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ABSTRACT

The Training Program for Urban School Research and Evaluation Personnel was a highly selective program for preparing partially-trained students for research work in urban education. The University of Chicago held a proposal competition for students in the Department of Education and related departments. From among those submitting research proposals, seven were selected for participation in the program. The program brought together these seven students with those of our faculty most intimately involved with research on urban education. Each student conducted an independent empirical investigation into an important urban education question. The seminars used the resources of the University of Chicago and the City of Chicago to search out and bring to bear expertise on the issue under discussion. All students had a supervised practicum experience where they shared experiences and insights with faculty members and other students in the group. Three products came out of the program. The seven individual research reports represent the research outcomes and contributions to knowledge of the program. The organization of the program as described above represents the model development outcome. The trained urban school researchers are the "people" output of the experiment. (Author/JM)

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Final Report

Project No. RO 2 0599
Grant No. OEG-0-72-1261

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A TRAINING PROGRAM FOR URBAN SCHOOL RESEARCH AND EVALUATION PERSONNEL

September 7, 1973

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

National Institute of Education
Researcher Training Unit

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Abstract

The Training Program for Urban School Research and Evaluation Personnel was a highly selective program for preparing partially-trained students for research work in urban education. The University of Chicago held a proposal competition for students in the Department of Education and related departments. From among those submitting research proposals, seven were selected for participation in the program. The program brought together these seven students with those of our faculty most intimately involved with research on urban education. Each of the students conducted in independent empirical investigation into an important urban education question. Thus, through the work of the students, the research expertise of numerous faculty members was joined with the special expertise of those faculty members with an understanding of urban problems. The result, we think, is a useful model for preparing students specifically for research in urban areas. Communication among the seven students and the five urban-oriented professors was promoted through a joint seminar. The students were sensitized to the problems of conducting educational research in urban areas. At all stages in the progress of the individual investigations problems were shared and guidance offered. The students were exposed to a wider range of research methodologies and problem areas than would normally be the case.

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Arthur E. Wise

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The research reported herein was performed pursuant to a grant with the Office of Education, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Contractors undertaking such projects under Government sponsorship are encouraged to express freely their professional judgment in the conduct of the project. Points of view or opinions stated do not, therefore, necessarily represent official Office of Education position or policy.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF
HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

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Introduction

The Training Program for Urban School Research and Evaluation Personnel was a highly selective program for preparing partially-trained students for research work in urban education. The University of Chicago held a proposal competition for students in the Department of Education and related departments. From among those submitting research proposals, seven were selected for participation in the program. The program brought together these seven students with those of our faculty most intimately involved with research on urban education. Each of the students conducted in independent empirical investigation into an important urban education question. Thus, through the work of the students, the research expertise of numerous faculty members was joined with the special expertise of those faculty members with an understanding of urban problems. The result, we think, is a useful model for preparing students specifically for research in urban areas. Communication among the seven students and the five urban-oriented professors was promoted through a joint seminar. The students were sensitized to the problems of conducting educational research in urban areas. At all stages in the progress of the individual investigations problems were shared and guidance offered. The students were exposed to a wider range of research methodologies and problem areas than would normally be the case.

Model, Methodology and Products

The Training Program for Urban School Research and Evaluation Personnel committed us to the training of cosmopolitans in the problems of urban research. As such it is different from programs which seek to identify local personnel who have demonstrated leadership in a given community and to then give these people research and/or intervention skills. Our program is designed to prepare individuals without particular local connections for the task of urban research in general. It is attempting to identify a set of skills and conceptual and analytical tools which are applicable in a variety of urban settings and give our trainees the capacity to bring those skills into play as they work in particular settings.

The complexities of the urban environment and its institutions require a variety of research designs and skills. The variables affecting the urban scene are difficult to measure by a single research technique. The program maintains that rigid adherence to any standard set of research procedures is inappropriate in the search for knowledge and information which can assist in devising solutions to the problems of urban education.

The program has focused on identifying common components in urban research without restricting the kinds of problems students choose to work on. It incorporates experiences in working with various research paradigms. The training process insures that students are involved in:

1. Action Research - the researcher is "close to or on the scene of the action."
2. Problem Identification in urban settings and research designs appropriate to the question under investigation and to the situation.
3. Individual Selection of the urban site for the field-based investigation and data collection.

4. Interaction with persons involved in the system and employed by the urban school system.

5. Individual negotiation by non-locals with school personnel for approval to conduct the research.

6. Feedback by the researcher to the school system with attention to policy implications.

7. Reporting to the academic community.

There are seven different research activities being pursued by our Urban School Research Fellows. Each project is unique, yet each project can be approached with a set of universals which clarify the research design and procedures for each project. The faculty seminars which are structured to address these problems use the resources of the University of Chicago and the City of Chicago to search out and bring to bear expertise on the issue under discussion. Researchers working in the field with large urban school systems are going to be faced with the problems of entry, the negotiation of institutional relationships, the sharing and reporting of research findings without alienating the school and/or the academic community. These issues and other similar ones are addressed in the seminars. All students have a supervised practicum experience where they share experiences and insights with faculty members and other students in the group. Each student submits a report of activities to the director of the program.

There are three products which have come out of the program: a research product, a model development product, and "people" product. The seven individual research reports represent the research outcomes and contributions to knowledge of the program. The organization of the program as described above represents the model development outcome. The trained urban school researchers are the "people" output of the experiment.

The Urban School Research Seminar

The organizational focus for the program was the faculty/student seminar which met regularly during the academic year. The following faculty members were regular participants in the seminar:

Professor Edgar Epps, Marshall Field IV
Professor of Urban Education

Professor Henrietta Schwartz, Director
of the Ford Training and Placement
Program (a training program for
urban school personnel)

Professor Herbert Thelen, Educational
Psychologist and Specialist in Group
Dynamics

Professor Ian Westbury, Specialist in
Curriculum

Professor Arthur E. Wise, Associate Dean
and Specialist in Problems of Equal
Educational Opportunity

In addition to participating in the seminar, these faculty members assisted the students in the conduct of their individual research projects. (Students were assisted in the conduct of their projects by as many as twenty other faculty members.)

The seminar focused on the range of problems connected with the conduct or research in the urban school context. Sessions focused on such problem areas as:

Equal Educational Opportunity

School Finance

The Testing of Minorities

School Law

The Impact of Research on Practice

The Funding of Research

ERIC

Social Policy and Education

Operations Analysis in the Chicago Public Schools

Problems of Entry to Urban Schools

The Rights of Human Subjects

The Distinctive Problems of Urban School Research

The concluding sessions of the seminar were devoted to a reporting and critique of the participants' individual research projects. Through the medium of the seminar the students developed an overall sense of the problems involved in conducting educational research in the urban setting. Through sharing experiences and insights the development of individual skills and understandings was enhanced.

Reflections on Training Model Development

The Urban Research Training Program was a new kind of project for the Department and Graduate School of Education of the University of Chicago. It was a small-scale model-development project that focused on the creation of an open-ended but hopefully generalizeable model for a training experience that will give students in all of the specialized areas of educational research skills that are of fundamental importance. We have developed a program that combines student-unique experience with a common core. For purposes of development and evaluation of the core we are treating each experience of the program's students as an independent replication against which we can test the utility and worth of the common activities. The purpose of the program is the invention of a program format that can be used to operationalize what are for us some important concerns about one aspect of educational research.

The thinking we have done about the nature and format of this work with the Urban Research Training Program has stimulated us to do some more general thinking about the nature and organization of the task of model development of this kind. The University's previous experience with invention of other training models has been mixed: our TTT Program, in many ways analogous to the concerns of the Urban Research Program, was, we believe, much less than successful; our experience with similar HEW-supported development in the University's School of Social Service Administration had led us to judge that work similarly unsuccessful. Perhaps our only success with explicit model development has been with the Ford Foundation-supported Ford Training and Placement Program. The question we have been trying to face as we have thought about what we should be doing with the Urban School Research Program has been "Why has the University's (as far as we know it) batting average with model-development projects been so clearly less than satisfactory?"

As we have approached this question we have tried to make a number of distinctions. First, we have distinguished model-development projects from training programs in which an explicit model has been implemented for the education of students, the primary outcome of training projects being people rather than models. This distinction is, of course, murky, but it does reflect,we believe, a difference in stance on the part of a given project. Second, we distinguish between model-invention projects in which the project's task is to develop a relicable, transportable and explicit training model from model installation projects in which a program's task is to pick up a model developed elsewhere and install it in a new context. Third, we distinguish model-development projects, in which the task of the developers is to work up a program using a comparatively clear-cut intellectual structure (e.g., behavior modification conceptions in pre-service teacher training), from development that attempts to respond to global goals and needs of one kind or another. (e.g., training in early childhood education, training for school-based change agents). In the latter, the first task is to find a format for talking about the task (e.g., is an intensive experience in developmental psychology the best way to see the needs of prospective specialists in early childhood?) and the second task is to operationalize the implications of format decisions.

Given these distinctions, we have found ourselves able to categorize our less than successful experiences. The TTT Program and the programs we evaluated in our School of Social Service Administration (the less-than-successful projects) were clearly goal-focused projects in which unsatisfactory initial decisions were made about the format in which the program goals might be carried out. The Ford Program was a goal-focused program in which seemingly workable format decisions were made prior to the program's operation--although considerable adjustment was required as the program sought to operationalize fully its format in the initial years of the project.

If the conclusions of this analysis have any merit, interesting interactions arise as one thinks about the relationships between external funding of model-invention projects and the history of these projects. The operational problems the Ford program experienced in its initial years required its management to change the target population of the project and we attribute much of the project's later success to the wisdom of that decision. The flexible funding offered the program by the Foundation and the University's commitment to a successful development made the decision-making required for this shift both possible and inevitable. The constraints in the contracts governing our administration of both the TTT Program and the SSA Program inhibited this kind of local decision-making and, in practice, became a disincentive to local evaluation. Inevitably our interest was in preserving our funding and neither OE nor HEW had the capability for undertaking the in-depth examination of the projects that would be required for searching evaluation. We see no evil here, simply an inevitable fact of organizational life.

However, these facts of organizational life do become important as one wishes to generalize this kind of experience and to develop project management structures at both the Federal and the local levels that offer the possibility of maximizing success in the difficult area of model development and invention. Success in such work cannot be guaranteed; success requires local evaluation and management and the funding structure for such projects must encourage such evaluation not discourage it. We would argue that it is important that both universities and NIE work together on developing management structures that offer clear incentives for what we see as the necessary local evaluation and consequent responsible decision-making. We believe that HEW's consolidated funding package to the University's School of Social Service Administration offers a proto-type for this kind of structure.

In 1972, HEW consolidated its previous categorical grants to SSA with the expectation that SSA would move to undertake curriculum model development, first by way of discrete projects, and then by way of an attempt to incorporate such discrete projects into its overall curriculum. The School was seen as being willing to undertake this model development on a large scale and, having the resources could do it competently. Managerially, the School undertook to monitor the effectiveness of its own work and deploy its resources towards projects with the greatest promise. At the end of the grant period a range of viable models would be available. It did not claim to predict at the beginning of the grant period the particular models that it might have. The structure of the grant and the clear expectation for delivery that the administration of the School assumed provides, we believe, the incentives for internal management that categorical grants do not. (There are, of course, procedural advantages in this granting model which HEW also wished to explore.)

From HEW's point of view, SSA is participating in a large-scale experiment in the procurement of viable program models. We would suggest that a prima facie case exists for NIE exploration of a similar model as part of the next round of training grants. Our conception would be as follows: NIE requests institutions to submit developmental packages containing three or four discrete projects, each targeted on a difficult and challenging problem. The most interesting proposals are awarded a block grant; the expectation is that the institution will deliver well on at least one of these projects. The further expectation is that the institution itself will be primarily responsible for monitoring the effectiveness of its own development work within the broad parameters of the application. Critically, we believe there should be few strings imposed on the institution as far as clienteles, specific relationships with local agencies, etc. Such constraints frequently function as devices which institutions can use as ways of excusing (often justifiably) poor performance on their part. The thrust of the management structure we are suggesting here should be to maximize the incentive on institutions to undertake their own evaluation and decision-making leaving NIE with the responsibility only for evaluation of the quality and significance of the final product (s). Such a structure would have, as a by-product, fewer accounting and managerial problems.

Individual Research Reports

On the succeeding pages are the individual research reports of the participants in the Urban School Research and Evaluation Program. The participants and their projects are:

(1) Robin Boger, "School Productivity and the Classroom Environment."

(2) Robert M. Buchmeier, "A Study of the Attitudes of Black Parents toward a Girls Catholic High School with a White Middle-Class Faculty."

(3) William A. Firestone," "The Sources of Instability in Parent Run Free Schools."

(4) Barry M. Hammond, "An Attempt to Match Symbolic and Concrete Learning Modes to the Needs of Inner City Learners of Mathematics."

(5) Michael S. Holzman, "Education Programs and Local Politics: A Case Study of Performance Contracting in Gary and Hammond."

(6) Donald F. Soltz, "The Primary Teacher at Work: A Comparison of Technologies Used in Reading and Arithmetic Instruction."

(7) Margaret B. Spencer, "An Exploratory Study of: Role Taking Ability and Self Concept Development as Hypothesized Components of Social Competence, and the Role of Racial Attitudes for Self Concept Development in Black Preschool Aged Children."

Robin Boger

School Productivity and the Classroom Environment

Two questions are being raised in this study of school productivity. The first is posed at the level of the individual student and asks, "In what way and to what extent do selected school and individual characteristics change students, thereby producing educational achievement?" The second takes the classroom as the unit of analysis and investigates the degree to which school policy decisions affect group educational output. It seeks to explain the variance of classroom means, or proportions of pupils above designated high achievement levels or proportions below designated achievement levels. In both instances, race and sex at the individual level and a classroom level measure of community affluence will be treated as design variables in observing the interaction between sets of variables.

These two approaches can be diagrammatically represented as follows:

		INDEPENDENT VARIABLES	
		Individual Traits	Classroom Traits*
DEPENDENT VARIABLES	Individual Scores	$a_{ij} = f(Z_i, B_i, T_j, S_j, \overline{C}_j)$ $Z_{ij} = f(a_i, B_i, T_j, S_j, \overline{C}_j)$	
	Distributional Summary Achievement & Attitudinal Variables	▨	$A_1 = g(\overline{C}_j, S_j)$ $A_2 = h(\overline{C}_j, S_j)$ etc.

* including components of individual student traits

a_{ij} refers to individual student "i" in school "j" vector of achievement scores

Z_i is the vector of individual student attitudinal variables

B_i is the vector of individual student background characteristics

T_j is the vector of classroom teacher characteristics

S_j is the vector of school (including principal) variables

$\overline{C}_j$ is the class room composition matrix, including all students and their background, attitudinal and achievement variables. (ideally, the individual's row would be taken out of matrix for the analysis done at the individual level)

A_1, A_2 = school mean, other distributional summary variables

Before the analysis could be implemented at either the individual or the classroom aggregate level, however, it was necessary to do a great deal of preliminary work with the data. The review of how the research has proceeded to date will begin with a brief comment on the nature of the data and continue with a discussion of the following; (1) Creation of student composite variables, (2) Creation of teacher composite variables, (3) Development of school composite variables and (4) Results of preliminary investigation.

Data - Source and Content:

The data for this research have been provided through the courtesy of the National Opinion Research Center. The survey at my disposal was undertaken during the school year 1971-72 and consists of 361 grammar schools (totaling 21,600 fifth grade students, 5800 teachers and 361 principals). One half of the grammar schools were receiving funds under the Emergency School Assistance Program at this time, while the remaining schools (which composed a matching control group) had not received any Federal money under this plan. For each school, information was gathered at the pupil level, the teacher level (an average of ten teachers per school completed questionnaires) and from the principal. The district level director of the Emergency School Assistance Program was interviewed whenever a school in his district was included in the sample. Similarly, "leading citizens" of the community in which the school was located were given telephone interviews, and an observor was sent to each school to record his impressions on an "observor's questionnaire". Since there were over 500 pieces of information obtained for each school, the first step in the research process was to reduce the mass of data into a more manageable number of variables.

Student Composite Variables:

A sample of approximately 500 students was randomly selected from each of four sex-race groups, i.e. black males, white males, black females and white females. Margin totals were tallied on the distribution of all student questions that related to either attitudes or family background. Factor analysis programs were run separately within each of the four sex/race groups to observe if there were differences in the clustering patterns of attitudinal and background variables, and only those clusters that appeared in at least 3 of the 4 groups were selected. Three sets of factors were then constructed. In the first set, only those variables that appeared in 3 of the 4 sex-race groups for a particular cluster were included, and they were given a factor loading that was the average of loadings for that variable across the composite groups. This set of factors, (average variable/average loading) is the most commonly used set of factors so far and will be discussed in greater depth than the other two sets.

The second set of factors is also composed of average variables but the loading of the variables is that weight specific to its appearance in a particular sex/race group, (average variable/ specific loading). In the third set of factors, both variables and loadings are specific to a sex/race group. What is lost in the way of cross-group comparison by these "specific variable/ specific loading" factors will hopefully be compensated for in the way of a more precisely measured factor within sex/race groups.

Seven composite student variables were created in this manner. To begin the discussion, the results of the Marginals run (which compared distributions of responses by sex-race groups) will be presented for each variable in the context of the factor in which they are to be found.

The first attitudinal factor has been entitled: "Insecurity in the Student Role". It is constructed as follows:

$$\text{INSECURE} = .73\ \text{TLKYOU} + .35\ \text{HWFUN} - .47\ \text{HATESCHL} + .74\ \text{LKTEACH} + .54\ \text{RULEFAIR} - .43\ \text{ANGRY}$$

TLKYOU = % of students who think their teacher likes them;

WHTFEML = 88%
BLKFEML = 84%
BLKMALE = 80%
WHTMALE = 78%

HWFUN = % students who thought some of previous weeks homework was fun;

WHTFEML = 59%
BLKFEML = 56%
BLKMALE = 49%
WHTMALE = 42%

HATESCHL = % of students who usually hate school;

WHTMALE = 56%
BLKMALE = 47.5%
BLKFEML = 37%
WHTFEML = 33%

LKTEACH = % of students who like their teacher;

WHTFEML = 90%
BLKFEML = 82%
BLKMALE = 80%
WHTMALE = 77.5%

RULEFAIR = % of students who think most rules in classroom are fair;

WHTFEML = 81%
WHTMALE = 67%
BLKFEML = 65%
BLKMALE = 60%

ANGRY = % who get really angry when teacher makes them do things they don't want to;

BLKMALE = 69%
WHTMALE = 63%
BLKFEML = 60%
WHTFEML = 47%

In all the questions, a positive response was coded '1' and a negative responses was coded '2'. Therefore, the composite variable reads as follows; "My teacher doesn't like me and my homework isn't fun and I hate school, etc." It can readily be seen that the white females were, as a group, most favorable in their feelings toward schooling while in 2/3 of the cases the white males were least favorable, and in the remaining 1/3 of the questions the black males were least favorable. This finding supports the position that it is necessary to categorize by sex as well as by race groups in untangling the interaction problems.

A second important attitudinal variable was entitled; "Lack of Self-Esteem". It was created as follows:

$$\begin{aligned}\text{ESTEEM} = {} & .58\ \text{SCOMPARE} + .52\ \text{PARSAT} - .34\ \text{READHARD} - .33\ \text{MATHHARD} \\ & - .27\ \text{SPHELP} - .13\ \text{TESTFEAR} + .52\ \text{DOASWELL} - .28\ \text{BTROFF} \\ & - .25\ \text{TESTNERV} + .30\ \text{PLANSWRK} + .43\ \text{COLLEGE}\end{aligned}$$

The marginal distributions of the variables in ESTEEM are given in Appendix 1.

Two composite variables pertain to student background characteristics. The first, BKGRND, may be seen as comprising a scale of "educationally related home atmosphere" measures and reads;

BKGRND = .43 KINDGTN + .54 PARVISIT + .44 NEWSREG +.67 COLLEGE

The second, STABILTY, contains questions that relate to the stability of the students home life:

STABILTY = .51 BICYCLE + .56 LIVEPAR + .68 OWNHOME

The marginals for the variables in both of these composite items are given in Appendix 2.

Composite variables 5 and 6 relate to racial issues and the students perception of how race-related questions are viewed by peers and authority figures. "Favorability Towards Blacknes" must be interpreted with care because the meaning of this item may well vary with the race of its respondent. Whereas for blacks, BLACKNES may reflect ethnic pride, for whites it most likely indicates a belief in equal rights and support of civil liberties. The components of this variable are;

BLACKNES = .59 SCHLPICK + .58 FRIENDS + .52 MOREFRND +.41 BTROUB + .58 RACESMRT

ROLEMOD, on the other hand, is clearly understood combining student perceptions of parental, teacher and principal views on integration.

ROLEMOD = .63 PARFEEL + .80 TLKINT + .76 PLKINT

The distribution of responses, by race/sex group, for the variables that compose BLACKNES and ROLEMOD are presented in Appendix 3.

The last student composite variable is called PEERS because it records the student's reactions to the social interaction patterns of his classroom and his school. More precisely, the questions upon which this measure is built ask; "Do the white (black) students cause trouble in your classroom?" "Have you seen any teachers being unfair to white (black) students in your school?" The loadings are as follows:

PEERS = .66 UNFAIRWH + .60 BTROUB + .66 WTROUB + .49 UNFAIRBL

The margin totals for PEERS can be found in Appendix 4.

The structure of each factor discussed above, broken down by composite sex/race groups, is presented in Appendix 5.

The question, "Does your family use foodstamps to buy food?" was not incorporated into any composite variable but is included separately in the analysis. This is because FOODSTAM was felt to be a difficult variable to interpret. The reasons why a family might be on foodstamps are many; some may be coterminous with other indicators of poverty - others may be purely accidental. It is interesting to note that the cross tabulation of several composite variables with FOODSTAM did not reveal any significant relationships. (Appendix 6)

Teacher Composite Variables:

The three sets of elementary teacher factors were constructed in the same manner as the three sets of student factors. Again, teachers were divided into four sex/race groups, marginals were run on all relevant questions for each group separately and a factor analysis was done within each group. Five separate factors were identified for fifth grade teachers. The first, INNOVAT, consists of a series of 24 programs that a school might include in its curriculum. Teachers were asked to evaluate the importance of each program. A list of the innovations, and the distribution of responses by sex/race group - as well as the consequent factor INNOVAT - are presented in Appendix 7.

The second factor, ROLESATT, measures the degree to which teachers are satisfied in their ability to perform their teaching duties. It is composed of 7 questions; 6 refer specifically to the classroom situation and the last asks the teachers to evaluate the potential of their white students. The distribution of responses to these questions are as follows:

ROLESATT = .47 NOTRY + .43 RANGE + .49 SHARET + 68. APPRECT
+ .66 TENSE + .63 POTENW

NOTRY = % who say many of their students won't try to learn;

WHTFEML = 61%
WHTMALE = 39%
BLKMALE = 24%
BLKFEML = 12%

RANGE = % who say the range in student ability is so great its hard to keep them all interested and learning;

WHTFEML = 64%
WHTMALE = 63%
BLKFEML = 52%
BLKMALE = 49%

SHARET = % who feel they have no one to share responsibilities with;

WHTFEML = 79%
WHTMALE = 72%
BLKFEML = 50%
BLKMALE = 43%

APPRECT = % who feel as if no one appreciates their work;

WHTFEML = 26%
BLKMALE = 19%
WHTMALE = 18%
BLKFEML = 17%

TENSE = % who feel that the atmosphere is tense in their school;

WHTFEML = 38%
WHTMALE = 30%
BLKFEML = 12%
BLKMALE = 9%

POTENW = % who feel almost all of their white students have the potential to attend the largest state university;

WHTMALE = 20%
BLKFEML = 13%
BLKMALE = 12%
WHTFEML = 11%

The fact that the white female teachers express the greatest amount of dissatisfaction with their teaching situation increases in importance when one considers the extent to which the teaching force is composed of white females. In the total survey population of 5569 5th grade teachers, 2992 are white females, 824 are white males, 1384 are black females and 369 are black males. An important question then becomes, "What are the consequences of extensive role dissatisfaction among white female teachers in terms of pupil achievement or attitudinal development?" This point merits further consideration. (The factor ROLESATT is presented in Appendix 8)

The next two variables, CLASSRM and TIMECLS deal more precisely with the structure of the classroom. Both the components of these variables and their factor loadings are presented in Appendix 9.

Finally, the last composite teacher variable is concerned with the teacher's perception of the civil rights movement in general, and his/her attitudes towards blacks in particular. This item is called RACEATTT, and its specifics are discussed in Appendix 10.

SCHOOL LEVEL COMPOSITE VARIABLES:

In order to create the school level composite variables, a 10% sample of schools was drawn, at random, from the total school population of 765 schools. Again, a tally of marginals was run and a factor analysis made. Unfortunately, the factors created at the school level are not as precise as those composed at either the individual student or teacher level. Only three such variables were formed using the factor loadings. PERSONEL is most likely a proxy for school size, since it is a composite of the total number of teachers, administrators and staff in a school.

PERSONEL = .69 PRSNFULL + .75 PRSNFULE + .46 TOTALTCH + .31 TBLACK + .35 TWHITE + .88 TOTALADM + .85 TOTALSTAF

(It may be possible to divide PERSONEL by the total number of students in the school, getting a personel-per-pupil ratio.)

The second school level weighed factor is the principal's assessment of the pecent of good, average and poor black teachers in his school:

TBLACK = .64 TBLKGOOD + .94 TBLKAVE + 95 TBLKPOOR

The third, similarly, is the principal's estimate of the proportion of good, average and poor white teachers in his school;

TWHITE = -.96 TWHITEGOOD + .85 TWHTAVE + .25 TWHTPOOR

Other variables that were created at the school level include; ROBBERY (whether a locker, a student or the school had been robbed in the past year), FIGHT (extent of school fighting in the past year), RACEATTP (duplicates the teachers race attitude questions), SCHLPROG (number of programs available to 5th graders) and FUNDS (whether money was spent on particular items over the past two years). These variables are explained in greater detail in Appendix 11.

RESULTS OF PRELIMINARY INVESTIGATIONS:

Two sets of regression equations have been run on this data so far. The first, utilizing only the random sample of 2000 students, was done to test the following null hypotheses;

A. There is no increase in the amount of variance explained (in the dependent variable) when factors of increasing sex-race group specificity are used as independent variables. This hypothesis was confirmed.

B. There is no difference in; (1) the amount of variance explained by the 'average variable/average value' composite variables and (2) the patterns of multicollinearity within the regression equations - when the analysis is done separately within the four sex/race groups. These hypotheses were not confirmed, and suggest the importance of continuing to do the analysis within sex/race groups at the individual level. The details of these regressions are presented in Appendix 12.

The second series of regressions were performed on the 10% 'Sample-of-Schools' tape and include information on classroom teachers, school principals and school programs as well as the previously discussed student variables. Because of severe time constraints, this analysis has not yet been done within sex/race groups. This is not a serious limitation, however, because the primary purpose of these runs was to test the following null hypothesis;

C. There will be no difference in; (1) the amount of variance explained by the 'average variable/average value' composite variables and (2) the patterns of multicollinearity within the regression equations - when the analysis is done separately within three groups of schools stratified by a composite variable of student affluence. This null hypothesis was also rejected, suggesting the importance of interaction effects within schools where distinctions between student bodies can be drawn on the basis of aggregate family wealth. The specifics for these regressions are given in Appendix 13.

FURTHER ANALYSIS:

(1) Programming

At this point in the analysis it is critical to decide; (a) whether to continue utilizing the 10% Sample-of-Schools tape (which includes both rural and urban schools) with the intention of developing a model to test on the entire E.S.A.P. population, or (b) whether to redraw the school sample now and refrain from using the entire population at some later time.

Several factors enter in to this decision;

First, there is the necessity to restructure the existing SPSS system file in order to do the analysis within sex/race groups. The most efficient way to restructure my existing system file for this purpose would involve at least ten passes through the data. This includes;

a. Doing a select-if run on the variables race and sex. Four passes through the data would be needed to create 4 race-sex BCD file groups. The 4 BCD files would then be cancatonated into one SPSS system file with a 4 subfile structure.

b. Once in this form, the second and third set of composite student variables (Average variable/specific value) and (specific variable/specific value) could be created. Then another pass through the data would be necessary to put the schools in ascending order into order to use SPSS AGGREGATE.

c. In the first pass through the data, AGGREGATE would give me the mean and standard deviation for each of the variables that were aggregated to the classroom level. Then a second pass through the data would be required to obtain the % above and % below group variables. Both Aggregate runs require an ADD VARIABLES run to integrate the newly aggregated information (which comes out in BCD form) back into the SPSS system file.

This entire process would have to be repeated at some later date for the complete school tape.

A second option involves redrawing the sample in such a way as to minimize the total number of passes required.

a. To begin, I would draw a sample of only urban schools. The only variables on that tape would be school I.D. and student background. Using the formula explained in Appendix 13, the schools would be ranked on an aggregate student affluence index. In one pass through the data, the schools would be ranked and the marginals printed out in such a manner as to permit selection of

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the 100 schools with the highest level of student affluence, the 100 schools around the mean, and the 100 schools with the lowest level of student affluence. A second pass through the abbreviated tape would produce the I.D. numbers of the selected schools. A BCD tape, consisting of three school files, would be made and four passes through the three files would permit the formulation of the four sex/race groups. The 12 BCD files would be cancatonated into an SPSS system file with 12 subfiles and 3 sets of composite student variables. The Aggregate run would proceed as above. Once the sample was drawn, no future file would need be created, and the 12 subfiles could be combined in any desired manner.

In my opinion it would be most efficient to draw a new sample of schools in the format described above and proceed using the variables discussed in this paper. My first run on the new SPSS system file would be a marginals within school-wealth groups. Then the system file would be output into BCD and I would begin regression analysis using ESP. Types of models to be explored would include two stage least squares and possibly three stage least squares.

Robert M. Buchmeier

A STUDY OF THE ATTITUDES OF BLACK PARENTS TOWARD A GIRLS CATHOLIC HIGH SCHOOL WITH A WHITE MIDDLE-CLASS FACULTY

June 8, 1973

ABSTRACT

This report is a study of the relationship between the attitudes of the faculty of Aquinas High School and the attitudes of the parents of its students. Aquinas is a Catholic, girls school with a 95% Black student body and an 85% White faculty. There is no expectation of a change in the racial character of either the student body or the faculty. In addition to studying those attitudes dealing strictly with the racial differences, a study was also made of possible tensions resulting from attitudinal differences over educational goals and methods. By means of a preliminary study the four issues of greatest attitudinal difference were chosen: discipline, innovation in curriculum, basic educational goals and the degree of concentration of preparation for college. By comparing the parent and teacher responses to practical discipline problems, specific innovations and specific educational objectives, it was determined that there was no difference in attitude between the parents and the teachers. In addition, the parents indicated that they felt that Aquinas encourage their daughters to enter college and when forced to choose between having White Nuns or Black lay teachers they chose Nuns. Further analysis by breakdown across socio-economic status, family stability, and religious affiliation indicated that the only significant change was the attitude toward discipline on the different SES levels. This followed the expected direction of high SES parents desiring the instruction of self-responsibility and low SES parents desiring authoritarian structures.

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DESCRIPTION OF THE PROBLEM

The Situation of Aquinas

Aquinas High School is a girls Catholic school run by the Dominican Sisters for the people of the south side of the city of Chicago. The student population of 650 is approximately 90% Black and 77% Catholic and is served by a faculty of 43, 30 of whom are religious sisters and of the remaining 13, 5 are Black. The tuition is presently $450 per year. The school presently serves a diverse population with 10% of the students from high SES (socio-economic status) families.[1] If the tuition were raised this population mix would definitely change, turning Aquinas into a much more economically exclusive school.

The immediate neighborhood of Aquinas has shifted from a White to Black residential area in the last 10 years. As the neighborhood went through transition, the racial character of Aquinas' student population also changed. Approximately 3-4 years ago the racial majority in the neighborhood became Black and since that time a very rapid shift has taken place in the racial nature of the student body.

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[1] After income was adjusted for a ten percent increase the classification system used to determine SES was Blanch R. Powell's study Attitudes of Middle Class Negroes Toward Separatism in Negro-White Relations, ERIC # 047 067 pp. 38-39.

Even though Aquinas has until now successfully dealt with the changing racial character of the school it should be considered a school in transition. There is little support from either research or the contemporary scene for making the assumption that a school with a predominantly White faculty and a Black student body can be a stable institution. Aquinas' ability to hire Black teachers however is very limited. The feasibility of running a school on $450 per student income is dependent on a very low pay scale for the faculty and the contributed services of the Nuns.[1] During the 1972-73 school year contributed services amounted to $127,000. This is equivalent to a donation of approximately $4200 for each Nun on the faculty. In addition, this $127,000 results by comparison with the salaries of lay teachers at the school which are three to four thousand dollars lower than in public schools. For financial reasons then, Aquinas cannot depend on hiring a significant number of Black faculty.

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[1] Contributed services are determined by calculating the difference between the actual salary and the equivalent salary for a lay teacher at the same school.

Expectations From Previous Studies

Studies from four categories are helpful in determining the exact nature of the difficulties that Aquinas is facing with respect to the attitude of its parents: 1)those indicating what parents expect from schools and teachers; 2)those indicating tensions that exist between Black parents and White teachers; 3)those indicating the difficulties between teachers and low SES parents; 4)those dealing with the special situation of the urban Catholic schools.

1) What Parents Expect from Schools and Teachers

A study by George Gallup in 1969, indicates that parents are primarily concerned with the poor discipline of the public schools.[1] The study also indicated that concern with discipline increases with the factors of large cities, Black parents, and low income families. In addition the parents with students in parochial schools were the most critical of the discipline of the public schools.[2] A study by Jeffrey Raffel indicates that Black parents want teachers that are concerned with feelings, emotions, and differences among students; teachers that are helpful and praising of their students; and teachers that maintain a sense of order and discipline within the classroom.[1]

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[1] George Gallup, *How the Nation Views the Public Schools* (Princeton N.J.: Gallup International, 1969) p. 10.

[2] *Ibid.*

In 1969 David Street studied the relationship between race and education in the city of Chicago. He found that the Blacks thought less of the public schools than the Whites did and that this dissatisfaction increased as the SES of the Black population increased.[2] The complaints of the Blacks were as follows:

> Substantially higher numbers complain about poor and unqualified teaching, teachers who don't care or understand the children, or who don't teach enough; and some more complain about overcrowding and class size. Significantly, only 6% complain about the lack of Whites in the schools, indicating how little immediate salience integration how has at least among this relatively low-income sample.[3]

2) Expectations of Black Parents vs White Teachers

I could find no studies which dealt directly with the attitudinal differences between Black parents and White teachers. Those studies which did deal with the problem indirectly were done before 1965 and consequently do not take into account the rise in Black consciousness which has taken place in the last seven years. A study by Havighurst done in 1961 indicates that middle class parents, both Black and White, withdrew their children from schools if the status ratio reached a certain critical point.[1] In addition Herriott and St. John found in 1966 that parental involvement in their child's education is related to social class even if the racial factor is controlled.[2] These two studies seem to indicate that the problems Aquinas might encounter in the future will have more to do with social class than with race.

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[1] Jeffrey Raffel, "Responsiveness in Urban Schools: a Study of School System Adaptation to Parental Preferences in an Urban Environment" ERIC Ed 063 569, p. 141.

[2] David Street, Race and Education in the City: Findings on Chicago, Community and Family Study Center, U. of Chicago, Report Number 5, January 1969, pp. 16-17. [3] Ibid., p. 19.

3) Expectations of Parents Related to SES

Indirect support for the indication given above, that SES is a crucial factor independent of race, can be developed by considering studies relating race, SES, and student attitudes. Reiss and Rhodes in their study found that for students of the Nashville area SES was of greater significance than race in grouping those who desired to quit school and go to work.[3] Stephenson's study of 1000 ninth graders verified these results[4] and Blue determined that in Detroit in 1939 economic status was more closely related to juvenile delinquency than race.[5]

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[1] Robert Havighurst, "Metropolitan Development and the Education System" School Review 69, 1961, pp. 251-269.

[2] Robert E. Herriott and Nancy Hoyt St. John, Social Class and the Urban School, (New York: Wiley, 1966).

[3] Albert J. Reiss and A.L. Rhodes, "Are Educational Norms..." Journal of Negro Education XXVIII 1959, pp.252-267

[4] Richard M. Stephenson, "Mobility, Orientation and Stratification of 1000 Ninth Graders" American Sociological Review XXII 1957, pp. 204-212.

[5] John T. Blue "The Relationship of Juvenile Delinquency, Race, and Economic Status" Journal of Negro Education, XVII 1939, pp. 469-477.

4) The Special Situation of Urban Catholic Schools

The influence of SES upon the school situation is modified for urban parochial schools by a selectivity factor related to home environment. Farquhar reported that in their unpublished theses Dave and Wolf had developed six important factors relating home environment and achievement in school and three factors that related home environment and intelligence.[1] Using the instrument developed by Dave and Wolf, Levine investigated the relationship between home environment and the success of an urban parochial school. He concluded that the parochial school students had more educationally supportive home environments than the nearby public school, even for the families of the same inner-city neighborhood when SES was controlled.[2]

The Problem

Aquinas High School is a Catholic girls school with a White faculty that serves the Black community of Chicago's south side. There is no way to change the racial nature of the faculty without changing the financial status of the school to a significant degree. The question could be raised then as to whether the school should continue to operate at all. To provide some insight into the parameters of this question this study intends to investigate the parents' attitude toward Aquinas and will attempt to draw some conclusions about the present and future desires of the parents for the educational programs that Aquinas gives. The study then will attempt to answer the following three questions:

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[1] Robin H. Farquhar, "Home Influences on Achievement and intelligence: An Essay Review" Administrator's Notebook XIII January 1965.

[2] Daniel U. Levine, Holly Machowicz, Karen Oxman, Ahden Tangeman, "The Home Environment of Students in a Highly Praised Inner City Parochial School and a Nearby Public School" Center for the STudy of Metropolitan Problems in Education, (Kansas City: University of Missouri, 1970).

Do the parents perceive Aquinas as satisfying their educational needs?

Do the expectations of the parents correspond to the expectations of the teachers?

Can Aquinas expect to maintain its present relationship with its parents for the next three years?

METHODS AND PROCEDURES

Methods

The investigation began with a questionnaire mailed to a sample of the parents and the whole faculty of Aquinas. This questionnaire was designed to cover a broad range of educational topics and attitudes that were probably of interest to the parents and faculty of Aquinas. This questionnaire was analyzed for differences in attitude between the parents and the teachers. Those areas which seemed to be in conflict between these two groups then became the issues which were concentrated on in the major part of the study.

The next phase of the study was personal interviews with the faculty and a sample of the parents. The faculty was interviewed to determine clearly what their specific attitudes were on those issues where they seemed to differ with the parents. The parents were then questioned on those same issues but in addition they were asked a series of questions probing the nature and extent of their support.

The last phase of the study was to interview a sample of parents of 7th and 8th grade girls from selected feeder schools to get an approximate idea of future support for Aquinas.

The ability to predict future support and attitudinal stability, is based on the following method. First the salient demographic factors of the parent population were picked and then attempts were made to determine trends in these factors across grade levels. The factors that were demographically studied were as follows: SES, religious affiliation, family stability, whether the student had attended a Catholic grade school, and neighborhood. The attitudinal positions of the parents were then investigated with respect to these factors and the relative importance of attitudinal differences were determined by weighting the differences by the magnitude of the observed trend.

Procedures

The original questionnaire was constructed by analyzing the questions from the study "Educational Isssues of the Ghetto as Seen by Community People and Educators" by Harry Gottesfeld[1] and using those which applied to the situation of Aquinas. Each question asked the importance of some particular item or practice and the respondent could then choose one of seven levels from "no importance" to "greatest importance."

This questionnaire was sent to 240 parents, 60 chosen at random from each class level and the entire faculty. There was a 44% return from the parents and a 75% return from the faculty. In the interests of insuring anonymity no system was used to detect who had returned the questionnaire and consequently there could be no follow up on those who didn't return their questionnaire. It is clear now that this was not a good procedure but since this was a preliminary questionnaire it is not damaging to the final results of the study.

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[1] Harry Gottesfeld, "Educational Issues of the Ghetto as Seen by Community People and Educators" ERIC # ED 038 481.

The preparation of the format for interviewing the teachers was responsive to two sources of information: the analysis of the preliminary questionare and the review of the literature indicating what parents expect from schools and teachers. The interviews took from twenty to forty minutes and 95% of the faculty was interviewed.

After a preliminary analysis of the teacher interviews the format for interviewing the parents was then constructed. A random sample of thirty parents from each class was selected and 85% of the sample was interviewed. These interviews also took from twenty to forty minutes.

An examination of the school records revealed that thirteen Parochial elementary schools provide approximately half of the students for Aquinas and an additional 34 Parochial elementary schools provide an additional 30% of the student body. 20% of the students entered from public schools within a widely distributed area. The thirteen main feeder elementary schools were used as the basis for the analysis of future parental support. A random sample of 5 seventh and 5 eighth grade students were selected from each of the eleven schools that cooperated giving a total of 110 parents to contact. 87% of these parents were interviewed.

Additional sources of demographic information were: the Archiocese of Chicago records, The U.S. census, and the Community

Fact Book.[1]

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[1] Evelyn Kitagawa and Karl Taeuber eds., The Local Community Fact Book: Chicago Metropolitan Area, 1960 Chicago: Chicago Community Inventory for the University of Chicago, 1963).

RESULTS

The Preliminary Questionnaire

The preliminary questionnaire was designed to determine the general characteristics of parent and teacher attitudes so that the personal interviews could be designed to concentrate on the issues with significant differences between these two groups. The teachers and the parents were asked to evaluate 44 items on a seven point scale from "no importance" to "greatest importance." To compare the answers of these two groups the means for each individual question was determined and then ordered by the value of the mean. Tables 1 and 2 are the listing of the top third of the choices of the parents and the teachers. The differences in means were then compared for the two groups and Tables 3 and 4 list the items parents found more important than teachers and those that teachers found more important than the parents.

This analysis seems to indicate that there is agreement between the parents and the teachers in two areas. The first area relates to the personal care of the students and is indicated by both groups attaching great importance to guidance counselors, small classes and regular health check ups. The second area has to do with dealing with the life that the students experience and is indicated by the

TABLE 1

PARENTS TOP 15 CHOICES BY MEANS

Mean	Standard Error	
6.6	.11	How important is it to have experienced teachers?
6.4	.11	How important is it to have guidance counselors?
6.2	.14	How important is it that students meet academic standards in order to get credit?
6.1	.17	How important is it for disruptive students to be removed from the classroom?
6.0	.12	How important is it to have small classes?
6.0	.14	How important is it that parents be strict in their discipline?
6.0	.18	How important is it for teachers to have strict discipline in their classes?
5.9	.13	How important is it for students to have homework?
5.8	.17	How important is it to have school psychologists?
5.8	.16	How important is it that teachers expect their students to be able to go to college?
5.7	.16	How important is it that textbooks show life in the city including narcatics and crime?
5.7	.17	How important is it that the school have a mixture of different races?
5.7	.13	How important is it to have music and art classes?
5.7	.15	How important is it to have foreign language classes?
5.7	.15	How important is it to have tests?

TABLE 2

TEACHERS TOP 16 CHOICES BY MEANS

Mean	Standard Error	
6.6	.12	How important is it to have guidance counselors?
6.4	.13	How important is it to have music and art classes?
6.0	.17	How important is it to have foreign language classes?
5.8	.17	How important is it to have experimental programs?
5.8	.23	How important is it for Black culture and history to be taught?
5.7	.21	How important is it for teachers to be free to do as they wish in the classroom?
5.7	.23	How important is it to have small classes?
5.6	.22	How important is it to have frequent meetings between parents and teachers?
5.5	.18	How important is it for students to have regular health check ups?
5.5	.21	How important is it that textbooks show life in the city including narcotics and crime?
5.5	.28	How important is it for disruptive students to be removed from the classroom?
5.5	.19	How important is it to have experienced teachers?
5.5	.23	How important is it that students discuss violence in the community with their teachers?
5.4	.25	How important is it that the school have a mixture of different races?
5.3	.25	How important is it that parents be strict in their discipline?
5.3	.26	How important is it that sex education be taught in school?

TABLE 3

STATEMENTS OF MORE IMPORTANCE TO PARENTS THAN TEACHERS

Difference in Means	
2.6	How important is it that teachers expect their students to be able to go to college?
1.7	How important is it for teachers to have strict discipline in their classes?
1.2	How important is it to have tests?
0.9	How important is it for students to have homework?
0.8	How important is it that students meet academic standards in order to get credit?
0.7	How important is it to have school psychologists?
0.7	How important is it that parents be strict in their discipline?

Note: The value $\sqrt{SE_T^2 + SE_P^2}$ is approximately equal to 0.31. Therefore a difference in means greater than 162 was taken to be significant.

TABLE 4

STATEMENTS OF MORE IMPORTANCE TO TEACHERS THAN PARENTS

Difference in Means	
1.5	How important is it that teachers be free to do as they wish in the classroom?
0.9	How important is it that students have a voice in deciding what be taught in school?
0.7	How important is it to have music and art classes?
0.7	How important is it to have Black teachers?

Note: For significance see Table 3.

importance both groups attach to having textbooks that deal with life in the city and school programs that deal with such issues as sex, violence, crime and narcotics.

From Table 3 it can be seen that the parents are much more interested than the teachers that Aquinas concentrate on a college prep curriculum. Also they expect the teachers to use traditional, highly structured and authoritarian practices both in the discipline of learning and in the discipline of behavior. Table 4, on the otherhand, indicates that the teachers are much more interested in being free to do as they wish in the classroom, giving students more of a voice in their education and giving enriched educational programs rather than an intense college prep program. These results indicate that the following areas should be probed for attitudinal differences between the teachers and the parents: innovations within the classroom, the type of discipline to be employed, whether to concentrate on college preparatory education and the basic educational objectives to be employed in the running of the school.

Do Parents Perceive Aquinas as Satisfying Their Educational Needs?

In general the parents indicate very positive support for Aquinas and its programs. From Table 5 we see that about 80% of the parents indicate they like most of the features of the school, with only a small percentage expressing dislike. Furthermore, Table 6 shows that only 1% stated they were not

TABLE 5

PARENTAL LIKES AND DISLIKES OF GENERAL SCHOOL FEATURES

Parents were asked to check on one side those features they liked about Aquinas and on the other those they didn't like about the school. Those they didn't feel strongly about they were to leave blank.

Like	Dislike	Neutral	
81%	7%	12%	The amount your daughter is learning at Aquinas.
80%	2%	12%	The academic standards employed by the faculty.
79%	11%	10%	The amount of homework that your daughter is assigned.
78%	8%	14%	The attitude your daughter has about the school.
79%	6%	15%	The number of activities that your daughter can be involved in at Aquinas.
96%	0%	4%	The curriculum includes a college prep program.
78%	10%	12%	The attitude toward discipline at Aquinas.
82%	4%	14%	Aquinas is a school for girls.
78%	3%	19%	Seventy five percent of the Faculty are nuns.
81%	1%	18%	The principal is a Nun.
21%	32%	47%	Of the forty three faculty members only five are Black.
12%	39%	49%	Aquinas is becoming a Black school.

TABLE 6

PARENTAL FEELINGS ABOUT THE QUALITY OF AQUINAS' EDUCATION

Which of the following catagories best expresses your feelings about the quality of education that Aquinas gives.

34%	A good education
28	The best education available for my daughter.
24	The best education I can afford for my daughter.
13	A better education than the public school.
0	A fair education.
1	A poor education.

How satisfied are you with the way Aquinas is educating your daughter?

66%	Very
31	Somewhat
1	Not so

From the following list check as many kinds of involvement in education at Aquinas you feel are appropriate for you.

83%	Check report cards and other notices sent from the school.
76	Keep close track on whether and how much homework your daughter is doing.
74	Attend all school functions where teachers and parents meet to discuss students' academic achievements.
39	Be actively involved in school activities.
74	Meet with teachers and other school personnel so that better communication can be established between parents and the school.
67	Join with other parents to work on projects that will insure the continued success of Aquinas..

so satisfied with Aquinas' education or felt that it gave a poor or fair education. However there seems to be a difficulty with racial balance of the faculty and the student body. This problem will be discussed when the expectations for the next threee years are dealt with.

The parents also seem to be quite willing to put extra effort into insuring a good education for their daughter. Three-fourths of them checked that it would be appropriate for them to work with teachers for both the furtherance of their daughters' studies and to increase communication between the parents and the teachers. 67% indicated a desire to work on projects that would aid Aquinas and 39% felt that it would be appropriate for them to be actively involved in school activities.

Do the Expectations of the Parents Correspond to the Expectations of the Teachers?

The preliminary questionnaire seemed to indicate that the parents and the teachers had different expectations in the following four areas: 1)innovations within the classroom; 2)the type of discipline to be employed; 3)whether to concentrate on college preparatory education; 4)the basic educational objectives to be employed in the running of the school. Each of these areas will now be analyzed by comparing the results from the teacher and parent interviews.

1) Innovation

When the parents were asked to arrange the ten items given in Table 7 in order of importance the statement "Develop

TABLE 7

STATEMENTS TO BE RANKED BY PARENTS DURING INTERVIEWS

The following statements were typed on separate slips of paper, shuffled to a random arrangement, and handed to the instructions:

> Here is a set of cards with a change that could be made at Aquinas on each card. Please arrange them in order of importance with the most important change first, next most important second, and so on.

-Concentrate on keeping a qualified and concerned faculty

-Maintain a good relationship between students and faculty

-Continue to administer and staff the school with a majority of nuns

-Keep tuition at Aquinas at its present level

-Give students more responsibility in their own discipline and education

-Admit students from a range of different backgrounds and financial situations

-Develop freedom to innovate

-Improve the discipline at the school

-Hire more Black teachers

-Admit only students who are proven college material a freedom to innovate" was chosen to be more important than only three of the items. This data seems to verify the results of the preliminary questionnaire. However a more direct approach to perceiving the possibility of tension between the parents and the teachers on this issue produced different results. After the interviewer discussed educational innovation in general with the teachers they were asked: "Thinking practically, what kind of changes with respect to educational innovation would it be good for Aquinas to make?" Their responses, given in Table 8, were then developed into five descriptions of innovations which were presented to the parents. The results presented in Table 9 indicate that there is no real tension between the parents and the teachers with respect to innovations.

2) Discipline

Both the teachers and the parents were asked the question presented in Table 10 which made a dichotomy between authoritarian and self-responsible forms of discipline. The differences in their responses again verifies the results gotten in the preliminary questionnaire. However, other questions asked the parents do not support this position. As indicated in Table 5 only 10% of the parents objected to the attitude toward discipline at the school. In addition some of those objecting indicated to the interviewer that they felt it was too strict. Of the ten statements that the parents ranked in order of importance (see Table 7), they chose "Maintain a good relationship between the students and faculty"

TABLE 8

TEACHER SELECTED INNOVATIONS

Innovations which more than one teacher felt would be practical for Aquinas to make.

Number of Teachers	
6	Individualize student learning
6	Interdisciplinary approach to teaching
5	Humanities course for the purpose of clarifying values
4	Work Study program
4	Probably none; students need a solid background

TABLE 9

PARENTAL ATTITUDES TOWARD INNOVATIONS

Good for Aquinas	Not good for Aquinas	Neutral	
70%	23%	8%	A program of individualized student learning where each student could learn at her own pace
54	36	10	A humanities course taught by a team of teachers for a whole year and taking up half a school day every day. It would include topics and skills from History, Music, Art and Literature and have the purpose of aiding in the clarification of values. The other half of the day would be taken up with traditional courses.
68	19	14	An interdisciplinary approach to the various subjects where teachers working as a team could utilize their individual strengths. For example, the historical aspects of English literature might be taught by a history instructor.
86	10	4	A work-study course whereby the students could learn first hand about the experiences of working while continuing to take courses at school.
84	9	7	A program of independent study where interested students judged to be qualified, would work on their own under the guidance of a teacher on projects of their own choosing.

TABLE 10

PARENT ATTITUDES TOWARD DISCIPLINE

Which of these two statements best expresses your attitude toward discipline?

Parents	Teachers	
43%	11%	The people in authority in the school should clearly spell out the rules and then see to it that the students conform to those rules.
56%	76%	The people in authority in the school are basically trying to teach the students to be responsible for themselves and so the teachers could give the students more and more freedom as they show that they can handle it.
2%	13%	No answer

and "give students more responsibility in their own discipline and education," to be more important at a significant level than "Improve the discipline at the school."

The fact that the parents say they like the discipline at the school whereas previously there was indication that parents and teachers differed in their choice of modes of disciplinary practices, could be due to a mistaken notion of what is actually happening in the classrooms. Another explanation of the difference could be that the teachers, through practical experience in the classroom, attribute different meaning to statements on discipline than do the parents. To test these notions a series of practical classroom problem situations were presented to both the parents and the faculty. Their responses were evaluated on a scale of one to seven with one being the extreme of no teacher corrective action and seven the extreme of threatening serious action if the student doesn't immediately conform to the teachers demands. The mean response for the teachers was 3.25 with a standard error of .116 while for the parents the results were essentially the same with a mean of 3.37 and a standard error of .072.

A response of three on the scale is indicative of a person-centered orientation. The study by Raffel, refered to earlier found that parents were interested in person-centered teachers.[1] The results of questioning parents and teachers on practical classroom problems suggests that for Aquinas there is agreement on disciplinary action because both groups are primarily interested in relating to the students' particular needs.

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[1] Raffel, "Responsiveness in Urban Schools," p. 141.

3) College Prep

The results of the questions relating to preparing students for college are presented in Table 11. Since 87% of the parents feel that Aquinas encourages its students to go to college there seems to be no difficulty on this issue. However, some tension in the relationship between about one fourth of the parents and the teachers is indicated by the response to the question dealing with application of pressure, but in actuality there is little contact between parents and teachers on this issue and consequently it should be understood as a sensitive area of contact but only with some parents at specific times.

To test whether the teachers and the parents have the same or conflicting attitudes about priorities in educational objectives both groups were asked to rank five objectives in order of importance. The significance of these rankings was tested with the results presented in Table 12. The only difference is the relative importance attached to developing skills for college by the parents. Reflecting on the analysis of the previous sections it is clear that this difference is not real but rather another occurance of differential word interpretation by the teachers and the

TABLE 11

TEACHER AND PARENT ATTITUDES WITH RESPECT TO COLLEGEPREPARATION

	Parents	Teachers	
Yes	75%	66%	Parents--Do you feel Aquinas encourages its students to go to college? Teachers--Do you feel you encourage girls to go to college?
No	4	1	
No Ans.	9	10	
Yes	28%	2%	Parents--If you felt that your daughter should go to college but she did not want to go, would you want the teachers at Aquinas to aid you in pressuring her to go? Teachers--Have you ever pressured a girl to enter college while you were at Aquinas?
No	68	93	
No. Ans.	4	5	

Teachers--If a parent called and asked you to pressure her daughter into going to college what would be your response?

32%	Would discuss situation with the parent
28	Would never pressure a student
10	Would cooperate with the parent in some way
8	Would give some negative response
12	Gave no response

TABLE 12

TEACHER AND PARENT RANKINGS OF EDUCATIONAL OBJECTIVES

-Develop powers of observation and methods of solving problems.

-Develop practical skills of speaking and writing effectively by studying grammar and writing essays.

-Develop a "caring" attitude toward ones fellow man.

-Develop the necessary skills for success in college.

-Develop ones creativity.

Parents	Teachers
"caring" attitude	"caring" attitude
Powers of observation	Powers of abservation
Skills for college	Creativity
Creativity	Grammar skills
Grammar skills	Skills for college
Each statement was chosen to be more important at a significant level than all the statements below it with the exceptions of powers of observation over skills for college, and creativity over grammar skills which were not quite significant.	Each statement was chosen to be more important at a signigicant level than all the statements two or more below it. An exception is that Grammar skills is significantly more important than skills for college.

parents and the teachers basically agree as to what is important in the students' education.

Can Aquinas Expect to Maintain Its Present Relationship with Its Parents for the Next Three Years?

Our analysis so far has indicated that Aquinas is in a very stable relationship with its parents. Insight into future stability however is dependent on three additional factors: 1)the impact of the necessary racial imbalance between the faculty and the student body 2)the influence of shifts in the demographic nature of the student body 3)and prospects for future students.

1) The Impact of Racial Imbalance

As indicated in Table 5 few parents liked the present racial make up of the faculty but on the other hand they were very much in favor of having a large percentage of Nuns on the faculty. These conditions are impossible to fulfill because there are no Black Nuns in the religious group that staffs Aquinas. The parents were presented with this difficulty when they were asked:

> To increase the number of Black teachers at Aquinas, lay people would have to be hired because there are very few Black Nuns.
>
> Would you prefer that Aquinas be staffed mostly by Nuns or by Black lay teachers?

Sixty seven percent of the parents chose Nuns while only 2% chose Black lay teachers. Twenty percent stated that they prefered the most qualified and another 12% made other remarks or gave no answer. The parents do not like the racial balance of the faculty but when they are confronted with the choices facing the school they agree with the present situation.

2) Demographic Trends

It was assumed that one or several of the following five factors could change the relationship between the parents and the teachers if they changed signigicantly: socio-economic status, religious affiliation, family stability, whether their daughter had graduated from a Catholic elementary school, and the neighborhood that they came from. Demographic data was collected on these factors both from the school records and in the interviews with the parents. The information was then broken down by year in school to investigate the possibility of trends in any of these characteristics.

There were no significant trends across these factors in the information that was collected in personal interviews. The school recordshowever, indicated that there was an increase from 25% in the upper classes to 44% in the freshmen class in homes without a father. In addition there was also an increase in the freshmen class of students from an area bounded by 79th on the South, the Dan Ryan on the West, and Cottage Grove on the East. The data from the personal interviews indicates that this area contains homes with lower SES and a higher percentage of fatherless families. Though a clear trend has not been established, an analysis of the influence of a definite shift in lower SES and fatherless families will be helpful for predicting future developments for Aquinas.

When the overall satisfaction with Aquinas' educational program, indicated by the responses to the questions on Table 5 and the first part of Table 6 is considered there is no significant difference between the responses of all the parents and those of low SES. In addition there was no influence on analysis of the tensions between parents and teachers with respect to innovations in the classroom and the encouragement of preparation for college. As could be expected there was a decrease in the amount of involvement that families under these conditions expect of themselves. Table 13 indicates the changes on this issue.

Lower SES parents had a greater concern with having more Black faculty members but they also favored having more Nuns on the faculty. The result is, as might be expected, that there is no difference between this group and the others when they were asked to choose between Black faculty and religious faculty. There is a SES effect on the concern about Aquinas becoming an all-Black school as indicated in Table 14. Fewer low SES parents have neutral feelings with a greater percentage both liking and disliking that change.

The study by Gallup indicated there probably would be differences between the SES levels with respect to

TABLE 13

INFLUENCE OF FATHERLESS FAMILIES AND SES ON PARENTAL INVOLVEMENT

Be actively involved in school activities.

Mother and Father	45%
Mother	33
High SES	89%
Middle SES	37
Low SES	26

Join together with other parents to work on projects that will insure the continued success of Aquinas.

Mother and Father	63%
Mother	67
High SES	89%
Middle SES	67
Low SES	56

TABLE 14

INFLUENCE OF SES ON PARENTAL ATTITUDE TOWARD AQUINAS AS A BLACK SCHOOL

Aquinas is becoming a Black School.

	Low	Med.	High SES
Like	17%	10%	11%
Do Not Like	48	37	33
Neutral	35	53	56

discipline.[1] The results, presented in the first question of Table 15 indicate that this difference in attitude does hold for this study. When the "practical problems" are considered, the teachers are the closest to the middle SES group and are significantly different from the low SES group. When the parents responses to the statement about the attitude toward discipline at Aquinas are considered, we see that the high SES parents like the discipline the least and those in the middle group like it the most. The similarity between the middle SES parents and the teachers on the answers to the "practical problems" corresponds to this same group liking the discipline the most. This correspondence does not continue however when we note that the High SES parents like the discipline the least. Since Catholic schools and Nuns have a reputation for strict discipline, the lack of correspondence just mentioned could be explained by attributing a portion of the responses as based purely on reputation and not on experience.

3) Prospects for Future Students

To determine the number of students that Aquinas could expect to attract in the future , three sources of information were used: the school records, the elementary school records kept in the archdiocesan offices, and interviews with parents of seventh and eighth grade students from the schools that Aquinas principally draws from. The

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[1] Gallup, How the Nation Views the Public Schools, p. 10.

TABLE 15

INFLUENCE OF PARENTAL SES ON ATTITUDES TOWARD DISCIPLINE

Responses to the questions of Table 10 by SES

	SES - Parents			
	Low	Middle	High	Teachers
Authority	61%	39%	22%	11%
Responsibility	35	60	78	76

Means of evaluated responses on practical behavior problems

	Mean	Standard Error
Low SES	3.63	.12
Middle SES	3.34	.09
High SES	2.94	.12
Teachers	3.25	.12

2 x .12 = .17
2 x .17 = .34
3.25 + .34 + 3.59 3.63

The attitude toward discipline at Aquinas

	SES		
	Low	Middle	High
Like	74%	81%	67%
Do not Like	9	7	33
Neutral	17	11	0

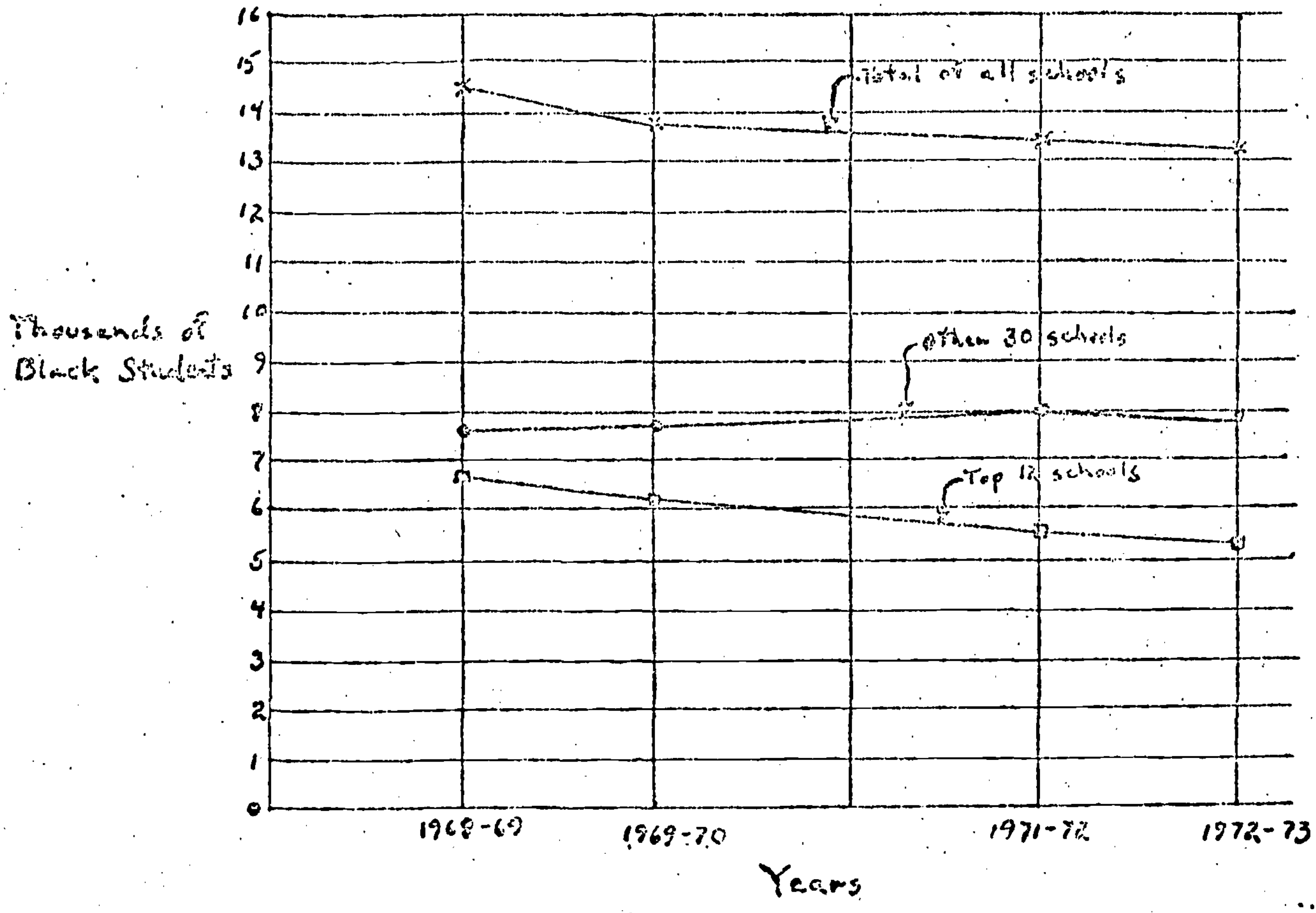
school records revealed that 50% of the present student body came from thirteen parochial schools, twelve Catholic and one Episcopal. An additional 30% came from a wide variety of public elementary schools.

From the archdiocesan records the number of Black students in the schools feeding students to Aquinas were determined for the past five years. The results, presented in the graph of Figure 1, indicate that though the number of students has decreased some in this period there has been a stabilization during the last two years. A further indication of this stability is that the number of female students per grade for grades one through eight for the 1972-73 school year is essentially constant.

By computing the average number of Black, female students per class per school who attended Catholic High schools and then by multiplying by a factor which took into account the distance from Aquinas, it was possible, by subtracting the average number of students presently at Aquinas per school per year, to determine a number which represents the number of additional students that Aquinas could recruit. The sum was approximately 50 recruits when all the Catholic grade schools that feed Aquinas are included.

To determine the significance of the interviews of the parents of the seventh and eighth grade students from selected grade schools an expected outcome was first determined. The average number of Black female students per

Figure 1 Number of Black Students in Catholic Schools Feeding Aquinas.



1972-73 Female Students per Class in Catholic Schools Feeding Aquinas

Grade	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	6th	7th	8th
Female Students	793	750	755	777	763	805	753	787

school per class (A) was determined and then multiplied by the percent gotten by dividing the average number of students per class at Aquinas from a particular school by the average number of female students that attend Catholic high school from that school (B). An expected percentage of students from the sample that would choose Aquinas from those that chose a Catholic high school was then determined by summing the caluculated A's and B's and dividing the sum of A x B by the sum of the A's. These calculations, presented in Table 16, resulted in an expectation of 31% of the sample choosing Catholic high schools would choose Aquinas. The interview results were slightly higher than the expected value, 54% of the seventh grade parents and 37% of the eighth grade parents who selected Catholic high schools stated that they selected Aquinas.

Table 17 is a listing of the more often selected reasons why parents picked the school they did and those people or situations by which they came to know Aquinas. Nearness to the school is the most often picked reason and friends and relatives seems to be the primary source of initial information about the school. When those who had picked a school were asked who or what had helped them decide upon the school they picked, about half responded that it was their daughter.

TABLE 16

COMPARISON OF EXPECTED RESULTS AND ACTUAL RESULTS FROM THE INTERVIEWS OF THE PARENTS OF SEVENTH AND EIGHTH GRADE GIRLS.

Expected Results

	A Average Number of Black Female Students /Class	B Percent Class To Aquinas	A x B
St. Columbanus	33.0	56.0%	1845
St. Dorothy	29.6	22.5	665
St. Ailbes	18.6	24.4	429
St. Laurence	22.4	52.2	1165
St. Philip Neri	30.4	32.0	971
Our Lady of Peace	21.5	26.5	570
St. Carthage	16.5	23.8	393
St. Kilian	29.2	19.1	558
Holy Angels	73.0	30.3	2220
St. Anselm	31.4	23.5	736
	305.6		9552

$$\frac{\sum A \times B}{\sum A} = \frac{9552}{305.6} = 31.2\%$$

Average percent per class attending Aquinas for major feeder schools.

Actual Results

	Chose Catholic High school	Chose Aquinas	Percent
7th Grade	13	7	54%
8th Grade	41	15	37
Total	54	22	41

TABLE 17

INFORMATION ABOUT CATHOLIC HIGH SCHOOL USED BY PARENTS OF SEVENTH AND EIGHTH GRADE STUDENTS.

7th Grade	8th Grade	Why they picked the school
7	10	They live close to the school
2	7	Older brother or sister attended the school
4	6	It is a Coed school
2	5	Because they liked the curriculum
	3	Because it is a good school
		How they found out about Aquinas
2	2	From their daughter
10	6	From friends and/or relatives
3	2	Because they see students in the neighborhood
3	1	An older sister graduated from the school
3	4	Because they live nearby
	2	They knew it from long ago
	2	They attended the open house

CONCLUSIONS

This report is a study of the relationship between Aquinas High School and the parents of its students. Aquinas is a Catholic, girls school with a 95% Black student body and an 85% White faculty with no expectation of a change in the racial character of the student body or the faculty. Previous research indicated that other factors besides race were probably important contributors to the quality of relationship between the parents and the faculty and therefore the change in attitudes across SES, religious affiliation, neighborhood, whether the student had attended a parochial elementary school and family stability was also investigated. Attitudinal differences were only significant for changes in SES and family stability.

In general the parents felt that Aquinas has a good educational program and they are very satisfied with the way it is educating their daughters. About 80% of the parents checked that they liked most of the features of the school with the exception of those features that refered to the small degree of integration among both students and faculty.

Analysis of the parents' feelings about the racial character of Aquinas' faculty indicates that though the parents would prefer to have more Black teachers on the faculty they also prefer to have Nuns. When confronted with the choice between Nuns and Blacks, 67% chose Nuns and only 2% chose Blacks. There was no low SES of fatherless home bias on this issue.

The lack of integration among the students is the feature of the school that the parents liked the least and disliked the most.

Preliminary analysis seemed to indicate that the parents and the teachers had different expectations with respect to innovations within the classroom, the type of , discipline to be employed, the relative importance of certain educational objectives, and the amount of concentration on preparation for college. Further investigation revealed that there was little disagreement between the parents and teachers on any of these issues. When the teachers and parents' attitudes were measured on practical discipline problems, specific educational objectives and described innovations there was strong agreement between teachers and parents. The parents also felt that Aquinas did encourage their daughters to go to college.

The influence of SES on disciplinary attitudes corresponds to the results from other studies with low SES parents desiring an authoritarian mode of discipline and high SES parents choosing a mode that teaches self-responsibility. When choosing what to do in practical situations the differences are modified by a tendency to choose person-centered responses.

Analysis of Aquinas' records and Archdiocesan records along with interviews with parents of 7th and 8th grade students in the major feeder schools indicates that for the next few years there will be a sufficient population of students in the parochial elementary schools that feed Aquinas to insure the school the ability to fill its classes with students that desire to achieve its present goals.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The recommendations to be made as a result of this research are of two kinds, those that pertain to Aquinas High School and those that pertain to further study. Though this study has shown that for Aquinas the attitude of its parents is very supportive, the one factor which elicited the greatest amount of dislike was its character as an all-Black school. There is a history of schools lowering their standards academically when they become Black schools. which demands that Aquinas advertise itself as being a living contradition to that history. Both the parents and the teachers expressed a need for greater communication with each other. In addition the parents indicated a willingness to exert an "extra effort" to insure Aquinas future success. This resource should be tapped and some of the energy should be expended in increasing the communication between the parents and the teachers.

The future of Aquinas is not assured just because it can be shown to be a school which satisfies the educational needs of the parents that it serves. It exists in relation to the institutions that support it; the Adrian Dominican Order and the Archdiocese of Chicago. The educational history of both these institutions has not prepared them to deal with the situation they are facing today. The history of Catholic education in the U.S. is a history of individual parishes funding their own schools through parish donations and the contributed services of the nuns. Religious orders were also able to run their own schools on reasonable tuition rates by using donations to provide for some of the living costs of their members.

Since 1962, the beginning of the Second Vatican Council, many changes have taken place within religious orders. There has been a great loss in membership and a significant drop in recruits. Also, many reforms have been initiated giving the religious more freedom and independence. These reforms cost the orders both in numbers available for teaching and in increased expenses for the individual sisters.

On the diocesan level there has been a shift from urban ethnic parishes to suburban middle-class parishes. This shift has left behind many urban parishes with large churches and schools. Though the Catholic population surrounding these parishes is so small as to be able to barely meet the cost of maintaining the church, the poor quality of the nearby public schools creates a much greater demand for the parish school. Catholic urban parochial schools have become high tuition ($350-$600) schools with few teachers from religious orders and only about half the student body claiming a connection with the Catholic religion. The Catholic urban parish has evolved to a position of great financial and social responsibility without a clear tradition to guide it through this situation.

This interpretation of the institutional role of the Catholic Church in education is a personal one developed through six years of teaching in its institutions and sharpened by the contacts and discusssions made in the course of this study. Further study of this role could be very helpful for developing s sound basis for decisions about the amount of support the institutions ought to give to the schools they have established.

URBAN SCHOOLS RESEARCH PROGRAM
FINAL REPORT

Name: William A. Firestone

Title: THE SOURCES OF INSTABILITY IN PARENT RUN FREE SCHOOLS*

Date: June 6, 1973

ABSTRACT

Evidence is presented to show that free schools, especially those started and run by parents, have short life spans and are especially open to schism and large scale exodus of member families. Exploratory interviews and observation in three such schools were conducted to search for the causes of this weakness. The basic problem is that while families join these schools to find a better educational program, they usually have very different programs in mind. The amount of difference among families depends on recruitment practices which are affected by the age of the school. These differences of preference are most liable to be activated and lead to conflict if teachers are incompetent; if teachers take inflexible stands on ideal classroom procedures; or if parents develop close, diffuse relations. Conflict usually is resolved through schism because these schools have no resources for conflict management.

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*The information in this report is taken from Parent Run Free Schools: A Study of Organization Building in New Voluntary Associations, the author's Ph.D. dissertation that will be submitted to the Education Department of the University of Chicago in the summer or autumn of 1973

INTRODUCTION

The free school movement is one of the many spin-offs of the last decade's discontent with the public schools. Many parents, teachers, and even students, despairing of ever being able to implement the changes they want in public schools, have withdrawn and started new schools of their own. While starting slowly, the movement seemed to be gaining momentum in the early seventies. Graubard (1972) reports that only about twenty schools were founded in 1967 and 1968 while 150 were started in 1970 and he feels that even more were started in 1971. Still when Graubard carried out his free school census, there were very few of these schools and they reached very few students. He actually found 346 schools, but he guesses that there may be as many as 600. Two thirds of the schools he found enroll less than forty students. So the movement reaches only a fraction of a per cent of the nation's school children.

The importance of these schools depends on their visibility rather than on the number of children directly affected. They have received a great deal of attention from the media and reformers because they present working models of alternatives to current educational practices. Most observers have concentrated on the curricular innovations of free schools, especially the amount of freedom they allow their students and their methods of implementing the idea of the open classroom. These schools also merit attention because they represent new approaches to the organizational problems of schools. One innovation is in personnel. Many of these schools are run by parents, students, and community people. These organizations present an opportunity to study the advantages and disadvantages of schools that are not controlled by educational professionals.

One disadvantage that currently plagues these schools is their instability. One popular estimate is that the average life span of a free school is eighteen months. The purpose of this study is to search out the causes of this instability. One problem in carrying out this search is the variety of goals and organizational froms found within the movement. Graubard (1972) has classified free schools into four types. The most common of these seems to be the "parent-teacher co-operative elementary school," or parent co-op. These schools are founded by parents who continue to hold formal control. Pedagogically they have been influenced primarily by the English open classroom model (Featherstone, 1971) and to a lesser extent by the more libertariean Summerhill idea (Neill, 1960). The families are usually white and middle class. The schools are small, have a loose organization, and depend on parents for financial support and all labor that does not come from teachers.

Parent co-ops share the instability that characterizes the whole movement. In the spring of 1971 Graubard (1971) found six parent run schools in Chicago. One of those was the sole surviving wing of a school that had split into several parts well before his survey. By March, 1973 three of the schools he listed were defunct. Two more had suffered membership splits resulting in four new schools. Two of these were healthy enough to finish the school year. The other two no longer existed. Only one school was still operating in roughly the same form that Graubard had observed two years before. It had been able to expand.

Besides showing that parent co-ops are frail organizations, this information suggests that they are extremely susceptible to schism. In addition they must also deal with the loss of individual families. The school that managed to avoid a schism still lost 43% of its member families after its first year (1969-70). This report will focus on the causes of schism and to a lesser extent family exodus from parent co-ops.

METHODOLOGY

Since almost no research has been done on free schools, this study has had to be an exploratory one. Scott (1965) points out that exploratory research is usually carried out in ways that allow the researcher to maintain sustained contact with his subject matter. Often the case study method is chosen. This intensive approach has a number of advantages. It allows the researcher to focus on the "totality" of his particular organization. This focus encourages him to pay attention to the multiplicity of factors that compose an organization and to examine and describe their inter-relationships. This step is essential in organizations that have received so little attention that at the outset the elements of the organization and the concepts most useful for understanding it are not clear. Sustained contact allows the researcher to "try on" concepts, to reject those that do not help order his findings, and when new ones suggest new questions to collect the new data necessary to generate answers.

The Choice of Schools

This report is based on three case studies. Observation began in Success School — the one parent co-op in Chicago that managed to grow while avoiding schism — in the spring of 1971. Success was founded in 1969 in reaction to a community conflict that stemmed from a racial turn-over in the area and the ensuing decline in quality in the nieghborhood schools. The black and white families that started Success wanted their children to receive a better education than would be possible in the local schools and to get that education in a more liberated context than the city schools provided. When observation began, the school had just increased to forty-one children from twenty-eight families. It was housed in a large storefront on a shopping street in the ghborhood.

After a year of contact, two schools were chosen to supplement the observations already made. Radical School was chosen because it had one of the most extreme educational ideologies in the city and because it had recently undergone a schism. Originally, it had fifteen families and twenty-five students. In the spring of 1972 five families left Radical to form Counter-revolution School. In the fall of 1972 Counter-revolution was the larger of the two schools. It had eight families and twelve children and was also housed in a storefront. During my period of contact with Radical School, it had only four families. Afther the field period for this study ended, Radical lost two more families; and the two remaining families were re-absorbed into Counter-revolution School.

New School was chosen so I could observe a school in its very first months. It opened in the fall of 1972, but I was able to attend most of the planning meetings held during the previous spring. Unfortunately, this school proved not to be a pure case of a brand new school. It was part of a parent co-op nursery school, and all of the members had worked together in previous years, so they had a good deal of experience. This school had ten families, ten children, and two teachers. The classroom was a very small set of rooms attached to the "People's Church." This church was connected with a Protestant faith and located in a multi-ethnic neighborhood that was turning into one of the more popular residential areas in the city. It had lost its congergation and the liberal minister load out its space to a number of progressive, exploratory ventures.

Data Collection

At each school I collected data through direct observation and interviews. Observation was carried out primarily in two settings — parent meetins and the classroom. Observation was usually unstructured. At meetings I would take attendance and then sit where I could watch and hear everyone. I came with pen and paper and recorded everything that was said and who the speakers were. These running records were supplemented by general observations of events, interactions, and possible new theoretical perspectives immediately after each meeting ended.

The school proved harder to observe than the meetings because so many things go on at once, and it was difficult to tell what was relevant to the problem. Furthermore, free school teachers usually enlist all available adults to help with classroom activities. Thus, I tended to be more participant than observer. I often found myself driving children to the pool, listening to them read, or officiating wrestling matches. Again detailed notes were written as soon as I left the school.

Formal intervies were carried out in the spring of 1972 at Success and the following fall in the other schools. Forty of the fifty-two families (77%) were interviewed. In addition, I talked with six of the eight teachers working in the schools while I was interviewing.

Interviews usually ran for about one and a half hours and were almost always held in the respondent's home. Respondents were usually interested in the interview process and quite helpful. The interviews were loosely structured so as to take advantage of any insight or interest the respondent had. The basic interview schedule had four parts. The first focussed on the family's relations with the school — how they found the school, reasons for joining it, and activities participated in. In the second part respondents were asked to recount the history of the school. The third section concerned the respondent's attitudes towards the school, especially the aspects of it that he liked and disliked. The final section was designed to gain backround information about the families. Most of this information was obtained through a one page questionnaire that the respondent filled out after the interview.

THE FAMILY AND THE SCHOOL

The propensity to schism and individual family desertion in parent co-ops suggests that these schools have problems in gaining the loyalty of family units. Analysis must therefore take place at both the level of the individual family in its relation to the school and at that of the school itself. My strategy has been to look first for the problems involved in binding families to the parent co-ops and then to examine the effectiveness of organizational mechanisms in resolving these problems. This section will examine the school-family relationship from the viewpoint of the family. The next will look at how organizational arrangements affect that relationship. The major issues in the school-family relation are those of exchange between the family and the organization and those caused by the diversity of interests among parents.

Exchange

Parent co-ops exist in a market situation. They must compete with local public schools, public schools in other neighborhoods and cities, and private schools as well as other free schools. Under these circumstances each parent co-op must prove to be somehow more profitable to some families than the other alternatives. To assess the profitability of these schools it is necessary to know what the costs of membership are and what families, especially parents, expect to receive in return.

The two costs of parent co-op membership are money and work. The average annual tuition at Success School is $442 per child. The same figures for Counter-revolution and New Schools are $470 and $500. The per child tuition for Catholic schools in the Chicago arch-diocese averages around $150. The average tuition of four of the most popular private schools in Chicago is $1464. Public schools of course charge no tution at all. In other words while parent co-ops are considerably cheaper than non-sectarian private schools, they are a little more expensive than the parochial ones.

Parents are also expected to work for the free schools to which they belong. At a minimum in each of these schools families take turns cleaning up the inside of the classroom on weekends. In addition when a school has to find a new building and move from one site to another, all families help. Other duties also fall to parents. These include

1. Book keeping and tuition collection.
2. Fund raising.
3. Minor building maintenance and the construction of new furniture and curriculum materials.
4. Teaching. Although teachers are hired, some parents come into the classroom on a weekly basis. The skill level of these volunteers varies markedly, but a few of them are very good.
5. Driving on field trips.
6. Hiring teachers.
7. Co-ordinating the work of other parents in 1 through 5 and weekend clean-ups and so forth.

Contributions whether of money or labor vary from family to family within a school. The pattern of variation seems to work in ways that minimize the burdens of getting the resources necessary for the organization's continuing operation. The largest financial contributions come from the richer families. Most of the work in a school is done by the few people who are most willing. A pattern of voluntary specialization develops so that some kinds of work — particularly that connected with the classroom and with building maintenance — is done by those who most enjoy it. Furthermore, much of the work is done at intervals by large work crews. It is thereby possible to turn these large project days into social events and thereby make them more palatable for all.

While the costs of membership can be minimized, parents' loyalty to the school continues to depend on the benefits that they receive from membership. Where information is available on why parents leave, the issues are discussed much more in terms of what the school does not provide than as a question of excess costs. Here I will specify some of the benefits that families might receive from free schools and indicate their relative importance to parents. There are four:

1. The educational program: The program is run for the benefit of the children so they can learn to read, make friends, develop skills in crafts, or whatever.

2. The opportunity to reform public schools: Katz (1971) points out a number of strains in contemporary educational redicalism. One is between pedagogical reform (attempts to change classroom practices wherever classrooms are located) and community control (attempts totake over the administrative-governmental apparatus of local schools). Since pedagogical reform can be practiced in a number of settings, it encourages escape from the public schools. Community control calls for direct action to deal with those schools. If it is a strong ideal among free school people, they may want their parent co-ops to act as Kozol (1972) suggests to confront public schools or at least aid those who are involved in such direct action.

3. Control of their own schools: A quarter of the parents in these schools have been disappointed in attempts to get satisfaction from public schools. Many of them may want now to join a school where they know that they can control its policy or at least the treatment their children receive.

4. Solidary rewards: Individuals join many organizations to find friends or a sense of togetherness with others through working towards a common cause. Independently of their other goals, this interest may motivate some people to join a parent co-op.

Table #1 indicates the relative importance of several aspects of their current free school to parents in Counter-revolution and New Schools. The first five items refer to elements of the schools' educational programs. The next two are indicators of interest in controlling school policy. The last three refer

Table 1
PARENTS' RATINGS
OF BENEFITS OF MEMBERSHIP

	Very Important 4	3	2	Not At All Important 1	$\overline{X}$	s^2
My Child Learn Things Not Learned In Public School	19	0	0	0	4	0
My Child Like School	16	2	1	0	3.8	0,3
My Child Have the Freedom to Learn At His Own Speed	16	3	0	0	3.8	0.1
My Child Have Friends At the School	15	3	1	0	3.8	0.3
My Child Learn Hard Skills (3R's)*	10	3	4	1	3.2	1.0
I Can Influence the Decisions of Teachers	14	4	0	1	3.6	0.6
I Can Influence the Decisions of Parents*	12	4	2	0	3.6	0.5
I Like the Parents	7	11	1	0	3.3	0.3
The School Form A Community*	3	4	6	5	2.3	1.1
The School Help Change American Education*	5	7	3	3	2.8	1.1

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*One non-respondent.

to opportunities for public school reform and to receive solidary rewards. There are some ambiguities in this table that will be discussed below; however, the general pattern is clear. Parents are most concerned with the educational program and their children's reaction to it. Their second interest is in opportunities to control school policy. Reform interest and solidary rewards are least important.

Parents' spontaneous comments are even more clear. They join parent co-ops for the educational program. In most cases the quality of that program is the major determiner of whether they stay or go. The other possible rewards are essentially fringe benefits. For instance, parents feel some guilt about "deserting the public schools," but not enough to change their course of action. They hope that one by-product of their schools will be some improvement in the public schools, but they are not willing to make reform a major goal.

Diversity

The second major problem area is the diversity of interests among families. All schools must deal with a range of interests among families. Often it seems that if the school is to meet the needs of one set of families, it will not be able to serve another. In this situation either some families will withdraw or, more likely, they will try to change the school so that it meets their needs as well. Conflict among parents often results.

The area on which parents are most likely to disagree is the content and emphasis of the educational program. The educational ideology that inspires free schools does not provide clear directives in this area. Yet, the family's main reason for joining a school is to find a program that will meet its perceived needs. Because the program is so important, open disagreements about what it should be like are very likely to lead to conflict. Each family will insist on having its way.

A school's educational program has many facets, but those of greatest interest to parents cluster around the concept of structure. Free school parents follow the ideologists in being committed to providing their children with a relatively unstructured environment — i.e., one where the children are confronted with a minimum of constraint and a maximum of freedom to determine how they will use their own time. However, parents also want their children to learn basic symbolic skills including reading, writing, and computation in school. Most parents recognize these as at least necessary survival skills in American socity and want their chidren to develop a facility at employing them. But children need instruction, guidance, and some external compulsion to develop those skills. The need to learn them creates a serious limitation on the amount of freedom children can have in school. This general formula does not help specify how much children in school must be constrained or in what ways. While the ideology of free schools has helped to raise this question, it has not helped to solve it. In practice the more importance parents attach to these hard skills, the more likely they are to substitute academic performance for freedom in the classroom as the major criterion of a successful program.

Table #1 indicates that the parents do in fact disagree among themselves about what the content of a school's educational program should be. There the disagreement centers around the teaching of academic skills. The number of "very important" choices and the low variances on the first four items indicate that parents essentially agree about the outcomes and qualities of the program that these items refer to. The questions about a child learning things not learned in public school and about having the freedom to learn at his own pace are the ones that best tap sympathy with the anti-structure ideology.

The distribution of choices for "learning hard skills"is very different. The variance for that item is as high as any on the table. It indicates that parents have very different views on the importance of academic learning.

Additional evidence that parents disagree about the importance of having an unstructured program or about the amount of structure that is desirable and that these differences may promote schism in parent co-ops comes from the history of Success and Radical Schools. Each of these schools had problems establishing operating classrooms beacuse at the beginning children were unruly and the teachers would not or did not know how to control them. In each of these schools classroom disorder brought out latent differences among parents about how the classroom should be run. In Success some parents wanted order established immediately so that instruction in academic subjects could commence while others felt that the children would settle down on their own and were not interested in academic instruction. In Radical School the argument centered over the responsibility of teachers to initiate activity. In each case feelings were very strong and people were unwilling to compromise. Disagreement in Radical School led to the departure of the Counter-revolution group. Success managed to avoid strong polarization and schism; but at the end of the year that school lost almost half of its families including most of those most strongly commited to academic learning.

Disagreement about how the classroom should be organized did not occur in New School. The main reason for this seems to be that New School parents had worked togehher on running a nursery school for several years. It seems that those who decided to go in on the elementary school had already developed common approaches to classroom structure and similar goals for their children in terms of schooling. The parents in the two other schools had begun without a similar opportunity to develop common program goals.

While differences over what a school's classroom structure should be are very likely to occur, other areas of disagreement exist as well. In fact there is no accepted limit to the purposes that are legitimate for this kind of organization. Any member can suggest additional goals for a school; and if his idea receives some support, it is at least on the agenda. Some decision is necessary. This potential diversity of purposes could be an advantage because it could enlist support from a wider range of people. However, it also increases the risk of conflict. The set of families that comes together to start a school for their children may have very different opinions about any proposed additional purpose. Even if they do not, taking on additional tasks or qualities may require some accomodation in the educational program. Those who support the program as it is may be pitted against those who want to add the new aspect to the organization.

THE ORGANIZATION OF PARENT CO-OPS

The problems of family-school exchange and inter-family diversity both create problems for parent co-ops, but the second one is more significant since it is a direct cause of schism. In describing relevant organizational mechanisms, I will focus on those that reduce diversity among parents, those that prevent diversity from leading to conflict, and others that make some contribution to the management and resolution of conflicts when they do arise. Those arrangements that keep diversity from developing into conflicts are also important for providing the benefits that are most salient to parents.

Parent co-ops rely on recruitment and selection to minimize diversity among parents. Families begin their route into parent co-ops by choosing not to use the public schools. Half the families in these schools withdrew their children from public schools to put them in parent co-ops. The others thought about putting their children into the local schools but decided against doing so when they heard about local conditio A family usually finds out about parent co-ops through personal, word-of-mouth contacts. These contacts are a first screening device since those who passinformation about a school tend to do so primarily to those who seem to be good prospects. Some schools operate feeder institutions — nursery schools and kindergartens, These feeders allow parents of younger children to get a good idea of what their particular parent co-op is like well before they must decide whether or not to join it and to get used to the demands and advantages of the co-operative style of running a school. The feeders also give parents in the primary school an opportunity to look over the new recruits and subtly discourage those who do not seem to be good prospects. In general, however, current members do not select new families on the basis of ideological orientation of the parents.

Instead, the new recruits, whether from feeder institutions or other sources, are given a good look at the school. The old members rely on self-selection to winnow out those who would not agree with the current program of the parent co-op.

There are important differences in the way the recruitment process works in the school that is operating and the one that is still being planned. The older institution has an established classroom. As a result members of the school know what htey are selling and new recruits have a better idea of what they are buying. If this classroom works in some sense, its existence is a definite advantage for the more established school. Those who consider joining the school have a fairly good idea of what they will get and can act accordingly. People still join only to be disappointed because the school proves to be different from what they expect, but this happens much more rarely when the incoming family can observe and experience the classroom. One liability of the new school is the high degree of uncertainty about how it will turn out. Informal recruiting mechanisms such as personal contact and self-selection are largely channels for passing information. When the information does not exist, they are much less effective. A group with very diverse interests is therefore more liable to come together in a new school than in an older one.

Other mechanisms keep diversity among parents from developing into conflict. Teachers play a major role in determining the effects of differences over the educational program. In fact teachers can make two kinds of contribution. First, conflict will be avoided if they teach well. While definitions of good teaching vary from school to school, two criteria remain fairly constant. First, teachers should be able to limit the disorder and non-constructive activity in the classroom in ways that are not greatly at variance with the orientation towards individual freedom that most parents share. In the two new schools inter-parent differences only became important when classroom behavior brought them out. The direct causes of these classroom problems seemed to be a reaction against the previous restraints of the public schools and differing and unclear expectations among children, parents, and teachers. However, at least at Alpha, teachers' lack of competence in handling group management problems contributed to classroom chaos.

Once a framework of expectations for the classroom has been established, teachers can defuse parent disagreements by treating each child according to the wishes of his parents. The pedagogical reform ideology calls for individualized instruction. This theoretical imperative can, within limits, be achieved. By doing so and adjusting the approach taken to a child to the wishes of his parents, teachers can make parent disagreements unimportant. However, individualized instruction requires a great deal of skill and pre-planning.

Teachers must either bring the necessary skills to the school or learn them on the job. It is preferable if teachers come to the school with the skills because learning them on the job entails a great deal of internal chaos. Parent co-ops cannot help teachers develop the necessary abilities as parents are not able to offer teachers effective supervision. In fact teachers must often supervise and assist parents who want to work in the school.

The other contribution teachers make is in the area of parent-teacher relations. Conflict will be avoided if teachers are willing to accomodate parents and work with them. The teacher who takes a strong, inflexible position on what the classroom should be like is likely to polarize parents into warring factions. This does not mean that teachers should back down to parents and follow every whim. Parents look to teachers for leadership and respect their judgement, at least once teachers have displayed their competence. The ideal situation seems to be one of voluntary co-operation where teachers take the initiative but are friendly with parents, show their interest in parent ideas, and as often as possible follow parent suggestions and requests.

Where parent-teacher relations develop along lines of voluntary co-operation, they are based on the teacher's belief that parents have some right to determine the kind of treatment their child should receive, on friendship between parents and the teacher, and on a sense that parents and the teacher share similar goals for the school. Where this kind of relationship does not develop, trouble is likely. Parents do not control the rewards the the teacher finds most compelling so that he can operate quite independently of them. Furthermore, firing a teacher is a difficult process. Before it is done, a headstrong teacher can drive away a large number of families or polarize all members of the school.

Because competent, co-operative teachers are so important to a parent co-op and because parents can neither help teachers improve nor control their activities, teacher selection is one of the most critical activities in this kind of a free school. Here again the liability of newness usually gives the advantage to the older schools. After several years of operation, parents in the older institution have learned what the most crucial issues in teacher selection are so that they know what questions to ask. The older school's operating classroom provides a true-to-life observation setting so that information can be gathered on how candidates will actually act. Furthermore, the older school will usually have a staff of teachers whose judgement is respected to assist in the selection process. New schools have none of these advantages. Getting the teacher they need depends a great deal on luck.

The social organization of parents will help determine whether or not differences on any issue will lead to conflict. Functionally specific relationships tend to inhibit conflict. When relations become more personal and total two things seem to happen. First, personal strains will become group business. Individual disagreements about otherwise irrelevant matters will accumulate along with differences over what the school should be and help to form cleavages. Second, in more diffuse relationships, differences over "business" matters often can only be tolerated with difficulty, especially when that business is one of the factors that provides the major content of the relationship. When relationships become more diffuse, all disagreements become personal. Undre these conditions if disagreements come into the open at all, there is a tendency for them to quickly become very intense.

Although there are conditions that can keep diversity of views from developing into open confrontations, the fact remains that conflict among parents does occur. What means do schools have for managing and resolving conflict once it develops? Coleman suggests that the course of conflict in communities depends on whether individuals place a greater emphasis on the issues in question or on social relations. In this case his finding would suggest that the greater the attachment to the organization as opposed to the particular side of a given issue, the less sharp will be the conflict. Situations have arisen, especially in Success, where individuals chose to compromise on a particular issue in order to improvise means to save the school. However, loyalty to the institution is a slender reed when conflict develops in these schools. The development of loyalty takes time. The school must prove itself to the parents before they will develop that kind of attachment to it. Even in Success, commitment to the school was only strong enough to promote compromise among parents who had been in the school more than one year. Yet, the conditions that conditions that cause conflict are most likely to appear in the first year before loyalty develops.

The emphasis must remain on the paucity of means for dealing with conflict in these schools. The most likely resolution once a conflict has begun is schism and the departure of one or more families. This result cannot be considered a "solution" to the problem of conflict in parent co-ops. Rather it is a negative outcome that leaves the schools with a dangerous loss of resources because of the loss of families.

CONCLUSION

This report presents a picture of an organization that suffers from what Burton Clark (1956) calls precarious values. Families join parent co-ops in search of an educational program for their children, and they will only remain loyal to the organization as long as it provides that program. However, families join a school with very different ideas about what the program should be. The crucial issue of disagreement is on how much structure — that is teacher imposed planning of activities, discipline, and academic instruction — the school should have. Structure is a precarious value precisely because there is no agreed on definition about hou much of it is optimal.

Three factors determine whether disagreement over structure will lead to schism or large scale desertion or not. One of these is the amount of disagreement itself. Conceivably, the range of disagreement may be small. It can be controlled through recruitment practices. Established schools have mechanisms that ensure that families that join the school are very likely to accept whatever program is offered. These mechanisms include recruitment by word of mouth, previous membership in feeder institutions such as affiliated kindergartens, and orientation that leads to recruit self-selection.

Another factor is teacher activity. If teachers are competent enough to maintain some order in the classroom, parent disagreements may never be activated. Furthermore, good teachers manage to take parents' wishes into account when working with children in the open classroom context. As a result, some students actually do receive more academic instruction and disciplen than others. Finally, adamant, inflexible stands by teachers as to correct classroom procedure are liable to polarize parents into pro- and anti- teacher attitudes. Teachers who take more flexible and friendly approaches actually help hold parents together.

The third factor is parent relations. Friendly, trusting relationships among parents are important; but if those relations become too close and diffuse,

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they may — paradoxically — promote conflict. Diffuse relations reduce the distinction between personal and school business. Then disagreements about educational practices threaten valued personal relations while personal disputes aggravate differences of doctrine.

Recruitment practices, teacher activity, and parent social relationships may all help keep disagreements over the educational program from flaring into open conflict. If conflict does doevelop, however, schism is likely to result because these schools do not have any reliable means for managing conflicts.

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TITLE: An Attempt to Match Symbolic and Concrete Learning Modes
To the Needs of Inner City Learners of Mathematics

RESEARCHER: Barry M. Hammond

JUNE 1973 FINAL REPORT

This project proposed as part of the Urban School Research Program nears completion. The treatment or the instructional program was used in a mathematics course for inner city teachers. Evidence to date indicates that the diversity provided by a concrete as well as a symbolic learning mode allowed persons with a variety of mathematics backgrounds to become competent in mathematics and to have positive perceptions toward teaching and using mathematics.

In my last report I noted that the data in this study had all been collected and was ready for analysis. Since that time the committee advising me on this study has recommended changes in the form of the analysis of the data and in the design of the writeup. These changes have necessitated postponement of the completion of this project. Consequently the discussion which follows are conclusions which are indicated by the study rather than verified conclusively by the analysis.

The issue of what effect schooling has on learners has been explored from many viewpoints. Focusing on the value of instruction, Bloom (1971b) 12), after a synthesis of a number of studies, reports that instruction appears to account for about 20 to 25% of the variation in achievement scores. Such a result may be expected for several reasons. (a) What is measured by achievement scores is largely simple recall or memorization skills. (b) These recall behaviors are measured using symbolic test instruments, and (c) Instruction is viewed in general as a symbolic activity carried on in verbal and written modes.

These reasons guided my planning of the study. It seemed logical that if the instructional method could be diversified to include concrete learning modes as well as the symbolic, more students would have access to the information being communicated in the learning setting. It also seemed that increased achievement due to the diversified learning modes would be augmented still more for inner city learners. The reasoning here follows from the fact that present symbolic education seems most easily grasped by suburban learners and least successfully grasped by persons living in central city areas. Hence it would seem that more diversified instructional methods may induce greater gains for urban learners than for their suburban colleagues.

A structure used for investigating the effects of instruction on learning was that of Carroll's Model of School Learning (1963) and its subsequent development by Bloom (1971a) into a theory of mastery learning. The results now available in this study will be discussed in this framework. It must be noted that all the data collected in this study has not been analyzed. Only test data on achievement outcomes will be reported on here.

The results of this study indicate that the instructional method used was successful. While many of the students entered the course with major problems in the learning of mathematics, approximately 65%

completed the criterion test at a mastery level. It was mentioned above that in general, testing as well as instruction has been limited to symbolic modes. Besides the written criterion test, a concrete test using Cuisenaire rods was administered. On the average learners were able to solve problems in this concrete mode at least as well as on the written test. Anecdotal evidence, gleaned mainly from talking with the learners in this study, indicates that a parallel improvement took place in the students' disposition toward mathematics and toward the teaching of mathematics. However this remains to be corroborated by analysis of the attitudinal, self concept and anxiety measures given.

The instructional method used in this learning sequence was based on two groups of factors which are termed curricular factors and human factors. Under curricular factors are included:

a) The experience of learning mathematics in an environment that closely patterns the real world of classrooms in which the participants will soon be working.

b) The presence of apparatus which allows a multimodal and a multisensual experience with the content being learned.

c) The availability of diverse materials which allow for multiple embodiments of each concept being learned.

d) A curricular organization built around the structure of the mathematical content being learned.

Under the human factors are included:

e) The importance of a consciousness by the learner of his potential for growth and of a self concept which anticipates the fulfilment of this potential.

f) A realization of the value of the social group as an aid to learning.

g) An attempt to provide the opportunity for enough diversity in the environment to allow each learner to follow his interests and aptitudes in learning.

h) A teacher with sincere expectations that each student has the potential for mastery and some sensitivity to the diverse learning needs of individuals in the classroom.

The instructional factors which Bloom (1971b, 11) indicates are important to students in mastering a subject are cuing, practice and reinforcement. This means that if the student is clearly and continuously directed to the objectives of the instruction, if he is given ample opportunity to repeat the skills involved and if he is reinforced both positively and negatively during his learning experience, then the possibility of mastery by the participants is high. While these three strategies were involved in the instructional method used in this study they were subordinate to the curricular and human factors mentioned. Further studies will be needed to confirm whether the apparent discrepency between the mastery learning studies and this study are real, and if so to explain the achievement gains shown here. Two possible theses which account for the success shown by the students in this program are suggested at this time. The first explanation is that the objectives of instruction differed in this study from those of the mastery learning studies. This study had as its goals that of preparing students to analyze and to synthesize algebra in a holistic way, and that of preparing students to compute using algorithms. As well it had the supplimentary though interrelated goals of preparing the participants to teach mathematics and to be positively disposed toward using and teaching mathematics. Cuing, practice and reinforcement may be oriented more toward such goals as memorizing facts for later recall.

A second explanation for the discrepency between the instructional method used in this study and the strategies used in mastery learning may rest with the learners. The learners in this study were bilingual, and were representative of groups from low to median income levels for the city. The significant achievement gains experienced by such a pluralistic group would seem to be related to the corresponding diversity in the learning environment provided by the curricular and the human factors listed.

My conclusions from this study embody both of these explanations.

1. Possible goals for instruction are many. They may vary in the cognitive domain (Bloom, 1956) from simple recall of facts to the

creative and divergent goals of analysis, synthesis and evaluation. And in the affective domain (Krathwohl, 1964) objectives may range from simply interesting a person in a topic to that of developing a philosophy of life. My observations are that instructional goals tend to center on the low level objectives of simple recall of facts in the cognitive domain with little or no attention paid to the affective domain goals. When attention is given to the affective domain the focus is on developing interest and not on helping a student to acquire a disposition or a commitment to involve himself in the discipline. I believe that inner city learners are seeking broader outcomes from their educational experience that the memorization of facts. Hence, it seems their success rate in learning institutions would be improved if these goals were diversified.

2. Possible modes of instruction are many. One can teach using the lecture method which utilizes a highly symbolic verbal mode of communication, or textbooks, visual aids and concrete materials may be used to suppliment the verbal mode. This use of concrete and ikonic as well as the symbolic mode provides for a pluralistic educational environment. I believe such a diversity of learning modes better meets the needs of inner city learners for two reasons. First, this group embodies knowledge, skills and dispositions of great variety due to a plurality of backgrounds, languages and experiences within the group. Second, this group deviates greatly from the norm of middle American values and background. Thus, if the unique aptitudes and motivations brought by inner city learners are to be optimally utilized a diversity of learning modes and instructional environments must be provided.

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OFFICE OF EDUCATION URBAN SCHOOL RESEARCH PROJECT

FINAL REPORT

EDUCATION PROGRAMS AND LOCAL POLITICS:
A CASE STUDY OF PERFORMANCE CONTRACTING IN GARY AND HAMMOND

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June 5, 1973

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Purpose of Research

Urban educational needs are placing an ever increasing strain on the resources available to cope with the problems of a child in the inner city. Consequently, it is increasingly important that the money that is available is used in the most effective way possible. This emphasis on cost efficiency has resulted in experimental examinations of proposed educational programs. Unfortunately, these research projects have systematically excluded consideration of a crucial variable---namely the effects that implementation have on the structure and results of the program. To be a success, a program must not only be effective in the experimental situation, but it must also be effective after it has gone through the implementation process in a real inner city community.

The purpose of this research is to examine the variables in the implementation process which alter the eventual effectiveness of the program. The specific variable which clearly has the greatest effect on educational programs but which oddly enough has been least subject to systematic investigation is the educational-political mileu in the community. The single significant piece of research in this area is Robert Crain's The Politics of School Desegregation which identifies acquiescence of the board of education as the dominant variable in the local community's policy toward integration. However, this valuable work only deals with the integration issue and ignores less controversial programs like Head Start, day care, performance contracting and the political responses to these projects. Crain's techniques and approach need to be replicated on these issues. A more naturalistic approach is called for to reveal the structural dynamics of the political process and their effects on an educational program.

Methodologies

In order to reveal the significant political variables of program implementation, two matched case studies of a recent educational innovation have been prepared and analyzed. The relevant and researchable case study chosen was performance contracting which is perhaps the fastest growing educational innovation in the country. From one performance contracting project three years ago, there are now over two hundred in operation. The politics of performance contracting in two cities, Gary and Hammond, Indiana, has been examined. In each case it was shown that there is a strong relationship between the community's political-educational structure and the scope and educational effectiveness of it s performance contracting project. The two communities were then compared.

Three types of data were utilized to conduct this research. Relevant scholarly materials were consulted to provide a background of the literature on political-educational interactions. Other written materials were also consulted and proved to be invaluable in the research. These materials included newspapers, magazines, correspondence, board minutes, newsletters, dissertations, government reports, and union minutes. Finally interviews with approximately fifteen educational-political actors were scheduled and conducted during the course of the project. A more complete list of the various methodological tools utilized for the project appears in the appendix of this report.

The writer has arrived at two conclusions concerning the relationship between the community political-educational mileu and performance contracting effectiveness. First, the scope and educational success of a performance contracting projects is directly related to the type of decision-making strategy which is utilized. And second, the decision-making strategy which is utilized configures the educational political mileu of the community. In examining these two hypotheses, the major characteristics of an innovative educational system will be identified and those of a more traditional community. It is hoped that educators will be able to use this typology of an "innovative" system to identify the communities where their educational dollar [illegible] do the most good.

Performance Contracting Results in Gary and Hammond

Gary's performance contracting program, initiated in September, 1970, involved the restructuring of an entire existing school. Behavioral Research Laboratories, an educational corporation in Palo Alto, California, signed a four year 2,500,000 dollar contract to teach students at the Banneker elementary school on a money back guarantee. Under terms of the contract the Californis firm would be paid eight hundred dollars annually for each of the eight hundred students in the school. Yet the most unique feature of the Banneker program was the scope of Behavioal Research Laboratories'(BRL's) powers. Gary is the first big city school system in the country to turn over the operations of an entire school system to a private firm. BRL was to staff and organize the school, provide all materials, develop non-graded individualized learning programs, train and develop teachers and administrators, and implement a parent-community participation program.

The powers of the business corporation in Hammond's performance contracting project were far less comprehensive. The business corporation's powers (Learning Foundations, inc. of Athens Georgia) were confined to only two hours of instruction daily, one hour for reading and one hour for math. Students were plucked out of their classes for these few hours of instruction and then returned to them for the remainder of the school day. In other words, while BRL's control over Banneker was nearly absolute, Learning Foundation's instructional opportunities were severly limited.

These two types of performance contracting programs--comprehensive and partial--led to extremely different educational results. Gary's performance contracting program, which was the nation's most comprehensive, was also the nation's most successful. Prior to the beginning of the Banneker experiment, seventy-five per cent of Banneker's graduates were below grade levels in the fundamental skills, however, after Banneker's first year of operation under BRL this rate of progress seemed to be statistically reversed. At the end of BRL's first year the achievement predictions for Banneker's students were that seventy-five per cent of the students in the primary grades would graduate from the school performing at or above grade levels in reading or math or both.

In contrast to the overwhelming success of the Gary project, the results of Hammond's performance contracting project were quite disappointing. The Office of Economic Opportunity, who ran the project, termed the results of the project "statistically insignificant".

A comparison of these two performance contracting programs indicates that one of their major differences was the degree of administrative and curriculum control given to the private corporation. While the instructional methods utilized in each program were strikingly similiar, the time the experimental student spent in each program was markedly different. From evidence in Gary and Hammond the following proposition will be advanced: One of the major factors in Hammond's failure and Gary's contracting success was the different scope of each program. A more comprehensive program like Gary's makes the private firm more accountable for student gains, more able to fully adjust to student needs, and increases the statistical likelihood of performance contracting success. Thus, Gary's performance contracting success partially resulted from its greater comprehensiveness.

Factors Conducive to a Comprehensive Performance Contracting Program

The close relationship between program comprehensiveness and educational effectiveness raises an important question--- what factors lead a community to choose the strongest and most effective performance contracting program?[7] One of the most crucial variables for program strength has thus far been systematically neglected--the process of decision-making. This leads to the first contention of this report-- the strength and effectiveness of a performance contracting project is related to the type of implementation strategies that are utilized. There are two primary types of performance contracting decision-making strategies-- centralized and decentralized. The centralized implementation strategy involves only a few actors in a non-bargaining strategy where policy making powers are not delegated and remain the exclusive domain of the board of education and superintendent. On the other hand, the decentralized planning strategy has a broad scope of decision-making and involves all the major political-educational actors in the policy making process. The powers of the board and superintendent are weak and diluted.

Gary and Hammond serve as excellent examples of these two implementation strategies; Gary's implementation strategy configures a centralized strategy while Hammond's resembles a decentralized one. Evidence from each case study is quite clear: A centralized implementation strategy(Gary) results in a more comprehensive and educationally effective performance contracting program, while a decentralized strategy(Hammond) results in an incremental and educationally disasterous performance contracting program.

Gary--the Strategy of Centralized Implementation

Gary's performance contracting project was implemented through a highly centralized decision-making process. No comprehensive planning took place. Teachers were not notified of the program, and they were not offered any job or salary security. The recommendations of the State Department of Education were ignored and since no federal money was requested, no guidelines had to be met. Only the school superintendent, board president, and the business firm president knew about the project before it was adopted.

This centralized implementation strategy led to a series of bitter conflicts between school city and other educational interests over the final performance contracting program. Teachers threatened strikes, the state revoked accreditation, and some administrators were resistant.

Nevertheless, in the end the Gary program was adopted, and it was a strong one. It became the only performance contracting project in the nation to transfer the operations of an entire school to a private corporation . And, as discussed earlier, because of its radical nature, the Gary program stimulated large gains in the educational achievement levels of its students. Thus, the Gary school system's politics of 'anti-planning' was largely responsible for Banneker's strength and educational success.

Hammond--the Strategy of Decentralized Implementation

In Hammond comprehensive planning with all education actors did occur. Teachers were consulted and the State Department of Education was informed of program developments. Stringent federal guidelines for Office of Economic Opportunity performance contracting funding were met. School city took steps to adjust its performance contracting program to avoid offending important educational actors. Yet the resulting program was a weak one. After all the education actors had their say Hammond's performance contracting project was a small policy change. Contracted classes met only two hours a day and the school administration rather than the contracting firm was in control of policy decisions. Because of its decentralized strategy of implementation, Hammond's project was an incremental rather than a radical educational charge.

The different strategies of implementation and their varied educational results has some important implications for educational policy makers. Instead of funding cities likely to adopt a decentralized planning strategy like Hammond, monies should go to communities like Gary which are willing to adopt a centralized and educationally effective process of implementation.

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The Type of Decision-Making Process Utilized Reflects the Community's Educational-Political Mileu

Whether a community adopts a comprehensive and centralized process like Gary or a decentralized and incremental one like Hammond depends on the nature and priorities of the community's education-political mileu. In the politically favorable cities performance contracting has the greatest chance for resulting in meaningful gains in educational achievement. The educational-political mileus which favor educational change and centralization are termed 'innovative' and those which are decentralized and conservative are termed 'traditional! Gary's mileu is primarily 'innovative', resulting in performance contracting success, while Hammond's is'traditional'resulting in performance contracting failure.

Gary--the Innovative Mileu

Gary's education-political mileu is characterized by two features which increase its receptiveness to radical performance contracting experiments: 1). reordering priorities of civil and school cities 2). Centralized education-political institutions.

Gary is governed by a black oriented government which came to power with the rise of an expanded and mobilized black constituencey. The new mayor, Richard Hatcher, unlike the past machine rulers, adopted a polemic of change and operationalized some innovative, change-oriented policies.

Once in power, this new radical government initiated changes in the educational institutions as well as the political ones. Primarily through the appointment of new innovative blacks to the board of education, the civil-political structures transformed the old machine board into an innovative, reordering one. The end result of this political-educational interaction was a set of radical policy priorities in the government and schools which were favorable to comprehensive programs like performance contracting.

Gary's centralized political-educational institutions also increased the community's ability to initiate and implement radical programs like performance contracting. In Gary there is a noticeable lack of policy dissent among the major school city-civil actors. The mayor generally supports the radical goals of the board and superintendent and there is a suprising amount of unanimity within the board and between the board and superintendent. This superintendent-board-mayor agreement eases the adoption of highly controversial radical education policies. These political-educational institutions present a cohesive, formidable front when bargaining with hostile groups like the teachers union and the state. In other words a centralized political education system provides the political clout to implement education reforms and is generally a characteristic of an innovative performance contracting mileu.

Characteristics of Innovative Performance Contracting Systems

1. Reordering political and educational priorities
2. Centralized political-educational institutions
3. Willingness to tolerate controversy
4. Centralized process of implementation

Hammond--the Traditional Mileu

Unlike Gary, Hammond's educational-political mileu is unfavorable to the development of a comprehensive performance contracting program.

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The 'traditional' mileu has two primary characteristics which decrease the possibility of comprehensive educational change: 1. its political and school institutions have maintenance (status quo) priorities 2. its civil-school institutions are decentralized and dispersed.

Unlike Gary, the policy priorities of Hammond's government are not oriented toward change and reform. Hammond is controlled by an old-line corrupt democratic machine which is more concerned with maintaining the existing institutional structures than it is with establishing new ones.

Despite the fact that Hammond's schools are relatively independent of the conservative influences of the machine civil city, it too has adopted a similiar set of maintenance policy priorities. The school board is more concerned with incremental changes which consolidate the powers of the status quo than it is with attempting to implement real institutional change. This can be seen by examining the negative treatment the board gives to educational innovations like vouchers while literally begging for federal grants which would merely serve to preserve rather than to destroy existing education institutions. In this environment of 'safe' innovations a radical performance contracting experiment has little chance for success. The board would be reluctant to delegate powers to a private firm since this would alienate the other education actors and disturb the status quo. Unlike Gary, Hammond's maintenance policy priorities make it unlikely for its schools to initiate a comprehensive and educationally successful performance contracting project.

The second characteristic of Hammond's political-educational mileu is its decentralized nature. In Gary the board, superintendent, and mayor were mutually supportive and had similiar views on educational change. They presented a cohesive unit with a great deal of political clout to those hostile to the implementation of that change. In Hammond this is not the case. The political structure constantly conflicts with the board over policy issues and has even made attempts to place the board under formal political control. In addition the board is divided into two hostile factions--the machine pols and the civic reformers. Because of these intra-board and board mayor conflicts,it is hard to gain sufficient political clout to implement comprehensive policy changes. In other words a decentralized education-political system lacks the political power to implement education reform and is generally a characteristic of a traditional performance contracting mileu.

Characteristics of Traditional Performance Contracting Systems

1. Maintenance political and educational priorities
2. Decentralized political and educational institutions
3. Desire to avoid conflict and support 'safe' policies
4. Decentralized process of implementation

Implications for Policy Makers

This investigation has two major implications for educators and federal policy-makers. First the typologies of traditional and innovative systems are based on just two case studies which are too limited a sample. Only after many more communities have been investigated can accurate typologies be developed. The efforts of future researchers must be concerned with refining these typologies and more specifically identifying the political variables which largely determine the educational effect-

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iveness of performance contracting programs.

Second, before funds are grnated from federal, foundation, or business sources for performance contracting projects extremely comprehensive studies must be undertaken of the community's political-education structures and policy priorities. All the community's civil and school actors--from city council members to teachers union officials must be interviewed in depth. How willing are these actors to tolerate controversy? What kind of decision-making process have they utilized in the past? Is the community closer to the innovative or traditional policy mileus? Past actions of the board, mayor, teachers, etc. must be examined to determine the degree of innovation each actor has exhibited in the past. After the community has been analyzed and categorized, it should be given no funds if it resembles a traditional mileu since its policies will be dilluted into incremental and educationally ineffective disasters. Rather monies should be given to communities like Gary which configure the characteristics of the innovative typology. It is only in communities like Gary with an active committment to change and the ability to implement it that performance contracting has any chance for success.

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Donald F. Soltz

The Primary Teacher at Work: A Comparison of Technologies Used in Reading and Arithemetic Instruction.

June 15, 1973

Abstract: The primary level, classroom teacher is called upon to perform myriad tasks, two of the most important being reading and arithmetic instruction. Differences in the way these two subjects are taught by the same teacher not only reflect how she attempts to influence a class but, perhaps equally important, how the class and the curricula seem to inlfuence her. This study compared how reading and arithmetic were taught by six, third-grade inner-city teachers to thier self-contained classes under normal conditions. The method involved both macroscopic, nonparticipant observations and microscopic recordings of teacher-student interaction. Each class was visited for at least five days. The paradigmatic question asked was this: How do curricula and pupils influence teaching technologies? Concretely, what are the differences and similarities in the way a third-grade teacher instructs reading and arithmetic? Does she look more like other teachers teaching the same subject than she looks like herself teaching different subjects? The answers put forth are tentative, since they are based on incomplete data. But it does seem certain that the variations within teachers corresponding to different curricular segments are reflected in a number of predictable ways in the observational data. For example, the reading teacher is more negative, passive, less positive, and makes more irrelevant responses than the arithmetic teacher. Also, it was found that variations in the time spent on

diverse activities within the period observed were great. In some classes, the amount of time spent by the teacher in reading instruction was three or four times that of others. This was true at the level of the individual student as well, so that some students were reading literally hundreds of (teacher-supervised) words more than others. The implications of this finding were touched upon.

The Primary Teacher at Work: A Comparison of Technologies Used in Reading and Arithmetic Instruction

D. F. Soltz

Introduction

Conventional wisdom concerning teaching, as well as a sizable body of research, would strongly indicate that there exists some pure form of "good" teaching as well as "bad." Efforts to identify the "good" and the "bad" have led to observational studiesof classroom teachers in situ, followed by a content analysis of their verbal interchanges with the class. None of the research thus far reported seems to yield a consistent picture of what "good" and "bad" consist of. But if most teachers are considered "competent" and judged so by their peers and principals, then there is some reason to believe that the search for good and bad may have been a falsely conceived one.

This study takes the view that the classroom--the elementary classroom at least-- is a system that allows relatively little room for manipulation by teachers. The conventional classroom, that is, is comprised of such commonplaces as students with particular ability levels (determining the level of curricular materials that are applicable), an agenda prescribed by the dictates of central office personnel and custom, and a teacher with limitations on her time and energy. Given these commonplaces, it seems clear that the teacher is left with options that deal with the mesh between the real-life students and the curricular expectations of the larger system. Her task is one of engineering the production of correct responses of students to curricular materials. She may be more or less creative in doing this, but she is clearly reliant on the students in the process. The point is that most teachers are adequate to the task, and observations of their rooms reveals more similarities than differences. But more important, most teachers seem to be "locked" into certain patterns of behavior by the nature of the classroom and curricula itself, so that teachers (whether good, bad, or indifferent) do much the same kinds of things in the class. Their behaviors reflect far more the nature of ecological constraints within the classroom than they do any qualitative differences in the teachers themselves.

The weight of the contextual constraints on the teacher is reflected in how subject-matter differences affect teaching behavior. In the self-contained elementary classroom, the same teacher instructs the same children in different subjects. If the subject-matter influences are as prepotent an influence as the reasoning leads us to believe, then some differentiation of behavior by the teacher seems very likely. It is to the behavioral differences in the teacher's total repertoire of activities used in instruction that this study turns. Does a given teacher look more like other teachers teaching the same subject than she looks like herself teaching different subjects? This is the key question. What is there that is consistent across situations and what varies? And do the variations make sense within the context of what curricular differences might lead us to believe?

In order to test the bearing of subject-matter on teacher behavior, we turned to a relatively narrow, albeit important, comparison: reading and arithmetic instruction in third-grade classrooms. Like the conventional observational studies, this focuses on the interactions between teacher and students that are public, verbal, and recordable. Unlike most observational studies, this one keeps track of the curricular setting that is involved as well as the individual student talking. Within this observational framework, we are seeking to define and observe those behavioral indicators that are similar across subject-matters as well as those which differentiate between them. We note in passing that the interplay of subject-matter and teaching activities has been relatively untouched by previous research. This seems true because of the reductionistic approach taken by other investigators. Curricular research has largely failed to obtain classroom observational data, but observationally oriented studies have rarely concerned themselves with curricular matter. As a result we know next to nothing about what differences exist in the distribution of frequently observed teaching behaviors such as teacher talk, praise, explanation, and the like. This study is descriptive so that some baseline data may be obtained on the interplay of teaching activities thought to be significant and the subject matter being taught.

In addition to subject-matter considerations, are those of individual variations in the students themselves. While it is granted that vast differences across social settings are correlated with differences in student ability, this study concentrates on those ability differentials that occur within a given inner-city classroom. Since the teacher's definition of the students' abilities and not necessarily the standardized measurement of them is critical to classroom functioning, no attempt was made to measure these differences systematically. Rather, this study relied on the teacher's definition of student ability by extracting this from her division of the class into ability groups and the distribution of individual help to given students. She was also asked to articulate some bases for her judgements of different students in her room.

The influence of curricular variations on behavior of the teacher in the classroom context may be illustrated by an example. Preliminary data indicated that the teacher _qua_ reading teacher was much more negative than the same teacher _qua_ arithmetic teacher. The reason apparently lying behind this difference is that the nature of the reading process itself causes teachers to focus on the students' errors rather than on their correct oral readings.

Now this finding has rather broad implications (if it is supported by other observations) since a major theoretical position in school learning dictates that positive reinforcement of correct responses by the pupil leads to the greatest increments in achievement. If reading is taught "aversively" (Staats & Staats, 1962), then it follows that learning may be more difficult than say in arithmetic.

What seems to be required here is a quick comparison of the subject-matters of reading and arithmetic so that some bases can be located for discerning the particular behavior patterns that may best reflect the differences and similarities in the classroom conduct of instruction. For this we turn briefly to a framework drawn from industrial sociology that may well be extremely appropriate. Perrow has characterized "technology" (1968) as having two aspects: the number of "exceptional cases" encountered in the work process and the nature of the search process that is undertaken when exceptions occur. A "routine" technology is one typified by few exceptional cases and a rationalized, analyzable search procedure. "Nonroutine" technologies entail a large number of exceptions and a search that is neither logical nor analytic. Turning to the subject-matter comparison that we are making, it appears that whole number arithmetic operations may well be classified as more "routine" than reading. The "noise" involved in answering arithmetic problems and the algorithmic manner in which this can be done are seen as fitting Perrow's conception of exceptionality and a rationalized search. As an example, arithmetic is frequently taught to the whole class on seatwork basis, as opposed to the less "routine" reading structure of small-group, oral presentations. Diagnosis of error in arithmetic is more rationalized and narrow. The size of the "chunk" is also important: arithmetic is circumscribed so that a given problem illustrates a single rule. Other differences might include the more

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difficult problem of "meaning" or comprehension in reading, the irregularities of English orthography, the less than universal rules used to define the grammar, and the like. The complexity essentially leads to a deroutinization of reading instruction. That is, if there are several possible reasons for an error, for several approaches to analyzing it, judgment is called upon and no clear routine can be formalized. The mixture of methods found in curricular materials used in the teaching of reading (eg., look-say and phonics emphases are both currently used in many series) would also tend to have a deroutinizing effect--for example, the child may not know which of several approaches to reading a given word is the correct one. And the teacher may not know which method the child used, hence cannot respond with certainty to the child's answer.

Routineness may be noted too as varying with the ability levels of the students. Simply speaking, a high ability student, by definition, produces more routine response--that is, more correct ones. Similarly, the poorer student is the more non-routine; he produces errors and errors must be dealt with by the teacher, feedback correcting them given, and thereby attention paid to him. The nature of the feedback may vary, we have noted, between the subject-matters of reading and arithmetic. It may for instance be postponed to a degree in arithmetic owing to that subject matter's more concrete response end-point--often a written product. Reading orally is fleeting, evanescent so that errors must be resolved as they occur.

Methods and Procedures

The scope of this study is as broad as the funtioning primary-level class room itself, so that a method responsive to that large an environment seemed necessary. But at the same time, a way of analyzing the communicational patterns themselves at a microscopic level of the teacher with each individual student in the class was required to allow judgment of the more detailed ways curricular differences were responded to. The method finally used was a combination of the more global, informal field work approach that is typically that of the nonparticipant observer together with the use of tape recordings to analyze in detail the patterns of communication occuring between the classroom occupants. The latter material--tape recordings of working sessions in reading and arithmetic instruction--are thereby preserved for analysis at a later time when a detailed comparison can be made. At that time too the field notes taken by the observer, and keyed to the tape recordings, can be combined with them.

The major comparisons of teaching "style" across subject areas are made using data collected from six, third-grade, inner-city classrooms. To simplify interpretation of the results, all classes observed were within the normal ranges of ability, are racially homogeneous (largely black, inner-city students), use a basal reading approach of a major national publisher, have female teachers with at least four years of teaching experience judged "competent" by the principal. All schools were part of the Chicago Public School system. Contact with each teacher took the following form. The principal was initially asked if he would allow an observer to enter the school to observe and record the work of one of his third-grade rooms. Following approval, he was asked to suggest the name of teachers he thought might be open to having an observer in their classroom for a week's time at least. These teachers were then contacted personally by the experimenter, told that he was interested in finding out more about how classrooms worked, and an appeal made to the teacher's feelings regarding having more pertinent data deriving more directly from real-life teaching situations. Visits were arranged always on a tentative basis, pending the teacher's approval and respecting the scheduling of the classroom itself. Some time, often about four hours, was spent in simply adjusting, as a nonparticipant, to the situation (and allowing the classroom situation to restore itself to normality, given the presence of an observer). Names of students were memorized at this time.

Only about half of the teachers originally contacted were subsequently used in the study. The reasons for exclusion of the others varied: some simply refused; others, it turned out, did not use standard publishers' materials to any extent that was usable in the context of this study; still others had problems controlling the classroom to the extent that they were adjudged to be atypical. Too, some had arrangements of exchange with other classrooms so that pupils were moved to different groups in different rooms, destroying the self-contained nature of the room.

In all, six classrooms were observed, and tape recordings of their working seesions in reading and arithmetic accomplished. Each was in a different school, but all were in low-income, largely black areas of the city.

Results

The results reported here must be considered interim ones, since the bulk of the recorded data are not yet coded and in the form where even summary results can be reproduced. Hence, the findings reported below stem from the field notes of the observer taken during classroom observations. As such they are subject to revision or expansion when the final data are analyzed.

The degree to which reading is a less "routine" subject-matter than arithmetic should be reflected in a number of indicators. We shall note several here. The amount of time spent in self-correcting feedback is far greater in arithmetic. Indeed, it appears that at the primary level, the teacher acts as if the child can correct little reading behavior. For while they assign silent reading exercises, they nonetheless ask questions following the reading to verify its adequacy. And of course, the entire point of an oral reading group is to monitor the children's reading ability and comprehension.

The implications of this are widespread. The teacher is extremely limited in the amount of time she can spend with any given pupil. Put otherwise, the individual student may receive the opportunity to read less than a sentence or two in a given day even in a well-run classroom. In others, or at those times when scheduling disallows reading groups to be completed, a given child may receive no instruction at all. If then one argues that time is an important element in the learning process, the deficit in reading abilities of inner-city children might stem from their simply receiving only a few minutes per week of supervised reading instruction. And note that reading must be supervised closely as we remarked above. It cannot be carried on by a simply well-intentioned student, as arithmetic can.

A key observational result was then the clear importance of time. As to the teachers themselves, there was wide inter-class variation in time spent on varying tasks such that it must be condidered a major differentiating variable in the six classes observed. At the one extreme teacher assiduously conducted three reading groups on each of the days that I was presant, while another was much more haphazard about their scheduling. On the other hand the latter teacher was most rigorous in demanding that spelling be given her students each day. Over a years' time, the differences in time devoted to a given subject area--regardless of what the schedule book in the teacher's desk indicated to the contrary--might vary enormously.

The stereotypical pattern followed by all of the six teachers was predominantly the recitational one described by Heotker and Ahlbrand (1969). The differences lay in the length of time for the interaction (reading is obviously more protracted a recitation than arithmetic, but also in the degree of intervention by the teacher). In reading instruction the teacher intervened in the process only when the student erred. The teacher then operates as a "negative monitor" in reading, interupting to point out or deal with errors, keeping silent during correct readings. Essentially, it is "teaching" by veto power.

Indeed, the teaching of reading may be primarily a negatively oriented process that cannot be dealt with directly. This is because much of the internal processing required must occur in the student, not in the teacher, before a response or a set of responses to the printed material can be made.

The response that teachers did make to errors in reading by the children (as opposed to these same students' errors in arithmetic) can be roughly classified and the result is interesting. Reading errors are often met with some sort of non-"technical," non-"routine" response. Among these was the very common remonstrance to the child to "look at the word again" or some other rather hortatory response to him after the child had clearly stopped reading orally in mid-sentense and was looking at the word again. In general, I have chosen to call those teacher responses that do not directly cite some rationale, or attempt to undertake a "search" process that has a rationale underlying it, as "irrelevant." By far the greatest number of teacher responses to students in reading instruction (and in fact all of the "language arts" instruction) were ~~was~~ of this type. This finding seems to indicate that third-grade reading teachers see themselves largely as motivators of the children and not, as the popular terms has it, "instructional resources."

Not so in arithmetic instruction. Here the teachers observed seemed far more able to follow student responses with substantive responses, particularly diagnostic ones in the case of errors. The teacher qua arithmetic teacher provides hints (e.g., "look at the ten's column, Ann!"), cites rules (e.g., for"carrying"), as well as praising correct work more often than in reading. The nature of the subject itself, as noted, allows children to spend time a good deal more profitably at work on problems than oral reading groups do.

In terms of the commonly used observational measures, such as Flanders, final and complete data are needed to develop the differences found within individual teachers. But it does seem clear from the informal analyses made thus far that these within-teacher differences are large enough to be considered significant. In other words, such measures of teacher behavior that in the past have been used to ferentiate between teachers, can, based on the results of this study, be used to differentiate behaviors within a given teacher. The implications of this seem rather large, since variables like "teacher-talk," criticism, praise, silence and confusion, accepts ideas, uses ideas, and so forth can be shown to be clearly dependent on the curricular context in which the observations are being made. This, of course, is true for the elementary teachers within this sample only. But Westbury has shown similar differences exist if one looks at teachers of different subjects at the secondary level (1967).

Conclusions

It may be tentatively concluded, on the basis of the field notes and impressions by the investigator of the tape recorded data, that rather profound differences in teaching methodologies, or more broadly, "technologies," are evident if subject-matter differences are attended to. The degree of negativity and positivity of the teacher vary with the subject matter; so does the particular manner in which the teacher responds to the students as well as when in fact she does so. The curricular materials being taught seems also to lead to observable and codable differences in a given teacher's behavior. Indeed, those instruments of observation--the Flanders' Interaction Analysis measure, for example--that have been widely used to differentiate between teachers and to prescribe what "good" or "bad" teaching consists of, can be shown to differentiate the activities within a given elementary teacher, thus apparently vitiating the former belief that quality of teaching could be defined by "teacher talk" or other such indexes.

A second finding of note is that time spent on the basic subject matters of reading and arithmetic within the six classrooms observed during this study were remarkably ~~wide~~ variable. In one class a given child might read a paragraph a day orally, while in another, one paragraph a week was more the norm. Such variations must certainly have an effect on the amount of learning resulting. It is assumed, and can be fairly well demonstrated that time, other things being equal, is a significant variable in learning.

The reasons for this vast differential in time spent on various subject areas may be garnered from a recognition of the teacher's position in the self-contained classroom and from some of the interview data collected. The elementary teacher controls an impressive amount of the time to be spent during a given school day, while still operating within certain broad constraints. These latter are best thought of as the overall expectations that instruction in the basic skill subjects will take place sufficiently often for the children to advance to some degree. But the means by which the teacher is to accomplish this is left to her discretion. In the interviews, one teacher for example, noted that she was averse to direct instruction in reading preferring instead to use "language arts." The resulting emphasis centered on workbooks, seatwork, and other exercises that only partially met the childrens' need to read extended passages from texts or other sources. On the other hand, one teacher observed dealt with mathematics for but 25 minutes during the week, but held long (45 minute) sessions of oral reading with her three groups daily. She noted in the interview that her children needed all the practice reading they could get due to lack of sufficient support from their families. Surely such vast differences in instructional priorities could only result in equally wide fferences in what the children in the two classes learned. But this student difference is yet to be measured; perhaps in the future it will be.

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URBAN SCHOOL RESEARCH PROGRAM

Final Research Report by

Margaret Beale Spencer
June 8, 1973

The attached dissertation proposal contains the scope of the work completed thus far. The theoretical framework for the problem has been explicated, new measures have been designed, and both new and old measures have been piloted and administered to 150 preschool children.

To date, all data described in the attached document have been collected except for the ratings on the interpersonal behaviors of preschoolers, which are in the process of being completed and returned by the individual preschool teachers. All protocols except for the teacher ratings have been coded.

Several observed data trends will be reported at the end of the report. These trends reflect only a preliminary inspection of the data- not actual data analyses.

Dissertation Proposal

The Committee on Human Development

The University of Chicago

An Exploratory Study of: Role Taking Ability and Self Concept Development as Hypothesized Components of Social Competence, and the Role of Racial Attitudes for Self Concept Development in Black Preschool Aged Children

By Margaret Beale Spencer
May, 1973

Dissertation Committee:

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Abstract

One focus of this two part study explores the importance of role taking ability for self concept development and for adequate interpersonal behavior. The second focus investigates the relationship of racial attitudes and race awareness to self concept development. Four and five year old children representative of either middle class or working class black families comprise the sample. The children will be tested on several instruments. Measures of social cognition to be administered are: the "Little Bear" test of Affect Differentiation (Block and Block, 1972), and the Birthday Gift Buying Test (Spencer, 1973). Data for self concept development will be collected using the following instruments: the Thomas Self Concept Values Test (Thomas, 1967) and the Self Concept and Motivation Inventory (Farrah et al, 1968). Interpersonal behavior ratings will be obtained from the preschool teachers on the California Social Competency Scale (Levine et al, 1969). Two instruments designed by this investigator will be used for measuring racial attitudes and race awareness. The Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test will be administed inorder to measure verbal ability. Some of the hypotheses to be tested by data analyses are: 1) self concept and adequate interpersonal behavior are predictable from role taking ability, 2) a non-linear relationship exists between racial attitudes and self concept, 3) race awareness is expected to be positively related to both racial attitudes and self concept. The data will also be examined for age, sex, and SES differences.

Problem:

There exists a paucity of research on role taking ability in four and five year old preschool aged children. This condition is most likely the result of the assumption that little or no actual role taking occurs prior to middle childhood. The position to be taken in this proposal is that because role taking is a developmental function, its precursors are present during early childhood and are important for the development of the self in social interaction. And as suggested by Anderson and Messick (1973), both role taking ability and self concept development are hypothesized to be important components for social competence.

In addition, because research within the area of personality development of black children over the last few decades has assumed that negative racial attitudes exhibited by black children are indicative of self hatred and concomitant negative self conceptions, the proposed research will question the relationship, if any, between racial attitudes and self concept development. In view of Porter's (1971) valid criticism of racial attitude research, a measure of race awareness will be obtained in addition to the racial attitude data.

This two-part study, therefore, proposes to investigate the relationship between two hypothesized components of social competence: role taking ability and self concept development; and in addition, an attempt will be made to delineate the relatedness of race awareness, racial attitudes, and self concept development in black preschool aged children.

Conceptual Formulation- The primary motivation which guides this proposed research is aptly described by Edmund Gordon:

> Although the goals of education tend to be stated in broad terms, when we come to assess education it is always to cognitive development and academic achievement that we first look for evidence of change. Too often we either stop with these first results or turn with less rigor to look at other areas as a second thought or as a rationalization for our failure to find more impressive evidence in the cognitive domain.
> (in Messick and Anderson, 1973, p. 3)

As the result of such an approach, as suggested by M. Brewster Smith (1968), we still do not know the conditions under which people come to function as competent members of society. Robert White has written very lucidly on the subject of competence and postulates an intrinsic motivation towards competence in all human beings. Edward Zigler's (in Messick and Anderson, 1973) definition of social competence will guide this research and is described as "...an individual's everyday effectiveness in dealing with his environment... his ability to master appropriate formal concepts to perform well in school, to stay out of trouble with the law, and to relate well to adults and children" (page 3). Messick and Anderson note that social competence is a useful term because it mobilizes attention to the broad range of cognitive and personal-social dimensions of mportance for the developing child. They delineated 29 dimensions epresenting facets of social competency in children. They derived their concepts comprising "competence" from several theorists including Piaget, Guilford, David Russell, Rapaport, and Binet in the cognitive-perceptual areas; Tomkins, Rotter, Schachtel, Seymour, Sarason, Carl Rogers, Emmerich, and Bandura in the personal-social areas; and Lewin, Werner, Thurston, Witkin, Dewey, Kohlberg, J. McV. Hunt, Robert White, Bruner, and Kagan in the areas of interface between cognition and personality. Social cognition and self concept development were well represented as components.

Theoretical Background

Role Taking:

Foote and Cottrell (1955) and Cottrell (1969) suggest the primary importance of role taking ability for successful social interaction. It is contended, in fact, that interpersonal competence is impossible without the ability to role take. During the social interact, it is assumed that children strive consistently to control and manipulate their environments. However, differences are expected in the consequent degree of interpersonal behavioral success which is dependent upon variations among children in role taking skill.

Flavell (1968) states that the basic and essential ingredient of the role taking process is the means by which an individual somehow cognizes, apprehends, or grasps certain attributes of another individual. The attributes are primarily of the inferential rather than the perceptual variety, he feels. These attributes represent the other's needs, intentions, opinions and beliefs, and his emotional, perceptual, or intellectual capacities and limitations. The estimate of these attributes, as suggested by Flavell, represents a synthesis of information from two sources: a) his knowledge of people and their behavior in various situations (including knowledge of this particular other and his habits); b) perceptual input from the overt behavior of the other or from other cue sources in the immediate situation. To use Sarbin's (1954) terminology, then, the estimate of the other is based on an integration of the subject's preexisting role expectations and his current role perception. This basic information processing is referred to as discrimination of role attributes in the other. This process of role attribute discrimination is conceptualized as only a part of a larger context of motives and behavior.

One important by-product of role taking development during social interaction with peers during early childhood is the resulting decrease in egocentricity. Egocentricity is described by Piaget (in Flavell, 1968) as the inability to realise perspective difference; it taints the child's efforts in virtually all spheres of activity. Piaget sees role taking activity and communication as problem solving situations involving great skill for their solutions. He sees the decline in egocentricity as resulting from reinforcement- often negative- emanating from interaction with peers. He states:

> ...social interaction is the principle liberating factor, particularly social interaction with peers. In the course of his contacts (and especially his conflicts and arguments) with other children, the child increasingly finds himself forced to re-examine

> his percepts and conceptions in the light of those others and by so doing gradually rids himself of his cognitive egocentrism.
> (Flavell, 1968, p.18)

During early childhood, there are two levels of social cognition which we propose reflect different levels of role taking ability.

1.) Recognition of and sensitivity to different perspectives in a variety of social settings. There is a basic appreciation by the child of different perspectives between self and other under a variety of social conditions.

2.) Recognition and comprehension of social roles. The child recognizes that adults and children, males and females take somewhat different roles in different situational and interpersonal contexts, knows what is expected of others and self in those different contexts, and takes these role expectations into account in his own behavior.

Therefore, there is not only a recognition or differentiation of the perspective of the other, but an integration of this information with his own previously held social role expectations. It is therefore this integration which should account for the child's own behavioral repertoire.

Because role taking makes possible both the manipulation of other people and adjustment to them, appropriate behavior should be more frequent when egocentricity is on the decline. Progressive decline in egocentricity, therefore, seems to serve a virtual survival capacity during peer interaction, and has a powerful effect, consequently, on the way in which the child views himself.

Self Concept:

Cottrell (1969) considers the "role taking" process as central for the emergence of the self. The human interactant acquires the responses of the other to his own acts in such a way that he can respond to himself as he has perceived the other to respond. In this way he can become an object to himself. This view suggests, then, that one can perceive his actions and their meanings only from the response standpoint of another involved in the interact. Cottrell notes:

> We literally do not know what we are doing; nor even what or who we are except in terms of the response of others that give meaning to our acts and define us to ourselves.
> (Cottrell, 1969, p. 547)

Cottrell's theorizing, therefore, is structured on the supposition that what we experience as self is a reflexive product of social interaction. He states:

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> When an actor's incipient or overt acts evoke within his own reactive system the responses of others to those acts, he experiences an essential element in what is referred to as a self. So far as we know, this is the only way a self is achieved.
> (Cottrell, 1969, p.548)

Further, Cottrell conceptualizes the self system as having basic functions in personality such as serving as a monitoring, direction-maintaining, decision reference system; it serves also in providing the person with that "sense of being" without which human life would be unbearable.

During early childhood the self system evolves from one which is entirely egocentric, or self-centered, to one which can take the other person's point of view into account. In both personal and interpersonal matters, Piaget states that the development of the system reveals the same progressive objectification which occurs with respect to physical reality. Both Piaget and Erikson suggest that the developing person does not become a true individual or personality until he has integrated his thoughts and feelings about himself into a total life perspective which expands beyond personal interest to the whole of mankind (Piaget, 1968, p. XV). Piaget states that at the onset of mental evolution there is no definite differentiation between self and the external world. Impressions that are experienced and perceived are not attached to a personal consciousness sensed as a "self".

Sensorimotor intelligence which occurs in social interaction with both animate and inanimate objects leads to decentering- the first (primitive) role taking process which allows for the differentiation of self from non-self. Thus, the attainment of a distinct or conscious sense of self occurs only after decentration by the developing infant. During the egocentric period (pre-operational stage), during which we are concerned, Piaget suggests that feelings of evaluation by the child evolve from the accumulation of successes and failures of his own activities.

M. Brewster Smith (1968) states that the child's sense of self has its origins in two distinquishable sources of input which are in agreement with other theorists previously mentioned: 1) the feedback the child receives concerning the consequences of his actions on the world of physical objects, as stressed by both White and Piaget; and 2) feedback from the mirror of social response and appraisal which reflects the symbolic interactionist tradition. In fact, Piaget suggests that it is in the social interact that some of the most devastating feelings concerning the self occur, and many times precipitate from the child's production of inappropriate behaviors which are responded to with negative feedback from peers.

To illustrate the interrelatedness of both self concept development and role taking ability to successful social interaction, teacher ratings will be obtained from a rating scale constructed to measure the adequacy of preschool children's interpersonal behavior as a means of construct validation.

Racial Attitudes:

Racial identification and race consciousness have been suggested by the literature as being a part of larger psychological processes. Racial identification has been assumed to be indicative of consciousness of self. Research has attempted to show that negative racial attitudes in black children suggest a lack of race pride. Race pride functions to bolster one's self respect and to exalt one's self conception. Although many of the researchers conducting empirical studies on race awareness and racial attitudes in young children have been rather careful in their interpretations of the findings, the reviewers of the literature have been the most blatant misusers of the data. The majority of this research shows that black children exhibit clear preferences for the color white and white persons (that is, pictures, dolls etc.) and usually assign brown dolls to poorer housing, poorer dress, and inferior roles (see Williams, Williams and Edwards, Williams and Roberson, Clark and Clark, Goodman etc. cited in Spencer, 1970; Porter, 1971). Reviewers of this material have been very "free" in concluding that such evidence suggests self doubt, self hatred, and identity problems. However, there is a lack of empirical data relating directly self concept measures and racial attitude measures on the same children This type of research is needed inorder to state definitively the relationship between racial attitudes and self concept development. Studies by Goodman (1952), Baughman and Dahlstrom (1968), &Rosenberg and Simmons (1971) suggest that black children do have positive self concepts although having a marked preference for lighter skin color.

In view of the more recent research, it is felt, therefore, that the assumption of self hatred in the past involved an unwarrented inferential leap lacking empirical support. Accordingly, a second major focus of the study will be an attempt to delineate the relationship between racial attitudes and self concept development.

The proposed study, then, reflects two major foci and their interrelatedness. Therefore, on the basis of the ideas presented thus far, it seems important to explore several clusters of variables.

One major focus of the proposed study involves the evolution of the self in the course of social interaction, and as suggested by Cottrell and other representatives of the symbolic interactionist tradition, successful interpersonal relations is dependent upon role taking ability. It seems useful, then, to investigate specifically the predictability of self concept from role taking ability. In addition, based on the previous ideas, it seems expedient to explore the relationship of interpersonal behavior and social cognition. Therefore, this first cluster of variables (social cognition, self concept, and interpersonal behavior) allows us to ask specific questions and to generate hypotheses for one mjaor focus of the proposed study. Social cognition is a developmental function in need of exploration with black children. Differences in role taking ability, therefore, are expected between the four and five year olds participating in the study.

A second cluster of variables, which represents the second major focus of the proposed study, involves the relationship of the following variables to each other: self concept, racial attitudes, and race awareness. Specifically, in view of the research on racial attitude formation in black preschoolers which concludes that such attitudes infer self hatred and negative self conceptions, it seems necessary to measure both variables on the same children inorder to state clearly the nature of the relationship between racial attitudes and self concept development. Pilot work by this writer, in fact, illustrates that both negative and positive racial attitudes are attributable to preschoolers with positive self concepts. In addition, because research has suggested that social class is an important component of self concept (Porter, 1971) and that there are class differences in cognizance of color differences, it seems timely to question specifically the relationship of self concept to race awareness. As the last question of this second cluster of variables, the relatedness of race awareness and racial attitudes needsinvestigating. In fact, Porter (1971) states that racial awareness should be considered before interpreting racial preference responses. She notes- as a general problem of validity- that awareness results indicate whether preference choices are actual racial attitudes or are based on nonracial factors (P.205).

Cluster three, containing the final and less important variables, allows us to question the relationship between role taking and race awareness along with role taking and racial attitudes. Both of these relationships reflect an overlap between the first two clusters which should be expected since self concept as a variable is present in both major clusters. Just such a relationship may be implied from Proshansky and Newton (1968) and Porter (1971) who note that both awareness of racial differences and evaluative feelings concerning racial groups occur in the course of social interaction, and as previously described social cognition also evolves during early childhood in the course of social interaction with peers. The expectation of such a relationship, therefore, seems valid.

A relationship between role taking ability and verbal ability will be explored since each involves an intellective process. Based upon previous research, differences in self concept, racial attitudes, and race awareness are expected due to SES effects. Because of the ambiguous body of literature on racial attitudes and sex differences, possible sex differences will be examined. Specifically, some of the literature concludes that because personal appearance is more important for girls than for boys, girls should be more aware of race and its evaluation. However, no such differences were found by this writer in a master's paper.

Last to be examined in this third cluster will be possible trends due to differences in schools- of which there are six- in this proposed study. Because schools may differ in racial make-up, SES, and educational philosophies, all of which have been implicated with academic performance, possible data trends will be investigated.

MAJOR HYPOTHESES

Part 1 (Refers to cluster one variables)

1. Feelings about the self evolve in the course of peer interaction, and successful social interaction with peers is dependent upon role taking ability, therefore, self concept should be predictive from role taking ability.

2. Social cognition is important for interpersonal competence for four and five year olds. Interpersonal competence should be predictive from role taking ability (social cognition).

3. Self concept development occurs in the course of social interaction and should be predictable from teacher ratings on interpersonal behaviors.

4. Because social cognition is a developmental variable and five year olds have had more social experience than have four year olds, there should be a significant difference in role taking ability between the two groups.

Part 11 (Refers to cluster two variables)

5. A non-linear relationship is expected between racial attitudes and self concept.

6. Race awareness is expected to be positively related to self concept.

7. Race awareness is expected tobe positively related to racial attitudes.

MINOR RELATIONSHIPS TO BE EXAMINED

Part 111 (Refers to cluster three variables)

1. Because racial attitudes evolve in the course of social interaction and the attitudes of others are involved, social cognition is expected to be related to racial attitudes.

2. Role taking ability and race awareness are expected to be related.

3. An intellective process is related to a function of role taking ability and ,therefore, increased verbal ability should be positively related to high role taking scores.

4. Effects on self concept due to SES differences will be examin

5. Influences of sex on racial attitudes will be explored.

6. Possible differences in racial attitudes and role taking ability due to school effects will be examined.

DESIGN

Subjects

Approximately 150 children will represent the subject pool for the proposed study. These Afro-american children will be members of either the four year old or five year old (kindergarten) groups of their respective schools. Both sexes will be included and will be representative of either working class (WC) or middle class (MC) socio-economic status black families.

The children will be drawn from six privately owned and operated predominately black preschools on the Southside of Chicago. All schools except one are described by the owners themselves as being populated mainly by children of WC parents. The one exception is a privately owned MC preschool/grade school. Each school is described separately in the appendix.

Procedure:

All children will be given two role taking tasks and will be classified as being either _above_ or _below_ the mean on role taking ability. Additional data will be collected on:

1. performance on two tasks for self concept development
2. responses of the teachers on a rating scale for the children's interpersonal behavior as a means of construct validation
3. performance on a racial attitude measure
4. performance on a race awareness task
5. performance on a measure for verbal ability
6. information relating to the SES background of the parents
7. detailed descriptions of the individual preschools

Items one through five will provide data which will either support or refute the hypotheses proposed in this study. Items six will be of value for purposes of statistical control. Item seven will provide data of value for answering other related questions.

Measures

ROLE TAKING ABILITY-

1. The "Little Bear" Test for Affect Differentiation (Block and Block, 1972)

   This test will be used to assess the recognition of _perspective difference_. The task calls for the child to assess the internal state of Little Bear in a variety of social settings. The test attempts to assess the child's ability to _spontaneously_ differentiate affective states of Little Bear. The task consists of fifteen black and white illustrated cards depicting Little Bear in various situations. For each picture _S_ is asked: "_Tell_ me about Little Bear in this picture?" Affective responses are recorded both on a response sheet and verbatim on a cassette recorder. Items for which no affective responses were given are noted. After asking the same question for each of the 15 pictures, the missed pictures (i.e.-- those pictures for which no affective responses were given) are re-asked with the question: "Can you tell me how Little Bear FEELS in this picture?" This second question, then, "pulls" for affective responses. Again, the responses are recorded as in the previous manner.

The fifteen 6" X 9" cards are administered in a pre-set order. Only explicit affects describing either the emotional state (Ex. disgusted, mad, scared, happy, sad, glad) or physical state (Ex. hungry, cold, warm, sick, tired) of Little Bear will be scored as affective statements (usually adjectives or nouns).

2. The Birthday Gift Buying Test (Spencer, 1973)

This social-cognitive role taking task was devised to detect not only the recognition of perspective difference, but also the integration of this information with the child's own previously held views of social roles. The task was based on the work of Flavell (1968) and Miller, Kessel and Flavell (1970).

This task discriminates three levels of complexity for role taking. Materials for this task include an upright storefront with exemplars of the following in front: a man's tie, nylons, an adult book, a toy truck, and a child's doll. Each child is encouraged to identify each item.

LEVEL 1- The child is shown an 8½" X 11" black and white illustrated picture of an Afro-american group. There is a child, a young adult woman, and an older man and woman. E introduces the group to S as the Smith family and the teacher (depicted in the picture as the younger adult woman). S is told that today is everyone's birthday, and that each member is allowed to purchase a gift for himself at the store. The child is then asked what each person would purchase from the selection available at the store. Each child is asked to explain the reason for his choice. Responses are recorded on a response sheet.
(NOTE: If S is a male, the illustration used so one in which the child pictured is a female; if S is a girl, the illustration used is one in which the child pictured is a male)

LEVEL 2- Initially, a child is shown examples of people with "balloons" overhead to insure that each understands that the person illustrated is thinking about the person appearing in the balloon. Again, the child is shown a group picture of a boy, a young woman, and an older man and woman- The Smith family and teacher. Each person is shown with a balloon overhead depicting "a thinking process".

Each person being thought about is of the opposite sex, and some are also of the opposite age range. The child is told that these people have come to the store to buy a gift for someone whom they are thinking about. S is asked to select the item which will be purchased by each person. Reasons for each choice are asked. Responses are recorded on data sheets.

**The child, therefore, is being asked to take the role of another who "the other" is thinking about. See Figure 1 for an illustration.

LEVEL 3- This task is identical to Level 2 except the person being thought about is also thinking about someone. This is illustrated in Figure 2.

As on Level 2, examples are shown the child to ascertain that he understands the sequence of thought. Each continuously "thinking" and thought about persons are either of a different age range or of the opposite sex or both. The question which is slowly and carefully asked the child for each illustrated person this time is: "Now, (S's name), here is a customer (points only at the customer in the picture) who is thinking about someone who has to buy a gift for a friend whom he is thinking about. What gift could be bought here at the store for that friend?" Reasons are asked for all choices. Responses are recorded on a data sheet.

**At this level, the child is asked to undertake a three-step role taking process. He is asked to cognize the social role of a third person who is THE SUBJECT OF ANOTHER WHO"THE OTHER" (the customer) IS THINKING ABOUT.

SELF CONCEPT ASSESSMENT-

1. The Thomas Self Concept Values Test (Thomas, 1967)

Children are asked to report their perceptions of themselves and their perceptions of their mother's, teachers, and peers' perceptions of them on each of 14 items while looking at a photograph of himself. The picture is taken with a polaroid camera just prior to the test administration. The purpose of the photograph is to aid the child in gaining some degree of "objectivity" about himself. The method, therefore, controls for sex, color of skin, quality of clothing, and ease of identification and projection. The test attempts to get at the child's self concept by using two components of self concept: self as object and self as subject. The former component is tapped by asking the child to rate himself as his mother, teacher, and peer would. The latter component is tapped by having the child to rate himself as he perceives himself. Some of the factors included in the fourteen items include happiness, sociability, ability, cleanliness, attractiveness, and others.

Directions for the test are very specific. Ss have no trouble understanding the instructions and seemingly enjoy the pro-

Figure One

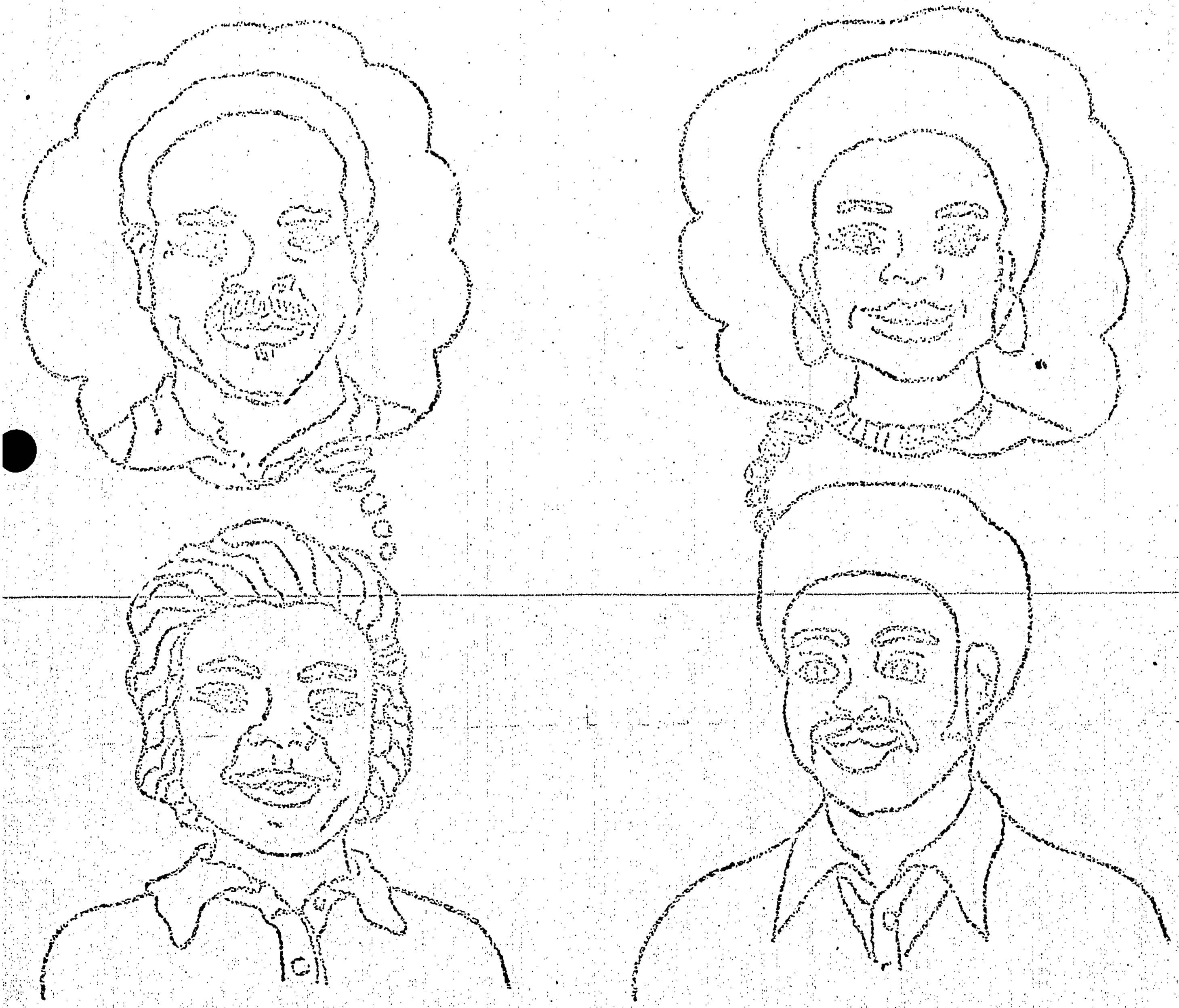
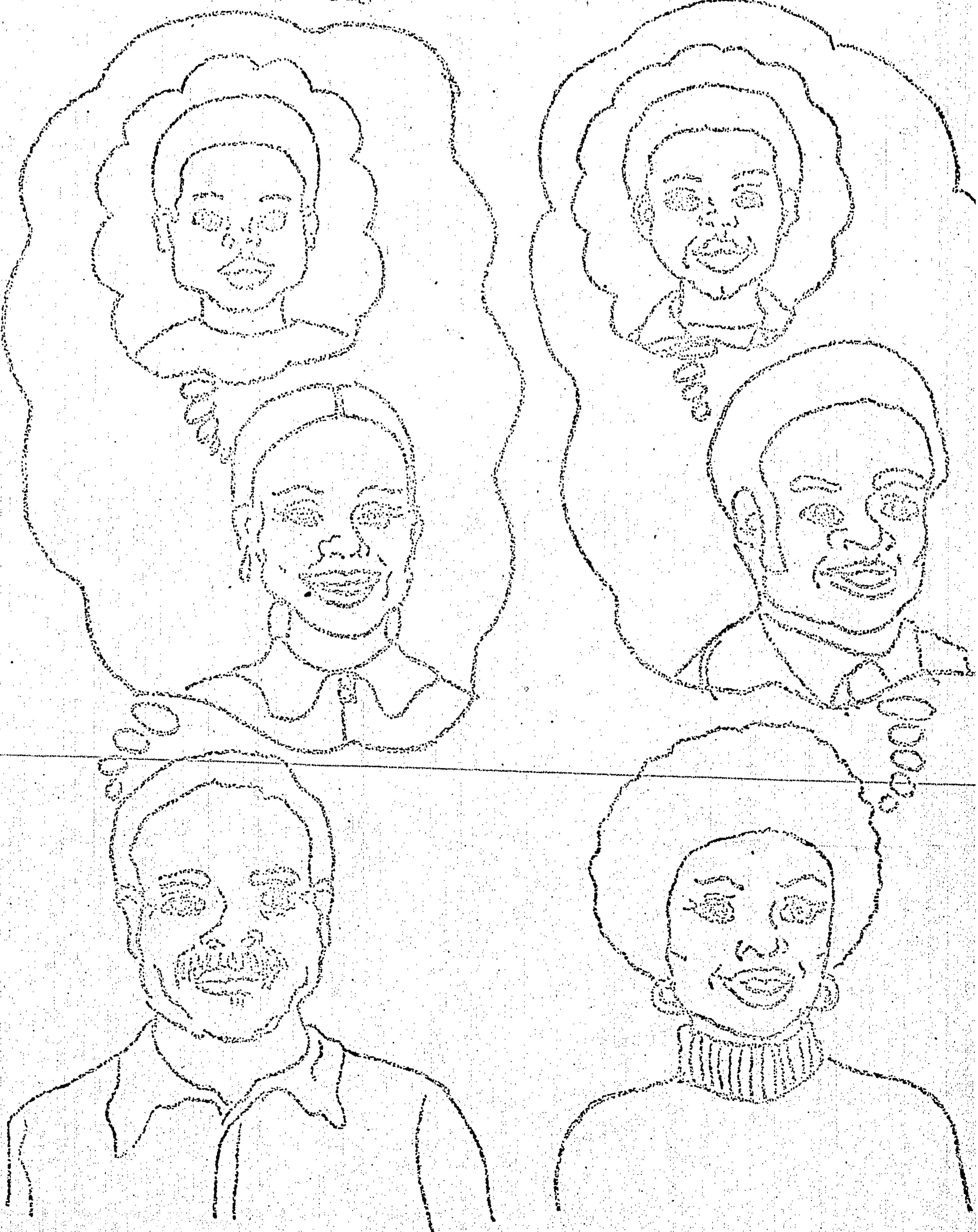


Figure Two



cedure. Children are allowed to keep the picture upon completion of the task.

2. The Self Concept and Motivation Inventory (SCAMIN)-(Farrah, Milchus and Reitz, 1968)

Each child receives a response sheet which has a total of 24 items on both sides. Each item consists of an object followed by three faces which differ in facial expression. The first face is frowning, the second has a "deadpan" expression, and the third is smiling broadly. For each item the child is asked- as an example: "What face would you wear if you could tell a friend something that you had learned in school?" The child is asked to color in the nose of the face representing his choice of facial expression. The objects preceding each item are used to aid the child in maintaining his "place" or line. The task is administered in groups of two. A demonstration of the task is given prior to administration.

The elements of the self concept score are role expectations and self adequacy. The elements of motivation are achievemen needs and achievement investment. The academic self concept then, is how a child views his role as a learner in school. It reflects the student's sum of experiences, perceptions, attitudes, and feelings about school and school work. Academic motivation is the expressed need of a child to achieve a goal in school, and the moderate avoidance of the child toward failure in school- avoidance below the point of anxiet

Because the role expectation and self adequacy scores were found to be highly correlated, those scores are summed to obtain one self concept score.

INTERPERSONAL BEHAVIOR-

California Preschool Social Competency Scale (Levine, Elzey, and Lewis, 1969)

This scale was designed to measure the adequacy of preschool children's interpersonal behavior and the degree to which they assume social responsibility. As used, social competenc is considered functionally related to specific cultural experiences which adds to its general usefulness. Some of the critical behaviors rated include: response to the unfamiliar, making explanations, sharing, helping others, initiating activities etc. Each subject will have a response sheet which will be rated by his preschool teacher.

RACIAL ATTITUDES-

The Racial Attitude and Preference Procedure- (Spencer, 1970)

This picture-card procedure was originially designed by

Williams and Roberson (1967), and was revised and modified to obtain a measure of attitudes toward and preference for "dark-skinned" (black) and "light-skinned" (caucasian) persons. In this procedure, eight 15" X 22" cards consists of two full-length drawings of two children playing who are identical except for hair texture and skin color (caucasian children were depicted as having pinkish-tan skin, while black children were medium-dark brown).

Each card is accompanied by a story. An example of this procedure would be: "Here are two boys playing. Everyone says how ugly one boy is. Which is the ugly boy?" In order to get a measure of the subject's racial preference, some stories asked were: "Here are two girls. One girl would make a very nice playmate. Which would you ask to be your playmate?". A total of 32 responses are elicited from the picture-cards presented. Responses are recorded on data sheets.

RACE AWARENESS-

Paper Doll Cut-Outs Race Awareness Task (Spencer, 1973)

For this task, children are first asked to sort four paper doll cut-outs consisting of black and white, male and female children on the dominant characteristic distinguishing two pictures- which in the first case is sex. Afterwards, the children were asked to sort the same paper-doll cut-outs between two different pictures where the salient difference between the two was race. The basic rationale behind this task was that if the children were able to sort by sex when that was the dominant characteristic difference between the two pictures, they should be able to sort by race when that was the salient distinction. Responses are recorded on data sheets. Explanations were requested for the specific sorting pattern.

VERBAL ABILITY-

The Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test (Dunn, 1959)

This test will be administered individually to each child.

Pilot Data:

Pilot data were obtained on all instrument to ascertain that each would yield a wide variation of responses. Because there were a large number of instruments tobe piloted, modified, and repiloted when necessary, few children in the pilot study as a group were tested on more than one of the instruments together. Therefore, there is little preliminary data to show the relatedness of the variables to each other.

Reliability:

A sample of the test protocols will be scored independently by a second rater inorder to obtain evidence as to the reliability of the scoring procedure.

Data Analyses:

Part I (Refers to cluster one hypotheses)

To answer the first hypothesis, an AOV will be employed to determine the degree of variation obtainable on two measures of self concept (the dependent variable), when levels of role taking ability- either hi or low- represent the independent variable. Verbal ability will be used as a covariate if preliminary inspection of the data warrants it. Similarly, for the second hypothesis an AOV will be employed with levels of role taking as the independent variable and interpersonal behavior scores as the dependent variable. Regression analyses will be employed to determine the degree of variation for the self concept and interpersonal behavior scores accountable to differences (hi or low) in role taking ability.

Hypothesis three of this cluster will be answered by an AOV with two levels of interpersonal behavior as the independent variable, and scores on two self concept measures as the dependant variable. Correlation and regression analyses will be employed.

Age will be used as a classificatory variable if significant differences are apparent in the preliminary inspection of the data.

Part II (Refers to cluster two hypotheses)

Because the pilot data indicates a non-linear relationship between racial attitudes and self concept, it will be important to look beyond linear models in delineating this relationship.

Correlation and regression analyses will be employed on race awareness and self concept scores in addition to race awareness and racial attitude scores to determine the relationship of these variables to each other.

Part III (Refers to cluster three hypotheses)

These more minor relationships will be examined by employing a series of ANOVAS and correlation/regression analyses. Specifically, correlation and regression analyses will be used for determining the influence of social cognition on racial attitudes. Similarly, analyses will be employed to determine the interrelatedness of social cognition and race awareness.

Because role taking and verbal ability are expected to be significantly and positively related, correlation and regression analyses will be employed.

To determine the variation of self concept scores due to SES, an AOV will be used with levels of SES (middle and working classes) as the independent variable and self concept scores as the dependent variable. Correlation and regression analyses will also be employed.

The relationship of sex to racial attitudes will be explored by an AOV with levels of sex (male and female) as the independent variable, and scores on the racial attitude measure as the dependent variable. Analyses for correlation and regression will also be used.

Six levels of school effects (for the six different schools in the study) will serve as the independent variable in an ANOVA to determine possible school effects on both role taking ability and racial attitudes which will serve as the two dependent variables. Correlation and regression analyses will also be employed.

Implications of the Study

As expressed by a panel of experts meeting in Princeton, N.J. in January, 1973— "social competency" is "something more" than general intelligence. There is a need to explicate that "something more" as a basis for fostering and evaluating children's development. The case has been eloquently stated by M. Brewster Smith:

> What do we know, and what do we need to know, about the conditions under which people come to function as competent members of society? The question arises with urgency as the first generation of crash programs to instill competence in the poor and "culturally deprived" comes under skeptical review, and the path to the millenium remains to be discovered.
>
> (Smith, 1968, p.272)

We are in dire need, therefore, of explicating and defining those components of competence if we are to have an influence on breaking the cycle of incompetence. It is hoped that this proposed study sheds some light on some of these cognitive and personal-social components of social competence.

In addition, in view of the ambiguous body of literature on personality development and black children, it is hoped that the second focus of this study will aid in clarifying some of this literature.

Because there have been no longitudinal studies to assess the specific influences of the peer group and the school on the self concept development of black children, and the influences of this development on social competence, the expectation, therefore, is that this proposed research will serve as the first step for such a study.

OBSERVED DATA TRENDS:

There seems to be a relationship between role taking ability and verbal ability. Children who do well on both role taking tasks, also do well on the Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test. Being a developmental function, significant differences exist in the ability to role take between four and five year olds.

A non-linear or at least a zero correlation exists between self concept scores and racial attitude scores. That is, children may have both positive self concepts and negative racial attitudes. This seems to be the case for racial attitude scores and both self concept measures (the Thomas and the Scamin).

The majority of the children are aware of race as a social category, and when asked to verbalize reasons for their racial classifications, many are able to verbalize race as the reason for the sorting pattern. There is a group of children who "refuse" to sort by race when asked to do so. One may assume that these children find race to be very anxiety provoking.

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Appendix

The Preschools

Preschool A: This privately owned preschool/grade school is owned and operated by a mother-daughter pair who are also certified public school teachers. The four and five year old groups are in separate classrooms and are taught by certified teachers. There are 23 four year olds and 35 five year olds. The school, although not rigidly structured utilizes a highly authoritarian disciplinary style. The building itself is relatively new although lacking in decorations. There are separate rooms for arts and crafts, reading (a library), and music. There is one teacher's aid for the 4's and two teacher's aids for the 5's. There is no regular free play period for either group, although there are periods set aside for dancing, music, and arts & crafts instruction. The two owners are also teachers at the school and except for field trips, are always in the building. All the teachers are black except one grade school teacher. Some of the help are white (the cook and the person who takes attendance at the front door). None of the teachers could be described as overly warm and affectionate. Their main concern is each child's academic achievement.

Preschool B: The owner of this school is also the teacher for the five year olds. The preschool is located in a large three-store-front building. It is unusually clean, and is extremely bright, with colorfully aranged bulletin boards displaying the children's work. Although not a certified public school teacher, the owner is the only teacher there with some college training. She personally trains and supervises her staff, and requires that they attend seminars on preschool education when they are available. The discipline style would be classified as mainly democratic and only occassionally authoritarian. Mrs. T's feelings are that she is concerned about "the whole child- both his emotional and cognitive growth". All of the teachers and children here are black. There are 31 four and five year olds who are in separate groups. There are approximately 60 children in all. Unlike the other preschools, there is very little aggressive behavior exhibited by the children . The teachers are warm and act concerned about the children's needs; this is very obvious. It is the most well lit, well organized, well equipped, and cheerful of all six preschools. The day is well organized and structured with time alloted for free play.

Preschools C and D: These two preschools are owned by the same person although two blocks distant of each other. The owner is not on the premises daily, therefore, each has its own director. Both are very similar in physical condition being both bright and cheerful. Each has has an enrollment of 20 to 25 four and five year olds and an approximate total population of 40 to 45.

The directors at both centers are black, although there is one white teacher in residence at each of the schools. There are one or two white children at each of the schools. At neither school does the white teacher teach the children participating in the study. As was the case at preschool B, the disciplinarian style is mainly democratic. There are structured activities with time apportioned for free play. There are no college trained teachers at either school.

Appendix- continued

Preschool E: Although lacking somewhat in color and decorations, this preschool is owned by a very dynamic woman who also teaches the older (kindergarten) group of children. As was the case with preschool B's owner/teacher, this owner has had some college training and also continues her college training in the evenings. She and her staff also attend seminars when available on preschool education. The owners of Preschools B, C, D and E know each other from attending these seminars and institutes. However, in addition, the owners of preschools B and E are very good friends and describe their schools as being structured and operated very similarly. There are 25 four and five year olds at this school with a total number of approximately 50 in attendance. The disciplinarian style seems less democratic than B, C, and D and slightly more authoritarian. She is also concerned with "the whole child" so she feels that she must prepare them for a very "real" world.

Preschool F: This school is located two doors (plus a narrow driveway) from preschool E. However, it might just as well have been located in a different country. The owner is usually in residence, however, she does not have a regular group. The preschool is crowded, very dimly lit, lacks decorations, and is disorganized. This center would be more accurately described as a day care facility concerned with only the basic physical needs of the children. There is little or no attempt at developing cognitive skills. In fact, there is little effort aimed at maintaining order- except for a few sporadic attempts. The style of discipline is decidedly laissez-faire. Twenty four and five year olds are included in the study from this center. There are approximately 50 children enrolled at the center. All teachers and children are black. At all times of the day except for lunchtime and naptime, the children are engaged in free play activities. This is the only preschool where the caretakers are ordinarily seated. This is the only center participating in the study, in fact, where the children are virtually "running" the center.

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