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ABSTRACT

This paper discusses two areas of knowledge that educational professionals must develop to help resolve the crisis in the city and the suburbs. One area concerns key urban economic factors affecting elementary and secondary education. Eight factors are discussed: (a) the flight to suburbia, including some implications of the flight of the middle class; (b) city dwellers, who are largely the poor and disadvantaged; (c) diminishing funds for schools and public services; (d) serious education inequities; (e) steadily rising school costs, which include teacher and administrative salaries, and inflation; (f) the inner city--a syndrome of sociocultural disadvantaged; (g) some implications for the inner-city school curriculum; and (h) characteristics of teachers for the inner-city school, including a description of the Goldberg Model Inner City Teacher. The second area of knowledge concerns six special problems of the culturally disadvantaged that teachers face. Hyram's List of Seventeen Human Relations Principles, a list of teaching strategies based on the concept of human nature as essentially vast potentialities, and a list of teaching strategies and the human relations principles from which they flow are included. A 27-item bibliography is also included. (PD)

URBAN ECONOMIC FACTORS IN EDUCATION: THE KNOWLEDGE BASE FOR PRE- AND IN-SERVICE EDUCATIONAL PERSONNEL

by

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INTRODUCTION

The nation's cities are in deep and serious trouble - trouble which is becoming increasingly complex and widespread with each passing year. Unhappily at present, we see few if any signs that these difficulties have reached bottom. While city problems have manifested themselves in many different ways and to varying degrees throughout the nation - as bitter racial encounters, paralyzing labor strikes, the almost wholesale flight of the more affluent dwellers to suburban rings that are farther and farther from the once economic and cultural center, the loss of business and major industries, and the almost total financial collapse of the public and private elementary and secondary school systems - perhaps it is no exaggeration at all to say that the cities' troubles are all either directly financial or related in no small way to badly damaged economics.

It is, therefore, inescapable that the urban school - whether it be in the deeply troubled city or in the suburban rings of the urban sprawl - is a part of the urban crisis and suffers acutely the ill effects of such a crisis. Indeed, many citizens, who because they are taxpayers, parents, or students and consequently directly involved in the problems of the nation's schools, see its problems too, as largely issues of finance.[1]

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[1]Reischauer, Robert D., Hartman, Robert W., and Sullivan, Daniel J., Reforming School Finance (Studies in Social Economics), Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1973, p. vii.

Obviously, if the crisis of the cities and that of the schools that serve both the cities and the suburbs are to be met and resolved, many more citizens than are presently knowledgeable of the economic factors involved must become so. School personnel, whose roles as agents of constructive change in society are now generally recognized as legitimate functions, certainly are in great need of such understandings. Clearly, then, the following observation contains more than a grain of truth:

> The crisis of the cities is one of the most serious and persistent sociological problems confronting America. Urban (city or inner core as distinguished from suburbia) schools must stop being a part of this problem; they must become a significant part of the solution. If this is to happen, teachers preparing to work in the elementary/secondary systems must develop a highly sophisticated understanding of the unique urban factors which impinge on elementary/secondary education. This understanding will enable teachers to become significant instruments of change as they perform three vitally important functions:
>
> 1. Influence functional curriculum development with the result that students will be prepared for effective participation in the economic structure of the urban communities in which they live. In short, the newly developed curriculum must include as a vitally important aspect career education.
>
> 2. Provide educational leadership to laymen seeking to build better school systems with particular relevance to the needs of an increasingly complex urban region.
>
> 3. Raise the level of economic literacy both of themselves as professional educators and of the students whom they guide and direct.

This paper represents a minor effort to suggest at least some of the needed knowledge base which teachers, school administrators, and other educational professionals must develop if they are to help resolve the crisis - both in the city and in the suburbs. Toward this end, and fifth of the six guideline questions given below:

1. What are the most salient factors - together with their economic roots - which are unique to the urban centers of the United States and which impinge in a crucial way upon the elementary and secondary educational opportunities provided in these centers?

2. How does each of a selected number of these urban economic factors relate to the kind of curriculum the urban school - particularly the city or inner city elementary and secondary school - must provide if the learners they serve are to be prepared for effective and constructive participation in the economic structure of the urban communities in which they live?

3. What should be the roles of the elementary and secondary schools in career education?

4. What implications does each of the selected urban economic factors have for the development of educational leadership among school people for lay persons seeking to build better school systems?

5. What special relevance does each of these factors have for both pre- and in-service development of educational personnel?

6. How can school people be helped to grow in their own levels of economic literacy and in their abilities to raise their students' levels in this area?

The necessary limitation of the scope of this paper permits only a passing reference to the remaining three questions. Possibly a second monograph devoted specifically to them can be presented later.

Key Urban Economic Factors Affecting Elementary and Secondary Education

Unquestionably there have been and no doubt will continue to be many forces peculiar to the nation's cities which collectively create a crisis condition within these areas. Among these forces probably the following are the most common and significant:

1. Rapid and drastic changes both in the number of city dwellers and in their employability.

2. Inadequate and diminishing sources of revenues both for the schools serving the cities and for other crucial public services.

3. Significant rise in the crime rate or at least a significant increase in the belief that such a rise is high.

4. A growing preponderance within the city population of the poor, the disadvantaged, and minority groups who are predominantly among the poor and the disadvantaged.[1]

5. Serious funding inequities among the various school districts within the metropolitan (urban) area.

6. Steadily rising costs of all public services including education.

7. Disenchantment of inner-city learners relative to the elementary and secondary school and corresponding distrust on the part of their parents of these schools.

8. Significant rise in unemployment - particularly among city dwellers who are members of minority groups.

9. Rapid growth of the strength of teacher unions and of teacher association inclinations toward collective bargaining.

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[1]The writer suggests that a clear distinction be made between people who are poor and those who are disadvantaged. The disadvantaged are usually not only poor economically, but also significantly psychologically damaged by the poverty syndrome in which they daily live. While it is true that the poor are financially at a disadvantage because they simply do not have sufficient incomes with which to buy the necessities and niceties of life, the disadvantaged are not only usually lacking in income, but perhaps more importantly are also victims of serious cultural deficits and of experiences in society which render them very frequently lacking in self-confidence and in values and styles of inter-personal living necessary for success in a highly technological society.

10. Racial inequities and consequent racial confrontations.

11. Spectacular rate of building and neighborhood abandonment within the cities.

While there are no doubt many other urban factors which make for a crisis situation, we shall in this paper confine our discussion to some of those listed above. It might be helpful to keep in mind that individual urban communities throughout the nation have problems peculiar to them because of their own unique circumstances. For example, the City of Saint Louis has in addition to the eleven key factors enumerated above still another - a traditional and somewhat heated rivalry between it and the now burgeoning Saint Louis County, which almost surrounds it and from which it is politically separated, for dominance in the cultural and economic life of the metropolitan area.

Let us now explore very briefly a few of these key economic or economic-related factors in the hope that our review - though necessarily cursory - will reveal areas of understanding which both pre- and in-service school personnel at both the elementary and secondary levels will find meaningful and useful as they endeavor to serve as change agents in the nation's urban schools.

1. The Flight to Suburbia

It is a matter of record and of common knowledge that most, if not all of the nation's cities are experiencing significant losses in population to their surrounding suburbs. Indeed, in many instances, the city per se has long since ceased to be synonymous with the term urban, but has become instead the core or inner section of an urban sprawl which in many cases includes several counties. It is this wide expanse of land and people which is truly urbania, but the crisis is frequently almost exclusively confined to the inner-city except for the various school districts now serving the

children of the urban sprawl. For these various school systems the crisis is real and growing worse each year for reasons we shall soon see.

Banfield put it somewhat this way -

> In many, if not most of the cities of our nation, there are miles of slum and even larger areas of dreary blight and chaotic sprawl. The result is that these cities are about to become uninhabitable - or at least - are so perceived by a growing number of city residents. Yet, the overwhelming majority of urban dwellers live more comfortably and conveniently today than ever before. That many city dwellers do not share in this beneficence is probably because they are denied access to it because of racial prejudice or other variables that are equally beyond their control.[1]

Obviously, Banfield was not thinking of the urban schools since many of them in both the inner-city and the surrounding suburbs are in serious financial difficulty. Perhaps the City of Saint Louis and its suburbs will give us some idea of this and other variables constituting the urban crisis - particularly those stemming from the "escape to suburbia".

While the City of Saint Louis probably exceeds in many important ways what is typically happening to most of the cities of the nation, the exodus of its more affluent dwellers and middle class might be understandably cited as at least a dramatic example of what is going on - perhaps to a lesser degree - all over the country. The following chart[2] taken from an unusual report of the Superintendent of Instruction of the Saint Louis Public Schools is indicative of the near-death blow under which that city is reeling because of the flight to the suburbs.

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[1]The passage presented above is a paraphrase of a position taken by Banfield. The position is in substance that there is really no urban crisis - only a crisis of the nation's cities. See Edward C. Banfield's The Unheavenly City (The Nature and Future of Our Urban Crisis), Boston: Little Brown and Company, 1968, pp. 3-22.

[2]Taken from St. Louis Scoreboard (a report from the Superintendent of Instruction, St. Louis Public Schools), 1970.

	City of Saint Louis*			Saint Louis County**		
	White	Black	Total	White	Black	Total
1950	702,400	154,400	856,800	389,200	17,100	406,300
1960	534,000	216,000	750,000	684,300	19,700	704,00
1970	376,000	291,500	667,500	1,011,900	43,200	1,055,100

As is obvious from this chart, within two decades the City of Saint Louis went down from a population of almost one million to that of a little more than half a million, while its immediate suburban ring - Saint Louis County went from a population of little less than half a million to slightly more than a million. A more recent report of a study conducted by the Rand Corporation covering the period 1960 to 1970 shows than in 1970 the population of the Saint Louis Metropolitan area - a region which includes counties in the State of Illinois as well as several State of Missouri counties in addition to Saint Louis County - was approximately 2 1/2 million and that of this number, the city (the inner-core of the urban sprawl) and about 2/3 of its next outer-ring (Saint Louis County) had about 3/4 of the metropolitan population. Saint Louis City had 622,000 - some 45,000 less than the estimate of the City Plan Commission - while Saint Louis County had 951,000 - some 94,000 less than the Gateway Coordinating Council's estimate.

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*The sources for these figures were the 1950 and 1960 U.S. Census and the 1970 estimates by Robert Gladstone and Associates for the City Plan Commission.

**The source for these figures was the East-West Gateway Coordinating Council of Saint Louis County.

The Rand Report summarized the situation thusly:

> There has been a strong westward progression in the area's settlment pattern which has meant a continuing reduction of Saint Louis' (the city) share of the area population and economic activity. Thus, from 1960 to 1970, the City's population declined 17% though the suburban population increased by more than one third; jobs declined close to 15% in the city, but nearly doubled in the suburbs.[1]

Without question this flight to the suburbs served as a kind of open flood gate to a rush of related problems which plagued the city and plunged in into a real crisis situation. Among these problems, the Rand Report cited the following:

1. A declining tax base
2. Rising costs of the public services provided.
3. A high crime rate
4. A problematic school system
5. High unemployment
6. A spectacular rate of building and neighborhood abandonment.
7. High crime rate.

Several predictions seem reasonable on the basis of these reports.

1. The population of the City of Saint Louis probably will bottom out at a little over a half a million while that of Saint Louis County will continue to grow probably well beyond one and a half million.
2. The white and middle class exodus from the city will continue at a substantial, but slower rate.
3. The black population - particularly at the low-income and disadvantaged level - will continue to increase in the city reaching beyond 50%. Indeed, it would not be surprising if this trend reached 70%.[2]

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[1] St. Louis Final Report, Rand Corporation, August, 1973.

[2] It is interesting to note that the Rand Report finds that the black population is migrating OUT OF THE CITY in sufficient numbers to more than cancel its natural increase in the city.

4. The black population will continue to increase in the County, but at a greatly accelerated rate. The out-migration of blacks - largely middle class - was not generally expected by whites who fled the city and will, no doubt, serve as a stimulus to even farther westward migration of whites into still another outer-ring of the urban sprawl. The economic ramifications of this continuous urban spread are many and complex:

   (a) an increase in mass transportation problems,
   (b) the further westward flight of industry and business,
   (c) school problems resulting from a sudden influx of black children in significant numbers, and many, many, more.

5. The city will soon be unable through its own resources either to provide high quality schools or other much needed public services. As a result, some major political re-organization of the Metropolitan area will be necessary.

It should be noted again that city after city across the nation is undergoing a similar de-population, though perhaps not to the same drastic degree as the City of Saint Louis.

Some Economic Implications of the Flight of the Middle Class

The following are but a few of the immediate economic implications of the mass exodus of middle class city dwellers to the suburban rings of the metropolitan area:

1. Possibly 70 to 80% of the children in the declining cities live in neighborhoods that are classified as poverty areas by federal guidelines. Thus, the pupils and students of the schools of the nation's cities are mostly children of the poor and disadvantaged and as a consequence bring with them to school many significant aspects of unreadiness for the kinds of learning activites which the school by its very nature must provide.

2. The few remaining areas of affluence or relative affluence within the cities have very small public school enrollments. As a result, the residents in these areas are little inclined to support drives to raise property taxes or bond levies for the schools.

3. City children in any given state probably receive 1/3 or more of that state's aid to dependent children. Similarly, city dwellers probably receive 15 to 25% of their state's public assistance.

4. City residents 65 years or older probably are rising in their percentage of the total population. Obviously these senior citizens in increasing numbers have relatively low incomes and are most inclined to view property taxes as serious attacks on fixed incomes already drastically reduced in their purchasing power by inflation.

Thus, through selective migration, such problems as discrimination, dependency, poverty, and declining revenues have become with each passing year increasingly located in the city or inner sections of the nation's urban areas. What these problems import for elementary and secondary education - both public and private - is first and perhaps most crucial of all, insufficient financial support for city services and especially its schools, disenchanted learners in these schools, and a real and significant re-segregation of these schools.

2. City Dwellers - Largely the Poor and the Disadvantaged

Most of the urban areas of the nation - like Metropolitan Saint Louis - constitute parts of a nation-wide system of migratory exchange. In many of these urban regions, particularly those on or near the borderline between northern and southern states, the migration of blacks is largely what the Rand Report has aptly called an urbanizing process because incoming blacks enter the cities mostly from rural origins while outgoing blacks from these same cities tend to go to other and perhaps larger metropolitan regions. Black in-migrants from impoverished rural areas are generally significantly less affluent and less vocationally prepared to gain employment in the cities than are native city blacks. On the other hand, however, departing blacks and other out-migrants from the city are likely to be more so. The result is a steady worsening of poverty and unemployment conditions within the nation's

cities even though both those who arrive and those who depart are in a real sense better off economically.[1]

The cities, then, tend to become pools of the unemployment-proned through migration. Evidence of this fact is further found in the Rand study which discovered through an analysis of the 1970 Census Public Use Sample data that while older white in-migrants to the City of Saint Louis had unemployment rates similar to those of long-termed residents, among blacks, recent in-migrants at any age are no different from long-termed city black residents with respect to unemployment. Moreover, whites are only slightly more unemployed if they are recent in-migrants and then only the 20 to 24 age bracket is so. Blacks, on the other hand were found to be substantially more unemployed than whites by virtue of race-related - not migratory - factors.

Thus, when we note the steady increase in the black population of the nation's cities we are led to the inescapable conclusion that these cities are becoming more and more cities of the poor, the minorities, and the disadvantaged. Since the economic growth or decline of a city rests on many intangibles all of which are likely to be significantly and adversely affected by racial prejudice and fears generated by such prejudice, it is not at all surprising that the economic growth of the cities has steadily declined while that of the surrounding suburbs has correspondingly increased.

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[1]The Rand Report, pp. 29-30. Also, see Peter A. Morrison's The Impact and Significance of Rural-Urban Migration in the United States, p. 4752.

Evidence of the economic decline of the cities might be seen in the trend toward industrial decentralization - an economic phenomenon closely related to the flight of the middle class to the suburbs. The Rand study found that between 1960 and 1970 the City of Saint Louis' share of the metropolitan jobs declined from 61 to 42%. The table presented below shows how drastic the economies of the City of Saint Louis and of Saint Louis County were diverging during this period.

The Rand Report predicted that if these economic trends persist, by 1978, Saint Louis County will have captured a share of business activity approaching that usually associated with the central city of a metropolitan area.[1] In short, Saint Louis County will have become the economic and cultural center of Metropolitan Saint Louis!

	Saint Louis City	Suburbs
Total	-2.3%	6.3%
Government	5.3	7.1
Private	-3.1	6.1
Manufacturing	-4.4	3.5
T,C,&U[a]	-1.9	9.2
Trade	-5.1	11.7
FIRE[b]	-2.0	7.1
Services	3.0	7.1

[a]Transportation, Communications, and Utilities

[b]Finance, Insurance and Real Estate
SOURCE: Office of Business and Economics, Department of Commerce

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[1]The data for the table and for this conclusion came from J. Gardner and G. Payne, An Economic Analysis of General City Decline, Rand Corporation.

The table presented above was taken from the Rand Report, p. 34.

The Rand study also found that there is a strong relationship between the presence of blacks and a rapid exodus of whites at the neighborhood level; however, the report rejects as unsubstantiated the hypothesis that the city decline in population is largely a matter of white flight. Rather, the evidence seems to show that there is a lower relationship between race and central city decline than between the city's age and its decline. When three hypotheses are posited to explain the population change in Saint Louis and when a set of assumptions were applied which given as much weight as possible to job dispersion so that racial influence would have to be quite strong in order for its presence to be detected, the Rand Corporation investigators examined black and white departure rates from the City and adjusted these for inter-racial difference in income and job location within the metropolitan area. They found the following:

1. Within every income bracket for both blacks and whites, fewer people live in the city than would be expected given the spatial distribution of jobs.

2. At only the lowest and highest income levels did whites leave Saint Louis City faster than blacks. Thus, for most of the income distribution, blacks and whites were leaving the city at the SAME RATE during the 1960s.

3. The seeming clues as to why these moves took place were found to be: (a) the desire on the part of most of the out-migrants to own a single-dwelling home and to escape what they considered to be repellant neighborhood conditions, and (b) the perception of Saint Louis County as having better homes and neighborhoods.

It would seem, therefore, in the light of these findings that subcultural sytles that are directly related to family income rather than racial fears and antagonisms motivated both middle class blacks and whites to flee the City of Saint Louis and to seek what they believed would be a better life in the County. The result is that the City of Saint Louis - like so many of the nation's cities - is

fast becoming a city of the poor, the disadvantaged, and of minority groups - particularly blacks - who find themselves both poor and disadvantaged.

3. Diminishing Funds for Schools and Public Services

Insofar as public education is concerned in the nation's urban centers, this third problem among those constituting the crisis of the cities extends to the whole urban region. As noted earlier in this paper, educators and specialists in the field of economics have generally recognized that the problems of our elementary and secondary educational systems are either directly or indirectly grounded in issues that are chiefly financial. The following questions are among those crucial financial issues:

1. Is the present practice of financing the nation's public elementary and secondary school systems almost exclusively through local property taxes financially viable?[1]

2. To what extent does this system of school financing make for inequity of educational opportunity within a metropolitan area?

3. To what extent does this system make for inequity in the distribution of the school tax burden?

4. To what extent does this system limit the educational choices available to parents?

Reischauer, Hartman, and Sullivan in their remarkably clear and well-documented report titled Reforming School Finance, offer compelling answers to these four questions. As to the first of these questions - the fiscal viability of the local property tax, these researchers found the following facts:

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[1] It should be noted that while most of the public elementary and secondary school systems throughout the United States are primarily supported by local property taxes, those of Hawaii and Alaska are mainly supported by these states.

1. In 1971-72, about 52% of the total revenue of the nation's public elementary and secondary school systems was raised by the local school districts in which that money was spent.

2. Approximately 82% of this local district raised money came from property taxes - which often were the ONLY form of taxation available to the school district.

3. This source of revenue during the past decade has proved to be woefully inadequate for several reasons:

   (a) School expenditures have risen at the extremely rapid rate of 10% a year since 1970 largely because of a combination of several factors, including expanded pupil enrollment and rising prices both of instructional materials and of the instructors themselves.[1]

   (b) Local property holders have for a variety of reasons grown increasingly reluctant to vote for increases in their property taxes. Many are convinced that such taxes are already inequitable and excessively high.

Unfortunately, the future does not appear to be any brighter for - as the Brookings Institition researchers observed - after considering the likelihood of (a) a leveling off of school enrollment in the mid-70's and an actual decline in 1980-81, (b) the glut of the teacher market in the 1970's, (c) the reduction of school expenditures through a number of cost-saving innovations with which some school districts are already experimenting, and (d) a growing conviction on the part of many districts that marginal changes in outlays per pupil produce very little in the way of improved academic performance -

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[1]The Reischauer (et al) report found that almost 2/3 of the increase in school expenditures per pupil was the direct result of increases in the salaries paid to teachers and other instructional personnel. One particularly significant cause of the rise in teaching costs was the decrease in the ratio of pupils to persons "engaged in instruction." More than 80% of the rise in cost per pupil during this decade was rising salaries and benefits.

> The prospects of a future aggragate balance between the needs and resources of school districts . . . (hides) the more fundamental question of distribution. Will the growth in available resources take place in the school districts with the greatest growth in educational needs? The answer to this question is clearly "no". In states that rely heavily upon local revenue sources to finance education, much of the growth in the school tax base will occur in suburban jurisdictions, while the unmet needs for improved education will be concentrated in the decaying cities and rural backwaters. As a result, while the fiscal system may seem healthy, in the aggregate or in the (few) states in which local financing (local property taxes) plays a minor role, increasing problems will plague many districts in which local taxpayers bear a significant share of the burden in school finance.[1]

So these researchers conclude that since the current and future fiscal problems of public elementary and secondary education in the United States stem largely from the nation's reliance on the local property tax as a source of school financing, and since even a drastic reform of this system of school financing would be difficult to administer, result in an inelastic tax with still inequitable distribution among the various school districts, a new source of school revenue must be adopted nation-wide - probably total state or federal funding.

Obviously, the central city school districts are more adversely affected by the financial difficulties cited above than are many suburban districts. In addition, the city school district's fiscal difficulties are compounded not so much by city voters who are reluctant to vote in higher school taxes and school bond issues as by a steadily declining property tax base resulting from decaying and abandoned buildings and by the flight of businesses and industries one after another to the suburbs. The growing strength of unionized

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[1]Reischauer, et al., op. cit., p. 38.

teaching staffs together with the trend of teacher associations to vie with unions as bargaining agents for teachers in a real sense is the proverbial straw breaking the backs of many city school districts that have been forced to resort to deficit spending in order to continue operations.

As for the second and third financial questions - unequity of educational opportunity within the various school districts and the unequal distribution of the school tax burden, countless examples can be shown of neighboring towns and cities within a given metropolitan area with identical school tax burdens, but with vastly different educational opportunities. In the next section we shall review in greater detail some of these inequities.

4. Serious Educational Inequities

Children living in different school districts throughout the nation - in spite of the fact that every state has compulsory school attendance and provides free education that is de jure non-segregated - do not receive equivalent education. Similarly, taxpayers residing in different towns, rural areas, and states do not bear to the same degree the burden for education of basically the same quality. Indeed, there are many school systems that do not receive funds in sufficient amounts to provide their pupils with even a minimally acceptable education.[1]

Until very recently, court tests of the constitutionality of this sad state of gross inequity of educational opportunity resulted in no remedies. However, in August of 1971, the California Supreme Court ruled that that state's method of financing elementary

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[1]Reischauer (et al), op. cit., p. 58.

and secondary schools - largely through local property taxes - violated the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment of the United States Constitution because this method discriminated on the basis of wealth - the wealth or lack of wealth of the various school districts throughout the state.[1] Other state or federal courts soon after handed down similar rulings. Today, there are legal challenges to similar state school financing methods in some twenty or more states. It now remains for these lower court decisions striking down the constitutionality of public school financing through local property taxes to be tested in the United States Supreme Court.

Whatever the High Court rules, the fact remains that educators and general citizens in increasing numbers are recognizing that a basic change in state financing of elementary and secondary education is imperative. The question might well be raised as to what these school expenditure inequities really are. Table 1 gives some idea of the magnitude of these disparities among the states.

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[1]Serrano vs. Priest, California Supreme Court 938254, L.A. 29820 (1971).

Table 1[1]

Elementary and Secondary Public School Expenditures per Pupil, by State, 1969-70 School year.

Dollars

State	High District	Low District
Alabama	580	294
Alaska	1,810	480
Arizona	2,900	410
Arkansas	1,005	294
California	3,187	402
Colorado	2,801	444
Connecticut	1,311	499
Delaware	1,081	633
Florida	1,036	582
Georgia	735	364
Hawaii	851	851
Idaho	3,172	483
Illinois	2,295	390
Indiana	961	373
Iowa	1,166	591
Kansas	1,572	489
Kentucky	885	344
Louisiana	922	499
Maine	1,966	215
Maryland	1,036	634
Massachusetts	4,243	454
Michigan	1,275	409
Minnesota	1,492	373
Mississippi	825	321
Missouri	1,929	213
Montana	8,515	467
Nebraska	3,417	274
Nevada	1,678	746
New Hampshire	1,356	280
New Jersey	2,876	484
New Mexico	1,183	477
New York	7,241	633
North Carolina	732	467
North Dakota	1,842	327
Ohio	1,684	412
Oklahoma	2,565	309
Oregon	4,941	431
Pennsylvania	4,230	535
Rhode Island	1,206	531
South Carolina	610	397
South Dakota	6,012	175
Tennessee	774	315
Texas	11,096	197
Utah	1,514	533
Vermont	1,517	357
Virginia	1,159	441
Washington	3,993	433
West Virginia	721	502
Wisconsin	1,391	408
Wyoming	14,554	617

Source: Review of Existing State School Finance Programs, Vol 2: Documentation of Disparities in the Financing of Public Elementary and Secondary School Systems - By State, A Commission Staff Report Submitted to the President's Commission on School Finance (The Commission, 1972), pp. 19ff., with corrections.

[1]Adapted from Reischauer (et al), op. cit., p. 11.

It is clear from this table that, at least in the amount of money available to each pupil for his or her education, the states differ immensely. It is also apparent that even within a given state, the school districts differ significantly in the amounts of money available to them for school purposes. Table 2 makes even more clear this disparity among the districts within the states.

Table 2[1]

Fiscal Capacity and Public School Enrollment Ratios for Selected Cities, Suburbs, and Rural Areas, 1969-70 School Year.

Money amounts in dollars

Area	Equalized property value		Personal Income		Public School enrollment as percentage of total population
	Per pupil	Per capita	Per pupil	Per capita	
Boston	20,661	3,120	20,345	3,099	15
Suburbs	32,520	6,775	18,715	3,899	21
Rural Massachusetts	53,144	12,315	14,021	3,249	23
New York City	47,625	6,546	27,270	3,736	14
Suburbs	37,640	8,131	22,421	4,843	22
Rural New York	20,582	5,139	10,296	2,574	25
Newark	19,815	4,089	11,344	2,498	22
Suburbs	48,443	8,909	25,936	4,629	18
Rural New Jersey	45,780	10,523	14,086	3,238	23
Philadelphia	24,057	3,549	20,614	3,041	15
Suburbs	26,952	5,246	20,085	3,909	19
Rural Pennsylvania	14,279	3,397	10,632	2,529	24
Wilmington	27,899	5,142	16,081	2,964	18
Suburbs	19,165	4,481	15,881	3,713	23
Rural Delaware	12,222	3,009	11,174	2,751	25
Baltimore	15,727	3,331	13,624	2,886	21
Suburbs	19,674	4,080	19,117	3,965	21
Rural Maryland	13,010	3,239	8,925	2,222	25
Cleveland	30,281	6,043	14,276	2,849	20
Suburbs	52,057	9,972	23,004	4,406	19
Rural Ohio	23,788	5,444	8,839	2,023	23
Detroit	16,808	3,271	16,920	3,227	19
Suburbs	15,644	3,990	15,785	4,026	26
Rural Michigan	11,032	3,033	8,977	2,468	27
Chicago	20,798	3,618	19,662	3,420	17
Suburbs	18,381	4,157	19,228	4,348	23
Rural Illinois	21,870	5,399	11,189	2,762	25
Milwaukee	30,875	5,671	17,445	3,204	18
Suburbs	40,176	8,822	18,694	4,105	22
Rural Wisconsin	21,989	5,433	9,519	2,352	25
Minneapolis-St. Paul	14,851	2,349	22,027	3,484	16
Suburbs	10,021	2,719	14,828	4,024	27
Rural Minnesota	8,746	2,276	8,799	2,290	26
St. Louis	15,314	2,825	15,025	2,772	18
Suburbs	14,260	3,024	19,081	4,046	21
Rural Missouri	10,290	2,249	10,143	2,217	22
Denver	13,255	2,474	19,055	3,557	19
Suburbs	7,068	1,920	13,791	3,747	27
Rural Colorado	8,738	2,272	9,554	2,484	26
San Francisco	24,108	3,056	33,832	4,289	13
Suburbs	13,955	3,042	21,307	4,644	22
Rural California	16,991	3,844	13,450	3,043	23

[1]Taken from Reischauer (et al) op. cit., p. 68.

The question now is why is there such wide variation in school expenditures per pupil? The answer is obviously in the wide variation in local property values and in local school district tax rates. It might come as something of a surprise to learn that some districts within a state have 10,000 times the fiscal capacity of others - even within the relatively narrow limits of a metropolitan region.

Netzer found that of 32 metropolitan areas for which tax data were available, 22 had taxable property per capita greater in their suburbs than in the central city.[1] But property values per pupil are often a relatively poor measure for comparing the ability of school districts to raise money. A district may always vote for a high tax rate or the district might be fortunate enough to have one or more rich industries which more than make up for either a low property tax rate or low property values. Economists tell us that family income or personal income is a far better index to a school district's ability to pay for the education of its children. Obviously, the family income per pupil is highest in the wealthy suburbs, though perhaps not as high in the average suburbs. Perhaps, then, the real determiner of a school district's fiscal ability is the WILLINGNESS of its voters to support education. This voter willingness often is directly proportional to who actually pays the school bill - the voters or local industry. As hinted at above, communities with large concentrations of industry and business are more willing generally to increase school taxes since for each additional school dollar, the property owners will have to pay only a fraction while industry pays for the rest.

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[1] Richard Netzer, Economics of the Property Tax, (Brookings Institution, 1961.)

It is the interaction of the differences in the ability of the various school districts to raise local school revenues and their willingness to do so that accounts for the wide disparity in tax rates and school income in the 17,000 or so school districts in the United States. Oddly enough, the districts that tax themselves the heaviest and still have the lowest funds for school purposes are those with the lowest property values and little or no local industry. At present, state and federal supplementary funding do very little to reduce these local disparities. Perhaps what is needed is full state or federal funding of all school districts based on some kind of tax - property or income - which would yield a pool from which equivalent allocations based on school population to the various school districts could be made.[1]

5. Steadily Rising School Costs

School economists tell us that during the past decade and a half, the total cost of public elementary and secondary education in terms of annual expenditures have more than tripled - rising from some $13.6 billion to a round $46.9 billion. The reasons for this staggering increase are many and complex. Nevertheless, two generally valid factors can and perhaps should be cited:

1. Teacher salaries
2. Inflation

These two factors have combined to increase the amount spent per pupil from $335 in 1957-58 to approximately $929 per pupil in 1970-71. Let us now examine very briefly each of these two school cost factors.

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[1]Reischauer (et al), discuss a variety of ways in which paths to fiscal equality among the nation's school districts might be achieved. See Reischauer (et al), op. cit., pp. 76-94.

Teacher and Administrative Salaries

Perhaps by far the greatest portion of the increase in school costs has been the rise in the salaries of administrators, teachers, and such other instructional personnel as librarians, guidance counselors, and the like. Studies show that more than 80% of the rise in outlays per pupil was for such salary increases. From 1967-68 to 1971-72 the average annual salaries of such personnel increased by approximately 90%, while those of other instructional personnel rose to over 100%. Such fringe benefits as pensions, health insurance programs, retirement and the like improved considerably during this time and no doubt contributed greatly to the overall cost of instruction. Possibly, too, the increased militancy and unionization of teachers are significant factors in the rapid rise in teacher salaries and benefits.[1]

Inflation

As in most areas of living in the United States, inflation has taken a heavy toll in education. The costs of textbooks, teaching materials of all kinds, supplies, and equipment have all been pushed upwards by at least 1/3. The cost of school construction has climbed to an all-time high of 65%. Finally, interest costs on new bonds issued by school districts have gone from 3.33% in 1962 to something like 5.5% in 1971.[2]

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[1]Several recent studies seem to suggest that the impact of unionization has had a relatively minor effect on the rise in teacher salaries and benefits.

[2]Source: Irene A. King, Bond Sales for Public School Purposes, 1970-71, U.S. Office of Education, National Center for Educational Statistics (1972), pp. 2,3, and 11.

6. The Inner-City - A Syndrome of Socio-Cultural Disadvantage

We have seen in preceding sections that the city - particularly the inner-city of the metropolis is fast becoming the dwelling place of the poor and the disadvantaged, a place of cumulative decay and of decreasing employment opportunities - especially for members of minority groups. Since the socio-cultural environment its economic opportunities or lack of such opportunities affects in no small way the ego-structure of those who spend their lives in such an environment, it would seem imperative that teachers in the urban schools become acquainted with that environment. It perhaps is not too far wrong to regard such an environment as a kind of syndrome whose many variables fall into two broad categories; (1) the environment of people and the multiplicity both in kind and number of the inter-personal relationships which are developed, and (2) the environment of culture - basically a sub-culture - with its unique values, attitudes, and patterns of living that are intricately inter-involved and expressed frequently as customs, dialect, unwritten laws, beliefs, and goals.

The following eight questions would appear to be paramount among those which pre- and in-service educational personnel must have fairly accurate answers to as they prepare for, or actually endeavor to work in city schools:

1. What is the physical environment in which culturally disadvantaged children grow up?

2. Who are the people who dwell within the syndrome of poverty? What racial and ethnic sub-groups are represented?

3. What are the personality characteristics of the adults who provide identification models within this syndrome?

4. To what extent and in what way do the values, attitudes, and behavioral strategies of disadvantaged adults influence the ego-development of disadvantaged youngsters?

5. What are some of the patterns of family life that are typical of the culturally disadvantaged - the presence or absence of parents, prevailing child-rearing practices, the various role-identifications, and the sibling relationships?

6. What are the prevailing attitudes of the dominant middle-class toward the culturally disadvantaged?

7. What inter-personal relationships have these attitudes led to and how have the former affected the ego-structure of the culturally disadvantaged?

8. What are the factors that characterize peer-group relationships among the disadvantaged? How have these factors influenced ego-development?

Let us endeavor in this section to answer at least in a brief manner some of these questions.

The Physical Environment

The inner-city is in a real sense an environment of not only raw physical ugliness and poverty, but also one that is equally poor in the spiritual and moral aspects of the life it offers. Michael Harrington gives us a good picture of this physical and spiritual poverty when he describes it thusly -

> To be sure, the other America (the dwelling places of the poverty-striken) is not impoverished in the same sense as those poor nations where millions cling to hunger as a defense against starvation. This country has escaped such extremes. But that does not change the fact that tens of millions of Americans are, at this very moment, maimed in body and spirit, existing at levels beneath those necessary for human decency. If these people are not starving, they are hungry, and sometimes fat with hunger, for that is what cheap foods do. They are without adequate housing and education (a poverty of the mind) and medical care.
>
> The government has documented what this means to the bodies of the poor . . . But even more basic, this poverty twists and deforms the spirit. The American poor are pessimistic and defeated and they are victimized by mental suffering to a degree unknown in suburbia.[1]

A young social worker is even more graphic as she describes her first experiences in ths slums of Atlanta and New York:

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[1]Michael Harrington, The Other America, New York: The Macmillan Co., 1962

> . . . seeing poverty sickened me, robbed me of the satisfaction of how good life is. Poverty is disturbing, ugly, and it drains my body of any sense of power or energy to change its conditions. I hurry away from its pathetic scenes like a child who pleaded to see a Frankenstein horror movie and after the show runs home to have her mother tell her it wasn't really true . . . [1]

Still another observer gives us insight into the urban syndrome of poverty; let us think over the words of Battle -

> Walk with a Negro youth (we could easily substitute the word "disadvantaged" for "Negro") in his ghetto environment and if you know where to look, you'll quickly get a taste of the components of his life: a drug addict nodding in a doorway, a drunk vomiting of urinating in a hallway, a sex party on a rooftop, seven-year-olds scampering over fences with stolen jars of pigs' feet, a floating crap game in an alley; bars full of prostitutes; fights in which the strong pick on the weak; merchants who over-price their shoddy goods and charge one dollar to cash a government allotment check.[2]

It is this environment of poverty, decay, and long-lost hopes which city teachers and administrators must come to know - and know well with compassion, not sentimentality, with understanding and concern, yet with condescension.

Portrait of the Disadvantaged

Who are the disadvantaged? The answer is relatively simple - they are the poverty-stricken, the poor who have lost hope and confidence in self.

While perhaps 70 to 78 percent of this group are white, these whites constitute a relatively small percentage of the total white population in the United States as compared to the percentage of blacks, Mexican-Americans, and Indian Americans who include among the poverty-stricken in some instances the majority of their minority groups. Thus, in terms of racial identification, the culturally disadvantaged comprise the six groups identified below by Johnson:

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[1]Linda Lear, "The Face of One-Fifth a Nation," (a reprint) from the Inter-Collegian, (December, 1964).

[2]Mark Battle, "The Time Bomb in the Ghettos," The Saturday Evening Post, January 29, 1966.

1. Blacks in the rural areas and in the ghettos of the nation's urban centers.

2. Mexican-Americans in the rural Southwest and West and in the cities of these regions.

3. Puerto Ricans located in a few large Northern cities, especially in New York.

4. Caucasians in the rural South and especially in the Appalachian region, many of whom have migrated to Northern industrial urban centers.

5. Indian Americans in the Southwest and West, living for the most part on reservations and in increasing numbers in the cities of these regions.

6. Other ethnic groups which sometimes cut across racial boundaries, including European immigrants, Cuban refugees, and Eskimos in Alaska.

We have already seen that of these racial and ethnic groups who constitute the culturally disadvantaged in the United States, it is largely the black poor from the South; the white poor from the South also, and especially from Appalachia; and the Puerto Rican poor, many of whom have only recently migrated from Puerto Rico, who form the growing new "ethnic" minorities in the nation's cities. While all disadvantaged groups share many given characteristics, each racial or ethnic group has its own specific characteristics, some of which stem from its physical differences (which are visible and therefore inescapable), and some from the unique sub-cultural heritages which the group has developed throughout generations as a means of coping with its environment. Since it is the immediate socio-culture - a sub-social entity - with which the developing child interacts and by which he is socialized, it is not at all difficult to see that this socio-cultural milieu tends to perpetuate itself largely by providing its developing members with their only, or at least primary, role expectation, role behaviors, values, systems of need-

satisfiers, and system of rewards. Within this socio-cultural environment which, as Gordon[1] accurately expressed it, "refracts" or significantly alters many of the cultural patterns, particularly the values, attitudes, and strategies of behavior of the pervading and dominant culture to fit its own way of life, the most influential force is human beings - the adults and young adults who provide the living models with whom the young of this group identify. Let us, then, consider very briefly some of the personality characteristics of these adults in the three major urban minority groups.

The Culturally Disadvantaged Black Adult

Jean Grambs[2] points out and adequately supports the contention that poor black adults are usually at the "lowest economic rung" and often have ingrained within their awareness after generations of poverty a "sense of impoverishment" and economic insecurity. These adults have had few experiences with family stability or responsibility. Often such an adult is a parent of three or more children, but is not psychologically able to provide his children with the affection and succorant care they need in order to develop an appreciation of themselves and others. Too often, as Grambs points out, these adults marry on impulse, with little personal regard for the marital partner. Too often, too, the vicissitudes which each spouse faces daily are too overwhelming to permit him to give comfort and aid to the other. For such a parent, the normal problems of day-to-day living are multiplied many times over by the caste status to which blacks in general are relegated. He is the last to be hired and the first to be fired. Thus, if he is poor and not vocationally or professionally prepared, he

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[1]Milton M. Gordon, Assimilation in American Life, New York: Oxford University Press, Inc., 1964.

[2]Jean D. Grambs, "The Self-Concept: Basis for Re-education of Negro Youth," (in Kvaraceus, et al.), Negro Self-Concept: Implications for School and Citizenship, St. Louis: McGraw-Hill Co., 1965, pp. 11-51.

faces constant economic insecurity. There is little wonder, then, that the black male adult finds it extremely difficult to achieve a real sense of self-worth as a father and provider.

The poverty-stricken black women might be a little less hateful and unsure of her self-worth than her male counterpart. Nevertheless, the necessity that she assume the role of family head and bread-winner often makes her hostile and aggressive, while the husband is hostile, yet dependent. This dubious position of the black female adult has its roots in slavery, when the black family as such did not exist legally. The little family organization that did exist revolved around the mother who was allowed by the master to keep her children around her until they were old enough to work or join a kind of corral in which the larger children lost their identification with their mother.

A striking picture of these conditions is given by Kyle Onstott in several of his novels portraying the breeding and sale of blacks in the South prior to the Civil War. Generation after generation of blacks were produced, according to the novelist, in a systematic program of slave breeding - a system which stripped its victims almost entirely of any sense of human dignity they might have had and made sexual promiscuity among them and a lack of concern for offspring both a way of life and a means of gaining status in the eyes of the master.

In addition, then, to a tradition of male psychological emasculation which the black male has inherited, he presently faces an economic system which effectively excludes him and offers greater employment opportunities to the black woman.

Thus, black parents create a home situation in which constant friction, bickering, and fighting are the rule. How could it be otherwise in a

dominant culture which stresses the role of the male parent as the head and provider for his family!

In such an environment of marital chaos, the black father often decamps, followed by a stream of male substitutes whose presence is not sanctioned by matrimony - and the chaos continues. Perhaps the most ego-damaging factor is the systematic emasculation of the black male adult by the dominant culture within which his relatively small socio-culture exists. The following quotation dramatizes the ego-destructive helplessness of the black male adult in the color-caste system still existing in America:

> A white man yanked me off a street car because I got on ahead of a white woman. He shook me good and tore my clothes. I walked home crying, knowing my father would do something about it. (But his father could do no more than remark, "you should have known better.")1

The black disadvantaged adult, then, generally has the following personality characteristics:

1. A rural background which has given him a life style - values and attitudes, speech patterns, child-rearing practices, and patterns of behavior - that is often ill-suited to, or not actually incompatible with, the demands of urban living.
2. A victim of generations of humiliation, he views himself with little esteem and as a consequence, has little hope and few ambitions.
3. Hating himself, but also hates others; therefore, his attitude and behavior are frequently characterized by hostility or a religiosity that borders on fanaticism.

1Ibid., p. 19.

4. As an inheritor of poverty, the disadvantaged black adult - male or female - is lacking in formal education and, worse, is unable to orient his child toward educational efforts. He or she is unable to provide the children of the family with experience opportunities, with succorant care, and with living models of responsibility, discipline, and hard work.

The Puerto Rican Disadvantaged Adult

Perhaps no clearer picture can be given of the culturally disadvantaged Puerto Rican adult than that given by Oscar Lewis in his La Vida. In his novel, Lewis introduces his reader to a Puerto Rican family and gives real insight into the personalities of its adult members. Perhaps their pervading preoccupation, which Lewis defines as the culture of poverty, is:

> . . . an effort to cope with the feelings of helplessness and despair which develop from the realization of the improbability of achieving success in terms of the values and goals of the larger society.[1]

Within the Rios family, as in those countless blacks we find the same personality traits: rage, aggression, violence, and bloodshed. Equally present, too, in the disadvantaged Puerto Rican adult as in the disadvantaged black is impulsiveness - a tendency to act in response to immediate physiological needs and urges. Escapism in all forms - in narcotics, in sex, in alcohol, and in ostentation - is also prevalent among these disadvantaged. Still another parallel between the Puerto Rican who lives in poverty and his counterpart black is the

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[1]Oscar Lewis, La Vida, New York: Random House, 1966.

matriarchal family, which suggests a kind of emasculation of the Puerto Rican male. In the words of a recent review of this novel:

> La Vida is the mother, Fernanda, telling of 'going upstairs with that sailor because it was the Christmas season, see, and I needed money for presents for my children for the Day of the Three Kings. I slept with him, but I didn't take off my clothes because I was ashamed.'
>
> La Vida is Fernanda's son, Simplicio, talking about his job in New York: 'That's all I did when I started working there, is delivery. But I didn't mind because I know when you don't have schooling you go down instead of up when you first come here . . . Because you feel lower than other people . . . and that might make you turn to stealing or taking drugs . . . and then you'd be failure sure . . .[1]

Thus, we see that in many, perhaps most, respects, the Puerto Rican disadvantaged adult possesses an ego-structure spawned in poverty and in racial discrimination that is very similar to that of poor blacks.

The White Disadvantaged Adult

Perhaps the major difference between the poor white and his non-white brothers is his self-regard and the relative ease, because he does not possess the visibility of the other two minorities, with which he can be assimilated into the dominant socio-cultural segment of United States Society. Nevertheless, because of his socio-cultural background, which is frequently impoverished and rural, he is ill-equipped either in terms of his own self-esteem or his values, attitudes, and behaviors to meet the requirements of productive and responsible urban living. Like the poverty-stricken black and Puerto Rican, the disadvantaged white adult feels rejected by the larger society, spiritually and morally indecent, caught up in a cycle of poverty, and somewhat loathsome to other members

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[1]Harry M. Rosen, "Between Book Ends," ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH, (Sunday, Feb. 26, 1967), p. 4B.

of his race. He does, however, find comfort and solace in knowing that he is not racially different from the more affluent members of society. This knowledge might provide a release and a bulwark to sustain him in his feelings of inadequacy. "At least," he can say, "I'm better than the black and the Puerto Rican; even the affluent of my race recognize this in its various social institutions." But this very knowledge could have a decidedly negative, boomerang effect, for it must inevitably bring with it the realization that the other two minorities are more rejected by society than are the poor white Southern mountaineer and have even fewer opportunities or encouragements to seek to move upward. This realization might, in turn, remove from the poor white the opportunity to scapegoat as convincingly as the other urban minority groups by blaming a hostile society and the barriers it erects against the escape from depressed and impoverished condition. Perhaps the lack of convenient scapegoat accounts for the racial hostility and sometimes highly emotional prejudices many poor whites feel and express against the black and Jew, and other groups that are either non-white or non-Christian. Such an ego-supporting hate, in the absence of a scapegoat, might indeed pervade the lives of the white disadvantaged and become an obsession, the primary and perennial goal of which is to keep the blacks and the foreigners in "their places"; otherwise they, the disadvantaged whites, will be displaced or overrun.

How the Attitudes, Values and Behavior Strategies of Disadvantaged Parents Affect their Children

It is generally recognized that the culture of a given social group is transmitted to the young of that group through the process of identification, in which the young perceive their models - usually older members of their family or their peers - as sources of need-satisfaction. Obviously, the values, beliefs, attitudes toward life, hopes, ambitions, and ways of meeting the demands imposed by one's sub-culture are acquired - learned from their models. The disadvantaged adult, we have seen, provides anything but the kind of identification model needed to enable his children to develop the kind of ego structure they need in order to participate effectively and constructively in middle-class United States society.

Perhaps we can understand better the influences of such models on ego-development if we review the comparison made by David and Pearl Ausubel of the ego-development of the typical white child with that of the disadvantaged black child. Such a comparison should provide insights that are basically valid for all children of the poor, regardless of their racial or ethnic identification. However, we must keep in mind that within the white disadvantaged syndrome, and to some extent in the Puerto Rican, Mexican-American, and Indian American, the stigma of color caste is not as dominating a factor as it most certainly is in the culture of poverty in which black youngsters grow and develop.

Ego-Development In the Typical Middle-Class Child

Most middle-class children, regardless of their racial or ethnic identification, begin their personality formulation within a socio-cultural milieu in which, from infancy, indulgent and loving parents have satisfied

almost every need the child experiences. These parents usually go to great lengths to provide their child with an early environment rich in the kinds and number of experience opportunities it affords. Within this family environment, there is an abundance of such things as games, toys, many different kinds and textures of objects for manipulation, and frequent warm and supportive inter-personal reactions between the child and adults, at meals, at playtimes, and throughout the day. These environmental factors constitute cognitive stimuli which call into play all of the growing child's sensory modalities and enable him to perceive and later conceptualize the many facets of the world in which he lives.

Not only does the middle-class child have a significant headstart in perceptual development, but he also has one in his linguistic development. This later advantage is ultimately linked with the first, because as the child becomes aware of and perceives the various aspects of the world in which he is growing and developing, he differentiates, and in so doing must "fix" or make stable within his mind the various things he has come to recognize. Words given to him by the people in his infant environment - parents, older siblings, and other adults - become the symbolic pegs on which he "fixes" his perceptions. In the middle-class homes, words are used freely and easily, and are readily available to the young child as he gropes to stabilize and classify his percepts. Moreover, the adults in this environment eagerly help the child acquire these words and make the correct associations.

They encourage the child to say the word aloud, correct him when he says it incorrectly or applies it to the wrong object or event, and reward him when he uses the word or symbol correctly.

> As the child attempts to communicate with others, and especially with his parents, he uses a relatively crude and limited language. In many (most) middle-class homes, the child's language is extended by the parents' responses to his statements and questions.[1]

Thus we see that children reared in middle-class families are given direct and continuous instruction about the world in which they live, about the names of the various realities they encounter, and about the correct use of language. This instruction is highly individualized and informal and related in meaningful ways to the children's natural reactions and problems about their environment. Moreover, these children are read to, spoken to, and constantly subjected to stimulating situations. They are motivated by their parents, who promptly reward, correct, and reinforce their reactions.

> In short, (the middle-class child) 'learns to learn' very early. He comes to view the world as something he can master through a relatively enjoyable type of activity, a sort of game, which is learning. In fact, much of the approval he gets is because of his rapid and accurate response to this informal instruction in the home.[2]

This "learning to learn," we are reminded, grows out of a series of informal family-centered situations in which, through identification, role-playing, and need satisfaction, the middle-class young child is motivated to seek to learn, and is provided ample opportunities to find personal self-enhancement and pleasure as a result of his attempts and success in learning. Thus, many of the personality factors necessary to learning, such as the ability to attend to others, to see purpose and

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[1]Benjamin S. Bloom, Allison Davis, and Robert Hess, Compensatory Education for Cultural Deprivation, Chicago: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1965, p. 14.

[2]Ibid., p. 15

personal value in postponing the gratification of one's immediate desires for the sake of more rewarding though somewhat distant goals, and perhaps above all, to see the self as capable of learning from adults and being rewarded by them, are learned. It is these learnings which constitute "learning to learn."

Moreover, in the middle-class home, the size of the immediate family is relatively smaller than that of the disadvantaged child's and is not so extended to include uncles, aunts, grandparents, cousins, and quasi-relatives found in "common-law" relationships. Moreover, there is less preoccupation on the part of the parents with the basic necessities of life and, as a result, fewer instances in which the young child perceives even in a vague way the insecurity, anxiety, and despair of his parents. Then, too, the educational level of the middle-class parents is often relatively high, enabling them not only to earn an adequate income, but to provide many opportunities for their children to come in direct contact with many elements of their culture. Still another positive factor making for more wholesome child-rearing practices in the middle-class home is the presence and the leadership of the male parent. All of these positive variables tend to give the middle-class young child intellectual stimulation and a postive regard for himself and others.

We might sum up the environment of the typical middle-class child and its influence on his ego-development somewhat as follows: Within the middle-class cultural milieu in which, from early childhood, indulgent parents have satisfied or at least attempted to satisfy the needs of the child, the middle-class child's personality begins formation. The childrearing practices to which he has been exposed

since infancy become increasingly demanding, with the result that he is strongly socialized into the ways - values, attitudes, aspirations, goals, and behavior patterns - of the middle-class culture. Both in school and in the peer group, this child is urged to compete for a primacy status based on his academic proficiency, athletic prowess, and social skills. His home life has been only one of several socializing variables which collectively foster the development of aspirations for academic and vocational success. His parents, until he reaches adolescence, remain the major socializing agents in his life and sources both of information and of status.

While the white middle-class child has all of the above advantages, the black middle-class child has, in addition, one powerful negative factor in common with the less prosperous members of his racial group - the stigma and ego-damage of the color caste status. Because of this one negative socio-cultural variable, even the advantages of his middle-class child rearing practices are not sufficient to offset and nullify the serious damage which racial discrimination and segregation do to the black child's self-concept. Moreover, middle-class affluence and outlook are relatively new to many black families, the heads of which were just a generation or so ago themselves the children of the disadvantaged.

Ego-Development of the Typically Culturally Disadvantaged Child

Perhaps Bloom, Davis, and Hess in their report to the Research Conference on Education and Cultural Deprivation have described as succinctly as any writers the ego-damage which cultural disadvantage (which they call deprivation) has done to the child born and reared

in poverty. The following extract suggests something of the effects of this damage on the orientation of the disadvantaged child toward school and on his chances for success while there:

> . . . The culturally disadvantaged child comes to school with defects in learning sets and the ability to 'learn to learn.'

* * * * * * *

> (He) comes to school with an interest in new experience, but without (enough) of the experience, skills, and values typical of the middle-class child. The culturally advantaged child has been aptly rewarded for his previous learning and . . . is likely to begin school valuing achievement (and specifically school achievement) as a good in its own right. In contrast, the culturally deprived child has difficulty in learning for its own sake and in learning for the approval of an adult. He values things and activities which are concrete and which have immediate and tangible rewards. He has difficulty in seeing the relevance of much of school learning, since he is unable to comprehend fully or accept the deferred and symbolic gratification that the middle-class child has come to accept. As each year of school goes by, the culturally disadvantaged child suffers further frustration and failure. He is rarely rewarded or approved in the school and is penalized and disapproved of more strongly each year. As this increasing failure becomes apparent to the child and to all who are concerned with him (parents, teachers, school administrators), the child becomes alienated from the school program. He recognizes that there is little likelihood that he will get satisfaction from his schoolwork, and he seeks satisfying

> experiences elsewhere. He usually turns to his peers. For this as well as for other reasons, the peer group becomes more central in the life of the lower-class children far earlier than it does for middle-class children.
>
> The culturally (disadvantaged) child has some special difficulties because the school learning environment and materials are so very different from the settings which are familiar to him. However, it is in the reduced physical activity of the school and in the demand for a long span of attention that he is at a special disadvantage as compared with children from culturally advantaged homes. It is difficult for him to learn to be quiet and to attend to a flow of words (many of which he does not understand) from the teacher.[1]

A word of caution here with respect to the attention span of both young children and in particular the disadvantaged. As a curriculum consultant for the Decatur, Illinois, Public Schools a few years ago, the writer had an opportunity to present demonstration lessons in Unit Teaching with culturally disadvantaged children ranging from grades one to six. In every instance, the children became so involved in their unit activities which at the moment were primarily group discussions and problem-solving, that as much as an hour or more was spent and the children were still not ready to abandon the lesson. It would appear, then, that attention span is a function of personal involvement and interest in the matter at hand. Probably, disadvantaged

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[1]Ibid.

learners only seem unable to attend in school for other than short periods primarily because the learning activities are not meaningful and real to them.

We have already seen from studies of the family-based factors that influence the ego-development of the typical middle-class child what makes for the acquisition of a wholesome view of self, for intellectual stimulation, and for the development of those values, attitudes, behaviors, and the "ability to learn" that are so necessary in today's middle-class oriented school. A brief examination of the family environment of the typically poverty-stricken or disadvantaged child will dramatize the general absence of these factors and possibly make more understandable the personality structure just described above. To begin with, whereas the parents of the middle-class child are typically more succorant and attentive to their children, those parents who are themselves victims of poverty tend to be more casual, inconsistent, and authoritarian in controlling their children. Disadvantaged parents resort to harsh, corporal forms of punishment more often than do middle-class parents. In the disadvantaged family, father - if he is present - often has as his chief role in the child-rearing process that of imposing restraints, which are not at all supportive in nature, upon his children. Poor parents tend to extend significantly less succorant care to their offspring and to withdraw closely monitored supervision much earlier than do middle-class parents. The result of such withdrawal is that disadvantaged children are free to roam the streets and join unsupervised play groups at an age when culturally advantaged children at the same age are still in nursery school. Thus, we see that young children

from poverty-stricken homes frequently come under the socializing influence of their peer groups much earlier than do middle-class children.

Older culturally disadvantaged children and adolescents, having been desatellized too early from their parents, tend to have fewer illusions about either parental omniscience or necessity as a source of ego-support and need-satisfaction. This older disadvantaged youth, a product largely of peer socialization, looks to his peer group for status and prestige and, as a result, is coerced by the norms of this group to reject authority in all its forms except that of the group and its leaders. The school, then, often becomes a kind of symbol of authority personified in the teacher or principal. As he sees the school, and in the light of the values of his disadvantaged peers, formal education can offer him very little in terms of opportunities for self-esteem and either present or ultimate status. Moreover, his early child-rearing has provided little, if any, encouragement for aspiring toward either high academic performance or vocational preparation. On the contrary, there have been in the home environment no identification models in whose persons such aspirations existed. Now, in the pre- and adolescent period of his life, there is no prevailing acceptance of such goals. Therefore, the culturally disadvantaged youth often expresses aspirations, both academic and vocational, which are unrealistic. The Ausubels suggest that such unrealistic aspirations, particularly if they are absurdly high, reflect an impairment of the youth's judgment resulting from the cumulative impact of repeated failure, low social status, and the almost desperate need on his part to bolster up his view of self through fantasies or appearances. Perhaps this explanation is correct, because

for disadvantaged youth such material symbols as expensive shoes, leather coats, jackets, and hats are avidly sought status symbols. In short, disadvantaged youngsters have learned from the culture in which they are growing up that hard work, self-denial, and impulse control are not worthwhile. They fail, therefore, to develop to the same degree as middle-class youth the following ten supportive traits identified by many psychologists as characteristics of ego-maturity and necessary for the achievement of a sense of personal responsibility as well as both academic and vocational success: (1) habits of rational initiative and personal responsibility, (2) the deferred gratification pattern of hard work, (3) willingness to renounce immediate pleasures for more distant and higher goals, (4) willingness and ability to do long-range planning,(5) ability to tolerate a high level of frustration, (6) ability to control impulsive tendencies, (7) a sense and appreciation of thrift, (8) an appreciation of order and an ability to translat this appreciation in one's approach to living, (9) punctuality, and (10) a willingness to undergo prolonged vocational preparation.

We may, therefore, conclude that even though disadvantaged youngsters and adolescents have less deep-seated anxieties about their need to succeed academically in school and achieve vocational preparation than do their middle-class counterparts, they tend to exhibit a greater number of signs of personality maladjustment. Very likely this greater degree of maladjustment results from the impact of a greater number of vicissitudes and insecurities which these young people encounter in their daily living and to the greater possibility of failure which they experience in an educational and vocational world dominated by alien middle-class standards.

It must not be inferred from this observation that the role expectancies and behaviors that are the norms of the middle-class are either unattainable for disadvantaged youth or unnecessary. The writer is convinced that many of these middle-class standards are in harmony with human nature and with the demands of democratic living. Thus, while those living in poverty are decidedly at a disadvantage in middle-class America, the resolution of this problem does not lie in changing social requirements or in attempting to establish the coexistence of two incompatible sub-cultural groups in our society. Indeed a disadvantaged sub-cultural - a culture of poverty as Lewis describes it - is incompatible with a responsible democracy and actually destructive of that way of life. America, in order to survive as a democracy, must help the disadvantaged move from the psychology of poverty to one more in keeping with the best in democratic idealogy. This movement amounts to a significant change in the ego-structure of the disadvantaged beginning first with their concept of self.

No doubt, too, additional dimensions of this impact are the following: inner tensions engendered by conflict between the values of the sub-culture and those of the dominant middle-class culture, feelings of shame and inadequacy relative to the family background, feelings of guilt and anxiety about impulses to reject family ties and escape, and finally, the personal demoralization and self-derogation that accompany social disorganization and the possession of inferior social status.

Is there any wonder, then, that serious psychological disorders such as schizophrenia, drug addition, and anxiety neurosis occur more frequently among disadvantaged youth than among those of the middle-

class. The culturally disadvantaged youth and adolescent might have less anxiety about achieving "high-flown ambitions" than middle-class youth, but his generalized feelings of inadequacy and unworthiness make him prone to over-respond with anxiety to any threatening situation. Because of the general hopelessness of his position, his responses might be characterized by lethargy, apathy, submission, and passive sabotage or aggressiveness.

The Black Disadvantage Constitute a Special Case

All of the above factors inhibiting the development of a positive self-concept and high level ego-aspirations and their supportive personality traits are intensified in the black disadvantaged. Let us review some of the facts of life that make it so. First of all, as we have suggested earlier, the stigma in American culture of the black's caste membership is inescapable and in many ways unsurmountable, because it rests largely on skin color and other identifying physical characteristics. Thus a kind of caste psychology is ingrained in the black's body image and enforced by the extra-legal power of a society whose moral ideals belie its social practices. Early, then, in the black child's emergence of an awareness of self and of others, he comes to see his own body as a sign of inferiority, of loathsomeness, and a justification for membership in a sub-group of outcasts. Thus as David and Pearl Ausubel so aptly concluded:

> . . . it is not surprising that in comparison to lower-class white children, the Negro child aspires to jobs with more of the formal trappings than with the actual attributes of social prestige; that he feels impotent

> to strike back at his tormentors; that he feels lonely and scared when he is by himself; and that he gives more self-deprecatory reactions when figuratively looking at himself in the mirror.[1]

A participant in the conference sponsored by the Lincoln Filene Center for Citizenship and Public Affairs summed up the effects of forced-role adoption which inevitably results from caste membership:

> I think the worst effects on personality come about not so much from explicit teaching about inferiority to the Negro, but by the forced role adoption of a culturally defined role of inferiority. A person made to act inferior grows into his role. This is where the most devastating damage occurs to the Negro personality, and is thus not the direct result of teaching about inferiority. Forced role adoption is very hard to fight. In the book Black Like Me, a white man brings out very clearly what it means to have to handle the terror of taking the Negro role, without (a) lifetime history of defenses in learning how to take such a role.[2]

In a study comparing the educational and vocational aspirations of black boys with those of white boys from many different ethnic and religious groups, it was found that the mean vocational aspiration score of the black boys was significantly lower than the mean scores of all other groups except the French Canadian. While students tended to be more concerned with very interesting jobs; black students were

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[1]David and Pearl Ausubel, "Ego Development Among Segregated Negro Children, " (in A.H. Passow, ed), Education in Depressed Areas, New York: Bureau of Publications, T.C. Columbia University., 1963.

[2]Kvaraceus, et al., op. cit., p. 37.

interested more in job security. Doubtless, the comparatively low vocational aspirations of the black boys were justified in the light of the economic facts. Higher educational qualifications in blacks are less frequently associated with higher-level vocational pursuits than in the case of whites. Thus, it is evident that one of the most damaging effects of the color-caste system with its concomitant racial prejudice and discrimination is the all-embracing rationalization it makes available to its victims for all of their personal shortcomings, lack of striving, and even anti-social conduct. They can always blame these shortcomings on the caste system and find solace in hedonistic scapegoating.

A second fact of black life is poverty. Well over 50 percent of black families, as we saw in the preceding paragraph, live at the lowest level of poverty. Possibly as a legacy from the inhumanity of slavery, these families have a disproportionate number of illegal and loosely-connected unions. Within them, also as a legacy of slavery, is illegitimacy, which is often common; black disadvantaged fathers are frequently absent, resulting in a matriarchal family situation.

Perhaps a word of possible explanation for the absence of so many disadvantaged black fathers might be the fact that in many states, poor families cannot receive state assistance for the children so long as there is an able-bodied man in the home. It is probable that many a black father, unable to provide for his family, prefers to absent himself in order that his wife and children might receive at least some assistance. Below is a reprint of an article which appeared a few years ago in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch on the effects of such laws on an already weakened family structure that characterizes so many poor black homes.

Missouri's laws on aid-to-dependent children often make emotional or social cripples out of the families they are trying to help, St. Louis educators, social workers, and legislators say.

Under Missouri law, women and children are ineligible for state aid if there is an able-bodied but unemployed father at home. In contrast, Illinois and other states permit such fathers to remain with their families.

Teachers and social workers agree that many of the 26,000 Missouri families receiving state welfare pay a heavy price for the $30,000,000 in aid they get each year.

William Moore, Jr., a Banneker School District principal, studied 100 Negro families, most of them fatherless and on relief, for his St. Louis University Ph.D. thesis last year. He found that one of the most disastrous effects of such female-headed households is that boys have great difficulty growing up into adequate men without a father to copy.

J. P. Lynes, director of the city office of Missouri State Welfare, said that he was agreeably surprised at the way many fatherless families are able to manage on their slender monthly stipends of $32 for the mother, $32 for the first child and $28 for each additional child. But he agreed that case histories in his files show ample evidence of damage to youngsters and parents as well.

The Case of Joe J.

Lynes reminisced about the case of 16-year-old Joe J., whose family has been on and off ADC since the boy was 8.

'Joe's mother doesn't treat him like a son,' he said, 'she treats him like just another man who has disappointed her. When he misbehaves she locks him out of the house.

'Once, when the police picked him up and brought him home for truancy, she refused to let him in,' Lynes related. 'She told them if he was in trouble, she would have no more to do with him'

Lynes said that whenever the boy earned any money for shining shoes or other odd jobs, the mother immediately took it from him. Jo retaliated by staying out late and ignoring her orders. He often struck and hurt his sisters and frequently ate up the family's entire supply of food from the refrigerator late at night when his mother was asleep.

At school, the boy tried to attract attention by wearing his hat and coat in class, or running outside, knocking on the window, and making faces at the children inside. 'His grades are poor and he is unable to concentrate,' Lynes said. Joe may well drop out of high school.

Harsh Treatment

Moore said that Joe's case was typical of a boy growing up in a fatherless home with only a hazy concept of what a man should be. He pointed out that little children in ADC families never hear a father read them a bedtime story, seldom go with him to a baseball game.

If the father does come home for a brief period, he is likely to treat the boys extremely harshly to be sure they do not become 'punks.' (Author's note: A punk in this culture is an effeminate male who has succumbed to the pressures within his socio-culture and identified with the famale, possibly because such identification and internalization is seen by him as a means to more ready acceptance in his matriarchal environment, though it is completely non-acceptable among his male peer group.) Dares and threats from the father, older men, and other boys make the boys physically active, hostile, and vindictive.

'The boys grow up thinking of maleness in terms of physical strength and aggression. They almost never associate masculinity with ideals of steadiness, self-control, tenderness, reliability, and security, the essential male attributes for a happy marriage,' he said.

He said that boys like Joe often develop a tremendous hostility to the women of their families, whose authority they resent. When grown, they beat their wives and demand physical submission rather than mutual respect and companionship.

Moore commented, however, that when fourth graders in his study were asked what would make them happiest, most of them said that what they wanted most was to have the family back together again.

Departing Father

Social workers agree that when a departing father breaks a close relationship with his son, the boy has an especially difficult time. Lynes remembered the case of 11-year-old Jeffrey, whose father deserted his wife and seven children so that they could receive relief.

'At first Jeffrey could not seem to believe his father was really gone,' Lynes said. 'He would ask his mother,'Will I eat with Daddy soon? Do you think he'll mind if I go to the football game?"'

Later, however, the boy became bitterly reconciled to the situation.

'Daddy isn't coming back,' he told a social worker. 'I guess we just don't have a father any more.'

Jeffrey began to play hooky and stay out along after midnight. He was soon completely out of control and known to the juvenile authorities. His father, still jobless, would like to return to his family, but his mother is afraid of losing her public assistance. Meanwhile Jeffrey becomes wilder.

The Rev. Billy B. Sharp, head of the Youth Counseling Serivce, 314a North Euclid Avenue, said that a lack of masculine identity is usually present in potential delinquents and adult criminals alike. A fatherless home can produce also a passive dependent boy, lacking in self-confidence, who finds initiating or carrying through a project very difficult.

Lee Rainwater, Washington University Associate Professor of Anthropology, pointed out that fatherless homes encourage the formation of juvenile gangs.

'Sociological studies have shown that boys who belong to them come from homes with female heads or weak fathers,' he said. 'The gangs provide the missing masculine models the boys need to grow up. Little boys model themselves on big boys and each boy finds his own incomplete masculinity reinforced by other members. Thus boys are encouraged to misbehave who would never dare do so by themselves.'

An ex-convict himself the product of a fatherless home, commented on the ADC law:

'It does more to destroy than it does to build. A family is like a human body. When you remove the father, it has the same affect as removing a right-handed man's right arm.[1]

Black disadvantaged children, often denied the benefits of bi-parental affection and upbringing, are not infrequently reared by their grandmothers, older siblings, or aunts while their mothers work. One result of such a family situation is a preference for girls. As a participant in the Lincoln Filene Conference pointed out:

The Negro family, as we have heard, is marked very often by the absence of a father, which (fact) is more damaging to the boys than the girls. Boys in particular in father-absent families have less ability to postpone gratification. They will accept

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[1]Olivia Skinner, "Missouri ADC Laws Said to Contribute to Delinquency," ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH, (Sunday, Dec. 6, 1964) p. 1.

the small chocolate bar today rather than wait next week for one five times as large. Such boys have low need achievement but high need power. This high need power is of considerable significance to us, however, if we are looking for a hook whereby achievement can be raised, too.

The boys in father-absent families tend to develop sexual role confusion. Only secondarily do such boys adopt a masculine role since primarily the only adult moralities are feminine as expressed by the mother, the only consistent adult present. But gaining a masculine role and the compensatory toughness and acting-out means rejection of everything feminine (the only supportive and identification model in the boy's world). The school is a symbol of femininity, with female teachers and the fact that girls do better (usually) than boys.[1]

In addition, for the disadvantaged black child, family life is often more authoritarian than it is for middle-class children. Harsh and authoritarian child-rearing practices so frequent among disadvantaged black families are probably another legacy from slavery. It is possible that often the safety of a black infant depended on the ability of its mother to command and get immediate obedience from it. It could not cry at inopportune times; it had to learn early its place in a white world filled with complex and contradictory social taboos that spelled out its place and role - especially if it were a male. Finally, the black child inherits his caste status and acquires almost as a birthright a negative

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[1]Kvaraceus, op. cit., pp. 43-45.

view of self. Then, as he grows up, he experiences personal slights, observes the impotence of his parents in an affluent white-dominated society, and is frequently blocked as he comes in contact with white persons and with the institutionalized symbols of caste inferiority. However, girls in the segregated black community seem less traumatized by the caste system than the boys. Possible reasons for this less severe traumatic effect are the following: (1) the legacy from slavery gave black women a more favored position and made them for generations the only stable element in black family life; (2) the matriarchal family situation favored girls over boys and provided identification models that were feminine, while fathers - the masculine element - were either absent, or, if present, were unreliable source of both economic and emotional support; (3) in the restricted color caste system, there were, and still are, a greater number of vocational opportunities for black women than for black men; and (4) girls are probably less exposed to humiliating situations than boys.

The Middle-Class Attitude Toward the Disadvantaged

According to some thinkers, as we have seen in previous sections of this paper, it is the attitudes of the prosperous and their ways of implementing these attitudes that keep the poor in poverty.[1] These attitudes, it is claimed, are not directly hostile to the poor, but are basically condescending, resting on an erroneous belief that the poor are inherently different from the mainstream of society and, because of this difference, are outcasts who lack the initiative and the fortitude to take advantage of the abundant opportunities which characterize democratic America. These attitudes when translated into social action,

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[1]J. Edwards Carothers, Keepers of the Poor.

according to Carothers[1] and Oranti[2] forge a binding chain, the links of which were identified as old age, color, membership in a family headed by a female, membership in a rural family, low level of educational attainment, and under-employment of parents.

It is Carother's contention that these characteristics highly correlated with poverty are effective as chains to poverty because:

. . . the attitudes of the prosperous make them effective.

Let us look clearly at these links. People of color tend to be poor. There is not one iota of evidence to support the notion that people of color cannot be good workers, capable artisans, and socially valuable producers of goods and service. But, in spite of this demonstrated economic worth to society whenever they are given a chance, most people of color are poor and will apparently continue to be poor until a change takes place in the attitudes of the prosperous. This is sin at its ugliest and most persistent level, because it rests upon the (subconscious) sense of white-superiority and the age-long submission of the colored people, who fear the cost of breaking out into the open in order to press their legitimate claims. White people think of colored as inferior, and colored people either have believed them or feared what it would cost to contradict them.

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[1]Ibid., p. 39

[2]Oscar Ornati, Poverty Amidst Affluence, New York: Twentieth Century Fund, 1965.

7. Implications for the Inner-City School Curriculum

The experiences of countless teachers and learners in inner-city schools provide ample proof that current curricular provisions in the nation's big city schools are not conducive to the kinds of changes and improvements desired in the attitudes and academic performance of disadvantaged learners. Indeed, the literature over the past decade is replete with denunciations of these schools. Jonathan Kozol saw the inner-city schools - particularly those of Boston - as veritable death traps which systematically kill the spirit and destroy the self esteem of their disadvantaged pupils.[1] Still another writer, John Holt reached the conclusion that these schools are basically institutions of failure because of the traditional approaches they use in promoting pupil learning. This approach, he says, degrades both the learner and the teacher. These schools, he concludes, are "bad" for children because they are also institutions of cruelty as well as of repeated failure. Many of the teachers within them are as Kozol described - vengeful, mean, and sometimes outright sadistic as well as overly dependent upon test results.[2] Silberman also accuses the city schools of having failed to educate the disadvantaged.[3]

Some writers, like Illich, apparently have despaired of the school entirely as a viable social institution and openly urge the abolition of

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[1]Jonathan Kozol, Death at an Early Age, Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1967.

[2]John Holt, The Underachieving School, New York: Pitman Publishing Co., 1969.

[3]Charles E. Silberman, Crisis in the Classroom, New York: Random House, 1970.

all schools because they "school" rather than educate. As Illich sees it, the school has failed to meet the individual human needs of those they were intended to serve; they have taught and supported faulty notions of human progress -

> (They have) "schooled" the learner to confuse teaching with learning, grade advancement with education, a diploma with competence, and fluency with the ability to say something new. His (the pupil's) imagination is "schooled" to accept service in place of value . . .[1]

Among the seemingly radical reforms Illich urges are the following:

1. Legal PROTECTION from obligatory, graded curricula.

2. Formation of skill centers in place of traditional schools where useful skills would be taught by actual workers in the various fields.

3. Peer-matching through which learning would become a matter of sharing knowledge among equals with similar values, concerns, and experiences.

Still other critics would hold teachers accountable for the effects they produce or do not produce in their pupils. Hence a new and strong emphasis in recent years has been placed on teacher skill in formulating behavioral objectives and pupil performance contracts.

Yet, others like Rubin would match the pupil and teacher according to the degree to which the "natural" teaching style of the latter and a particular instructional methodology harmonize with the "natural learning style of the former. It is argued that such a match will achieve the maximum of compatability between teacher and pupil - a condition it is suggested that will in turn motivate the pupil to

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[1]Ivan Illich, Deschooling Society, New York: Harper and Row Publisher, 1970.

eagerly engage in the learning activities and tasks provided for him or her.[1]

The writer, too, is convinced that the curriculum (which for him includes teaching methodology, learning materials, and various kinds of pupil activity, all related in a meaningful way to some problem or theme that cuts across subject matter boundaries) characteristic of most schools today leaves much to be desired and is perhaps ill-suited to the academic readinesses of most disadvantaged learners. Moreover, many, if not most of these educational programs all too often involve learning tasks (not learning opportunities) that are primarily verbal and have little in common with the problems, day-to-day activities, and interests which make up the lives of the disadvantaged. Worse still, these programs do very little, indeed, in the way of helping disadvantaged learners develop a vocational or career competence that would enable them as young adults to earn a living within a society whose technology is exceptionally complex and constantly changing.

The writer, then, with due respect for the criticisms raised by Kozol, Holt, Silberman, Rubin, and a host of others, would focus school reform on the curriculum which to him includes the WHOLE learning situation - the teacher and his or her style of teaching, the various kinds of instructional materials used, the environment in which the learning is to take place, the pupils with their own individual values, need-systems,

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[1]Louis J. Rubin, "Matching Teacher, Student, and Method," Today's Education, (Vol. 62, No. 6), September-October, 1973, pp. 31-35.

and styles of behavior, and the many different kinds of activities involved in problem-solving - seeking, comparing, differentiating, and the like. He suggests that a promising approach to the problem of structuring learning situations for the disadvantaged is the so-called UNIFIED CURRICULUM which conforms in almost every way with what research currently tells us about learning and with what we also know about the psychology of the disadvantaged. In this curriculum pattern, the focus of all learning activities is on some pervading and, therefore, unifying problem, theme, question, or area of real pupil interest - whether within a structured or open classroom situation. Thus, even the disadvantaged learner - the school disenchanted or disoriented - in the unified curricular setting is literally forced from within to pursue the learning goals provided because, according to his or her own value-attitudinal system, these goals are perceived by the learner as not only real, but also necessary as a means to tension reduction.

The very essence of any unified curriculum is a series of problem-oriented activities in which discovery and practical applications to areas of real personal concern are the rule rather than the exception. Such a curriculum may be structured in at least two different forms: (1) the EXPERIENCE UNIT which cuts across the traditional subject-matter boundaries and consists of a variety of learning activities which rise naturally as the reasonable means of solving some real-life problem and which result in a multitude of learnings that are more general in both scope and depth and thus likely to contribute directly to personality development than they are to produce a store of factual

knowledge in some one rather isolated subject-matter field; and(2) the INQUIRY SESSION which is much more limited in scope than the unit and not necessarily pupil-problem oriented. The inquiry experience emphasizes verbal reactions (thinking) to stimuli more so than it does the exploratory, constructive, and other kinds of physical activities so characteristic of the experience unit. Possibly, too, the inquiry session will less likely cut across as many subject-matter areas as does the unit.

Finally, and perhaps the most important curriculum emphasis for the disadvantaged inner-city learner is the improvement of the central core of that learner's personality - the self-concept. AN exciting approach to such improvement was developed by the late V. Clyde Arnspiger who saw self analysis for value deprivation as the key process.[1]

8. Teachers for the Inner-City School

Obviously, if there is a need for a specially designed approach to learning for disadvantaged learners, there most certainly must be a need for teachers especially prepared to work effectively with such learners. The writer believes that there are clearly identifiable attitudes, skills, and understandings as well as commitments which successful teachers in inner-city schools must develop. These teacher characteristics are discussed at length in Chapter Ten of his textbook just cited in the previous footnote. In this paper we shall be able

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[1]A fuller discussion of a curriculum design especially suited to the inner-city disadvantaged learner can be found in Chapter Nine of the author's recent book.

to give only a cursory review of few lists relating to these characteristics:

1. The Goldberg hypothetical model of the successful inner-city teacher.

2. The Haubrich list of special problems inner-city teachers face frequently.

3. The Hyram list of human relations principles which the successful teacher in any school must thoroughly understand and be committed to.

4. The Hyram list of teaching strategies inferred first from the concept of human nature as essentially underdeveloped potentialities and second from each of the seventeen basic human relations principles.

The Goldberg Model Inner-City Teacher[1]

1. He, like all successful teachers regardless of the group they teach, respects his pupils and has their respect. He respects these pupils -

   > . . . not because he sees them through rose-colored lenses of the romantic - finding "beauty" and "strength" where others see poverty and cultural emptiness. On the contrary, he sees them quite realistically as different from his (own) children and his neighbor's children, yet like all children coping in their own way with the trials and frustrations of growing up. And he sees them, unlike middle-class children, struggling to survive in the ruthless world of their peers, confused by the conflicting demands of the two cultures in which they live - the one of the home and the street and the neighborhood, the other of the school and the society that maintains it.

The rationale for such a design is set forth in Chapter Eight of the same book. Also, a discussion of the Arnspiger technique for improving the self-concept is to be found in Chapter Ten of that textbook. The reader is urged to see - George H. Hyram, Socio-psychological Concepts Relating to Teaching the Culturally Disadvantaged, Brooklyn, N.Y.: Pageant-Poseidon, Ltd., 1972, Chapters Eight, Nine, and Ten.

[1] A. Harry Passow, Miriam Goldberg, and A.J. Tannenbaum, Education of the Disadvantaged, New York: Holt Rinehart, & Winston, 1967, p. 472.

2. He recognizes that the intellectual potential is not yet measurable and thus that I.Q. test scores are not a valid basis for learning goals or expectations for the disadvantaged.

3. He realizes, though, that achievement tests do provide a fairly accurate description of an individual's present level of functioning - his ability.

4. He recognizes and understands the reasons underlying the unwillingness or lack of motivation on the part of the disadvantaged to strive toward more remote goals.

5. He differentiates between his task as a teacher (with respect to children who live and are socialized in the culture of poverty) from those of the psychologist and anthropologist. Whereas the latter specialists are concerned more with describing and understanding behavior, the teacher's job is to play a vital role in its improvement.

6. Thus, the successful teacher of the culturally disadvantaged views his function primarily as that of helping these learners make appropriate choices in day-to-day living. Stated quite succinctly: The successful teacher meets the disadvantaged child on equal terms, as person to person, individual to individual . . . While he accepts, he doesn't condone. He sets clearly defined limits for his pupils, and will brook few transgressions. He is aware that unlike middle-class children, they rarely respond to exhortation intended to control behavior through invoking feelings of guilt and shame. He therefore sets rules, fixes the boundaries, and establishes the routines with a minimum of discussion. Here he is impersonal, understanding, strict, but never punitive. Within these boundaries, the successful teacher is businesslike and orderly, knowing that he is there to do a job. But he is also warm and outgoing, adapting his behavior to the individual pupils in his class. He shows his respect and liking for his pupils and makes known his belief in their latent abilities.

7. He has higher expectations for the learner than the learner has for himself, and thus rewards every instance of achievement, no matter how small.

8. He is honest, not sentimental; he is fair and impartial.

9. He is dramatic and able to make learning situations come alive with vividness and an aura of realism.

10. He possesses, just as do other successful teachers, an extensive insight into the content of what he is teaching. He knows this content so well that he does not need to fall back on study guides.

11. He is a mature, well-integrated person who knows the difficulty of his task and is secure enough to regard himself as a student who continues to learn and improve in the exercise of his art.

While the writer sees a real need for firmness on the part of the teacher of the disadvantaged and for a businesslike orderliness in managing the classroom situation, he does not feel that any decision affecting the behavior of someone else can, in accordance with good human relations, be made without the affected individual's participation in some way in the arriving at that decision.

It would be advisable for the teacher to keep in mind that the worst 'problem' child needs a friend; moreover, the disadvantaged child is in need of a friendly relationship with an adult and member of the larger society. Praise and understanding are new for a person who is accustomed to failure and rejection. His parents probably gave up on him, so did his other teachers. The knowing teacher is not a "clock watcher". He devotes extra time to getting to the root of the child's problem before it comes to a head in class. He seeks the actual cause of the child's poor work and poor attitude. Serious incidents do not just happen; anxieties collect and build up. The teacher can translate the child's frustration into better efforts before direct action is needed. This interest counts, and usually earns the child's good will. The student who may be the teacher's 'biggest problem' could become the teacher's best friend. Thus, the teacher has fewer or no behavior problems to contend with in class, and, therefore, has more time to teach.

WHAT SPECIAL PROBLEMS DO TEACHERS OF
THE CULTURALLY DISADVANTAGED FACE?

Perhaps a closer consideration of the kinds of problems and difficulties teachers generally face as they endeavor to guide the learning activities of the culturally disadvantaged will lend support to the characteristics of the effective teacher of this group, as cited by Goldberg, and to many of the guides, as suggested by Ornstein.

Haubrich[1] found that the syndrome of cultural disadvantage usually presents the school with the following problems.

1. Most learners from culturally disadvantaged backgrounds are poor readers.

2. Often there is a serious and direct conflict between values, attitudes, styles of behavior, and language patterns of disadvantaged children and those of their middle-class teachers.

3. The impoverished and culturally different backgrounds of the disadvantaged - especially those from rural areas - make adjustment to the pace and requirements of urban schools difficult.

4. Poverty-stricken home backgrounds lack cultural and other motivating factors toward school work.

5. Culturally disadvantaged learners tend to have lower aspirational levels than do other children.

6. The following behaviors on the part of the disadvantaged growing out of cultural disadvantage add to the five problems cited above faced by the inner-city schools:

   (a) High truancy rates.
   (b) High rates of pupil turn-over.
   (c) Low I.Q. scores.
   (d) Low academic achievement.
   (e) Lack of interest in and even a strong dislike for school.

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[1]Vernon F. Haubrich, "Teachers for Big-City Schools," in A.H. Passow (ed), Education in Depressed Areas, New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1963, pp. 243-260.

Obviously, in the light of these categories of problems which disadvantaged learners bring with them to school, the eleven characteristics and skills identified by Goldberg appear to be essential to the effectiveness of the teacher of the culturally disadvantaged. Perhaps these characteristics can all be summed up under one main skill which the teacher of the disadvantaged must have to a far greater degree than other teachers - skill in motivation. Thus, skill is basically no more than the ability to organize a teaching environment that is so meaningful, exciting, challenging, and recognized as worthwhile that the disadvantaged learner cannot be bored, defiant, inattentive, or sullen. This skill, of course, involves a variety of related abilities and understanding on the part of the teacher, primarily insight into human nature and a corresponding respect for the inherent, though often not behaviorally manifested, dignity of the children they teach and the parents of these youngsters.

Hyram's List of Seventeen Human Relations Principles[1]

1. Every human being possesses the SAME inherent dignity and is, therefore, entitled to the same respect that is accorded all other human beings. Because of this sameness of dignity, every human being is also entitled to opportunities to fulfill his human potentialities and to live in accordance with his dignity.

2. The ideal design for human group living is ACCEPTANCE of each person REGARDLESS of his behavior. Thus, in such group living the HUMANITY of the person is seen as transcending his behavior. It is this humanity, because of its inherent DIGNITY, that is accepted; it is the behavior (an accident) that might well be rejected.

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[1]Hyram, op. cit., pp. 357-359.

3. The way an individual PERCEIVES and CONCEPTUALIZES reality IS, indeed, reality for him, and as such influences his values and attitudes and directs his behavior.

4. Every human being can solve his own problems at his OWN LEVEL of ability if he knows his resources and can get at them. Whether or not he actually does so depends largely upon his values.

5. Communication is a lifeline of human relations. The quality of one's inter-personal relations is as good as the quality of his communications. Good communication facilitates, but does not necessarily result in, wholesome human relations.

6. The quality of one's communication is as high as the degree to which he considers in his endeavors to express himself, the various possible meanings of the words he uses, and the understandings and background of those with whom he is communicating. The more consistently objective one is in his knowledge of himself - his motives, his fears, his hopes, his values, his biases and prejudices - the more likely he is to make the necessary considerations for effective communication.

7. The extent to which a human being does NOT have the EMOTIONAL SUPPORT of the people within his group or the group in which he is attempting to communicate, is the extent to which he IS NOT ABLE to communicate with that group.

8. Every individual is largely the product of his IDENTIFICATION and INTERNALIZATION with respect to some human model. The more worthy the identification models are, the more likely the individual will have a wholesome and desirable personality.

9. To CHANGE an individual, one must first change his PERCEPTIONS and CONCEPTUALIZATIONS of reality and his values system with respect to these percepts and concepts.

10. Every individual exists in a constantly changing world of experience - his own - in which HE IS THE CENTER. Therefore, every individual has a basic and compelling drive to MAINTAIN, ACTIVATE, and ENHANCE SELF, and will internalize only that which he sees as maintaining, activating, and enhancing self.

11. The SELF CONCEPT is the most significant SINGLE factor on the NATURAL LEVEL in motivating and shaping behavior. Every individual, to be a fully functioning member of his group and of the larger society, must have a POSITIVE and realistic self concept.

12. To build NEW VALUES within an individual, the parent, teacher, counselor, or guidance worker must KNOW what values the individual already has and must use these as a starting point. One way to know the value system of an individual or group is to discover CONSISTENCIES and DIRECTIONS of behavior - especially in the attempts of the individual or group to meet and solve problems. Once the present values are known, the parents, teacher, counselor, or guidance worker must help the individual to see the new learning as more self-enhancing than the present system or commitment.

13. Every human being has basic psychological needs which must be met. These needs are: SECURITY, ACCEPTANCE, PRESTIGE, SENSE OF ACCOMPLISHMENT, AFFECTION, SENSE OF BELONGING, PSYCHOLOGICAL INDEPENDENCE, and A SENSE OF PERSONAL WORTH.

14. Emotional maturity is MORE than mere emotional control. Rather, it is: (a) rational ASSOCIATION of the things met in experience with personal enhancement and personal threat and (b) rational EXPRESSION of what one FEELS. This kind of maturity is necessary for PRODUCTIVE group living. Emotions resulting from the way an individual conceptualizes a situation both accompany and facilitate or inhibit goal-directed behavior.

15. No person ever possesses ALL of the knowledge and skills he needs in order to meet RATIONALLY every situation confronting him.

16. To be a good citizen requires knowledge, skill, and both an ability and a willingness to perform the duties of citizenship as prescribed by a given society. In a DEMOCRACY, good citizenship involves the following duties: (a) becoming thoroughly acquainted with the factors operating within a given issue; (b) exercising rational judgement about these issues; (c) participating in group decision-making; (d) respecting legally constituted authority; and (e) seeking changes in laws through rational rather than violent persuasion.

17. Learning takes place in an atmosphere that is a balance between COMPLETE SECURITY and COMPLETE CONFLICT. In such a climate, the learner must ALWAYS feel ACCEPTED and wanted.

A mastery and acceptance of these human relations principles will be reflected almost of necessity in the teacher's classroom practices. The two lists given below include a few of the instructional practices which will be but the natural result or manifestation of the teacher's

(1) insights into the universality of human nature and dignity and (2) acceptance of the human relations principles listed above which rest in no small way on this nature. List A identifies the classroom practices which are implied by the philosophical construct of human nature as essentially a vast number of potentialities. List B identifies some of the approaches to teaching and the specific human relations principles from which these practices flow.

LIST A

TEACHING STRATEGIES BASED ON THE CONCEPT OF HUMAN NATURE AS ESSENTIALLY VAST POTENTIALITIES

Teaching inductively by providing experience situations in which children see a principle operating in several similar situations and state in their own words the principle discerned.

Giving children many opportunities to touch, see, feel, smell, taste, and hear things and relations, through field trips, audio-visual materials, etc.

Giving each child an opportunity to pursue some personal interest or problem.

Helping each child with his own problem; encouraging individual units and projects.

Encouraging children to express in their own words how two or more things are related.

Asking children to contrast and compare things and situations.

Having children clearly define problem situations, with a special effort to identify pertinent evidence, the central question to be answered, the form of the desired solution, and the reasonable ways to reach such an answer. Estimating answers is a good way.

Encouraging children to look for consequences.

Encouraging children to suppose "if . . . then . . ."

Providing many opportunities for children to do things repeatedly.

Helping children see that a particular mode of behavior or understanding is of great value.

Providing reward and reinforcement by attributing worth to desirable behavior, objects, and attitudes of children.

Reinforcing and rewarding ways of showing anger, fear, happiness, love, etc., that are socially acceptable. Hence, temper tantrums will be seen by the child as less approved by the teacher and less personally enhancing to the child than is self control.

Providing opportunities for children to express their thoughts and feelings with respect to a given situation.

Seating children so that physical limitations are minimized.

Being alert to detect such physical limitations in children as poor vision, poor hearing, etc., and making referrals to the proper sources.

Providing an atmosphere in which emotional responses are not impulsive reactions, but more rationally guided responses.

Providing many sensory experience opportunities and attempting to help pupils conceptualize from them.

The teacher seeks ways to help a poor reader acquire greater skill in reading and in other areas of learning.

The teacher will give every child an opportunity to express himself regardless of the verbal limitations of the child.

Grouping for learning will be flexible and changing and will be based on present specific area ability levels rather than general intelligence quotient scores.

Teacher's expectancy of pupil performance in any area will vary and will be based on the pupils' present abilities in that area rather than on intelligence quotient scores.

Intelligent quotient scores will not be used as a basis for limiting materials available in various kinds of learning situations, e.g., experiences in appreciation of literature will not be reserved for high I.Q. pupils only.

The teacher frequently provides learning situations (games, situations, discussions) leading to pupil understanding of the fact that compromise is necessary in pleasant and effective group living.

A 6th grade class reading two levels below the national norms is not accepted as unchangeable or as justified.

Poor achievement in the various subject-matter areas will be regarded as basically deficient development which probably can be improved, e.g., Johnny's inability in arithmetic does not indicate that Johnny cannot learn arithmetic.

Intelligence quotient scores will not be regarded as indicators of pupil capacity to learn. An I.Q. of 69 does not necessarily mean that Mary is mentally retarded.

Inadequate language fluency and usage will be seen as only inadequate development which is capable of significant change through motivation and adequately enriching experiences.

Diagnostic tests, both standard and teacher-made, will be given frequently in such basic tool areas as: reading, language, arithmetic, etc.

Teaching observations of each pupil in both formal and informal situations will be made to determine pupil abilities in inter-personal relations.

Socio-dramas and role-playing will be used to determine pupil skills and abilities.

The teacher will recognize mistakes made in subject-matter areas, manners, etc., by the pupil and will attempt to see that he understands the principle involved in its correction and build upon this principle.

The teacher will avoid using such emotion-arousing expressions as:

Nigger
Kike
Welfare
Aid, Relief
Boy

The teacher will provide the child with an opportunity to become familiar with tools, aesthetic surroundings, etc., which are not a part of disadvantaged culture and illustrate their value to him.

The teacher will provide opportunities to manipulate objects and tools which promote learning experiences.

The teacher will not rely solely upon measurements of ability, but will provide many opportunities for the pupil to experience variability of experience in order to promote growth in individual skills and abilities.

Discourage emotional outbursts and encourage growth of manners and the social amenities among these youngsters.

The teacher will recognize the presence and encourage development of the child's physical movements (coordination), manipulation of objects, and voice tones.

LIST B

TEACHING STRATEGIES AND THE HUMAN RELATIONS PRINCIPLES FROM WHICH THEY FLOW

1. THE FUNDAMENTAL RIGHT OF EVERY HUMAN BEING IS TO BE ACCORDED DIGNITY AND RESPECT.

   (a) The teacher, then, in disciplining the child for misconduct uses a kind tone of voice and a calm non-threatening manner, indicating to the child that despite his disciplining, he does not think less of the child, but he does object to the misconduct.

   (b) Even though the pupil cannot keep pace with the class in academic work, the teacher works to discover his strong points and gives him every opportunity to indicate strong points in these areas.

   (c) At no time does the teacher fail to respect the child by calling attention to his defects or by ridiculing or ignoring him.

   (d) He is careful not to condemn the child as unworthy - either through facial expressions, gestures, withdrawal, or by setting him apart from the group.

2. THE IDEAL DESIGN FOR HUMAN GROUP LIVING IS ACCEPTANCE OF THE PERSON EVEN WHILE REJECTING HIS BEHAVIOR.

   (a) The teacher does not embarrass the child whose work is not neatly done by publicly denouncing his untidiness, but seizes an opportunity to talk with him privately to suggest the importance of developing habits of neatness.

   (b) With the child who appears uninterested and bored, the teacher attempts to discover the cause of this attitude and does not immediately label him (mentally or verbally) as a non-learner or "blockhead."

3. THE WAY AN INDIVIDUAL PERCEIVES REALITY IS REALITY FOR HIM.

   (a) The teacher attempts to help the child see things as they really are so that his perceptions will be more accurate. This may be done through experiential situations in which the senses are employed in discovering the truth. Specifically, this might involve field trips in which he is given an opportunity to discover that others with obstacles such as he (the child) himself confronts did not accept defeat but persisted and, through education and training, succeeded despite these disadvantages.

(b) Through bibliotherapy, the teacher can lead the child to discover for himself desirable values, attitudes, and modes of behavior that lead to success in the general culture.

(c) The teacher, in attempting to lead the child to a recognition of reality, tries to discover the present values of the child and suggests more desirable ways for their expression.

4. EVERY HUMAN BEING CAN SOLVE HIS OWN PROBLEMS AT HIS OWN LEVEL OF ABILITY IF HE KNOWS HIS RESOURCES AND CAN GET AT THEM.

It is to be noted that the concept states an individual "can solve his own problems." This does not indicate that he will - because of lack of motivation, lack of interest, confused values, a feeling it is not worthwhile in terms of the time and effort involved. Thus the teacher must be concerned with these points in leading the child to recognize his needs as well as the available resources such as:

His inherent capacity
His present level of ability
His physical skills:
    to manipulate things
    to see, hear, speak, smell, touch
His sources of information:
    People
    Books His culture in general
    Mass Media
His past experience and understandings

5. COMMUNICATION IS THE LIFELINE OF HUMAN RELATIONS. THE QUALITY OF ONE'S INTER-PERSONAL RELATIONS IS AS GOOD AS THE QUALITY OF ONE'S COMMUNICATION.

(a) The teacher will strive to understand the language (vocabulary and sentence patterns) of the culturally disadvantaged child in order to facilitate communication. He will also strive to better understand the child's values, attitudes, need-system, aspirations, and behavior patterns. Role-playing and socio-dramas, then, will be frequently encouraged.

(b) The teacher will strive to express himself in words and phrases as well as gestures that are meaningful to the disadvantaged child, and will AVOID emotion-laden words and expressions.

6. THE QUALITY OF ONE'S COMMUNICATION IS AS HIGH AS THE DEGREE TO WHICH ONE CONSISTENTLY AND OBJECTIVELY KNOWS HIMSELF.

The teacher will employ the following steps:

(a) Make an effort to know himself thoroughly, recognizing those aspects of self that need changing. And he will provide situations which will help the pupils understand themselves, encouraging them, too, to recognize weaknesses. Self-understanding on the part of the teacher may be achieved through:

(1) Honest introspection to discover one's own feelings and attitudes toward persons, places, issues, and things.

(2) A study of one's own performance in group situations.

Pupil self-understanding might be promoted through experience situations, such as the following, in which the same two techniques will be employed:

games, tasks, prestige chores, committee work. These help the child more accurately appraise his strengths and weaknesses as well as his behavior.

(b) Make an effort to find the means by which his own changes and those of the pupils can be affected. (See concept #12.)

(c) Make an effort to reach for these things himself and to encourage the pupils to do likewise. (See concept #12.)

7. THE EXTENT TO WHICH A HUMAN BEING DOES NOT HAVE THE EMOTIONAL SUPPORT OF HIS ENVIRONMENT OF PEOPLE, IS THE EXTENT TO WHICH HE CANNOT COMMUNICATE.

(a) The teacher should give the child every possible opportunity to try out a variety of skills, both academic and social, so that through a measure of success he can gain the acceptance and the respect of his peers.

(b) The teacher will employ those teaching methods which provide many opportunities for the culturally disadvantaged child to PARTICIPATE in goal-setting and goal acquisition. Thus, the teacher will provide a PERMISSIVE learning atmosphere commensurate with the child's abilities to accept responsiblity.

(c) When a boy or a girl in a mixed classroom sees that the teacher believes in him, sees that the teacher really means it when he says, "I am here to prove to you that you can read and write," something happens to that girl or boy.

When the teacher:

(1) helps him select a worthwhile TV program designed to make some specific more meaningful to him;
(2) takes him to the library and helps him select a book, and
(3) holds up his paper and reads even one sentence, as an achievement any teacher would be proud of,

something happens to that child, a release of energy which in decades past we have seen as coming only from the inherently gifted child.

8. EVERY CHILD, ESPECIALLY THE CULTURALLY DISADVANTAGED CHILD, NEEDS WORTHY MODELS TO IMITATE.

(a) The effective teacher is aware of this need and will strive to provide such models.

(b) The teacher will provide either directly in his own person or through direct contacts with other individuals worthy identification models such as pictures of Negroes who have achieved status in the community as well as nationally and internationally; personal contacts; biographies and autobiographies; fiction and drama; and radio and TV programs in which such persons are featured.

9. TO CHANGE AN INDIVIDUAL YOU MUST CHANGE HIS PERCEPTION OF REALITY.

(a) The teacher will provide learning-situations:

(1) Which are geared to the learner's present LEVEL of rational and sensory development.

(2) Which provide opportunities for remediation and/or compensatory development.

Thus, the teacher provides each culturally disadvantaged child many opportunities to have DIRECT EXPERIENCES with things, situations, and events.

Thus, too, the teacher will provide special remedial situations which enable and encourage the child to discover generalizations and, thereby, form concepts.

Examples of such learning situations are: field trips, audio-visual aids, social experience in the classroom.

(b) The teacher, through direct and vicarious experience situations, will help children grasp both perceptual and conceptual relationships frequently missing in the culturally disadvantaged child's cultural and inter-personal environment.

For example: the teacher in taking his class for a walk around the block might ask the class to draw pictures of the things they had seen. One child might draw a picture of a policeman. The teacher would use this particular

drawing to stimulate a class discussion of the relationship of the policeman to the children themselves. Through careful direction, the pupils may be led to see the policeman in a desirable relationship to themselves.

10. EVERY INDIVIDUAL EXISTS IN A CONTINUALLY CHANGING WORLD OF EXPERIENCE OF WHICH HE IS THE CENTER. THEREFORE, EVERY INDIVIDUAL HAS A BASIC DRIVE TO MAINTAIN: ACTIVATE, AND ENHANCE SELF, AND WILL INTERNALIZE ONLY THAT WHICH HE SEES AS MAINTAINING, ACTIVATING, AND ENHANCING SELF.

The teacher, therefore, will help the poor and non-reader to see that reading is one of the means to achieving a desired goal, such as the assembling of a model airplane; the child earnestly wants to put the plane together but cannot. He knows that directions would help him; these directions are written, so the child is highly motivated to learn to read the directions.

11. THE SELF CONCEPT IS THE MOST SIGNIFICANT SINGLE FACTOR ON THE NATURAL LEVEL IN MOTIVATING AND SHAPING BEHAVIOR. EVERY INDIVIDUAL, IN ORDER TO BE A FULLY FUNCTIONING MEMBER OF SOCIETY, MUST HAVE A HEALTHY SELF-CONCEPT.

(a) Realizing that a negative self-concept lowers a child's level of aspiration, motivation, and interest in school work, the teacher will provide the culturally disadvantaged child - especially the Negro child - many DIRECT EXPERIENCES with ideal identification models, personal success, and acceptance by the community. Such experiences will ENHANCE the child's ego and subsequently his vision of himself. Every effort will be made to help the child set realistic goals for himself, i.e., by giving each child a VARIETY of opportunities to help him discover his potentials and special skills and aptitudes. (See items 3a, b, c, and 4a.)

(b) The teacher, while helping each child to raise his aspiration level, will constantly help him recognize, accept, and utilize his limitations. An example of this effort is the teacher's helping the child to raise his achievement level.

(c) The teacher will make every effort to treat each child as a unique person of value and in this way help the child enhance his ego.

(d) Children should be given an opportunity to laugh, hope, dream, etc., and to see these as human.

(e) The teacher, aware of the fact that many culturally disadvantaged children in their family, sibling, and peer group relationships experience rejection, will make every effort to compensate as far as possible by such activities as:

(1) Presenting in his or her own person a mother or father substitute where such is needed.
(2) Showing a child how to achieve peer-group recognition and status.
(3) Giving children an opportunity to perform status-giving chores in the classroom.

(f) The teacher must have a healthy self-concept, and he must create a climate in which children can develop a healthy self-concept.

12. TO BUILD NEW VALUES, THE PARENT, TEACHER, COUNSELOR, OR GUIDANCE WORKER MUST KNOW WHAT VALUES EXIST. THE VALUE SYSTEM OF A GROUP AND OF ITS MEMBERS MAY BE NOTED IN THE WAYS UNKNOWNS IN THE LIFE OF THE GROUP ARE CONFRONTED.

(a) The teacher will make frequent observations of many different situations in which children are making choices, solving problems, stating ideas, telling how they feel about things that are important to them, and about what they would do in certain situations.

The teacher will, therefore, use various socio-metric techniques, e.g., using open-end questions, problem-stories, role-playing, story-telling, socio-dramas, sociograms, diaries and parental interviews.

(b) A good teacher will appreciate worthwhile values held by the lower socio-economic class and attempt through these means to enable the child to use these values in constructive ways.

(c) The teacher will provide opportunities in learning situations for each culturally disadvantaged child to experience SELF-ENHANCEMENT through identifying with and internalizing certain desirable values, attitudes, and behavior patterns.

(d) In addition to providing opportunities for culturally disadvantaged children to see themselves as CAPABLE of higher achievement in school, success, and acceptance by society, the teacher will provide PRAISE and other forms of REWARDS for those pupil behaviors that give evidence of a change for the better.

(e) The teacher will strive not to IMPOSE middle-class values, attitudes, etc., upon culturally disadvantaged children, but to help them to see that such values, etc., are PERSONALLY ENHANCING. Praise and other forms of rewards will help children see this enhancement.

13. EVERY HUMAN BEING HAS BASIC PSYCHOLOGICAL NEEDS WHICH MUST BE MET. THESE NEEDS ARE: SECURITY, ACCEPTANCE, PRESTIGE, SENSE OF ACCOMPLISHMENT, AFFECTION, SENSE OF BELONGING, PSYCHOLOGICAL INDEPENDENCE, AND A SENSE OF PERSONAL WORTH.

Therefore, the teacher will exhibit:

(a) Continual patience, sensitivity to the child's needs, recognition of his very small successes, and a firm sympathetic insistence on his applying himself to the best of his ability.

(b) The teacher must build a climate in which the child can feel that he is accepted by the authority figure and by his peer group.

(c) When these lacks are recognized, the teacher must help the child discover the object (the knowledge, the fact, the skill) that will fill the lack, so that he may be motivated to reach for the object and make it his own. The teacher should encourage new explorations so that the child may discover any potential talent unknown to him.

14. EMOTIONAL CONTROL, WHICH IS AN INDICATION OF EMOTIONAL MATURITY, IS NECESSARY FOR EFFECTIVE GROUP LIVING.

EMOTIONS RESULTING FROM THE WAY AN INDIVIDUAL PERCEIVES AND CONCEPTUALIZES A SITUATION, BOTH ACCOMPANY AND FACILITATE GOAL-DIRECTED BEHAVIOR.

(a) The teacher, who must set an example of emotional maturity, must never lose self-control, but must attempt to treat any conflict situation objectively.

(b) The teacher will show pupils that there are many alternate but acceptable ways of getting rid of feelings of aggression, hostility, and frustrations, and of meeting conflict situations, e.g., competitive games to "blow off" steam; exploring through discussions various ways to solve a problem; using literature to discover how others solved similar problems; examining realistically school and community laws to understand their purpose and value for group living.

15. IT CAN NEVER BE ASSUMED THAT A PERSON HAS THE KNOWLEDGE AND SKILLS HE NEEDS TO MEET THE SITUATION CONFRONTING HIM.

    (a) The teacher, therefore, will make every effort to insure the child's comprehension of the situation (lesson, etc.) by means of "feedback," through actual trial performance of a given task and by asking the pupil to give concrete examples and to generalize.

    (b) The teacher, understanding that the culturally disadvantaged child tends to handle the concrete more readily than the abstract, will use many examples and methods of approach to test his comprehension.

    (c) The teacher will help the child to see, when he fails, that he is not a failure, but that he failed in this task. Diagnose, with him, the reasons for his failure.

16. TO BE A GOOD CITIZEN REQUIRES KNOWLEDGE AND SKILL. RESPECT FOR CONSTITUTED AUTHORITY IS BASIC TO MEMBERSHIP IN A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY.

    (a) The teacher must understand that the school's principal task is to impart wisdom. The child must be encouraged to secure an adequate education through instruction, counseling, and guidance.

    (b) The teacher will provide many learning-situations in which selected permissiveness allows the culturally disadvantaged child, especially the Negro, to feel secure and comfortable in an inter-personal environment which is free of harsh or authoritarian control.

    (c) The teacher will employ group dynamics to the extent possible in the improvement of pupil self-concepts and behavior patterns.

    (d) In the classroom as nowhere else, children can be helped to understand the rationale of Supreme Court interpretations of the Constitution and the Bill of Rights and to appreciate the logic of the legal process. They can be stimulated into free discussion of ideas and critical analysis of controversial issues. They can learn to evaluate law and government as forces which protect their rights and sweep otherwise immovable obstacles from the path of progress.

Unfortunately, space will not permit a description and discussion of several pioneering programs which have been developed as a means of providing both pre- and in-service opportunities for the development of good teachers for inner-city schools. We would, however, be somewhat

derelict if we did not mention a few of these exciting teacher-development programs. The reader, then, is invited to study the following:[1]

1. The Hunter College Program
2. The Queens College Project
3. The Saint Louis University F.A.E. Experiment
4. The Deactur Workshops and Institutes
5. The East Texas State University Project in Self-Analysis for Value Deprivation.

It is hoped that in another paper the writer will be able to give some attention to the topics listed below which could not be gone into at this time:

1. The Roles of the Elementary and Secondary Schools in Career Education and Development.
2. Implications of Crucial Urban Economic Factors for Leadership among School Personnel.
3. Suggestions for Developing Economic Literacy among School Personnel.

It would seem that if educational personnel both at the pre- and in-service levels are to develop the degree of sophisticated understandings they must have in order to help the nation's public elementary and secondary school systems in the big cities to cease being a part of the urban crisis and if these educators are to become effective participants in those activities that result in solutions to the crucial problems of urbania, then teacher development institutions and in-service departments of school systems must develop and implement special urban-related pro

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[1]Rather brief descriptions of each of these programs can be found in the writer's textbook mentioned earlier in this paper.

grams for their teachers and administrators as well as other instruction-related personnel.

Obviously, the kinds of urban-oriented programs needed for either pre- or in-service personnel will of necessity vary greatly in terms of the number and kinds of experience opportunities afforded. Some programs will consist, no doubt, of university or college courses primarily; others will provide the necessary training through seminars and workshops; still others might well present a combination of these two or provide on-the-job training in internships and team teaching or other team-like experiences. Whatever form a particular school system's urban training program takes, it would seem that some of the following areas or topics will be included:

1. In the Area of Urban Affairs

   Introduction to Urban Economics

   Impediments to Urban Economic Growth

   Urban Manpower Economics

   Urban Communities - City and Suburban

   Race, Class, and Power

   Black Metropolis

   Urban Conflict

   Urban Community Organization

   Youth and the Changing Metropolis

   Introduction to Urban Analysis

   The Urban Black

   Urban Gaming and Simulation

2. In the Area of Human Relations

   Sociological and Psychological Principles in Human Relations

Institute on Human Relations, Inter-Group and Inter-Groups Interaction

Issues in Human Relations in the Urban Community

New Family Patterns and the "New People"

Social and Legal Aspects of Metropolitan Problems.

3. In the Area of the Urban School

School Law

City School Administration

Seminar in Current Educational Problems: Personnel and Professional Negotiations

School and Business Finance

4. In the Area of Inner-City Teaching

Unit and Inquiry Teaching

Practicum with Disadvantaged Learners

Leadership Development Through In-Service Programs

Practicum in Instructional Leadership

Foundations in Urban Education

Philosophical, Psychological, and Sociological Considerations in Education for the Disadvantaged

Urban Dynamics and Educational Planning

Curricular Implications for the Disadvantaged:
(a) elementary school learner
(b) secondary school learner

Workshop in Current Instructional Problems in Inner-City Schools

Diagnosing and Assessing the Disadvantaged.

Possibly a school system should seek the help of a neighboring university or teachers college in setting up a program of in-service training for its school personnel. For the best results, the program should provide opportunities for school personnel to become involved in seminars, institutes, and internships during the regular school day as well as on Saturdays. Also, some tangible incentives should be incorporated in the program.

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