of their family's income level, are ineligible for "compensatory education" are actually exposed to such conditions as "illegitimacy," divorce, and a lack of emphasis on intellectual pursuits--conditions which supposedly produce "cultural deprivation." In other words, the incidence of certain conditions in lower-income homes is less pervasive, relative to the incidence of these conditions

in middle- and upper-class homes, than would be implied by much of the "cultural deprivation" literature.

Not all cultural deprivationists, however, work from comparison of lower-income practices with middle-class values. There have been some studies of differences in maternal or family practices. In these studies, deprivation-producing family practices and linguistic styles were determined by comparisons of home variables of children who did well in school and those who did not (frequently, division was made by income level rather than performance) and by subsequent "armchair analysis" as to which differences could be logically connected to failure in school (Blank, 1970, p. 648). Largely, the researchers' (Deutsch et al., 1967; Hess and Shipman, 1965; Bereiter and Engelmann, 1966; Hess et al., 1968; Olim, 1970; Olim, Hess and Shipman, 1967) extrapolations from parental speech and child-rearing styles to resulting cognitive styles, learning patterns, and attitudes of the children remain speculative. Unfortunately, the speculative nature of the findings has not always been clearly stated in later publications which refer to the original research.

Olim (1970), for example, in discussing three types of family control patterns and their effects on children, described the control pattern with negative consequences as follows (p. 221-222):

> In status-oriented families, behavior is generally regulated in terms of role expectations. The appeal to the child is based on tradition and authority (as publicly defined). This approach is essentially imperative and status-normative in character. ("You must do this because I say so," or "Girls don't act like that") [Bernstein, 1964]. Mothers in status-oriented families tend to favor inhibitory and input-control techniques in the control of the child. Inhibitory techniques are intended to prevent a response from recurring or to prevent the child from considering or selecting certain types of alternatives for action and thought. Input-control techniques are used to restrict information and alternatives open to the child. Where intentional, its purpose is to prevent certain types of response from happening by preventing the initial stimulating circumstances from occurring. In the deprived family, this type of control is likely to be inadvertent, rather than intentional, stemming from the disadvantaged mother's inability to provide the symbols and patterns of thought and communication necessary for developing the cognitive potential of the child. This is because she has a limited fund of ideas and information on which to draw in her attempts to cope with the environment. The result is the oft-noted paucity of linguistic and symbolic interaction in culturally deprived families.
>
> The consequences for the child of the mother's use of inhibitory and input-control techniques are to promote the development of a non-rational, non-verbal stance

> toward the environment. By cutting off the opportunity of the child to engage in linguistic and symbolic interaction the results for the child are a limited repertoire of information and ideas, a low level of differentiation and complexity in his linguistic and cognitive structure, a failure to develop a sense of competence and pleasure in the use of his mind as a way of coping with the environment, and an inability to deal with situations and problems that call for the use of abstract concepts and complex problem-solving strategies (Olim, Hess, Shipman, 1967).

In this passage, the author makes a large number of wide-ranging contentions that do not seem to be supported by data. The study (Hess and Shipman, 1965) which he evidently feels supports most of the conclusions was limited on at least three counts. First, the study focused on differences in maternal styles between mothers grouped according to income level, but the hypothesized implications of such differences for the child were not investigated.

Secondly, the study consisted of interviews with the mothers and observations of the mothers as they taught their children certain tasks in a laboratory setting where the tasks and setting were structured and dominated by the researchers. It is a well-accepted fact that the manner in which data are collected dictates to some extent which aspects of the phenomenon being studied will be salient. Highly-structured laboratory experiments are warranted only when there is sufficient prior knowledge about relevant variables that are being controlled for and about the nature of the intervening variables. In the absence of such knowledge, findings from restricted, artificial situations are not an adequate basis for generalization about a phenomenon as complex as maternal child-rearing styles. In this study, the relationship between behavior of the mothers in the laboratory situation and behavior in the home is unknown. It may well be the case, for example, that the behavior observed in the laboratory was not representative of the behavior in the home, that the behavior was misinterpreted, or that important dimensions of the mothers' styles were not manifested in the laboratory or else were manifested by the mother but not observed by the researcher.

Thirdly, the Hess and Shipman study was limited to the mother-child interaction. The lower-income child, and probably the middle-income child as well, experiences a variety of interactions with peers, older and younger children, and adults other than the mother, all of which exert significant influence upon development. Concerning children living in "ghettos," Labov (1970, p. 163) states:

> The view of the Negro [sic] speech community which we obtain from our work in the ghetto areas is precisely the opposite from that reported by Deutsch or by Bereiter and Engelmann. We see a child bathed in verbal stimulation from morning to night. We see many speech events which depend upon the competitive exhibition of verbal skills--

> sounding, singing, toasts, rifting, louding--a whole range of activities in which the individual gains status through his use of language (see Labov, et al., 1968, section 4.2). We see the younger child trying to acquire these skills from older children, hanging around on the outskirts of older peer groups, and imitating this behavior to the best of his ability.

The role of the mother-child interaction within the child's total context must be considered.

It is reasonable to assume that a variety of maternal styles do exist and that income-level may be associated with some of the styles (see Clement, Johnson, and Lee, 1972); however, mere observation and labeling of a variant practice does not prove that the label or its hypothesized implications are accurate or even important relative to the consequences of other factors affecting the child.

Language is another important area which has received a great deal of attention from those with a "cultural deprivation" perspective. The "culturally deprived" child is thought by many to receive little verbal stimulation and/or little exposure to correct speech behavior (Hunt, 1970; Frost and Rowland, 1970; Bernstein, 1961). Different authors attribute inadequate verbal stimulation to different sources. Hunt (1970, p. 150), for example, speculated that an adult living under impoverished circumstances does not have sufficient time or patience to provide the child with adequate stimulation. Hunt surmises:

> Moreover, late in his second or early in his third year, after he had developed a number of pseudo-words and achieved the "learning set" that "things have names," the child in a crowded, poverty-stricken family probably meets another obstacle: His questions too seldom bring suitable answers, and too often bring punishment that inhibits further questioning.

Other authors assume that mothers in impoverished circumstances may simply not have the competence (Olim, 1970, p. 17) or skills (Gordon, 1967) necessary to provide sufficient verbal stimulation for their children. Finally, a number of authors concede that most children are exposed to sufficient amounts of verbal stimulation, but assert that the linguistic style utilized in some environments is inferior to that to which middle- and upper-class children are exposed.

The contentions about inadequate verbal stimulation are attempts to explain why in many cases the language development of low-income children is retarded. That many low-income children are "retarded" in language development must, however, be recognized as no more than an assumption. If the focus were to be shifted from the child's background to the testing conditions and standards, current methods of assessing language development would evidently require more critical analysis and evaluation.

A child's verbal ability and his mastery of those syntactic forms, grammatical complexities, and semantic distinctions that are appropriate for his age level are often measured under formal testing conditions, using middle-class English as the standard by which development is evaluated. This type of procedure often leads to judgments of inferior language development that are based on 1) the brevity of the responses given during the test and/or 2) the number of "errors" occurring in the response.

The instructions given at the beginning of a test interview supposedly stimulate the child to display his verbal abilities; however, there has generally been no attempt to ascertain how the instructions are actually perceived. "One can view these test stimuli as requests for information, commands for action, threats of punishment, or meaningless sequence of words." (Labov, 1970, p. 170.) If a child gives a very brief or limited reply, one cannot determine on the basis of the response itself whether (1) the child cannot respond more elaborately as a result of limited linguistic development or whether (2) he does not choose to respond more elaborately or is reacting to some adverse stimulus he perceives that the interviewer fails to notice. (See Labov, 1970, p. 157-63, for a discussion of some socio-linguistic factors which affect speech behavior during interviews.)

If a child speaks a "non-standard" dialect of English at the time of testing, the use of middle-class dialect as a criterion against which to measure his "verbal development" is obviously absurd. An error in middle-class dialect may not be an error in a given "non-middle-class" dialect (and vice versa). (See Baratz and Baratz, 1969, for a description of mistaken perception concerning Black dialect.)

No language or dialect has yet been proved to be more highly structured, more well formed, or more grammatical than any other language or dialect (Baratz and Baratz, 1969, p. 4). Middle-class dialect is "standard English" (in the United States) because of particular social, historical, and political factors, not because it is linguistically superior to other dialects of English; therefore, acquisition of middle-class dialect cannot be assumed to be a necessary component of verbal development.

Evaluations of linguistic styles as well as of linguistic performance occur in the "deprivation" literature. The linguistic styles or verbal habits presumed to exist among those with certain life styles (usually associated with social class) are sometimes proposed as being more appropriate for formal learning than other linguistic styles. Probably the most widely used terms concerning linguistic styles are Bernstein's "restricted" and "elaborated" codes. (See Bernstein's 1970 discussion of misinterpretations of these terms.) The primary characteristic of verbal messages encoded in restricted code is that the message depends upon the context for transmission of meaning whereas messages based upon an elaborated code are independent of the context. Bernstein (1970, p. 26) gives an example from a study by Hawkins in which

children of the middle and working class in London were asked to tell a story portrayed by a sequence of four photographs. The middle-class children's stories, according to the researcher, tended to make sense only when one could see the photographs while reading the stories.

Bernstein specifies a number of characteristics associated with use of restricted versus elaborated codes. For example, those who used a restricted code "tended to speak rapidly and fluently, with reduced articulatory clues and with meaning often discontinuous, condensed, and local, involving a low level of syntactic and vocabulary selection in which the 'how' rather than the 'what' of the communication is important...." In another example (1970, p. 37), Bernstein says, "where experience is regulated by a restricted code ...this code orients its speakers to a less complex conceptual hierarchy and so to a low order of causality."

Although there do appear to be different linguistic styles, there is little evidence that Bernstein's ideas and speculations are accurate. Individuals may sometimes use a "restricted" and sometimes an "elaborated" code depending upon the context as affected by socio-linguistic variables which may elicit different styles. (See Gumperz, 1964, for a description of the social uses of linguistic variants.) Again, "controlled" situation research (such as the Hawkins study) is suspect in terms of whether or not the socio-linguistic factors of the interview were significantly different for the two groups. (See Cazden, 1970, for a review of studies of interview conditions which affect responses.)

Verbal habits do vary somewhat with life styles; however, the contention that the habits of middle-class speakers facilitate the expression of logical, rational, intelligent messages and that non-middle-class habits inhibit the expression of such messages has not been proven. As Labov (1970, p. 169) suggests, certain stylized forms or habits of middle-class speech can be identified (e.g., fillers--"such a thing as," "some things like"; high incidence of the first-person pronoun; use of in-words connoting sophistication) which signal the listener that the speaker has had a formal education; but the habits are apparently not particularly functional in terms of conveying rational, logical, intelligent thoughts.

In other words, the notion that middle-class linguistic styles are superior to other linguistic styles is certainly not established. It has not been conclusively demonstrated that the linguistic features Bernstein has noticed are indicative of habits which are linguistically or cognitively pivotal. Some features of middle-class speach styles in certain situations can be identified; however, it is by no means certain that these verbal habits are particularly functional in or necessary for logicality or rationality.

Unfortunately, inaccurate assumptions about and evaluations of dialects and verbal habits that differ from those of the mainstream are manifested daily in the classroom. It is unreasonable to assume that children are unaware of these assessments and

reactions. Undoubtedly, some children adopt strategies of withdrawal and rebellion to preserve their dignity.

There are certainly practical reasons for all children to increase their proficiency in communicating with members of their own group as well as with other groups; however, the atmosphere engendered by the "defect" perspective militates against rational consideration of needs, as well as against student cooperation, motivation, and freedom to learn.

"Cultural deprivation" is said to "retard" the development of intellectual functioning, language development, and emotional functioning in the child. As indicated above, assessments of language development tend to be systematically biased; intelligence tests, standardized achievement tests, and standardized personality tests and tasks are similarly biased as measures of intellectual and emotional development.

Many educators assume that intelligence tests measure (innate) intellectual cognitive ability. Evidence suggests that this assumption is unwarranted. Analysis of the factors affecting test performance indicates that it is virtually impossible to create a test that is equally valid across cultural lines. On another front, analysis of cognitive skills clearly implies that currently used tests assess only a limited range of intellectual skills.

Test performances are samples of behavior. Hereditary and environmental factors (among other variables) interact at all stages in the development of behavior. Since nearly all environmental contacts are mediated by culture, behavior then reflects cultural influences as well as heredity at all points. Thus, test performances always reflect cultural background (Anastasi, 1964, p. 26). A test cannot be "culture free"; intelligence cannot be measured apart from a cultural context. If the language of the test, for example, is a dialect that differs from that with which the respondend is familiar, the results of the test will partially reflect the respondent's difficulty with the language rather than his intellectual skills which the test was designed to measure.

Studies conducted by Educational Testing Service (ETS) have identified factors which bias test results. For example, girls were more likely to do well with reading passages containing material in the biological and medical sciences whereas boys tended to excel with materials in the physical sciences. In vocabulary strengths, women tended to excel in knowledge of words related to people whereas men tended to excel with vocabulary related to things. Along another dimension, rural-urban differences, ETS found that on a speed task a rural youth is likely to respond differently from an urban youth. (Coffman, 1965.)

Presumably these differences were found among children from a relatively homogeneous cultural background (i.e., probably the samples were composed primarily of white middle-class children). These differences are viewed by ETS as indications of different cultural influences (e.g., girls' and boys' interests in some areas are differentially

encouraged), not as indications of different quantities of intelligence. It should not be difficult to predict that differences in cultural backgrounds would similarly result in different performances on tests and that these differences are not valid indicators of differences in quantities of intelligence.

Some factors which systematically bias tests against children with diverse cultural backgrounds are rapport with the interviewer, materials used in the test, and attitudes toward tests (Anastasi, 1964; Labov, 1970; Zintz, 1969; Dumont and Wax, 1969). For example, for some children, motivation and willingness to co-operate, and therefore performance, are significantly dampened by traditional testing situations. Again, low performance may represent unwillingness rather than inability to respond.

Kenneth Goodman (1969) outlines a facetious model for research guaranteed to produce statistically significant results when two populations which differ linguistically (and culturally) are compared:

Step 1. Choose a control group as much like yourself as possible. When you study children, your own or those of your neighbors and relatives will do best. The experimental group may be any other. Labels are unneeded but a wide range are available.

Step 2. Assume that your own dialect is standard and correct and that all others are corruptions of your own!

Step 3. Encode all directions, questions, conversations with subjects, and statements in your own dialect. Again, an easy task, since you know it so well.

Step 4. Judge responses as correct only if they are properly stated in your dialect.

Step 5. Use experiences, references, concepts which are drawn from the control group that is your own circle. A simple rule of thumb: If something is important to you, it is important.

Step 6. Create a pleasant experimental setting in which you feel comfortable; surround yourself and the subjects with the tools of your trade: books, electronic equipment, etc.

Step 7. Provide a warm, friendly tester who speaks your dialect well and who can tolerate the odd characteristics of your subjects without reacting too extremely.

Step 8. Be sure to judge all data as deviation from the control group. A single hierarchical scale must be adhered to at all times. Remember, you are the norm. All else is deficiency.

Unfortunately, this model is not totally facetious when used to depict the developmental process through which standardized tests come into existence and are administered. For example, items for intelligence tests (many of which were developed in Europe) "were chosen solely on the basis of empirical considerations, standardized on a culturally homogeneous group of children, and validated by the judgment of teachers" (John, 1971, p. 37). Obviously, children with backgrounds consistent with the test situation, content, and criteria will on the average tend to acquire higher scores than those who have had a background not consistent with the test situation.

Another, though related, problem is that intelligence tests tend to focus upon a fairly limited range of cognitive abilities. Most items on these tests require an ability to solve a variety of "one-person problems" or puzzles in which the individual manipulates his physical environment, but is not manipulated by it in the same way. Other types of problems, such as interactional problems, are not included in the tests. (See Nimnicht, Johnson, and Johnson, 1972, in this volume.)

In addition to the limitations concerning the types of problems posed, a series of studies reported upon by Cohen (1969) indicate that test items are responded to from at least two points of view, which she refers to as "relational" and "analytic." According to research with which Cohen has been involved, the present U.S. school system favors the analytical mode almost to the exclusion of the relational mode (p. 829):

> Analytic-abstraction and field-articulation skills require a specific kind of approach to selecting and organizing information. Individuals differ, however, in what they select as salient information in a given stimulus or situation. They also differ in how they classify and generalize that information...Some individuals are "splitters" [analytical], and others are "lumpers" [relational]. Some individuals think attributes of a stimulus have significance in themselves [analytical]; others think they have significance only in reference to some total context [relational]...But the school requires one specific approach to cognitive organization--analytic...

Most intelligence and standardized achievement tests, as well as "nonverbal tests of intelligence," actually measure analytic-cognitive skills (Cohen, 1969, p. 840), as opposed to a range of cognitive skills (e.g., relational skills).

The use of I.Q. scores as an indicator of an individual's learning capacity, especially for children whose life experiences have involved content and language other than that used in the test, is misleading because 1) the scores will at least partially represent

the children's difficulty with the test media and setting rather than particular intellectual skills and 2) the tests measure only a limited range of skills.

The Mono-Cultural Teacher

In addition to standardized tests, assessments of achievement and ability are made by the teacher on the basis of the child's performance on school tasks in the school setting. Again, systematic biasing usually occurs. Teachers' judgments are fairly subjective and therefore influenced by each teacher's training, experiences, and cultural background.

Teachers graduated from teacher training institutes are usually quite unprepared (by their training) to communicate with other than middle-class children. Training currently provides little more understanding of the cultural, social, and affective dimensions of learning and the learning environment than the teacher had before training (Kopp, 1966). Since many teachers come from "culturally advantaged" backgrounds, their understanding and appreciation of cultural diversity is likely to be nil; moreover, they are likely to be totally unfamiliar with the life styles or cultures of the minority-group students they are employed to teach. Even those teachers who are members of a minority group tend to use frames of reference more consistent with those of their "professional peers," as a defense against being considered less-qualified professionals.

An obvious result of the employment of teachers who are conversant with and/or responsive only to middle-class styles is that these teachers will tend to use a middle-class perspective to decipher feedback from any child. For example, Fantini and Weinstein (1968, p. 78) describe misperceptions of patterns:

> The whole orientation, the "machismo," for many Puerto Rican children constitutes a basic frame of reference toward masculinity. Certain types of physical contact between the adolescent boy and male adult are frowned upon. Thus, a teacher attempting to show friendship by putting his hands on a boy's shoulder might cause the child to jerk away; the teacher, in turn, may interpret this as defiance or unfriendliness and further widen the gulf between teacher and learner. Similarly, an illness in the migrant worker's family requires everyone to remain at home--despite the meager family income--until the person's health is regained, and teachers may interpret the resultant absenteeism of the migrant child as a lack of interest in school.

Opportunities for this type of misinterpretation are extensive and the effects wide-ranging. In discussing a teacher's report of a "behavior problem" which she encountered in the classroom, Fuchs (1969, p. 54) makes the following observations:

> Roger's silence is interpreted by his teacher as insolence and disobedience. Yet silence in the presence of an adult

> can mean precisely the opposite--a mark of respect given by a Puerto Rican child to an adult.

As a result of the teacher's misunderstanding of the child's behavior, her reactions to him bring about another series of untoward feelings on his part:

> He [from his point of view] apparently cannot grovel low enough before this teacher will accept him back in the room, and a genuine feeling of belonging and welcome does not seem to be in the offing. This kind of handling gives a child very little alternative except to express hostility overtly, in the best way this child knew, via obscenity (he does not strike the teacher, although some children might), or hostility in a suppressed manner via apathy, or patterned non-co-operation in the learning process.

It is difficult to imagine how a teacher who lacks basic knowledge about her students and also is uncomfortable with non-middle-class styles could accurately diagnose a non-middle-class child's intellectual and emotional strengths and weaknesses. Usually, the child bears the total burden of accommodation. To the extent that the child is able and willing to adapt to middle-class patterns, he will receive positive reinforcement and favorable assessment from the teacher.

Both teachers and standardized tests are limited in assessing the level of cognitive and emotional developmentof children whose life styles vary from that of the mainstream. Minority children are probably often systematically mis-assessed.

The Effects of Biased Assessment

Most studies of reading levels and achievement test scores indicate greater divergence in upper-level grades than in lower-level grades between the scores of mainstream children and those of minority children. The more time the minority child spends in schools, the further he falls behind mainstream children. One possible interpretation of this phenomenon is that the school experience itself contains elements which inhibit the minority child's development.

Many examples can be cited which indicate tendencies of mainstream individuals to evaluate negatively and reject variant life styles and the people who practice them. The school is not immune from awareness of the categories used outside the classroom; unfortunately, children are not protected from biased assessments.

Teachers do not generally expect most minority students to perform as "well" as non-minority students. (See Rosenthal and Jacobson, 1968.) Beginning teachers who do not hold this expectation learn it from other teachers as a way of interpreting what happens in their own classrooms. Once expectations are lowered,

efforts tend to decrease (Fuchs, 1969) and a teacher begins to feel less able to influence whether or not her students learn. As is well documented, schools with a high percentage of minority-group students suffer a high turnover of teachers and their staffs include high proportions of inexperienced teachers and temporary-certificate teachers. Endurance until the end of the year probably becomes a high-priority goal for these teachers. It might be expected that teachers in such situations become fairly ineffectual.*

The school may not explicitly inform children of its assessment of them, but they are made aware of the assessment through the behavior of the teachers and staff, through tracking systems, through curricula, through grades, and through test results. The child acquires in his head a "cumulative file" pertaining to his experiences in school. He learns a view of himself that is shaped by teacher attitudes, expectations, and feedback. This cumulative file becomes the basis of the child's prediction about the way school situations will turn out for him and whether or not making an effort is worthwhile. (LaBeene and Greene, 1969, pp. 14, 31.) Student strategies for protection against negative feedback or failure are frequently incompatible with optimum strategies for learning (Holt, 1964); in other words, negative assessments of a child may stimulate subsequent non-learning and non-achievement.

Many teachers of minority children unfortunately function as both the villain and the victim. Because of inadequate preparation and materials, the "white-middle-class-oriented" teacher is not equipped to communicate adequately with minority-group students or to recognize their interests, skills, and knowledge. Her resultant problems and failures in teaching and her students' problems and failures in learning and achieving feed upon one another. Usually, both students and teachers become discouraged and protect themselves from further failure by withdrawal of effort.

On Being Different (Defective) in the Schools

The United States is a multi-cultural society of considerable diversity, containing various ethnic groups, social-class subcultures, rural and urban subcultures, and a distinctive youth subculture, all of which vary in characteristics (i.e., emphases in language, thought,

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*In a now famous experiment, Rosenthal and Jacobson (1968) inform teachers that certain students (randomly selected) were "spurters"--students who could be expected to make a large increment in development during the year. Over the year, the spurters' I.Q. scores increased and the teachers evaluated them higher; however, the other students (those not identified as spurters) in the classrooms also showed gains in I.Q. scores. This finding seems to indicate that the teachers' expectations that their efforts would be worthwhile were increased and, in response, they expanded their efforts and effectiveness, with the result that the whole class was positively affected (Ryan, 1971, p. 116).

behavior, and values). The educational system, however, is largely mono-cultural; teaching proceeds within the cultural and linguistic framework of the dominant group.

The materials, texts, and standardized tests provided for use in the classroom have tended until recently to ignore, if not denigrate, minority groups in descriptive accounts (see Kane, 1970, for an evaluation of history tests) and in the classroom. Fantini and Weinstein (1968, p. 131) give the example of the migrant child who has reading lessons which utilize material such as:

> A vacation on the sea coast will make everyone happy. Dad will find deep-sea fishing, sailing, and other he-man sports. Mother can visit the exciting shops and take the guided sightseeing trips.

Children whose day-to-day experiences previous to school have occurred in a cultural context different from the "standard" are forced to become familiar with the "school culture" as well as to learn what is being taught, even though what is taught (because it is in the framework of a different culture) may be difficult for the minority-culture student to relate to "real" life (Becker, 1961).

The school atmosphere is usually one of non-recognition, negativism, and hostility toward divergent dialects, languages, and cultural patterns.* Often teachers consider the child's skin color, hair, and dress as being inferior; they do not expect him to do well in school. Not only must the child learn to operate with different patterns, but he must do so in an environment which negatively values him, his family, and his community. For example, lower-income parents, particularly those of ethnic-minority groups, are often viewed as barriers or problems with which the teacher must contend, because these parents appear to educators to present models of failure to the children and to reinforce behaviors in the children which the teachers feel would be detrimental to the child's success. These evaluations of the parents by the school are communicated to the child through the interactions that take place between the parent and the teacher and through evaluations expressed implicitly and explicitly in school concerning life styles.

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*Burger (1968), in Ethnopedagogy, argues that the school room is a product of factory mentality. He draws parallels between the spatial organization and the production emphasis of the typical classroom and a factory. In the classroom, the student is viewed as a product being produced to fit standardized specifications with frequent checks (tests) for defects. Standardization of students does not simply involve acquired knowledge and skills; the pressure for conformity exists in other areas as well. The acceptable range in looks, dress, speech, and behavior is narrow; pity, digust, avoidance, or ridicule await those who stray outside the bounds. The need to value or even tolerate differences is certainly taught only rarely in the schools.

The child has only a few options for dealing with the negative evaluation that the school places on his parents, his dialect, and his behavior. He can reject his parents, dialect, and behavior (and himself to the extent his self-identity is tied up in them) or he can reject the school (and fall subject to the pressures and humiliations the school will bring to bear on him).

From the mainstream point of view a healthy solution is complete assimilation. "Complete assimilation," however, means rejection of one's past, of one s relatives and friends, and of the features of life that one found enjoyable in the past (assuming that complete assimilation is even possible). In addition, for certain minority-group individuals, complete assimilation does not mean complete acceptance. The physically distinguishable individual automatically gets second-class citizenship. (See Graves, 1970; Vontress, 1966; Parker and Kliesner, 1970; McCord, 1969, p. 749; Grier and Cobbs, 1968; McFee, 1968; Archibald, 1970, for information pertaining to adaptation strategies and their consequences.)

The pressure on the minority child to reject his life style and adopt the majority life style and values is great, as is the pressure (from learned patterns and values, from family and community ties, and from repeated negative encounters with the dominant society) to continue the life style with which he is familiar. Choice of adaption strategy is not easy and the choice will involve some sacrifices.* In addition, the ever-constant realization that assimilation may not be coupled with complete acceptance provides still greater unresolved conflicts for the person hoping to be assimilated. This question has not been addressed by those "helping" children to adjust or adapt to middle-class styles.

Summary

Until recently, the "image of Horatio Alger in the Melting Pot" was the idealized image of American Society (Metzger, 1971, p. 628). Even though the divergence of the cultures of various ethnic groups from middle-class norms had been examined and documented, the incorporation of America's ethnic and social minority groups into the mainstream culture was thought to be virtually inevitable. The failure of the complete homogenization of the nation was attributed (by sociologists) partially to white racism, but primarily to the pathologies of the ethnic communities (the sociological version of the theory of cultural "deprivation"). (Metzger, 1971.)

The civil rights movement of the sixties and the Black Power and Nationalist movements which succeeded it were dramatic evidence that the United States is not a mono-cultural society. Nonetheless,

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*Some children are somehow able to manage both worlds, apparently recognizing that each may offer rewards and satisfactions. The number of children who learn to be bi-cultural without rejecting either culture is probably small since there is little in the school situation which would lead a child to discover this strategy.

there are those who still cling to their vision of America as a mono-cultural society and consider those who are different to be either recent arrivals who will soon drop their alien ways or members of groups who have fallen into a cycle which holds them down and makes manifestation of the "valued" (dominant) life style difficult. The "cultural deprivation" perspective is a sophisticated variant of the latter position--maintaining that children are inhibited from learning and succeeding in life by parents who do not provide "adequate" and "appropriate" stimulation.

Evaluations of "compensatory education" programs (Wilkerson, 1968) indicate that children who originate from a life style other than that of the mainstream cannot be rapidly remade into reasonable facsimiles of mainstream children. So far, the programs have not been able completely to eradicate cultural backgrounds to the point where the child is no longer recognized as a minority child. When the child arrives at school, he is very much affected by what he has learned at home in his community and he continues to be emotionally involved with his family, relatives, and neighborhood friends.

Unfortunately the categorization of children as "culturally deprived" or "educationally disadvantaged" is not simply a paper operation; the consequences of such an orientation are felt by children in today's classrooms. The ethnocentrism manifest in the behavior of large number of teachers and principals and in many school curricula, standardized tests, and school materials is certainly not new; however, the concept of "cultural deprivation" has undoubtedly heightened their effects by placing a scientific stamp upon ethnocentric notions.

The "cultural deprivation" model is basically a defect model--children who are "culturally deprived" are seen as defective and their homes and communities are seen as defective. It is unfortunate that those who subscribe to "cultural deprivation" generally seem to be unaware of the effects that such beliefs have upon the students who are supposedly "deprived." The dislike of the different (see footnote, p. 23), implicitly evident in most facets of the school, obviously has detrimental effects upon the school experience of a minority-group child whose family's life style varies from that valued in the school. Dialect, dress, and behavior are integral parts of each person; they cannot simply be abandoned.

"Cultural deprivation" is a misperception of the real problem of minority-group children in this country. "Cultural deprivation" is the explanation that has been given for the outcomes of the minority-group child's encounter with a mono-cultural education system that is hostile to him. The real problem for children outside the mainstream is not lack of, or inadequate, stimulation in early childhood, but rather trying to cope with an institution which is based on somewhat different values, uses a somewhat different language, and has a negative opinion of their life style, their parents, their community, and themselves. The real

problem for teachers lies not in providing watered-down work or in coping with children who seem hard to control, but rather in the difficult task of learning different communication and motivation systems--learning to respond to unfamiliar perspectives and experiences instead of repressing them. The real problem for educational planners and decision-makers is not to devise remedial "help-them-to-be-like-us" programs, but rather to broaden the educational institution so that it can adequately accommodate and respond to students from a variety of cultural backgrounds and life styles.

Undoubtedly, a milestone in the solution of these problems would be the rejection of the "cultural deprivation" perspective--a perspective which has served only to obscure and exacerbate the problems of minority children by sanctifying the mono-cultural, ethnocentric tendencies of most educational institutions in this country.

Chapter II

A MORE PRODUCTIVE APPROACH TO EDUCATION THAN "COMPENSATORY EDUCATION" AND "INTERVENTION" STRATEGIES

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The national Head Start program was launched as an "intervention" effort for early-childhood development, a means of "compensating" for the kind of "deficits" cited in the previous chapter. However, the problem proved more complex than anticipated, and a need for a better alternative became evident. The authors here assert that, though educators can not affect a child's inherited abilities, they can act to improve his environment. (See Appendix A.) Today's schools generally are not designed to serve the urban child with poor parents, whose culture (see previous chapter) is significantly different from that of the educators. Here a different approach is proposed, based upon two new concepts: enhancing the family's ability to attend (ATA) to the child and increasing the school's ability to respond (ATR) to him. The overall aim, then, would be a "tossed salad" culture instead of a "melting pot" for the nation as a whole. Finally, the authors recommend specific changes that should be made in social services and in education.

Introduction

The Head Start program was launched with high expectations in the summer of 1965. Its major objectives were to end the cycle of poverty by intervening before children from low-income families entered school and to help them get a head start so that they could be successful in school. It was assumed that good results such as success in school, lower dropout rates, low juvenile delinquency, and better jobs would follow. At that time the question as to how well the schools were meeting the needs of all children was not raised.

At first, Head Start was a five- to eight-week summer program. As policymakers and educators became more realistic, it became an an academic year program because a period of five to eight weeks was not long enough to give children what has come to be referred to as a real "head start."

The next development was the opening of Parent/Child Centers for parents of children below the age of three because, again, some policymakers and educators observed that the intervention was not taking place early enough. At the same time, Follow Through programs

for children in kindergarten through the third grade were launched because other policymakers and educators observed that the "good effects" of Head Start were being lost when the children entered conventional schools. These programs were logical extensions of Head Start and at the same time admissions of its failure to produce the desired results. As more and more evaluations of Head Start have been completed and reported (Circirelli, 1969; Miller, 1971; Karrer, 1969), it has become increasingly obvious that Head Start may offer many benefits (and we believe it does) but it has led to disappointing results in terms of improving a child's chances of success in school, at least as success is currently being defined and evaluated.

The Theory of Compensatory Education

A series of papers by Martin Deutsch, J. McV. Hunt, and others published in the Merrill-Palmer Quarterly in 1964 summarized the theoretical and research basis for the notion that preschool programs for children from low-income families can compensate for environmental, cultural, and social "deprivation." The flow of articles and books that has reinforced that position since then would overwhelm all but the most avid readers of literature.

The theory of intervention or compensatory education, as usually stated in the '60's, reasoned that a large number of children from impoverished homes were failing in school because they were growing up in a "disadvantaged" or "deprived" environment that did not provide the stimuli they needed to be successful in school. The way to solve the problem was to intervene in the environment and provide "compensatory" education both before the children entered school and during the early years of school.

The rationale for this approach was grounded in research with animals and humans which demonstrates rather conclusively that the environment in which an animal or a child grows up can be so inadequate that it retards the physical and mental development of the organism. For instance, when dogs were raised in isolation they showed more fear responses, greater extremes in emotionality, and more retardation in learning avoidance responses that dogs raised in social situations (Scott, 1961). Monkeys who were deprived of sensory and social experience showed impaired intellectual behavior when they were confronted with novel or unfamiliar stimuli (Harlow, 1962).

The kind of evidence that illustrates the effects of environmental deprivation on young children comes from case studies such as that of Anna, a child who was kept in an attic-like room with little care or attention for the first six years of her life. At the time she was discovered and removed from her mother's home, she could not speak, walk, gesture, or feed herself. She was so apathetic that it was difficult to ascertain whether or not she could hear. Two years later Anna had progressed to the point where she could walk, understand simple commands, feed herself, achieve some neatness, and interact with other people. Although her hearing

and vision were normal, she still did not speak. At age ten she started to speak. In the school for retarded children she could call attendants by name and she had a few complete sentences to express her wants (Davis, 1949, p. 40). Davis indicated that there is a possibility that Anna may have been congenitally deficient, but he stated that it is more likely that Anna might have had a normal or near-normal mental capacity if she had not been isolated for six years.

Skeels (1966) reported on thirteen infants who were removed from the unstimulating environment of an orphanage to a residential center. There they received considerable attention and affection. Twelve similar children remained in the orphanage. The children who received the increased attention showed an average gain of 27.5 I.Q. points in 19 months, whereas the other group had an average loss of 27.2 I.Q. points in 21 months. All the thirteen children who were removed from the orphanage were placed with families. As young adults, they became self-supporting; eleven married. Their average attainment in school was the 12th grade. Their occupations ranged from domestic workers to professionals. In contrast, of the twelve who remained in the orphanage, one died in adolescence after living in an institution for the mentally retarded, four were still living in an institution for the mentally retarded at the time of Skeels' report, four were still wards of institutions, one was married, and one was divorced. Their average attainment in school was the third grade, half of them were unemployed, and, except for one person, the balance were unskilled laborers.

In his article in the Merrill-Palmer Quarterly (1964), Hunt cites a representative sample of such studies. There are many more that support the same conclusion. The logic of "compensatory education" is that a low-income home is similar to the deprived environments described above; the strategy is to compensate for the shortcomings of the environment by intervening before a child enters school.

An increasing number of papers now being published criticize that point of view. There are two major trends of the criticism. The one that has received the most attention is the position taken by Arthur Jensen and others (Jensen, 1969; Shockley, 1971) that heredity accounts for up to 80% of I.Q. or intelligence; therefore, manipulating the environment is not likely to improve a child's intelligence or academic achievement.

The general trend of the second criticism is that the problem lies not with the child or the family but with the social institutions that make unfair comparisons among children, use improper criteria to assess the ability of ethnically different children, and fail to develop programs that are suitable for ethnically different children.

This article is concerned with the second criticism and with a logical extension of that line of criticism that has prompted us

to suggest a set of heuristic principles that can be more productive than the notions of "intervention" and "compensatory education."

The heredity-environment criticism and the notions that underpin it have been so thoroughly discussed elsewhere that there is no need to spend more time on them here. The argument that heredity supersedes environment in determining intelligence is a recurring theme that seems to gain prominence every few years. Jensen's criticisms based upon the heredity argument are essentially pessimistic and provide little or no basis for dealing with the educational problems that we face. We grant Jensen's thesis that inheritance is important in determining an individual's intellectual ability, but we reject his notion that intelligence is related to race or membership in an ethnic group.* Furthermore, we believe it to be obvious that the environment is also important in determining a child's intellectual ability. We can do something about the child's environment, but not about his inherited ability.

The Second Criticism--A Questioning of Values, Criteria, and Focus

The second set of criticisms of compensatory education is aimed not so much at its failure to produce results in academic achievement as at the way intervention takes place, the criteria for judging success, and the right to intervene. Sroufe (1970) raises these questions in an article entitled "A Methodological and Philsophical Critique of Intervention-Oriented Research." He asks if we have a right to impose middle-class standards on low-income and Black families. He also wonders how far intervention into the homes should go. Are we certain that middle-class behavior patterns should set the criteria?

For example, Black children probably need to read and understand the white middle-class dialect, but the concept that Black English and experience are inferior may preclude successful teaching (Sroufe, p. 143). Hamilton points out that educational achievement must be conceived in broader terms than mere acquisition of verbal and mathematical skills (1968, p. 675). He states that many Black parents and teachers are concerned about a child's self-concept. He asks whether the schools are prepared to deal with their own white racism (sic) or with the young Black child's search for identity. He emphasizes that the "experts" alone cannot continue to set the criteria for education; instead, they must listen to the people they claim to be serving and be willing to share the power of policy-making.

Baratz and Baratz (1970) make two major criticisms of intervention models in compensatory education. Much of the "intervention" thinking leads to the concept of an inadequate mother and, in addition, tends to equate being linguistically different with being "disadvantaged" or "deprived." They contend that the main reason for considering the Black ghetto mother "inadequate" is that she doesn't speak and act like a white middle-class mother. They also argue that to be culturally different and to speak a different language are handicaps in a school that fails to respond to those

*See Appendix A, p. 161, for a more detailed discussion.

differences. But if a child is different, we cannot assume that he does not have a viable cultural background and language. Because of the "defective mother" concept and the confusion between the notions of a child's being different and his being "deprived," Baratz and Baratz believe that intervention programs are a form of institutional racism.

They also make a distinction between the overall objectives of education which they believe are generally accepted and the criteria used to measure academic objectives which are too narrow and culture-bound to be used to compare white and Black children.

This second general criticism represented by Sroufe, Hamilton, and Baratz and Baratz is generally not accorded the same kind of treatment as Jensen's criticism. One can only speculate why. We would guess that it is a minority position in more than one way: (a) it is the position that many Black writers take; (b) it is more philosophical than and less oriented to research and statistics and therefore lacks some of the conventional halo of being scientific; (c) it is often expressed with considerable emotion and sometimes with threatening militancy; and (d) whereas Jensen questions the usefulness of the rationale of intervention, some exponents of this position question the usefulness of the interventionists themselves. We would also speculate that Jensen's criticism is less threatening in another way: it remains within the conventionally accepted mode of the argument--heredity versus environment. But a critic like Hamilton is staking out a new battleground.

We believe that this second line of criticism is valid. We want to extend and expand upon it before proposing an alternative to compensatory education.

As cited earlier, the rationale for intervention is grounded in research with animals and humans which demonstrates rather conclusively that the environment in which an animal or a child grows up can be inadequate and can retard the physical and mental development of the organism.

The first problem with this rationale occurs when it is applied to research findings involving a large population of children. For the research findings to be valid, one must establish that the same conditions exist, i.e., that the environment of low-income children is extremely depriving. This conclusion, of course, is not accurate. Some children growing up in low-income homes would certainly benefit if their families had more money to provide better food, clothing, shelter, and health care. But love and support for intellectual development are present. The homes or environments of children in low-income homes range from those that simply need more money for child care to extremely deprived environments. Extremely deprived environments are not limited to low-income homes, and the actual number is probably small.

The conclusions drawn from research on the effects of environmental deprivation apply only to the extent that the environment of

a child is comparable to the depriving environment in the studies that are quoted. For example, many of those research studies stress the lack of sensory and perceptual experience as a major factor in deprivation (see Hunt, pp. 217, 226) but it is hard to accept the argument that a child growing up in the heart of a city lacks sensory and perceptual experiences. He may be receiving too much unidentified experience, but that is a different problem--one which does not follow from the research that supports the notion of "intervention."

Aside from extreme circumstances such as Anna's, where there was an obvious lack of sensory and perceptual experiences, probably the most significant variable in determining the extent of environmental deprivation, is the amount of interaction between the child and adults. Anna was an example of extreme deprivation in this respect, too; the orphanage children in Skeels' study represent a less extreme but still out-of-the-ordinary case. It is a large intellectual leap to go from Anna and the orphanage to any home approximating a normal range of environmental circumstances. But in less extreme situations. research studies have shown that:

(1) In the same family, twins usually have lower I.Q. test scores than single children.

(2) An only child or oldest child achieves better in school.

(3) Brothers and sisters who are close together in age do not develop so rapidly as those whose difference in age is greater.

(4) Children raised in institutions do not seem to develop so rapidly as children raised in families.

None of these findings has anything to do with poverty, race, or ethnicity. The one common variable is the quality or the quantity of the adult-child interaction: singletons probably receive more individual adult attention than twins; an only child, an oldest child, and widely spaced children probably receive more attention than other children.

Some of the factors that cause people to be poor or that are a result of being poor obviously could have a negative effect upon a child's development and could cause some deprivation. For example, the absence of a man not only means the loss of an income but can also mean that the mother is out of the home earning money. Regardless of how much she loves her children, she has limited time and energy. If time and energy are used in cleaning someone else's house or worrying about obtaining food and clothing, that time and energy may be redirected from her own children. Many mothers do manage to work and have time for their children, but a combination of circumstances does steal time they could otherwise spend with their own children.

Because many poor families are larger than other families, the time and energy available for any one child are reduced. The child has fewer chances for interacting with adults. And, of course, physical or mental illness in the home decreases the child' chances for such important interactions. The way the parents interact with the child varies from home to home and is different in different cultures, but an important element in any home is the amount of time and energy for adult-child interaction.

Finally, many poor parents are psychologically defeated. Perhaps they have reconciled themselves to living on welfare, or the man may be forced to depend on his wife for an income. They can't find work--no one seems to want them. They don't have the skills or they are the wrong color. They feel they have no control over events that affect their lives. Something like fate or luck is perceived to control, shape, and determine their lives. They don't believe that what they think, say, or do really makes any difference.* These feelings of powerlessness or alienation in important matters are then transmitted to their children.

Of course, none of these characteristics of low-income homes necessarily impedes growth and development. Each of us, from his own experience, can name exceptions. Even a combination of these characteristics may not impede growth and development, but clearly each can reduce the quality or quantity of adult-child interaction; and as the number of these characteristics increases, the probability increases that the children will grow up deprived. But the notion of intervening because the child is environmentally "deprived" must henceforth be applied on a far more selective basis than in the past.

Once the notion is applied on a selective basis so that only those children with the highest likelihood of being deprived are selected for treatment, the probability of success of the intervention treatment decreases drastically. If the child is growing up in a depriving environment, it is very unlikely that three to six hours in Head Start or school will undo the several years of deprivation that occurred before the treatment started or will outweigh the continued deprivation during treatment. It seems obvious that the wrong treatment has been applied. Instead of application of a few hours of formal classroom experiences plus some physical and psychological care for the child, the treatment should deal directly with the cause: the environment.

Such a treatment would be more a social-political concern than an educational concern. It would focus on reducing the number of probable causes of deprivation. If the father is not in the home, for example, the treatment would involve providing adequate support

*For an extensive review of the literature, see Johnson, Taylor, Clement, "Implications of Perceived Locus of Control of Reinforcements." Berkeley: Far West Laboratory for Educational Research and Development, 1971.

so that the mother can give her attention to her children, or providing adequate care to prevent or cure physical and mental illness; or, if illness were the cause of poverty, the treatment might provide adequate support for the family.

This discussion leads to a second problem concerning the rationale for intervention: applying the concept of "compensatory education" when it is inappropriate. When use of the concept is appropriate, the treatment is wrong. When use of the concept is not appropriate, attention is focused in the wrong area. The concept of "compensatory education" focuses attention on the inadequacy of the environment and what must be done to compensate for it. This misestimate leads to the conclusion that the chief objective is to help the child overcome his environment so he can be "successful" in school and receive all the good things assumed to follow from "success" in school.

Such a focus does not raise the possibility that perhaps the real problem is that the schools are failing the child rather than that the child is failing in the schools. When responsibility for failure is conveniently assigned to the environment, the educator becomes a knight in shining armor who will save the child from the wrongdoings or shortcomings of the home and the society that are responsible. When viewed this way, the popularity of compensatory education is easy to understand. But this view makes the educator look like a Don Quixote: a kind, ludicrous figure trying to right all the wrongs of the world.

A third shortcoming of the notion of "compensatory education" is that it causes us to apply simple solutions to complex problems. Most of the children in low-income homes are white, but a much higher percentage of Black, Native American or Mexican-American children are poor. Some of these children from minority groups may be deprived, but most are failing in school because they have a different culture or life style or language. Their only problem is that the schools are not designed to support their growth and development. When the concept of compensatory education is applied, it seems to fit these children. They test like "deprived" children because the tests are not appropriate for their language or culture and the "deprivation" concept does not focus our attention on the tests or the schools. It is interesting to note how often in reports and articles, the authors skip back and forth among the terms "lower-class," "low-income," "impoverished," and "Black" as though being Black is the same as being lower-class or impoverished. This kind of slip of the pen highlights the basic problem: equating language and life-style differences with environmental deprivation.

A Different Approach

We are recommending another set of heuristic notions to replace the notions of compensatory education and intervention. The general notion is this: our schools and society are failing large numbers of children. One group includes children who are environmentally deprived. Environmentally deprived children are those who are

growing up in environments that do not provide the basic requirements in terms of food, shelter, health, and adult attention to insure that there is no stunting of physical, psychological, or intellectual development. Children like Anna represent extremes of environmental deprivation. Because such cases are extremes and require special treatment, they are not considered in the remainder of this article. We are concerned with less extreme instances of possible environmental deprivation; we recognize that many of the causes or effects of poverty can also result in an environment that does not insure that there is no stunting of the physical, psychological, and intellectual development of a child. We want to stress the fact, however, that although there is probably a relationship between poverty and environmental deprivation, deprivation certainly is not limited to any social, economic, or ethnic group. Not all children from low-income homes are deprived and certainly not all deprived children are in low-income homes.

Another group of children whom the schools and society are failing consists of those who differ from white middle-class children. To approach these two problems, we are recommending the heuristic notions of the parents' or family's ability to attend to a child (ATA) and the schools' ability to respond to a child (ATR).

The Family's Ability to Attend

Under the notion of ATA, the first concern is with the ability of the parents or family to attend to a child's physical needs by providing adequate care of an expectant mother and adequate food, shelter, and health care for the child. Since lack of adult attention seems to be one of the major factors in environmental deprivation, the second concern is with those variables in the environment that, by draining off the time and energy of the adults, can reduce the parents' ability to attend to an individual child.

Lack of ability to attend is essentially a failure of one or another social institution. No expectant woman should go unattended during pregnancy. No child should be undernourished or lack adequate medical care. Social services, not educational research or development activities, are required to attend to such needs; no amount of educational intervention at a later time will overcome the effects of not attending to those needs. Of course, some individuals do not avail themselves of such services when they exist, but this argument is not very persuasive. Until such help is provided in a form that is neither dehumanizing nor degrading, no one knows how many people could be persuaded to accept such assistance. Until this proposition is tested, we must assume that the failure lies with the social institution that should be providing the service.

If a mother is the only adult in the home and must work, either she should be able to stay at home and attend to her child or adequate care should be provided for her child while she works. If there are physically or mentally ill adults in the home who drain off the ability of other adults to attend to the children, provisions should be made to care for those adults. If the physical environment

that surrounds the home is so pernicious that it reduces the family's ability to attend, that environment should be altered. In each instance, some social institution is evidently not functioning as it should. The health or welfare or housing service is failing to provide the requisites necessary to enable the parents to attend to their children.

All these treatments are forms of intervention. but:

(1) The concept of ATA, as used, does not imply that the parents are defective because they happen to be poor or Black, or Black and poor. Instead, it implies that circumstances have reduced their ability to attend to their child.

(2) None of the interventions mentioned above is educational.

(3) All of them can be carried out without imposing an outside set of values. For example, the environment around the home could be improved by the people who live there if they had the necessary resources. No outsider is needed to tell them what a better environment should be.

Once we provide adults with the time to attend to their children, we will have dealt with only one part of the problem--the quantity of the interaction between adults and children. The quality of the interaction remains. This aspect of the problem is more difficult to cope with for several reasons. We are not so naive as to think every parent would effectively use the time, if it were available, to attend to his child; there is too much evidence to the contrary. Nevertheless, society must deal with the first part of the problem before it can deal with the second; thus no one knows as yet how extensive the second part of the problem would be. Furthermore, the notion of focusing on what social institutions can do to improve their services seems to be a more productive approach than focusing on the cases where parents fail to respond as we would hope they would.

The second difficulty in attempting to deal with the quality of the attention is that we must face a value-loaded concept. Studies of the quality of attention to date have started with the assumption that a certain kind of parent/child interaction is good and have proceeded to analyze the data from that point of view. It is obvious that we do not yet have the information needed to establish criteria for judging the quality of the interaction for different social and ethnic groups. Clearly this task must be undertaken, but until the necessary information exists, we will restrict any measurement of ATA to a quantitative measure.

Our notion is that the concept of ATA would replace the concept of low-income homes; our concern would be to provide every child with an environment that could attend to his needs to the extent of

insuring that he is not physically, psychologically, or intellectually stunted. Even though every child would not have the same kind of environment or the same quality of environment, the minimal essentials of health, physical needs, and time for people to attend to his development would be present.

The ability to attend has two general components. First there is the capability of the family to attend; that is, the ability to provide adequate health services, food, clothing, shelter, and safe living conditions for their child. The second component is time available for adult-child interaction. Such factors as a single-adult family, a large family with a limited span between children, and mental or physical illness in the family can all reduce the amount of time the adult or adults can use to attend to a child.

The chart on page 38 illustrates some of the factors that affect the ability of a family to attend to a child and indicates the responsibilities of various social agencies and the school. The first three items--prenatal health care, health care for the child, and food and nutrition--are simple and straightforward; they require no explanation.

The next two--living environment and the environment that surrounds the living space of a child--require more explanation. We consider these part of the first component because they are factors that limit the family's capability to attend to a child. If a family of seven is forced to live in one room that measures 10 by 20 feet, this situation limits a family's ability to attend. There is no place for privacy, and no place for an adult and a child to be together free from distractions. Their choice of activities is limited. Or, if the family lives in a rat-infested apartment and the mother is afraid to let a young child out of her sight, this circumstance limits their choices. This consideration does not mean that the development of every child growing up in crowded living conditions will be impeded, since people do learn to cope; but it does mean that as the space decreases beyond some minimum standard, there is an increased likelihood that the parents' capability to respond will be reduced.

The same kind of logic applies to the environment surrounding the home. If it is dangerous for a child and if a parent must be fearful about his safety going to and from the school, the store, or the playground, the parent must either restrict the child's activities, accompany him, or run a foolhardy risk. Probably in most instances the parents make a combination of choices, running the risk of harm to the child more often than they would like. If the child survives, the experience is sometimes considered valuable, but probably most parents would not voluntarily choose such an environment. In any case, we reason that the parents must spend time protecting the child, must expend psychological energy in worrying about the child, or must protect their own mental well-being by becoming apathetic or stoic. In any of these events, their capability to respond to the child is decreased.

Chart 2.1

THE FAMILY'S ABILITY TO ATTEND

Social Services' Responsibility	Family's Ability to Attend	School's Responsibility
Health care that is not demeaning should be available to every expectant woman	Prenatal health care	
Every child should receive adequate health care to prevent any physical or mental handicaps that might occur because of inadequate care	Health care for the child	The health of each child should be monitored and referrals made when necessary
Each child should receive a minimum adequate diet that would insure healthy physical and mental development	Food	Provide adequate nourishment when the child is in school
Every child should have enough space within his living environment to allow for some privacy	Living Environment	
The neighborhood surrounding the living environment should be a safe place for children	Environment surrounding the living environment	
If a single parent must choose to stay at home with the children or work, either the parent should receive adequate support to stay home or adequate day-care services should be available	Number of adults to attend	
The parents who choose to should have access to all measures to control the size of the family	Number of siblings and spacing of siblings	
If adults are physically or mentally ill, they should receive adequate care that does not take time away from the child If children are ill, they should receive adequate care that does not take time away from other children	Presence of physical or mental illness	

Since low-income and minority-group parents have little or no choice about the living space or the environment that surrounds them, it is the responsibility of several agencies to provide them with choices.

The last three items we have listed in the chart are the most ambiguous and require the greatest amount of qualification. They are all related to time. The question of the number of adults available to attend to a child is clear when we are talking about one working parent who has children six years old or younger and who does not have adequate day-care services. It is clear that this parent does not have the time to attend to the child and the possible solutions to the problem seem clear: give the parent enough money to stay home and attend to the child or provide adequate day-care services. The number of adults available to attend becomes less clear when we are talking about a single-adult family with older children because the older children may or may not be adequate substitutes for other adults.

Another circumstance that is open to speculation is the case of two working adults. Obviously they will have more time than one adult and the kind of day care they can provide and the age of the children will make a difference.

The number of siblings and the proximity of their ages poses a difficult question. Research and logic have led us to conclude that these factors can make a difference. A young mother with four children six years old or younger obviously does not have much time to spend with any one child unless she takes the time from the other children. The difficulty, however, is that other considerations are involved. One consideration is religious values; another is the issue many leaders in the Black community are raising about the survival of an ethnic or minority group. The percentage of the minority group in the total population does make a difference in its ability to retain a group identity and the power or influence the group can exert on the majority.

We are not suggesting that Black people or any other group should be encouraged to practice birth control when it may be contrary to their best interest. But this view does not mean that the child will necessarily benefit from the experience of being of a large family. A large family may be beneficial to the group and to the child; however, it is more likely to be beneficial if the children are spaced over a wide age range. The responsibility of social agencies in this instance is to make the services available when a parent wants them.

Such relationships between the social agencies and the family are essentially those which we would consider vital in any interaction. That is, the social agencies are responsible for correcting situations beyond the control of the family, providing essential services to the family, and informing the family of those services, but the family has the responsibility and the right to make the choice to use or not to use the services. Some limitations might

well be placed upon this generalization when families are obviously harming the child but such a situation is beyond the scope of this analysis. The last item on the chart--the presence of physical or mental illness in the family--should not require much discussion. If adults are overburdened with attending to other sick adults or children, they have less time and energy for the remaining child or children.

The essential point that we would like to emphasize from our discussion of the ability to attend is this: Any one of these factors can reduce the parents' ability to attend but we cannot conclude that in every instance they do. To test our hypothesis that these factors do make a difference, we can study groups of children using conventional research and statistical procedures, but it would be an unfortunate error for researchers to attempt to apply that analysis without qualification to any individual child and then encourage the school to prescribe special programs based upon that analysis. It would be equally inappropriate for the school to assume that the child growing up under adverse conditions cannot be helped by the school. These conditions probably do make a difference and social agencies other than the school carry the major responsibility.

The Schools' Ability to Respond

The basic problem with the present system is that nearly all American schools are designed to serve white middle-class students who hold the same values as the teachers--or other children who want to emulate white middle-class children. The schools respond to these children and nurture their development. This attitude is evident in both procedures and content.

The procedures are built around the concept that all children at a given age are ready to learn the same thing (with some consideration given to inherited differences in ability) and are motivated by the same factors. That is, children will avoid failure, low marks, or retention in grade, and will work for success, high marks, and praise from the teacher. Following this concept, most instruction takes place in front of groups of twenty-five or more students. The content is designed to be generally interesting to the average student; the major motivation is threat of failure or promise of success.

The curriculum is essentially designed to produce educated white citizens who hold similar values. The curriculum materials, which reflect Anglo-European history, are chosen to motivate and assist white children. The bias in the choice of curriculum materials is obvious when they are viewed from the perspective of minority groups. Most history books devote more pages to the exploration of the coast of America by the Europeans than to the entire history of Native Americans before Columbus landed. Columbus "discovered" America only if one accepts the point of view of certain Europeans; the Native Americans were already here. The place of American Black people in most history books is

essentially that of an undifferentiated mass of slaves. In beginning readers, the pictures provided to cue children to word meaning seem usually to show a white suburban setting in the Middle Atlantic states or New England.

The extent to which a child and his family differ from the "ideal" or "model" child that the school is designed to serve determines the degree to which he is handicapped in the system, not because he has any inherent failings but because the system does not respond to him as an individual.

With careful study we believe we can express this ability to respond (ATR) in some quantitative way. We will assume that most schools are currently best able to respond to a child whose family meets the following conditions

(1) The family is white middle-class.

(2) The parents have at least a high school education.

(3) The parents and the teachers have essentially the same values.

(4) The parents accept the methods and objectives of the school.

(5) The language of the school and of the home is the same or similar.

(6) The parents do not have a close identification with an ethnic group that is not Northern European.

(7) The parents do not live in a neighborhood that is identified as an ethnic neighborhood.

(8) The parents have the same religion as, or one similar to, the dominant group.

(9) The child has no learning handicaps.

To the extent that a family and the child differ from this ideal, the school is unable to respond so well as it should. A perfect match would be 100, but it is unreasonable to expect a perfect match. The school's ATR might be about 80 for the average middle-class child. The 20-point difference could be accounted for by a variety of factors, such as individual learning disabilities, religious differences, differences in values, and minor ethnic differences. So we would accept 80 as a reasonable match between the school and the home. As we study individual children and their families, a score lower than 80 would represent the school's failure to respond.

Social-class differences will produce a discrepancy because the school values and rewards behaviors the "lower-class" child

has not learned, but it does not recognize skills and abilities that are vital to his survival in his own environment. For example, some children from "lower-class" families may have learned to care for themselves and younger brothers and sisters; they may have learned to defend or fight for their rights and interests; they may have learned to share and cooperate; and they may have learned to live with the hazards of city streets or to roam over the countryside. None of these skills turns up on measures of school aptitude or intelligence. Moreover, many of the skills and concepts that are measured by such tests may be missing from the children's environment, so they cannot be expected to test as well as other children who are growing up in environments that prepare them to meet the schools' expectations. The fact that a child is learning to care for himself or to protect his rights, instead of learning colors, shapes, and forms or "correct" English, does not mean he is intellectually deprived. It simply means that he is learning different behaviors, some of which are probably more valuable to him in his life situations than those the school values.

This is not to say that what the school values and offers is wrong. The major objective of the schools, to develop the intellectual abilities of children, is still considered important by most people. We are not suggesting that this general objective should be changed. But the school should recognize that children from different backgrounds bring different strengths to school. The school should also learn to respond to a child without attaching negative values to what he has or has not learned before he comes to school. A non-middle-class child has learned and is learning some of the skills and abilities that the school cannot teach and these may prove to be extremely important in his future. In fact, one of the laments of many middle-class parents from a working-class background is that their children do not have the opportunity to learn many of the behaviors the parents were forced to learn as children.

The schools' ability to respond to children from culturally and ethnically different homes is affected by two interrelated problems. In general, members of the white middle class feel superior to members of the various ethnic groups; therefore, hostility and prejudice make the schools a non-responsive environment. The fact that the schools have not developed the curriculum methods appropriate for different cultural and ethnic groups also makes the schools non-responsive. Of course, the second problem of curriculum and methods is in part an outcome of the first. It is unreasonable to expect the schools to reform the society that created them, but it is not unreasonable for the schools to recognize their own limitations and to modify curriculum and procedures so as to become more responsive to minority groups.

Chart 2.2, which suggests some beginning specifications of the possible factors in ATR, should serve as a starting point for further research.

Chart 2.2

THE SCHOOLS' ABILITY TO RESPOND

Social-Economic Class

1. Highest: The family and child have the following characteristics:
   a) parents have at least a high school education
   b) parents' values are similar to teacher's
   c) high acceptance by parents of school's objectives and methods
   d) one parent is a skilled worker, white-collar worker, or above (in occupational categories)
   e) child falls within the middle 80% in I.Q. test range and has no learning disabilities

2. Next:
   a) parents are among the working poor
   b) parents have less than a high school education
   or
   c) strong conflict in values among home, teacher, and school

3. Lowest:
   a) parents, because of general economic conditions or other circumstances, are on welfare

Ethnic and Life Style Differences

1. Highest:
   a) Northern European in origin
   b) does not live in a neighborhood that is identified as an ethnic neighborhood
   c) same ethnic group as the members in the power structure (composition of the local school board)
   d) does not identify closely with an ethnic group
   e) same religion as dominant group

2. Next:
   a) not Northern European in origin
   b) member of ethnic group that makes up less than 10% of the population
   c) does not live in an ethnic neighborhood

3. Next:
   a) non-European
   b) does live in an ethnic neighborhood
   c) ethnic group is not a large segment of the population or is underrepresented in the power structure
   d) easily identified as a member of an ethnic group
   e) strong cultural differences

Chart 2.2, Continued

4. Lowest:
   a) non-European
   b) lives in clearly-defined non-European ethnic area
   c) segregated or isolated to a large extent
   d) easily identified ethnic group is large but not represented (or underrepresented) in the power structure
   e) has strong cultural ties to the ethnic group which has values that contrast or conflict with dominant group

Language:

1. Highest: family speaks the same dialect of English that is used in school

2. Next: family uses and understands the school's language but speaks another language or dialect

3. Lowest: family speaks and understands another language or dialect and no English

Both notions, ATA and ATR, are still in early conceptual stages. We will need to do considerable refining before they are sufficiently developed to provide the analytical tool we feel is needed. But even at this stage of development, they suggest an approach to the problem that appears more promising than "compensatory education." The general notion of ATR suggests some of the changes that will have to occur in most schools if they are to respond to most children.

The needed changes in the educational system must start with objectives. If the schools are going to respond to the Mexican-American child's background, the educational program should use materials that are pertinent to his background and that reflect his cultural heritage. The language of instruction should include Spanish, whether in a bilingual program or in a program in which English is treated as a second language. The same emphasis is needed for Black children, Navajo children, and others. These changes represent a major shift in goals of the educational system.

Instead of the "melting pot" objective of blending divergent groups into a single homogeneous mass, the objective should be to develop a "tossed salad" of different cultures and life styles, enhancing the values and uniqueness of each culture, so that, taken together, they become complementary. In other words, the objective should be to prepare people to live in a pluralistic society. This goal obviously goes beyond merely dealing with language differences or making minor accommodations in the system. The logic for recommending pluralism as an objective is:

(1) Non-European minority groups have always resisted the efforts of the majority group to assimilate them. They have also resisted an educational system that tries to carry out the assimilation. This resistance, of course, limits the progress of minority children within the system and sets up conflicts for the child between the values of his family and the educational system.

(2) In some respects a pluralistic society is probably less efficient than a more homogeneous society. However, because different points of view provide a wider variety of alternatives to choose from in the search for solutions to problems, it is probably much richer and more productive in the long run. The logic is the same as that applied to interdisciplinary studies. Diversity can enrich rather than impoverish.

Another change would involve a recognition that the general objective of the schools, developing the intellectual abilities of children, is related not to one particular body of knowledge, but to several; the general objective--common to all schools--would be to develop the problem-solving ability of the children. To accomplish this goal, all children would have to develop the ability to use some language, develop academic skills, develop an understanding of our complex world, and develop the ability to use problem-solving methods or heuristics. If the child is going to live in an English-speaking society, he will also need to be able to communicate in English.

The shift from the concept of a system designed to assimilate non-Anglos into an Anglo social system to the concept of educating children to live in a pluralistic society will have far-reaching effects. Among the changes resulting from the new definition and evaluation of goals will be: different methods of training of teachers; the development of curriculum alternatives; different tests and other devices for evaluation; and new relationships between the schools and parents. We cannot detail all these changes within the scope of this chapter, but some of the broad implications are:

Curriculum:

There obviously would be a common curriculum dealing with math and science, although even these fairly pure subjects are not entirely culturally neutral.

Language development would remain an important part of the curriculum, but the language or languages taught would vary from group to group. English would not be the primary language for all children. (It is not now, of course, but schools usually behave as though it were.)

Social sciences certainly would remain in the curriculum. Probably there would be a common objective of helping each child understand the complex social, economic, and political system he lives in, but the specific content would vary. For example, history for a Navajo child might start with the folklore and origins of the Navajos and how they came to live in what is now the southwestern part of the United States. This history might go on to explain what the anthropologist believes is the origin of the Navajo people. This history might further report that the first contact with the European invaders was with the Spanish who came up from the south.

Testing and Evaluation:

The only measure of student achievement that could be used universally in such a school system would be some general measure of problem-solving ability. Such a measure would have to recognize a variety of problem-solving styles and strategies which probably have cultural and linguistic overtones.

None of the achievement tests currently in use could measure the effectiveness of a program for children from low-income homes or different ethnic groups. The intelligence tests now used are not adequate for measuring the I.Q. of children who do not come from white middle-class families because these tests are culturally loaded in favor of white middle-class children. Available achievement tests measure only those skills and concepts that are specific to the present curriculum. For example, although the facts of history as currently taught from the Anglo-European perspective and the facts as taught in the Navajo history would be the same, the perspectives would be quite different; hence, the methods of evaluation would have to be modified accordingly. The fact that such modification would become a Herculean task indicates the direction that the development of achievement tests should take. Instead of measuring knowledge of specific facts, tests should be developed to measure levels of understanding of general principles in the social sciences. Some examples are: (1) understanding how a modern industrial society developed from simple hunting or agrarian beginnings and how specialization and division of labor came into being, and the effects of these developments on man and his life style; (2) understanding the relationship of man and his environment--what man has done to improve the environment and what man has done to destroy the environment; (3) understanding how the effects of the conquest of one group of people by another have influenced the development of the conquering people as well as of those who were conquered.

Some current tests could obviously be used but in a different way. If the teacher wanted to know how well Spanish-speaking children could read in English, current tests could be used; but they should not be used to contrast unfavorably Spanish-speaking children with English-speaking children.

These changes raise the question of what should be the criteria for success of the program. We would recommend the following:

(1) The attitude of the children and the parents toward the school should be improved.

(2) The parents should be more actively involved in the school and its activities.

(3) The children should have healthier self-concepts.

(4) The children should improve in their problem-solving abilities. The range of ability within minority groups will increase, and the difference in average ability between different ethnic groups will become insignificant.

The criterion measures should not be too difficult to develop, once the decision is made that the current criteria and measurements are inappropriate and that new ones are needed. Measurement of the attitude of the children and their parents toward schools does not present any new measurement problems. Nor does measurement of parents' involvement in school activities present a problem.

The measurement of a child's self-concept does pose some problems. But some of the notions that are probably related to a self-concept (such as locus of control and level of aspiration) are certainly well enough researched to provide a basis for developing reliable measures.

The major problem in developing tests of problem-solving ability will be devising ways of accounting for language differences and, perhaps, for cultural differences that encourage different approaches to solving problems. But here again, we should be encouraging a pluralistic approach rather than simply looking for the single "best" way of solving problems.

The relationship between the school and the parents will have to change not so much in concept as in practice. Education in the United States has always operated on the assumption that the family is responsible for the education of its children and that the role of any educational institution is to aid the family in carrying out this responsibility. Coupled with this idea is the notion that the control of education belongs at the grass-roots level of democracy--close to the people it serves. We think the idea that education should be controlled by a representative group of parents is still a responsible idea, although not everyone wants to be involved and certainly not everyone can remain well enough informed to make intelligent decisions.

In practice, however, these ideas have been lost or have been applied in a restricted way. For the most part, the poor and most non-European ethnic and racial groups have been excluded from the process. The statement is often made that "they" need to learn

how to participate. But that is like saying a child cannot go swimming until he learns how to swim. Given available evidence on the existing power structure's failure to educate the children of the poor and the ethnically different, we could certainly risk allowing parents to control the education of their children. After all, the risk of failure is almost nil; they can't do much worse and they may do a lot better. The relationship between the existing school structure and the parents of ethnically different children must not be to co-opt them, but rather to give to parents, or let them take, control of the education of their children.

In summary, we believe that if policy-makers and educators will adopt a new set of ideas to replace the concepts of "compensatory education" and "intervention," the schools can be more successful than they have been. We have suggested notions that seem to us highly promising because they face the problem in more realistic terms and focus the problem in such a way that educators should be able to cope with it partially, with a reasonable chance of success. If we are incorrect, we will look for another set of notions that may be more productive.

Notes on Use of Terms

In the compensatory education literature, the term "environmentally deprived" has often been used interchangeably with the terms "low-income" and "ethnic-minority." The term typically connotes a child who is not middle-class. Prior to the use of the term in this manner, the term "environmental deprivation" was used to refer to environments extremely lacking in specific elements needed to support healthy growth and development, including food, clothing, shelter, warmth, interaction, and stimulation of the senses. In this chapter, "deprivation" is placed in quotation marks when it is used in the first sense described above.

Throughout this chapter we have capitalized the adjective "Black" because we wish to remain consistent with a convention established by the editors of a number of Black journals and papers and by Black authors in a variety of literary forms. The rationale for this convention is generated from an effort to differentiate between the adjective "Black" as a concept label, which emerged from and has been chosen by the Black community, and the term "black" which is seen as a label imposed upon Black people.

When we use the term "Mexican-American," we are referring to a group of people who live primarily in the southwestern region of the United States whose ancestry is primarily Native American and Spanish. Their families may or may not have migrated from Mexico. Many of these families have lived for generations in the United States. The term "Chicano" has been adopted by many of these people as a preferred term in referring to them as a group but it still not accepted by many others. Thus, for want of a better term, we have used "Mexican-American."

The term "American Indian" is also a label imposed by outsiders. We are referring to various tribal groups, including the Navajo, Ute, Sioux, and Crow peoples, all of whom are native Americans. Whenever possible, we have referred to the specific tribal group we are talking about. When generalizing, we have used the term "Native Americans."

Chapter III

WHO SHOULD CONTROL INDIAN EDUCATION?

Francis McKinley, Stephen L. Bayne,

& Glen P. Nimnicht

This chapter has been edited and abridged from a longer pamphlet of the same title by the same authors, available from the National Indian Training and Research Center in Tempe, Arizona. The authors' thesis is that Indian children receive an inferior education because white institutions have arbitrarily been imposed upon them. The Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) controls these schools paternalistically, with small budgets, so that dependency and poverty remain entrenched. But the public schools which are supposed to serve Indian youngsters are equally inadequate, besides being remotely located. The dropout rate continues to be unduly high. Due to cultural differences, standardized tests fail to measure anything except the degree of acculturation; culture-free tests are sorely needed. Moreover, the gap between home and school produces cross-cultural conflict because teachers are usually insensitive to socio-cultural differences (a reprise of the theme in the two earlier chapters). Though Indian parents rarely have contacts with public schools, some have begun to experience the potential of community control. The authors conclude by offering recommendations for government, private foundations, and researchers.

Introduction

In October 1967, the National Indian Youth Council contracted with the Far West Laboratory for Educational Research and Development to study the education of Indian children at the following ten sites: Loneman, South Dakota; Ponca City, Oklahoma; Crow Agency, Montana; Fort Berthold, North Dakota; Nondalton, Alaska, South Nek Nek, Alaska; Mescalero Apache Reservation, New Mexico; Papago Indian Reservation, Arizona; Seattle, Washington; and Indian boarding schools. The study, financed by the Carnegie Corporation of New York, was undertaken during the period from October 1967 through October 1969. The following report of the field work describes the state of education available to American Indian children during that period and offers a set of recommendations for initial steps to be taken to improve Indian education

The reader should note that the study was not a rigidly controlled, statistically valid survey. Questionnaires and structured interviews were used with non-Indian teachers and administrators who

accept such tools as part of their everyday professional lives. However, as Indians tend to resent these appurtenances of a "study" and do not care to be treated as "informants," we collected information from them by means of a large number of conversations with no attempt on our part to structure formal interviews. This report, then, is presented as a record of the state of Indian education as we observed it in a number of places using methods of investigation, both systematic and impressionistic, appropriate to the circumstances.

The Indian Education Study concentrated on two major kinds of activities. These were:

(1) Collection of base-line data from the ten project sites. Data included information on school administration, curriculum and teaching methods, student achievement, attitudes of teachers and administrators, and the unique characteristics of the various kinds of schools attended by the Indian children. We were unable to collect systematic data about the attitudes of parents toward education and their reactions to proposed innivations, primarily because formal information-collecting devices appeared inappropriate for use with the Indian population.

(2) Development of pilot projects which could be analyzed in terms of the likelihood that a given community could eventually assume responsibilitity for the education of its children. We developed educational materials libraries ("toy libraries") in Head Start schools at two of the sites (Crow Agency and Pine Ridge). A toy library* is a parent-involving technique in which educational toys selected by teachers and aides are checked out by parents for use in teaching their children at home. At the time this report was prepared, the libraries had been in operation for only six months and data about their effectiveness were not available. A second pilot project, a tutoring program for junior high school students, was developed through our field consultants at the White Eagle School in Ponca City, Oklahoma. We also assisted in a third project, the development of a non-profit organization for community development at Ponca City.

Although our study was limited in scope, we believe that a more comprehensive study would support our conclusion that the education provided for Indian children is a failure when measured by any reasonable set of criteria. The educational system has not succeeded in providing the majority of Indian children with the minimum level of competence necessary to prepare them to be productive citizens in the larger society. In addition, very little attempt has been made

*For further details, see A Guide to Securing and Installing the Parent/Child Toy Lending Library, Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402. (Stock number 1780-0993).

to perpetuate the values and culture unique to the Indian people or to provide Indians with a sense of pride in their own heritage and the confidence that they can effectively control their own future development. Schools attended by Indians, both public schools and those supported by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, greatly need to improve their instructional programs and methods and their teacher training programs and, particularly, to increase teacher understanding of the unique problems of the Indian students and their parents. However, increases in money, time, and effort spent on Indian education can relieve only some of the more important symptoms of the larger, underlying problem which is the general relationship between Indians and white people and, specifically, the paternalistic relationship between the white power structure and the Indian communities.

"Indian Education"--Does It Exist?

What quality of formal or public education is available to American Indian children today? As we shall demonstrate in this study, the vast majority of American Indian children now receive an education inferior to that available to most white children. Why? The education available to Indian children is inferior because "Indian education" as a body of pedagogical principles or techniques does not exist. Rather, we may define Indian education as the imposition of white American educational institutions upon American Indian communities. There is no tradition of formal education which is "Indian." There are certainly ancient traditions of informal education in American Indian cultures, but these traditions have never had any relationship to the schools now operating in American Indian communities; Indian people themselves have always referred to the schools as "white man's schools."

However, there are two basic reasons why "Indian education" should exist as a subject apart from education in general. First, the history of education for Indians has been separate from that of education for other Americans. Until quite recently most Indians attended school in a system of boarding and day schools operated by the Federal Government through the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Thus, Indian education has been almost synonymous with BIA education, separated both physically and philosophically from the educational concerns for non-Indians, Secondly, by any measure available, American Indian children are not as successful as non-Indian children in adapting to the classroom culture of the American school and in meeting those criteria of educational achievement set by the school. Indian children score lower on most standardized tests, read and write English less proficiently, drop out of school earlier and in larger numbers, attend school less frequently, and behave less satisfactorily in the classroom than non-Indian children. Because of these two reasons, special concern must be given to "Indian education" as a unique subject and to improving the quality of that education.

Since the 1930's, when the Meriam Report first brought to public notice the inadequacies, archaisms, and cruelties of the existing BIA educational institutions some concern has been shown

for the education of Indian children. Books, monographs, and articles have been written on language problems, analysis of standardized test performances, psychological differences between Indian and white children, the effects of acculturation, and conflicts between the culture of the child's home and that of the school. The results of this research comprise a body of data which includes a plethora of varied and often conflicting suggestions by educators, psychologists, and anthropologists as to how the deplorable state of Indian education can be improved and theories about what Indian education should ideally be like.

This research, however, has focused on a very small number of reservations. Indian studies have often been limited to the Navajo and to the Sioux on the Pine Ridge Reservation where 64 field studies were in progress in 1969. The reasons for this lack of balance are primarily demographic and historical. The Navajo tribe is by far the largest in the United States and it has kept its culture intact in far more obvious ways than most other tribal groups. Thus, it offers a large and attractive field for anthropological research. The Sioux on Pine Ridge have had a romantic and tragic history which has caught the imagination of researchers and the American public alike, to whom the names Sitting Bull and Crazy Horse are synonymous with "Indians." A profusion of base-line data on these tribes is available, but for the Ponca, the Crow, and the Mescalero Apaches--tribes with current educational problems of critical importance--the literature is sparse. Thus, the amount of material included on the Navajo and the Pine Ridge Sioux reflects the interests of researchers rather than the primacy of the educational and acculturation problems of the tribal groups.

In addition, very few researchers have bothered to ask Indians themselves what they feel Indian education should be like. This omission is especially serious in light of this country's growing interest in community control of education by communities of the urban and rural poor, and by communities of ethnic and racial minority groups. To what extent do Indian communities actually control the formal education of their children? Although Indians occasionally get elected to a public board of education and often serve in some advisory capacity for the BIA schools (such as membership on advisory school boards) or on the tribal education committees, they do not usually control or even affect the decision-making processes involved in school administration.

Asking to what extent Indians control the education of their children is only a part of the larger question: To what extent to Indians generally control their own affairs? The answer to the latter question is that American Indians have little or no voice in thier own affairs. Nearly everyone who has been concerned with the subject has pointed out that the BIA has maintained paternalistic control over the American Indians. The Bureau, in turn, is subject to the manipulations of powerful and influential politicians often representing white entrepreneurs who covet the Indians' land and resources. Many of our nation's legislators state that the solution to the Indians' problems is one of integration or

assimilation, when their real objective is to abolish the Indians' legal rights, to dissolve their special relationhips with the Federal Government, to terminate unfulfilled obligations, to disperse the Indians, and then to seize their lands and abundant resources. One can confirm that this description is accurate by examining the long list of broken treaties; the Indian laws (many of whose provisions have never been implemented, but more often violated); specific acts of Congress such as the General Allotment Act, House Concurrent Resolution 108 (which succeeded in terminating several tribes), and Public Law 871 of the 63rd Congress (which transferred law and order jurisdiction from some tribes to the states); and the cases of the Kinsua Dam, Pyramid Lake, Taos Pueblo's sacred mountain, and Garrison Dam.

Examination of the budget requests of the Bureau of Indian Affairs during the past few years, the process of budget cutting by the Department of the Interior and the Bureau of the Budget, and their final appropriations demonstrates that the programs to preserve the Indian reservations and Indian trust status receive inadequate or no funding whereas those programs that take the Indian away from his home and reservation, such as Employment Assistance for relocation in urban areas, receive ample appropriations. (U.S. Senate Hearings, 1969.) The negative attitude of many Congressmen toward perpetuating the present trustee relationship to American Indians and toward sponsoring or supporting legislation to develop Indian communities is partly responsible for the Indians' dependent and impoverished state. Typically, Indians have no firm social or economic base to use for entry into the mainstream of Americal life as self-respecting, confident, and responsible citizens.

Thus, against a background of dependency and impoverishment, we can examine the efforts to educate Indians and to prepare them to live useful and rewarding lives as American citizens. In doing so, we will try to answer the following questions: What quality of formal education is available to American Indian children? How can American Indian communities be encouraged to take significant responsibility for the functioning of schools when the options of Indians on formal education are difficult to discover, and perhaps, except for vast generalities, nonexistent? Are the opinions of Indians about the schools limited to deep antipathy, passive acceptance, or considerations of the relationship between the school and practical job skills? Or, if Indians have no particular interest in the schools, what are the reasons for their lack of interest, and how can the situation be remedied so that Indian parents have as much influence and control over the schools as their white counterparts? Our study will first review the historical background of Indian education and then the data provided by current literature and by our own research. Finally, we will present what we feel to be the most promising ways of improving the quality of Indian education and of stimulating interest in and responsibility for education by the American Indian community.

The American Indian in the United States--Historical Perspective

Approximately 700,000 American Indians now live in the continental United States, and 30,000 Eskimos and Aleuts live in the State of Alaska. In 1967, 440,000 of these Indian and Alaskan natives received services from the United States Bureau of Indian Affairs, which holds 38.9 million acres of land in 390 reservations, colonies, rancherias, and communities in trust for tribal groups of native Americans. Most of these Indians live in poverty. Indian families on reservations have a median income of only $1500; unemployment rates often exceed 50%; and 90% of reservation housing is substandard by Federal Government standards.

By any criteria, then, Indians are poor; but their material poverty should not be equated with cultural poverty, for the cultural heritage of the American Indian is rich. The material poverty of Indians results from two factors--first, living in generally impoverished areas and, secondly, the particular relationship of Indian society to white society. (Warhaftig, 1966.) An understanding of the relationship between these two societies is crucial to understanding the problems faced by American Indians today.

Before the advent of the reservation system, Indian societies, though differing tremendously in culture, were similar in that all were based on face-to-face, kinship-oriented communities. In communities of this sort, relationships between people over time and in everyday activities are of primary importance, to the extent that the community is defined as a group of kin. "A Sioux is a kinsman, by definition Kin relations regulate Sioux society and permeate all tasks and activities. In aboriginal times, institutional forms were built upon the kinship system so that even in institutional contexts kinsmen dealt as kinsmen with other kinsmen." (Thomas, 1967.) Albert Warhaftig describes this "tribal" society as "an enormous family...united by actual kinship, by co-residence and constant person-to-person interaction, by common understanding of their uniqueness as a single people, and by a firm desire to survive, unmolested insofar as possible, as a people."

Inaugurated in the 1860's, the reservation system was a systematic effort to remake these societies into white American communities, with white American subsistence activities, institutions, and social structures. Gordon MacGregor described the development of this process on the Sioux Reservation at Pine Ridge. In accord with a treaty signed in 1868, the Sioux were settled on a huge reservation. This reservation was later broken up into five separate agencies, one of which was Pine Ridge. Following the military defeat of the Sioux after the Sioux War of 1875-76 and during the time when the last buffalo, the very source of life for the Plains Indians, were disappearing, the civilian superintendent of the Pine Ridge Agency immediately began a program to prepare the bands under his charge for the settled ways of white farmers. His first step was to supress the Sun Dance which was the most important religious event on the Plains.

> [The] breakup of family life and the family groups of tepees, the undermining of the authority of the chiefs, and the placement of children in boarding school followed in quick succession....The agent had two particular powers by which he kept the Indians under his control: the ration of beef and a police company of fifty Indians. Thus, when the Indians seemed to cling too tenaciously to camping by band groups, holding council by themselves, or being uncooperative, he withheld rations or utilized the police to force a charge....The undermining of native controls and native leadership was followed later by official regulations which forbade native dances, ceremonies, and customs which were believed to impede the acceptance of white life. These regulations were in force until 1934. (MacGregor, 1946.)

The philosophy behind these actions was succinctly stated by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in 1879.

> Indians are essentially conservative, and cling tenaciously to old customs and hate all changes: therefore the government should force them to scatter out on farms, break up their tribal organization, dances, ceremonies, and tom-foolery; take from them their hundreds of useless ponies, which afford them the means of indulging in their wandering, nomadic habits, and give them cattle in exchange, and compel them to labor or to accept the alternative of starvation. (Thomas, 1967.)

The Pine Ridge Agency promoted livestock enterprises, supervised the allotment, inheritance, and leasing of land, issued rations and relief, managed the individual Indian's financial facilities, took over the administration of internal political affairs, dispensed justice, and assumed jurisdiction of law and order problems." (Bruner, 1956.) Social, political, and economic structures were put into the hands of a bureaucracy from a radically different type of culture, leaving the Indian communities no way to function. Thus, the aboriginal social structure and institutions decayed because they were no longer dealing with the important affairs of community life. Today,

> nearly all their former institutions on the local level have disappeared. The small Sioux community is hardly even a community in the strict sense of the word. It is a kin group without the aboriginal institutions which once related them to their environment, and no substitute institutions have developed in their place. New institutions have been pre-empted by outsiders. The old Chief's Council is non-functional. The warriors' societies have long since disappeared and the local police force is seen as a foreign and illegitimate coercive force. Thus, few (practically no) means of social control are left to the

> local Sioux community. There are no local school boards--the schools are run by the federal government. Their churches are run by an outside religious hierarchy. Economic institutions are virtually non-existent. (MacGregor, 1946.)

Yet the everyday kinship network still remains within most Indian communities. Murray Wax wrote in "Enemies of the People" that the reservation is composed of small local communities which are predominantly composed of kin. "Each of these small communities maintains an internal organization and economy of extraordinary efficiency." (Wax & Wax, 1966.) In northeastern Oklahoma, Cherokee and white societies

> are clearly coterritorial, and white and Indian social communities overlap spatially (there is no reservation). This does not mean that whites and Indians are participants in common communities. In those intimate matters through which a human community defines itself (friendships and informal visiting, consoling the sick and helping the disaster-stricken, the informal maintenance of proper behavior, religious and ceremonial activities, pondering the future) Indian communities and white communities are totally separate. Each Indian settlement is in many ways like one large family. (Dickeman, 1967.)

Even in the metropolitan centers of Los Angeles, Oakland, and Chicago, the Indian population retains its identity through a social network clearly separated from the surrounding white city culture. In attempting to move Indian people from the Los Angeles slums, the Bureau of Indian Affairs was hindered by the Indian families' refusal to move for fear of losing contact with friends and relatives in the slum area. (Madigan, 1956.) The San Francisco Bay Indian community, primarily the branch located in Oakland, is described as having an observable "self-conscious Indian-ness." (Ablon, 1964.) The Oakland Indians choose to associate almost exclusively with each other and do not seek contact with whites. Relatives and tribesmen see each other frequently and are free in extending mutual help. Households are flexible and, no matter how small the space, needy tribesmen are taken in and given food and money. They consider themselves "in a unique Indian social niche which is alien to the community social hierarchy." (Ablon, 1964.)

Thus, in the metropolis as on the reservation, a basis does exist for American Indian communities to develop responsibility for their own affairs. A foundation is present in the still functioning Indian social networks for an end to the colonial relationship between Indians and white America. These social and community networks seem to be viable enough to re-assume control of some of the institutions which have been externally controlled since the 1860's. Current research indicates that formal education of American Indian children is one institution particularly likely to benefit from local or community control. We shall now review the past history of Indian education, its current status, and the relationship between the schools and some Indian communities.

The History of Federal Indian Education

Until very recently, most children on Indian reservations received their formal education in federal boarding and day schools operated by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. In 1910, the Bureau had written: "The task is to provide the needed development and supply the lacks caused by a faulty environment, so that the Indian child may be brought up to that standard of cleanliness, order, regularity and discipline which the public school presupposes in its white children. The task is changing a way of living." (Tyler, 1964.) Thus, it is not surprising that Bureau education in the boarding schools was characterized by harsh discipline, military drill, use of cast-off army clothing, self-support from farm and herd, rural vocational training unrelated to employment on the reservations or in the cities, and purposeful separation of the children from home and family.

> Children were virtually kidnapped to force them into government schools. Life in the school was under military discipline, and rules were enforced by corporal punishment. Children were forbidden to speak their own language. Those who persisted in clinging to their old ways and those who ran away and were recaptured were thrown in jail. Parents who objected were also jailed. Where possible, children were kept in school year after year to avoid the influence of their families. (MacGregor, 1946.)

In 1928, responding to public furor, the Senate initiated a series of investigations which led to the publication of the Meriam Report of 1929. The basic philosophy toward Indian education had changed. The Meriam Report stated that "education must provide for promotion of health, advancement of productive efficiency, the acquisition of reasonable ability in the utilization of income and property, guarding against exploitation, and the maintenance of reasonably high standards of community life." (Tyler, 1964.) The report advocated specific reforms, such as the prohibition of jails and severe punishment in the boarding schools, as well as the idea that realistic, employment-oriented courses would be more important to the Indian child than academic courses, since it was expected that most Indians would continue to work on the primarily rural reservations, and could best become "Americans" by "absorption into the industrial and agricultural life of the nation."

The reforms initiated by the Meriam Report were continued and greatly extended from 1933 to 1945 by John Collier's administration of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The Bureau de-emphasized the boarding schools and closed them wherever possible, replacing them by day schools near to the children's homes. The Indian children could thus receive a "white education" while still participating in their own culture. The educational aims of the schools reflected Collier's tremendous respect for the ancient cultures of the Indian people: "There will be no interference with Indian religious life"; "The cultural history of Indians is to be considered in all respects

equal to that of any non-Indian group"; and "It is desirable that Indians be bilingual--fluent and literate in the English language, and fluent in their vital, beautiful, and efficient native languages. The Indian arts are to be prized, nourished, and honored." (Tyler, 1964.)

Unfortunately, Collier's most important educational views did not prevail after his administration. His program met persistent congressional criticism which culminated in a 1944 report demanding "that the emphasis in Indian schools be upon developing better 'Indian Americans' rather than the existing emphasis upon perpetuating the Indian as a special status individual and that the emphasis on day schools give way to a program promoting attendance at off-reservation boarding schools." (Tyler, 1964.)

The next major change in Indian education occurred after World War II, when federal funds were first provided for the construction and operation of public schools in reservation areas. As the federal day schools closed, Indian children began to attend nearby public schools. Since the 1950's the Bureau of Indian Affairs has continued this policy and maintained that

> the education of Indian children is primarily a responsibility of the states, but that under special circumstances (e.g., isolation, language difficulties, or family disorganization), the BIA will conduct its own educational programs. To do this, it is now operating what is in all probability the largest boarding school system in the world, with facilities for 40,000 students in operation or under construction, and facilities for an additional 20,000 day students. Nevertheless, the BIA's stated goal has always been a public school education for every Indian child. (Nash, 1967.)

An Overview of Indian Education Today

Today, 32.6% of American Indian children attend Bureau schools; however, the variation from reservation to reservation is tremendous, with a range extending from 0% to 100%. Whether the reservation school is BIA or public, it seems to have distinct characteristics which make it an "Indian" school. In fact, the differences between public and BIA schools seem to be so insignificant that the current heated debate over the preferability of public to BIA schools seems almost academic. The following description of such schools is based upon our study of public and BIA schools on six reservations.

The schools are located in remote and poor areas. In some of the districts, students ride buses for three hours every day. Some of the schools provide recreational services for the community, such as movies, intramural athletics, and scouting programs; others also provide bathing facilities for the students. Because of the poverty of the areas in which they are located, most of the schools must depend on outside resources, both state and federal, for financial support. As a result, administrators continually complain of inadequate funds and, in some cases, financial difficulties have

forced administrators to think almost exclusively in terms of physical facilities. At one school we visited, the entire budget was allocated to plant operation, salaries, school lunches, and transportation, officially leaving no money for textbooks, experimental programs, or new classroom equipment. At another school, the principal equally emphasized the school's four services--instruction, transportation, nutrition, and sanitation--and saw no significant change in the school's policy toward increasing community control or improving instruction until the physical plant has been renovated. At a third school, the superintendent actually spent school time building new classrooms because money was not available to hire labor. It is interesting to note, however, that most of the schools are in fairly good physical condition and that the facilities themselves do not seem to justify the degree to which administrators are preoccupied with physical problems.

The lack of private transportation at the reservation sites poses an additional problem. Most Indian children must leave their homes and wait for a school bus by the road. Because of substandard home facilities and because Indian families are not oriented toward rigid schedules, it is often difficult for the children to meet the bus every morning at the same time. Either their inability or their unwillingness to meet an inflexible bus schedule is probably one factor in the poor attendance record of many Indian children.

The dropout rate is unusually high at all of the schools. Using one all-Indian non-reservation public school as an example, only 4 children graduated in 1967 out of an initial class of 16, 4 were still in school but behind their grade, and the other 8 children had dropped out. Only 3 children graduated in 1968 out of an initial class of 15. These dropout rates of 50% and 80% are by no means unusual. Most surveys have estimated the national dropout rate for Indian school children in all types of schools to be 60%.

Teacher turnover is also very high at most of the schools; at schools in remote areas, the turnover rate may rise as high as 70% annually, and, in one case, has been 90% for the past two years. The teachers at the schools have a number of characteristics in common. They are either quite young or quite old, with very few in the age range between 30 and 45. As a result, a large number of the teachers are either inexperienced, or else teaching according to precepts and methods learned at a time when educational philosophy was radically different from today. Most of the teachers received their education in small teachers colleges in the state in which the school is located, even though the BIA schools theoretically draw teachers from anywhere in the United States. The majority have only a bachelor's degree or less. Among the teachers in our sample, the percentage of graduate degrees rose above the usual 15% only at the large off-reservation boarding school at Anadarko, Oklahoma.

Although the instructional programs in the Indian schools will be discussed in detail later in this report, their chief

characteristic can be easily summarized here--curriculum and textbooks are without exception not adapted in any way to American Indian students. Neither the BIA school nor the public schools serving the Indians diverge from the usual fare of readers and classroom materials geared to white children.

The American Indian Child

The American Indian child differs from his white counterpart in many ways other than in skin color. Cultural differences are more complex, more difficult to understand, and far more difficult to deal with than physical differences. Yet educators and administrators on reservations must have an understanding of these cultural differences and their origins in order to develop appropriate educational programs.

Since World War II, a substantial amount of research has been done on the patterns of child development and personality in Indian children, with quite consistent results. American Indian children, especially those in isolated, rural areas, are brought up very differently from white children, and thus develop a significantly different type of personality. Child-rearing in American Indian cultures, when compared with white American practices, seems extremely permissive; physical punishments are not used. In 1946, MacGregor wrote of the Sioux: "The methods of teaching small children proper behavior are based on encouraging the child to do what is desired by kindness and patience and by example rather than by a long series of 'don'ts'. Warnings and shaming the child are started early by criticizing him for not doing what is proper and approved." Laura Thompson writes that "Hopi children are treated with great indulgence when very young. They are nursed whenever they cry, and allowed an extended period for toilet training." (Thompson, 1950.) In 1967, Mildred Dickeman noted that "Cherokees often say they are 'strict' with their children, which is true in their own terms. But the white who takes this statement at face value in the semantics of his own behavior will grievously misunderstand. Cherokees rarely engage in physical discipline. Their means of disciplining are the soft voice, withdrawal, and staring. They engage in more explanation and less dogmatic assertion." (Dickeman, 1967.)

In their classic study American Indian and White Children, Havighurst and Neugarten documented some of the results of this type of upbringing on the personality of Southwest Indian children. "Southwest Indian children exhibit far less conscience or superego function than do Midwest white children--rather they have a self-consciousness or sense of shame of public disapproval." For the Southwest Indian child, "morality lies in interpersonal relations and in the group good. The group, rather than the individual, is categorically valued. Goodness and badness for the child lie primarily in how he relates himself to other people." (Havighurst, 1954.)

Many authors have attempted to formulate a general description of the personality of the American Indian child, and have produced various lists of traits, each list differing from the next. However,

certain traits always seem to reappear: orientation toward the present rather than the future; fear and distrust of unknown situations and people; great generosity; a strong feeling of individual autonomy (not allowing coercion or intrusion into personal matters); and a feeling for harmony and cooperation rather than for competition. It must be remembered, however, that these are generalities, and that personalities differ widely among various Indian cultures as well as among individual human beings. We need only compare Rosalie Wax's description of the Sioux ("Sioux boys are reared to be physically reckless and impetuous. If they are not capable of an occasional act of derring-do, their folks may accept them as 'quiet' or 'bashful,' but they are not the ideal type of son, brother, or sweetheart." [Wax, 1967.]) with Laura Thompson's description of Hopi children ("cooperative, peaceful, and unagressive...unusually balanced with fine adjustment between the expression and control of psychic forces") to appreciate the necessity for understanding the children in any American Indian group, and for not treating them as merely culturally-deprived whites or as representatives of some generalized "Indian" personality type.

In addition, an Indian child today is not the product solely of his own culture. The culture of white America impinges on his life more strongly now than ever before. After studying acculturation among Menomini Indians, George and Louise Spindler (1955) tried to generalize about the personality type emerging in rapidly changing American Indian cultures. Their research indicated that most traditional Indians possess a high degree of rational control over overt emotional expressions. However, as acculturation increases the tendency for responses based on ego needs, much of the emotional control of the group-oriented culture is lost, and erratic emotional responses appear frequently, particularly in the form of outbursts of undirected agression. Boggs (1958), on the other hand, found that the "introverted, passive personality" of the Ojibwa was exaggerated even more during acculturation.

The stark fact of poverty on the reservations seems to affect the Indians' traditional lack of concern for material things. Havighurst (1954) found that Southwest Indian children were more concerned than their Midwestern white counterparts with "the securing of property, food, clothing, and other possessions as sources of pleasant emotion and the loss or damage of these things as sources of unpleasant emotions." Elizabeth Hoyt (1961) collected essays from 255 Indian children about their future plans, and found that they mentioned the desire for a good job above anything else. Hildegard Thompson's studies (1964) show that Indian adolescents are twice as concerned as adolescents elsewhere in the nation with learning what jobs are available and how to get them. Several studies (e.g., Artichoker & Palmer, 1959; Bernardoni, 1963) show that Indian children are particularly and deeply disturbed by the conflict between their desire to find a good job and their desire to stay on the reservation, where jobs are scarce or sometimes nonexistent.

What happens when these children, raised in a different culture and exposed to the frustrations of poverty as well as to the bewilderment produced by rapid change, attend the white man's school?

The Indian Child in School--Test Results

The use of standardized tests to measure the intellectual potential and academic achievement of children has been questioned and criticized by professionals and laymen alike, who doubt that such tests really measure the broad categories of "intelligence," "mental maturity," or "academic aptitude." The use of these same standardized tests with groups of children from ethnic minorities must be even more seriously questioned. Do the tests measure what they purport to measure? And are they valid measures when the children being tested have been raised in a culture different from that of the test designers? It seems that the only safe conclusion which can be drawn is that standardized tests measure the degree to which the intellectual apparatus of the minority (in this case, Indian) child is similar to that of the white child.

We have, then, one measure of intellectual acculturation. The testing data to date merely substantiate this point; they demonstrate that test results correlate with various other measures of acculturation. For example, in 1948, Peterson found that "median scores on arithmetic, reading, and language tests show that Indian children attending public schools with white children do better than the Indian children in the other schools." Knute Lee's South Dakota study (1953) of scores on the California Achievement Test replicated this result, finding that Indian students from predominantly white schools scored slightly higher than Indians from predominantly Indian schools. In 1953, Kenneth E. Anderson administered 12 achievement tests to several thousand Indian children and discovered that the more acculturated Indians (measured by degree of white blood and ability to speak English on entering school) scored higher than the less acculturated Indians, and that Indian pupils living off the reservation scored higher than those living on the reservation. L. Madison Coombs (1958) administered the California Achievement Test to 24,000 Indian and white children in 1958 and found that white children scored significantly higher than Indian children in all types of schools. David Lloyd gave the California Tests of Mental Maturity and the California Achievement Tests to Indian and non-Indian children in integrated public schools in Mesa, Arizona in 1961. His study indicated that "Indians were achieving at a somewhat lower level than non-Indians in all subjects and at all grade levels," but that Indians who had spent their entire educational life in the Mesa public schools tended to have a higher I.Q. than those resident for only a short time. Finally, a 1965 study by Barbara Lindsay found that white children, matched in I.Q. with a group of Bannoc Indian children, did significantly better on the California Achievement Tests than the Bannoc children, and that mixed blood Indians scored higher than full blood Indians.

The results of these testing programs are alarmingly consistent. Indians who are measured to be acculturated in some ways (for example, mixed blood, English language use, years in an integrated school, residence off the reservation) appear to be acculturated by yet another measure: higher scores than their less acculturated brothers on standardized achievement tests. Thus the tautology that "acculturated

Indians are acculturated." The same results can also be interpreted to mean that Indian children do not meet certain arbitrary testing standards of white schools as well as white pupils do--when these standards are defined by white educational authorities without reference to the cultural differences of the children being tested.

In an attempt to make standardized tests more culture-free, and thus less biased toward white students or highly acculturated Indian students, some investigators have used non-verbal or performance tests to measure the intelligence of Indian children. In 1944, Havighurst administered the non-verbal Grace Arthur Performance Scale to 800 Indian children and to a control group of Midwestern white children. He found that "American Indian children from several different tribes do as well as white children on a performance test of intelligence" and that evidence the relationship between test performance and acculturation was inconclusive. Two years later, Havighurst administered the Goodenough Draw-A-Man Test to 325 Indian children and to a Midwestern white control group. This time he found that Indian children did better than white children. The mean I.Q. scores ranged from 106.9 to 113.3 for various tribal groups, compared with 101.2 for the Midwestern control group. Thus, results on non-verbal, and therefore less ethnocentric, standardized tests indicate that Indian children are at least as "intelligent" (if that is indeed what the tests measure) as white children from similar rural backgrounds.

Finally, mention should be made of Y. T. Witherspoon's 1962 study of Ute Indian children in public schools because its results contradict the optimistic picture of school achievement drawn by the results of non-verbal tests. Finding that Ute children's scores on standardized achievement tests were often "no higher than chance," Witherspoon developed an experimental battery of tests aimed at minimizing the particular problems Indian children seemed to have with standardized tests. Given to Indian and non-Indian students in a high school, junior high school, and three elementary schools, the new test battery results showed that "Indian children achieved at a lower level than their non-Indian peers" and that "the gap between Indian and non-Indian achievement becomes greater as the groups move through the public schools." The latter result is confirmed by an earlier study by Ralph Branchard (1953) and a later study by Stephen Bayne (1969), both of which show a gradually widening gap in school performance, especially after the fourth grade. These tests, combined with the unusually high dropout rate on many reservations, strongly suggest that factors within the school situation as well as factors in the Indian child's cultural background may be significant in understanding why the Indian child does not meet the expectations of educators.

The Indian Child in School--The Classroom

A recent study of education on the Navajo Reservation identified some of the difficulties Navajo Indian children face in the classroom. Interviewing over 70 teachers on the Navajo Reservation in Arizona, Stephen Bayne (1969) consistently noted "a distinct turning point in

the autonomy and privacy of others, disapproval of anger and physical violence, and accordance of adult trust and integrity to children. According to Dickeman,

> White teachers expect of their students that they eagerly perform publicly, individually, without assistance or emotional support from their peers. They are expected, indeed, to compete and to invidiously compare, to judge and be judged not on the basis of their total personalities...but on the basis of their ability to perform alloted tasks in allotted periods of time. Students are expected not only to respond on command...but to express joy and enthusiasm at their tasks, also on command. Should they fail to do these things, they may be subjected to loud public verbal abuse, derogating not only their classroom performances, but their intelligence, appearance, socioeconomic status and future prospects. As if this (to a Cherokee) incredible shame were not enough, the Oklahoma school system allows the use of the paddle--the final physical violation of the Cherokee child.

The classroom differs in style from the Sioux classroom, yet it places the child in a similarly intolerable environment in which he ceases to respond.

> The least cooperative students pursue a consistent policy of non-response, even regarding materials on which they are prepared....The majority of the students employ mumbling or quiet recitation in answering questions concerning school work, but refuse to answer that large class of rhetorical and non-academic questions with which the dispairing teacher fills the silence of the classroom. Most Cherokees abandon the fruitless and painful experience soon after they are legally able to do so. Total withdrawal from the school system is the final act in defense of Cherokee feelings of integrity. (Dickeman, 1967.)

The classroom thus becomes a place where a single adult representing white American cultural values attempts to impose those values on a group of children to whom those values are intolerable.

> Since the participants are one adult and many children, and since the latter are imbued with a cultural standard of nonviolence and passive resistance, open confrontations do not occur. Instead...a wall of silence that is impenetrable to the outsider while sheltering a rich emotional communion among themselves. (Dumont, 1967.)

The Indian Child and His Teacher

The conflict is exacerbated by the types of people who are usually found teaching in Indian schools. Dickeman indicates that "many of the teachers derive from the local area and have been raised all their lives among Cherokee. But the acquaintance which they have so

acquired is similar to that which many whites of the Deep South have about Negroes: it is a ritual of caste, and not a comprehension of humanity." (Dickeman, 1967.) In New Mexico public schools, Zintz (1960) found that "Teachers are not sensitive to socio-cultural differneces of Indian, Spanish-American, and Anglo children. While teachers are aware of some obvious differences in language, customs, and experience backgrounds, they do not interpret underlying value conflicts."

Perhaps one of the most serious problems is that teachers tend to react to the children in terms of their own values which are often those of the white middle class. Our field data include an interesting example of the way in which ethnocentric attitudes can affect a teacher's interpretation of a community. We interviewed two teachers at neighborhood schools on one of the reservation sites, with the following results:

Q. What do you consider to be the primary purpose of your school?

A. Our basic purpose is to teach the children the values of cleanliness, morality, hard work, and discipline.

B. We can only try to prepare the children for productive and happy lives.

Q. Does your school stress life on the reservation, or off the reservation?

A. The successful Indians are off the reservation. The failures come back, but they're happy here on the reservation because they lead a lazy, undisciplined life. (I don't see how they can be happy living the way they do!) They live off welfare, and are ridiculed and ostracized by the Indians when they try to work at steady jobs.

B. We stress life off the reservation primarily because there are no jobs here. If jobs could be developed on the reservation, it would of course be preferable. The students really want to return to their home village. They won't even take a job in another section of the reservation if they can help it. The young people are quite frightened of off-reservation life, and simply lack the knowledge to adequately cope with it. The Indians aren't lazy, they're just unwilling to leave their home village. When opportunities arise at the village area, they are anxious to work, and are conscientious workers.

Q. How do the parents of your students feel about education and your school?

A. The parents hold the children back, and teach them

not to respect themselves. It is the parents, not white people who tell the children "You're just an Indian--you can't do anything." Parents are hostile to the school, and to education in general, and don't say a thing when they come to meetings. The Indians don't see the purpose of trying to get ahead in life because whatever money they make or possessions they acquire have to be shared with everyone--so why should they try?

B. Of course parents contribute to keeping the children at the village--they would like their children to be home the same as white parents, if not more. Nevertheless, the parents feel positively about education and the school, and participate actively in community meetings.

Q. What future do you envision for your present elementary school students?

A. Most of them will just come back here and be welfare cases. Education doesn't seem to help at all.

B. They are the generation which is really going to change things and develop real opportunities for themselves on the reservation.

The contrasts evident in these interviews are even more striking in light of the backgrounds of the two teachers--backgrounds which are essentially the same. Both came from the Midwest, had their primary teaching experience in Midwestern public schools, and both taught previously on another reservation. Teacher A has been at her present position for two years, and Teacher B has been at hers for five years. Both are dedicated teachers. The main difference between the two is that Teacher A has never questioned her own values and she is intent on imposing them upon her pupils of whom she is critical. Teacher B, however, tries to understand the children and their community according to their values and does not attempt to judge them by hers. Thus, Teacher A is basically pessimistic about the children, because they will never live up to her values. Teacher B, by contrast, is basically optimistic about her pupils because she sees them working toward goals which will be satisfying for them. Both teachers are angry and frustrated with the apathetic BIA bureaucracy. Teacher B is deeply involved with community development activities and participates actively in the life of the Indian community, however, while Teacher A merely complains that the parents never come to her.

Unfortunately, the vast majority of teachers we interviewed were more like Teacher A than Teacher B. Of the 76 teachers interviewed by Bayne on Arizona reservations, "only nine had any special preparation or training for the cross-cultural problems involved in teaching American Indian children. Over one-third of the teachers not only

lacked knowledge and experience with other cultures, but were uninterested in their jobs as teachers of American Indian children." (Bayne, 1969.) As the valedictorian of a large off-reservation boarding school informed us, "most of these teachers are here to teach and then get home as soon as possible."

A minority of the teachers we interviewed (our rough estimate is 6%) were not only unprepared for cross-cultural teaching, but were actually prejudiced against Indian children. Among these, we might mention a 68-year-old boarding school teacher who described his pupils as "scrapings from the bottom of the barrel," and told us that "these kids don't have much between the ears." Another boarding school teacher asked an Indian member of our project if he knew two "lousy, rotten kids" who were members of his tribe. This type of teacher is not unique to the boarding schools. A member of our project staff interviewed the mother of a promising young Indian athlete in a public junior high school. The youth had asked his football coach why he was constantly being benched and was told, "If you want to play football, why don't you go to the Indian school to play!"

Our survey found that every school had some teachers who were interested in their students and concerned with their problems. However, in nearly every case, even these intelligent and dynamic teachers were condescending and patronizing toward their students. Most of these teachers seemed to have considered, but rejected, the possibility of cultural differences as an explanation for the behavior of their students. For them, the students were no different from other children except that they lived in a culture of poverty; the students merely lacked diverse experiences, responsible adult models, and economic opportunity. In short, these teachers appeared to believe that greater doses of compensatory education would properly assimilate Indian students into the general culture. If these teachers did not openly suggest that their students leave the reservation, they did suggest that the reservation become more like the rest of American society. None of them suggested that acceptable values might already exist within the Indian community.

Finally, we must at least mention the vicious circle of low expectations and low standards which was prevalent in most of the schools studied by this project. The circle begins when a teacher starts teaching at an Indian school, having had previous experience only with white children in white schools--schools in which the values and practices were congruent with those of the child's home and community. The teacher expects to function basically the same way in the Indian school as in the white school but immediately confronts the tremendous classroom problems resulting from lack of congruence between the culture of the child's home and the culture of the classroom. Specifically, the teacher must deal with children for whom English is a second language, for whom certain types of competitive behavior are repugnant, for whom schedules and rigid classroom discipline are frustrating, and who are confused and uncertain of their identities in the world of white America. Faced with the immense difficulty of dealing with these children, and untrained in the subtle and sophisticated means by which a handful of

teachers orient the classroom to the cultural norms and expectations of the children, the teacher reacts by drastically lowering her standards of classroom achievement. Standards are lowered, and lowered again until the children meet some set criteria of success. Teaching according to these new standards, the teacher experiences her first feelings of achievement, and is thus reinforced in maintaining low standards and in believing that the Indian children are incapable of meeting any higher standards. The vicious circle is then complete--the teacher teaches according to low standards, the children achieve drastically lowered educational goals, and the teacher's use of low standards is reinforced--and low student achievement is assured.

The School and the Community

The most significant obstacle to developing a system of education appropriate for American Indians seems to be the substantial differences which exist between the cultural values and attitudes of the Indian child and those of the traditional white American school. The Indian child, however, cannot be separated from the Indian community, nor can the white school be separated from the white society of which it is a part. We are convinced that the relationship between whites and Indians--a relationship that is basically paternalistic--is the heart of the problem. Over a number of years, this relationship has demeaned the Indians, destroyed their self-respect and self-confidence, developed and encouraged apathy and a sense of alienation from the educational process, and deprived Indians, as a community, of the opportunity to develop the ability and experience to control their own affairs. As a result, Indians today distrust the white man and his system but see themselves as unable to develop a system of their own. White administrators and educators see the Indian as disinterested and unwilling to participate in the education of his children.

Since a program of formal education for Indians was first initiated by the Federal Government, there has been almost no attempt by the schools to establish communication with the parents and relatives of Indian children, much less any attempt to understand their attitudes or to adapt curricula to their culture. Murray and Rosalie Wax (1966) found that on the Pine Ridge Reservation,

> the parents rarely entered the school and never saw what went on in the classrooms; hereas the teachers on their part never visited the parents or attended any of the local Indian social events....Indian elders were not permitted to use the school for gatherings or entertainment, lest they dirty the floors and destroy government property. Around each consolidated school was a compound in which the teachers lived and kept to themselves.... Sioux elders, faced with the power of the education establishment, simply withdrew. In this tactic they were encouraged by the education administrators, who found the absence of the parents convenient and proper, since the parents would have no background for understanding the operations of the school and "could only have interfered."

Bayne found the same situation to be prevalent on the Navajo and Papago reservations in Arizona.

Interviews with Indian parents at all sites confirmed that they have little or no contact with the schools educating their children. They will visit the school only when their children have been accused of some wrongdoing or misbehavior. When asked about major school problems, Indian parents will mention disagreements among students either at the school playground or on the school bus. Lax discipline and breakdown of parental authority are cited by parents as the main factors contributing toward failure in school. Many parents feel that the easy familiarity between boys and girls encouraged by relaxed moral standards among Americans has influenced the Indian younger generation to go beyond the sanctions of their own society, and has resulted in a breakdown of morality and in promiscuous behavior. Even though Indian parents believe that everyone should have a good education, they tend to rate education below concerns for better housing, sanitation, adequate water supply, income, and transportation. They view the goal of education as obtaining "a good job."

At each of the sites we visited, only limited interaction took place between the Indian parents and the teachers. On one reservation, the houses of Indian families are physically separated from the school and the houses of BIA families by a deep ditch. Roads lead into the community on either side of the ditch, and no roads cross it. Few parents have ever visited the school and none of the teachers has ever been in an Indian home. Several of the teachers interviewed at other sites (and particularly the public school teachers) complained that they were never invited into Indian homes and that, during their rare home visits, they were met in the front yard. When asked about this complaint, some of the parents said that this was true in a great many cases and primarily because the Indians were ashamed of their homes. Also, the Indian parents did not want to provide any material for teacher gossip. The Tribal Chairman on another reservation told us that "the only time the schools contact me is when the kids are in real trouble and the school wants me to get the probation offices in contact with the parents."

Yet administrators at the schools never articulated the schools' problems in terms of cultural differences or lack of communication between school and community. They spoke instead of attendance and language problems and displayed a basic lack of understanding of and respect for people for whom time is not measured by the minutes of an inflexible schedule, and for whom the ability to speak their native language is not a "deficiency." (Few of the teachers, of course, can speak more than a few words of the language of their students.)

Attitudes of school administrators and teachers are uncertain and ambiguous toward more Indian involvement and assumption of more decision-making powers in school affiars. It is generally agreed that Indians should assume more active roles in the educative process; however, educators are skeptical about how much Indians can

actually contribute to the school. If Indian culture encourages non-competition, does not stress strong time orientation, emphasizes sharing, restrains agressiveness, and places the group needs above those of the individual, then the culture is at cross purposes with schools' goals and objectives that stress competitiveness, agression, strong time and structural orientation, rigid work habits, and individual success and achievement in a mobile society. In other words, educators tend to view the school positively as a middle-class institution, dispensing middle-class values and attitudes, and to view the Indian children as products of a deprived, non-middle-class environment, who must somehow overcome their handicaps.

Indian life and environment are still commonly viewed as somehow immoral, uncivilized, primitive, and a great handicap to anyone who wants to find his niche in the American society. A teacher at the Phoenix Indian school said in an interview, "These children are intelligent and capable of learning. We work hard all year and get them to a point where we think we are teaching them proper attitudes, good habits, and a desire to know; then they go home for the summer and forget in three months everything that we have taught them." Another teacher at the same school said, "It is our responsibility to bring these children back to normal--to civilize them." An Indian teacher in one of the Oklahoma BIA boarding schools said that the only way to assure good education for Indian children was to take them away from their reservation environment. The Director of the Chilocco Indian school said that the trouble with the students in his school were the "cronies" back home and that if the students could be separated from these "cronies" they could become motivated to achieve in school. He stated that these "cronies" were beyond redemption.

The principal at the Bent-Mescalero school informed our interviewer that the greatest handicap of the Mescalero Apache students was their inability to understand and communicate in English. The principal wanted to assume control of the Head Start school operated by the Mescalero Apache Tribe because he felt that English was not being stressed enough and that the teachers (mostly Indian) were untrained and unqualified.

If the educators view Indian life with distaste and misgivings, it follows that they would be very reluctant to see Indians taking control of the schools. Many of the educators' attitudes may seem justified when one views the life of many Indians today, rife with factionalism, squalor, drunkenness, broken homes, lack of pride, and loss of self-esteem. However, in part, this very situation is engendered by the demeaning and denigrating attitudes held not only by educators but by others who come in contact with American Indians.

Another factor impeding communication between the school and the Indian community is that well meaning local administrators and field workers are often insensitive to the desires of the community in which they are working. In "Enemies of the People" (1960) the Waxes described the process by which idealistic but untrained Vista workers and social service professionals inaugurated and firmly

controlled a Head Start program on a reservation, completely ignoring the wishes of the reservation communities.

> We visited many Head Start projects for Indian cultures, and in most of them we found that the programs had been funded, planned, staffed, and put into operation with virtually no involvement of the children's parents. At several of the schools the parents had subsequently approached the directors and teachers with complaints and suggestions concerning the operations of the schools. But in every case, the professional staff regarded this parental interest with distress...as if it reflected a failure either in planning or procedure. Parental involvement was defined as the parents complying with the suggestions of the teachers.

Our own observations of Head Start projects on the Hopi and Fort Berthold Reservations do not, however, confirm the Waxes' experience. Both programs were marked by real parental pride and involvement. Although the Bureau of Indian Affairs is officially on record as encouraging and supporting control of the schools by local school boards composed of Indians from the community, one still encounters the old attitudes: a BIA Area Director for Education told us that "We cannot allow a board of illiterates to run the schools"; a second BIA official told a group of Indian leaders in our presence, "The best thing you can do about Indian education is to leave the decisions to us. The Bureau schools have been good for you--look where you are now."

Experiments in Community Control

As previously indicated, American Indian parents and communities today have little control over their affairs and the education of their children. Yet viable American Indian communities do exist, although they have been deprived of their normal functions by a reservation system which has controlled most aspects of community life. These communities have remained alive for over 30,000 years, including over 400 years of intensive internal colonialism, and it would appear that they will continue to exist for a long time to come. During the last decade, national experience has shown that healthy, functioning communities are an essential part of any effective program to eradicate poverty from our country. Should not American Indian communities as well be allowed to redevelop responsibility for their own welfare and progress? More "benevolent colonialism" of the form described above by the Waxes has not been an effective solution, and it will never supplant control by the community itself.

If a community is to control its own destiny, it must have control over the education of its children. Indeed, it can be argued that the only solution to the educational problems of the American Indian is for education to be placed back within the culture and community in which the children are raised. Indian children will not become less prepared for life in the larger American society by attending Indian schools--Indian parents are too strongly concerned

with the economic and social welfare of their children (if not with their formal education) to allow that to happen. Each Indian community will not approach the problem in the same manner, but neither would all non-Indian communities across the country. Rough Rock, an isolated Navajo community, has already initiated one program in community control of education. While the Rough Rock approach would not be suitable for all Indian communities, it does appear to be highly successful and it does indicate the potential effectiveness of control by Indian communities.

It should be noted that the operation of a Western formal education system by American Indian communities is not a completely new phenomenon. Throughout most of the nineteenth century, the Cherokees and the Choctaws operated their own school systems, at first in their native lands in Georgia and Alabama, and later in the Oklahoma "Indian Country" after their removal to Oklahoma in 1832. School was taught in English and their native languages. Both native languages were oral as well as written. The Choctaw school system included a central board of education with elected district trustees, who appointed local trustees. The trustees were in charge of selecting teachers (both white and Choctaw), examining teachers, visiting the schools, and encouraging school attendance within the community. The system included boarding schools, community day schools, Sunday school literacy classes, and college scholarships. Angie Debo (1934) writes that "as a result of its excellent public-school system the Choctaw Nation had a much higher proportion of educated people than any of the neighboring states; the number of college graduates one encounters in any contemporary record is surprising, and the quality of written English used by the Choctaws both in their official and private correspondence is distinctly superior to that of the white people surrounding them."

The most widely publicized of the new ventures in community control is the school at Rough Rock, an isolated community in the north-central part of the Navajo Reservation. After the failure in 1965 of an attempt to create an experimental school at Lukachukai by superimposing an OEO team of community-development professionals on the BIA teaching staff, both OEO and the BIA contributed money toward the funding of a community-oriented experimental school at Rough Rock. More than $600,000 was turned over to a private, nonprofit organization composed of Navajos from the Tribal Council, and a new $3 1/2 million school was given to the project by the BIA.

The people of Rough Rock elected one woman and four men to the school board. "All were middle-aged Navajo and only two had ever had as much as a day of formal education." (Roessel, 1967.) Complete control of the school was immediately given to this board. The school board, the principal, and his staff were jointly responsible for the operation of the school. Daily meetings between the school board and the staff determined the nature of the curriculum and gave a decidedly "Navajo cast" to the school. Today, Navajo children are involved in an integrated bilingual educational program which begins in kindergarten.

> Navajo motifs are mixed freely with other classroom decorations. The library has a Navajo corner. Recordings of Navajo music and rituals are played during the school day. In the evening, old men, the historians and medicine men of the tribe, come to the dormitories and tell Navajo folk tales and legends. (Roessel, 1967.)

Since its initiation, the Rough Rock community has continued to be strongly involved in the operation and use of the school. School facilities are open to anyone in the community who wants to use them. The school sponsors fairs, movies, and sports events; parents are always welcome in the school and at school board meetings, and are hired (eight every month on a rotating basis) to mend clothes, tell stories, and perform other tasks in the dormitories. Rough Rock staff members visit the homes of their pupils at least twice a year. An extensive adult-education program is operated by the school with adults choosing the type of instruction to be offered.

Critics have pointed out, however, that the Rough Rock School cannot be considered a model for other school because the community did not initiate the school nor could the school exist with the extraordinary financial support of the Office of Economic Opportunity and the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Yet the people of the community call the school din'e biol'ta (the Navajo's school), and in its daily operation, it is their school. Although Rough Rock's unique financial status does limit its transferability as a model for other schools, Rough Rock does demonstrate that control of a school by an Indian community is feasible and can be effective. Whether Rough Rock will become an organizational pattern for other Indian community schools is yet to be seen.

Recommendations

In light of the conclusions drawn from our two-year study of Indian education--namely, (a) that present classrooms are poorly adapted to the Indian child and (b) that it is absolutely necessary that Indian communities be allowed to assume major responsibility for the education of their children--we make the following recommendations to government agencies, private foundations, and research interests.

Government

1. We recommend the creation of a Federal Commission to assume control of Indian education, with an explicit mandate to transfer this control to Indian communities within five years, after which the Commission would cease to exist.

The Commission would assume responsibility for the following: (a) providing legal services to expedite the transfer of control of education to Indian communities; (b) training Indian educators to administer and staff the schools; (c) providing consultant assistance to Indian school boards toward establishing and operating a local school system; (d) providing funds for revising curricula to

reflect the history, culture, and values of the Indian people the schools serve; and (e) serving as a conduit for federal support funds, including Johnson O'Malley funds.

The Commission should study three models which now exist for the transfer of control over education to Indian communities: the Rough Rock Demonstration School which is operated by Dine, Incorporated, a Navajo non-profit organization; the Blackwater School on the Gila River Pima Indian Reservation in Arizona where an all-Indian School Board of Education has assumed responsibility for a former BIA day school; and the Tama Community School operated by the Tama Indian Community beginning with the 1969-1970 school year. (The BIA had planned to close this school and to transfer the students to a nearby public school. The Mesquakie Indians of Tama Indian Community protested, and succeeded in getting a court order sustaining the school.)

The Commission should define "community" in a flexible manner. The Commission could conceivably transfer control to local groups such as Head Start parents advisory committees, tribal councils, or intertribal organizations such as the Arizona Indian Development Association or the California Indian Education Association.

We consider the following factors to be favorable to adoption of the specific method of control transfer which we have recommended above:

- The time limit of five years is long enough to insure that the transfer of control will be orderly, and yet short enough to reassure the Indian people that the change will occur quickly.
- The limited life and purpose of the Commission will avoid the problem of replacing one vested-interest bureaucracy with another.
- With adequate support for training administrators, teachers, and school board members, for revising curriculum, and for introducing educational innovations, the Federal Government can transfer the school to local people in a manner that will greatly enhance the schools' chances for success.

This proposal will not prevent mistakes from being made in the provision of education for Indian children. However, the mistakes will be made by the Indian people themselves, and not by a federal bureaucracy. Considering that our analysis has shown that, in the past, education for Indians was largely a failure, we do not feel that the mistakes made by the Indian communities would make the situation any worse than it is now.

2. We recommend that, in the interim until the Commission is initiated, there be an alteration in the criteria used within the Bureau of Indian Affairs for making decisions about promotions and financial rewards.

third or fourth grade." Teachers of beginners through third-graders said that their pupils were bright, receptive, and eager to learn; teachers were amazed at the rapidity with which the children who had spoken and heard only Navajo at home learned English. Beginning with the fourth grade, however, teachers described their students as apathetic, difficult to motivate, uninterested in the school and in learning, and occasionally openly hostile ot the teacher and the school experience.

Searching for factors both at home and in school which could be a source of this lack of motivation, Bayne found the following to be important:

(1) Navajo grandparents are often antagonistic to the schools. They have feared that now, as in the past, education would make their children less suited for Navajo life.

(2) Parents are usually unfamiliar with the school and its work. Many Navajo parents have had only a few years of schooling and have not found that experience relevant to their occupations as farmers and herders.

(3) Educated Navajos are not fully trusted by their own people. In the past, education has meant forced acculturation, and graduates of government boarding schools went back to their people ignorant and disdainful of traditional Navajo culture, unable and unwilling to live as their parents did. The educated misfits were ridiculed and ostracized for "trying to be white men." This attitude is still prevalent, although most Navajos increasingly respect the skills of these educated people.

(4) At home, and in the classroom, social control via peer-group shaming is the traditional method of discipline in most American Indian cultures. As a result, the classroom atmosphere can be quite frightening for the Navajo child, who will hesitate before responding in the class because he knows that an overbright response, a "stupid" answer, or an answer given in incorrect English will make him the butt of his peers' ridicule.

(5) Navajo children are brought up to disapprove of those people who consciously try to "get ahead" of others or to achieve status. Robert Roessel mentions the classic case of a Navajo girl who received a perfect score on a spelling test and was lavishly praised by the teacher. The teacher was greatly disturbed when, for weeks after, the same girl was seemingly unable to spell a single word correctly. Chastised by her peers for having been singled out and praised, she chose acceptance in the terms of her culture and peer group, rather than achievement in the terms of the white classroom. (Roessel, 1967.)

Rather than rewarding field personnel for accurate reporting and tight administration as is now the general practice, rewards should be granted by the degree to which the recipient has: (a) successfully involved members of the Indian community in decision-making at the highest level; (b) transferred some of his responsibilities to Indians; (c) increased the number of Indians holding responsible positions; and (d) encouraged experimentation and innovation. If these criteria were applied to all aspects of the BIA's operations, the result should be an increase in the opportunity local Indian people have to govern their own affairs, at least to the extent that similar opportunities exist for non-Indian communities.

3. <u>In the interim until the Commission is formed, we recommend changes in the procedures of recruiting and selecting educational personnel within the Bureau of Indian Affairs.</u>

The standards of the education profession rather than those of the civil service should determine who shall teach Indian children. Currently, principals must accept a staff chosen by the BIA area office from civil service registries; as a result, principals are often burdened by poorly qualified teachers who are unadaptable to the special conditions inherent in teaching Indian children.

4. <u>In the interim, we recommend that a</u>

Thus, a number of unique cross-cultural conflicts in values increase the complexity of the problems faced by the teacher on the reservation. Miles Zintz (1960) emphasized the differences in values held by teachers of Pueblo Indian children and values of those children. The teachers valued "mastery, future time orientation, competition and success, individuality, and agression" while their pupils valued "harmony, present time orientation, maintenance of the status quo, anonymity and submissiveness."

Wax, Leighton, Kluckhohn, Bayne, and Ray all mention a second conflict between the school culture and the Indian child. Wax notes that "within Sioux culture all individuals, including children, are free to set their own schedule of activities. Thus the Indian child, when he enters school, is accustomed to an environment in which interference with plans is minimal. To such a child, formal schooling is excessively and disturbingly regimented." (Wax, 1967.) Dorothy Leighton and Clyde Kluckhohn (1962) write that "[Indian] children and adults do not belong to two separate worlds. The same set of standards prevails in most things for all ages, from the child to the very old people." This is, of course, not the case in the school, where the child is ordered about, required to conform to a rigid schedule, and permitted to make few decisions on his own. Teachers in the Bayne study said that this rigid control is especially resented by boys, and that it may be the reason why many youths drop out of school. Charles Ray (1959) found the same situation in Alaska, where secondary-school dropouts proved to be far more resentful of discipline than than those Eskimo and Indian children who remained in school.

Our own field data indicate that Indian children prefer the style of learning characteristic of their native culture. Generally, the learner initiates an extended period of observation and attempts performance only when he feels fairly certain of his ability. Premature, bungling attempts are met with teasing, and successful attempts with quiet acceptance. The characteristics of learning in the American classroom (i.e., initiation by the teacher, premature public practice, public praise, and public correction) are all antithetical to this aboriginal style. These characteristics are also distasteful to modern American Indian children who prefer self-directed and self-initiated projects, ungraded curricula, and learning activities which can be completed with minimal interaction between student and teacher, except when the interaction involves friendly help on an individual basis.

It is not surprising, therefore, that the present "lecture-discussion-group drill" style of the usual reservation classroom is ineffective with Indian children. Teachers note that their Indian children prefer doing worksheets to classroom activity, that reading laboratories and programmed courses at several of the schools are very successful, and that, at one site, students showed greater progress in the Head Start classroom where learning takes place through independent activities than in the first-grade classroom. In the Head Start classroom, children eagerly spoke with their teachers both in English and their native language. In contrast, in the

and require the latitude given by direct financing to formulate plans and initiate pilot projects. Direct financing also promotes the kind of responsible operations and attitudes which must be developed if Indian communities are ever to become independent from external bureaucratic control. We recommend that indirect financing be limited to research of the type which we will describe subsequently and to programs of consultant assistance to Indian communities.

2. We recommend the support of those research and development projects which will involve the Indian communities at large in educational thought and action.

   As examples, we would cite the following:

   A. Community self-studies which accomplish the dual purpose of training local Indian people in the techniques of interviewing, questionnaire preparation and administration, bibliographic and documentary research, and data analysis, while also promoting sophisticated understanding by local people of the operations of their own community life. Thus, both skills and knowledge indispensable to the administration of community affairs are developed concomitant with the accumulation of valuable data for the social sciences. This type of project also provides

standard first-grade classroom, the children hardly spoke with the teacher at all, were inactive, and seemed uninterested.

A variation on this theme of preference for individual study and independent activity occurs in the Southwest, where both Papago and Mescalero Apache children prefer studying in small groups. However, even these children prefer group work which is oriented toward independent projects and which necessitates only a minimal amount of contact with the teacher.

Another theme which emerged from our data is that Indian students are most enthusiastic about learning when it is an integral part of creative activities which let the student express himself in diverse ways. Creative writing, drawing, model making, and drama are all popular when integrated into classroom projects. In general, teachers who have experienced success with creative activities seem to be professionally competent and highly interested in their students. Instructional methods which emphasize creative activities appear to be more effective than those which are based on programmed learning. It may be, in fact, that the teachers who stress programmed learning are not equipped for the far more difficult solution of devising creative, holistic, project-oriented curricula for Indian children. However, both approaches seem to work and to yield far more satisfactory results than lectures and oral classroom drill. Many schools, and primarily those in urban areas, have incorporated both programmed learning and creative projects into the curriculum. However, both approaches are rare in the rural schools in which the majority of Indian children are educated.

Murray and Rosalie Wax (1964) described what often happens in the Sioux classroom when no attempt is made to adapt the traditional American classroom to Indian children.

> Issuing from small local communities of kith and kin, and sharing a common set of values and understandings, as well as language that was unknown to most teachers, the Sioux children could and did create within the formal structure of the educational institution a highly cohesive society of their own....We observed that in some classrooms the children are learning virtually nothing of a scholastic nature. By the fifth or sixth grade they had become adept at disrupting and inhibiting the process of instruction. They feigned stupidity, refused to listen, sharpened pencils loudly when asked to read, and wrote on the board in letters so small no one could read them. When asked to read aloud they held their books before their faces and mumbled a few incomprehensible words. The teacher was not aware that other pupils were teasing the readers, by signs and whispers in their native language.

Mildred Dickeman (1967) has recently analyzed a similar situation among the Oklahoma Cherokees. She found that the culture of the classroom in rural northeastern Oklahoma strongly conflicted with the Cherokee values of emotional restraint, high respect for

These skills are invaluable not only for responsible self-government on the reservation, but for life off the reservation, where Indians must deal with the unfamiliar operations of insurance, hospital bills, and taxes.

5. We recommend that the foundations fund a central clearinghouse for the collection and dissemination of information on research and action projects in Indian communities across the country.

At present, not only are people involved in action research generally uninformed of similar activities in other parts of the country, but Indians within the sites of research projects are often completely uninformed as to the purposes and results of research which directly concerns them.

Research Interests

1. We recommend that future research in Indian communities include an action element oriented to community needs, and that members of the community be as closely involved in the planning and operation of such projects as is possible.

We have heard Indians express tremendous resentment that the vast amount of research done in their communities has neither been

Chapter IV

CULTURAL DEMOCRACY IN EDUCATION

Alfredo Castañeda

Professor Castañeda contrasts the notions of a "melting pot" and of "cultural pluralism," with special emphasis on the needs of Mexican-American students. Looking backward, he considers the origins of the idea of "pressure-cooker" (or forced) assimilation and of the idealistic "melting pot" as a superior form of culture. As a much-needed alternative, he proposes that today's school should adopt the concept of biculturalism. He strongly argues for attention to a preferred mode of communicating, a preferred mode of relating to others, a preference for certain incentives, and preferred modes of learning in all educational institutions that serve Mexican-American children.

The assumptions underlying today's educational philosophies for the culturally different child in general and Mexican-American children specifically constitute a mixed Pandora's box of ideologies concerning the nature of assimilation in America. This mixed legacy, however, can be sorted into the several major themes of the "melting pot" versus "cultural pluralism." Within the general melting-pot category there are two major variants: whether what is to be the result of the melting shall be either exclusive or permissive. Within the cultural-pluralism category, two major themes may also be noted: whether pluralism is of either a mandatory or optional character.

Each of these notions will be briefly described from a historical perspective in order to identify their impact on conclusions drawn from sociological, anthropological, and psychological data derived from Mexican-Americans. How these notions and conclusions have affected educational practice and philosophy will be described; furthermore, the cultural pluralists' position will be redefined in order to delineate the ideals of cultural democracy and biculturalism in education.

The Exclusive Melting Pot: Anglo-Conformity

The exclusionist Anglo-conformity view (Cole & Wiese, 1954) of the melting pot has a variety of views concerning racial superiority, exclusionist immigration policies, etc., but its central assumption rests on the desirability of maintaining English institutions (as modified by the American Revolution), the English language, and English-oriented cultural patterns. This view of the melting pot is exclusive in that assimilation is viewed as desirable only if the Anglo-Saxon cultural pattern is taken as the ideal.

The exclusive Anglo-conformity view of America as a crucible into which all non-Anglo-Saxon ethnic groups would melt received its fullest expression during the so-called "Americanization" movement which swept the United Stated during World War I and carried on into the 1920's and 30's. Though the Americanization movement had more than one emphasis, essentially it was an attempt at "pressure-cooking" assimilation (Gordon, 1964); for it was a consciously articulated movement to strip the immigrant of his native culture and attachments and to make him over into an American to fit the Anglo-Saxon image. The exclusionist tone and flavor of the Americanization movement can be vividly appreciated in the writings of one of the more noted educators of that day, E. P. Cubberly (1909). This educator (whom, incidentally, Stanford University has honored by placing his name on a building) characterized the new Southern and Eastern European immigrants as "illiterate," "docile," lacking in "self-reliance" and "initiative," presenting problems of "proper housing and living, moral and sanitary conditions, honest and decent government and proper education. Cubberly thought American life had been made difficult by the presence of these new groups.

> ...Everywhere these people settle in groups or settlements, and set up their national manners, customs and observances. Our task is to break up these groups or settlements, to assimilate and amalgamate these people as a part of our American race, to implant in their children, so far as can be done, the Anglo-Saxon conception of righteousness, law and order, and our popular government, and to awaken in them a reverence for our democratic institutions and for those things in our national life which we as a people hold to be of abiding worth. (pp. 15-16.)

These remarks by Cubberly have been somewhat lengthily recorded since they exemplify the ideological precursors of the assumptions that underlie many of today's efforts to rationalize the relatively low academic achievement of many Mexican-American children and have molded the character of current efforts at "compensatory education." For example, Cubberly's remarks imply that the "manners," "customs," and "observances," existing in the child's home and community (i.e., his culture) can be assumed to be inferior and need to be displaced and supplanted, "in so far as can be done" (to use Cubberly's own phrase), by the Anglo-Saxon cultural ideal.

Despite aspirations to "objectivity," these ideological strains continue to pervade the social sciences in one form or another. As a current example, one has only to refer to Celia Heller's book entitled, Mexican-American Youth: Forgotten Youth at the Crossroads (Heller, 1966). The anthropological study of Kluckhohn and Strodbeck (1961) serves as one of the important bases by which Heller arrives at a number of conclusions about Mexican-American youth. Thus, she supports the conclusion that "Mexican-Americans are the least Americanized of all ethnic groups in the United States and that this condition is largely the result of the child-rearing practices of the Mexican-American family." If Mexican-Americans are to

be "Americanized," according to Heller, their socialization practices must change. Heller concludes that Mexican-American homes "fail to provide independence training," that the "indulgent attitudes" of Mexican-American parents tend to "hamper" their children's "need for achievement," etc. In noting the characteristic of strong kinship ties among Mexican-Americans, she concludes that "this type of upbringing creates stumbling blocks to future advancement by stressing values that hinder mobility" (p. 35).

Clearly, from Heller's statements, it is the socialization practices of the Mexican-American family that should be viewed as damaging to the Mexican-American child's ability to profit from the school, especially when observed from the viewpoint of Anglo-American middle-class culture and aspirations. The basic point that needs to be established is simply that the focus of attack has been on the socialization practices of the Mexican-American home and community and that the basis of attack has been persisting notions of exclusionist Anglo-conformity views of the melting pot.

The Permissive Melting Pot

Though the exclusive Anglo-conformity version of the melting pot has probably been the most prevalent ideology of assimilation in America, a competing viewpoint with somewhat more generous and idealistic overtones has had its adherents and proponents from the 18th century onward. Conditions in the virgin continent were modifying the institutions which the English colonists had brought with them from the mother country. Immigrants from non-English homelands (such as Sweden, Germany, and France) were similarly exposed to this new environment. Thus, starting with the French-born writer Crevecoeur in 1782, a new social theory of America as a melting pot came into being. Was it not possible, Crevecoeur asked, to think of the evolving American society not simply as a slightly modified England but rather as a totally new blend, culturally and biologically, in which stocks and folkways of Europe were, figuratively speaking, indiscriminately (permissively) mixed in the political pot of the emerging nation and melted together by the fires of the American influence and interaction into a distinctly new type?

This idealistic and ostensibly permissive notion of the melting pot became one of the forces for the open-door immigration policies of the first three-quarters of the 18th century. These views, which preceded the influx from eastern and southern Europe, gave no consideration to two indigenous peoples, the Native Americans and the Mexicans of the Southwest, nor to a group forcibly brought to America, the Afro-Americans. For those with a permissive view of the melting pot, the ideal type would be a person who would not differ greatly from the Anglo-Saxon ideal.

The vision that was projected as emerging from such a melting process, however, was of some new and uniquely "American" cultural phenomenon. Embedded in this new vision, however, was a notion of the supremacy of this new phenomenon. That is, the result of the melting process was envisioned as being superior to any of the

individual ingredients that existed before the melting action began. In this context, some remarks made in 1916 by the noted American educator-philosopher, John Dewey (cited in Gordon, 1964), are worthy of examination.

> I wish our teaching of American history in the schools would take more account of the great waves of migration by which our land for over three centuries has been continuously built up, and make every pupil conscious of the rich breadth of our national make up. When every pupil recognizes all the factors which have gone into our being, he will continue to prize and reverence that coming from his own past, but he will think of it as honored in being simply one factor in forming a whole, nobler and finer than itself.

Thus, Dewey's vision of the superiority of the melted product over the individual ingredients seems easily inferrable from his statement, "nobler and finer than itself." It clearly seems to suggest that one's own cultural heritage is acceptable, but when it has melted with others, the result is even better.

Despite its liberal overtones, the permissive interpretation of the melting pot has carried a hidden message of cultural superiority (i.e., that the uniquely American cultural form which results will be better, if not the best). The message to the child who has not yet "melted" is clearly negative...that what he is is not enough; there is something "nobler and finer."

Cultural Pluralism

Paradoxically, both the exclusive and the permissive versions of the melting-pot aspiration for an "integrated" nation happened to produce ethnic enclaves because of the dynamics of prejudice and of institutionally sanctioned discrimination. Both views contributed to governmental policies designed to hasten the "Americanization" of all ethnic groups. Moreover, the unmelted ethnic groups experienced a socially, politically, and economically inhospitable climate. One of the central issues in cultural pluralism concerns the right of the minority ethnic group to preserve their cultural heritage without at the same time interfering with "the carrying out of standard responsibilities to general American civic life" (Gordon, 1964).

But ethnic groups did attempt to establish communal societies and, in order to preserve a corporate identity, even solicited Congress as early as 1818 to formally assign national groups to a particular land base (Glazer, 1954). However, spurred by the melting-pot vision of an integrated national society, Congress denied these petitions and established the principle that the United States government could not be used to establish territorial ethnic enclaves. Thus, though de jure ethnic communalities could not exist, the social forces of prejudice and discrimination laid the basis for the present day de facto communalities; these enclaves have envolved and maintained their unique cultural styles in communication, human relations, and teaching or child socialization practices. Thus "cultural pluralism," which has been an historical fact in American society, continues to the present day.

Basically, theories of cultural pluralism fall into two categories, those which are oriented toward a mandatory view (e.g., often associated with separatist or nationalist notions) and those more oriented to pluralism as an optional matter. We shall describe each briefly.

Mandatory Cultural Pluralism

In a two part essay printed in The Nation in 1915, Kallen (1924), one of the earliest of the ethnic cultural pluralists, argued that "...the United States are in the process of becoming a federal state not merely as a union of geographical and administrative unities, but also as a cooperation of cultural diversities, as a federation or commonwealth of national cultures" (p. 116). Kallen proposed this as the more or less inevitable consequence of democratic ideals, since individuals find their identity in groups and democracy for the individual must, by implication, also mean democracy for the group.

Thus, Kallen interpreted the term "equal" (as it appeared in the Declaration of Independence, the Preamble, and the Ammendments to the Consitution) to support the concept of "difference"; he asserted that the term "equal" is an affirmation of the right to be different and in this connection coined the term "cultural pluralism." Though Kallen's writings have many aspects, his theme of a "federation of nationalities" (with the implication that the individual's fate is predetermined by his ethnic-group membership) caused some distress among the ranks of the earlier cultural pluralists.

Optional Pluralism

Kallen's emphasis on a theme which strongly implied that the individual should retain his ethnic identity caused considerable discomfort, particularly among two other educators who basically subscribed to the theme of cultural pluralism. These two educators, Berkson (1920) and Drachsler (1920), adopted the position that different ethnic groups should have the right to maintain an ethnic identity. They even proposed a variety of ways this might be achieved, such as through ethnic communal centers, after-public-school-hour ethnic schools, etc. Both favored efforts by the ethnic community to maintain its communal and cultural life, providing a rich and flavorful environment for its successive generations. Furthermore, they believed that the government should play a role by instituting in the public schools a program emphasizing knowledge and appreciation of the various cultures.

This idea of the legitimization of numerous ethnic communities and their cultures was labled by Drachsler "cultural democracy" which, he felt, should be added to older ideas of political and economic democracy. These ideas of democracy, according to him, implied the idea of freedom of choice. Here the earlier cultural pluralists introduced what shall be called the irrelevant dilemma of choice when it is applied to education, particularly at the time the child enters school. As these two educators put the issue,

though cultural pluralism may be democratic for groups, how democratic is it for individuals since the choice of whether to melt or assimilate should be a free one?

To see that this question is still with us today, one need only refer to the work of Milton Gordon (1964) from whose book, Assimilation in American Life, the present author has drawn liberally. Gordon's own remarks in his concluding chapter should be fully quoted in order to identify clearly this dilemma of choice:

> The system of cultural pluralism has frequently been described as 'cultural democracy' since it posits the right of ethnic groups in a democratic society to maintain their communal identity and subcultural values... however, we must also point out that democratic values prescribe free choice not only for groups, but also for individuals. That is, the individual, as he matures and reaches the age where rational decision is feasible, should be allowed to choose freely whether to remain within the boundaries of communality or branch out... change...move away, etc. Realistically, it is probably impossible to have a socialization process for one child growing up in a particular ethnic group that does not involve some implicitly restrictive values... (pp. 262-263.)

Gordon's statement "that it is probably impossible for a child growing up in a particular ethnic group to undergo a socialization process that does not involve some implicitly restrictive values" borders on those notions often applied to Mexican-Americans (i.e., they are "clannish," "stick to their own kind," "refuse to become American," etc.). Furthermore, it reflects a lack of awareness of the newly evolving notion of biculturality (Baratz, 1970). Quite in contrast to Gordon's observations, the more typical picture in the American public school is that the institution confronts the Mexican-American child with the necessity of choosing at a stage in his life where such "mature and rational decisions" are not possible. Finally, Gordon's statements ignore the other possibilities, namely, that if the mainstream environment abides by the ideal of cultural democracy it will permit itself to be explored by means of different cultural forms and loyalties.

As far as the educational picture today is concerned, particularly as it affects many Mexican-American children, the institution continues to maintain policies of exclusion, omission, and prohibition which deny the Mexican-American child his culturally democratic right to explore freely the mainstream cultural environment by means of those cultural forms and loyalties he has learned at home and in his community. Both the exclusionist and permissive ideologies of the melting pot view his cultural forms and loyalties as inferior. Therefore, the goal is to supplant them.

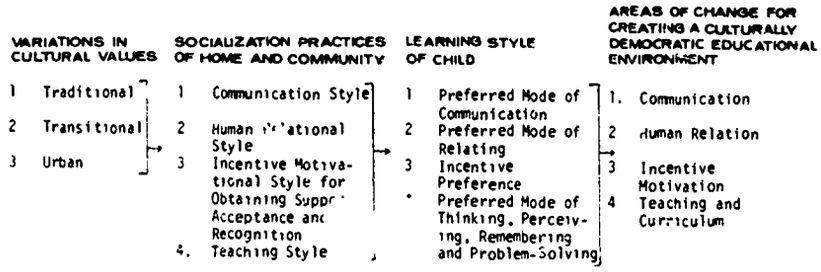
The version of cultural pluralism that is to be examined in the following section is more properly called democratic cultural

pluralism. The goal of democratic cultural pluralism, as far as education is concerned is biculturalism.

Biculturalism: The Educational Goal of Democratic Cultural Pluralsim

Figure 4.1 reviews the set of assumptions underlying the goal of biculturalism in education.

Figure 4.1



The left-hand column of Figure 4.1 denotes a characteristic of the community; for example, whether traditional Mexican values predominate, or whether both Anglo-American and Mexican-American values are more or less equally present, (transitional), or whether Anglo-American values predominate (urbanized).

These clusters of values in a given Mexican-American community are considered to be determinants of the socialization or child-rearing practices of the home and community, as can be noted in the next portion of Figure 4.1 labeled "socialization practices of home and community." It is our assumption that the cultural values predominating in the community strongly influence child socialization practices in four distinct areas: (1) communication style, e.g., whether English or Standard Spanish or Barrio Spanish is spoken or any combination of these; (2) human relation styles, e.g., the importance of the extended family, the degree of personalism, etc.; (3) incentive-motivational style, i.e., those methods which the child learns as appropriate for obtaining support, acceptance, and recognition in his home and community; and (4) the methods or styles of teaching that the child experiences from his mother, father, siblings, the extended family, etc.

Each of these four general categories or factors are further assumed to determine four important characteristics of the child described under the general heading "Learning Style of the Child." The child enters school with these four important general characteristics already firmly developed in him: (1) a preferred mode of communicating, e.g., speaking Spanish only, some or Barrio Spanish, non-standard English, etc.; (2) a preferred mode of

relating to others, such as expecting personalized direction from adults, etc.; (3) a preference for certain incentives over others (e.g., he might be more inclined to be motivated by rewards emphasizing achievement for the family over achievement for the self, group versus individual goals, etc.); and, finally, (4) a cluster of cognitive characteristics which reflect his preferred mode of thinking, perceiving, remembering, and problem-solving.

It is our observation that the conflict many Mexican-American children experience centers in one or more of these four areas because most educational institutions are characterized by educational styles (i.e., preferred modes of communicating, relating, motivating, and teaching) which are more characteristic of the Anglo-American middle-class culture. We also note that these are considered, by virtue of one form or another of the melting-pot ideology, to be the ideal modes which all children must acquire. If the child possesses different modes, he is then viewed as "culturally deficient," "culturally impoverished," "passive," "lacking in achievement motivation," "having a language handicap," or, more brutally, "mentally retarded." If the educational policy of the school is one which either excludes, ignores, or prohibits expression of modes different from the ideal, we characterize it as a culturally undemocratic educational environment for any child whose modes of relating, communicating, motivation, and learning are different from the preferred educational style of the school.

The last section of Figure 4.1, then, delineates areas for change in the school environment, i.e., (1) communication, (2) human relation, (3) incentive-motivation, and (4) teaching and curriculum. These changes, in order that they be able to provide a culturally democratic educational environment for the Mexican-American child, must be such that they facilitate, incorporate, and accommodate to the learning style of the child as outlined in the immediately preceeding portion of Figure 4.1.

With this type of analysis in mind, we can specify those areas of institutional change that the school must consider if it is to provide a culturally democratic educational environment that will ensure equal educational opportunity for every child. With this version, furthermore, the concept of cultural democracy, as far as the school is concerned, simply means the right of each child to experience an educational environment which accepts as equally important his preferred modes of relating, communicating, motivation, and learning. Also, under this version of cultural democracy in education, the goal of education is biculturalism. By biculturalism we mean that the child is allowed to explore freely modes of the mainstream culture by means of those preferred modes he brings to school from his home and community. Thus, this notion of cultural democracy, or democratic cultural pluralism, in education clearly suggests a bicultural educational environment for any school confronted with the responsibility of providing equal educational opportunities for children whose home and community are culturally different from that of the mainstream.

Some Historical Antecedents

One of the earliest American statements about the "cognitive styles" of children was entitled, "The Contents of Children's Minds" by G. Stanley Hall (1883), a psychologist concerned with instructing teachers. Contrary to the popular beliefs of the time, Hall believed that the thinking of children was different from that of adults, not simply a miniature cognitive version of adult thinking. He also stated that the best way for the teacher to acquire information about the unique or cognitively different modes in children was for her to study (assess) the child himself. Hall's study dealt with children in the Boston public schools in the early 900's. In this connection, he developed a questionnaire method (now considered to be the forerunner of many of today's psychological tests) which could be easily used by teachers.

His basic assumption in conducting the study was that curricular planning and development in teaching methods must be based on recognition that the thought content and process of the child differed from that of the adult. It is interesting to note that Hall did not assume, nor presumably did the Boston public school educators, that such differences implied that children were "disadvantaged" in any particular way, but simply that the content and process of their thought differed from that of adults. On the basis of the information acquired through Hall's questionnaire method, the Boston public schools could create an educational environment compatible with the child's cognitive characterisitcs; the child was accepted as he was and it was the school's obligation to modify its educational style and process accordingly.

Unfortunately, subsequent developments in the decades following Hall's pioneering work led the educational testing movement in the United States along different lines. Rapid developments in statistical methods, the impact of such work as that of Galton, Cattell, Thurstone, Pearson, Binet, and Wechsler, and the increasing pressure on the schools for evaluation, etc., all served to contribute to comprehensive educational testing programs in the public schools. These focussed on the measurement of intelligence, ability, and achievement. The emphasis of this work permitted the development of quantitatively based descriptions of children, e.g., "average," "below average," "dull average," etc. Such classification schemes gave impetus to newer educational descriptions, e.g., "gifted," "slow learner," "underachiever," "educable mental retardate," etc,. and served as the foundation for such educational practices as tracking, ability grouping, and special education classes for the varieties of "educable" or "trainable" mentally retarded children. More recently, varieties of these tests of ability, intelligence, and achievement have been used to identify, select, and evaluate many aspects of the "compensatory education" programs for the minority poor, such as Head Start and Follow Through (Maccoby & Zellner, 1970).

The rather technical and somewhat esoteric aspects underlying these tests, as well as the fact that due to the manner in which many of these tests were standardized (essentially on children of

the middle class), have had two major consequences. First, a barrier was created between the individual teacher and the intent, meaning, and potential value of the tests. Essentially, the cause was the evolution of a sophisticated technical superstructure described in a new and special language and a set of concepts, plus the increasing restrictions imposed on their use by the newly evolving professional group of psychometrists, educational psychologists, etc. Second, the preponderance of testing, focusing as it did on ability, achievement, and intelligence, with instruments reflecting the linguistic and communication styles and the human relations and teaching styles of the middle-class community, prevented the teacher from getting information along these dimensions on the children of the poor and culturally different. In our present terminology, the testing movement was culturally undemocratic in that tests developed and standardized on the minority poor and culturally different, reflecting their communication, human relations, and learning styles, have not been part of the fabric.

Recent Developments in Cultural Influences on Learning and Incentive-Motivational Styles

By implication, a culturally democratic educational environment is one which is knowledgeably prepared to teach the culturally different child--or any child, for that matter--in his (a) preferred mode of communicating, (b) preferred mode of relating, (c) preferred mode of obtaining support, acceptance, and recognition, and (d) preferred mode of thinking, perceiving, remembering, and problem-solving. Unless school assessment programs provide the teacher of the culturally different child with pertinent information in these areas, her professional function as a teacher will be compromised. Assessment programs guided by the psychologist can be devised so as to provide the teacher with such information, as well as the connecting concepts to link these four areas to the educational process of the school. For our present purposes, however, we shall restrict our review to the latter two dimensions, incentive-motivational and cognitive styles.

In a rather comprehensive study by Stodolsky and Lesser (1967), first-grade children representing membership in four different ethnic groups (Chinese, Jewish, Negro, and Puerto Rican) were tested with a variety of "intellectual ability" measures. The researchers' interest was in determining the presence of differential patterns of ability among the four groups. Their results showed, for example, that in the case of Jewish children, the pattern of abilities reflected greater strength in verbal ability and weakness in spatial conceptualization. Chinese children, on the other hand, exhibited a pattern just the reverse of that of the Jewish children; they were relatively strong on spatial conceptualization and weaker in the verbal dimension. In addition, these differential patterns were found to remain essentially the same for the children within the same cultural group regardless of whether they were of low or middle socio-economic background.

One interpretation of these findings would be to stress that these differential patterns relate to differences associated with preferred modes of learning (those that are differentially stressed within a given cultural group). That is, the different cultural groups vary in their teaching styles in that they produce differences in the preferred modes of perceiving, remembering, thinking, and problem-solving (preferred modes of learning); one cultural group (Jewish) stresses the verbal dimension, the other (Chinese) the spatial dimension.

Is this important information for the teacher to know? Our answer would be that it is inordinately more useful than an I.Q. or achievement score since it has more direct implication for teaching strategies (i.e., teaching styles). Thus, a teacher, in the case of Chinese children, may find it advantageous to stress the spatial dimension as a framework for devising curriculum plans. That is, she would utilize this dimension as a preferred vehicle for learning for Chinese children. Of course, this is precisely the underlying principle in the Montessori method, at least that aspect which utilizes the tactile dimension as a vehicle for learning. The difference, however, is that the Montessori method makes the a priori assumption that this is the preferred mode of learning for all young children. Our point is that it is necessary to determine for which groups of children this is the preferred mode of learning.

At this juncture it is critical to point out that the issue is not which should be the preferred mode of learning. From the school's administrative point of view, a single mode of learning may be preferred because it simplifies the administrative-managerial problems of the school. Where this view is the guiding policy, it disenfranchises those children with preferred modes of learning which differ from the school's preferred mode of teaching.

If we now focus our attention on evidence for culturally determined incentive-motivational preferences, more specifically along the dimension of relating cooperatively versus competitively, a study by Kagan and Madsen (1971) represents a case in point. Competitive and cooperative behavior are studied in three groups of children of three different cultures: Anglo-American, Mexican-American, and Mexican. The researchers found that cooperative versus competitive behavior, as reflected in the performance of a simple task, depended on whether rewards could be achieved only through cooperative behavior; performance on the task in this instance was best among Mexican children and next best among Mexican-American children, with the Anglo-American children achieving the lowest scores. However, with the same task employed, when rewards could be obtained only through competitive behavior, the position of superiority in performance was completely reversed. Under these conditions, the Anglo-American children performed best, Mexican-American children next best, and the Mexican children obtained the lowest performance scores.

Kagan and Madsen's study then offers some specific evidence for viewing different cultural groups to ascertain the presence of

differences in incentive-motivational systems which determine the mode for obtaining recognition, support, or acceptance from the environment. Is this important information for the teacher to know? Our answer is yes, in view of the fact that the knowledge helps to delineate and specify for the teacher some of the important dimensions she should consider in her attempts to analyze for different groups of children the critical dimensions which comprise the "student-teacher" relationship. It is information which can provide her with suggestions for creating incentive and reward conditions which are culturally appropriate for different cultural groups of children. On the basis of Kagan and Madsen's study, for example, Anglo-American children are more effectively motivated by conditions which stress competitively obtainable incentives. On the other hand, Mexican-American children are more effectively motivated by conditions which stress cooperatively obtained incentives.

Chapter V

CHANGING THE TYPICAL SCHOOL ENVIRONMENT

This section consists of four articles, all directed to the problem of changing the typical school environment so as to make it responsive to the needs of minority children. One of those needs is respect for the minority culture so that it will not be engulfed by the majority one. Johnson and Clement suggest that a low-income child's experience base--all those environmental things that impinge on his senses and shape his thoughts, speech, and behavior--is challenged by the quite different experience he has in school. His accustomed mode of action and reaction is disrupted, and his sense of control over his environment is shaken. The authors recommend that educators increase their knowledge of low-income Black home environments in order to improve teaching and evaluation techniques for children from those homes.

The Overview of the Responsive Head Start and Follow Through program is intended to serve as a model of the kind of program we believe is appropriate for all children. The program is sensitive to the needs and cultures of minority groups and provides opportunities for parent involvement in education. The program has several aspects, all of which aid the child to build a healthy self-concept and to gain facility in problem-solving.

The description of the competency-based, flexible training system indicates one way teachers can be retrained and outlines an alternative way for parents to become certified as teachers. Some kind of program like this one will be needed to introduce the kind of educational program described in the other articles in this chapter.

The cluster of competencies described in the last part of this chapter illustrates the kind of training that will be required to help teachers from one ethnic group work effectively with children from another ethnic group.

INCONGRUENCES BETWEEN EXPERIENCE BASES OF LOWER-INCOME URBAN BLACK CHILDREN AND EXPERIENCE REQUISITE TO SUCCESS IN SCHOOL

James A. Johnson, Jr. & Dorothy C. Clement

Introduction

Problems stemming from cultural mismatch between pupils and teachers (school norms) have not been adequately approached or assessed. Research focused on this phenomenon has, generally, come out of a framework which has assumed the genetic (Jensen, 1969) or cultural (Hunt, 1964) inferiority of pupils who diverge from expected cultural profiles. Both these positions are consistent with the orientation of educational psychologists, who appear to perceive defects in specified categories of pupils as the basis of the problem.

The problem of cultural divergences has also been examined in other contexts. Research from anthropological and sociological perspectives (see, for example, Wax et al., 1971; Cole et al., 1971; Leacock, 1969; Minuchin et al., 1969) has also dealt with the problem. These other perspectives provided alternative definitions of the problem, and proposed other solutions.

The material presented here is consistent with positions that reject both the genetic inferiority and cultural deprivation definitions of, and solutions to, the educational problems of students from so-called "disadvantaged" backgrounds.

We begin by stating our operational definition of experience base; then we examine some effects of environmental inconsistency on experience bases of young children. Further, we proceed to develop theory that relates to experience bases as a function of one's socio-cultural control. Finally, we offer a set of hypotheses in need of testing.

The Importance of Experience Bases and Home Environment

As a child grows and develops, he acquires an experience base--a relatively stable set of codes, values, skills, information, beliefs, and behaviors which he uses when interpreting and interacting with his environment. What the child notices about the environment, how he interprets what is occurring around him, what particular things meet his needs, how he expresses himself, how he approaches problems, the language he speaks, and the non-verbal cues to which he is sensitive--all these are components of his experience base.

A child develops his experience base in the context of his physical surroundings and his social and cultural context, as mediated or interpreted through the behavior of significant others (e.g., parents,

parenting adults, or others) whom he encounters. This environment provides the raw data from which the child derives the content of his experience base and the "yardstick" whereby newly acquired information is evaluated.

The experience base is an extremely important parameter of his further learning. It is a frame of reference from which data are collected and interpreted, as well as the basic foundation upon which more complex systems are built. The child's experience base facilitates further learning that is consistent with or builds upon existing knowledge; it interferes with the learning of skills, codes, and behavior that are inconsistent with the experience base. It is well-known, for example, that in learning a second language, the learner seldom achieves the degree of proficiency that he achieved in learning his mother tongue. Developing proficiency in a second language is more difficult because it interacts with a language system already acquired.

The child's learning tools are most easily applied when new information and/or skills are presented in language, settings, behavioral codes, and socio-cultural contexts that are familiar to him. Unfamiliar contexts and/or media usually present problems for the learner. They can bring a negative affect to information processing and skill development in the new situation.

When a child is assessed in a socio-cultural context that is inconsistent with his home environment, he will appear less proficient because he has failed to learn the expectations of the situation or the behaviors which fit these expectations. Children in such situations are typically thought to have deficient, bizarre, or even offensive styles of speaking and thinking, rather than different, though equally valid, modes of behavior reasoning. Instead of receiving support while learning in the new environment, these children usually receive negative reinforcement.

Effects of Environmental Inconsistency on Children's Experience Bases

Though the experience base tends to have a relatively stable core, the environment continues to affect its development and maintenance in vital ways. The child's behavior is continually being shaped by factors in his physical environment and by the socio-cultural knowledge that he incorporates from those around him. If he remains in this same socio-cultural context, he will steadily increase his proficiency. If, however, the child comes into continuous contact with individuals who systematically respond to him in terms of different socio-cultural patterns, some of the child's existing skills are rendered less effective, less meaningful, and/or less useful. He is no longer positively reinforced for mastery of codes, skills, and information related to his experience base; rather he is penalized for utilizing them.

The stresses of environmental inconsistency are particularly acute for a child who is exposed first to one environment and then to another. His problems stem from efforts to adjust to the new

environment while maintaining mastery of his home environment. For example, a child may be rewarded in the school environment for a certain behavior and punished for it in the home context, or vice versa. Does the child accept the reinforcement of one environment and reject the other, or does he develop a double set of values which leave him, to some extent, an alien in both contexts?

Academic learning environments today appear to be most consistent with the home environment of the middle-class white child (Burger, 1963; Fuchs, 1967; Fantini and Weinstein, 1968). The dimensions of learning environments, such as the ordering of time and space, ethics, valued social relationships, artifacts and other physical phenomena, are consistent with the white middle-class child's prior experience. This is also the case with the degree of control over the environment which is encouraged or tolerated, with relative values of cognitive learning, with affective and psychomotor behavior, with cultural norms, with the strategies and skills which are valued, with their expectations about how behavior will be managed, and with what roles children can play in decision-making.

The low-income Black child, on the other hand, faces a very different situation. He spends his early years in home environments which are often very different from the white middle-class home environment (Becker, 1961; Burger, 1963; Fuchs, 1967, Fantini and Weinstein, 1968). When the low-income Black child begins school, he abruptly encounters reinforcements and reactions based on socio-cultural and linguistic patterns that are dissimilar to his own. (See Johnson, Clement, and Lee, 1972; Burger, 1963; Fuchs, 1967; Fantini and Weinstein, 1968, for examples of areas of culture-conflict between the home and school.) Since the learning activities provided for him are usually similar to those provided for white middle-class children, albeit watered down, he typically is not given opportunities to utilize the skills and strategies that he has acquired. Furthermore, the behavior that is valued in the classroom tends to conflict with his expectations about his own behavior.

Experience Base and Locus of Control

Rejection of the child's experience base, of his home-learned behavior, and of the child himself tend to arouse feelings of alienation and encourage the use of defense mechanisms. The child becomes more proficient at defending himself against the negative evaluations he encounters, but, unfortunately, he is usually decelerated in mastering the behavior and skills valued in the new environment. If the new environment is radically different, the child may have considerable difficulty in interpreting it at all. The feedback may appear to be generally negative or hostile rather than informative, and the child may feel powerless to influence what happens to him. Feelings of lack of influence over the environment inhibit learning.

Existing research (Franklin, 1963; Efran, 1963; Crandall et al., 1962; Crandall et al., 1965; Cellura, 1963, Coleman et al., 1966) indicates that locus of control beliefs are directly correlated with school achievement and achievement striving. Evidence suggests that

students who believe that they can influence what happens to them tend to be more successful in school than those students who believe that they have little or no control over reinforcements.

From studies of specific situations, it appears that control beliefs significantly affect what individuals learn. Briefly stated, the less an individual believes that his behavior has some relation to the outcome of a situation (a) the less perceptive he will be concerning potential reinforcements available in the situation (Lefcourt, 1967), (b) the less likely he will be to acquire information about the situation (Phares, 1957; James, 1957; Phares, 1962; Holden and Rotter, 1962; Seeman, 1963), and (c) the less he will tend to engage in instrumental behavior in relation to the situation (Gore and Rotter, 1963; Seeman, 1964). It is not difficult to understand why such a student might tend toward low achievement.

A study (Bartel et al., 1970) of lower- and middle-class children in grades 1, 2, 4 and 6 revealed that the locus of control scores of the lower-class children were not significantly different from the schores of middle-class children when the children entered school, but that by the fourth grade, the scores were significantly different at the .05 level, and by the sixth grade at the .01 level. The researchers interpret the data to mean that the school experience of lower-class children tends to foster the development of externality (i.e., the belief that the forces are not under their control), whereas the school experience of middle-class children tends to foster development of internality (i.e., the belief that forces are under their control).

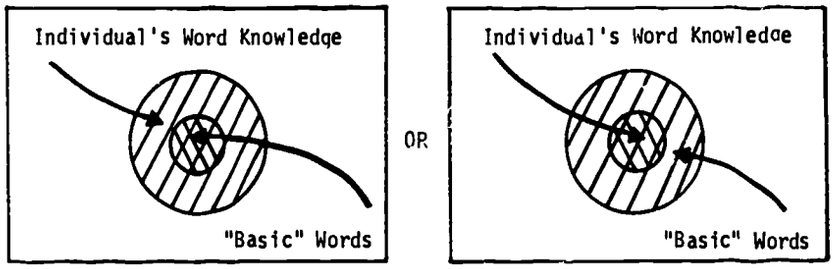
The research on locus of control and its relation to achievement and learning implies that schools which facilitate external beliefs, instead of internal beliefs, invite low achievement among their pupils. In order to increase the opportunity for learning, learning situations should be structured to facilitate the development of internal beliefs.

Experience Base and Readability

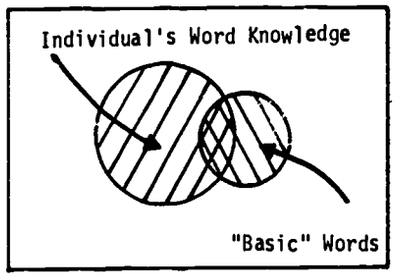
What a person can read depends largely upon the extent of his reading vocabulary in relation to the words appearing in the reading material. An important factor in many readability formulas is the number of "difficult" words in the passage. (Readability formulas which utilize word difficulty include Lively and Pressey, 1923; Vogel and Washburne, 1928; Patty and Painter, 1931; Thorndike, 1934; Ojemann, 1934; Dale and Tyler, 1934; Gray and Leary, 1935; Washburne and Morphett, 1938; Lorge, 1948; Daly and Chall, 1948; Dolch, 1948; Wheeler and Wheeler, 1948; and Spache, 1953). These formulas use basic word lists that supposedly contain well-known words, i.e., words that are common to the experience bases of a large number of individuals. Basic word lists are usually compiled on the basis of frequency of occurrence in reading materials (Thorndike and Lorge List, 1944; Buckingham-Dolch, 1936; Gates, 1935; Rinsland, 1945); frequency of oral usage (International Kindergarten Union List, Horn et al., 1928); sight recognition (Dale 3,000 Word List, Dale and Chall,

1948; Dolch, 1950); or some combination of these procedures (Daly Easy Word List, 1931). Usually, the population for which readability is being assessed is characterized only by educational level.

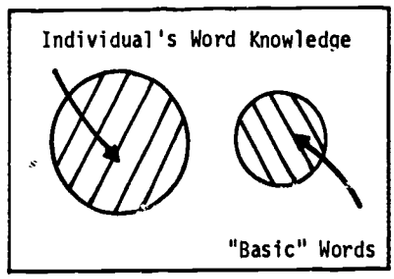
"Basic word lists" are valid only to the extent that they truly represent commonly known words and the basic core of words that an individual is likely to know. If represented with Venn diagrams, the following must be the case:



If, in actuality, the case is somewhat different, e.g.,



or, even worse

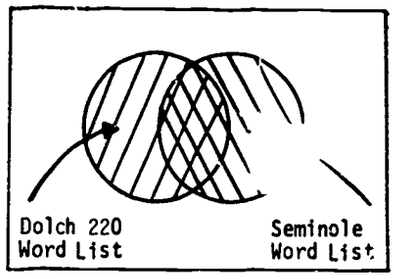


the readability formula which utilizes this basic word list will be inaccurate.

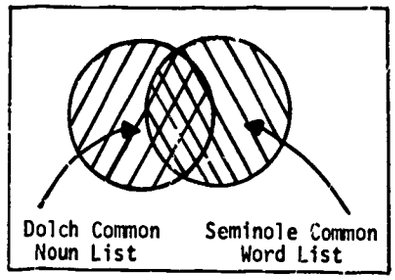
Since children's experience bases reflect their different home environments, it is to be expected that experience bases and, therefore, proclivities to learn particular words will also differ. The Educational Testing Service recognizes, for example, that females tend to excel in knowledge of words related to people, whereas males

tend to excel in vocabulary words related to things (Coffman, 1965). The readability of a given passage that contains primarily one set of words or the other might be expected to vary for males and females. An equally imp tant divergence in reading vocabularies arises in the case of different ethnic groups.

In a study (Kersey and Fadjo, 1971) of words used in stories by third- and fourth-grade Seminole Indian children, for example, significant discrepancies were found between the Seminole Word List and the Dolch 220 Word List (which is comprised of service words other than nouns) and the Dolch Common Noun List. The findings represented by Venn diagrams appear as follows:



The Seminole Word List contained 67.7% of the words on the Dolch 220 Word List plus 149 service words not on the list.



The Seminole Word List contained 63.2% of the words on the Dolch Common Noun List plus 189 nouns not on the Dolch List. As one might expect, some of the nouns from the Dolch Noun List, not included in the Seminole Word List, are words which fall outside the Seminole cultural pattern (e.g., hill, sheep, snow, and street). A similar study (Berges, 1970) found divergences between words used by migrant children and the Dolch List.

The systematic inaccuracy of "basic" word lists for special groups is extremely important because "basic word lists" are used to assess: (a) language development, (b) reading level of reading test passages, and (c) readability of materials. Clearly, tests based on these word lists are likely to underestimate the knowledge of children whose experiences are different from those of the

general population. Such "basic word lists" reinforce the tendencies of some teachers to view unfamiliarity with "basic words" as a sign of a "slow learner," a "culturally deprived" child, or a "disadvantaged" child. Furthermore, readability assessments based on these word lists are likely to be inaccurate and could result in inappropriate sequencing of reading materials.

Experience Base and Bilingual Competence

The notion that many low-income Black children speak inferior varieties of English is ingrained in the school environment. Teachers are the main conveyors of notions about "lazy speech," "broken speech," and "lazy tongues." When the varieties of language spoken by a child deviate sharply from the prestigious dialect of the area, the assumption is that the child is "deficient" in language development and/or intellectual capability.

Only recently has this viewpoint been challenged (Labov, 1966). Further study of language has indicated that divergencies between two patterns of speech do not necessarily reflect speech "errors" or incomplete mastery; rather, they may merely reflect systematic differences in codes which are nonetheless rule-governed in the same way as is the middle-class dialect of United States English in a given area. Labov and his associates have shown that the language code acquired by Black people is a complete system of communication for its users, with all the grammatical and logical relations of language.

Similarly, it has been shown (Labov, 1966) that the social context within which low-income Black children learn language, and the pattern of their acquisition of language, is perfectly normal. Each child learns the variety of language spoken in his home and, later, in his peer group. The acquisition process is similar across ethnic boundaries. The language code acquired by ethnic minorities, though it may be only slightly similar to the prestigious dialect of the area, is a complete system of communication for its users. These codes can express all of the grammatical and logical relations of the language. These codes are systematic. They are rule-governed in the same way as the standard variety of speech of the area. The speech divergencies between the two dialects do not reflect speech "errors" or incomplete mastery. They merely reflect systematically different methods of expressing the same meaning.

The home is the primary social context of language acquisition. The child first learns to communicate with his family; his style of speech is shaped by these interactions. The child listens to the variety of sounds in his home and draws generalizations from them. He patterns his speech after the variety of language to which he is exposed.

The child begins with very primitive sounds which evolve gradually into the adult pattern of his neighborhood. His two-word utterances (sentences) are expanded in length and complexity as his brain matures. He learns to inflect verbs, plurals, and possessives.

Little by little, he learns the rules of pronunciation, negation, sentence embedding, and so on. His vocabulary enlarges as he learns new concepts and gains practice in labeling objects. At the time the child is ready for school, his language closely approximates that of an adult in form (structure). The child can utter all of the grammatical constructions of the language. His language is further developed through the continued practice of a variety of forms, and his facility in using them continues to grow.

Moreover, the child's command of language continues to be shaped by the demands of his social environment. He acquires social rules which determine the norms for its use. The child develops the ability to process social information to determine the appropriateness of verbal communication and the ability to use speech to express himself, to label his world, to manipulate others, and to conform to social rules. This sociolinguistic competence, too, grows as the social world of the child expands.

Therefore, when the child enters school, he has mastered most of the linguistic forms and many of the sociolinguistic norms* adhered to in his home and neighborhood. Continued experience with language events and social contexts consistent with his knowledge base should result in increased proficiency.

The school environment provides the middle-class child, especially the white middle-class child, with a learning environment that facilitates his language development. The variety of speech expected of him is the same for both school and home. He is already conversant in the school dialect. The authority figure in his classroom is usually of his own social class, and he has had ample opportunity to interact with persons of this sort. Though the social context (the school experience) may be new for the middle-class child, there are enough points of similarity to allow a relatively easy transition into this new social context.

On the other hand, children from low-income families enter a decidedly unfamiliar world when they enter school. They have limited opportunities to interact with middle-class adults. Though they can usually comprehend the speech of the teachers, they are usually not conversant in the middle-class dialect. The children use words, grammatical constructions, and sociolinguistic norms which the teacher views as inappropriate. If they are not already aware of it, they soon learn that their speech is being negatively evaluated.

Attempting to supplant the child's dialect with "standard" English is a high-cost, low-return undertaking. Usually the child has not developed the social competence or, in some instances, the language facility to conform to the norms of the classroom. The teacher's attitude toward the child's language inhibits verbalization and

*Sociolinguistic norms are those shared values governing the expression of language in specified social contents. It corresponds roughly to the community's notion of "appropriate" speech in particular environments.

learning in the classroom. The child and the teacher probably develop strategies to minimize their frustrations; the teacher lowers her expectations and the child grows silent.

In such an environment, the child has little opportunity to increase his linguistic competence. Slow acquisition of competence, relative to the classroom norms, impresses educators negatively, as does low performance on other tasks indirectly dependent on sociolinguistic competence. Systematic underestimation of the child's abilities and lack of awareness of his developed skills and competencies render the teacher ill-equipped to structure learning environments with positive benefits for the child.

Hypotheses That Need to Be Tested

In the last decade, educational innovators and psychologists, using Montessorian, Piagetian, and Skinnerian concepts, have produced a plethora of experimental curricula and programs for non-middle-class children. Most programs, however, although varied in structure and content, continue to be implemented in traditional physical environments. Only a few of the experimentors have had either the forethought or the proclivity to consider breaking away from learning environments as we know them.

As a result of inattention, we know little concerning the socially and culturally mediated effects of the traditional physical environment for various populations; hence we are unable to assess how well, if at all, the traditional learning environment is suited to various students and activities.

The behaviors that a child uses to explore his environment, express himself, and fulfill his needs have been developed in the context of his home environment. In order to create effective learning activities which avoid needless conflict for the child and in order to build upon his developed proficiencies, the child's educators must be aware of behavior which is expected and valued in the child's home environment. In assessing the potential value of particular learning activities, educators must recognize expectations concerning the child's behavior which would conflict with his home environment and must be able to assess the cost of pursuing these conflicting expectations.

We suggest that four hypotheses should be tested in this area. They are: (a) the behavioral characteristics of the low-income Black child in the home environment will tend to be different from the behavioral characteristics expected of the child in the school environment; (b) the categories of behavior which are salient to the adults in the home environment will tend to be different from those categories which are salient to the adults in the school environment; (c) in the school environment, the low-income Black child will tend to receive negative reinforcement for behavior learned and/or valued at home; (d) the teachers will tend to evaluate children's home environments on the basis of white middle-class standards, and the teachers will attribute negative effects to those homes which vary from the white middle-class home.

Aside from the differing values placed on behavior, behavioral management approaches also vary. Means of indicating pleasure or displeasure, and ways of signaling "do this" or "don't do that," tend to vary from one group to another and are easily misread by uninitiated individuals. Behavior management techniques used in the learning environment may often fail, because the child from a non-middle-class home has been exposed to a different set of behavioral management techniques. The educator who uses behavioral management approaches that are familiar to the child, in keeping with the child's perception of the educator's role, is more likely to communicate effectively with the child.

The hypothesis in need of testing in this area is that the adults in the school environment tend to use disciplinary techniques different from those used by the adults in the home of a non-middle-class child.

Another important area in which low-income Black people tend to differ from white middle-class people is the range of options that a child is allowed and the roles that children are permitted and/or required to play in making decisions which involve them. The child's perception of the school environment is a function of the degree of similarity between role expectation in the home and in the school. Again, the educator must assess the effects of imposing or not imposing unaccustomed restrictions upon the child's behavior.

The hypothesis in need of testing in this area is that decision-making at home will differ from his role in decision-making at school to a greater degree than for the middle-class child.

A fourth area of behavior strongly influenced by the home environment is the use of problem-solving strategies. In the home, certain strategies are encouraged in the child, but others are repressed or discouraged. If problem-solving strategies absent from the child's repertoire are expected in the classroom, it is likely that the educator will be disappointed; therefore his plans will, to some extent, prove irrelevant. If, on the other hand, the educator's resources are used to repress such strategies, the child will be forced to make a time-consuming and possibly disruptive adjustment. In order to assess the net cost of maintaining his expectations, the educator should be aware of his expectations and the child's repertoire of problem-solving strategies.

The two hypotheses in need of testing in this area are: (a) the low-income Black child will encounter different types of problems in school from those he encounters at home, and (b) the child will tend to use different problem-solving strategies in the school environment from those he uses in the home environment.

A fifth important area of behavior is locus of control of reinforcements (the degree to which a person feels that he, rather than external forces, controls what happens to him).

Two major approaches to perceived locus of control have been utilized in research. One stresses expectancies for internal versus external control over reinforcements in specific situations. The second focuses upon the existence of individual differences in generalized expectancies for internal versus external control across many situations (see Johnson et al., 1971, p. 9). Work with the locus of control variable has shown that people vary to the extent that they believe themselves able to affect what happens to them across a wide variety of situations; they also vary to the extent to which they view specific situations as being externally or internally controlled (Rotter, 1966, p. 2; Holden and Rotter, 1962). In other words, even though a person may be highly internal, he may still believe that winning at slot machines is due to chance rather than skill.

The perception of situations, the recognition of means of affecting situation, and the salient features of outcomes are strongly influenced by cultural and social experience and backgrounds. The Coleman (1966) items refer to very general situations ("life") whose outcomes ("success") are phrased in a general way that is likely to have relevance across sub-groups. The IAR (Intellectual Achievement Responsibility Scale) items, on the other hand, focus on fairly specific situations, means of affecting situations, and outcomes which may not have meaning across sub-groups (Johnson et al., 1971).

The language of and situations described in the IAR questionnaire appear to be more appropriate for white middle- and upper-class individuals than for individuals of different social ethnic class membership. For example, item #24 of the IAR reads:

If a boy or girl tells you that you are bright, is it usually:

a. Because you thought up a good idea, or

b. Because they like you?

The comment referred to in item #24 is probably not one that the members of a Black child's peer group would be likely to make (Johnson et al., 1971, p. 44). Thus, the item, and others like it, would tend to be meaningless to Black children.

Also, as Entwistle and Greenberger (1970, p. 20) point out, the IAR items may elicit answers based on feelings of control for one group, yet elicit anwers based on feeling of guilt from another group. Thus, the measure would not be valid for control beliefs across groups.

Little is known about those aspects of a school situation that are related to control beliefs. The only existing research that appears to be directly related to the problem is a study of textbooks (Litt, 1963). The study revealed that civics textbooks used in lower-income schools implied a passive role for people with respect to political process, whereas the textbooks used in higher-income-level schools stressed an active role. From studies of locus of control, however, additional hypotheses can be constructed.

Blackman's (1962) research indicates that if the occurrences in a situation appear to be patterned, the individual will be more likely to regard the situation as one which he can affect. Children in their preschool years learn numerous codes for deciphering situations and encoding their behavior in situations. We would argue that a child who is placed in situations which employ codes other than those familiar to him will experience difficulty in perceiving patterns in the situations. In a preliminary study (Johnson et al., 1972), we found a very high degree of inconsistency between home and school environments for ethnic-minority and low-income children, indicating that the school environment is an "alien" environment. The Bartel et al., (1970) study indicates that there is no significant difference between lower- and middle-class children's control beliefs when they enter school, but by the fourth grade the middle-class children are significantly more internal than the lower-class children. We believe that at least some degree of the variation in control beliefs can be accounted for by the degree of consistency between the home and school environments: the greater the consistency, the more internal the child will tend to be about the learning situation.

A study by Phares (1965) found that the more internal a person's beliefs, the more likely he would be able to influence those with whom he interacts. It has been documented (Fuchs, 1967) that teachers (who, by and large, tend to be unprepared for working with non-white, non-middle-class children) often come to believe early in their careers that they cannot affect whether or not many of the low-income students learn in school. In a word, they become external about the educational siutation. The implication of Phares' work is that teachers who are external would tend to be less effective in assisting their students than teachers who are internal about the learning situation. Thus, as a result of increased internality, teachers may be able to have more influence upon children's learning. We hypothesize that teachers who believe they can assist their students to learn will tend to have students who believe they can learn. In other words, teachers' control beliefs about a learning situation will tend to be correlated directly with student control beliefs about the learning situation.

A third hypothesis concerns the control beliefs that the children's parents have. For individuals from ethnic groups the control beliefs of children have been found to vary directly with those of their parents (Jessor, referenced in Rotter, 1966, p. 24). It is believed that the parents' control beliefs concerning the educational system are, to some extent, transmitted to their children. Concerning the school situation, we hypothesize that the control beliefs of children will tend to vary directly with the control beliefs of their parents.

The fourth hypothesis deals with the range of options that a child is given with respect to the learning situation. We hypothesize that the wider the range of options given the child in the classroom, the more internal the child will tend to be about the learning situation.

Though other factors undoubtedly determine whether or not a child feels he can influence the outcome of a learning situation, we believe the four that have been outlined--(a) the amount of consistency between the home and school environments, (b) the teachers' control beliefs about the learning situation, (c) the parents' control beliefs about the learning situation, (d) the range of options the child has in the classroom--will tend to "explain" the majority of variations in the children's control beliefs about the learning situation, relative to their general control beliefs. In other words, we hypothesize that (a) the more similar the home and school environments, the more internal the child will tend to be about the learning situation, and that (b) the majority of variation in the differences between control beliefs with regard to the school situation and general control beliefs can be explained by these four variables.

The school's tendency to measure low-income Black children's success and/or failure in school on the basis of one's ability to read is a sixth area of concern. Because measures used to make judgments about members of this population's ability to read are based on white middle-class norms, there is a need to develop processes through which word lists that are specific to low-income Black children and youth can be developed. The evidence cited earlier supports our hypothesis that such a word list would differ substantially and significantly from word lists presently available to agents of the school.

A second and related hypothesis, in our judgment, needs to be tested. We believe the utilization of such a word list to determine the difficulty of reading passages to which low-income Black children are typically exposed will yield levels of difficulty at variance with those that presently are yielded using the currently available lists.

Third, if the generated word list is utilized to develop and evaluate new or existing tests that require reading, we believe that the intelligence and reading scores of low-income Black children will be positively affected. This is another hypothesis that should be tested.

The manner in which the low-income Black child's primary language is treated and efforts on the part of the school to support his bilo-quality offer a seventh area of behavior which is of concern. This area is important because, as discussed above, the notion that low-income Black children speak inferior varieties of English is ingrained in the dominant American culture and in the school environment. When the varieties of language spoken by low-income Black children deviate sharply from the prestigious middle-class dialect of United States English of a given area, the assumption (often made by teachers) is that the child is deficient in language development and/or intellectual capability.

As a result of exposure to current myths which view languages and dialects from a narrow framework, children's perceptions of language and dialect differences often parallel those of adults. A low-income child whose primary language is being negatively evaluated may believe that the teacher's negative evaluation is, indeed, justified. Yet

dialect and language varieties represented within the classroom can be used as a source for providing children with another perspective and understanding of language and language variation.

Strategies for developing competence in the school depend upon the child's knowledge of the middle-class dialect of United States English before he can profit from classroom instruction in that dialect. The extent of biloqualism among low-income Black children from the same neighborhood may vary considerably, depending upon the language used in the home, exposure to television and radio, etc.

Assessment of biloqual competence is complicated by the various strategies children use in testing situations. For example, a child who speaks the middle-class dialect of United States English fairly well may choose to remain silent; but another child may know less of the middle-class dialect, yet utilize very effectively in the assessment situation what he does know.

Furthermore, norms operating in classrooms determine who speaks, when, to whom, in what manner, in which dialect, and on what subject. These norms may present conflicts for students who lack the biloqual competence to conform to the expectations of teachers. Such norms may also present problems for teachers unfamiliar with the speech varieties of the children or with the norms governing speech production. It is important, therefore, to familiarize teachers with the characteristics of the students' speech codes and to give teachers practice in comprehending and resolving problems which originate from conflicting patterns of speech.

These middle-class norms inhibit the development of productive biloqual competence in low-income Black children (Labov, 1969; Baratz & Shuy, 1969). The unrealistic expectation that these children express themselves in the middle-class dialect of United States English and the negative feedback they receive from speaking their own primary language inhibit the development of appropriate styles of expression. The children need more opportunity to acquire and practice alternative styles.

It appears necessary to develop strategies for restructuring the social environment in the school so as to provide opportunities for children to practice alternative styles of expression. Although the exact nature of the necessary restructuring is not known at this time, it is expected that work in this area will indicate crucial social variables that influence styles of speaking.

Children's productive language capacity can be stimulated by exposure to a variety of social situations in which the usual classroom norms are relaxed (see Hymes, 1970). As a child develops in biloqual competence, he should be able to perform in a greater number of situations.

In this area of concern, we suggest that the following three hypotheses are in need of testing: (a) white middle-class teachers will view the language used by young low-income Black urban children

as an "inferior" version of the middle-class dialect of the United States; (b) low-income Black parents' perceptions of Black English will be identical to the perceptions of Black English held by white middle-class teachers, (c) low-income Black children whose primary language is negatively evaluated will agree that the negative evaluation is justified.

Summary

Exposure to inconsistent environments delays or impedes learning in the formal school environment and creates a value conflict that poses an agonizing, if not crippling, choice for the low-income Black child. By creating inconsistent environments, the educational system virtually guarantees that it will not fulfill its purposes and, in fact, inhibits rather than facilitates the development of low-income Black students.

The amount of overlap between the home and school environments will predict the child's success in school learning. Because this view seems accurate, there is a need to reduce dissimilarity between home and school environments of low-income Black children.

The emergent problem appears to be a function of these facts: (a) experience bases which low-income Black children bring to the school environment are typically neither perceived nor valued by the teachers; (b) middle-class teachers and low-income Black pupils usually come from divergent social/ethnic classes and consequently bring divergent knowledge, values, and behavior to the school environment; (c) the middle-class teacher typically does not have the experience, tools, or foundations to meet the felt needs of low-income Black children; and (d) the middle-class teacher often imposes behavior she values on low-income Black children without awareness of resulting cultural conflict.

Today, educational policy-makers who attempt to meet the educational needs of low-income Black children must do so without knowledgeable guidance. There are few sources of valid information on the home environments of low-income Black children which an educator might use to develop learning activities that build upon the child's existing skills and expectations. A more adequate knowledge base is needed if we are to design more effective patterns.

The generation of these knowledge bases will open new vistas and will make it possible to develop culturally-specific teacher behavior patterns, methods, materials, practices, and learning environments. These knowledge bases will also provide educators with capability to (a) provide more adequate and appropriate educational services and staffing patterns, and (b) evaluate more objectively the academic performance of low-income Black children.

This work will result in knowledge bases from which processes and training, as well as hardware and software, can be generated to improve educational opportunities for low-income Black children.

OVERVIEW OF THE RESPONSIVE PROGRAM FOR EARLY CHILDHOOD EDUCATION

Glen P. Nimnicht

Introduction

Formal education can and should start before a child is five or six. It need not, however, take place within a classroom. Formal education can happen in the home with one child or a small group of two to five children, in a day care home with groups of fifteen or more, in a Head Start or day care classroom, or in a public school. In contrast to informal education, formal education requires a well-planned structured program of educational experiences that aid in the systematic development of a child's intellectual ability.

The Responsive Program offers formal education that attempts to provide for the varied educational needs of children between the ages of three and nine, along with participation by their families. Underlying the program are several basic assumptions about the education of young children. The first is the notion that the family is primarily responsible for how its children are educated. The role of any educational institution is to aid the family in carrying out this responsibility.

A second assumption is that any formal educational program should provide a vareity of alternatives to meet the needs of the parents and their children. Some parents will want or need day-long, year-round day care service for their children, others will need three to five hours in a classroom setting; still others will need assistance in working with their children at home.

A third assumption is that the educational program should be responsive to the learner's background, culture, and life style. For example, if a child is Mexican-American and speaks Spanish, the educational program should respond by using materials relevant to his background and reflecting his cultural heritage. The language of instruction should include Spanish, whether in a bilingual program or in a program in which English is treated as a second language. The same emphasis is needed for Black children, Navajo children, and others. This notion implies a major change in the goals of the school as a social institution.

Instead of the traditional "melting pot" goal of blending divergent groups into a single homogeneous mass, the goal should be to develop a "tossed salad" of different cultures and life styles, enhancing the values and uniqueness of each culture, so that, taken together, they become complementary. In other words, the objective of the school as a social institution should be to prepare people to live in a pluralistic society. The logic for recommending pluralism as an objective is:

(1) Non-European minority groups have always resisted the efforts of the majority group to assimilate them. They have also resisted an educational system that tries to carry out the assimiliation. This resistance, of course, limits the progress of minority children within the system and sets up conflicts for the child between the values of his family and those of the educational system.

(2) In some respects a pluralistic society is probably less efficient than a more homogenious society. However, because different points of view provide a wider variety of alternatives to choose from in the search for solutions to problems, it is probably much richer and more productive in the long run. The logic is the same as that applied to interdisciplinary studies. Diversity can enrich rather than impoverish.

The goal of trying to achieve a pluralistic society has two implications:

(1) The public schools will have to take into account what children learn before they start school; and

(2) They will have to be more responsive to individual children and their parents.

Some federally supported programs, including the Head Start and Follow Through programs, have recognized that the current school system fails to meet the needs of culturally and ethnically different children. Within these national programs, efforts have been encouraged that help a child to repond to the existing system or that change the system to respond to the existing child. Nevertheless, there are too few examples of schools providing for children who are culturally different or who have different life styles. For instance, some programs recognize that, since English is a second language for Spanish speaking children, it should be taught from that point of view. But relatively few experimental programs are concerned with developing bilingualism, and fewer still have any content that is relevant to the child's background. Perhaps the prime reason for this is that neither the parents nor the children themselves have had an effective voice in shaping their education.

Our goal in developing the Responsive Program is to provide a program that will meet the needs of at least 90% of the children between the ages of three and nine and will involve their parents. The program originated as an effort to create Head Start and Follow Through programs that responded to children who are ethnically and culturally different from white middle-class children. To some extent it still focuses on these programs. We concentrated on these programs at the beginning of development for two reasons. First, the needs of these children are the greatest, because the present system is least responsive to them. Second, we believe that if we can design a program that responds to these children, we will be

able to respond to the needs of the children for whom the schools are designed and of the children in the intermediate categories.

Currently the Responsive Program has three parts: a preschool program for three- to five-year-old children in Head Start, day care or preschool classrooms; a primary school (including Follow Through) program for children in kindergarten through third grade; and a Parent/Child Toy-Lending Library program designed for parents who wish to work at home with their children.

Objectives of the Program

The major objectives are to help the learner to develop or maintain a healthy self-concept in relation to learning in the school and the home and to develop his intellectual ability. These two objectives are interrelated and cannot be treated as though they were independent of each other.

We define a healthy self-concept as a realistic but basically positive view of oneself. A child has a healthy self-concept in relation to learning and school if:

(1) he likes himself and his people;
(2) he believes that what he thinks, says, and does makes a difference;
(3) he believes that he can be successful in school;
(4) he believes that he can solve a variety of problems;
(5) he has a realistic estimate of his own abilities and limitations;
(6) he expresses feelings of pleasure and enjoyment.

In long-range terms, a health self-concept is probably the most important single objective in the development of an individual. We recognize, however, that many of the factors that affect a child's self-concept, such as family, peer group, and general community, are outside of the influence of the school. In our program, therefore, we concentrate on the development of self-concept in relation to the school and the learning environment.

The second major objective of the program is to help the learner develop his basic intellectual abilities. In order to learn, an individual needs to develop:

(1) his senses and perceptions because the senses are the source of data for the thought process;
(2) his language ability because language is a tool of the thought process;
(3) his concept-formation ability because he needs to be able to deal with abstractions and to classify information to organize thought.

These two objectives, self-concept and cognitive development, overlap and interact in the realm of problem-solving. Problem-solving is the process of arriving at answers to questions or unresolved

situations. In order to solve problems, an individual needs not only intellectual abilities but also the self-confidence that comes from having a healthy self-concept.

Every challenge a person meets, whether in school or outside of it, can be defined as some kind of problem. Three general classifications for problems are non-interactional, interactional, and affective. A non-interactional or physical problem involves only one person; an arithmetic problem and a puzzle are examples. To solve this kind of problem, a person manipulates his physical environment but he is not acted upon in the same way. Usually, the answer to a non-interactional problem can be predicted and people agree on the appropriateness of the solution. The conventional school curriculum deals mainly with this type of problem-solving; intelligence tests are primarily tests of an individual's ability to solve puzzles.

An interactional problem involves two or more persons (or machines) and requires a person to think, "If I do this, what is he likely to do?" The individual is being manipulated at the same time he is manipulating. Games like poker, chess, and hide-and-seek are good examples of interactional problems. Obviously, solutions to interactional problems are not as easily agreed on or verified as solutions to non-interactional problems.

It is possible to consider the first two kinds of problems without considering emotional overtones, but emotion is usually involved to some degree. When the emotional aspects of a problem become the dominant consideration, the problem becomes affective. For example, if a child has difficulty reading because he lacks self-confidence, the teacher would have to start by dealing with an affective problem.

Although the conventional school system focuses only on the first kind of problem, we believe that an educational program should help the child learn to solve all three kinds of problems. In many instances, a learner cannot solve a non-interactional or interactional problem until he has overcome some affective problem related to self-concept.

We believe that a person who is developing the ability to solve problems is learning how to learn. To help children develop problem-solving ability, we emphasize the learning of problem-solving skills and strategies* rather than correct answers. We encourage discovery

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*For a further discussion of problem-solving skills and strategies, see Glen Nimnicht and Barry Barnes, Objectives of the Responsive Head Start and Follow Through Program. Berkeley: Far West Laboratory for Educational Research and Development, 1971. We have identified a number of problem-solving skills and strategies; we assume there are others. Two examples of problem-solving strategies are: inductive reasoning, or generalizing rules from examples, which is useful in both non-interactional and interactional problems; and hypothesizing, or conceptualizing responses to alternative actions, which is useful in solving interactional problems.

learning in which the child discovers answers for himself instead of being told the answer by the teacher or parent. As the child goes through the process of discovering answers, he learns problem-solving skills. The role of the parent or teacher in discovery learning is to respond to the child and to structure the learning environment in a way that poses problems he wants to solve and guides him to discovering his own answers.

Obviously, both cognitive skills and self-concept interact powerfully with problem-solving. For instance, language skills and the ability to classify information, which are part of cognitive development, are essential to most problem-solving. In addition, certain characteristics related to a healthy self-concept are important to the affective aspects of problem-solving.

Examples of these characteristics include willingness to risk failure in solving a problem, confidence in one's solution, and the ability to adjust expectations for the future on the basis of previous experience.

Since healthy self-concept and cognitive development overlap in the realm of problem-solving, we consider problem-solving the central educational objective of the program. However, problem-solving does not encompass all of the objectives of the program. Some important aspects of self-concept and cognitive development, which we value, lie outside the realm of problem-solving. For example, the development of a child's understanding of and positive feeling for his background, which are part of a healthy self-concept, may have relatively little bearing on his ability to solve problems, but we include these in our objectives. Likewise, the development of artistic abilities and poetic expression, which are part of cognitive development, may have little or no relationship to a person's ability to solve problems, but we value these abilities as well.

Procedures

To achieve the above objectives, the program is based upon the idea of an environment which is designed to respond to the learner and in which all learning activities are autotelic or self-rewarding.

A learning environment that responds to the student fulfills the following conditions:

(1) it permits the learner to explore freely, within the structure provided by the teacher;
(2) it informs the learner immediately about the consequences of his actions (give him "feedback");
(3) it is self-pacing, allowing the learner to choose activities at his own rate;
(4) it permits the learner to make full use of his capacity for discovering relationships of various kinds;
(5) it is structured in such a way that the learner is likely to make a series of interconnected discoveries about the physical, cultural, or social world.

The activities within the environment are autotelic. An autotelic activity is self-rewarding; the learner is motivated by the satisfaction of participating in the activity rather than by rewards unrelated to the activity or by threats of punishments such as poor grades.

Not all self-rewarding activities are autotelic, however. To be autotelic, an activity must also help the learner develop a skill or learn a concept or develop an attitude that is useful in some other activity. Autotelic activities are intentionally designed to reduce the rewards for success or the punishment for failure to limits that the learner and society can tolerate, so that the learner can master some skill which is useful in life, but one which he may not be able to learn through direct experience since the cost of failure is too great to tolerate.

For example, in many of our autotelic activities, the only reward is the successful completion of the task. If a child is not successful, he knows he did not complete the task, but he is not punished with a low grade. Furthermore, he may leave the task if he wishes. Other autotelic activities are games in which the reward is winning. The child knows when he does not win but he does not forfeit a prize and he may stop playing the game or play with someone else. We believe that any educational program for young children must enable them to avoid painful experiences that can affect future learning. The use of autotelic activities provides this protection.

Application of the Procedures to the Classroom

Throughout the day, the children are free to choose from a variety of activities, such as artwork, working with puzzles, looking at books, listening to records, playing with manipulative toys, and others related to reading, science, and mathematics. They may stay with an activity as long as they like, moving on to a new activity whenever they wish to do so. As the day progresses, small groups of children choose to play games with specific learning objectives (called "learning episodes") with the teacher or teaching assistants; others ask to be read to.

During the day, the teacher and teaching assistants read to the children, play games with them, and respond to their spontaneous activities, building the experience that precedes instruction in some skill or concept. Adult-initiated conversation is limited, but child-initiated conversation is encouraged; the teacher and assistants respond to the children rather than having the children respond to them.

Once or twice a day, there are large-group activities, such as singing, listening to a story, or participating in a planned lesson. A child does not have to take part in a large-group activity if he does not want to, but he may not continue any activity of his own that disturbs the group.

Although the children freely choose activities within the classroom environment, the teacher and assistant structure the environment

by deciding, on the basis of their planning for specific learning objectives, which activities and materials shall be available each day. The adults attempt to arrange the materials and to respond to the children in a way that will pose problems that the children will want to solve and that will guide them to learning specific skills or concepts.

In planning the activities and materials to be made available, the teacher and assistant consider not only specific learning objectives, but also the background, interests, level of development, and individual characteristics of the children in order to provide choices that are appropriate and responsive to each child. To facilitate their planning, the teacher and assistant make systematic observations of each child.

Because the children have free choice, responsive classrooms tend to be noisier than conventional classrooms. However, certain definite limits on behavior, based on considerations of health, safety, and respect for others' rights, are established. The adults attempt to prevent conflicts by planning responsive activities and by anticipating problems. If discipline problems arise, an adult attempts to guide the child to self-control, first by giving him a chance to control himself and then, if necessary, by using techniques such as redirection to another activity.

A typical preschool classroom in the Responsive Program might appear as follows:

The classroom contains 15 to 20 children, a teacher, a teaching assistant, and a parent volunteer. In the manipulative toy area, the teaching assistant is using the flannel board to conduct a learning episode with two children, while a third child plays by herself with a different manipulative toy.

The learning episode is "What shape doesn't belong?" The objective of the episode is to help children learn various shape concepts by using the problem-solving process of discriminating between matching and non-matching shapes. The assistant is arranging small yellow triangles, circles, and squares into groups of three or four on a flannel board. In each group, one shape is different from the others. She asks the children to find which shape doesn't belong, and reinforces their identification with comments such as "That's right, the circle is not the same shape as the triangles." If the children wish to change the rules of the games or stop playing, they are free to do so.

The third child in the manipulative toy area has chosen to play with the stacking squares toy. This toy has 16 colored wooden squares in four different sizes; they fit on a wooden post cut in such a way that the squares must be arranged by size. (Thus the toy is self-correcting.) As the child explores the toy, she discovers that the only way to fit all the squares on the post is to put the largest squares at the bottom and the smallest on the top.

In the dramatic play area, five children are using dress-up clothes and simple props made from familiar home materials to play "going to the store." The parent volunteer is responding to their spontaneous play with the objective of extending their language. From their observation of children playing in this area, the adults have concluded that there is space for only five children, and they have explained this rule to the children. When a sixth child comes over to play, the parent volunteer asks the children, "Six children want to play here. What is the rule?" After they answer, she poses a problem-solving question: "What can we do about this?" The children decide to construct with blocks a store outside the play area, and the sixth child acts as the storekeeper.

Another child is looking at books in the reading area. Among the choices that the teachers have placed on the low shelves are books that reflect the different ethnic backgrounds of the children, as well as the story about sizes which a child asked the teaching assistant to read the day before

The teacher is working with children in the art area, which is equipped with two easels for painting and a table for other activities. Today she has provided two choices of art activites, easel painting and collage; four children want to paint, and two others are making collages from wallpaper, yarn, netting, and buttons. The teacher is introducing a new color, purple; consequently she has offered the children only red and blue paint, a more limited choice of colors than usual. As the children paint, some of them mix red and blue paint on their paper to produce purple. For the children making collages, the teacher has provided purple paper of various sizes and shapes to use for backgrounds; many of the materials available for collage are purple.

The teacher, like the teaching assistant, is noting the children's activities on observation cards. At the end of the day, the teacher, assistant, and parent volunteer will discuss their observations in order to plan for the following week.

In the snack area, two children have poured their own juice. When they feel they are ready, the other children will come to this area for their snacks. To reinforce the concept of purple, the adults provided purple grape juice today; tomorrow the snack will be purple grapes. The concept of purple is also reinfored in the concept-formation area, where many of the magazine pictures on the bulletin board and many of the objects on the table are purple.

Later, the teacher will begin a large-group activity. To attract the attention of children who may wish to participate, she starts with a clapping game. During this ten- to twenty-minute period, she also sings a folk song with children and reads from the book about shapes. The parent volunteer joins the activity; at the end of large-group time, she sings a song in which she dismisses the children individually by name so that they go outside in an orderly way. The teacher waits by the door to the playground; when the first five children have put on their coats, she leads them outside. The parent volunteer and

the teaching assistant follow with the other children when they are ready.

For those who wish to join her in a game, the teaching assistant has brought ropes and chalk to the playground. She uses these to outline circles, squares, and triangles; she plays a game by asking the children to stand or jump into the different shapes, e.g., "Johnny, you stand inside the circle."

This game requires a higher level of concept development than the learning episode she conducted earlier with the flannel board. In the earlier game, the children discriminated non-matching shapes; here, they are asked to demonstrate their visual recognition of a specific shape. The assistant has observed that two or three children are ready to produce shapes without visual clues, so she asks, "Becka, would you like to take the chalk and draw a circle?"

The activities in a typical kindergarten classroom are similar, but one important addition in kindergarten classrooms (or first-grade classrooms in districts that have no kindergarten) is a Learning Booth. The Learning Booth is a typing booth equipped with a special electric typewriter and related materials for child-paced learning games; the booth is staffed by a trained booth attendant. The main objective of the games is to help children learn problem-solving skills. Since many of the problems presented in the games are related to reading, children are likely to learn some reading skills as well.

In classrooms that contain a Learning Booth, the booth attendant asks each child two or three times a week if he would like to play with the typewriter. If the child says "yes " the attendant takes him to the booth where the child may play with the typewriter for as long as ten minutes. In the first phase of Learning Booth games, the child simply explores the typewriter while the attendant responds to the child by naming the symbols he strikes, e.g., "X, comma, A, Y, return." The child will move from this first phase of free exploration to three other phases: matching on the keyboard letters that are shown to him; discriminating among two or more letters shown to him; and producing his own words and stories on the typewriter. At each phase, the child's discovery of the rules of the new game is stressed.

In accordance with the principles of the responsive environment, the attendant attempts to respond to the child and let him set his own pace. If a child wishes to play in an earlier phase or leave the booth, he may do so.

In classrooms in the primary grades, there is more emphasis on curriculum, although the principle of free choice within a structured environment still applies. The classroom contains learning centers for reading, math, listening, science, and art; the teaching staff continues to work with children individually or in small groups most of the time.

The Laboratory does not provide a complete curriculum; we believe that each school or school district should determine its own curriculum on the basis of the needs of the children involved. The Laboratory does, however, suggest materials in mathematics and language skills which may be coordinated into a classroom's curriculum.

The suggested approach for mathematics centers around problem-solving skills. In the area of language, the suggested approach concentrates on written and oral language produced out of the child's own experience. Two methods used for encouraging children to produce language are the use of artwork, in which children describe the pictures they create, and dictation, in which the children dictate stories and the teacher writes down their words.

The Parent/Child Toy-Lending Library

The way the principles of the Responsive Program are carried out in the classroom has been described above. The Parent/Child Toy-Lending Library applies those same principles to the situation where parents work at home with their own children.

In the Toy Library program, parents meet once a week for eight weeks in a course conducted by a trained teacher-librarian. They discuss child development and learn to use eight educational toys designed to teach children specific skills and concepts. Parents take home a different toy each week; at the end of the course they may continue to borrow toys and other educational materials from the Toy Library.

The Toy Library program has the same general objectives as the other components of the Responsive Program: to help children develop their intellectual ability and develop or maintain a healthy self-concept. The specific objectives of the course are:

(1) to aid parents in feeling more competent in helping their child learn what they believe to be important skills and concepts;
(2) to aid parents in feeling that they can influence the decisions that affect the education of their child;
(3) to enable parents to gain a better understanding of what their child is capable of learning and, therefore, a feeling that he can be successful;
(4) to increase the child's competence in specific areas as a result of the interaction with the parents.

We believe that if the course achieves these specific objectives, the parents will be furthering the intellectual development of their children in a way that is likely to support the development of healthy self-concept.

In each two-hour meeting of the course, parents are asked to:

(1) Practice a specific behavior related to the emotional, physical, or intellectual growth of the young child

(e.g., using positive redirection rather than negative discipline).

(2) Observe a demonstration of an educational toy and accompanying learning games which help the child learn a specific skill or concept.

(3) Practice the use of the toy and games by role-playing ("parent" and "child") with other adults in the course.

(4) Take a toy home each week and play one or more games with their child.

(5) Discuss with parents in the course, and with the course leader, topics of interest related to the development and the education of their children.

The games (or "learning episodes") that accompany the toys make use of concept-formation and problem-solving techniques. The eight toys used in the course are designed to teach concepts and skills such as color and shape identification, numerical concepts, and auditory discrimination. (These toys, which include the flannel board and stacking squares toy described earlier, are also used in preschool classrooms in the Responsive Program.) Other toys, however, could be used to teach other skills or concepts; we are concerned more with the learning process itself than with the specific content.

Each toy is accompanied by several learning episodes. Instructions for a learning episode state the purpose of the game and give simple directions for playing. The general instructions are the same for each learning episode:

(1) The parent is to play by our rules unless the child changes the rules; then the parents should play by the child's rules.

(2) If the parent asks the child to play and the child does not want to play, the parent cannot ask again that day. But if the child asks later during the day, the parent can play with him.

(3) The child can stop playing any time he likes and should not be asked why. The parent then puts the game away.

These general rules are aimed to prevent the parent from unintentionally pressuring a child to do something he is not able to do and help maintain a health interaction between the parent and the child when they are playing the game.

The Parent/Child Toy Library program was designed to serve parents who wish to work with their own children at home. The program can also become a part of Head Start or day care programs and can

thus be used as a means of encouraging parents to participate in and to understand the purpose of such programs.

The support system developed for the Toy Library includes:

(1) The eight basic toys used in the course, a set of eight additional toys for the library, and approximately 20 learning episodes for each set of toys.

(2) A handbook for parents for each set of toys. The handbooks contain the learning episodes and a general discussion of some topics related to early childhood education.

(3) A set of eight color filmstrips and cassette audio tapes which demonstrate the 20 learning episodes that accompany the eight basic toys.

(4) Three training films which show how toys and games can be used to foster the development of healthy self-concept, discovery learning, and free exploration.

(5) A manual for the teacher-librarians which contains detailed instructions for conducting the course and operating the library.

(6) A one-week training workshop for teacher-librarians to be conducted by a Laboratory-trained consultant.

Some Basic Considerations in Developing the Procedures and Content

The program is not based upon any single theory of learning because we do not think there is one theory that adequately accounts for all the ways children learn. However, since there is some common agreement among various theories, the program is designed to satisfy the conditions for learning that are generally agreed upon. For specific aspects of the program, we have drawn on a variety of theories.

One theory that underlies the program is the notion that there is a relationship between maturation and learning. A child does have to mature to a certain point before he can make certain sounds. The work of developmental theorists such as Piaget, Jerome Bruner, and J. McVicker Hunt has influenced the program. But the relationship between maturation and learning of certain skills or concepts is not so clear as it seemed to be in the 1930's and 1940's. The supposed relationship should be subjected to empirical validation. For example, some theorists believed that young children would not be ready to use a typewriter, but we have found the use of typewriters to be very successful with kindergarten and first-grade children.

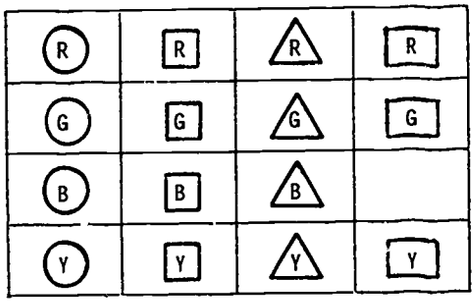
Although our program is based more heavily upon the ideas of developmental theorists, we also find useful the work of B. F. Skinner, Lloyd Homme, and others interested in the basic notions of operant conditioning, behavioral objectives, and reinforcement of

learning. To try to define objectives in clear behavioral terms is useful, but we do not believe that every objective can be defined in behavior that cen be immediately observed. To do so unnecessarily restricts our real objectives. We also find it useful to think in terms of reinforcement of learning and feedback to the learner. We are using intrir ic reinforcers in autotelic activities instead of extrinsic reinforcers, but the reinforcers are present. Our belief that a wide variety of autotelic activities is necessary (because no one activity is rewarding to all children) is consistent with the behaviorists' notion that a varied reward system is necessary to reinforce learning. They use a variety of external rewards as reinforcers while we use a variety of learning activities.

Though we develop learning sequences, we do not assume that every child must follow that sequence. In many instances, we do not claim to know how the learning of a particular behavior contributes to the future learning ability or achievement of a child. This has sometimes been described as a "sandpile theory of learning"; that is, we know a tremendous number of grains of sand are needed to support more sand. But we are not at all certain which grain of sand is necessary to support the next one. And, as the analogy implies, we are not certain that any particular grain is necessary; others could be substituted and still support the pile.

Two examples will illustrate the notion of sequencing and the "sandpile theory." In beginning a Head Start classroom, we advise the teacher to help the children learn a variety of concepts including color, size, and shape. After the child has considerable experience with colors, shapes, and sizes, we start combining them into more complex concepts such as the largest circle or the green triangle, and eventually the smallest yellow square or the largest blue circle. We assume that the child can learn to deal with three attributes by dealing first with one attribute at a time, then two; but he does not necessarily have to follow this sequence of learning.

Another series of problems are posed by matrix games. In one such game, all of the shapes in the first row are red, in the second row green, third row blue, and the last row yellow. All shapes in the first column are circles, in the second squares, in the third triangles, and in the fourth rectangles.



One of the cells in the matrix is covered and the child is asked what shape is covered. To solve the problem, he must figure out the shape by looking at the column and its color by looking at the row. This is a fairly difficult problem for many four- or five-year old children, yet it seems to be worth presenting. Except for helping the children learn to solve other matrix problems, it is difficult to say how it contributes to his future learning. We assume that it contributes to general problem-solving ability, but we do not assume that this or a similar experience is crucial to the future learning ability of the child.

The notion of the "sandpile theory" has many practical applications. First, there is no sacred content that must be mastered at or by a given time. The child can opt out and not learn to count to ten in kindergarten; he can learn to count later. The emphasis is on learning how to learn--on the process rather than the specific content to be learned. We select content based upon four criteria:

(1) Can we devise a way to help the child learn the concept without distorting its meaning?

(2) Is the concept or skill of immediate value to the child?

(3) Will the concept contribute to the child's ability to learn more complex concepts?

(4) Does a concept fulfill expectations that teachers have at the next grade level?

A skill or concept does not have to meet all of the criteria, but the criteria help to establish priorities or emphases that are placed on content. Nevertheless, we insist that all children not be expected to learn a set of skills or concepts at any given time.

Evaluation

The final evaluation of the program will be based upon how well it meets the objectives stated earlier. This final evaluation will not take place until the development of each component is fully completed and tests have been developed that adequately measure the objectives of the program. In the meantime, the Laboratory makes systematic evaluations during the development process. The four major steps of development are as follows:

(1) selection of approach and design of prototype;

(2) preliminary testing with a limited sample;

(3) performance testing with a larger sample, under careful supervision of the Laboratory;

(4) operational testing under normal field conditions with limited involvement of the Laboratory.

At any point, the development can be and has been recycled if the desired results are not obtained.

We collect some data for the evaluation of the children by using standardized tests of intelligence and achievement. But we do not consider these tests to be adequate measures of the objectives of the program, so we are developing some additional tests of our own. One is a test that measures a child's problem-solving ability.

To measure a child's self-concept, we have developed a Responsive Self-Concept Test, a Target Game, and two other measures of self-concept. We are currently analyzing data from these tests as a basis for possible revisions.

The Laboratory does not anticipate having a final evaluation of the first phase of the total program for several years, but in the developmental process there are enough check points to ensure against a complete failure. One thing seems to be certain: if the program does not meet our expectations, the alternatives are to revise the program until it does or replace it with a better model. We cannot return to current practices.

A FLEXIBLE TRAINING SYSTEM

FOR EARLY CHILDHOOD EDUCATION STAFF

Glen P. Nimnicht

Introduction

The Flexible Training System currently being developed by the Far West Laboratory for Educational Research and Development is intended for early-childhood education staff, including teacher assistants, teachers, Program Advisors (teacher trainers), program directors, parent coordinators, and social service workers. The system is based on the use of competency units--self-contained learning modules that focus on specific skills essential to the effective performance of early childhood education staff members.

The system specifies the competencies needed for each staff role; the training is offered in the form of a set of competency training units for each staff role. The competency units for a given role need not be studied in a particular sequence; a learner can enter the training at any point. Thus the system allows the learner to assess his individual needs and choose the specific competency units in which training would be most beneficial.

A description of the competency units and the training system follows a discussion of the rationale for this approach. It should be noted that this description is not a final statement about the competency units. As the system is further developed, definitions of some individual competency units are likely to change.

Rationale

The rationale for this approach stems from an analysis of some of the needs for training in early-childhood education. These include:

(1) The need for training for the entire early-education staff, focused upon a career development program. The Laboratory's experience in training Head Start and Follow Through teachers and Program Advisors in the Responsive Program has indicated that teacher assistants would probably progress faster if a special program were designed for them.* It has also become apparent

*In a survey conducted in 1970-71, the Responsive Model Follow Through teachers and teacher assistants were asked to evaluate the effectiveness of the inservice workshops. Teacher assistants indicated that they would like to have some workshops that are geared especially to their role and function in the classroom. See Pierina Ng and Ann Rhodes, Responsive Program Follow Through Teacher and Teacher Assistant Year-End Survey, 1970-71. Berkeley: Far West Laboratory, 1972.

that training is needed for other personnel, including program directors, parent coordinators, and social service workers. Conversations with others involved in training Head Start teachers and assistants indicate that these needs are common to many other programs. Similar training is needed for the growing number of personnel employed in day care programs.*

(2) The need for training to accommodate individual differences among the trainees at the outset of the training, allowing trainees to progress at different rates and in different ways.

(3) The need for training to provide a basis for awarding college credit that is not dependent solely upon college course work. A problem that seems national in scope is that career development programs are tied to college course work and credit hours. Under these circumstances, a teacher assistant with a family who starts with a high school degree needs four or five years to obtain a two-year college degree (A.A.). In the meantime, that person has acquired four or five years of classroom experience. If some of the training could be related to the classroom or day care center, the program could reduce the amount of time needed to obtain a degree or credential, without reducing quality.**

(4) The need for training to provide a variety of alternatives for employment so that the individual is not dependent upon one program.

(5) The need for training to provide a way for increased competency to be reflected in increased compensation.

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*U. S. Department of Labor data showed that there were only 160,000 day care personnel in 1969 although, according to Waldman, in 1970 more than 26 million children had mothers who worked full time or part time. See E. Waldman and K. Gover, Women in the Labor Force. Washington, D. C.: Women's Bureau, U. S. Department of Labor, 1971. M. Keister, The Final Report: A Demonstration Project--Group Care of Infants and Toddlers. Greensboro: University of North Carolina, 1970. Grotberg states that staff training may well be the most critical area of day care requiring immediate research and development. See E. Grotberg, ed., Day Care: Resources for Decisions. Washington, D. C.: Office of Economic Opportunity, undated.

**Numerous writers in the field of education have called for more flexible, performance-based criteria for credentialling. For example, see J. W. Popham, "Performance Tests of Teaching Proficiency: Rationale, Development and Validation." American Education Research Journal, Vol. 8, 1971, pp. 105-117.

For example, the training that teacher assistants receive is usually not recognized in a salary schedule; they receive the same pay with or without training.*

(6) The need to provide for differences in training that reflect differences in the communities and children served.

(7) The need for training provided on an inservice basis so that an individual does not have to leave home for long periods of time or go without an income during training.

(8) The need to provide a variety of competencies in a short period of time.

If a training program is to accommodate individual differences among the trainees at the outset of the training and allow trainees to progress at different rates and in different ways, it must provide some way to determine what skills the individuals have at the outset and then to allow for individual training. This requirement suggests that instead of setting out a sequence of training, the program should offer training in terms of a set of self-contained competencies that would allow a learner to enter at any point. If the competencies were carefully defined, the learner could determine where to begin by assessing his existing skills and choosing those competencies that would be the most beneficial.

By defining a set of competencies for each staff role, the training system could provide a career development program that would enable an individual to see clearly what skills are needed to move from one position to another.

To provide a basis for awarding college credit that is not dependent solely upon college course work, the competencies would have to be defined clearly enough to be converted into language that colleges and universities could work with. For example, it might be necessary to say how many hours of training and practice are needed to learn a given competency so that the time could be converted into college credit. Furthermore, it would be necessary to specify the behavior or understanding that would result from the training and that behavior or understanding would have to be capable of being observed and assessed. Under these conditions, college credit could be awarded. The next step would be to award credit (for a defined competency for which standards had been set) to a person who had that competency at the outset of the training. For example, if the desirable competency were the ability of the teacher or assistant to understand the language of the child (for example, Spanish), a teacher assistant who came to work understanding that

*Forty-one percent of the 288 Follow Through assistants who participated in our survey indicated that they were dissatisfied with their salary. See Pierina Ng and Ann Rhodes, above.

language would deserve the credit. By using this system and by relating a large portion of the training to the classroom or center, the program could reduce the amount of time required to obtain a degree or credential, without reducing quality.

The system of competency units could also provide a way for increased competency to be reflected in increased compensation. For instance, if it were possible to show that a trainee, such as a teacher assistant, had completed 50% of the competencies required for a position, then it would also be possible to reflect that level of competence in the compensation the person would receive.

The Training System

In accordance with the rationale discussed above, the Flexible Training System will offer training in the form of competency units organized into sets of competency clusters for each staff role.

The Competency Units

Competency units will vary in difficulty and in the amount of time required to master the skills and knowledge included in a unit; the teaching methods will also vary according to the competencies involved. All units, however, will contain the following: (a) a clear statement of objectives, (b) a statement of materials and procedures necessary to achieve the objectives of the unit, (c) an estimate of the time required for an interested adult to acquire the competency, and (d) a definition of the level of competence achieved at the conclusion of the training as determined by observable kinds of behavior. In addition, the amount of time required for attainment of a given level of competency will be related to equivalent college course credit at one or more institutions of higher education.

Depending on the skills to be learned, the teaching materials and procedures may include written materials, demonstrations, films, role-playing, and videotaping. A more detailed statement of the characteristics of a competency unit is provided at the end of this section.

Table 5.1 lists the competencies in the Flexible Training System and indicates which competencies are needed for each staff role. Table 5.2 shows in chart form the relationship of competency units to staff roles.

As these two tables indicate, we plan at present 20 basic competencies for the teacher assistant; examples would include Competency #8, using games and toys as learning experiences for young children, and Competency #13, helping children develop healthy self-concepts. The teacher needs all of the competencies specified for the teacher assistant, plus eight additional competencies, such as Competency #21, organizing the classroom and materials, and Competency #23, evaluating the progress of children.

Table 5.1

RELATION OF COMPETENCY UNITS, ROLES, AND REQUIRED LEVELS OF COMPETENCY FOR ADULTS FILLING DIFFERENT ROLES WORKING WITH CHILDREN

Competency Unit	Level of Competency for Each Role					
	Teacher Assistant	Teacher	Program Advisor	Program Director	Parent Coordinator	Social Services Worker
1. Understand total program*	2	3	4	4	2	2
2. Model language for children	2	3	4	2	-	-
3. Develop child's language skills*	2	3	4	1	-	-
4. Develop child's relational concepts**	2	3	4	1	-	-
5. Develop child's category concepts**	2	3	4	1	-	-

The numbers in the body of the table represent the following levels of competence:

1. Verbal recall: The knowledge or understanding of the competency, as shown by the ability to describe it in a verbal or written form, or the ability to identify it when observing a classroom or videotape.

2. Produce behavior: The ability of the adult to produce the desired behavior.

3. Generalize behavior: The ability to recognize that the adult has himself produced the desired behavior, or the ability to generalize from one behavior to another.

4. Teach behavior: The ability to recognize that the adult himself has produced the desired behavior, to generalize from it, and to teach the behavior to someone else.

*An asterisk beside a competency unit indicates that the competency unit will contain different content for adults working with three different age groups (ages 6-9, 3-5, and 0-2) but the procedure will remain the same.

**A double asterisk indicates there will be considerable change in the competency unit for the three different age groups.

No asterick indicates that there will be no change from one age group to another.

Competency Unit	Level of Competency for Each Role: Teacher Assistant	Teacher	Program Advisor	Program Director	Parent Coordinator	Social Services Worker
6. Develop child's social concepts**	2	3	4	1	-	-
7. Develop child's problem-solving ability*	2	3	4	1	-	-
8. Use games and other materials*	2	3	4	1	-	-
9. Test young children*	2	3	4	1	-	-
10. Use the child's play for learning*	2	3	4	1	-	-
11. Understand child's language	2	2	4	2	2	2
12. Understand child's background	1	1	1	1	1	1
13. Help child develop healthy self-concept	2	2	4	2	1	1
14. Control children's behavior in a group	2	3	4	1	-	-
15. Help child develop self-control	2	3	4	1	-	-
16. Work effectively with other adults	2	3	4	4	-	-
17. Work effectively with parents	2	3	4	4	2	3
18. Conduct Parent/Child Toy Library*	2	1	4	1	2	1
19. Use Learning Booths	2	1	4	1	-	-
20. (to be defined)						
21. Organize classroom and materials*	-	2	4	1	-	-
22. Plan for day, week, and year*	-	2	4	1	-	-
23. Evaluate progress of children*	-	2	4	1	-	-
24. Evaluate textbooks for cultural relevance**	-	2	4	2	-	-
25. Explain program to parents*	-	2	4	2	-	-

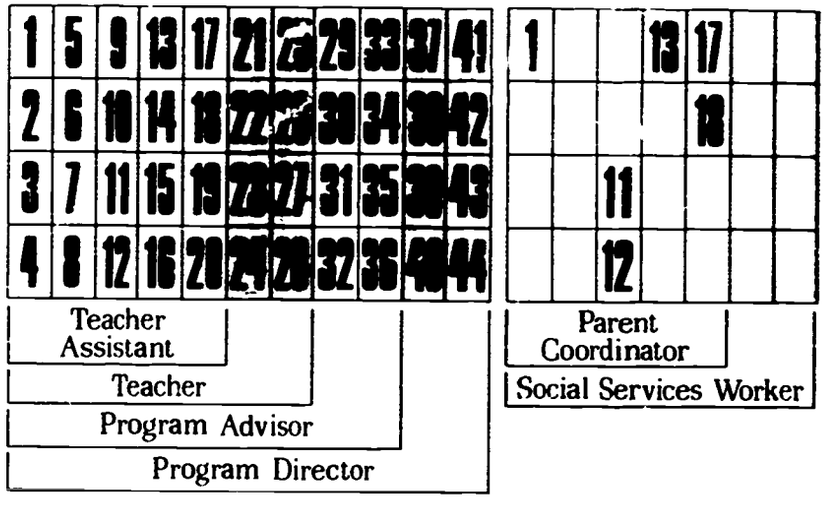
Competency Unit	Level of Competency for Each Role					
	Teacher Assistant	Teacher	Program Advisor	Program Director	Parent Coordinator	Social Services Worker
26. Understand and eliminate demeaning behavior with racial overtones	-	2	4	2	-	-
27. (to be defined)						
28. (to be defined)						
29. Make classroom observations	-	-	2	1	-	-
30. Critique videotapes of classroom	-	-	2	1	-	-
31. Determine level of competency	-	-	2	1	-	-
32. Make demonstrations*	-	-	2	1	-	-
33. Conduct workshops*	-	-	2	1	-	-
34. Involve parents*	-	-	2	1	-	-
35. (to be defined)						
36. (to be defined)						
37. Set goals*	-	-	-	2	-	-
38. Analyze problems*	-	-	-	2	-	-
39. Derive objectives*	-	-	-	2	-	-
40. Design instructional program*	-	-	-	2	-	-
41. Plan program implementation*	-	-	-	2	-	-
42. Plan program evaluation*	-	-	-	2	-	-
43. (to be defined)						
44. (to be defined)						

Note: * The undefined competencies (26, 27, 28, 35, 36, 43, 44) are listed in this table as an indication that a number of additional competencies will be defined as work progresses. Eventually, additional competencies will also be defined for Parent Coordinators and Social Services Workers.

Table 5.2

The Flexible Training System

Competency Units Associated with Each Staff Role



The numbers within the body of the chart refer to competency units. Table 5.1 lists the number and title of each competency unit. Some of the spaces for competency units for the parent coordinator and social services worker have been left blank, as an indication that we hope eventually to define additional competencies for these staff members.

There are 36 competency units for the Program Advisor. As the person who trains teachers and teacher assistants, the Program Advisor needs to understand and be able to teach all of the 28 competencies required for teachers. The Program Advisor also needs eight additional competencies specifically related to the job of training, such as Competency #29, making classroom observations of teachers and giving teachers feedback, and Competency #33, conducting teacher training workshops.

The program director needs to have some minimal knowledge of all of the competencies required for the teacher assistant, teacher, and Program Advisor. Eight additional competencies are also specified for the program director, such as Competency #41, planning program implementation, and Competency #42, planning program evaluation.

Six competencies apply to all staff members, non-teaching staff as well as teaching staff. In the two tables, these competencies have been listed for the parent coordinator and social services worker as well as for the other staff roles. Two examples are Competency #1, understanding the total educational program for children, and Competency #12, understanding and appreciating a child's cultural background. Eventually we hope to define other competencies for the parent coordinator and social services worker. (Spaces for these competencies have been left blank in Table 5.2.)

Some competencies will apply to staff members across programs but the content will vary depending upon the geographic location of the program. Examples include Competency #11, understanding the child's language, and Competency #12, understanding and appreciating a child's cultural background. In these examples the training unit to develop the necessary competency can specify a procedure or process to follow, but the content will be added at the local center.

Levels of Competence

Though many competencies apply to more than one staff role, different staff members may need a given competency at different levels of understanding and behavior. For example, a teacher might need to be able to perform a certain skill when working with children, whereas the Program Advisor needs to be able to teach that skill to teachers as well as to produce it. The program director, on the other hand, probably does not need to be able to perform that skill; he needs to be able only to recognize it in a teacher and to explain it to persons interested in the program.

Competencies can be learned, and tested, at four levels of understanding and behavior.

(1) The knowledge or understanding of the competency, as shown by the ability to describe it in a verbal or written test, or the ability to identify it when observing a classroom or videotape.

(2) The ability to produce the behavior.

(3) The ability to produce the behavior and generalize from one behavior to another.

(4) The ability to produce the behavior, generalize from it, and teach the behavior to someone else.

Some of the competencies can be assessed at all four levels but others will be assessed only at Level 1 or 2.

Table 5.1 indicates the desired level of each competency for each staff role. Most of the 20 competencies for the teacher assistant are listed at Level 2, production of the behavior. The teacher needs many of these same competencies at Level 3. For example, after studying Competency #8, the teacher assistant should be able to use eight basic toys as learning experiences for children, by means of the learning episodes (educational games designed to teach children specific skills or concepts) outlined in the Handbook for Teacher Assistants.* At Level 3, generalizing from the behavior, a teacher should be able to take the same toys, or other toys, and create learning episodes of her own.

As the teacher trainer, the Program Advisor needs to learn most of the teacher's competencies at Level 4 (the ability to teach behavior to others).

The need for a common core of competencies for assistants, teachers, and Program Advisors is clear. For the next position--the program director--the need is not so clear. It certainly would be desirable for the directors to have all the competencies of a Program Advisor, but performing these competencies is not essential to the director's role. What does seem essential is enough knowledge of the competencies to enable a director to understand and explain the program. Thus, most of the competencies between Competency #1 and Competency #36 are listed at Level 1, verbal recall, for the program director. Certain additional competencies, such as Competency #38, analyzing problems, are listed at the level of production for the Program Director.

Schematic Model of the Completed Training System

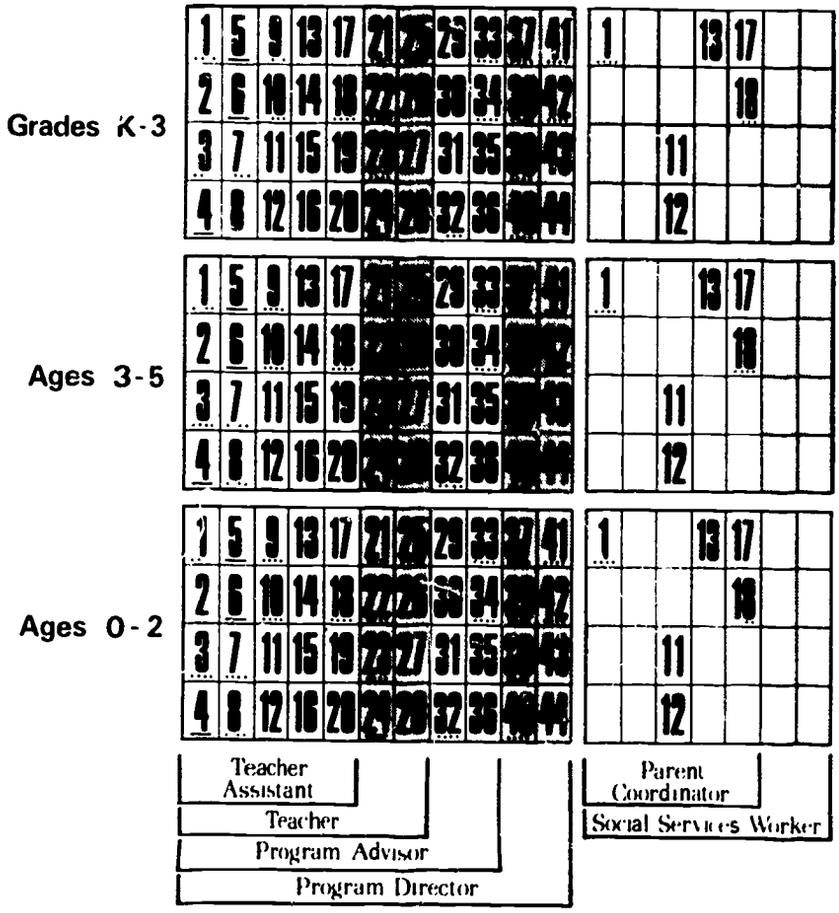
Table 5.3 shows a schematic model of the completed training system. (It is schematic only; it does not mean that we believe such a systematic pattern will emerge. However, the three series of competency units in the chart help express the relationships that will exist in the system.)

The chart indicates that the competency training units will apply to early childhood education staff working with three different age groups of children:

*Edna Brown, Glen Nimnicht, et al., Handbook for Teacher Assistants in the Use of Specific Responsive Toys. Morristown, New Jersey: General Learning Corporation, 1971.

Table 5.3

Schematic Model of the Completed Training System



.... Four dots indicate that the competency unit will contain different content for adults working with the three different age groups (ages 6-9, 3-5, and 0-2) but the procedures will remain the same.

____ A line indicates there will be considerable change in the competency unit for the three different age groups.

A competency unit with neither dots nor a line indicates that there will be no change from one age group to another.

(a) kindergarten to third-grade children in Follow Through or other primary school classrooms;
(b) three- to five-year old children in Head Start or other preschool classrooms or day care homes or centers;
(c) children from infancy to age two.

Development of some of the competency units for staff members working with kindergarten to third-grade children and three- to five-year old children has already begun. Development of the units for staff members working with children from infancy to age two has not yet begun.

Some competencies in the training system will apply to all assistants, teachers and Program Advisors regardless of the age of the children. These include, for example, Competency #11, understanding the child's language, and Competency #2, modeling language for young children.

Others will involve the same process but the content will vary for each age group. Examples include Competency #8, using games and toys as a learning experience for young children, and Competency #9, testing young children. Still others will involve considerable change from one age group to another, such as Competency #4, developing relational concepts, and Competency #24, evaluating instructional materials for cultural relevance. Table 5.1 and Table 5.3 indicate for each competency whether it will involve no change, change in content but not in procedure, or considerable change, for the different age groups.

As discussed above, the competency units shown in the schematic model of the completed system will interact with each other and fit into the total system in a variety of ways. A summary of these variables is as follows:

(1) Many competencies will apply to more than one staff role, but these competencies may be needed at different levels of understanding and behaivor by different staff members.

(2) Some competencies will apply to staff members across programs but the content will vary depending upon the geographic location of the program.

(3) Some competencies will apply to a given staff role regardless of the age of the children. Other competencies will change in content or in both content and procedures for the different age groups.

The schematic model enables an individual to see what is required to move from one position to another--for example, to move from parent coordinator to teacher assistant, or from teacher assistant with older children to teacher assistant in a day care center or day care home. The chart also shows some of the requirements for becoming a teacher, but careful note should be taken that it does not show all that is

required because colleges and universities have academic requirements for degrees and state certification sets out similar requirements. Thus, the training system is not a complete educational program; additional courses and studies will be required outside the system.

Some of the competencies obviously overlap so it will probably be unnecessary for an individual to use a training unit for every competency. For example, the teacher will probably have developed the competency of helping children develop self-control by the time she has covered three or four related competencies. Probably some combination of 16 units will produce the competency required of a teacher assistant.

Examples of Competency Units

Table 5.4 is an expansion of the matrix of competency units for teacher assistants working with three-, four-, or five-year old children. Four boxes have been expanded as examples to illustrate different kinds of competency units.

The training unit for Competency #1, understanding the total program, can be a fairly simple instructional process using filmstrips, tapes, reading, and discussion. Attainment of the competency can be assessed by a verbal or written test. The training unit for Competency #8, using games and toys as learning experiences, would be far more complex. It would involve audiovisual materials, reading, demonstrations, role playing, and actual classroom practice.

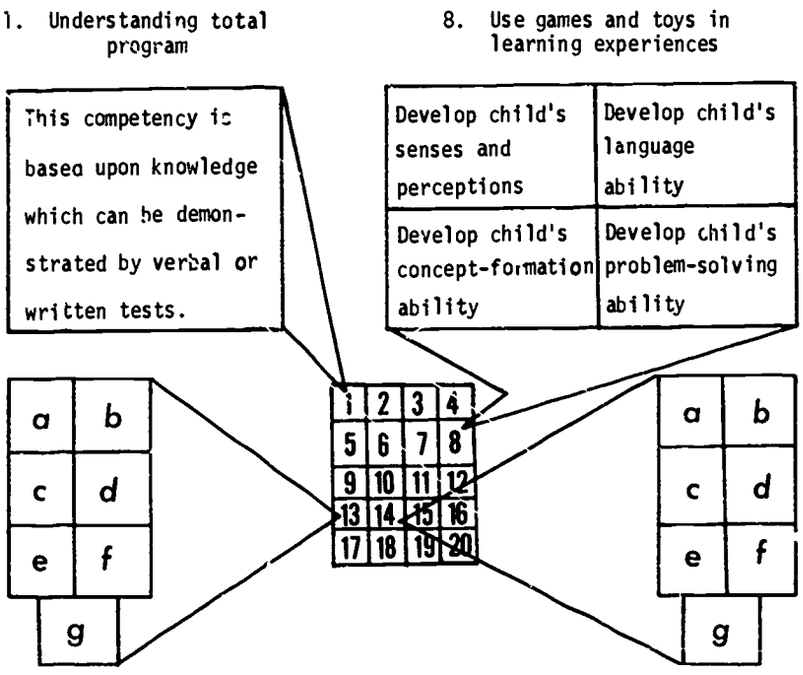
The Laboratory has developed an inservice training unit for this competency. The unit consists of a set of eight toys, a Handbook for Teacher Assistants containing 20 learning episodes using these toys, and filmstrips and audiotapes for the assistant to follow during the inservice training. The course would consist of at least 16 hours of instruction plus 26 hours of classroom practice over a 16-week period. By current standards this would be worth at least one semester of credit.

The teacher assistant needs this competency at Level 2, production of the behavior; the test of the competency would indicate whether the assistant could take three of these games and toys and demonstrate the ability to use them successfully as described in the training unit. A teacher would be expected to perform at Level 3, developing her own learning episodes and using other games and toys with children. Obviously, the Program Advisor should be able to demonstrate competency at Levels 2, 3, and 4. The Program Director should have knowledge of or be able to observe the competency (Level 1).

Competency #14, controlling the behavior of children in a group situation, is more complex than the other three; furthermore, the group behavior of children is related to many other activities in the center or classroom. This relationship must be kept in mind, but within this competency unit there are some explicit negative behaviors the adult can eliminate and some positive behaviors the adult can develop. (For examples of these behaviors, see Table 5.4.)

Table 5.4

COMPETENCY UNITS FOR TEACHER ASSISTANTS WORKING WITH THREE-, FOUR-, AND FIVE-YEAR-OLD CHILDREN



*Competency #13 includes training in these specific techniques:

a. Using the child's name.
b. Responding to a child's questions and statements.
c. Using the child's picture.
d. Using specific praise.
e. Using a variety of classroom activities such as songs and role playing.
f. Using stories, games, and other materials that are related to the child's background and experience.
g. Using the child's language.

**Competency #14 includes training in these specific behaviors:

a. Eliminating any demeaning behaviors toward children.
b. Minimizing the use of mild or strong physical force.
c. Using matter-of-fact rules or statements to guide children's behaviors.
d. Using redirection when a problem arises.
e. Anticipating behavior problems and intervening to prevent a problem from occurring.
f. Using specific praise to develop desirable behavior.
g. Developing techniques to organize the group to avoid behavior problems.

The Laboratory has developed training materials to cover all of these behaviors but the material is not yet organized into the kind of training unit as the one for Competency #8. The tests of competency for assistants would be based upon their understanding of the techniques and upon classroom observation of their behavior.

Competency #13, helping children develop healthy self-concepts, is similar to Competency #8. That is, the entire program--the way it is organized, the teaching methods that are used, and the way it responds to the children--affects the children's self-concepts, but there are some techniques that can be learned that we believe will make a difference. Some of them are shown in Table 5.4. The same kind of test for competency that applies to #14 would apply to #13.

Development of the Flexible Training System

The development of the Flexible Training System can be broken down into six general areas:

I. Designing the System and Identifying Individual Competencies to Be Developed

The general systems specifications have been developed and preliminary identification of the competencies to be included in the system has been made.

The method of identifying competencies has been empirical. As the Laboratory staff has worked with Program Advisors to train assistants and teachers, the staff has identified behaviors that could be clustered as a competency unit. The staff has also identified large areas of concern, such as controlling the behavior of children in a group, that can be broken down into competency units and then reassembled as a set of units.

For example, there are a set of specific behaviors to: (1) eliminate demeaning behavior; (2) eliminate pleading behaviors; (3) increase the use of matter-of-fact positive statements; (4) increase the ability to redirect a child after a problem has occurred; (5) increase the ability to anticipate a problem and redirect a child before the problem occurs; (6) increase the ability to use the problems that occur as learning situations. These behaviors can be organized into one competency unit designed to help adults control the behavior of children in a group by eliminating some types of behavior and substituting others. Including these specific behaviors within one competency unit seems reasonable because the elimination of an undesirable behavior necessitates the substitution of a positive one.

The way the teacher organizes the classroom and uses materials will also affect the behavior of children. A competency unit can be developed around organizing the classroom and the use of materials. This unit should contribute directly to increasing the teacher's competence in working in a positive way with the children as well as to increasing the teacher's competency in providing useful learning experiences.

Other units that are obviously related are: Competency #12, understanding the cultural background and life style of a child; Competency #15, helping children develop self-control; Competency #16, working effectively with other adults; and Competency #22, planning. All of these units will interact with each other and with other units; thus the total system is a network of interacting competencies. The schematic drawing in Table 5.5 illustrates this concept. For the purpose of clarity, the chart shows only a few units and indicates only the strongest interactions.

The Laboratory staff has not found any single way to determine how to label a competency unit or its exact content. A competency can be conceptualized in a variety of ways which lead to different organizational schemes and different clusters of competencies. The crucial element is that the competencies overlap so that they reinforce each other and the combination produces the desired results in terms of classroom behavior of the adults and children.

As each unit is outlined and developed, it contributes to the total system analysis, and other units are modified accordingly. Since the staff is reasonably certain that some basic competency units are urgently needed, these will be developed first and tested first as individual units and then in clusters of three of four. After that, some other units may be necessary to bridge or link existing clusters.

II. Identification of the Resources Available for Their Development

The primary source of materials will be the Early Childhood Education division of the Laboratory. As a part of the development of the existing Head Start and Follow Through training program, the staff has developed materials related to every unit under consideration for development. For example, The New Nursery School (a book and six pamphlets)* contains 100 or more learning episodes that have been carefully worked out and tested. These can be incorporated into competency units. This task has been completed, in part, in the existing Head Start training handbook, Inservice Teacher Training in the Use of the Responsive Program.** The Follow Through program has developed a parallel set of training materials which has not yet been published.

A second source of materials will be other divisions within the Laboratory. For example, one division has already developed a training unit that meets the requirements of this system and can be used with little or no modification: a unit to train teachers in the primary grades to determine the relevance of textbooks for use with Black children. This unit is listed as Competency #24.

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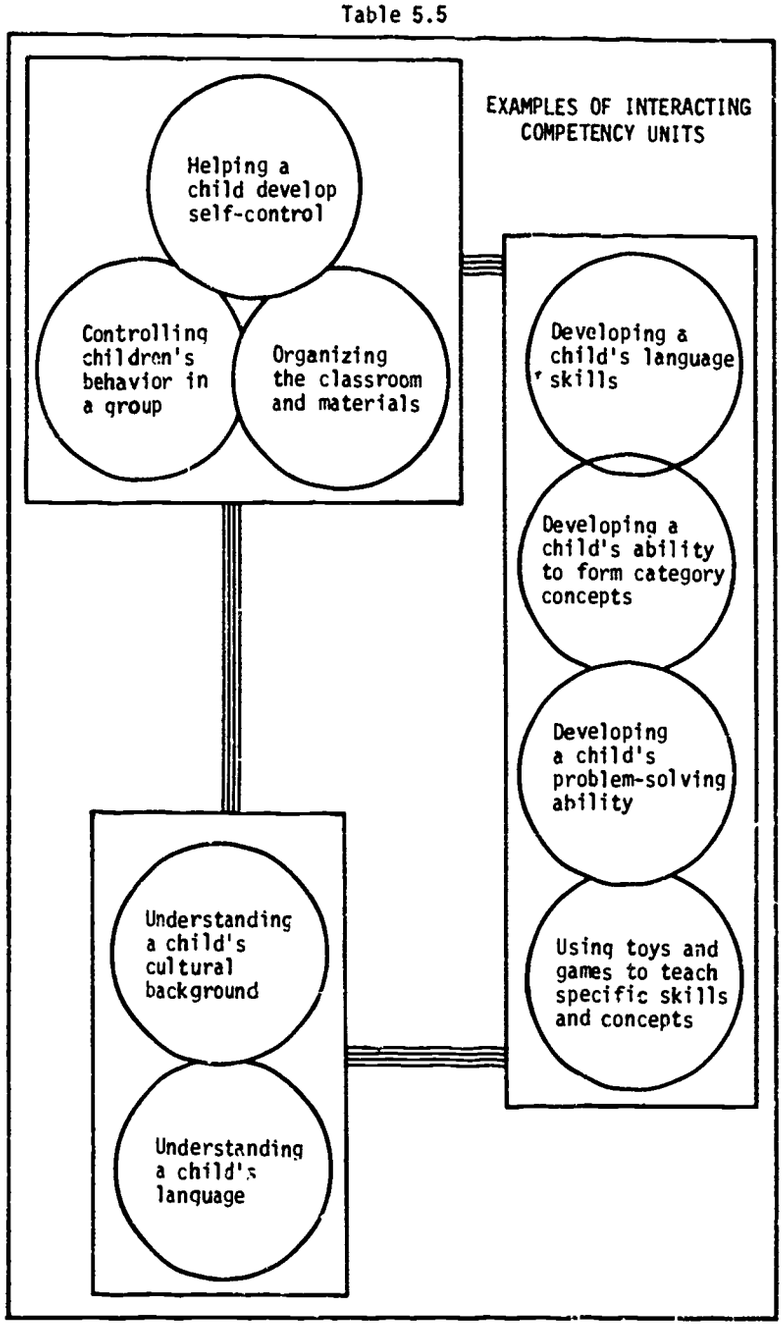
*Glen Nimnicht, Oralie McAfee, John Meier, The New Nursery School. New York: General Learning Corporation, 1969.

**Glen Nimnicht et al., Inservice Teacher Training in the Use of the Responsive Program. Morristown, New Jersey: General Learning Corporation, 1971.

Table 5.5


EXAMPLES OF INTERACTING COMPETENCY UNITS
Helping a child develop self-control
Controlling children's behavior in a group
Organizing the classroom and materials
Developing a child's language skills
Developing a child's ability to form category concepts
Developing a child's problem-solving ability
Using toys and games to teach specific skills and concepts
Understanding a child's cultural background
Understanding a child's language

A third source of materials will be other developers in the field. If we can find competency units that fit into the system and can work out arrangements for their use, we will incorporate them. If we find competency units that offer an alternative to some that we are developing, these will be referenced as alternatives.

III. Developing and Testing Individual Units

Work in this area will require by far the largest commitment of time and funds in the development of the system. The development of each of the competency units will involve the following five major steps:

(1) Detailed specification of the objectives and outcomes of the training unit.

(2) Outline of the training unit content and statement of specific criteria for determining the different levels of developed competency and equivalence of college credits.

(3) Completion of preliminary form of the unit.

(4) Preliminary-form testing, formative evaluation, and revision of the unit (or termination of work on the unit).

(5) Main field test of the effectiveness of the unit, with principal attention given to summative evaluation.

IV. Developing and Testing Clusters of Competencies for a Given Role and Testing the System

The activities in this area of concern will feed back into the first area, identification of competencies and system development.

The general strategy will be to test each unit as it is developed, and then to form clusters of units and test the combined effect of the units on some general dimension of the program, such as classroom control, the learning process in the classroom, the curriculum content, a child's self-concept, or cognitive development. Different clusters will be tested in different situations.

V. Developing a Relationship with Colleges and Universities for Course Credit and Certification

In order to provide an effective system of career development, the Laboratory will attempt to fit the Flexible Training System into the established system of education and certification of teachers by arranging for college recognition of the training.

In the initial stage of development, the Laboratory will attempt to establish a relationship with at least two universities or colleges. As the system develops, other institutions will be invited to join so

that eventually a network of at least ten institutions across the country will be involved in the system.

In cooperation with the Laboratory staff, one or two faculty members from each institution will:

(1) advise the Laboratory in the development of units;
(2) arrange to have the units reviewed by their institutions and to have credit assigned;
(3) observe, or train others to observe, whether a trainee has achieved a specified competency and what level has been attained and grant credit on the basis of the observation;
(4) test some of the competency units on campus in preservice education courses;
(5) plan and arrange with other departments a program that will lead to A.A. and A.B. degrees that incorporate the Flexible Training System. Ultimately the entire program could become a competency-based system.

VI. Developing a Plan for Dissemination and Utilization

Since the competency units will be self-contained, they can be published separately. In order to permit maximum utilization of the training, the Laboratory will make each unit available as soon as it is completed and validated. Dissemination will be accomplished through the network of colleges and universities which are cooperating and offering credit, through publication of reports in professional journals, and through the Laboratory's general dissemination of information on available programs.

Some Preliminary Notes on Characteristics of a Competency Unit

A competency unit is a process-oriented learning module focused on a set of related skills essential in the effective performance of those who work in Early Childhood Education programs. Over time, the Laboratory plans to produce competency units for all personnel involved in Early Childhood Education. This group would include assistant teachers, teachers, trainers of teachers (Program Advisors), administrators, health workers, welfare workers, those serving in psychological services, and all other personnel who might be involved in a program.

Our current focus is to develop competency units for Program Advisors who are training Head Start and Follow Through teachers to use the Responsive Education Program, but the competency units will be designed so that they can be used by others who work with young children.

The developers of a competency unit will have considerable freedom in determining the form and content of the unit. However, we expect the following components will be common to all units.

(1) A clear, specific purpose and focus stated in observable performance objectives.

(2) A clear statement of the learning system that will be used. It may involve:
- role playing
- demonstration
- classroom practice
- lectures, reading, etc.
- alternatives for recycling

(3) A clear statement of the materials involved in the training. These may include:
- written materials
- audiotapes
- games and toys
- videotapes
- other instructional aids

(4) Statement of criteria for the competency unit.
- self-evaluation criteria to be applied at different steps in the process
- criteria for determining the level of competence obtained

(5) Statement of time required to complete the training for someone who would require the entire training to develop the competency and an estimate of its value in terms of college credit.

The general criteria for evaluating all competency units are:

Compatibility

Is the learning unit compatible with the principles of the Responsive Program?

Is it compatible with other units that have been developed or are being developed?

Relevance

Does the unit meet a primary need of the people it was designed to serve?

Comprehensibility

The unit might have a very limited purpose but it should be as complete as possible so that it requires minimum external (Laboratory) support.

Feasibility

Can be used by school districts and other organizations that are not involved with the Laboratory's programs in Head Start or Follow Through.

The cost is moderate.

The unit can be used within the existing school structure.

The unit does not require elaborate administrative arrangements for its use.

The unit can be used in a variety of ways: preservice, workshops, inservice.

Credibility and Originality

A well-informed person can look at an overview of a unit and agree that, if it does what it purports to do, it is reasonable in terms of the time and effort required to achieve the objectives.

The unit is not a different form of something that already exists or, if it is, it is approached in a more promising fashion.

A PROPOSED CLUSTER OF COMPETENCIES FOR TEACHERS OF MINORITY-GROUP CHILDREN

Glen P. Nimnicht

We are planning a cluster of competency units* for teachers (preschool and K-3) from one ethnic group who are working with children from another ethnic group. We plan to develop the units for teachers working with children from four groups: Blacks, Chicanos** and Latinos of the Southwestern United States, Native Americans, and Asian-Americans. Work in progress is directed toward Blacks, Chicanos, and Chinese-Americans.

A cluster will contain the following competencies:

1. The first competency unit in the cluster will be designed to give teachers a general understanding of the cultural background of the children with whom they are working. For example, two staff members have assembled over four hundred slides tracing the history and cultural development of the Indians who settled primarily in what is now Mexico and who inter-married with the Spanish to form the Native American and Spanish culture of the Southwest. The emphasis is upon the cultural development of these people. A narration will accompany the slide sets; when it is completed, the slide-audio presentation will form the basis for a competency unit that will also include a guide for using the unit, written materials to add depth to the audio-slide presentation, additional reference materials, and tests to measure the teacher's level of understanding. Probably the unit will have three levels of understanding: (1) the first, or lowest, will be based upon the slide-audio presentation and the accompanying discussion; (2) the second level will include the understanding of the written materials as well; (3) the third level will make it possible for the teacher to transmit to children the content she has mastered.

The objective of the unit will be to give the teachers a superficial understanding of the cultural background and heritage of the Mexican-American children. This understanding will be broadened and given more meaning in operational terms as the teacher becomes involved in the other units.

The outline of the unit is:

Mexican-American Heritage overview

A self-instructional audio-visual overview (slide-tape) is being developed in a seven-part series designed to give anyone interested in a brief introduction into the vast

*See preceding section.

**Some prefer to be called Mexican-Americans but Chicano is more of a generic term.

cultural legacy of the Chicano/Latino child. The purposes of this overview are several:

- To give a brief introductory overview of the history of the Americas.
- To instill respect for and appreciation of the original inhabitants and owners of the southwest.
- To provide an accurate, historically authentic picture of reality.
- To correct misinformation, held by most educators of Chicano/Latino children, which has led to stereotypes and prejudices.
- To instill an optimism for the possibility of a truly cultural democracy and a truly bilingual/ bicultural notion.
- To instill pride and confidence in those individual educators who are currently working toward attaining a culturally democratic society.

The seven-part self-instructional series contains the following parts:

- Early man in the Americas
- Pre-Columbian history
- 1st European invasion
- 2nd European invasion
- Revolutionary Mexico
- Contemporary Mexico
- Modern struggles

2. The second unit will involve the teacher in an analysis of the relevance of the materials and activities that are used in the classroom for the children in the room. The Laboratory has two examples of competency units in this area.

The first, Content Analysis of Textbooks for Black Students/ Grades 1-3 by Henry Banks, Shirley Scarborough and June Ford, is in operational form. It uses a 120-page manual which includes a statement of why the unit was developed, the research evidence for the development, and four lessons as exercises. The first lesson asks the teacher to analyze the illustrations used in reading textbooks to determine their relevance and authenticity for use with Black children. Forms are included for recording and analyzing the teacher's findings.

The second lesson deals with stereotyping of Black families and occupations and the need for depiction of appropriate role models. The teacher analyzes pictures and written materials and rates the textbooks on the presence of sterotyping and the provision of appropriate role models. The third lesson asks the teacher to determine whether the textbooks: (1) inform children of racial prejudice and discrimination; (2) contain information about the ancient West African kingdoms of Ghana, Mali, and Songhay and about life in contemporary Africa; and (3) reflect a variety of the contributions made by Black Americans in the United States and in the children's community. The fourth lesson gives teachers an awareness of the need to supplement textbooks, provides teachers with ideas for incorporating supplementary materials in various subjects areas, provides information about supplementary materials, and gives teachers practice in designing lesson plans to use with supplementary materials.

The second example is a competency unit for teachers of Chicano/Latino children, which is now being developed. The first part of the competency unit follows the same format as the unit for Black children but the content is changed to be relevant to Mexican-American children. The unit goes beyond the Black unit by dealing also with activities in the classroom. A preliminary draft was completed in January, 1973.

Course Outline and Description

I. Audiovisual presentation

5-8 minute overview

II. Handbooks

self-sufficient instructional units (competency units)--3 major lesson units

A. Lesson One

Criteria guides for the content analysis of textbooks

Lesson illustrates techniques for analyzing textbooks. Lesson includes two parts: technical variables and personal variables. Lesson contains example for applying the given techniques while analyzing textbooks.

B. Lesson Two

Materials selection criteria guides

Other classroom activities criteria guides

C. Lesson Three

Criteria guides for analysis/evaluation of theoretical works

III. Annotated bibliography of materials which can be used to offset deficiencies found in textbooks. A built-in system will enable teachers to begin a resource file and continually to update their resource collection.

The annotated bibliography covers materials that can be used as supplements to correct inadequacies found in textbooks as a result of analysis. Materials in the annotated bibliography include textbooks, films, filmstrips, posters, etc. which can be used with children, parents, teachers, related staff, administrators, etc. It also contains books and related educational products for teachers, as well as ideas for utilizing supplemental materials in the classroom.

3. The third competency unit in the cluster will deal with behavior by teachers that is seen by minority groups as a put-down or as demeaning. The unit is based upon the assumption that many well-meaning teachers say or do things that are offensive to minority groups because the teacher is unaware of the way the statement or action is being interpreted. The unit is not designed to modify deep-seated attitudes or prejudices; they are beyond the scope of this unit and would require different approaches.

The reader may have noted the intentional design in the sequence of these units. The approach is first to increase the teaching understanding of the children's background and culture, then to help teachers analyze materials and textbooks to increase their understanding of the problem, and finally to help the teachers focus on their own behaviors.

A unit for teachers working with Black children is being developed under the direction of Pat Johnson for preliminary testing in late 1972. This competency unit is organized into 15 three-hour weekly sessions with practice between each session.

During a session, a number of episodes that are seen as demeaning by Black people will be described and discussed. These episodes have been obtained by selecting actual examples of teachers' behavior by choosing from experiences related by parents. In every instance, the episodes have been discussed by parents and their reactions have been videotaped. This approach serves two purposes: (1) the parents judge the importance of some action and whether it is demeaning; (2) the videotapes are used in the course so the teachers can hear a parent's reaction to some specific behavior. The episodes described during

each session will cluster around a general theme, such as belittling the child's language.

The episodes will be analyzed to see why the behavior is demeaning, and what general problems can be identified thematically as illustrated by the episodes. The teachers will be asked to generate other examples of behavior that illustrate the same problem and plan ways either to: (1) practice positive non-demeaning behavior or (2) practice eliminating the undesirable behavior.

4. No actual development has been undertaken on the fourth competency--that of helping teachers learn to understand the language of the child in their classroom. The reference to this competency as the fourth competency does not imply any priority or sequence. In fact, the teacher ideally would learn to understand the child's language before the teacher entered the classroom or the teacher might be studying the child's language at the same time he or she took the first three competency units.

5. The last competency unit will be designed to help a teacher analyze research reports and journal articles for the appropriateness of their content for the children in the teacher's classroom. We consider this unit the last one in the series because its objective is not only to help the teacher perform better in the classroom but also to improve her professional competency outside the classroom as well.

The overall objectives of this cluster of competency units are to develop the understanding and attitudes of the teachers from one ethnic group working with another so that:

(1) The teacher understands the cultural background and heritage of the children in the classroom.

(2) The teacher can analyze the materials and activities in the room for their relevance for the children in that room and can supplement those materials and activities with more relevant ones.

(3) The teacher never or seldom does or says something demeaning to children in her room because of their ethnic background. The teacher might knowingly do or say something but not before she would understand what the children had done--either intentionally or unintentionally.

(4) The teacher understands the language of the child.

(5) The teacher can read research reports and journal articles and make judgments in terms of content as to its appropriateness for the children in the room.

If we can achieve these objectives, the teacher should be more responsive to the children in her classroom and they will respond by being more productive and enthusiastic learners.

We said at the beginning of this article that we were focusing on Black children, Chicanos and other Latinos, Native Americans, and Asian-Americans, but all of our descriptions here involve Blacks and Chicanos because we are deliberately limiting our first efforts to testing these competencies. After the units are developed and tested, we will be able to present the units to Chicanos and other Latinos so they can study them and recommend changes for other groups as a broader audience than Mexican-Americans. But at this time we do not know how extensively we can generalize within one cluster or how many variations will be necessary. We will follow the same procedure in developing materials for Asian-Americans. There our first efforts will focus on Chinese-American children. Up to this time, one person has been working on a variety of small components that will go into the competency units for teachers of Chinese-American children. We would like to expand this activity along with speeding up the development of the units for Black and Mexican-American children, but additional resources will be required. Once the development of the materials for Chinese-American children is well under way, we can turn our attention to units for other Asian-Americans.

The approach to developing units for Native Americans will be to identify individuals from different tribal groups who are interested in developing examples and providing technical assistance. We hope to approach this effort by obtaining support for a series of two-year internships that are related to studies for an advanced degree. Of course, if arrangements could be made, we would follow this approach with other ethnic groups as well.

Chapter VI

WHERE ARE WE GOING WITH DAY CARE?

Glen P. Nimnicht

Most of the articles in this book have dealt with education as it is conducted in "formal" classrooms. However, the Laboratory is equally concerned with children before they enter any kind of formal system. In this article the current trends in day care are examined, with particular emphasis on their current lack of suitable educational components. Some arguments concerning industrial day care are reviewed. Suggestions are advanced for comprehensive services of high quality, for which day care homes and small neighborhood centers would serve as the basic components. Parent participation and involvement are advocated, as a vital element needed to reduce inconsistencies between the home and the day care center.

Instead of being an attempt to forceast or predict what day care may become in the United States, this article will combine some pragmatic considerations with some idealism. The result, of course, will be less than the idealist might hope for and more than most practical people will see as possible.

The first consideration is to consider day care as part of a general program for the healthy development of all young children. No one could reasonably expect any combination of federal, state and local governments, industry, and profit-making day care agencies to provide in the forseeable future quality day care for all of the children in the United States at a cost that people could afford to pay. Furthermore, there is no evidence that if this full coverage were possible, it would be desirable. Day care should be only one of many alternatives for the care of young children.

Obviously, if one of the objectives of an early childhood development program is to strengthen the parents' capacity as parents, a fundamental aspect of the program would be to make it possible for those parents who want to care for their children to do so. In explicit terms, this option would mean that if a parent preferred to stay at home and care for her children instead of working, she she should have adequate support to remain at home. In addition, if the parent were interested in learning more about child development and more about how to care for her child, that kind of training should be available.

A second alternative would be to provide half-day programs for those parents who wanted to have the major responsibility for the development and nurture of their children but for whom some outside

child care would be desirable to stimulate the development of the child or to provide the parent with time to pursue other activities.

The third alternative, of course, would be to provide full-time day care services for those parents who preferred to be free to work or to pursue other activities.

It can be logically argued that for different parents, any one of these three alternatives would strengthen the parents' capacity as parents. But it seems obvious that the best way to serve families in which parents have the interest and the temperament to care for their own young children is to provide the support and services necessary to help them stay at home. There is no indication of any kind that we need additional persons in the labor force; in fact, all current indicators point to the contrary. Thus, the policy of providing day care services to push the low-income parent into taking a job or into entering a training program that may or may not lead to a job appears unsound. The parent, the child, and the economy would be better off if the parent stayed at home. In fact, even the short-term economic benefits seem questionable. The idea that day care services will save money be reducing the welfare rolls because the parents can leave home to take jobs is certainly questionable. For children who are not old enough to attend public schools, a quality day care program costs $2,000 per child. Even when a parent has only two children who would require day care service, the cost-effectiveness of paying for day care rather than welfare seems questionable.

The only argument supporting the position that day care should be used to reduce welfare* payments seems to be the Protestant work ethic which insists everyone should work; yet even the Puritans recognized the legitimacy of having mothers attend to their own children.

For those who follow this line of reasoning, the justification for day care programs is to provide quality programs for those parents who currently need day care services and those parents who want such services. This justification seems sufficient. The exorbitant claims made about the benefits or needs of day care do not bring the necessary services any closer to reality.

The following model is one example of how day care can fit into a broader, more comprehensive system of child development.

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*It is interesting to note that the term "welfare" in this context takes on a negative meaning for both the giver and receiver, but in other contexts, such as child welfare and community welfare, it has positive connotations. We continue to view it as a positive term in the first context. The only unfortunate aspect of welfare is that it has been so managed as to be demeaning to the recipient and thus encourages people to give up and remain on welfare.

The model is based upon the use of a Head Start program (or an equivalent) as the hub of the system. An effective Head Start program provides three-, four-, and five-year old children with a classroom experience designed to promote their physical, social, emotional, and intellectual development. Furthermore, an effective Head Start program offers social, psychological, and health services for both the children and the parents. Such a program could be strengthened to provide additional services for the training of day care mothers, a central materials library for loans to the day care homes, and parent education components to improve the parents' ability to attend to their own children.

Such a program would provide parents with three alternatives based upon their needs and desires.

The first alternative would provide the least amount of service but would do the most to develop the parents' independence and capacity to attend to their children. The center would provide such necessary support services as health care and would offer the parents training to improve their skills in nurturing the development of their own children. Such training programs already exist; one example is the Parent/Child Toy-Lending Library developed by the Far West Laboratory for Educational Research and Development.*

The second alternative would be the conventional half-day Head Start program as it is currently operated.

The third alternative would be full-time, day-long day care service. A group of day care homes would be associated with the Head Start center; each day care home would serve up to five children. These day care homes would extend the services of the Head Start center so as to provide a complete day care service. A working mother would take her child to a neighborhood day care home; the operator of the home would bring the children to the Head Start center for three hours each day. During that time she could receive training or she could do her shopping or housework so that when the children were under her sole care she could fully attend to their needs.

We use this simple model to illustrate many of our concerns about day care in the future. First, the model is based opon an operational program that is funded by the government--either federal or state. Industry-supported day care does not play a role nor does profit-making day care service fit into the scheme. Both omissions are intentional on our part.

We view the current interest of industry in supporting day care as a worthwhile but transitional step in the development of day care services. It is worthwhile because it is helping to generate interest in day care and to build the public support that is essential for government-supported day care operations. We would predict that some

*See Overview of the Responsive Program in Chapter V for a description of the Toy Library.

of the strongest support of government-sponsored programs will come from industries that have tried to operate their own programs. Those industries are discovering that day care is expensive and complicated. The notion of locating the day care center at the plant where the parent works is very appealing until it is tried. The theory is that the parent can bring the child when she comes to work and take the child when she leaves. Parents can have lunch with the child and perhaps spend one day a month working in the center.

The realities are that some parents spend an hour each way getting to and from work. This schedule entails an eleven- or twelve-hour day for the child; hence that hour on the way home in the car or on a bus is not a pleasant experience for either the child or the parent. Furthermore, the parents often do a little shopping after work before they pick up the child or they work a little overtime; thus the 8:00 to 5:30 schedule that was planned for the center often becomes an 8:00 to 6:30 schedule. The idea of the parents having lunch with their children is a good one, but the schedules do not always mesh and eating in the center or taking the child to the cafeteria may be less pleasant than expected. The idea of the parents working one day a month in the center is also a sound one, but many parents work just because they do not like to care for young children. When they devote a day to the center, their supervisors may not be enthusiastic about their missing a day's work; they may even find that the work is still there the next day.

And probably of more concern to management is the gradual discovery that having the day care center at the plant introduces a new variable in personnel management. Whose children can get into the center? How much does the employer have to pay? What about those employees who do not benefit from the service? A subtle but important change in the management of the center may also occur. Suppose, for example, that the president's secretary has a child in the center. She is unhappy about something that has happened and discusses it with the president. He responds with a memo which goes down the chain of command asking what the problem is. A new variable has been added to the system.

If the center is located where most of the workers live, at a distance from the plant, some of those problems are avoided. But then most of the employees will probably not live in a convenient location that will allow them to walk with a child to the center or drop him off on the way to work. Depending on the distance from the plant to the center, the hours the center must be open are likely to be extended and the work day for the employee is likely to be longer. The company now finds that, on the basis of a survey of employees, it planned and staffed a center for 100 children, but the center has ended up with only 50. What started out as a rather expensive proposition has now become extremely costly. Thus, it seems likely that some of the strongest support for government operated and supported day care will come from those with experience in industrial programs.

Even if this result does not occur and even if the industrial center works better than current experience indicates, we would have serious reservations about such centers. One of the major arguments for industry-supported day care is that it should reduce absenteeism and turnover. If turnover could be sharply reduced, the saving that would result from not being continually obliged to train people for entry-level positions would offset much of the cost of the day care program. The logic is sound, but we do not yet know if it holds up in practice. Furthermore, to the extent that it does hold up, it has a negative as well as a positive aspect. For the employer, industry-provided day care may reduce turnover. For the employee, it provides quality care for her child while she is at work, but it may also lock her into a job with that company because she will lose the day care service if she leaves the company.

We have deliberately omitted private profit-making day care from this model because such care does not seem practical. First, there is no evidence to indicate that private groups can operate profitable day care centers that are better than government-operated centers--unless the former cost more to operate. As in any other educational program, the bulk of the expense in operating day care programs is personnel cost. There are only three ways of reducing personnel cost: (1) pay less for services; (2) increase the number of children served by each adult; or (3) reduce services such as health care. A reasonable and legitimate way to reduce personnel cost is the cooperative nursery approach in which parents "pay" part of the fee by working in the center; but this solution is virtually impossible for the working parent. The other method of paying less for personnel means that some staff members will be exploited by being kept in poverty or on the borderline of poverty.

A reduction of the number of adults per child can be accomplished only be reducing the quality of the program. A reduction of other services, such as health care, is justified if the family has access to those services elsewhere or can afford to pay for them.

This discussion does not mean that we are opposed to private profit-making day care centers, since some parents can and are willing to pay for such services. But those centers do not provide a basis for a comprehensive day care program. And the concept of efficient, economical, national distribution of franchised day care in a manner similar to the distribution of fried chicken does not square with the realities of day care. Such a notion also runs counter to the idea of local control of the center and of parent participation in the decisions that affect the operation of the centers. At their best, Head Start programs are good models of local control of a nationally funded program.

The second concern that is illustrated by the model is the effects of large institutionalized day care centers on young children.

Edward Zigler (1971) has observed, "When we think of child care, the image that typically comes to mind is our conventional center with

from 12 to 20 children. What is often overlooked is that the bulk of children who are presently in day care are in family day care homes which typically serve four, six or eight children." He could have gone on to say that only 6% of the children of working mothers were cared for in group day care centers in 1969 (White House Conference on Children, 1970).

The fact that 94% of the children receiving day care services are not in centers leaves no doubt about the importance of focusing attention on this area. Two different approaches could be taken toward solution of the problem. The first would be to attempt to transfer day care services to centers and terminate day care homes; the second would be to strengthen the homes. The model we have outlined chooses the second alternative because we believe that day care homes or small centers that offer quality comprehensive services are more desirable day care situations than large centers.

In order to offer comprehensive services of high quality, day care homes and small neighborhood centers need the following:

(1) A training program to help the operators increase their competency, particularly in the area of an educational component in the program.

(2) Support services, such as health, nutritional, and social services.

(3) Back-up assistance to provide adequate care for children when the day care mother is ill or has other problems.

(4) Parent education and involvement programs.

(5) A support center for children whose parents work unusual hours and for emergency care of children.

(6) A source of educational materials that can be used on a rotating basis to provide a stimulating environment.

(7) Supervision to make certain that the day care home maintains a quality program.

The model outlined earlier can satisfy those conditions.

There are two reasons for recommending the focus on day care homes and small centers. The first is pragmatic. As Zigler points out, most of the children being helped are currently receiving day care in homes; with any kind of massive federal support, that is where most of the children will continue to receive care--at least for some time to come. The problems of locating adequate facilities that meet fire and safety standards for moderate to large day care centers will take time to solve. Thus, the greatest good for the largest number of children will come from improving day care in licensed day care homes and non-licensed homes.

Another reason for taking this approach is that, as stated earlier, we believe it is a desirable one. Chapman and Lazar (1971, p. 14) report that centers of moderate size (between 30 and 60 children) tend to be of highest quality. But they also report: (1) that day care homes are better than many professionals believe (p. 34); and, (2) that nearly all researchers who have written on the subject comment on the advantages of family day care systems, i.e., warm responsible care, better ability to service children with special problems, the child remaining in his neighborhood, age mix, and day care mother better educated than day care center staff (p. 33).

The limitation, they point out, is that home day care programs tend to have few or no educational components (p. 13). A small research project that has just been completed by the Laboratory reinforces this statement (Addison, 1972). The purpose of the project was to test a ten-week training program based upon the use of toys and games to improve the educational component of services of day care mothers in Richmond, California. The project was carried out in cooperation with the Richmond Model Cities Program and Contra Costa Junior College. Six day care mothers who expressed the greatest interest were selected for training by the Model Cities day care director. Addison visited the homes before the class started and interviewed the mothers. None of the homes contained materials that indicated a concern for the intellectual development of children and the mothers did not really understand the concept of an educational component in day care.

At the end of the ten weeks, all of the mothers were using the educational toys and there were other signs of awareness of the importance of an educational component, such as some children's pictures on the walls. Addison concluded that all of the mothers had become aware of the need to do more to help children develop their intellectual ability but that more than the ten-week course was necessary to help the mothers develop an understanding of what they could do to improve their effectiveness in helping young children develop intellectually. This study reinforces the notions that day care operators need training to provide quality service and that they benefit from even a limited amount of training over a short period of time.

In this context it is interesting to note that the qualifications of the staff per se are not related to a quality program (Chapman, 1971, p. 37) but that training is obviously necessary (p. 42). Since the survey tends to agree that day care home operators are more child oriented (p. 34) and provide warm, responsible care, a self-selection factor seems to be at work. If this is true, providing training to increase the operator's skills is a fairly easy task because it is not necessary to change attitudes.

Chapman and Lazar (p. 13) concluded that moderate-size centers serving from 30 to 60 children were of higher quality than smaller or larger centers. They also point out that, as size increases, centers become sterile, administrative complexity increases, and the

environment is more impersonal. Although they were referring to centers with 60 or more children, the same problems probably apply to smaller centers. From personal experience in operating a nursery school for 30 children, from the Laboratory's experience with a day care center for 50 children, and from conversations with others in the field, we have made the following observations:

(1) Administrative and logistic problems are related to size. For example, unless the center is in a densely populated area, transportation becomes a problem for a center with 25 to 30 children.

(2) Dealing with five extremely active children in a group of 50 is more difficult than dealing with one such child in a group of ten.

(3) Children have more difficulty in establishing a sense of belonging and identity in a group of 50 children with several adults with whom they can relate than in a small group with only one or two adults.

(4) It is more difficult for adults to know individual children in large groups.

(5) Mass feeding is less desirable than eating familiar foods in a small group.

Many centers have minimized these problems, but not without an effort. If the same kind of effort went into solving the problems of day care homes, they might provide programs equal in quality to those of the moderate-size centers.

A more fundamental question about large centers, however, would be to investigate the long-term effects of placing a young child in an institutional setting for most of the time he is awake and of keeping him in some institutional environment for 18 years. We do not know the answers; many of the research priorities listed by the Office of Child Development reflect this kind of concern. Since it seems certain that large centers will be developed before we have an answer, in many instances there may be no alternative. In the meantime, however, it seems prudent to strengthen day care homes to provide an alternative where possible.

Our final concern about large day care centers is related to how well they can reflect the parents' culture and life style. People seem to forget that day care is not a simple extension of a three-hour program like Head Start. The amount of time during which the child is involved makes a fundamental difference. Head Start supplements the parent's efforts. Day care supplants them--the child is in day care all day every working day of the year. Most of the time the parent has time only to dress the child, take him to a center, pick him up, feed him, and put him to bed. Under those circumstances, if one were a Native American, he would want his young child under the care of another Native American from the same

tribal group. Otherwise he would not reflect the family's culture and life style. Furthermore, one would want to reduce the stress on the child by reducing the inconsistencies between the home and the center. The model indicates the best way to cope with such a problem. If the day care home mother is a neighbor from the same ethnic background, with a similar life style, she will reinforce the language and culture of the parents; a small neighborhood Head Start program will provide the child with broader social experiences.

The third concern that we can illustrate with the model focuses on the participation and involvement of the parents in the education of their children. We think this role is important, in order to strengthen the parents' capacities as parents and to insure that the program responds to the child, his background, and his life style. By participation we mean parents being actively involved in the education of their children either by being the major force at home (aided with training and materials), or by working in the center as paid assistants or volunteers, or by attending parent education meetings. Obviously the parents who need day care will not be able to participate so fully as others because their time is limited. By involvement, we mean parents being involved in the decision-making process that affects the education of their children. Obviously not every parent can be involved in every one of the decisions, but a representative group of parents can be involved and can have real power to affect the decisions that determine the operation of the center and of day care homes. Through these representatives, the parents can make their decisions known. This concept is implicit in the model we have described.

Looking back at the introduction of this article, we hope that we are forecasting or predicting to a greater extent than indicated. Perhaps a self-fulfilling prophecy will be at work and we will see the day when all of the parents who need day care will have it at a price they can afford. It will come to be recognized as a social service that belongs in that "public" non-profit category rather than in the private sector of the economy. It will be a part of a larger system of child care and development that offers parents alternatives and responds in a sensitive and humanistic way to their needs. That is our prophecy--what remains is to make it work.

Appendix A

THE HEREDITY-ENVIRONMENT CRITICISM OF "COMPENSATORY" EDUCATION

James A. Johnson, Jr. & Glen P. Nimnicht

In addition to stating that heredity accounts for a major portion of I.Q. or intelligence, Jensen's theory asserts that a natural selection at work in our society allows the more intelligent people to rise to the top of the socio-economic ladder: they do better in school; they obtain better jobs; and they can provide better for their children. The reverse is true for poor people. The same selection system leaves them at the bottom of the socio-economic scale because they are less intelligent, and their children inherit this lack of intelligence. Of course, this summary oversimplifies the position but that is its underlying logic. Jensen's point of view is essentially pessimistic; poor children are not bright so one cannot expect much from them.

Jensen is correct in pointing out a connection between I.Q. scores and socio-economic status. There are differences in inherited intellectual ability as measured by I.Q. tests; I.Q. tests have been designed to predict success in school; success in school is a prerequisite to holding the most prestigious and best-paying positions in our society; thus the more intelligent individuals as measured by I.Q. tests are those most likely to become doctors and lawyers. This description, of course, is oversimplified; money is also required to attain the prestigious and well-paying positions, and social-class standing still is determined in part by ancestry. The main point, however, is that, as researchers have been finding for years, intelligence as measured by I.Q. tests is related to social class. But Jensen implies a cause-effect relationship without pointing out the reverse relationship that also exists. As Professor William Odell of Stanford University has pointed out, "Of course psychologists are intelligent--they are the ones who defined intelligence first."

According to Jensen's reasoning, the relationship between social class and intelligence should be the strongest in the part of the system where there are the fewest artificial barriers to restrict the free flow of people up and down the socio-economic scale. By this reasoning, we could expect to find that lower-class white children living in a community dominated by whites would test lower on I.Q. tests than lower-class Black or brown children living in a community dominated by whites because racial or ethnic differences do pose a severe restriction to the free movement of people up and down the socio-economic ladder.

The data do not come out this way. Jensen (1969) reports a reverse trend and our own data on ten Follow Through communities show no difference in I.Q. scores between poor white, brown, and Black children at the time they enter kindergarten (unpublished research, Far West Laboratory, 1970). The obvious explanation for these data is that many variables other than lack of inherited ability account

use the language of the school should develop faster in the first child than the second child because he is using it all the time. Our current tests do not account for differences in the English spoken in the home; moreover, there are no tests that are really culturally fair. The least that must be done before comparisons are made is to weight the scores on the tests to reflect linguistic and cultural differences.

Jensen says there is a difference of about 15 I.Q. points between Blacks and whites. We do not have the data to support directly our explanation of this difference so we will rely upon the reader's judgment of the plausibility of our statements. As we mentioned earlier, there is considerable evidence that the dialect spoken by most Black people is different from the white middle-class dialect.* Let us assume that this accounts for a very modest difference of 4 to 6 I.Q. points in the average scores. The tests have a cultural bias favoring the white child which has also been well documented; let's assume this could account for an additional 3 or 4 points. The poor Black child also receives a less satisfactory education after he enters school than the poor white child (Coleman, 1966); let us assume this could also account for 3 or 4 points. Furthermore, let us agree with Jensen (for supporting evidence, see Coursin, 1965; Scrimshaw, 1968) that prenatal and postnatal care can make a difference in I.Q. and that a higher percentage of Blacks than of whites is affected. This factor could account for another 3 or 4 points. Thus, a combination of language differences, cultural bias, unequal opportunities to develop the intelligence, and poor physical environment will account for the differences between Blacks' and whites' I.Q. scores.** If this is so, and we believe it is, then there will be a difference between "impoverished" whites and Blacks favoring the Blacks. This finding would fit better with Jensen's reasoning that our social system sorts people according to intellectual ability because the white population should be more susceptible to this process than oppressed groups.

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*The reader might find it surprising that we refer to "the white middle-class dialect" instead of "standard English" or "the English used in the schools." We have done this deliberately to avoid the notion that one group speaks standard English and another group speaks non-standard or substandard English. We grant that the white middle-class dialect is the dominant one spoken in the United States but it is a dialect nevertheless because it is not the standard for the English-speaking world.

**The rejoinder to this line of reasoning could be that there are other elements that could be added to total more than 15 points. We grant that may be true; but until such things are accounted for, it is a misuse of the tests to make comparisons between two groups, one for whom the test was designed and the other for whom the test was not designed.

If one looks at our data in this context, then the Black children from low-income families are testing comparatively better than are the white children because the scores are about the same in spite of language problems and cultural bias at the time they enter the program. If all other factors were equal, we would expect the Black children to show a substantial increase in the scores over a two- or three-year period of time because the initial scores are spuriously low. But everything is not equal. The differences in the language spoken in the home persist; the differences in life style persist; and the effects of 400 years of oppression persist.

Jensen argues that heredity accounts for the decrease in I.Q. test scores that occurs over a time while Black children are in school. In other words, the Black child starts with less potential and the gap becomes greater with age. This line of reasoning is curious because the phenomenon of decreasing test scores does not apply only to Black children; it applies to red, brown, and white children as well.

Researchers find that Native American children growing up on reservations enter school with average mean scores on I.Q. tests or other academic measures and maintain these standing for a few years (McKinley, 1970; Havighurst, 1944, 1946). Then a crossover effect, as one researcher called it (Bryde, 1965), occurs; the Native American children start to drop off drastically in academic achievement. Different researchers report this as happening at different times, but it seems to start as early as the fourth or fifth grade and as late as the seventh grade. As a group, Native Americans have the lowest academic achievement of any group in the country. As with Blacks, about the only way to define who is Native American and who is not is to find out who identifies himself as Native American and whose tribal group recognizes him as being Native American. Because overt prejudice has not been so great against Native Americans as Blacks, the distinction becomes much more a cultural decision: a person who is half Native American and half white may consider himself white or Native American, depending upon the circumstances surrounding his upbringing.

The tendency for I.Q. test scores to decrease over time is also found among the Spanish-speaking population in the Southwest. In addition, our data on Head Start and Follow Through children in Fresno show Mexican-American children testing lower on intelligence tests than other children in the same community. Furthermore, Mexican-American children who speak predominately Spanish at home test lower than those who speak predominately English. (Unpublished research, Far West Laboratory for Educational Research and Development, 1970, 1971.)

The phenomenon of decreasing test scores is also found with certain groups of white children. Anastasi (1949) quotes studies which show significant decreases in intelligence scores with age on canal boat children and gypsy children in England and on mountain children in the Southeastern United States.

It seems much more appropriate to attribute these differences to cultural differences, differences in family life style, language differences, and inferior educational opportunities than to genetic differences. This hypothesis has not really been tested as yet because the concept of "compensatory education" has focused upon the problems of the child's home and environment instead of upon the problems of changing the educational system to make it more responsive to the child, his language, and his background. Changing the educational system would include changing the criterion measures to make them more appropriate.

The conclusion we have reached on the Jensen notion that Blacks are inherently inferior to whites seems obvious: it is not true. If the reader accepts our conclusion on this point, then one of the major cornerstones for Jensen's criticism of "compensatory education" must be dismissed. If, in fact, the differences are due to language, culture, educational opportunity, and physical environment, then manipulating the environment could make a real difference for this group.

This analysis leads us into a discussion of the concept that social classes are sorted by I.Q. Jensen (p. 60) states that there are some limits to this concept: it is true within a wide band of environments but, below a certain threshold, the environment can be so devastating that it does depress intellectual development. To support his statement, he refers to some of the same studies that Hunt and others have cited in developing the "compensatory education" notion. He correctly points out that these are extreme instances of environmental deprivation. The notion of a threshold is misleading, however. It gives the impression that there is some point above which environment does not make a difference. There probably is a point beyond which the amount of variance that can be accounted for statistically in a study of social class groups is insignificant, but this judgment does not mean that environment has no effect beyond a certain point. A better way to describe the effects of the environment is to say that they decrease as the environment approaches optimal conditions but continue to make some difference until that point is reached. The point we want to stress, however, is that Jensen's statement that inheritance accounts for 80% of the variance in I.Q. scores does not apply to children growing up in extremely "deprived" circumstances. This point will be developed later.

The estimate that 80% of the variance is attributable to heredity is the highest figure we have seen; but, for the purposes of discussion, let us assume that it is close to reality. Jensen points out that heredity will predict only half as much when related to academic achievement. We take that to mean 40% of the variance. If that assumption is correct, then even with the normal range of environments, at least 60% of the variance in school achievement is accounted for by something other than heredity.

This highlights one of the problems with intervention programs: the use of I.Q. scores as criterion measures of their effectiveness. Since the thrust of such programs has been to improve the academic

success of "impoverished" children, it would be more appropriate to use measures of academic achievement. But a more significant question would be, "What accounts for the variance that is not accounted for by inherited ability?" The psychological literature is full of studies on the effects of motivation on learning, the relationship of a healthy self-concept to learning, and similar variables often referred to as non-academic or affective. Since we know such factors have a potential influence on learning, they should be the criteria for success of an intervention program--particularly for three- and four-year-old children and those children in the first two or three years of school.

Equally important is the notion that these "affective variables" (we use quotation marks because the distinction between cognitive and affective is arbitrary and unreal, but it does help describe some ideas with which we are concerned) are also related to the social class structure. Furthermore, they appear to be related to race and seem to be affected by the child's environment. It is difficult to define a health self-concept; therefore, like I.Q., it is difficult to measure, but numerous studies point out the relationship of a healthy self-concept to achievement (Purkey, 1970; Caplin, 1969).

Other studies examine the relationship of a healthy self-concept to belonging to a minority group. In the case of Native American children, reports on value conflict, alienation, and low esteem are scattered throughout research literature. For example, Bryde (1965) reported on personality conflict in Sioux Indian students. (See also Aurbach, 1967.) Spanish-speaking children in the Southwest appear to have poorer self-concepts than white children. For instance, Heshiki (1969) found that Mexican-American girls had significantly lower self-concepts than white girls. Likewise, Black children seem to have lower self-concepts than white children (Carpenter, 1969; Long, 1968; Kvaraceus, 1965).

The reason seems to be obvious. These children have a poor or negative self-concept because society looks upon the environment in which they are growing up and judges it inferior. No one has suggested that this is an inherited characteristic of these children.

The "level of aspiration" is probably closely related to healthy self-concept (Kirkland, 1971). It has the virtue of being easier to define and of being the subject of a considerable amount of research. The basic concept is that everyone has a level of aspiration that is determined by previous experience. An individual with a healthy self-concept probably will set his level of aspiration realistically, on the basis of previous experience. He is likely to protect himself from psychological pain by not setting his level of aspiration too high, but set a level of aspiration that is worth achieving. A person with a poor self-concept tends either to set an unobtainable level of aspiration and protect himself from the effects of failure because no one could really expect him to reach his stated aspirations, or to set such a low level of aspiration that he cannot fail to achieve it.

In either event, the person has not set a realistic level of aspiration. Children who are successful in school tend to have a realistic level of aspiration regarding school (Lachman, 1961; Moulton, 1965) and failure is related to an unrealistic level. A person's sex affects level of aspiration; even though women have higher I.Q. scores than men, they hold lower levels of aspiration (McClelland, 1965; Sontag, 1958). It appears that whereas Black persons have higher levels of aspiration, white persons have more realistic levels (Astin, 1970; Boyd, 1952; Brim, 1969). Obviously, factors other than a person's intellectual ability are acting to establish or condition his level of aspiration.

Another concept related to a healthy self-concept is locus of control. Does the individual think he can control events that affect his life or does he typically feel that someone else controls these events? An individual who feels he can control many of the variables that affect his life is more successful, academically and otherwise, than an individual who feels he has little or no control. Again, this feeling of control is related to race and ethnic group and class standing. Members of minority groups and lower-class people tend to feel they do not have control over most events that happen to them.

As we said earlier, Jensen's criticisms are essentially pessimistic and provide little or no basis for dealing with the educational problem that we face. It seems clear that few individuals ever operate an any intellectual level approaching their true ability because of other factors such as those discussed above. We grant Jensen's theory that inheritance is important in determining an individual's intellectual ability, but his approach does not explain why compensatory programs have not been more successful nor does it offer any viable alternative.

Appendix B

WHO ARE THE CHILDREN WE ARE WORKING WITH?

James A. Johnson, Jr. & Glen P. Nimnicht

Introduction

During our seminars for teacher trainers, teachers, and their assistants, participants have often expressed the notion that teachers need a better understanding of low-income Black children. We don't believe anyone could argue against the idea that the more the teacher knows and understands about the children in her classroom, the more responsive she can be. But when that notion is analyzed as it is expressed, at least four problems arise.

First, the notion usually comes up in discussions of problems with classroom management and control. The implication seems to be that low-income Black children are more difficult to manage and control than other children. When the issue is pressed, it turns out that the teacher is talking about one, two, three, or perhaps even six children out of a classroom of twenty-five or thirty. Thus they are not referring to all low-income Black children but to some. And yet the tendency is to invest the total group with "bad" behavior. Again, for far too many teachers, this statement represents a summation of their perceptions of low-income Black children. These perceptions, in our judgment, stem from the assumption that the culture in which low-income Black children are reared is pervaded with social pathology. This pathology is passed on to these children, it is argued, through the family. Some argue that this condition is a function of genetics, whereas others say it stems from environmental "impingements." In either case, formulations of the "problem" such as that discussed above are ipso facto barriers to rapprochement between teachers and low-income Black children.

Furthermore, when the idea of knowing more about low-income Black children comes up in this context, the major point of needing to know more about low-income Black children is missed. Knowing more may improve the teacher's classroom control, but the heart of the issue is that knowing more should produce more responsive teachers.

A second problem is that the teacher is often associating some behaviors with being Black that really are not related to ethnicity. Such characteristics as emotional disturbances, hyper-activity, short attention span, and aggressiveness are common traits of some children from all ethnic groups. The real issue, then, eludes those who argue that the "treatment" for conditions such as these is to provide teachers with additional information about low-income Black children. Clearly, the fact that some persons perceive conditions such as these to be a function of ethnicity supports the contention that those who view "additional information" as a panacea not only are bringing preconceived notions about low-income Black children

to the learning environment, but may, in fact, be also contradicting other efforts they may be making in response to the needs of children who manifest such behavior.

A third problem is that the discussions often reveal that it is not the children but the parents about whom the teacher is concerned. The teacher may not feel comfortable about his or her relationship with the parents. American teachers generally either are products of, or aspire to embrace, a culture that is different from the culture in which low-income Black children are reared. There is evidence that the culture of Black people is confusing to many teachers. Such behaviors as syntax, gestures, expectations, fears, realities, beliefs, body motion, in short, the phenomenological field of Black people in many significant and substantive ways, contradict the white middle-class teacher's frame of reference.

This problem is understandable. However, when systematic negation of the low-income Black child's point of view becomes the primary objective of schooling institutions, the white middle-class concern with efficiency emerges, and it becomes progressively more fashionable to implement efforts designed to change the behavior of low-income Black mothers. If this change could be accomplished, it is argued, the frame of reference of low-income Black children would be more consistent with that of the teacher. Again, acquiring more information about low-income Black children appears to be a placebo. The teacher convinces herself or becomes convinced that there is a high correlation between the amount of information she has about low-income Black children and the degree to which her relationships with the parents of those children will be authentic. Where is the the evidence that this is so?

A fourth problem is that the teacher seems to think that there is someone out there who has the answers for her; if we would just find that person to tell her what "these" children are like and how to deal with "them," everything would be all right. Of course, this is not the case. Many people have purported to know the "right" answer or to have the final solution. The history of educating low-income Black children in this country is replete with the peddling of solutions by experts to decision-makers or administrators of ghetto-located schools. Often these decision makers or administrators are fully convinced that behavior manifested by low-income Black children is defective. Rarely have efforts been directed to the problems that accrue when schooling agents become comfortable with behavior and practices which by all indices fail to be responsive to the needs of low-income Black children. This is one area in which we are pursuing the truth without pretending to know the truth. We are commited to the pursuit of it.

Simple answers do not exist. There are people who can help the teacher know more about Black children or Native American children or Mexican-American children. But the problem is not just to know, but to understand and change some basic attitudes and examine some assumptions. The knowledge that a child is Black provides some information, but we must recognize also that the child comes from a

particular family context, lives in a particular set of circumstances, has inherited some particular physical characteristics, and follows certain patterns of growth and development.

A major purpose of this article, then, is to help teachers understand why they need to know more about the children in their classrooms.

Research and studies can be useful to us here, but the way research is summarized and reported is often misleading. First, research tends to focus on differences between groups of people rather than similarities, creating the false impression that there are more differences than similarities. Second, research points out those systematic differences that exist only when large numbers of individuals are considered. If the systematic differences are based upon the probability that a larger percentage of one group will behave in a particular way more than will another group, this kind of reporting tends to overlook the large number of differences in one group and the overlap between groups.

This kind of reporting can be illustrated by the use of I.Q. tests which are among the most refined forms of testing available. These tests consistently show differences between scores of children from poor families and children from middle-class homes, or between white children and Black children, but generalizations from these results may disregard the differences within a group and the overlap between groups.

Certain comparative data may be useful for making generalizations, but they are useless to the teacher. She must eventually look at a test score for an individual child and even then realize it may not reflect that child's ability at the time of the test. In fact, the test scores probably underestimate the ability of non-white and non-middle-class children because the language and procedures of the test are designed for white middle-class children.

As we begin to explore the research, then, it appears to be incumbent upon us to insist that the conclusions to which we shall be exposed meet specific criteria. One criterion might be that the researcher's question be a valid one. A question such as "Are Black mothers white?" is an example of an invalid question. Another criterion which should be satisfied is that the conclusions drawn from the evidence be consistent with and supported by the evidence. Researchers who explain away data that "does not fit" expected conclusions with statements such as "It may be that...," "when X subjects are eliminated it becomes clear that...," "our experience leads us to reject our findings in this or that case...," and others like these are, in our judgment, suspect. A third consideration we suggest is the question of what evidence was collected and how it was collected. If the data presented were collected by questionnaires and/or by observation of the subjects in unfamiliar environments, the conclusions drawn from these data should, in our judgment, be stated and interpreted within that context.

A fourth aspect to which one should be alerted has to do with unanimity. Virtually no research problem has ever elicited the same response from all social scientists. When a writer presents studies done by other researchers to support a contention, he has a responsibility to present the point of view that contradicts his contention. If the writer has not done so, he has presented only part of the evidence and projected an "illusion of unanimity" with respect to the question being studied.

Expert opinion can also be helpful, but the opinion varies from expert to expert and the teacher must be aware of who is saying what to whom.

Since the question has been originally raised in the context of understanding Black children, we will focus on the problems of understanding Black children to illustrate our point. An excellent start toward understanding Black children would be reading Andrew Billingsley's book, The Black Family in White America. He points out the danger of generalizing about families, and therefore children, on the basis of their being Black. There are differences according to the geographic area in which they live and socio-economic differences; any generalization is almost certain to be wrong. The only generalization we would risk is that all Black people feel some hostility toward white people in general, but this view may not consistently apply to individual white people. Since most Black children in our Head Start and Follow Through programs are from low-income families, we can eliminate socio-economic differences as a variable. Still, in any one classroom, the children come from a specific geographical area and a particular environment: an "inner city" area, a housing project, a suburban area, a small city, or a rural area. The teacher can gain some general insights by studying Billingsley's book to see what general notions she can reach about the children in her particular classroom. Even this information, however, needs to be refined, based on local observations.

We do not support the idea that the basis for local observations should remain static. Rather, we believe that a broader, more inclusive basis for making these observations is needed. Furthermore, we believe that the growth and development of local program staff is seminal to appropriate and responsive support of the growth and development of Black children.

When the teacher turns to other Black people for guidance, she needs to be aware of the wide range of opinion that exists. The logical spokesmen are opinion makers and leaders. Opinion makers are talking and writing about what ought to be and what other Black people ought to be thinking. What they have to say is extremely important because they are shaping the opinions of the Black community. But, like all opinion makers, they are ahead of the rest of the group. When they discuss the ways schools should be organized, procedures, and language development, they do not represent the current thinking in the Black community. But even here there is a tremendous overlap. Black educators who believe that integration and mild reforms will correct problems associated with educating

Black children are probaoly closer in their thinking to the majority of the Black community, at the present time, than are the opinion makers. But they may not reflect the thinking of specific Black parents. To know what those parents are thinking, one must turn to the parents themselves. To know why they think as they do requires considerable study.

Anyone who knows anything about any Black community in the United States is familiar with the wide range of opinions in those communities with respect to a plethora of issues. Much of the behavior of large segments of the Black community can be viewed as a configuration of reactions to aggression, ethnocentrism, cultural imperialism, and powerlessness. Black people historically and presently defend against these phenomena in different ways.

Some of the articles included in this book have been designed to help teachers understand why parents think the way they do. The articles and the bibliographies should serve the purpose of helping the teacher understand the divergence of thinking that exists, and at the same time see the common concerns that Black people have.

Appendix C

GAINING INSIGHT...INTO SOME EFFECTS OF

ENCOUNTERS OF BLACK PEOPLE WITH THE AMERICAN CULTURE

A Selected Bibliography

James A. Johnson, Jr.

The purpose of this bibliography is to present a fairly systematic approach to gaining insight into the personality patterns, psychological dynamics, and socio-cultural styles which stem from the encounters of Black people with the American culture. Some of the works define and discuss implications of major psychological events, primarily within the recent and contemporary Black experiences, as they relate to the developmental process, attitude formation, perceptual frames of reference, identity patterns, internal-versus-external conflict, community institutions, music, and literature.

Feel free to read none of the books, some, or all of them. However, if you read one book in any category, we hope you will read a sufficiently broad range of other books in that category.

I. For Those Who Have Little or No Background

Those who fall in this category are advised to read:

Fullinwider, S. P., The Mind and Mood of Black America. Homewood, Ill.: Dorsey Press 1969.

Keil, Charles, Urban Blues. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966.

Conot, Robert, Rivers of Blood, Years of Darkness. New York: Bantam Books, 1967.

II. Human Behavior as a Function of the Experimental Field, the Individual Frame of Reference, and the Evaluation of the Identity Process.

The following authors and their works are included to provide an opportunity to explore the assumption that people behave according to the way they perceive events, and that this behavior is purposeful, relevant, and pertinent to the individual's perception of the world around him.

Coleman, James C., Personality Dynamics and Effective Behavior. Chicago: Scott, Foresman & Co., 1960.

a. "An Adequate Frame of Reference." Chapter 9, pp. 290-310.
b. "The Perceptual View of Behavior." Part IV, pp. 466-477.

Combs, Arthur W., and Snygg, Donald, Individual Behavior: A New Frame of Reference for Psychology. New York: Harper & Row, 1949.

Dyal, James A., Readings in Psychology: Understanding Human Behavior. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1967.
a. Rogers, Carl, "Becoming a Person." pp. 339-347.
b. Fromm, Eric, "Selfishness and Self-Love." pp. 348-358.

Goldstein, Low-Income Youth in Urban Areas. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1967.
a. "Family Orientation." Chapter 1, pp. 3-30.

McCord, William, et al., Life Styles in the Black Ghetto. New York: Norton, 1969.
a. "Urbanism as a Way of Life." pp. 19-35.

Meeker, F., and Giddings, M.I.S., "Cultural Deprivation: A Study in Mythology." Teachers College Record, Vol. 66, 1965, pp. 608-613.

Rainwater, Lee, "Crucible of Identity: The Negro Lower Class Family." Daedalus, Vol. 95, No. 1, Winter 1966, pp. 172-216.

III. The Black Child: Family and Early Childhood Environment

The following set of authors consider the views advanced by such social science theorists such as Billingsley, Moynihan, Rainwater, Deutsch, and Riessman, especially with reference to the implications of their views on psychoanalytic theory and the "cultural deprivation" hypothesis. Possible explanations for different social scientists viewing the same phenomena and arriving at different conclusions are also considered. There is also some discussion of the advantages and disadvantages of the nuclear and extended family structures; the psychological impact of the American culture on Black parents; the effect of the American culture on the developmental process as it pertains to trust, prizing, exploratory behavior, mastery experience, and curiosity drives.

Billingsley, Andrew, Black Families in White America. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1968.
a. "Social Forces Affecting Negro Family Life." Chapter 3, pp. 72-93.
b. "Education and Housing." pp. 181-185.

Clark, Kenneth, Dark Ghetto. New York: Harper & Row, 1967.
a. "The Psychology of the Ghetto." Chapter 4, pp. 68-80.

Rainwater, Lee, and Yancey, William L., The Moynihan Report and the Politics of Controversy. Cambridge: M.I.T. Press, 1967.

for poverty. Jensen suggests, however, that if inheritance accounts for 80% of the variation in I.Q. scores and if a larger percentage of minority groups are poor, perhaps the minority groups are inherently inferior. Since Negroes (his term) constitute the largest minority group, he has focused his analysis upon that group. From his analysis (1969) he concludes that Negroes are probably inherently inferior to whites and that the difference amounts to about 15 I.Q. points. Jenson then cautions individual Black persons not to feel uncomfortable and white not to judge individuals on this basis because his finding is a group phenomenon which does not apply to individuals since there is still a wide range of individual differences in each group. Regardless of how Jensen thinks individuals should react to his findings, his logic is clear: lower-class persons are inherently inferior to middle-class persons and Blacks are inferior to whites so there are more lower-class Blacks than whites.

To cap off his analysis, Jensen also points out that prenatal and postnatal care can also affect intellectual development. An inadequate physical environment at the prenatal and postnatal stages, which is more likely to occur among poor persons, can account for 8% of the differences in intelligence. Thus, Jensen reasons that if 80% of the differences in intelligence are accounted for by heredity and 8% by early physical development, there is not much left to deal with in changing the environment of the preschool child.

Because of the seriousness of the assertion that Blacks are probably genetically inferior to whites as far as I.Q. is concerned, we will deal with that issue first. From a methodological point of view three questions are relevant:

(1) How was the population defined?

(2) How appropriate is the criterion?

(3) How good are the criterion measures?

The first question can be reworded, "Who is Black and who is white?" This question is particularly relevant in the United States. The blood lines are so diffused in this country that to find a large sample of people with only African ancestry would be extremely difficult; none of the studies that Jensen reviews has attempted to do so.

The best way to define who is Black is to give a cultural definition such as "A Black person is someone who identifies himself as a Black person and is identified by others as such." It is an interesting phenomenon in our society that a person who is half Black and half white is Black. Does one stop being Black when one is 3/4 white? It seems that the so-called inferior group has superior genes when it comes to preserving ethnicity.

The point, however, is that if the researcher's population has been defined culturally by asking people if they are Black or white,

a. Reactions to (Moynihan) Report. Chapter 12, pp. 271-291; Chapter 13, pp. 292-313; Chapter 16, Part B, pp. 402-426.
b. Moynihan, Patrick, "The Negro Family: The Case for National Action." Chapter 4, pp. 38-124.
c. Riessman, Frank, "In Defense of the Negro Family." Chapter 17, pp. 474-478.

Pinkney, Alfonso, Black Americans. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1969.
a. "The Family." pp. 91-98.
b. "The Black Community, Urban and Rural." pp. 53-70.
c. "Socio-Economic Status." pp. 71-77.

Rainwater, Lee, And the Poor Get Children. Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1960.
a. "Assumptions and Orientation in Family Planning." Chapter 4, pp. 45-49.

Cobbs, Price, and Grier, William, Black Rage. New York: Basic Books, 1968.
a. "Achieving Womanhood." Chapter 3, pp. 39-54.
b. "Achieving Manhood." Chapter 4, pp. 55-74.
c. "Marriage and Love." Chapter 5, pp. 75-101.

how can the researcher then relate his findings to genetic differences without some kind of qualification?

The next research question is, How appropriate is the criterion? That is, what is the basis for deciding that one group is inferior and the other group superior? The criterion used centers around some measure of intellectual ability or achievement related to academic success. At the very best, however, intelligence tests measure only a part of a person's ability to solve problems in a life situation; at the worst, some of the achievement tests that are used are nothing more than a measure of the ability to use simple skills or recall isolated facts.

Roughly, individuals are called upon to solve three kinds of problems in life: non-interactional, interactional, and affective.* Intelligence tests concentrate almost exclusively upon the first set of problems. They are tests of a person's ability to solve a variety of one-person problems or puzzles. This is one reason why they have such limited value in predicting success outside of the academic setting. The point that Jensen seems to have missed is that I.Q. tests do not correlate highly with adults' job performance; they correlate with academic achievement which controls entry into the preferred positions.

Thus, the criterion used to judge the relative abilities of Blacks and whites is not clearly enough developed to use for sweeping generalizations about differences in intelligence. But even if we accept the various measures and tests as being the best we have to measure intellectual ability, we must question their validity in this situation on the grounds that they are culturally loaded towards the white group. The tests reflect the white, middle-class society; in fact, the entire testing procedure is biased towards the white group. The tests are developed by white, middle-class persons; they are administered in an environment controlled by the same; the examples used are selected from their environment; and, probably most handicapping of all, the language of the tests is white, middle-class English. No allowance is made for the differences between the English used in the school and in the tests. Black children speak a well ordered, highly structured dialect that is different from the English spoken in the school (Baratz and Baratz, 1970, p. 35). These children have a viable, useful language but it is different from that used in standard tests. The assumption is made, however, that the language is the same.

We do not understand the logic behind the expectation that two children of equal intelligence should test equally well in the school language on entering school when one of them has five years of experience hearing and speaking the language used in the school and the other has been speaking some other form of the language. Furthermore, if each child continues to use his own language at home, how can he be expected to test equally well over time? The ability to

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*See Overview of the Responsive Program in Chapter V.

Stapler, Robert, "The Myth of Black Matriarchy." The Black Scholar. Vol. 1, Numbers 3-4, January-February, 1970, pp. 8-16.

IV. The Impact of the School System on the Black Child

The following list of works constitutes an exploration of implicit assumptions which educators appear to make about the management of time, achievement, work, self-control, conformity, and orientation toward the future. The cultural conflict which emerges in the school as a function of the American culture frame of reference (as applied by educators) and the implications for intelligence and achievement testing of Black children are also explored. Finally, these books include a discussion of the changes in Black children's perceptions of self as they progress through school, in relation to the developmental process, language and dialect supplantation, and enrichment programs which stem from the "cultural deprivation" hypothesis.

"Education in America." Saturday Review, May 17 1969.
a. "Race and Intelligence." Editorial, pp. 67-68.

Clark, Kenneth, Dark Ghetto. (see above.)
a. "The Pathology of the Ghetto." Chapter 5, pp. 81-110.

a. McCord, W., "Negro Versus White Intelligence, A Continuing Controversy." Selection 47, pp. 293-299.
b. Klineberg, Otto L., "On Race and Intelligence: A Joint Statement." Selection 48, pp. 299-303.
c. Young, Robert K., "Student Attitudes Toward the Negro." Selection 53, pp. 326-334.

Jacobs, Paul, Prelude to a Riot. New York: Random House, 1966.
a. "The Schools." pp. 205-236.

Kohl, Herbert, Thirty-Six Children. New York: Signet Books, 1968.

Kozol, Jonathan, Death at an Early Age. Boston: Houghton Miffiin, 1969.

Coleman, James, Equality of Educational Opportunity. (The Coleman Report.) U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Office of Education, Washington, D.C.: 1966.

Deutsch, Martin, (ed.) Social Class, Race, and Psychological Development. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1968.

Deutsch, Martin, The Disadvantaged Child. New York: Basic Books, 1967.

Rosenthal, Robert and Jacobson, Lenore, Pygmalion in the Classroom. New York: Holt, Rinehart, & Winston, 1968.
a. "The Self-Fulfilling Prophecy." Part I, pp. 3-31.
b. "Teacher Expectations." Part II, pp. 47-121.
c. For an excellent review of this book see The New Yorker, April 19, 1969, pp. 169-177.

Frazier, Thomas R., (ed.) Afro-American History: Primary Sources. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1970.
a. "Debate on Compulsory Free Education for All." pp. 152-162.
b. Washington, Booker T., "Education Before Equality." pp. 216-220.
c. DuBois, W.E.B., "Equality and Education." pp. 121-131.

Silberman, Charles, Crisis in Black and White. New York: Random House, 1964.
a. "The Negro and the School." pp. 249-307.

Baratz, Stephen and Baratz, Joan, "Negro Children and Urban Education: A Cultural Solution." Social Education, Vol. 33, No. 4, April 1969, pp. 401-404.

Cohen, Rosalie, "Conceptual Styles, Cultural Conflict and Non-Verbal Tests of Intelligence." American Anthropology, Vol. 71, No. 5, October 1969, pp. 828-856.

Deutsch, Martin, and Brown, B., "Social Influence in Negro-White Intelligence Differences." Journal of Social Issues, Vol. 20, No. 2, 1964.

Rosenthal, Robert, and Jacobson, Lenore, "Teaching Expectations for the Disadvantaged." Scientific American, Vol. 218, No. 4, April 1968, pp. 19-23.

V. Mental Health, Deviant Behavior, and the Search for a Productive Life

This segment of the bibliography contains a number of readings which analyze real and/or perceived psychological input vis-à-vis Black people. Such foci as the management of stress, anger, and conflict and the inappropriateness of white middle-class oriented psychodiagnosis and psychotherapy for Black people may be of interest to those who feel a need to know more about Black people in this respect. In a broader context, however, readings which speak to phenomena such as self-destructive behavior, deviant behavior as a response to perceived social realities, and alternative counseling and psychotherapy strategies may well be a more profitable experience for the reader.

Clark, Kenneth B., Dark Ghetto. (see above.)
a. "The Pathology of the Ghetto." Chapter 5, pp. 81-110.

Cobbs, Price, and Grier, William. Black Rage. (see above.)
a. "Character Traits." Chapter 6, pp. 102-129.
b. "Mental Illness and Treatment." Chapter 7, pp. 154-180.
c. "How Come There Is So Much Hate?" Chapter 8, pp. 181-200.

Pinkney, Alphonso, Black Americans. (see above.)
a. "Social Deviants." pp. 120-137.

Kardiner, Abram. and Ovesey. Lionel. The Mark of Oppression. New York: The World Publishing Co., 1962.
a. "The Psycho-Dynamic Inventory." pp. 301-317.
b. "The Psychology of Oppression." pp. 368-388.

Pettigrew, Thomas, Profile of the Negro American. (see above.)
a. "The Role and Its Borders." Chapter 1, pp. 3-26.
b. "Reactions to Oppression." Chapter 2, pp. 27-55.

Parsons, Talcott, and Clark, Kenneth, The Negro American. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1966.
a. Coles, Robert, "It's the Same But It's Different."

Hollingshead, August B., and Redlick, Frederick C., Social Class and Mental Illness. New York: Wiley, 1958.

Parker, Seymour, and Kleiner, Robert, Mental Illness in the Negro Urban Community. New York: Free Press, 1966.

VI. The Changing Roles and Psychological Impact of Selected Institutions Within the Black Community

The following set of readings include examinations of multidimensional roles and the impact of the "street corner society," the religious sectors, and Black revolutionaries; and various reactions of different segments of the Black community to these institutions of liberals, radicals, and conservatives in the white community are also included. A number of institutional perspectives emerging as a function of ideological conflicts within the Black Community are also touched upon.

Young, Richard, (ed.) Roots of Rebellion. New York: Harper & Row, 1970.
- a. Clark, Kenneth, "The Civil Rights Movement: Momentum and Organization." Chapter 14, pp. 270-297.
- b. Killiam, Lewis, "The Negro Revolution, Possible or Impossible." Chapter 25, pp. 454-478.
- c. Kopkind, Andrew, "Soul Power." Chapter 15, pp. 298-308.
- d. "Huey Newton Talks to the Movement." Chapter 20, pp. 370-389.

Messner, Gerald, (ed.) Another View: To Be Black in America. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1970.
- a. Drake, St., Clair, and Cayton, Horace, "Bronzeville." pp. 123-140.
- b. Jones, LeRoi, "Tokenism--300 Years for Five Cents." pp. 257-268.
- c. Cleaver, Eldridge, "The White Race and Its Heroes." pp. 283-297.
- d. Steel, Ronald, "Letter from Oakland: The Panthers." pp. 361-384.

Frazier, Thomas R., (ed.) Afro-American History: Primary Sources. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1970.
- a. Lester, Julius, "The Angry Children of Malcolm X." pp. 438-448.
- b. "Cries of Harlem." Haryou Act, pp. 449-452.

Frazier, E. Franklin, The Negro in America. (see above.)
- a. "The Negro Church, a Nation Within a Nation." Chapter 3, pp. 29-44.

Pinkney, Alfonso, Black Americans. (see above.)
- a. "Religion." pp. 107-119.

McCord, William, et al., Life Styles in the Black Ghetto. (see above.)
- a. "The Store."
- b. The Activist."
- c. "The Revolutionary."

Drake, St. Clair, and Cayton, Horace, Black Metropolis (revised edition) New York: Harper & Row, 1962.

Liebow, Elliot, Tally's Corner: A Study of Negro Streetcorner Men. Boston: Little, Brown, 1966.

Haley, Alex, The Autobiography of Malcolm X. New York: Grove Press, 1965.

VII. The Identity Dilemma: Range and Type of Resistance Expressed in Black Personality Styles and Identity Patterns

Extant myths, descriptions, and interpretations of the personality patterns and styles (i.e., coping behaviors of Black adults and the imputed impact of these behaviors on Black children and youth in terms of identification and role models) are discussed in the following set of writings. Also included are reactions of the dominant external culture to some of these behavioral styles, such as the styles of the achiever and the revolutionary. The notion that internal psychological needs are often in conflict with demands of the external dominant culture is also, to some extent, discussed.

Fanon, Frantz, Black Skin, White Masks. New York: Grove Press, 1967.
a. "The Negro and Recognition." Chapter 7, pp. 210-222.

Fullinwider, S. P., The Mind and Mood of Black America. (see above.)
a. "Racial Christianity." Chapter 2, pp. 26-46.
b. "The Sociological Imagination." Chapter 5, pp. 92-121.
c. "The Moral Equivalent of Blackness." Chapter 8, pp. 206-299.

Silberman, Charles, Crisis in Black and White. (see above.)
a. "The Problem of Identification." Chapter 4, pp. 68-122.

McCord, William, Life Styles in the Black Ghetto. (see above.)
a. "Individual Life Styles." Part II, pp. 73-258.

Clark, Kenneth B., Dark Ghetto. (see above.)
a. "Black and White, the Ghetto Inside." Chapter 9, pp. 223-240.

Pinkney, Alfonso, Black Americans. (see above.)
a. "Assimilation in the American Society." pp. 162-182.
b. "Beginnings of Revolt." pp. 184-216.

Frazier, E. F., The Negro Family in the United States. (see above.)
a. "The Brown Middle Class." Chapter 20, pp. 317-334.
b. "The Black Proletariat." Chapter 21, pp. 334-355.

Kardiner, Abram, and Ovesey, Lionel, The Mark of Oppression. (see above.)
a. "Social Environment of the White Man." Chapter 2, pp. 13-37.
b. "The Social Environment of the Negro." Chapter 3, pp. 38-73.
c. "Expression of the Negro Personality." pp. 339-367.

Bennett, Lerone, The Negro Mood. New York: Ballantine Books, 1965.
a. "The Black Establishment." Chapter 2, pp. 51-78.
b. "Liberals and Other White Hopes." Chapter 5, pp. 119-158.

Smith, Arthur L., Rhetoric of Black Revolution. Boston: Allyn & Bacon, 1969.
a. "Toward a Revolutionary Rhetoric." Chapter 1, pp. 1-24.
b. "Strategies of Revolutionists." Chapter 2, pp. 25-42.
c. "Nature of the Black Audience." Chapter 4, pp. 63-70.

Warren, Robert Penn, Who Speaks for the Negro? New York: Random House, 1965.

Coles, Robert, Children of Crisis. New York: Dell, 1968.
a. "The Protestors." Chapter 6, pp. 173-238.

VIII. Literary Perceptions: Reflections of the Black Experience in This North American Wilderness

This set of fiction books and critiques exposes generational and geographical differences among Black writers. It focuses upon the changing perceptions and conceptions of Black heroes and emphasizes the ongoing search of Black people for a meaningful identity. One thread that permeates this set of books is the recurring philosophic, existential, and psychological themes as they relate to definitions of and conceptions about pain, suffering, endurance, adversity, grim humor, deceptions, satire, freedom, oppression, love, and hate.

Fullinwider, S. P., The Mind and Mood of Black America. (see above.)
a. "The Renaissance in Literature." Chapter 6, pp. 123-171.
b. "Another Country." Chapter 7, pp. 172-205.

Hill, Herbert, (ed.) Soon One Morning: New Writing by American Negroes 1940-1962. New York: Knopf, 1963.
a. Franklin, John Hope, "The Dilemma of the American Negro Scholar." pp. 60-76.

Hill, Herbert, (ed.) Anger and Beyond: The Negro Writer in the United States. New York: Harper & Row, 1966.
a. Redding, Saunders, "The Negro Writer and American Literature." Chapter 1, pp. 1-19.
b. Bontemps, Arna, "The Negro Renaissance." Chapter 2, pp. 20-36.
c. Cayton, Horace R., "Ideological Forces in the Work by the Negro Writer." Chapter 3, pp. 37-50.
d. Jones, LeRoi, "Philistinism and the Negro Writer." Chapter 4, pp. 51-60.

Emmanuel, James A., and Grass, Theodore L., (eds.) Dark Symphony: Negro Literature in America. New York: The Free Press, 1968.

a. "Introduction to Part I, Early Literature." pp. 2-11.
b. "Introduction to Part IV, Contemporary Literature," pp. 350-373.
c. Davis, Arthur, "Trends in Negro American Literature, 1940-1965." pp. 519-526.
d. Mayfield, Julius, "Into the Mainstream and Oblivion." pp. 551-561.

Chapman, Abraham, Black Voices: An Anthology of Afro-American Literature. New York: Mentor Books, 1968.
a. "Introduction." pp. 21-50.
b. "Three Papers from the First Conference of Negro Writers, March 1965." pp. 605-621.
c. Jackson, Blyders, "The Negro's Image of the Universe as Reflected by His Fiction." pp. 623-630.
d. Clark, John H. "The Origin and Growth of Afro-American Literature." pp. 632-644.
e. Turner, Darwin T., "The Negro Dramatist's Image of the Universe, 1920-1960." pp. 677-690.
f. Kent, George, "Ethnic Impact in American Literature." pp. 691-698.

Fullinwider, S. P., The Mind and Mood of Black America. (see above.)
a. "W. E. B. DuBois and the Crisis in Intellectual Leadership." Chapter 3, pp. 41-71.
b. "Marginal Men." Chapter 4, pp. 72-91.

Hill, Herbert, (ed.) Anger and Beyond: The Negro Writer in the United States. (see above.)
a. Hentoff, Nat, "The Other Side of the Blues." Chapter 6, pp. 76-85.
b. Bone, Robert, "Ralph Ellison and the Use of Imagination." Chapter 7, pp. 86-111.

Cleaver, Eldridge, Soul on Ice. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1968.
a. "Notes on a Native Son." pp. 97-111.

Emmanuel, James, and Grass, Theodore, (eds.) Dark Symphony: Negro Literature in America. (see above.)
a. Hughes, Langston, pp. 191-203.
b. Wright, Richard, pp. 222-226.
c. Ellison, Ralph, pp. 249-253.
d. Baldwin, James, pp. 297-300.

Grass, Seymore, Images of the Negro in American Literature. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966.
a. Ellison, Ralph. "Black Mask of Humanity." Chapter 6, pp. 115-131.
b. Baldwin, James, "Many Thousands Gone." Chapter 13, pp. 233-248.
c. Klien, M., "Ralph Ellison's Invisible Man." pp. 249-264. pp. 249-264.

Silberman, Charles, Crisis in Black and White. (see above.)
- a. Brief reference to Ralph Ellison and John Killem, pp. 58-64.
- b. Brief review of Ellison's Invisible Man, pp. 97-104.
- c. Brief reference to Richard Wright and James Baldwin, pp. 48-50.

Smith, Arthur R., Rhetoric of a Black Revolution. (see above.)
- a. "Origin of Revolutionary Themes." Chapter 5, pp. 71-104.

Hughes, Langston, "For President." Social Education, Vol. 33, No. 4, April 1969, p. 425.

IX. Black Music: Expression and Reflections of the Black Experience

The following books analyze Black music--especially Blues and Gospel--as an expressive folk art form. The writings center about concerns such as the struggle for recognition and identity, the awareness of hardship, and the essentially unromantic conception of life. In addition, the aspirations, frustrations, hopes, and sorrows of Black people; their apparent need to juxtapose death, deliverance and fulfillment; and the emphasis on unrequited, incomplete and unfulfilled love in their music are discussed.

Pinkney, Alfonso, Black Americans. (see above.)
- a. "Music." pp. 141-145.

Davis, John P., (ed.) The American Negro Reference Book. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1966.
- a Jones, LeRoi, "Blues, Jazz and the Negro." Chapter 21, pp. 759-765.
- b. George, Zelma, "Negro Music and American Life." Chapter 20, pp. 731-758.

Keil, Charles, Urban Blues. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966.
- a. "Afro-American Music." Chapter I, pp. 30-49.
- b. "Blues Styles: A Historical Sketch." Chapter 2, pp. 50-68.
- c. "Flattening Flags for Snakes." Chapter 3, pp. 69-95.
- d. "Soul and Solidarity." Chapter 7, pp. 164-190.

Jones, LeRoi, Black Music. New York: Morrow, 1968.
- a. "The Changing Scene." (R & B and New Black Music, 1969) pp. 181-211.

Jones, LeRoi, Blues People. New York: Morrow, 1966.
- a. "Afro-Christian Music and Religion." Chapter 4, pp. 32-49.
- b. "Primitive Blues and Primitive Jazz." Chapter 6, pp. 60-80.
- c. "Classic Blues." Chapter 7, pp. 81-94.

d. "The City." Chapter 8, pp. 95-121.
e. "The Blues Continuum." Chapter 11, pp. 66-174.
f. "The Modern Scene." Chapter 12, pp. 175-236.

Watkins, Sylvestre, (ed.) Anthology of American Negro Literature. New York: Modern Library of World's Best Books, 1944.
a. Bontemps, Arna, "Rock Church Rock." pp. 425-432.
b. Johnson, J. W., "History of the Spiritual." pp. 117-154.

Keil, Charles, Urban Blues. (see above.)
a. "Role and Response." Chapter 6, pp. 143-163.
b. "Alternatives.' Chapter 8, pp. 191-197.

Appendix D

AGUILA Y ZETAHUI:

THE EAGLE AND THE SERPENT

Arturo Aviña

Introduction

This bibliography has been prepared for Head Start and Follow Through staff, Program Advisors, teachers, students, etc a better understanding of the Mexican-American people and who seek to build positive feelings and creative attitudes. A great deal of "junk" material has been purposely omitted.

Describing a Culture*

It is difficult at the outset to give an adequate description of the culture of a group because the term "culture" is so broad. How people live, what houses they build, what foods they eat, what recreations they enjoy, what institutions they develop, what knowledge they have, what art and literature they possess, what customs they observe, what language they speak, what religion they profess, what they value--in brief, the life characteristics of a people--are their culture.

A second difficulty in describing the culture of a group arises from the fact that cultures change. A condition that may well have been typical at an earlier time may no longer be so. This is particularly true of a people whose culture developed within a rural village environment but who are suddenly transplanted into a modern urban "culture."

The third reason why the description of the culture of a people is difficult is that there are extreme differences among individuals within the same group. Within many large groups there are sub-groups markedly different from each other, and the differences among individual members of the group are even more extreme. It should be emphasized that a kind of central tendency--or, in statistical terms, the mode of a population--is just that: the average of a series of conditions which vary along a continuous scale.

What Is a Chicano?

There are different versions of the origin of the word "Chicano." Some say that it originated as a contraction of Chihuahua and Mexicano. It is a term common to the people of the barrios in the United States

*The following three paragraphs are quoted from Manuel, H. T., Spanish-Speaking Children of the Southwest; Their Education and the Public Welfare. Austin: University of Texas Press. 1965.

that has been used for many years. The meaning of the word has definitely changed. It used to be, and it sometimes still is, a word that contains a negative identity, much like the word Black. It used to be said that no matter what a person accomplished, he was still a Chicano. Today the word is much more positive. It says, "despite all that has happened, all that you were told and taught, you have held on to your essence; you are Chicano.

Chicano today is a broad term. It is a mental attitude that identifies a person as a member of "La Raza" and one who has a commitment to "La Causa."

Confronting Racism

Anyone working for or with any ethnic group or with any individual, especially a teacher, must be sensitive to differences. The teacher must familiarize herself with children's background in order to build positive feelings and creative attitudes.

If positive feelings and creative attitudes are to be built, the Mexican-American pupil must be helped to understand the roots of prejudice as well as to face the fact of its existence today. He can become proud of his double heritage only by studying the bitter history that this heritage involves. No one can pretend to the Mexican-American that repression and discrimination are things only of the past or urge him to be less "sensitive."

Nothing will be accomplished by trying to repress his anger. Anger needs to be expressed and can be channeled in positive ways. Racism cannot be glossed over. Studying the true history of the Mexican-American in the United States will help the pupil deal realistically with the roots of prejudice. Knowledge of this history will help him confront the stereotypes that are applied to him today and understand them for what they really are.

Nuestra causa es justa!

Our cause is just!

Acuna, Rudolph, The Story of the Mexican-Americans. New York: Litton Educational Publishing Inc., 1967.
Historical.

Allen, Steve, The Ground Is Our Table New York: Doubleday, 1966.
A personal view of the life of migrant workers. A chapter and photos on Delano are included.

Azuella, Mariano, The Underdogs. New York: Signet, 1963.
"Los de Abajo": The rise of Demetrio Macias from poverty in rural Mexico to the rank of general in the forces of Pancho Villa.

Ballis, George, and others. Basta! Delano, Calif.: Farm Workers Press, 1966.
A photographic essay on the issues of the Delano grape strike. Social awareness.

Baker, George C., "Pachuco, An American-Spanish Argot and Its Social Functions in Tucson, Arizona." Tucson: University of Arizona. Social Science Bulletin, Vol. 21, No. 18, January 1950.
A study of the "Pachuco" language.

Barrio, Raymond, The Plum Pickers. Sunnyvale, Calif.: Ventura Press, 1969.
This novel vigorously protests the exploitation of Mexican-American migrant farm workers. Covers many aspects of migratory life, including camp conditions, aspirations for permanency, and the children's problems in the Anglo-dominated school.

Caruso, John Anthony, Liberators of Mexico. Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1967.
The lives of three men who helped to free Mexico from Spanish rule--Hidalgo, Morelos, and Iturbide.

Caso, Alfonso, The Aztecs: People of the Sun. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1958.

Castañeda, Carlos E., trans., The Mexican Side of the Texan Revolution. Dallas: P. L. Turner Co., 1928.
Castañeda has collected diaries and depositions from Mexican leaders prominent in the Texas Revolution. The book offers a view of the conflict that is rarely considered by many in the U. S. The partisan accounts are intended to exculpate the participants but they probably contain as much truth as the records left by the victorious Texans.

Council of Mexican-American Affairs, First Annual Report on Mexican-American Education Conference Proceedings, Los Angeles, 1956.

Dobie, J. Frank, (ed.) Puro Mexicano. Austin: Texas Folk-Lore Society, 1935.
Mexican legends and folk tales. A good collection showing cultural diversities among Mexicans and the wide compass of the Mexican experience.

Dunne, John Gregory, Delano. New York: Farrar, Straus, & Giroux, 1967.
Account of the Delano grape strike.

"The Eye of Mexico." Evergreen Review, No. 7, New York, 1959.
A collection of translations of works by Mexican authors.

Forbes, Jack D., Education of the Culturally Different: A Multi-Cultural Approach. Washington, D.C.: Superintendent of Documents, 1968.
Forbes argues that many Anglo educators use the term

"cultural deprivation" to escape blame for the poor school performance of minority-group children. Educators shift the burden of failure onto the children, whom they see coming not from a different culture but from a cultural vacuum. Using schools to force cultural homogeneity and assimilation of Anglo values creates minority-group withdrawal, hostility, and alienation. The author discusses the need for a multicultural approach and a redefinition of the function of the school-community relations and good teacher-child and teacher-parent rapport. This essay is a personal statement intended in part as a philosophical introduction to the author's other handbooks on the education of Mexican-Americans and Afro-Americans in the Far West. There is a brief but helpful bibliographic section.

_____, Mexican-Americans: A Handbook for Educators. Washington, D.C.: Superintendent of Documents, 1967.

This concise manual could be useful to readers unacquainted with Mexican-American culture, although the work somewhat misrepresents the degree of Mexican-Amercian assimilation. Minor distortions in the historical sketches may be due to the brevity and subsequent generality of the article. The author's discussion of bilingualism is particularly informative. His suggestions for its practical application in the school routine are explicit and directed to teachers and administrators. The bibliographic recommendations could be valuable for educators initiating cultural heritage curricula.

_____, "Race and Color in Mexican-American Problems." Journal of Human Relations, Vol. XVI, 1968, pp. 55-68.

After outlining the history of Anglo color prejudice against Mexican-Americans from Richard Henry Dana to the present, the author concludes that Anglos have always favored lighter skinned, more "Castilian" Mexican-Americans. Forbes feels that anti-Indian prejudice damages Chicano self-esteem and hinders social mobility. He believes that the Mexican-American future cannot be satisfactory until the race problem is solved; prejudice against Chicanos will not disappear until prejudice against Blacks and Native Americans disappears. Further, the feeling of inferiority engendered in Mexican-Americans must be eradicated before they can organize politically with Native American and Blacks.

Galarza, Ernesto, Merchants of Labor: The Mexican Bracero Story. San Jose, Calif.: The Rosicrucian Press, 1964.

This is an excellent study of the bracero in California. An introductory chapter traces the backgrounds of the bracero movement to California from 1880 to 1942. The rest of the book covers the period from World War II to the present. In 1942 the United States, concerned with wartime manpower shortages and increased demands for agricultural products, entered into an agreement with Mexico to manage and promote the seasonal importation of Mexican agricultural workers into the Southwestern states. By 1960 the "temporary" wartime agreement, formalized

by Congressional action in 1951, was still in effect. The book discusses the government's administration of the bracero program, the treatment of braceros by their employers in commercial agriculture, and the effects of the bracero system on domestic labor and on the agricultural labor movement in California. Galarza's outlook is strongly pro-labor, but his book is objective and scholarly. He concludes that the bracero program had a profoundly adverse effect on the wages and conditions of domestic labor, and helped commercial agriculture in California hold the line against the organized labor movement for twenty years. He also feels that government agencies created to administer the program soon evolved into active collaborators of agribusinessmen, encouraging collusion in determining wage and hiring policies and discouraging the workers' efforts to unionize. The author notes the failure of national labor organizations to provide strong backing for the movement to unionize agricultural workers in California.

_____, Strangers in Our Fields. Washington, D.C.: United States Section, Joint United States-Mexico Trade Union Committee, 1956.

This short book attempts to determine the degree to which the bracero actually benefitted from the contractual, legal, and civil rights guaranteed him by the governments of the United States and Mexico. The focus of the study is narrower than that of Merchants of Labor, the author's later book on the bracero, but within this scope it is much more detailed and contains many more examples and case histories than the later work. Written for the United States Section of the Joint United States-Mexico Trade Union Committee, which represented the AFL-CIO and other major unions, the book is strongly pro-labor. The author concludes that exploitation of the braceros by their employers was the rule, not the exception.

Galarza bases his study on data gathered from extensive interviews with braceros in Southwestern Arizona and California in 1955. He attempted to check statements made by the braceros concerning wages, deductions, and rates of pay against paycheck stubs and other documentary evidence. But the difficulties of getting this type of material and of obtaining data from employers caused him to rely primarily on the evidence gathered from the braceros themselves. Despite this understandable limitation, Galarza demonstrates at the very least that there were widespread violations of the rights guaranteed braceros by law.

Gamio, Manuel, The Mexican Immigrant: His Life Story. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1931.

These are the collected statements of 57 immigrants from Mexico during the 1920's, telling why they left Mexico, and how they lived in the United States.

_____, Mexican Immigration to the United States. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1930.

Good study of Mexican immigration. But many of Manuel's

views don't agree with those of this bibliographer. He feels the immigrant should "acculturate" more!

Gardner, Richard, Grito! Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, Inc., 1970.
Reies Tijerina and the New Mexico Land Grant War of 1967.

Garıboy, K. Angel M., Llave del Nahuatl. Mexico, 1940, 1961.
This book is for those who seek a better knowledge of ancient Mexican thought and of the Mexican language.

Gonzales, Nancie L., The Spanish Americans of New Mexico: A Heritage of Pride, Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1969.
The author examines the history of the Hispanos in New Mexico and discusses such topics as La Raza, social class status, and the legend of their cultural traditions.

Grebler, Leo, et al., The Mexican-American People. New York: The Free Press, 1970.
This book, a landmark in studies on the Mexican-American, is the final product of the Mexican-American Study Project of the University of California in Los Angeles.

Gruening, Ernest, Mexico and Its Heritage. New York· Century, 1928.
Still valuable for its coverage of the Mexican revolutionary era.

Jenkinson, Michael, Tijerina--Land Grant Conflict in New Mexico. Albuquerque, New Mexico: Paisano Press, 1968.
Stresses the historical roots of land grant conflict between native Hispanos and Anglo settlers. The New Mexico movement is seen through Tijerina, who is depicted as a symbolic figure, not the only answer to a long-felt need for change.

Leon-Portilla, Miguel, La Filosofio Nahautl. Mexico, 1956. Translated as Aztec Thought and Culture. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963.
For an understanding of the Mexican heritage.

Matthiessen, Peter, Sal Si Puedes: Cesar Chavez and the New American Revolution. New York: Random House, Inc., 1969.

McWilliams, Carey, North From Mexico: The Spanish-Speaking People of the United States. New York: Lippincott, 1961.
The central theme is Anglo-Chicano relationships and the strife that frequently followed their initial contacts. McWilliams stresses the exploitation and prejudice faced by the Mexican-Americans and their frequent rebellions against subordinate status.

Nava, Julian, Mexican-Americans: Past, Present and Future. New York: Litton Educational Publishing Inc., 1969.
Historical.

Nelson, Eugene, Huelga, The First Hundred Days of the Great Delano Grape Strike. Delano, Calif.: Farm Workers Press, 1966.

Paz, Octavio, Labyrinth of Solitude. New York: Grove Press, 1961.
A close philosophical and cultural evaluation of the Mexican character.

Pinkney, Alphonso, "Prejudice Toward Mexican and Negro Americans." Phylon, 1st Quarter, 1963.

Ramirez, Manuel, III, Potential Contributions by the Behavior Sciences to Effective Preparation Programs for Teachers of Mexican-American Children. Los Cruces: ERIC, New Mexico State University, 1969.

Romano-V., Octavio I., "The Anthropology and Sociology of the Mexican-Americans." El Grito, Vol. II, Fall 1968, pp. 13-26.
This is a sometimes violent attack on Anglo social sciences for ignoring the history of Mexican-Americans and drawing a social portrait of them based on a stereotyped "traditional culture." The "traditional culture" analysis depicts the Chicano as fatalistic, passive, and lazy, and it frequently implies that only through acculturation to Anglo, "American" values of activism and deferred reward will the Mexican-American be able to advance socially and economically. Romano states that the history of the Chicano in the United States is full of movements and incidents, especially unions and strikes, which demonstrate activism and recognition of self-interest. Knowledge of these events, he says, destroys the ahistorical analyses of the social scientists. Chicano society is pluralistic, Romano feels, and cannot be accurately described by one stereotype. The author then describes the "traditional culture" findings of several prominent anthropologists, all of whom are treated elsewhere in this bibliography. Romano is in the main correct in saying that these men are ahistorical in their approach and that they often express an assimilationist point of view, arguing that the sooner the Chicano abandons his "traditional culture" for Anglo values the better off he will be.

_____, "Charismatic Medicine, Folk-Healing, and Folk Sainthood." American Anthropologist, Vol. LXVII, 1965, pp. 1151-1173.
This is a study of the curandero, the Mexican folk-healer. It discusses several degrees of curandero activity, from a daughter's or mother's role as sometime-healer to a person who obtains folk-sainthood, like Don Pedrito Jaramillo. The full-time curandero abandons all other roles he may play to be simply a healer always available to serve; he usually lives alone and is surrounded by the strong suggestion of a holy calling. Using Webster's definition of charisma as a supposed unique, magical power possessed by an individual, Romano calls the curanderos practitioners of charismatic medicine and points to Don Pedrito as an example. Since Don Pedrito used his charismatic power to heal people in traditional ways, Romano goes on to attack the usual coupling of charisma with radical innovation.

_____, "Donship in a Mexican-American Community in Texas." American Anthropologist, Vol. LXII, 1960, pp. 966-976.

Romano tries to identify the attributes which confer prestige on males in Chicano society through an analysis of the use of "Don," the Spanish title of respect, in a rural Mexican-American community in South Texas. The study of the prestige system of a relatively isolated community composed primarily of first- and second-generation Mexican-Americans, the author argues, throws light on important values and patterns of behavior in immigrant Chicano society. This information should provide a baseline for measuring, in future studies of "donship," the degree of acculturation of Mexican-Americans in communities more in contact with Anglo society.

In the community he studied the author found two types of "Dons": the traditional, whose title derived from his position of power or influence or from his advanced age; and the man who had achieved his title by conforming to the patterns of behavior held in high regard by his neighbors. The latter was generally a mature man of experience who conducted himself with dignity; did not associate too intimately with men who were younger than he; held himself aloof from over-involvement with people outside his nuclear family group; was able to "defend" himself in financial matters and in verbal dueling among peers; and was able to handle problems posed by women, employers, gossip, and the envy of neighbors.

_____, (ed.) El Espejo - The Mirror: Selected Mexican-American Literature. Berkeley, Calif.: Quinto Sol, 1969.

This is a collection of short stories, poetry, and essays, frequently militant in tone, written in English, Spanish, and Chicano sub-dialects. The publisher, Quinto Sol, is dedicated to the discovery and celebration of Mexican-American culture and artistic expression. The pieces in the collection reflect these goals; the emerging of Chicano awareness and the search for a usable heritage is a frequent theme. Alienation from Anglo society is also a common subject, as is violence and darkness, often expressed through accounts of the Revolution or through Indian experiences. The everyday life of the poor in Mexico is explored also. Of widely divergent quality, the fiction and essays in this book express a strong cultural sensibility, and some pieces do so with literary power.

_____, "The Historical and Intellectual Presence of Mexican-Americans." El Grito, Vol. II, Winter 1969, pp. 32-47.

The author analyzes the important Mexican intellectual and activist schools of thought, which, according to Romano, were carried to the United States by the refugees of the Mexican Revolution. These currents continued to have vitality and relevance in the United States after the Revolutionary crisis passed. The three most important views described are the Mestizo, the confrontationist, and the Indianist. The Mestizo school embraces cultural nationalism, proclaims Mexican

multiple origins produced by the blending of Spain's pluralistic culture into Mexico's pluralistic culture, and emphasizes a humanitarian outlook. The confrontation school insists on violence, and then an articulation of beliefs and demands. The Indianist school asks for an abandonment of all European values and a return to Indian identification and ideals. Romano stresses the pluralism of Mexican-American thought and the survival of conflicting ideologies among a people popularly thought to be homogeneous.

Steiner, Stan, La Raza--the Mexican-Americans. New York: Harper & Row, 1969-1970.
Excellent!

Tebell, John, and Ruiz, Ramon E., South by Southwest: The Mexican-American and His Heritage. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1969.
The authors emphasize Mexican political and intellectual history. As a rule, the book succeeds in the authors' obvious goal: to present simply the valuable historical legacy of Mexico to the United States.

Toor, Frances, Treasure of Mexican Folkways. New York: Crown, 1967.
"The customs, myths, folklore, traditions, beliefs, fiestas, dances, and songs of the Mexican people."

Vasconcelos, Jose, A Mexican Ulysses. Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1963.
Autobiography, Mexican history, education, and culture by one who participated in the political development of his country.

Vasquez, Richard, Chicano. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1970.
A novel.

Womack, John, Jr., Zapata and the Mexican Revolution. New York: Knopf, 1968.
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Appendix A: The Heredity-Environment Criticism of "Compensatory" Education

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