ABSTRACT
        The short-range purposes of this study were (1) to
determine parental attitudes about the appropriateness of two
varieties of Black English for their children in three contexts
(classroom, neighborhood, and home) and in four language arts areas
(listening, speaking, reading, and writing), and (2) to show how
parents' attitudes are related to their demographic, socioeconomic,
political, and linguistic characteristics. Eighty parents of first-
and sixth-grade children, randomly selected in two cities, provided
data through interviews and a questionnaire. Eighteen independent
variables were operationalized, with eight of the variables showing a
significant relationship to parents' attitudes on the chi-square test
of significance. Findings showed that parents have rules for the use
of several varieties of Black English; accept Africanized English in
listening and speaking, but not in reading and writing; accept
Africanized English in the home and some community contexts, but not
in schools; and accept Africanized English in informal settings, but
seldom in formal ones. (A bibliography, nine appendixes, and
twenty-two tables are included.) (Author/JM)

STANFORD CENTER
FOR RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT
IN TEACHING

Technical Report No. 46

APPROPRIATE USE OF BLACK ENGLISH
BY BLACK CHILDREN AS RATED BY PARENTS

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Stanford, California

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INTRODUCTORY STATEMENT

The Center's mission is to improve teaching in American schools. Its work is carried out through three research and development programs--Teaching Effectiveness, The Environment for Teaching, and Teaching and Linguistic Pluralism--and a technical assistance program, the Stanford Urban/Rural Leadership Training Institute. A program of Exploratory and Related Studies includes smaller studies not included in the major programs. The ERIC Clearinghouse on Information Resources is also a part of the Center.

This report, which reproduces the author's dissertation (Stanford University, 1975), is based on research carried out in the Program on Teaching and Linguistic Pluralism.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

ABSTRACT

The short-range purposes of this study were (a) to
determine parental attitudes about the appropriateness of two
varieties of Black English for their children in three contexts,
called "domains" (classroom, neighborhood, and home) and in
four language arts areas or "channels" (listening, speaking,
reading, and writing); and (b) to show how parents' attitudes
are related to their demographic, socioeconomic, political,
and linguistic characteristics.

The long-range purposes of this report are to argue
in favor of making the community a vital part of curriculum
decision-making, to contribute to the literature on language
attitude assessment, and to broaden the description of Black
English.

Eighty parents of first and sixth grade children were
randomly selected in two cities, 64 in one city, 16 in the
other. Data were gathered by means of a questionnaire and
interviews. Taped and written speech samples were used in
assessing attitude variation with regard to domain and channel.
The question "Would you object to your child hearing/speaking/
reading/writing as the tape/book/ note does in the home/
school/ community?" was asked about two sets of 22 sentences--
one set in Nonstandard Black English (or Africanized English),
the other in Standard (Less Africanized). To ensure independent
ratings, parents were asked all 22 questions about one variety
before they were asked about the other. Responses to the ques-
tions were combined in a scale called Africanized Rate, the
dependent variable.

The following independent variables were operational-
ized: Black Consciousness, Cultural Behavior, Political
Behavior, Black English Proficiency, Social Scale, General
Attitudes toward Black English, Residence, Marital Status,
Age, Birthplace, Length of Time in Birthplace, Size of Birth-
place, Previous Exposure to Black English Issues, Ambition
for Child, Self Speech Proficiency Rating, Rating of Child's
Speech Proficiency, Rating of Child's School Achievement, and
Basic Skills Orientation.

The first eight variables were significantly related
to parents' attitudes on the chi-square test of significance.
Social Scale, Black Consciousness, Cultural Behavior, Political
Behavior, and General Attitudes toward Black English showed

that parents high in these measures were also high in their preference for Africanized English in the classroom. Parental proficiency in Africanized English was associated with low parental preference for it in the classroom, particularly for reading. Urban single parents tended to have a high preference for Africanized English in the classroom.

The parents interviewed do not "hate their language," as so many linguists and educators have assumed. They do have rules for the use of the several varieties of Black English based on context and channel. They accept Africanized English in the listening and speaking channels, but not in the reading and writing channels; they accept Africanized English in the home and some community contexts, but generally not in the schools; they accept Africanized English in informal settings, but seldom in formal ones.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Background of the Problem

The failure of the schools to teach large numbers of Black and other low-income children reading and the other language arts is one of the most often discussed and written-about topics in the field of Education today. According to Federal statistics, 19 million Americans over the age of 16 are illiterate. The U.S. Office of Education estimates that 40 to 50 percent of the students in American cities have serious reading problems; 25 percent of all high school students drop out before graduation.[1] Black and other low-income groups make up a disproportionately large percentage of these groups.[2]

Many reasons over the years have been offered for this failure in American education. In each instance, the explanations tend to fit the demands of the given socio-political climate.

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[1] New York Times (September 17, 1973), p. 3.

[2] C. Silberman, Crisis in the Classroom (New York: Vintage Books, 1971), p. 65.

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During slavery times, education was largely withheld from Black people. This denial of literacy was justified by the alleged propensity of the slave to revolt if literate. Anc her reason given for depriving slaves of literacy was that literacy would make them "unfit for their place in society."[3]

In the 1870's, when free public schools were first established, to insure that Black education remained largely industrial and manual-labor oriented, Judge R. P. Carpenter of South Carolina said:

> The colored population upon the seacoast and upon the rivers, in point of intelligence, is just slightly removed from the animal creation as it is conceivable for man to be. . . . They talk a very outlandish idiom, utterly unknown to me. They are very ignorant, and still have very strong passions, and these bad men lead them just as a man would lead or drive sheep.[4]

And General Armstrong, founder of Hampton Institute, one of the first training schools for Black teachers, stated, in speaking of the Negro:

> He is capable of acquiring knowledge to any degree, and to a certain age, at least, with about the same facility as white children; but lacks the power to assimilate and digest it. The Negro matures sooner than the white, but does not have his steady development of mental strength up to the advanced years. He is a child of the tropics, and the differentiation

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[3]Henry Allen Bullock, A History of Negro Education in the South (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1970), p. 75.

[4]Ibid., p. 61.

of races goes deeper than the skin.[5]

These explanations of Black "inferiority" were
used to justify the total segregation of the races in the
south,   solidify the "separate but equal" concept in
schooling, invoke legal disfranchisement, shorten terms
for Black schools, pay Black teachers less, allocate less
money to Black schools, use inferior equipment, and ap-
point teachers through patronage.

By the early 1900's progressive education, through
the efforts of John Dewey, was instituted to last for more
than half a century. This approach to education was char-
acterized by an attempt to adjust the school to the needs
of the children. This individual approach, however, often
resulted in "sorting out the children . . . by their
evident or probable destinies."[6] Tracking systems thus
prepared lower class children for lower level jobs through
"industrial education," and upper class children for upper
level responsibilities. Postponement of the teaching of
reading, a change from the phonic approach to the whole
word approach to teaching reading, and general relaxation
of discipline and expectations were characteristics of
this philosophy.

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[5]Ibid., p. 76.

[6]Charles Eliot, cited in Sol Cohen, "The Industrial
Education Movement," American Quarterly, 20 (Spring, 1968),
p. 108.

Black and other low-income students continued to
fail. As Coontz describes it:

> Failure in U.S. schools is remarkably uniform.
> The same percentage of students failed at the
> turn of the century as fail today. Moreover,
> the same types of students fail--the poorest
> groups, and especially those against whom racism
> is most virulent.[7]

The reasons given for this failure satisfied the era's need

for a stratified labor force with workers who were more

like "extensions of the machinery than autonomous human

beings."[8] One of the reasons given for this failure of

low-income students to acquire literacy was lack of

ability:

> . . . at least a third of the entire school
> population is incapable of mastering the stock
> tools of learning (reading and writing) well
> enough to profit from textbook instruction.
> . . .[9]

It was also thought that many students (the same lower

third--the lower class) didn't need the skills of liter-

acy:

> Through the years we've built a sort of halo

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[7]Stephanie Coontz, "The Failure of American Education," International Socialist Review, 35, No. 7 (July-August, 1974), 32.

[8]Samuel Bowles, "Unequal Education and the Reproduction of the Social Division of Labor," Schooling in a Corporate Society, ed. Martin Carnoy (New York: David McKay, 1972), p. 45.

[9]Mitford Mathews, Teaching to Read Historically Considered (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966), p. 146.

> around reading, writing and arithmetic. We've
> said they were for everybody--rich and poor,
> brilliant and not-so-mentally endowed. . . .
>   We shall some day accept the thought that
> it is just as illogical to assume that every
> boy must be able to read as it is that each one
> must be able to perform on a violin. . . .[10]

In the 1960's, a new reason was given for the lack
of reading achievement of Black and other low-income stu-
dents--Cultural Deprivation. This theory held that the
alleged culture of the "deprived," "disadvantaged" child--
homes with no books for enlightenment, with not enough
food, and with little or no intellectual stimulation--was
responsible for the failure of the schools to teach children
literacy.

Many were led to place the blame for this failure
on the child's culture because of the 1966 Coleman report,
which asserts that the "human resources" children bring to
school seem to have more effect on their different rates
of learning than the school's resources.[11]

A massive attempt to rectify the failure of educa-
tion for the low-income was then devised under the title
"Compensatory Education." The assumption behind these
educational efforts was that culturally deprived children

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[10]Ibid., p. 147.

[11]J. Coleman, et al., _Equality of Educational Oppor-
tunity_ (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Office of Education, 1966),
p. 325.

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were operating with a cognitive disadvantage. A typical

explanation is as follows:

> With no known exception, studies of 3 to 5 year
> old children from lower socio-economic back-
> grounds have shown them to be retarded or below
> average in every intellectual ability. . . .
> his cognitive uses of language are severely
> restricted . . . the disadvantaged child usually
> does have a language, even though an immature
> and nonstandard one. . . .[12]

Programs established as a result of this philosophy

were largely geared toward motivation, social adjustment,

and lack of emphasis on cognitive or academic concerns.

The philosophy and programs also reflected the socio-

political climate of the era in that impressive explana-

tions were necessary to justify the massive expenditures

for programs for the "culturally deprived," which as Yette

so skillfully describes, often benefited only the top 10

percent of the minority group population, and allowed the

giant corporations generous write-offs for obsolete educa-

tional equipment and supplies.[13]

While these non-academic programs did not result

in academic gains, they helped pave the way for the next

explanation for lack of achievement in school on the part

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[12]Carl Bereiter and Siegfried Engelmann, _Teaching
Disadvantaged Children in the Preschool_ (Englewood Cliffs,
N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1966), pp. 3, 31.

[13]Sam Yette, _The Choice: The Issue of Black Sur-
vival in America_ (New York: Berkeley Medallion Books,
1971), p. 36.

of the low-income. In the late 1960's, Arthur Jensen

asserted that compensatory education programs had been

failures. Jensen attributed this failure to the I.Q.

scores of Black children. He asserted that these scores

were a good measure of intelligence, that I.Q. was de-

termined genetically, and, therefore, that Blacks' I.O.

scores being lower than Whites' indicated an inferioritv

that was genetically based.[14]

These views were accepted by some. But they were

rejected by others who are opposed to the extensive use

of I.Q. scores, indicators that can be raised in three

hours of training,[15] that are written in the language of

the middle class, and that reflect the values of the mid-

dle class.[16]

In the early 1970's appeared a new theory--that of

Cultural Difference.[17] The main contention underlying

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[14]Arthur Jensen, "How Much Can We Boost I.Q. and
Scholastic Achievement?" Harvard Education Review, 34, No. 1
(Winter, 1969), 1-124.

[15]Alan Gartner, Colin Greer, and Frank Reissman, The
New Assault on Equality (New York: Harper and Row, 1974),
p. 2.

[16]Kenneth Eells and Allison Davis, et al., Intelli-
gence and Cultural Difference (Chicago: University of
Chicago Press, 1951), p. 54.

[17]Stephen B. Baratz and Joan C. Baratz, "Early Child-
hood Intervention: The Social Science Base of Institutional
Racism," Challenging the Myths: The Schools, the Blacks,
and the Poor (Cambridge: Harvard Education Review, Re-
print No. 5, 1971), p. 128.

this philosophy is that Black children are not deficient;
they are just different. Their culture is highly "soulful":
stressing music, art, dancing, and oral literature. Public
school programs established as a result of this philosophy
center around multi-cultural curricula and lack of emphasis
on cognitive or academic skills. For example, one pro-
ponent of this philosophy stated:

> There is some question about the degree to
> which standard English can be taught to the
> ghetto child in the classroom at all.[18]

In this atmosphere of acceptance of differences the
next theory for explaining the failure of education for
Black people emerged. "Negro Non-standard English" had
become a subject of intense discussion. Linguists dis-
covered through research on Black informants that Black
English is a rule-governed language variety--not the broken,
corrupt, immature English it had been thought to be.

Many educators and linguists therefore began to
focus on "Negro NonStandard English" as the major obstacle
to teaching Black children to read. The point of view
that the grammatical, phonological, and lexical features
of Black English are so different from "standard" English
as to be virtually a foreign language became increasingly

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[18]W. Wolfram and R. Fasold, "Toward Reading Materials
for Speakers of Black English," Teaching Black Children to
Read, ed. by J. Baratz and R. Shuy (Washington, D.C.:
Center for Applied Linguistics, 1968), p. 143.

popular in the literature. These points of difference

constituted "interference" in terms of reading. As one

educator stated:

> It is unreasonable to expect disadvantaged Black
> children to read a variety of English they do
> not speak. . . . Delay [the teaching of standard
> English] until adolescence. . . .[19]

Proponents of the Cultural Difference philosophy who be-

lieve that the child's use of Black English is the reason

for his lack of success in learning to read now advocate

that reading materials be written in Black English, and

that non-standard Black writing and speech be accepted in

the classroom.

A new philosophy is now developing which does not

blame the victim or his culture for low reading scores and

other manifestations of the schools' failure to teach Black

and other low-income children. This new philosophy is

called "Excellence," and focuses on academic programs,

strict discipline and high expectations on the part of

teachers and administration. An example of this school of

thought is the Nairobi Day School, founded by Gertrude

Wilks, a community mother who insisted that Black child-

ren could learn and started her own school to demonstrate

that they could learn. The children there read three

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[19]Ken Johnson, "When Should Standard English Be
Taught to Speakers of Nonstandard Negro Dialect?"
Language Learning, 20, No. 1 (June, 1970), 27.

years above grade level.[20]

Proponents of the Excellence philosophy feel that those who are followers of the Cultural Difference school of thought are "sentimental egalitarians,"[21] i.e. those who believe in equality on a sentimental basis, ignoring racism and other such intervening variables. For example, a person who reads well may feel that one who doesn't is equal to him and doesn't need to learn to read. The person who cannot read, however, knows he is not equal in a society in which literacy is a marketable skill.

Intermittent writers throughout the other periods aforementioned also insisted on academic programs, as do followers of the Excellence philosophy, and refused to blame the victim or his culture for low reading scores held by Black children. Carter G. Woodson[22] blamed poor teacher preparation for the lack of achievement; Kenneth Clark[23] listed low teacher expectations, and Jeanne Chall[24] attributed the low scores to improper teaching

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[20]Deborah Daniels, _Education By, For, and About African Americans_ (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Printing, 1973), p. 43.

[21]Interview with Charles Ferguson, Stanford, California, December, 1972.

[22]Carter G. Woodson, _Miseducation of the Negro_ (Washington, D.C.: Associated Publishers, 1933), p. 22.

[23]Kenneth Clark, _Dark Ghetto_ (New York: Harper and Row, 1965), p. 131.

[24]Jeanne Chall, _Learning to Read: The Great Debate_

methodology.

Statement of the Problem

As a result of the aforementioned establishment of Black English as a rule-governed language variety, many recommendations from the educational sector have emerged. Many linguists and educators favor the use of Black English in the classroom in various settings; others are opposed.

In teaching the beginning skills of reading, some educators and linguists such as Johnson,[25] Baratz,[26] and Stewart[27] favor the initial use of Black English. Two reading series in which non-standard Black English is used as the medium of instruction have been published.[28,29]

Educators and linguists favoring the use of Black English as the medium of instruction in teaching reading

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(New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1968).

[25]K. Johnson, "When Should Standard English Be Taught . . .," p. 27.

[26]J. Baratz, "Teaching Reading in an Urban School System," Teaching Black Children to Read, ed. by Baratz and Shuy (Washington, D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics, 1969).

[27]W. Stewart, "Negro Dialect in the Teaching of Reading," Teaching Black Children to Read, ed. by Baratz and Shuy (Washington, D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics, 1969).

[28]Board of Education, Psycholinguistics Reading Series (Chicago: City of Chicago, 1968).

[29]Education Study Center, Ollie (Washington, D.C.: Education Study Center, 1970).

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often cite the success of teaching other children to read first in their own dialects. Tore Osterberg[30] found that children in a Swedish village did better in reading when taught first in their native dialect. Evelyn Bauer[31] found that Indian children also responded well when their native language variety was used first in their learning to read. Other linguists, however believe that children should be equipped with training in learning to read in standard English.[32,33]

In the area of speaking, some educators and linguists believe that it is necessary to train children learning to speak to be bidialectal, to be proficient in both Black English and standard English. Materials written by Feigenbaum[34] are designed to help children accomplish this goal.

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[30]T. Osterberg, Bilingualism and the First School Language (Umea, Sweden: Vasterbotten Tryckeri, 1961).

[31]E. Bauer, "Teaching English to North American Indians in BIA Schools," Linguistic Reporter, 10, No. 4 (August, 1968), 1-3.

[32]B. Bailey, "Systems and Variations of Black English," paper presented at T.E.S.O.L. Convention, San Francisco, California, 1970.

[33]O. Taylor, "Response to Social Dialects and the Field of Speech," Sociolinguistic Theory: Materials and Practice, ed. by Shuy (Washington, D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics, 1971), p. 18.

[34]I. Feigenbaum, English Now (New York: New Century Educational Division, Meredith Corp., 1970).

Sledd[35] asserts, however, that to try to make children bidialectal is to succumb to the politics of racism. He feels that the larger society should be educated to accept Black English. Taylor[36] believes that teaching students to read in standard English is less controversial than teaching them to speak standard English; the former does not involve changing an already existing system.

Concerning the teaching of writing, Smitherman[37] agrees with Sledd that demanding that Black children become bidialectal represents a racist point of view. She feels that Black children write eloquently in their own style, which should be accepted by educators. Wolfram,[38] on the other hand, has isolated certain characteristic patterns found consistently in written Black English which he thinks should be emphasized as contrastive devices in teaching children to use standard forms.

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[35]J. Sledd, "Bidialectalism: The Linguistics of White Supremacy," The Play of Language, ed. by L. Dean, Gibson, and Wilson (London: Oxford University Press, 1971).

[36]O. Taylor, "Response to Social Dialects . . .," p. 18.

[37]G. Smitherman, "English Teacher, Why You Be Doing the Thangs You Don't Do?" English Journal, 61, No. 1 (January, 1972), 50-65.

[38]W. Wolfram and M. Whiteman, "The Role of Dialect Interference in Composition," Florida FL Reporter, 9, Nos. 1 and 2 (Spring/Fall, 1971), 34-38, 59.

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Some educators and linguists believe that in teach-
ing listening skills, Black English should be the language
variety heard by students for at least part of the day.
Wolfram[39] and Burling[40] support this view, as do Politzer
and Hoover,[41] who found that the ability to listen well
enough to discriminate between Black language varieties
may be connected also to reading.

Many educators and linguists have made their views
well known in the educational journals and in the lecture
halls of the universities. Parents, on the other hand,
when mentioned in the controversy at all, are often re-
ferred to negatively, and their opinions generally rejected.
For example, William Stewart states:

> It is still a sad fact that many Negroes are
> ambivalent about Negro dialect, while many
> others are openly hostile to it.[42]

And later Stewart states:

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[39]Ibid.

[40]R. Burling, "Standard Colloquial and Standard
Written English: Some Implications for Teaching Literacy
to Nonstandard Speakers," Florida FL Reporter, 8, No. 4
(Spring/Fall, 1970), 9-15.

[41]R. Politzer and M. Hoover, The Development of
Awareness of the Black Standard/Nonstandard Dialect Con-
trast Among Primary School Children (Stanford: Stanford
Center for Research and Development in Teaching, 1972).

[42]W. Stewart, "Current Issues in the Use of Negro
Dialect in Beginning Reading Texts," Florida FL Reporter,
8, No. 12 (Spring/Fall, 1970), 3-7.

> Linguists, for the most part, ought to be more
> concerned about the suitability of a particular
> set of Negro dialect readers than about the
> popularity of such materials among Negro
> adults.[43]

The same writer calls Blacks who reject non-standard Black

English "white-oriented, middle class, upwardly mobile . . .

against any public recognition of distinctively Negro be-

havior";[44] another writer states that Black parents reject

Black English because "they don't want to heighten the dif-

ferences between them and whites," and because of "political

pressures."[45]

Much has been written, then, about parents' motiva-

tions for "rejecting" Black English in the classroom; but

little research has been done actually to assess whether

Black parents do, in fact, "reject" Black English, and if

so, what their motivations for that rejection may be. Cer-

tainly, in an era where "community control" and "account-

ability" are bywords in education, it is critical that an

issue as fundamental as the language variety used as the

medium of instruction in the schools be thoroughly investi-

gated, not only by and for educators and linguists, but

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[43]W. Stewart, "Negro Dialect in the Teaching of
Reading," Teaching Black Children to Read, ed. by J.
Baratz and R. Shuy (Washington, D.C.: Center for Applied
Linguistics, 1969), p. 189.

[44]Ibid., pp. 187, 188.

[45]D. Crystal, "On Beryl Bailey on Negro Dialect
Readers," Florida FL Reporter, 9, Nos. 1 and 2 (Spring/
Fall, 1971), 44.

also by and for parents.

Statement of Purpose; Hypotheses

Though a few studies have been designed to ascer-
tain parents' attitudes toward the use of Black English
in the classroom (see Chapter II), most have not been
categorized according to parents' attitudes toward specific
instructional skills, i.e. reading, listening; most have
not recognized nor included the range of variations within
Black English in ascertaining parental preference for
language variety; r.sr, in measuring parental attitudes,
have not included the domains in which Black English is
appropriately used; and most have not included parental
proficiency or political attitudes among the independent
variables.

The short range purpose of this study is, there-
fore, to determine parental attitudes toward at least two
varieties of Black English for their children in three
domains--classroom, neighborhood, and home, and in four
language arts areas--listening, speaking, reading and
writing; and to see how their attitudes relate to their
demographic, socio-economic, political and linguistic
characteristics. The area of the language arts of most
concern is the area of reading, which has been the pre-
dominant focus of the language arts in terms of the usage
of Black English in the classroom.

The long-range purposes of this report are to add
to the developing literature in favor of establishing the
community as a vital part of curriculum decision-making as
a catalyst for improving the schools, to contribute to the
burgeoning literature on language attitude assessment, and
to broaden the description of Black English.

Hypotheses

1. High parental proficiency in non-standard
   Black English leads to low parental prefer-
   ence for nonstandard in the classroom.

   Argument: Parents who are highly proficient
   in non-standard Black English will not prefer
   that their children use non-standard in the
   classroom. They will want their children
   exposed to the "language of education"
   (standard) to which they were generally not
   exposed. They will so strongly want them
   exposed to standard that they will not en-
   dorse non-standard.

2. High parental proficiency in standard English
   leads to high parental preference for non-
   standard in the classroom.

   Argument: Parents who are highly proficient
   in standard will not object to their children
   learning non-standard in the classroom, as
   they probably expect that their children will
   learn standard from them at home.

3. Bidialectal parental proficiency (those pro-
   ficient in both standard and non-standard)
   leads to high preference for both varieties
   in the classroom.

   Argument: Parents who control both ways of
   speaking will prefer that their children also
   have this bidialectal advantage.

4. High education leads to high parental prefer-
   ence for non-standard Black English in the
   classroom.

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Argument: Parents who have achieved a degree
of education will not object to their children
being exposed to non-standard, because, as in
No. 2, they probably expect that their children
will learn standard from them at home.

5. High Black positive ethnicity leads to high
parental preference for non-standard in the
classroom.

Argument: Parents who have positive views of
their ethnicity will probably want their
children exposed to non-standard in order to
be closer to their heritage, in that non-
standard is more Africanized than standard
(Chapter III).

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Language Attitudes

Ferguson has defined language attitudes as "elicit-
able shoulds on who speaks what, when, and how."[1] There is
a large and growing body of literature on measurement of
these "elicitable shoulds," including attitudes toward
Black English, and a small body of literature on measure-
ment of attitudes of Black parents toward Black English.
The research in both of these attitudinal preferences will
be summarized in this chapter.

General Language Attitudes

Many studies of linguistic attitudes are involved
with social factors in bilingual and bidialectal speech
communities. In coining the term "diglossia," Ferguson[2]
discusses the existence in several speech communities of

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[1]Charles Ferguson, cited in Robert L. Cooper and
Joshua A. Fishman, "The Theory and Measurement of Language
Attitudes," Paper prepared for the International Seminar
of Language Testing (San Juan, Puerto Rico, May, 1973),
p. 2.

[2]Charles Ferguson, "Diglossia," Word, 15 (1959),
325-341.

high (H) and lower (L) varieties. The L variety is considered inferior to the H variety. H is usually considered more logical by the entire speech community, the vehicle for "important" thoughts, considered so even by those who do not speak it.

Lambert, originator of the matched-guise test, in which judges rate the personality and social characteristics of a variety of speakers, unaware that they are rating the same persons twice (the same bilingual or bi-dialectal speaker speaks two different segments, each in a different language or dialect), finds that social attitudes are powerful factors in how judges rate the speakers.

Lambert found that English Canadian (EC) judges favorably rated EC guises and unfavorably rated French Canadian (FC) guises. FC judges shared the same attitudes; as a matter of fact, FC judges were even more negative in judging FC speakers than were EC judges.[3] Tucker and Lambert[4] found that Black and White people in the south agree with other speakers that educated "network" English is preferable to Black southern, White southern,

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[3]Wallace Lambert, E. Hodgson, R. Gardner and S. Fillenbaum, "Evaluational Reactions to Spoken Languages," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 60, No. 1 (1960), 44-51.

[4]Richard Tucker and Wallace Lambert, "White and Negro Listeners' Reactions to Various American English Dialects," Social Forces, 47, No. 4 (June, 1969), 463-468.

and other varieties. Blacks preferred educated Black southern as their second preference.

Labov, in a linguistic survey of the lower east side of New York City, found that many residents have begun to view some aspects of their speech negatively. R's following vowels were not included in the traditional pattern of New York speech, so that homophones such as guard/ God exist. New Yorkers, especially the upwardly mobile lower middle class, are now putting their r's back in, particularly in formal situations, in that the loss of r was often stigmatized by the rest of the country.[5] D'Anglejan and Tucker found that speakers of French in Quebec rated standard European French as the prestige for:. of speech in comparison to Quebec French.[6]

Kimple found that Puerto Rican bilinguals gave higher ratings to English, as opposed to Spanish speakers, on social and occupational status in spite of variations in setting, content and appropriateness conditions.[7]

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[5]William Labov, "Phonological Correlates of Social Stratification," The Ethnography of Communication, Special issue of American Anthropologist, 66, No. 6.2, ed. by Gumperz and Hymes (1964).

[6]Alison D'Anglejan and Richard Tucker, "Sociolinguistic Correlates of Speech Style in Language Attitudes: Current Trends and Prospects," Language Attitudes, ed. by Robert Shuy and Ralph Fasold (Georgetown: School of Languages and Linguistics, 1974).

[7]James Kimple, Jr., R. Cooper and J. Fishman,

Speakers generally give some positive values to
their first languages, but whatever that positive factor
may be, it is different in different speech communities.
Ferguson found that speakers of Berber languages in Morocco
feel that Arabic is superior to Berber for all purposes
except intimate, domestic ones. Speakers of Kurdish in
Iraq, on the other hand, feel that Arabic is better than
Kurdish for statements of religion and as a _lingua_ _franca_
with Arab and Muslim speakers of other languages, but
Kurdish is considered more expressive and generally better
than Arabic for writing and as a medium of instruction in
the schools.[8]

Wolck found that in Peru judges of a matched guise
test involving speakers of Spanish and Quechua, the local
dialect, rated Spanish as the language of education,
Quechua the language of virility, bravery and directness.[9]
Rubin found, in her work on Paraguay, that natives pre-
ferred Guarani in rural locations and in intimate situa-
tions, and Spanish in formal and serious situations. Other

"Language Switching and the Interpretation of Conversa-
tions," _Lingua_, 23, No. 1 (June, 1969), 133.

[8]Charles Ferguson, _Language Structure and Language_
Use, ed. by A. Dil (Stanford: Stanford University Press,
1971), p. 154.

[9]W. Wolck, "Attitudes toward Spanish and Quechua
in Bilingual Peru," _Language Attitudes: Current Trends and_
Prospects (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press,
1973), p. 138.

dimensions were also involved in this complex speech com-

munity such as sex, but these were the major differences in

choice of language variety.[10]

In Israel, Jewish and Arab adolescents, when given

a matched-guise test, responded to each other's language

with mutual distrust. Both groups believed their own people

to be more honest, friendly, good-hearted, and more desir-

able as relatives through marriage.[11] Bourhis, et al.

found that Welsh speakers do not prefer the English Received

Pronunciation (RP) to their own Welsh accent speakers. On

the contrary, they preferred the Welsh speakers, rating

them highly on most traits.[12]

There are other examples of varying attitudes

toward speech by bilingual or bidialectal speakers. Lambert,

et al. have shown that French Americans from St. John's

Valley in Maine preferred speakers of their French dialect

to French Canadian and European French, and standard

American English models.[13] Anisfeld, et al. found Jewish

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[10]J. Rubin, "Bilingual Usage in Paraguay," Readings
in the Sociology of Language, ed. by J. Fishman (The
Hague: Mouton, 1970), pp. 512-530.

[11]Wallace E. Lambert, M. Anisfeld and G. Yeni-Komshian,
"Evaluational Reactions of Jewish and Arabic Adolescents
to Dialect and Language Variations," unpublished paper
(March, 1963).

[12]Richard Y. Bourhis, H. Giles and H. Tajfel, "Lang-
uage as a Determinant of Welsh Identity," unpublished paper,n.d.

[13]Wallace Lambert, H. Giles and O. Picard, "Language

Americans holding mixed feelings about their speech; they
liked some facets of their group's personalities, such as
humor and kindness, but disliked others.[14]

Remillard, et al. exposed French Quebec residents
to four language varieties--informal Canadian French (CF),
educated CF, European French, and standard educated English
in five social situations. They found that subjects would
use CF in informal situations such as home and school,
particularly lexical items, as opposed to phrases, in which
EF was generally more favored.[15]

El-Dash found that Egyptians rated classical Arabic
as the most suitable language variety for all situations
except the home, where colloquial was the more suitable.
The other situations in which classical was more suitable
were school, work, on the radio and television, and formal
and religious speeches. The other language varieties in-
volved were Egyptian English, American English, and British
English.[16]

Attitudes in a French-American Community," unpublished
paper (1973).

[14]M. Anisfeld, N. Bogo, and W. E. Lambert, "Evalua-
tional Reactions to Accented Speech," Journal of Abnormal
and Social Psychology, 65, No. 4 (1962), 223-31.

[15]L. Remillard, R. Tucker, and M. Bruck, "Role of
Phonology and Lexicon in Eliciting Reactions to Dialect
Variation," Anthropological Linguistics, 15, No. 9 (De-
cember, 1973), 383-396.

[16]L. El-Dash and G. R. Tucker, "Subjective Reactions
to Various Speech Styles in Egypt," International Journal
of the Sociology of Language (forthcoming).

Schneiderman found that first and sixth graders in
a French language school in Welland, Ontario, who were
French-Canadians, when given a choice between French and
English puppets, favored the French puppet in response to
matched-guise questions, even though they had by and large
adopted the language of the majority culture--English.[17]
Haynes found that Guyanese do not view language as a simple
continuum from worst to best, though she did find that
Guyanese generally prefer their own speech to British
speech; Barbadians, on the other hand, often rated British
speech as better than theirs. She attributes this differ-
ence to the differing political histories in the two
countries.[18]

Teacher Attitudes

There is a developing body of literature on teacher
attitudes toward the speech of their bilingual/bidialectal
students. Rosenthal and Jacobson reported to teachers in
a South San Francisco school district that 20 percent of
their students had been found to be intellectual "spurt-
ers," though they had in fact been selected completely

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[17]E. Schneiderman, "An Examination of Linguistic and
Ethnic Attitudes of Bilingual Children," (Buffalo: SUNY,
Linguistics Department, unpublished, 1974).

[18]L. Haynes, "Language in Barbados and Guyana: At-
titudes, Behaviors and Comparisons," unpublished Ph.D.
dissertation (Stanford University: May, 1973), p. 64.

randomly. Eight months later the "spurters" had in fact spurted; they showed significantly greater improvement in I.Q. scores than did the others. The teachers expected them to learn, and they did; a self-fulfilling prophecy was sustained.[19] Though this study has been critiqued, reanalyzed, and criticized, the fact remains that regardless of the validity or invalidity of the test, the experimental children did seem to improve more than the control children. This study sparked an interest in additional studies of teacher attitudes, some involving teacher attitudes toward language.

Leacock interviewed fifth-grade teachers in four schools in four neighborhoods and ranked their responses according to positive, negative, or neutral attitudes. There was a general down-grading of Black and low-income children, and children with the highest I.Q.s in the low-income Black classes were the most negatively viewed by the teachers.[20] Rist studied the effects of grouping or tracking on a kindergarten class which he followed through the first and second grades. The "fast learners," giv the majority of the teacher's time and attention succeeded through the second grade; the "slow learners," taught

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[19]R. Rosenthal and L. Jacobson, _Pygmalion in the Classroom_ (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1968).

[20]E. Leacock, _Teaching and Learning in City Schools_ (New York: Basic Books, 1969), p. 36.

less frequently, not only continued to perform as "slow learners," but also internalized the hostility directed against them by the teacher and the rest of the class by directing hostility and aggression toward each other.[21]

Williams, in a series of studies, has found that teachers downgrade Black and other "low status" children on the basis of speech samples on tape recordings,[22] videotapes,[23] and, in one study, simply on the basis of a description, where the actual child was neither seen nor heard![24] In the study involving videotapes, side views of children were presented so that their speech could not be lip read; speech samples were rated quite differently depending on the ethnic guise with which it was presented; for example, a Black child accompanied by a standard English recording was rated more non-standard than a White child.

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[21]R. Rist, "Student Social Class and Teacher Expectations: The Self-Fulfilling Prophecy in Ghetto Education," Challenging the Myths: The Schools, The Blacks, and the Poor (Cambridge: Harvard Educational Review, 1971).

[22]F. Williams, "Psychological Correlates of Speech Characteristics: On Sounding 'Disadvantaged,'" Journal of Speech and Hearing Research, 13, No. 3 (September, 1970), 472-488.

[23]F. Williams, J. Whitehead and L. Miller, "Ethnic Stereotypes and Judgments of Children's Speech," Speech Monographs, 38, No. 3 (August, 1971), 166-170.

[24]F. Williams, J. Whitehead and L. Miller, "Attitudinal Correlates of Children's Speech Characteristics." U.S.O.E. Research Report, Project No. 0-0336 (1971).

Seligman, Tucker, and Lambert presented teachers with a drawing, a photograph, and a speech sample concerning some third-grade boys. They found that speech characteristics and photographs affected teacher judgment of students. For example, a speech style indicative of "lower status" resulted in a limited intelligence rating in spite of his appearance and level of written work.[25]

Taylor and Covington have found in their studies some slightly more positive attitudes on the part of teachers toward their bilingual/bidialectal students. Teachers were given the Language Attitude Scale[26] and interviewed regarding their attitudes toward the language of students in their classes, using samples from students. There was a significant positive correlation between language as viewed by teachers and the achievement of students. Their attitudes toward the speech of their students was generally positive.[27] Taylor interviewed

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[25] C. R. Seligman, R. Tucker and W. Lambert, "The Effect of Speech Style and Other Attributes on Teachers' Attitudes Toward Pupils," Language in Society (in press).

[26] O. Taylor and A. Hayes, "Five Interrelated Studies to Increase the Effectiveness of English Language Instruction in Schools" (Washington, D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics, 1971).

[27] A. Covington, "Teachers' Attitudes Toward Black English: Effects on Student Achievement," presented at the Conference on Cognitive and Language Development of the Black Child, New Orleans, La. (January 14-16, 1973), p. 18.

teachers in several geographic areas and found teachers 40 percent positive toward Black English, 40 percent negative and 20 percent neutral. Black teachers were more positive than White teachers; relatively younger teachers were more positive than older teachers; graduates of schools of Education were more positive than other graduates.[28]

A survey of 84 Black teachers in the Lansing, Michigan Public School District found that a majority were opposed to the use of dialect readers. Among the elementary teachers, some with relatively little teaching experience expressed willingness to experiment with dialect readers.[29]

Children's Attitudes

The attitudes of children and the influence of those attitudes in teaching them have been studied by several researchers. Tang found that differences in the reading comprehension scores of Chinese-American children were attributable to their attitudes toward their native language (Cantonese) and toward the target language (English). Those holding positive attitudes toward the native language were favored in a treatment using the

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[28]Taylor, "Five Studies . . ."

[29]James Shanker, "The Attitudes of Black Teachers toward the Use of Dialect Reading Materials for Beginning Reading Instruction," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation (Ann Arbor: Michigan State University, 1973).

native language for translation purposes in teaching the second language.[30]

Politzer and Ramirez assessed Mexican American and Anglo children in the third, sixth, ninth, and twelfth grades, measuring attitudes to four guises of speech: English with Spanish proper names, English with Anglicized proper names, colloquial Spanish, and hispanized English. On a semantic differential test which followed, Anglos in both a monolingual and a bilingual program gave higher ratings to the first two guises; Mexican Americans in a bilingual program gave higher ratings to guise three; Mexican Americans in a monolingual program had no total preferences. The fourth guise was rated lower than any of the others by most subjects.[31]

Politzer and Hoover found that Black students holding positive attitudes toward Africanized English were favored by a treatment in which Africanized was used in contrast to Less Africanized in teaching certain standard English patterns. Students holding positive attitudes

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[30]Benita Tang, "A Psycholinguistic Study of the Relations between Children's Ethnic Linguistic Attitudes and the Effectiveness of Methods Used in Second Language Reading Instruction," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation (Stanford University, 1971).

[31]Robert Politzer and Arnulfo Ramirez, "Judging Personality from Speech: A Pilot Study of the Effects of Bilingual Education on Attitudes toward Ethnic Groups. R&D Memorandum #8. (Stanford: Stanford Center for Research and Development in Teaching, February, 1973).

toward Less Africanized were favored by a treatment in which Less Africanized was used.[32]

It has been demonstrated that teacher and student attitudes have some influence on the learning process; the attitudes of parents and community people may influence the attitudes of their children, as alleged by some researchers.[33] It thus becomes increasingly important to determine precisely what those attitudes are.

Parents' and Black Community Attitudes

Much has been written concerning parent and community attitudes toward Black English. William Stewart has stated that:

> I suspect that one will find inner city mothers
> who are no more tolerant of a school curricula
> oriented to the reality of Negro culture than
> suburban white mothers often are.[34]

and

> I for one will not stand silently by if militant

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[32]Robert L. Politzer and Mary Hoover, "On the Use of Attitude Variables in Research in the Teaching of a Second Dialect," International Review of Applied Linguistics in Teaching, 12, No. 1 (February, 1974), 43-51.

[33]R. C. Gardner and W. Lambert, Attitudes and Motivation in Second Language Learning (Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House, 1972), p. 128.

[34]W. Stewart, "Sociopolitical Issues in the Linguistic Treatment of Negro Dialect," 20th Annual Round Table, ed. by J. Alatis (Georgetown: School of Languages and Linguistics, 1970), p. 222.

non-linguists try to distort the issue of Negro
dialect . . . in order to use it as a phony ploy
in political confrontations.[35]

The N.A.A.C.P. has stated that

Black parents throughout this nation should rise
up in unanimous condemnation of this insidious
conspiracy to cripple their children permanently
[through the usage of Black dialect readers].
It is time to repudiate this Black nonsense and
to take appropriate action against institutions
who foster it in craven capitulation to the
fantasies of the extreme Black cultists and
their pale and spineless sycophants. Let the
Black voice of protest resound throughout the
land.[36]

Inasmuch as most of the "voices of protest" have

resounded around the use of Black dialect readers in the

schools, there are some opinions concerning their use:

Parents' objections arise in part from per-
fectly realistic fears that too much concentra-
tion upon the special features of Black speech
will simply provide a new excuse for discrim-
ination.[37]

Claudia Kernan states that

Minstrelsy has chased some parts of the African
repertoire virtually out of existence because
of reaction to its stereotypic portrayal in
minstrel shows. . . . Minstrelsy has made many
Blacks despise the very sound of Black English
--not because of its intrinsic merit but because
of its stereotypic portrayal. . . . Take a look
at minstrelsy . . . and you will . . . get a
better understanding of why there is intense
opposition to the concept of Black English and

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[35]Ibid., p. 199.

[36]Editorial, The Crisis (April, 1971).

[37]R. Burling, English in Black and White (New
York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1973), p. 105.

to the introduction of dialect readers in the schools. . . .[38]

And Orlando Taylor objects to their use because he feels them to be paternalistic:

> Suppose I came to Dallas with books written in a Dallas dialect to teach your children to read the way they speak. And suppose, furthermore, that I had a history of trying to keep Dallas people in their place. What would you think?[39]

Many resentful attitudes have also been expressed toward downgrading of parents, community, and educators' views on Black English in Black communities:

> A number of Black educators and civic leaders have not agreed with the researchers in their assessment of the Black student's speech. Most have no quarrel with what has been found in his speech, but they do not accept the conclusions about what it is. Their views, however, whether sound or unsound, have seldom been listened to.[40]

And Taylor also states:

> Far too many scholars have used paternalism, ethnocentrism, and outright racism to discredit and dismiss Black community definitions of and implications on Black speech, including those emanating from the Black community's academicians and scholars.[41]

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[38]Claudia Mitchell-Kernan, "Context Perspectives on Black English," _Nine Black Writers on Communication_ (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, forthcoming), ed. by R. Williams and O. Taylor.

[39]L. Wright, "Black English: Need? Nonsense?" _Race Relations Reporter_ (Nashville: Race Relations Information Center), 3, No. 8 (November 6, 1972), 7.

[40]J. Williamson, "A Look at Black English," _The Crisis_, 78, No. 6, (1971), p. 170.

[41]O. Taylor, "Black English: What Is It?" _Nine Black Writers_, p. 11.

Despite the assumptions of many scholars and re-
searchers concerning parent and community views of Black
English, few such surveys have actually been done. Shuy
found that 620 Black and White Detroit residents found few
differences in upper middle and lower middle White speech.
Both groups, however, saw clear differences between lower
middle and upper middle Blacks, usually viewing the two
latter varieties as "incorrect."[42]

Shuy and Williams found that Blacks, in judging
Detroit speech, White southern speech, British speech,
Negro speech, and standard speech on four scales--value,
complexity, potency, and activity--gave Black speech more
positive ratings on all four dimensions, evaluating it more
positively than did Whites. Whites, in turn, rated
standard and Southern White as more valuable than Black
speech.[43]

Labov found that Black people in Harlem judged the
speaker of Black English as most likely to be successful
in a physical fight; the speaker of standard more likely
to get a job.[44] Mitchell-Kernan states that the Black

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[42]R. Shuy, "Subjective Judgements in Sociolinguistic
Analysis," 20th Annual Round Table, ed. by J. Alatis (George-
town: Georgetown University Press, 1970), p. 180.

[43]R. Shuy and F. Williams, "Attitudes of Selected
English Dialect Communities," Language Attitudes, ed. by
R. Shuy and R. Fasold (Georgetown University, 1973), p. 91.

[44]W. Labov, P. Cohen, C. Robins, and J. Lewis, A Study

community grants for some purposes, "prestige status to the code defined by the majority culture as superior." Informants, however, place a high valuation on "naturalness," rejecting "hyper Black English" and "country" Black English on one extreme, and talking overly "proper" on the other.[45]

Taylor and Hayes found that parents (mostly Black and Spanish-speaking) "see the teaching of Standard English as an important responsibility of the school." Parents in this survey do not consider non-standard speech inferior; they find it appropriate at times, and feel it can express some things better than standard English.[46]

DeStefano found that the four subjects she interviewed felt that job opportunities were definitely hampered for young Blacks if they could speak only Black English, and that schools need to teach standard English to Black children for the sake of upward mobility. All four subjects responded negatively to the use of Black English as the language of beginning reading materials.[47]

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of the Non Standard English of Negro and Puerto Rican Speakers in New York City (New York: Columbia University Press, 1968), Vol. II, 237.

[45]C. Mitchell-Kernan, Language Behavior in a Black Urban Community (Berkeley: Language-Behavior Research Lab, February, 1971), p. 60.

[46]Taylor, Five Studies.

[47]J. DeStefano, "Black Attitudes Toward Black English," Florida FL Reporter, 9, Nos. 1 and 2 (Spring/Fall, 1972), 23-27.

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Summary

This selected brief description of some of the
literature in language attitudes demonstrates that various
groupings of people--teachers, students, and laymen--have
varying attitudes toward their speech and the speech of
others in different classes. It is seen that most speakers
do have some value for all of the language varieties in
their repertoire, though what is valued differs from group
to group. These opinions on value and appropriateness con-
stitute sociolinguistic rules which, again, seem to be
universal human characteristics.

CHAPTER III

METHODS AND PROCEDURES

Research Design

The major purpose of this study was to survey Black
parents of children in grades one and six in the Ravenswood
City School District, East Palo Alto, California, and in
Oakland to determine their attitudes toward their
children's use of Nonstandard and Standard Black English[1]
in the classroom in three domains--classroom, neighborhood
and home, and in four language arts channels--listening,
speaking, reading, and writing.

It was decided that 64 parents would be randomly
selected in East Palo Alto along with 16 in Oakland. A
standardized questionnaire and interview format were used
in this design.

Pilot Study

In a preliminary survey in the spring of 1970, 28
Black parents and community people were polled as to their
attitudes toward standard and non-standard Black English

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[1]Orlando Taylor, "Response to Social Dialects . . .,"
p. 15.

in four "domains," which are defined by Fishman as follows:

> Social domains identify the major spheres of
> activity in a culture, e.g. familial, religious,
> educational, and are defined by the concurrence
> of a cluster of congruent role relationships,
> topic and locales of communication.[2]

In addition to the four domains--school, home, community,

and playground--attitudes toward four language arts

channels, defined by Hymes as "modes of use [such as]

speaking, writing, printing, drumming, blowing, whistling,

singing,"[3] were assessed.

A tape recording use to elicit their opinions was

recorded by five Black speakers who were bidialectal, i.e.

commanding both standard and non-standard Black English.

Each speaker recorded two paired items, one in standard,

and the other in non-standard Black English (see Appendix

A for items). The questionnaire consisted of items for

rating the non-standard speakers on the tape as to the ap-

propriateness of the use of that variety of English in the

channels and situations mentioned.

The questionnaires were distributed at three

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[2]Joshua Fishman and Lawrence Greenfield, "Situa-
tional Measure of Language Use in Relation to Person, Place
and Topic among Puerto Rican Bilinguals," Bilingualism in
the Barrio, ed. by J. Fishman, et al. (Washington, D.C.:
U.S. Office of Education, 1968), p. 435.

[3]D. Hymes, "Toward Ethnographies of Communication:
The Analysis of Communicative Events," Language and Social
Context, ed. by Pier Giglioli (Baltimore, Md.: Penguin
Books, 1972), p. 22.

different community meetings. After hearing the tape, the
audience was asked to rate the ten voices as to whether
the segments were standard or non-standard Black English.
This was the method used to make sure the audience was
familiar with the meaning of the terms standard and non-
standard Black English. As there was unanimous agreement
as to the categories, the questionnaires were then filled
out. No attempt was made to discuss the issues prior to
the completion of the questionnaires to avoid influencing
the subjects.

The results (see Appendix E) were that parents
and community people preferred Standard Black English in
all domains and channels. They did feel, however, that
the ability to "switch" from one variety to the other was
valuable and an advantage which they wished for their
children. This seeming inconsistency presaged the need to
do a wider-ranged study, involving more parents, and ex-
ploring in detail the obviously complex issue of language
variation by broadening the scope of the dependent vari-
able--the measure of parents' attitudes--and the inde-
pendent variables--demographic and other information about
the parents.

Sampling Procedure

It was decided that a controlled random sample
would be used, grouping people to fill all of the cells

TABLE 1

CONTROLLED RANDOM SAMPLE

	East Palo Alto				Oakland			
	First Grade		Sixth Grade		First Grade		Sixth Grade	
	Male Inter-viewer	Female Inter-viewer	Male Inter-viewer	Female Inter-viewer	Male Inter-viewer	Female Inter-viewer	Male Inter-viewer	Female Inter-viewer
Title 1	8	8	8	8	2	2	2	2
Non-Title 1	8	8	8	8	2	2	2	2

so that the sample included people from several categories, as shown in Table 1. In addition, each interviewer followed a randomized schedule for manipulating the following variables: sex of tape voice, and order of tape heard--standard or non-standard.

To minimize biasing the sample and affecting the reliability of the research, a procedure was designed for selecting parents at random from the four Title I schools --Brentwood, Costano, Kavanaugh, and Belle Haven--in the Ravenswood City School District. Title I schools are those having sufficient numbers of low-income families (those who earn below $3000 or who receive Aid to Dependent Children) to qualify for additional funds for special programs. Parents were selected only from Title I schools to insure that low-income families were represented and to have some sort of objective determination as to income.

Only parents were used in the sample, as this was a survey focused on education and the fostering of participation by parents in the decision-making process in the schools. First- and sixth-grade parents were selected because it was felt that the age of a child might influence parental responses, and first and sixth were the two extremes in age of child range in the Title I elementary schools.

The 16 Oakland parents were selected through a

"handy random sample,"[4] i.e. a selected sample from which
people are randomly chosen. The parents were selected from
100 people known to one of the interviewers from various
church populations, the E.O.P. Program at Berkeley,
California, and a manpower training program. It was neces-
sary to follow this procedure in that Oakland schools
would not release names of parents for the study. The
schedule in Table 1 includes the Oakland sample; sex of
tape voice and order of tape heard were organized as de-
scribed for the East Palo Alto sample.

Drawing the Sample

The subject pool consisted of all Black parents
in first and sixth grades in the four Title I schools in
East Palo Alto. All of the subjects were numbered--97
parents in the Title I pool and 85 parents in the non-
Title I pool. Thirty-two in each pool were selected in
order of the appearance of their number in a list selected
from a table of random numbers. The odd-numbered parents
were then assigned to the male interviewer, the even-
numbered parents to the female interviewer.

Letters were then sent to these parents (Appendix
D) informing them of the purpose and nature of the

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[4]Interview with Robert Calfee, Professor of Educa-
tion, Stanford University (December, 1973).

interview, of their selection as an interviewee, and that
an interviewer would be contacting them soon. Interviewers
then called or visited parents, reminding them first of
the letter they received and the purpose of the study--
to "find out parents' views on the use of language and
reading in the schools." Interviews were then scheduled
with the parents. Approximately one-third of those orig-
inally selected were unable to participate, so additional
parents from the subject pool were selected in order of
the appearance of their number in a list selected from a
table of random numbers.

Fieldwork Design

It was decided that the interviews would be con-
ducted in the homes for the convenience of the parents
and to insure as much informality as possible, particularly
for eliciting data on speech proficiency. It was also
decided that parents would be given something monetary for
their efforts--two silver dollars. Approximately half of
the time the interviewers spent on the entire interview
was used in setting it up because many parents had no
phones and home visits were necessary.

The entire interview was tape recorded. No at-
tempt was made to conceal the small, battery-operated
recorders used; parents were told right away that the

interview would be recorded for later reference in the event that something written was incomplete or missing.

Fieldworker Selection and Orientation: Design Changes

There were several characteristics necessary for the interviewers to have: they would need to be bidialectical, that is, able to control both standard and nonstandard Black English in order to better elicit speech in both varieties from parents; they would need to be flexible in terms of time in order to schedule interviews at convenient times for parents; and they should be residents of the community, known to some degree to parents in order to achieve the confidence necessary to be allowed inside of homes in a neighborhood where unsuspecting homeowners are often victimized by drug addicts, themselves victims of the massive influx of drugs into the community. An additional optional qualification was some familiarity with the issues involving Black English in the event that parents had questions concerning some of the items in the questionnaire. It was decided that one of the interviewers should be male and the other female.

A male was located with the required qualifications. It was difficult, however, to locate a female because of the requirement as interviewers to enter perhaps unknown homes at unusual hours, a circumstance which

was considered by the female interviewers to be awkward for a female. Because of the difficulty in locating a female interviewer, conditions were changed in the design to accommodate two females who were located and willing to share the interviewing. One female did the eight interviews in Oakland; the other female did the 32 in East Palo Alto. In addition, because of the conditions aforementioned--the female interviewers' reluctance to interview strangers unaccompanied--when the randomized East Palo Alto list was exhausted, it was decided that the female interviewer could personally recruit the remaining 16 persons, as long as the slots described in Table 1 were filled. The male interviewer was able to do all 40 interviews in his assignment--32 in East Palo Alto and eight in Oakland--from the randomized list.

Orientation involved familiarizing the interviewers with the questionnaire, which they, as native speakers of Black English and community residents, were able to refine and revise along with the writer. The interviewers also were the recorders of the tape cassettes used in administrating the questionnaires as well as evaluators of the paired sentences recorded as to naturalness and frequency of occurrence in the Black community.

A general review of the literature concerning parents' attitudes and Black English was also included in the orientation, as well as several "dry runs" through

the questionnaire for practice. On-going meetings were
held throughout the six months of interviewing for evalua-
tion and feedback.

The Setting

East Palo Alto, California, is an unincorporated
area of approximately 19,000 people, 80 percent of whom
are Black. Just over 50 percent of the adults have a high
school education. The median family income is $6835.[5]

The Black population of Oakland, California, repre-
sents a little over one-third of the total population of
361,607, according to the 1970 census. Less than 50 per-
cent of the Black people in Oakland have high school edu-
cations. The median income of Black males in Oakland is
$7003; for Black females it is $3908.

The Questionnaire

It was decided that a questionnaire would be ad-
ministered in the format of an interview rather than the
group setting of the pilot study in order to get to more
refined independent variables such as the interviewee's
proficiency in Black English and to probe for answers to
the seeming inconsistency concerning language usage

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[5]County of San Mateo, California, East Palo Alto
Profile, Special Census (April, 1969).

described in the pilot study. The general format of the
pilot study questionnaire was retained for the dependent
variable--assessment of parents' attitudes--changing the
wording slightly (Appendix E). The number of independent
variables was greatly expanded.

Dependent Variable

Cassette tapes and written speech samples were
used in eliciting responses to the 22 variations of the
major question: "Would you object to your child hearing/
speaking/reading/writing like the tape/book/note does in
the home/school/community? (Table 2). The first two tapes
were a series of paired sentences--one in non-standard
Black English, the other in standard (Appendix H; tapes
available). Parents were asked whether they "objected"
to the two types of English in sequence so that they first
responded to questions concerning one variety before they
were asked questions concerning the other. This sequenc-
ing was done to insure independent ratings of the two
varieties rather than comparisons between the two.
Twenty-two questions were asked in reference to the non-
standard tape voice; 22 in reference to the standard.

In order to broaden the usual simplistic view of
Black English it was felt necessary to include at least
the two varieties mentioned. The terminology for

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describing the two kinds of Black English in the interview
was debated by the writer and the interviewers because the
terminology used might influence parents' decisions. The
term "non-standard" was rejected by the group because it
carries the implications of a negative value judgment.
The term "hyper Black English" used to describe "non-
standard" Black English by Kernan was considered.[6] The
term "Africanized English" was coined by the writer to
describe "non-standard" Black English, not only because
it is non-pejorative, but also because it focuses upon the
rule-governed nature of Black English, acknowledging the
existence of systematic influences from West African
languages. Some characteristics of Africanized English
which are probably related to West African language char-
acteristics are as follows:

a) Emphasis on aspect rather than tense, that is,
aspect is always overtly marked within the basic struc-
ture of the verb phrase, while tense is often to be in-
ferred.[7,8] African verbs are best thought of in terms of

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[6]Kernan, Language Behavior . . ., p. 76.

[7]David Dalby, "Black Through White," Black-White
Speech Relationships, ed. by W. Wolfram and N. Clarke
(Washington, D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics, 1971),
p. 124.

[8]M. Alleyne, "The Linguistic Continuity of Africa
in the Caribbean," Black Academy Review, 1, No. 4
(Winter, 1970), p. 6.

"continuative," "habitual," and "perspective," rather than "past," "present," and "future." For example, in the sentence, "That man he be walking," the "be" is not inflected (another characteristic of West African languages --verb stems are not inflected to indicate person or tense[9]) and is a marker of continuation.

b) Absence of copula verb, a feature found in Bantu languages. For example, in Africanized Black English, "he Black" is a sentence in which the copula verb is not used.

c) Use of specific phrases to announce beginnings of sentences, e.g. "dig," "look-a here," in Africanized Black English. The word "dega" has similar use in Wolof, "de" and "eh" in Swahili.

d) Use of tonal levels to mark meaning differences. Dalby has located similarities between the tonal uses of Black English "uh-huh" and "uh-uh" and tonal patterns in West African languages.[10] Vaughan-Cooke[11] and Mitchell[12]

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[9]Lorenzo Turner, _Africanisms in the Gullah Dialect_ (New York: Arno Press, 1969), p. 224.

[10]Dalby, "African Element," pp. 125, 179; Dalby, "Black Through White," p. 127.

[11]A. Vaughan-Cooke, "The Black Preaching Style," _Languages and Linguistics Working Papers_, No. 5, ed. by W. Riley and D. Smith (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 1972), pp. 28-39.

[12]Henry Mitchell, _Black Preaching_ (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1970).

have isolated intonation patterns in the Black preacher
style which they believe are influenced by African oral
styles such as the call-and-response. Herskovits asserts
that the "tendency toward tonal inflection . . . character-
izes many languages of West Africa" and is found in African
Americans' speech as well.[13]

   e) Attrition of final consonants, especially l and
r, and consonant cluster simplification. (African lang-
uages have few final consonants.)[14]

   f) Substitution of f for th. (There is no th in
most African languages.)[15]

   g) Use of the implosive b. This sound is found
among Africanized English speakers and also in Hausa, Fula,
Ibo, Duala, and several other African languages.[16]

   h) Lexical items such as direct loan words from
Africa, i.e. "banana" and "yam"; loan translations, i.e.
"day clear" for dawn, and convergencies, i.e. "massa" from
English "master" and Mandingo "masa" (chief).[17]

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   [13]M. Herskovits, The New World Negro (Indiana Uni-
versity Press, 1966), p. 9.

   [14]Turner, Africanisms, p. 247.

   [15]Ibid., p. 245.

   [16]Ibid., p. 22.

   [17]David Dalby, "The African Element in American
English," Rappin' and Stylin' Out, ed. by T. Kochman
(Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1972), pp. 177-186.

i) Lack of change in word order for questions; use of question markers and intonation instead.[18,19]

j) Use of verbal skills, such as double meanings. Since most Africans mediate two cultural systems, double meanings, or ambiguation, is often an African language characteristic. American Africans have a number of "high affect words with double meanings: cool, tough, bad, funky, etc."[20]

In most surveys of attitudes toward Black English discussed previously, parents were given only a choice between "network" (general standard English spoken by news-casters on national television stations) English and non-standard Black English, if given any choice. This terminology implies that Black English is by definition "non-standard." Orlando Taylor, in attempting to broaden the concept of Black English from the conception that, un-like any other language in the world, it is always of one variety, and that that one variety is non-standard, has posited the existence of a standard Black English, which he defines as follows:

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[18]Mary Key, "The History of Black English," unpub-lished paper (Irvine: University of California, 1971).

[19]Turner, _Africanisms . . ._, p. 218.

[20]Mervyn C. Alleyne, "The Linguistic Continuity . . .," p. 16.

> Black Standard English is characterized pri-
> marily by a standard syntax, plus a few Black
> syntactic elements. . . . The remainder of
> Black Standard English may include varying
> degrees of Black vowel patterns, ethnically
> marked supra-segmental features, and Black
> lexical items.[21]

Mitchell-Kernan has used the term "good English" spoken

"naturally" in reference to a Black standard English.[22]

The writer has coined the term "Less Africanized

English" to describe standard Black English. In addition to

the characteristics given above, the speaker of Less African-

ized Black English will tend to weaken final consonants,

simplify consonant clusters, and exhibit general l-less-

ness and r-lessness; where the weakening of final conson-

ants affects grammar, however, as in lack of possessive

s or loss of l in the future, or the ed past tense, Less

Africanized English speakers will retain the endings.[23]

It was finally decided that "Africanized Black

English" and "Less Africanized Black English" would be

used in the text to describe the language varieties, but

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[21]Orlando Taylor, "Response to Social Dialects,"
p. 15.

[22]Claudia Mitchell-Kernan, Language Behavior . . .,
p. 67.

[23]Robert L. Politzer, "Problems in Applying Foreign
Language Teaching Methods to the Teaching of Standard
English as a Second Dialect," Language, Society, and Edu-
cation: A Profile of Black English, ed. by J. DeStefano
(Worthington, Ohio: Charles A. Jones Publishing Company,
1973), p. 244.

that in the context of the interview the varieties would

simply be referred to as "that spoken by the person on the

tape," thereby avoiding the labeling process which might

serve to bias subjects one way or the other. Later on in

the questioning when it was necessary to call the varieties

something, the group selected the term "High John" type of

English and "the other" type of English to avoid loaded

terms. . "High John" was the name of the story used in

showing to parents a sample of written Africanized Black

English.[24]

In order to prevent the order in which they heard

the tape from biasing the parents' responses, it was de-

cided that half of the parents would hear the More African-

ized tape first; the other half would hear the Less

Africanized tape first. Each of the two language varieties

were presented by a male and a female voice. This dual

taping was done to prevent the sex of the voice on the

tape from influencing parents' judgments.

In addition to broadening the concept of Black

English to include several varieties, it was thought

necessary to broaden the situations or domains as well,

as Agheyisi has warned that in measuring attitudes,

judges may be reacting to such things as "congruity or lack

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[24]Julius Lester, <u>High John the Conqueror</u> (Atlanta,
Georgia: Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, 1967).

of it between speaker, topic and particular language variety."[25] Many of the studies described in Chapter II attempted to include a variety of domains; such variety had not yet been extended to the study of Black English, however.

It was assumed that parents would have rules governing the usage of the varieties of Black English depending on the situation because the existence of such rules has been demonstrated for various codes (see also Chapter II).[26,27] Several situations were provided, i.e. parents were asked if they objected to their child using one of the language arts channels in three domains--home, school, and community, and two situations, formal and informal, in which not only the topic but the participants and location varied. For example, one of the questions asks parents whether or not they object to their child's using speech "like the tape" in "yelling in the streets with his friend while playing ball" and in "talking with

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[25]R. Agheyisi and J. Fishman, "Language Attitudes Studies: A Brief Survey of Methodological Approaches," Anthropological Linguistics, 12, No. 5 (1970), 146.

[26]S. Ervin-Tripp, "An Analysis of the Interaction of Language Topic, and Listener," Readings in the Sociology of Language, ed. by J. Fishman (The Hague: Mouton, 1970).

[27]John J. Gumperz and Edward Hernandez, "Cognitive Aspects of Bilingual Communication (Berkeley: University of California Language Behavior Laboratory, 1969).

his friend's parents," an example where topic, domain, and interlocutors (participants) vary (Table 2).

To accompany the question, "Do you object to your child reading in books written like this," parents were shown notes, books, and reports to fit the language variety in question (Appendix C). When the variety in question was Africanized Black English, for example, parents were shown the Psycholinguistics Reading Series "Everyday Talk" primer entitled I Be Scared of the Dark;[28] when the variety in question was Less Africanized Black English, they were shown the "School Talk" version, I Am Scared of the Dark.

The dependent variable--the 22 variations of the major question asked in conjunction with the Africanized English tape--became a scale entitled "Africanized Rate" when the 22 items were combined. Another important dependent variable was "Africanized Reading," a subset of Africanized Rate (Table 2, #15).

Independent Variables

Positive Black Ethnicity: General Attitudes to Black English

It was decided that several measures of positive Black ethnicity would be taken, including General Attitudes to Black English, Black Consciousness, Cultural Behavior,

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[28]Board of Education, Chicago, Psycholinguistics Reading. . . .

and Political Behavior. The General Attitudes to Black
English Scale was used to determine general attitudes toward
Africanized Black English as opposed to attitudes toward
children's use of Black English.

A format was adapted from one designed by Cohen[29]
to determine parental attitudes toward Africanized and Less
Africanized Black English. Parents were first asked to
list good reasons for knowing both varieties (Tables 5 and
6). Then they were asked the simple question, "Is there
an advantage in being able to speak both forms of Black
English?" Parents who gave a positive response were then
asked to describe these advantages.

As an additional attitudes measurement, parents
were also asked to register their preference among differ-
ent varieties of their own language--Africanized, Less
Africanized, and "Talking Proper" (superstandard Black
English). "Talking Proper" is a speech variety which is
commonly discussed and referred to within Black community
circles, usually in a pejorative manner.[30] This speech
variety is characterized by "network" grammar and attempted
"network" phonology. The intonation pattern, however, is

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[29]A. Cohen, "A Sociolinguistic Approach to Bilingual
Education" (Stanford: Stanford University Committee on
Linguistics, 1970), pp. 46, 47.

[30]Claudia Mitchell-Kernan, Language Behavior . . .,
p. 68.

decidedly Black. Those who speak this variety of Black English are frequently denigrated by Malcolm X,[31] who variously describes them as: "Those who talked so affectedly among their own kind . . . that you couldn't even understand them";[32] "Those with their accents so phonied up that if you just heard them and didn't see them you wouldn't even know they were Negroes";[33] "He said something like 'I believe that I happen not to be aware of that'--you know, one of those ultra proper-talking Negroes."[34]

The "Talking Proper" variety was included to broaden parental selection of Black English varieties from Africanized English to the Black language variety closest to "network"--"Talking Proper." Parents were asked to indicate their preference of language variety in a series of situations which vary according to interlocutor, topic, domain, and location (Table 9).

Parents were played another tape recording for this question (Appendix H; tapes available). The same sentence was recorded in Africanized, Less Africanized and Super-standard, varying only a few distinctive features to fit

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[31]Alex Haley and Malcolm X, Autobiography of Malcolm X (New York: Grove Press, 1964).

[32]Ibid., p. 41.

[33]Ibid., p. 59.

[34]Ibid., p. 284.

the variety in question. For example, in one of the sets
of sentences, the Africanized question was, "This here the
one in charge?"; the Less Africanized question was, "Are
you the person in charge?"; and the Superstandard version
was the same as the Less Africanized version with an at-
tempted "network" type phonology and intonation pattern
(Appendix H).

<u>Positive Black Ethnicity:</u>
<u>Black Consciousness</u>

Parents' attitudes toward Black people were measured
by a Likert Summated Rating Scale, which touched on three
facets of Black consciousness, defined by Hare as follows:

> The state of being conscious of one's blackness
> vis-a-vis white racism. Awareness of, or awake
> to membership in the black race and its strug-
> gle. . . .[35]

The three facets of this scale were views concerning Black
culture, views concerning the system which causes racism,
and views about Black identity (Table 3). Several similar
kinds of scales were examined for content and format.[36,37]

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[35]Cited in Henry Banks, "Black Consciousness: A Stu-
dent Survey," <u>Black Scholar</u>, 2, No. 1 (September, 1970), p. 84.

[36]E. Lessing and S. Zagorin, "Black Power Ideology
and College Students' ATtitudes toward their Own and Other
Racial Groups," <u>Journal of Personality and Social Psychol-
ogy</u>, 21, No. 1 (January, 1972).

[37]Robert G. Newby, "The Effect of Racial Conscious-
ness of Black Youth on White Influence in Small Groups,"
unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Stanford University
(August, 1974).

Positive Black Ethnicity:
Political Involvement

Fishman found that a commitment measure designed
to tap subjects' willingness to maintain and strengthen
Spanish, mailed in conjunction with a questionnaire designed
to measure language attitudes, showed more relation to the
criterion (attendance at a program of Puerto Rican songs,
etc.) than did the attitudinal items.[38] Agheyisi also
found a low correlation between attitudes and behavior in
most attitudinal studies.[39] It was decided, based on these
studies, that an involvement index would be constructed to
measure involvement in organizations, direct action, activ-
ities, and responses to racial mistreatment. Subjects were
given one point for each activity, with long-range organ-
izational activity given one point per week of involvement.
It was thought that this variable might reach those com-
mitted parents who for some reason may not have measured
high on political consciousness.

Positive Black Ethnicity:
Cultural Behavior

As a final measure of positive Black ethnicity, a
Cultural Behavior Scale was established in which subjects'

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[38]J. Fishman, "Bilingual Attitudes and Behaviors,"
Bilingualism in the Barrio, ed. by J. Fishman, et al.
(Washington, D.C.: U.S. Office of Education, 1968), p. 201.

[39]Agheyisi, "Language Attitudes," p. 150.

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kinesics, preference for music, residence, church, organizations and entertainment were operationalized (Table 4). This variable was suggested in an interview by Claudia Mitchell-Kernan, who felt that many Black people who in their daily lives exhibit a type of cultural behavior which reveals them to be positive in their attitudes toward Black people might not show up at all on the other scales.

Black English Proficiency

The determination of parental proficiency was also a major focus of this research in that parents' command of the varieties of Black English might influence their preference of language variety for use with their children in the schools. The pilot study revealed that parents who themselves stated that they controlled both standard and non-standard Black English wanted their children exposed to both varieties also.

Several approaches to measuring proficiency were considered. One method considered in the "dry runs" was the following: parents were shown two different pictures, one of a very informal situation--a card game--and the other a very formal situation--the awarding of the crown to a Home-Coming Queen. Parents were asked to imagine themselves in the situation as the person in the picture, and to talk as they would "so we can find out if the different situations in the pictures make people talk any

differently." The interviewers initiated the "role-playing"
by asking the queen how she felt, and asking the person in
the card game why he was cheating. This approach was re-
jected during the "dry runs" since there was little
response to it.

Some variation of Labov's methods of eliciting
informants' speech was considered, i.e. using word
lists for elicitation of careful speech and reading
comical doggerel for elicitation of casual speech.[40] Read-
ing passages were eliminated as a method of analysis in
that half of the sample was low-income, and, given the
quality of schooling received by low-income groups, it was
assumed that there would be some non-readers or semi-
readers in the sample who would be embarrassed by being
asked to read something.

It was decided by the interviewers and the writer
that subjects would be judged on their control of Less
Africanized Black English from the beginning or most formal
part of the interview. They would be judged on their con-
trol of Africanized Black English from a section at the
end in which subjects were asked to "tell a joke." We
assumed that in the context of an interview this would be
difficult to elicit, and that those who refused would

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[40]William Labov, "The Isolation of Contextual Styles,"
Sociolinguistic Patterns (Philadelphia: University of
Pennsylvania Press, 1972), pp. 79-109.

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simply be judged on their control of non-standard from the last section of the interview and the most informal, the section in which parents discussed their children's schooling. This section almost always marked a switch by parents as they became quite excited when talking about the day-to-day activities of their children in school. (Topic has been found to be an important factor in code switching.)[41]

Subjects were given a score between 1 and 5 for each variety--Africanized (1) and Less Africanized Black English (5)--and for two sections of each variety--phonology and grammar. They were also rated in the same fashion on whether they controlled Black intonation and whether or not they "talked proper." The subjects were rated by three judges--the writer and the two interviewers --all bidialectal in both varieties of Black English. Initially, each judge did an independent rating. Because 1) it became time-consuming and 2) the ratings of the judges consistently concurred, it was decided that group ratings would be done. The group reached unanimous agreement in all cases as to the ratings for the subjects.

Subjects who controlled both Africanized and Less Africanized grammar were called "Bidialectal--Grammar." Subjects who controlled both Africanized and Less African-

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[41]J. Gumperz and Hernandez, "Bilingualism, Bidialectalism, and Classroom Interaction," Functions of Language in the Classroom, ed. by C. Cazden (New York: Teachers College Press, 1972), p. 99.

ized phonology were called "Bidialectal--Phonology." These parents would then be those who were able to "code-switch" between the two varieties. In coding the proficiency variables for computer analysis, it was decided that the ratings should be collapsed into two, as opposed to five, categories.

Social Scale

It was decided initially that there would be no measure of "social class" because it has been stated that "Black people are a working people; 96% are wage and salary workers."[42] When the first computer calculations showed little correlation between the separate indices of education, occupation, and income, and the dependent variable, however, it was recommended that some type of scale of the three items be computed, giving education the heaviest weight--5, with occupation given 2 and income 1 in the composite scale. This weighting was suggested by Drake:

> Although, in Marxian terms, nearly all of them
> [Blacks] are "proletarians," with nothing to
> sell but their labor, variations in "life
> style" differentiate them into social classes
> based more upon differences in education
> [italics mine] and basic values (crystallized,
> in part, around occupational differences) than
> in meaningful differences in income.[43]

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[42]Abdul Alkalimat and Nelson Johnson, "Toward the Ideological Unity of the African Liberation Support Committee" (Frogmore, South Carolina: African Liberation Support Committee, 1973), p. 49.

[43]St. Clair Drake, "The Social and Economic Status

It was assumed that these characteristics would have some significant influence on the dependent variable. Taylor and Hayes found that education and occupation made a difference in their sample: Black people with higher levels of education were more favorable toward the use of Africanized English in the classroom than those with less education, and parents who performed skilled labor preferred Less Africanized Black English.[44]

Other Independent Variables

Other variables operationalized were birthplace; length of time in birthplace; size of birthplace; marital status; age; residence; previous information on Black English; ambition for child; self-speech proficiency rating; parent's rating of child's speech proficiency; child's achievement, and basic skills orientation.

Analysis

A data deck was generated using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) at the Stanford Computer Center. The subprogram Codebook was used for descriptive statistics. Compute statements and recodes

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of the Negro in the United States," Language, Society and Education: A Profile of Black English, ed. by J. DeStefano (Worthington, Ohio: Charles A. Jones Publishing Co., 1973), p. 73.

[44]Taylor and Hayes, "Five Studies," p. IC16.

were necessary for the sets of variables which were collapsed into scales. The Crosstabs subprogram was used to produce contingency tables and chi-square tests of significance on the dependent variable and the various independent variables. Subprogram Pearson's Correlation Coefficient was used to measure the degree of relationship between variables, and to obtain inter-item correlations for the scales. Subprogram Regression was used to determine the most important independent variables in predicting the dependent variable.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

Overview

Item analyses for sets of variables were under-
taken. Some sets of variables were combined into scales.
$\underline{Z}$ scores as a test of proportion were computed for some of
the sets of variables. Chi-square tests of independence
were computed for the dependent variable--Africanized Rate,
a set of measures derived from the questionnaire shown in
Table 2--with various independent variables. Inter-item
correlations were computed between total scale scores for
those sets of variables which were totalled into scales.
A regression analysis was used to determine the most im-
portant independent variables in predicting the dependent
variable.

A subset of the items in Africanized Rate (Table 2,
#15) was used as another important dependent variable. It
was considered important because reading in Africanized
Black English is a controversial issue in the field of
education (Chapter I). For both Africanized Rate and
Africanized Reading, the total score was broken into cate-
gories--"High," "Medium," and "Low" and "Positive" and

"Negative," respectively--for the chi-square tests. The
categories were determined by looking at the distribution
of the total scores, then dividing the scores into cate-
gories based on actual break points. The total scores were
used in the regression analysis. Open-ended responses were
also included.

Item Analyses

In Tables 2 to 8 are item analyses of sets of
variables. The z score test shows which percentages are
significantly greater than the mean.[1] Table 2 shows the
distribution of parents' responses to items comprising the
Africanized and Less Africanized Rates. The percentage of
positive answers out of all answers given is reported in
the table. Negative responses can be computed from the
table directly. Missing answers can be found from the N
column.

Each of these tests was examined for items that
were consistent, i.e., a high part-whole correlation. Any
inconsistent items were deleted, and a total score computed
by adding together the remaining items. Items were elim-
inated when more than 90 percent of the parents answered
a question in one direction, causing low part-whole cor-
relations.

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[1]W. Dixon and F. Massey, Introduction to Statistical
Analysis (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1969), p. 101.

TABLE 2

DISTRIBUTION OF PARENTS' RESPONSES TO ITEMS COMPOSING THE AFRICANIZED RATE
AND LESS AFRICANIZED SCORE RATE WITH Z SCORES*

ITEM: Do you object to your child talking/listening/writing/reading as the person on the tape/book/note does on the following occasions?

	Channel	Domain	Topic/Participant	% Positive Africanized (n)** average=42	z Scores[a]	% Positive Less Africanized (n) average=46	z Scores[a]	N Total
1. Kidding with his brother at home about his brother's girl friend.	speech	home	informal	76 (60)	6.18*	74 (59)		79
2. Reporting on what he did in school at the dinner table at home.	speech	home	formal	67 (53)	4.54*	86 (69)		79
3. Yelling in the streets with his friends while playing ball.	speech	community	informal	63 (49)	3.81*	80 (64)		78
4. Talking with his friend's parents.	speech	community	formal	43 (32)		83 (66)		75
5. Telling a joke about John in his class.	speech	school	informal	26 (20)		80 (64)		78
6. Giving a science report to his class.	speech	school	formal	30 (24)		89 (71)		80
7. Hearing you speak at home while playing cards with friends.	listening	home	informal	68 (54)	4.72*	88 (70)		79
8. Hearing you speak at home while answering the door for a salesman.	listening	home	formal	61 (48)	3.45*	89 (71)		79

TABLE 2 (Continued)

ITEM: Do you object to your child talking/listening/writing/reading as the person on the tape/book/note does on the following occasions?

	Channel	Domain	Topic/Participant	% Positive Africanized (n)** average=42	z Scores[a]	% Positive Less Africanized (n) average=46	z Scores[a]	N Total
9. Hearing his friend speak while playing with him on the block.	listening	community	informal	83 (66)	7.45*	90 (72)	3.0*	80
10. Hearing his friends talk about their trip to the museum on the lawn.	listening	community	formal	70 (56)	5.08*	88 (70)		80
11. Hearing his teacher speak while fussing with him on the playground.	listening	school	informal	26 (21)		83 (66)		80
12. Hearing his teacher speak while reviewing a test.	listening	school	formal	20 (16)		84 (67)		80
13. Reading a note from you at home.	reading	home		20 (16)		84 (67)		80
14. Reading a note with his friends.	reading	community		32 (26)		93 (74)	5.4*	80
15. Reading a book during "free reading" in school.	reading	school	informal	42 (34)		93 (74)	5.4*	80

TABLE 2 (Continued)

ITEM: Do you object to your child talking/listening/writing/reading as the person on the tape/book/note does on the following occasions?

	Channel	Domain	Topic/Partici-pant	% Positive African-ized (n)** average=42	z Scores[a]	% Positive Less Afri-canized (n) average=46	z Scores[a]	N Total
16. Reading a book during a reading lesson in the classroom.	reading	school	formal	25 (20)		86 (69)		80
17. Writing a note to his brother.	writing	home	informal	27 (22)		90 (72)	3.0*	80
18. Writing a thank-you note to his grand-mother.	writing	home	formal	26 (21)		84 (67)		80
19. Writing a note to his friend telling him he couldn't wait any longer.	writing	community	informal	30 (24)		85 (68)		80
20. Writing a note to his friend's parents telling them he can't go on a trip with them.	writing	community	formal	20 (16)		86 (69)		79

TABLE 2 (Continued)

ITEM: Do you object to your child talking/listening/writing/reading as the person on the tape/book/note does on the following occasions?

	Channel	Domain	Topic/ Participant	% Positive African- ized (n)** average=42	z Scores[a]	% Positive Less Afri- canized (n) average=46	z Scores[a]	N Total
21. Writing a poem during creative writing time at school.	writing	school	informal	39 (31)		88 (70)		80
22. Writing a report in geography at school.	writing	school	formal	21 (17)		85 (68)		80

* Items were asked of parents in conjunction with a tape, note or book demonstrating the reading, writing, listening and speaking channel in question.

* [z scores] a score of 2.66 and above is significant with 60-120 degrees of freedom.

** Percent positive = those answering "Do you object . . ." with a "no" answer.

[a] The formula for this test of proportion is as follows:

$$z = \frac{\hat{p}_i - \bar{p}}{\sqrt{\dfrac{\bar{p}\,(1-\bar{p})}{N}}}$$

where
$\hat{p}_i$ = individual item

$\bar{p}$ = average over item

N = number of Ss for item i

The item analysis in Table 2 suggests that parents are much more accepting of Africanized Black English in some contexts than in others. The z-score test shows that speech and listening are the channels in which they most readily accept Africanized Black English. They are also more accepting of Africanized Black English in situations outside of the school--the home and community. They do not accept Africanized Black English in writing and reading channels, by and large, nor in the school domain. These generalizations hold true whether in a formal or informal situation, except that Africanized Black English reading in the schools and listening in the community are slightly more acceptable in the informal domain.

Table 2 also shows the percentages of parents who accept Less Africanized Black English. The z-score test shows that listening in the community, reading in the community and school, and writing in the home are the most acceptable contexts.

Table 3 lists the items in the Black Consciousness Scale (above, p. 58). The z-score test shows that parents found themselves in most agreement with items one through five--those having to do with Blacks' learning ability, pride in culture, hair, dress and speech, and racism.

Table 4 shows the frequency of responses to items in the Cultural Behavior Score (above, pp. 59-60). The z-score test shows that Black kinesics, Black music,

TABLE 3

DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONSES TO ITEMS COMPOSING THE
BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS SCALE

$N = 80$; average = 64

	Agree/N	z-Score***
1. Black kids can learn if taught.**	99 (79)	7.02
2. Black people should take pride in their culture.	98 (78)	6.84
3. Blacks should keep their own hair and dress styles.	94 (76)	6.12
4. Blacks should keep their own pattern of speech; it should be recognized by others.	90 (72)	5.40
* 5. Blacks should (not) assimilate in regards to dress.	90 (72)	5.40
6. The system is the cause of Black obstacles.	86 (69)	4.68
* 7. Blacks should (not) assimilate the speech of the wider community.	77 (61)	3.06
* 8. Black students should (not) integrate into White high schools.	67 (54)	
9. Blacks should stay in their own high schools.	63 (50)	

TABLE 3 (Continued)

	Agree/N	z-Score***
* 10. Black parents are (not) the cause of Black obstacles.	57 (45)	
* 11. Blacks should (not) assimilate their culture and life style with the larger community.	56 (35)	
* 12. Blacks should (not) integrate into White communities.	51 (41)	
13. Blacks should stay in their own communities.	41 (33)	
* 14. Laziness is (not) the cause of Black obstacles.	39 (47)	

Note: Items 1 and 2 did not correlate with the other items (see Appendix), so they were eliminated from the scale for cross-tabulations.

* See Appendix F for complete version.

** Items worded positively in questionnaire and coded the opposite for the composite scale.

*** A score of 2.66 and above is significant (p < .01) with 60-120 degrees of freedom.

TABLE 4

DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONSES TO ITEMS COMPOSING THE CULTURAL BEHAVIOR SCORE

Item	Yes	n	z^{**}	N
* 1. Black Kinesics	90%	72	7.02	80
* 2. Black Church Preference	79%	49	4.96	62
3. Black Music Preference	78%	62	5.40	80
4. Black Games Preference	68%	54	3.60	79
5. Black Board Membership	25%	20		80
* 6. Black Social Preference	63%	50	2.70	80
7. Black Fraternal Organization	9%	7		80
8. Black Community Preference	41%	33		79
9. Black Job Preference	25%	20		79

*Items 1, 2, and 6 did not correlate highly with the other items and were eliminated from the scale (see Appendix).

**A score of 2.66 and above is significant (p < .01) with 60-120 degrees of freedom.

church, games, and social preference were the items more generally preferred by parents (Appendix F, Nos. 143-153; 156).

Table 5 shows the frequency of responses to items composing the Attitudes to Africanized Black English scale. The items most preferred by parents as "good reasons to know Africanized Black English" were identity, logic, pre-server of Black culture, ease in informal situations, and intelligibility with Blacks, according to the z-score test of proportion.

Table 6 shows the items in the Attitudes to Less Africanized Black English scale. Usefulness in getting a job, intelligibility with larger society, and making friends with others are the most popular "reasons to know Less Africanized Black English."

Table 7 gives the frequency of responses to "reasons for opposing Africanized Black English" in some domains. "Teach them something they don't know," "They can learn it at home," and "Takes time away from standard which he needs to get a job" are the most popular responses.

Table 8 shows the percentages of parents who control various aspects of Black speech. The z-scores test shows that the items controlled most by parents were intonation, Less Africanized Black English grammar, and Africanized Black English phonology.

TABLE 5

DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONSES TO ITEMS COMPOSING GENERAL ATTITUDES
TO AFRICANIZED BLACK ENGLISH SCALE

ITEM: Good Reasons to Know Africanized Black English

	% High/n	z*	Total N
1. Maintains bond between Black people	69 (53)	6.60	77
2. Has a logic and system of its own	69 (53)	6.60	77
3. Helps to preserve Black culture	66 (51)	4.62	77
4. Helps Blacks feel at ease in informal situations	65 (69)	3.96	76
5. Helps in clarity (intelligibility) among Blacks	63 (48)		77
6. Unique way to express some things	58 (45)		78
7. Preserves Black identity	26 (20)		78

*A score of 2.66 and above is significant (p < .01) with 60-120 degrees of freedom.

TABLE 6

DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONSES TO ITEMS COMPOSING GENERAL ATTITUDES TO
LESS AFRICANIZED BLACK ENGLISH SCALE

Item: Good Reasons to Know Less Africanized Black English

	% High (n)	z	Total N
1. Useful in getting a job	98 (73)	9.2	75
2. Helps to be understood in wider community	93 (70)	5.4	75
3. Helps in making friends with others	91 (69)	3.0	76
4. Helps feel at ease in formal situations	89 (67)		76
5. Needed for respect in wider community	85 (64)		75
6. Only way to speak on some occasions	83 (62)		75
7. Not educated unless can control it	61 (46)		76

TABLE 7

DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONSES TO "WHY AGAINST AFRICANIZED BLACK ENGLISH"

Item	% Yes (n)	Total N
1. Most Black children already know this form of Black English; the schools should teach the other kind; the kind they don't know.	86 (49)	57
2. My child will learn this form of Black English at home or with friends.	86 (45)	53
3. The teaching of this form of Black English will take time away from teaching the other kind which will, in turn, affect my child's ability to get a job or go to college later on.	82 (44)	54
4. Most teachers don't know this form of Black English and would merely be "looking down" on the children by allowing them to use it.	76 (45)	59
5. No other English of this form is being taught in the schools; this must be another plot to hold us back educationally.	73 (41)	57
6. The school is the child's only chance to learn the language of education.	73 (41)	56
7. It should be used only for oral communication among Black people in informal situations.	55 (32)	57*

*N's are smaller than the sample because only those parents who objected to some phase of Africanized Black English responded.

TABLE 8

z SCORES FOR BLACK ENGLISH PROFICIENCY ITEMS

Item	% Yes (n)	z	Total N
1. Less Africanized Grammar**	74 (52)	4.03	70*
2. Africanized Grammar**	50 (34)		70
3. Bi-Dialectal Grammar***	23 (16)		70
4. Less Africanized Phonology**	56 (39)		70
5. Africanized Phonology**	67 (47)	2.90	70
6. Bi-Dialectal Phonology	28 (18)		70
7. Talks Proper	*21 (15)		70
8. Black Intonation	94 (65)	7.25	70

*Ten of the 80 taped cassettes were unanalyzable due to a malfunction of the recorder or quality of the tape.

**Numbers 1 and 2 and 4 and 5, when added together, give a total which, when the Bidialectal subjects (Nos. 3 and 6) are subtracted, gives the total N. There were two subjects who controlled only "Talking Proper" who are not included in No. 4 or No. 5.

***Only 16 parents were classified by judges as bidialectal-grammar; 90 percent of the parents responded to the question "Can you speak like both Africanized and Less Africanized voices" with yes, however.

Table 9 shows the percentages of parental responses
to the Advantages of Black English scale. It shows that
parents prefer Less Africanized English in the two formal
domains regardless of race of interlocutor. A slight major-
ity prefers Africanized English in the informal domains with
Black friends, and Less Africanized with White friends.

Table 10 gives percentages for general curriculum
items, showing that many parents want teachers to take a
course in Black English, and do not feel that race of
teacher and age of child make much difference in their
rating of the usage of Africanized English in the schools.

Chi-Square Tests

The Africanized Black English total score, based
on all of the items in Table 2, comprised the major depend-
ent variable. This total was categorized into high, medium,
and low values. The chi-square test, a test for independ-
ence, was utilized with the dependent variable and various
independent variables. Table 11 shows the results of the
chi-square test with Africanized Rate and Black Conscious-
ness, Political Involvement, Cultural Behavior, Attitudes
to Black English, and Black Proverb, a subset of the Ad-
vantages of Black English scale. These scales were computed
in the same manner as Africanized Rate, i.e. those items
which had relatively high correlations were added together

TABLE 9

FREQUENCY OF RESPONSES TO ITEMS COMPOSING
ADVANTAGES BLACK ENGLISH SCALE

Speech Act	Interlocutor(s)	Topic	Africanized English	Less African- ized English	Super- standard	N
Answering interview questions	Black employer	job appli- cation	5% (4)	80% (60)	15% (11)	75
Answering interview questions	White employer	job appli- cation	4% (3)	77% (58)	19% (14)	75
Informal party	Black friends	black proverb or joke	45% (34)	42% (32)	11% (9)	76
Informal party	White friends	black proverb or joke	30% (23)	50% (38)	18% (14)	76

TABLE 10

PERCENTAGES FOR SELECTED TEACHER AND CHILD-RELATED ITEMS

Item: Does Race of teacher or age of child make a difference in regards to your views on the role of Africanized Black English in the school?

	Race of Teacher		N	Age of Child	
	Yes	No		Yes	No
Speech	11% (9)	89% (71)	80	18% (14)	82% (65)
Listening	10% (8)	90% (72)	80	14% (11)	86% (69)
Reading	15% (12)	85% (67)	94	14% (11)	86% (69)
Writing	13% (10)	87% (70)	80	13% (10)	87% (70)

Average % = 86.5%

Question: Should the teacher be requested to take a course in Black English in order to understand Black children?

Yes	No
90%	10%

TABLE 11

CHI-SQUARE RESULTS FOR AFRICANIZED RATE WITH POSITIVE BLACK ETHNICITY

Africanized Rate	Black Consciousness		Political Involvement		Cultural Behavior		Attitudes to Black English	
	High	Low	High	Low	High	Low	High	Low
High N = 17	77% (13)	33% (4)	63% (10)	27% (7)	76% (13)	24% (4)	88% (15)	12% (2)
Medium N = 38	42% (16)	48% (22)	32% (12)	68% (26)	53% (20)	47% (18)	66% (25)	34% (13)
Low N = 25	24% (6)	76% (19)	28% (7)	72% (18)	32% (8)	68% (17)	36% (9)	64% (16)
Column Total:	(35)	(45)	(29)	(51)	(41)	(39)	(49)	(31)

X^2=11.40 df=2 p<.01 X^2=5.82 df=2 p<.05 X^2=8.06 df=2 p<.02 X^2=12.26 df=2 p<.01

Black Proverb: Black Friends

Africanized Rate	Africanized	Less Africanized	Superstandard
High N = 16	69% (11)	31% (5)	0 (0)
Medium N = 35	32% (18)	34% (12)	14% (5)
Low N = 24	21% (5)	63% (15)	16% (4)
Column Total:	(34)	(32)	(9)

X^2 = 11.18   df = 4   p < .02

into total scores, then categorized into "high" and "low,"
with the exception of Black Proverb, which was a subset
of the Advantages scale, and was categorized into three
levels. All of these indices to positive Black ethnicity
(above, pp. 55-60) were significant; parents who were high
on these measures tended to have higher totals on African-
ized Rate, and those who were low on these measures tended
to be low on Africanized Rate.

Table 12 shows that Black Consciousness and Cul-
tural Behavior, when cross-tabulated with Social Scale,
result in a significant chi-square score. Those who are
high in Social Scale tend to be high in Black Conscious-
ness and Cultural Behavior.

Table 13 is a cross-tabulation of Africanized Rate
with income, occupation and education, which are independ-
ent variables, related to social status. The table also
shows a cross-tabulation with Social Scale, a combination
of income, occupation, and education, in which occupation
was rated 5, education 3 and income 1 (above, p. 63).
Table 13 shows that occupation and social scale are sta-
tistically significant; those low on social scale also had
low scores on Africanized Rate. Those with college train-
ing tended to be high on Africanized Rate.

Table 14 gives the breakdown of the second depend-
ent variable--Africanized Reading--according to some

TABLE 12

CHI-SQUARE RESULTS FOR SOCIAL SCALE WITH BLACK ETHNICITY ITEMS

Black Consciousness

Social Scale	High	Low
High N = 27	74% (20)	26% (7)
Low N = 53	28% (15)	72% (38)
Column Total:	(35)	(45)

$x^2 = 13.42$ df=1 p < .01

Cultural Behavior

Social Scale	High	Low
High N = 27	78% (21	22% (6)
Low N = 53	38% (21)	62% (33)
Column Total:	(42)	(39)

$x^2 = 9.93$ df=1 p < .01

TABLE 13

CHI-SQUARE RESULTS FOR AFRICANIZED RATE WITH OCCUPATION, INCOME, EDUCATION AND SOCIAL SCALE

Africanized Rate	Unemployed, Welfare	Service	Occupation Crafts	Students	Profes-sional	Total Income % Under $600 mo.	% Over $600 mo.
High N = 17	24% (4)	29% (5)	6% (1)	29% (5)	12% (2)	53% (9)	47% (8)
Medium N = 38	16% (6)	32% (12)	18% (7)	6% (2)	28% (11)	50% (19)	50% (19)
Low N = 25	32% (8)	36% (9)	8% (2)	0 (0)	24% (6)	46% (11)	54% (14)
Column Total:	(18)	(26)	(10)	(7)	(19)	(39)	(41)

$X^2 = 16.46$ df = 8   p < .05

$X^2 = 4.17$ df = 2   p = ns

Africanized Rate	Less Than High School	Education High School	Some College	Social Scale (Occupation, Income, Education) Low	High
High N = 17	18% (3)	18% (3)	64% (11)	47% (8)	53% (9)
Medium N = 38	29% (11)	37% (14)	34% (13)	63% (24)	37% (14)
High N = 25	24% (6)	48% (12)	28% (7)	84% (21)	16% (4)
Column Total:	(20)	(29)	(31)	(53)	(27)

$X^2 = 8.33$ df = 6   p = ns

$X^2 = 6.48$ df = 2   p < .05

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TABLE 14

CHI-SQUARE RESULTS FOR AFRICANIZED READING WITH GENERAL ATTITUDES, EDUCATION, AND BLACK ENGLISH PROFICIENCY

Africanized Reading in Schools: Informal

	General Africanized Black English Attitudes		Education		
	High	Low	Less Than High School	High School	Some College
Positive N = 34	77% (26)	23% (8)	26% (9)	21% (7)	53% (18)
Negative N = 46	50% (23)	50% (23)	24% (11)	48% (22)	28% (13)
Column Totals:	(49)	(31)	(20)	(29)	(31)

$X^2 = 4.71$ df=1 p < .05 $X^2 = 7.12$ df=2 p < .02

Africanized Reading in Schools: Informal

	Less Africanized Grammar		Less Africanized Phonology		Africanized Phonology		Africanized Grammar		Bidialectal: Grammar	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Positive N = 29*	79% (23)	21% (6)	62% (18)	38% (11)	52% (15)	49% (14)	31% (9)	69% (20)	10% (3)	90% (26)
Negative N = 41	71% (29)	29% (12)	51% (21)	49% (20)	78% (32)	22% (9)	64% (26)	36% (15)	32% (13)	68% (28)
Column Totals:	(52)	(18)	(39)	(31)	(47)	(23)	(34)	(36)	(16)	(54)

$X^2 = 0.28$ df=1 p = ns $X^2 = 0.43$ df=1 p = ns $X^2 = 4.20$ df=1 p < .05 $X^2 = 5.88$ df=1 p < .02 $X^2 = 3.26$ df=1 p < .07

*N's are less here because only 70 tapes were of quality to be analyzed.

important independent variables, showing that the breakdown is significant in some cases. Those with high scores on attitudes toward Africanized Black English and Education showed more positive attitudes toward Africanized Reading. Parents seemed to be in the negative brackets on Africanized Reading if they controlled Africanized Phonology and Grammar. The bidialectal parents followed the same trend, but the chi-square value was smaller and reached a lower significance. Those controlling Less Africanized Grammar and Phonology were located more frequently in the positive bracket, though the chi-square value was small.

Table 15 shows cross-tabulations between Africanized Rate and selected biographical information. Residence and marital status had the only significant chi-square scores. The other biographical data seemed to be distributed proportionate to the distribution of that variable in the sample.

Table 16 shows cross-tabulations of Africanized Rate with other important variables--Advantages of Both Kinds of Black English, Previous Exposure to Black English, Achievement of Child, and Leader Identification. Though none of these chi-square tests achieved statistical significance, there was a higher proportion in the high and medium Africanized Rate categories compared with the low category. Ambition for Child, the Importance of Reading and of Self-Pride were also cross-tabulated with

TABLE 15

CHI-SQUARE RESULTS FOR AFRICANIZED RATE WITH BIOGRAPHICAL DATA

Africanized Rate	Marital Status		Residence		Birth		Size of Town		Sex	
	Single	Married	E. Palo Alto	Oakland	South	Other	Small	Large	Female	Male
High N = 17	71%(12)	29%(5)	53%(9)	47%(8)	36%(6)	65%(11)	53%(9)	47%(8)	77%(13)	23%(4)
Medium N = 38	34%(13)	66%(25)	90%(34)	10%(4)	66%(25)	34%(13)	63%(24)	37%(14)	76%(29)	24%(9)
Low N = 25	40%(10)	60%(15)	84%(21)	16%(4)	68%(17)	32%(8)	56%(14)	44%(11)	72%(18)	28%(7)
Column Totals:	(25)	(45)	(64)	(16)	(48)	(32)	(47)	(33)	(50)	(20)

$x^2 = 6.52$ df=2 p < .05

$x^2 = 10.16$ df=2 p < .01

$x^2 = 5.52$ df=2 p < .06

$x^2 = 0.61$ df=2 p = ns

$x^2 = .174$ df=2 p = ns

Africanized Rate	Age	
	Over 30	Under 30
High N = 17	59% (10)	41% (7)
Medium N = 34	59% (20)	41% (14)
Low N = 24	62% (15)	38% (9)
Column Totals:	(45)	(30)

$x^2 = .091$ df=2 p=ns

TABLE 16

CHI-SQUARE RESULTS FOR AFRICANIZED RATE WITH MISCELLANEOUS ITEMS

Africanized Black English Rate	Advantages of Both Kinds of Black English			Previous Exposure to Black English		Achievement of Child		Leader Identification	
	Yes	No	Missing	Yes	No	At or under grade level	Above grade level	High	Low
High N = 17	72%(10)	28%(4)	(3)	71%(12)	29%(5)	71%(12)	29%(5)	65%(11)	35%(6)
Medium N = 38	78%(29)	22%(8)	(1)	55%(21)	45%(17)	76%(29)	24%(9)	37%(14)	63%(24)
Low N = 25	54%(12)	46%(10)	(3)	36%(9)	64%(16)	50%(12)	50%(13)	40%(10)	60%(15)
Column Total:	(51)	(22)	(7)	(42)	(38)	(53)	(27)	(35)	(45)

$X^2 = 3.74$ df=2 p=ns $X^2 = 5.07$ df=2 p=.07 $X^2 = 4.73$ df=2 p=.09 $X^2 = 5.44$ df=2 p=ns

Africanized Black English Rate	Ambition for Child		Importance of Reading		Importance of Self Pride	
	Professional	Labor	Important	Not So Important	Important	Not So Important
High N = 10*	78%(7)	22%(3)	90%(9)	10%(1)	90%(9)	10%(1)
Medium N = 34	79%(26)	21%(8)	91%(30)	9%(3)	88%(30)	12%(4)
Low N = 19	68%(13)	32%(6)	90%(17)	10%(2)	74%(14)	26%(5)
Column Total:	(46)	(17)	(56)	(6)	(53)	(10)

$X^2 = 0.69$ df = 2 p = ns $X^2 = 0.02$ df = 2 p = ns $X^2 = 3.97$ df = 2 p = ns

*N's are low because only East Palo Alto was included in this section.

the Africanized Rate for the East Palo Alto parents. The
latter two variables were subsets of a scale designed to
measure the importance of various curriculum items
(Appendix I). The Reading and Self-Pride subsets were
selected for crosstabulation because they were the two
items most widely favored by the parents. Though none of
the chi-square tests achieved statistical significance due
to the consistently unidirectional responses of the parents,
it is noteworthy that so many endorsed both Basics and
Self-Pride in all categories regardless of their score of
Africanized Rate. The order of importance of some of the
other curriculum subjects was as follows: Math, Job
Training, Black History, Economics, Black Culture, Think-
ing Critically, and Science.

Regression Analysis

Separate regression analyses were computed on each
of the three subfiles (interviewer groups)--Male Inter-
viewer, Female Interviewer, and Oakland samples--because
the interviewer variable was partly confounded with the
sample and with characteristics of the sample (above,
p. 45).

The patterns of the three subfiles seemed to be
reasonably comparable (Appendix G); hence, in order to
obtain the most powerful regression analysis, the three
data sets were combined into a single regression pool.

In order to be able to examine in the pooled data set the effects of the variables of interest, uncontaminated by differences due to the interviewer variable, the variable was suppressed. The other variables were allowed to come in first, and their effects examined. Table 17 shows the results of that computation, demonstrating that Cultural Behavior and Attitudes to Black English were the most important predictors of the dependent variable.

An overall regression analysis was computed for all three subfiles (Table 18), with the interviewer variable unsuppressed. This analysis showed the best predictors of the dependent variable were Interviewer, Cultural Behavior, and Occupation (Student). Occupation was divided into five categorical variables for the final analysis-- Student, White Collar, Blue Collar, Unemployed, and Service. Only the Student variable was a significant predictor of the dependent variable.

<div align="center">Open-Ended Responses</div>

Tables 19 to 22 show various open-ended responses. Tables 19 to 21 give responses to the Advantages question, showing that the most salient reasons for knowing Africanized English revolve around culture/solidarity and Black communications; the most salient ones for knowing Less Africanized English center around survival and clarity.

TABLE 17

STEPWISE MULTIPLE REGRESSION ANALYSIS
FOR PREDICTION OF AFRICANIZED SCORE

Predictor	R	R^2	F
Cultural Behavior	.403	.162	7.319**
Attitudes to Black English	.467	.218	4.363*

*p < .05
**p < .01

TABLE 18

STEPWISE MULTIPLE REGRESSION ANALYSIS FOR PREDICTION
OF AFRICANIZED SCORE WITH INTERVIEWER INCLUDED

Predictor	R	R^2	F
Cultural Behavior	.358	.128	8.964**
Attitudes to Black English	.403	.162	3.563
Interviewer	.550	.302	12.343**
Student	.585	.343	4.320*

*p < .05
**p < .01

TABLE 19

OPEN-ENDED RESPONSES TO ADVANTAGES OF
KNOWING BOTH FORMS OF BLACK ENGLISH

(Appendix F, Nos. 109, 110)

27[a]	Communication: Relate to All/Intelligibility	22[a]	Survival; Trickster Figure*
11	Communication with Black People	1	Black people go both ways
1	Broadens communication	1	Relate to establishment if necessary
1	World centers on communication	1	Survive in White world
4	Communication with all types	1	Just for fun sometimes
2	Clarity	1	Competition is in standard
1	Some don't understand other	1	Both worlds
1	Talk to everybody including older	2	Standard at school/ Other at home
1	So friends who speak it won't feel bad	1	Get over
1	So teacher can understand	1	For one's own usefulness
3	For working in Black communities or the South	1	Bilingual--like having two languages
1	To correct others	1	Can switch depending on situation
		1	Helps in career on stage
		1	College
		5	Jobs
		3	Confidence to deal with all situations
		1	Show others you can do it and communicate with own

[a]Total Figure.

*See p. 108.

TABLE 20

OPEN-ENDED RESPONSES TO ADVANTAGES OF AFRICANIZED ENGLISH

(Appendix F, No. 99)

23[a] Culture/Solidarity		8[a] Black Communication		4[a] Knowledge	
5	A lot of Black Culture is lost	1	Blacks understand it whether sophisticated or not	1	It's knowledge to know it
1	Kids should be exposed to it	1	Understands associates	1	Can be bilingual
1	Part of heritage	1	Talk to older person	1	Be aware
1	Need it for environment	1	Talk to a non-standard person	1	Self-improvement
1	It's their language	1	Jiving		
1	Language spoken by ancestors	1	Joking		
1	Part of us	1	Arguing		
1	Ease	1	Get a message over with Blacks		
1	Bond with Blacks				
1	Communication with other races				
1	Communication with Blacks/ fit in anywhere				
1	Relate to Blacks				
1	Relate to Grandmother				
1	Keep Whites from knowing what we talk about				
3	It's natural--being themselves				
1	To argue with				
1	It's great--just don't write in it.				

[a]Total number.

TABLE 21

OPEN-ENDED RESPONSES TO ADVANTAGES OF LESS AFRICANIZED
BLACK ENGLISH

(Appendix F, No. 108)

27[a] Survival: Trickster Figure	7[a] Communication With Others	9[a] Correct/Clear
1 Different class, better situation	7 Relate to all people	6 Correct
1 Advancement in wider communication		1 Proper way/ Standard
3 Get ahead		2 Clarity
1 Survive		
1 Know both to compete		
1 Good to know both		
1 Competition		
1 Both worlds		
1 Standard at school/other at home		
1 He's living in America		
1 In public with Blacks		
3 Tests		
1 Books written in standard		
5 College/life goals		
1 Go to college and change the system		
4 Jobs		

[a]Total number

TABLE 22

OPEN-ENDED RESPONSES TO WHY AGAINST
AFRICANIZED ENGLISH

(Appendix F, No. 84)

21^a Survival; Trickster Figure		8^a Inappropriate/Incorrect	
1	Gets non-standard with friends/needs other to make it	1	Not for school
1	Our way has no meaning to those in control (in college you have to write)	1	Not right for reading and writing
		1	Not in classroom
1	Can get it in streets-- have to make it in the world	1	OK for free time; not appropriate for other
1	Can't cope with anything	1	Improper English
1	Would be laughed at in college	1	Goes to school to learn better
1	Want her to do better than me	1	Not correct
1	Would have problems with Black Intellectuals	1	There is no Black English
1	Couldn't get ahead		
5	Jobs		
4	Education		
4	Know already		

^{a}Total number

Table 22 gives reasons for objecting to Africanized Black
English in the classroom for those parents who did object
to any items in Africanized Rate, showing that survival
is the major reason.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY, DISCUSSION, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Summary of Results

It is seen from the results that most of the hypotheses were supported:

Hypothesis 1

High parental proficiency in Africanized Black English leads to low parental preference for it in the classroom.

Supported: Table 14

Hypothesis 2

High parental proficiency in Less Africanized Black English leads to high parental preference for Africanized Black English in the classroom.

Rejected: Parents controlling Less Africanized English were about equally distributed in their preference for Africanized English: Table 14.

Hypothesis 3

Bidialectal parental proficiency (those proficient in both standard and non-standard) leads to high preference for both varieties in the classroom.

Rejected: Bidialectal parents were not in the positive ranks in terms of preference for Africanized English: Table 14.

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Hypothesis 4

> High education leads to high parental prefer-
> ence for Africanized Black English in the
> classroom.
>
> Supported with the Africanized Reading vari-
> able: Table 14.
> Supported where computed in a composite vari-
> able with income and occupation, a composite
> in which it received the highest ranking:
> Table 13.

Hypothesis 5

> High positive ethnicity leads to high parental
> preference for Africanized Black English in
> the classroom.
>
> Supported with the Africanized Rate variable,
> showing that parents with high positive
> ethnicity have a high overall preference for
> Africanized Black English: Table 11.

Discussion: Educational Implications

One of the most obvious findings of this survey is

that Black parents interviewed do not "hate their language"

as so many linguists and educators have assumed (above,

p. 14). They do have rules for the use of the several

varieties of Black English based on domain, channel, and

topic. They accept Africanized English in the listening

and speaking channels, but not in the reading and writing

channels; they accept Africanized English in the home and

some community contexts, but generally not in the schools;

they accept Africanized English in informal settings, but

seldom in formal ones. An average of 86 percent accept

Less Africanized English, another Black language variety,

in the other channels, domains, and contexts.

The parents in this sample indicated that African-ized English has very definite values. This fact contra-dicts the claims of those who believed that parental preference for Less Africanized English in some contexts meant total rejection of Africanized English (above, pp. 14-15). Table 20 demonstrates that Africanized English is valued for solidarity purposes, for logic, and as a pre-server of Black culture. Parents overwhelmingly endorsed Africanized Black English and Less Africanized Black English as both having advantages. Their most salient reasons for keeping both were "survival" and "communica-tions" (Table 19). This positive value for Black English and for other aspects of Black culture such as Black abil-ity to learn, pride in hair, dress and speech styles (Table 3), and the indicator of the importance of self-pride (Table 16) should be utilized in some manner in the curriculum. Children as well as teachers might benefit from direct teaching of these subjects.

Results of this survey show that it is simplistic to make assumptions about "Black parents' views" or "Middle-class Blacks" without supportive data. It is seen, for example, that those parents with higher education and occupational levels were also high in their general pre-ference for Africanized English, which contradicts the claims of those who lay the blame for the "rejection" of

Africanized Black English on "middle-class" parents (above, p. 15).

The results of this survey also indicate a need for adult education classes for parents in the history of Black education. This course is particularly important because parents need to understand some of the events and philosophies described in Chapter I and their influence on the type of education their children receive. Parents might stop blaming themselves (note that 43 percent of the parents --Table 3--feel that "Children often do not succeed in school because their parents don't help at home") and begin to see that not they but the schools are often responsible for many of their children's educational problems. Parents could then concentrate less on self-blame and take an initiative in changing the schools. An exposure to the Excellence philosophy (above, pp. 9-10) would lead to more information on the possibilities for such change. A perusal of the history of Black education would also perhaps help to prevent the eruption of a new philosophy designed to water down the teaching of basic skills for low-income students (above, pp. 1-9). Included in this course should be information on Black English in the context of education so that parents become familiar with research on methodology in teaching reading and the other language arts to speakers of Black English.

Another implication which can be drawn from this
study lies in the field of teacher education. Ninety per-
cent of the parents believed that teachers need to be
informed about the existence of Black English so that they
can better understand the children. At the same time,
many of the parents also believed that teacher use of
Africanized English in the schools would have a patronizing
effect on the children (Table 7). These two concerns lend
support to the recommendation that teachers be required to
take courses in the language varieties of their students
and in the appropriateness of their use.

Finally, parental endorsement of the teaching of
the "basics" should be considered in terms of general cur-
riculum decision-making. Table 16 shows that parents con-
sider reading to be most important; Appendix I shows that
of a list of subjects, reading was ranked highest, with
Math and Job Training following Self-Pride. This particu-
lar item was one of the few in which attitudes toward
Black English seemed to make no difference; parents were
overwhelmingly in favor of the basics regardless of atti-
tude.

Recommendations for Future Research

In future research, it would be wise to make sure
that a variety of interviewers of different sexes, ages,

skin color and proficiency in Black English are repre-
sented. It is obvious from the high F score of the Inter-
viewer variable in the regression analysis that the
interviewer plays an important role.

In future research on language attitudes, research-
ers should try to develop more efficient and time-saving
techniques for determining proficiency where that measure-
ment is only one of several independent variables and
therefore should not take more than 15 minutes to measure.
The concept "bidialectal" should also be refined in label-
ing the results of proficiency measures. For example, in
this study parents were classified as "bidialectal" only
if they controlled both Africanized and Less Africanized
grammar or phonology. (Sixteen were classified in this
way.) Yet most parents "code-switched"--some from Afri-
canized to Less Africanized grammar or phonology, some from
Africanized to an even more Africanized grammar or phonology
--and vice versa--depending primarily on the topic. Pos-
sibly all of these subjects should be labeled "bidialectal"
or some term coined to include the variety of code-switching
which does go on among Black English speakers. Most
parents themselves believed that they were bidialectal
(Table 8).

The entire range of variation in Black English
should also be explored, beyond the two or three varieties

which have been tentatively described, to include not only
a linguistic description but also the labels which native
speakers prefer to call the varieties. Comparisons to
other speakers of Black English language varieties as well as
to non-Black speakers of social dialects of English, such
as the Appalachian variety, would be a needed type of re-
search, as well.

Researchers should be wary of adapting techniques
from other societies with quite dissimilar ethnic, racial
and class differences from our own. One advocate of the
use of Africanized English readers in the classroom based
those recommendations on a Swedish village where a dialect
was used first in teaching children to read. This recom-
mendation is clearly an example of "sentimental egalitar-
ianism" (above, p. 10). Fishman's discussion of the use
of Swabian, a Germanic dialect, is also critical of how
sentimental egalitarianism may lead to confusion of super-
ficially similar but basically different situations:

> In white eyes Black English not only stamps one
> as black but as lower-class black. It is taken
> to be a demographic marker of basically one-
> variety speakers. . . . Black English is a
> stereotype that represents a certain kind of
> person--all of him, all of the time. Regional
> German, on the other hand, is not a demographic
> stereotype at all but a contextual marker stand-
> ing for a particular kind of situational or
> metaphorical content. . . .[2]

---

[2] J. Fishman, "What Has the Sociology of Language
to Say to the Teacher?" Functions of Language in the Class-

In any discussion of judgments of educational importance of social dialects, it must be remembered that the main factor involved is the attitudes toward the dialect and its speakers rather than the linguistic differences between the social dialect and the standard dialect.

Conclusion

Racism is certainly an obstacle to be hurdled to achieve the goal of quality education for Black and other low-income children. Many of the reasons why parents objected to Africanized English in some situations can be traced to the racism in our society. Some of the most salient reasons for rejection were "Needs standard to get a job," "Teachers would be patronizing if they used it," "No other non-standard is taught--it must be a plot," (Table 7); "The system is the cause of Black obstacles" (Table 3). On the other hand, many of the reasons given for endorsing Less Africanized English revolved around survival: "Survive in White world," "He's living in America," "Get over," "Our way has no meaning to those in control" (Tables 19, 22)--and Black ability to overcome obstacles: "Black people go both ways," "Go to college and change the system." This value of survival through

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room, ed. by C. Cazden (New York: Teachers College Press, 1972), p. 79.

brain power is personified in one of the most universal of Black folkloric figures, the "trickster," which is a most understandable value for a people victimized by racism.[3]

Black parents are going to continue to prefer a "mainstream" language variety in "mainstream" contexts as long as speech continues to be one of the variables used by employers to deny Blacks jobs,[4] which is certainly a form of racism. Hence, no recommendations are made in this survey to embark upon a program to "improve" the attitudes of Blacks toward Black English. As a matter of fact, when one considers that the same people who are high on attitudes toward Black English and other facets of Black Consciousness are also high in Social Scale, it would seem that the best way to "improve" the attitudes of Black parents, were that a goal, would be to raise their incomes. More directly, school administrators, teachers and other educators should certainly accept parents' and other community people's sociolinguistic rules on who uses their language where, and when.

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[3]Sterling Brown, "Backgrounds of Folklore in Negro Literature," Mother Wit from the Laughing Barrel, ed. A. Dundes (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1973), p. 42.

[4]Roger Shuy, "Social Dialects and Employability: Some Pitfalls of Good Intentions," Studies in Linguistics in Honor of Raven I. McDavid, Jr., ed. by Lawrence M. Davis (University, Alabama: University of Alabama Press, 1972), pp. 145-156.

A P P E N D I C E S

APPENDIX A

PAIRED STANDARD AND NON-STANDARD ITEMS
FOR PILOT STUDY

Style		Segment
Less Africanized	*1.	John left for the meeting some time ago, but I think I'll wait until I really know what time it starts.
Africanized	**2.	Look ah mo' go to the sto' an get dis chil some clothes. Why 'on choo make that call for me while ahm gone?
Less Africanized	3.	Rev. Jones is a Methodist minister who lives in our community and helps people when they are in trouble. His church is on Frontage Road at Number 754.
Africanized	4.	Sho' is col today. Nãh one of the cars would ebem start.
Less Africanized	5.	Guess what! I was going to the store yesterday when I saw John Smith's son. You won't believe this but that child has lost ten pounds at least.
Africanized	6.	The people nex' do' took dey drivin' teses Sarurdi. They axt me to go wif em, an since I waddin doing nuffin, I went. They thoed the teses away when ey finish.
Less Africanized	7.	It sure is a shame that none of the people I wanted to see at the festival are singing Friday night. They're all singing Saturday.
Africanized	8.	The dennis heps people whose teef hurt. His office is in the shoppin cenner and his telephone numbah is fo' fibe sebem, two thousan.

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Style		Segment
Less Africanized	9.	I wasn't pleased with the tests we took Saturday. They were much too long, so just ask John to throw them away with their answer sheets, and we'll take some more tomorrow.
Africanized	10.	John been gone to de meeting, but I ain't goin 'til you fin out what time it really starts.

*The following items are paired: 1-10; 2-5; 3-8; 4-7; 6-9. For example, in item 10, "John been gone" is contrasted with "John left." Only a very few phonological and syntactic items are not paired.

**No attempt was made to translate the Africanized elements into the phonetic alphabet, as they should be capable of comprehension by non-linguists.

Phonological and Grammatical Variations
of Black English

	Number	Item: Africanized	Item: Less Africanized
Consonant Cluster Re- duction or Deletion-- Final and Medial Position	2 4 6 8 10	'on col' nex' dennis cenner thousan' fin'	don't cold next dentist center thousand find
R Deletion	2 4 6 8	sto' sho' do' Sarurdi thoed numbah	store sure door Saturday threw number
Verbs	2 6 10	'mo go finish thoed been gone ain't	going to go finished threw went not
Substitu- tions	2 4 6 8	dis choo näh ebem nuffin teses axted wif waddin fibe sebem	this you not even nothing tests asked with wasn't five seven

APPENDIX B

NOTES ACCOMPANYING QUESTIONNAIRE

Item 37

Dear Son:
I gots to go down the
street.

Item 38

Dear Pat:
I ain't never gonna wait
for you no 'mo.

Item 43

Dear Pat:
I ain't never gonna wait
for you no 'mo. (Same as
Item 38)

Item 44

Ma mama she tole me to
tell you I ain't coming.

Item 45

Dear Bob:
I done told you before not
to mess with my ball when
I'm gone, so don't.

Item 46

Dear Granny:
I wants to thank you for
the typewriter you given
for Christmas.

Item 67

Dear Son:
I had to go down the
street.

Item 68

Dear Pat:
I couldn't wait for you
any longer.

Item 73

Dear Pat:
I couldn't wait for you
any longer. (Same as
Item 68)

Item 74

I can't go because my mother
won't let me.

Item 75

Dear Bob:
Don't bother my ball while
I'm gone. I've told you
that before.

Item 76

Dear Granny:
Thanks so much for the type-
writer you gave me for
Christmas.

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Item 47

Story

Black bes beautiful.
Black bes never wantin to
do nothin what ain't cool.
Black bes never wantin to
do nothing what ain't
together.

Item 48

Class Report

Nobody never done that.
That somethin new.

Item 77

Story

Black is beautiful.
Black is being cool.
Black is being together.

Item 78

Class Report

Nobody ever did that;
that's something new.

APPENDIX C

SAMPLE STORIES

Sample Story Accompanying Item 39 (Appendix F)

Way back during slavery time there was a man
named John. And he was what you call a man.
Wasn't no bigger than the average size man and
didn't look no different. . . . Now John lived
on this plantation in Mississippi. I ain't
quite sho whereabouts in Mississippi. . . .

From J. Lester, High John the Conquerer, pp. 1, 2.

Sample Story Accompanying Item 40 (Appendix F)

Sometimes, when it be dark in our house, I be
scared. I cry "Mama." John and Mary be scared,
too. We all be scared. . . . Sometimes when it
be thundering and lightning, we be hiding under
the bed. We be jumping when it be thundering.

From Board of Education, Psycholinguistics Reading
Series: I Be Scared . . ., pp. 1-3.

Sample Story Accompanying Item 69 (Appendix F)

More than a hundred years ago, in the year
1820, a baby girl was born. She was born in a
small cabin. The baby's mother was Old Rit.
The baby's father was Ben. They were Negro
slaves. . . . The baby's real name was Araminta.
The people on the plantation called her Minty.
. . . Later she was . . . known as Moses.

From Runaway Slave (New York: Junior Winds Press,
1971), pp. 2, 3.

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Sample Story Accompanying Item 70 (Appendix F)

Sometimes, when it is dark in our house, I am
scared. I cry "Mama." John and Mary are scared,
too. We are all scared. . . . Sometimes, when it
is thundering and lightning, we hide under the
bed. We jump when it thunders.

From Board of Education, Psycholinguistics Reading
Series: I Am Scared . . ., pp. 1-3.

APPENDIX D

LETTER TO PARENTS

February 13, 1973

Dear Parent:

You have been chosen from parents in the Ravenswood City School District to participate in a survey to find out the opinions that parents have on the teaching of reading and language in the schools. The sponsors of the survey are a community agency (the Education Finance Reform Project) and the Stanford Center for Research and Development in Teaching (R & D Center). Questions are being asked for these two groups as well as for the Ravenswood City School District for the following reasons:

1. Black parents have been attacked in recent years by educators making claims about parents' attitudes concerning language and reading. No one has yet bothered, however, to go to the parents and ask them what their views are or why they hold them.

2. It is the desire of both agencies to involve parents in the decision-making process in regard to the schools. Your views will help the District to make curriculum decisions regarding language and reading.

Because this is an in-depth interview being conducted for several purposes, it is one and one-half hours long. You will receive a small token of appreciation for your time and your responses will, of course, be kept confidential. The results, which you will receive, will be printed as a dissertation and as a Research and Development memo. The interviewers, Warnell Coats and Shirley Lewis,* will be calling on you soon to set up an exact time for the interview. I will be organizing the survey as an East Palo Alto resident, volunteer consultant in the Ravenswood City School District, and as a consultant for the Research and Development Center. Thank you for your time and cooperation.

Cordially,

/s/ Mary R. Hoover

*Dolores Randall was added later.

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APPENDIX E

Table E-1

Preferred Use of Africanized English by Children for Speaking as Rated by Parents and Students in Four Situations

Group	Classroom			Home			Program			Playground		
	Yes	No	ND	Yes	No	ND	Yes	No	ND	Yes	No	ND
Parents	2	10	0	2	8	1	2	9	1	2	7	2
Students	2	6	5	2	5	6	0	8	5	3	3	7

Table E-2

Preferred Use of Africanized English by Children for Listening as Rated by Parents and Students in Four Situations

Group	Classroom			Home			Program			Playground		
	Yes	Nc	ND	Yes	No	ND	Yes	No	ND	Yes	No	ND
Parents	2	8	0	6	6	0	2	7	3	2	8	2
Students	2	7	3	6	7	0	1	4	6	1	3	8

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Table E-3

Preferred Use of Africanized English by Children for Reading-Writing
As Rated by Parents and Students in Four Situations

Grade Level	Classroom			Home (Note From Parent)			Program			Play (Recreational Reading)		
	Yes	No	ND	Yes	No	ND	Yes	No	ND	Yes	No	ND
Parents												
Kg.	1	11	1	2	10	0	1	9	1	2	8	2
6th	0	11	0									
12th	0	7	3									
Students												
Kg.	4	7	1	9	4	0	1	6	6	2	3	8

Table E-4

Use of Code-Switching As Rated by Parents and Students

Group	Raters' Ability to Speak SBE and NSBE		Advantages of Ability to Speak SBE and NSBE		Use of SBE and NSBE by Children		Use of SBE and NSBE as Subjects to be Taught in School		
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Both	NSBE	SBE
Parents	10	0	9	1	9	1	5		6
Students	12	1	12	0	12	0	12		1

APPENDIX F

BLACK PARENTS - BLACK ENGLISH ATTITUDES

Identifying

1. Person # _____

2. Sex   Male   _____1

           Female _____2

3. Place of Residence   East Palo Alto _____1

                          Oakland   _____2

4. Parent of first grader   _____1

         sixth grader   _____2

5. Sex of Interviewer   Male   _____1

                          Female   _____2

6. Order tape played   _____1 (Africanized first)

                         _____2 (Less Africanized)

7. Title I parent   _____1

   Non Title I parent   _____2

8. Location of interview   Home   _____1

                         Office   _____2

9. Sex of tape   Male   _____1

                        Female   _____2

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Proficiency: Rated by Judges from Tapes

10. Less Africanized Grammar   1 2 3 4 5

11. Africanized Grammar   1 2 3 4 5

12. Bidialectal Grammar   1 2 3 4 5

13. Less Africanized Phonology   1 2 3 4 5

14. Africanized Phonology   1 2 3 4 5

15. Talking Proper   1 2 3 4 5

16. Black Intonation   1 2 3 4 5

17. Bidialectal Phonology   1 2 3 4 5

18. Have you heard anything in the last five years about   Yes _____1
    Black English?   No   _____2

19. (If yes) What did you hear?   Good things _____1
    (Write in exactly _____)   Bad things _____2
                                          Neutral _____3
                                          No on #18 _____4

20. (If yes) Where did you hear about it?   Newspaper _____1
                                          Radio _____2
                                          Friend _____3
                                          Magazine _____4
                                          Speaker _____5
                                          No on #18 _____6

Preference for Black English for Child According to Domain--Africanized

Do you object to your child talking as the person on the tape does on the
following occasions?

21. Kidding with his brother at home
    about his brother's girlfriend.   Yes____1 No____2 DM____3

22. Reporting on what he did in school
    at the dinner table at home.   Yes____1 No____2 DM____3

23. Yelling in the streets with his
    friends while playing ball.   Yes____1 No____2 DM____3

24. Talking with his friend's parents.   Yes____1 No____2 DM____3

25. Telling a joke about John in his
    class.   Yes____1 No____2 DM____3

26. Giving a science report to his
    class.   Yes____1 No____2 DM____3

27. In the last four cases, would it
    matter what the race of the
    teacher or his friends was?   Yes____1 No____2 DM____3
    Comments:_____

28. In any of the cases, would it matter
    what the age of the child was?   Yes____1 No____2 DM____3
    Comments?_____

Do you object to your child hearing speech like the person on the tape
is speaking on the following occasions?

29. Hearing you speak at home while
    playing cards with friends.   Yes____1 No____2 DM____3

30. Hearing you speak at home while
    answering the door for a salesman.   Yes____1 No____2 DM____3

31. Hearing his friend speak while
    playing with him on the block.   Yes____1 No____2 DM____3

32. Hearing his friends talk about their
    trip to the museum on the lawn.   Yes____1 No____2 DM____3

33. Hearing his teacher speak while
    fussing with him on the playground.   Yes____1 No____2 DM____3

34. Hearing his teacher speak while
    reviewing a test.   Yes____1 No____2 DM____3

35. In the last four cases, would it
    matter what the race of the teacher
    or his friends was?_____   Yes____1 No____2 DM____

36. In any of the cases, would it matter
    what the age of the child was?   Yes____1 No____2 DM____3

Would you object to your child reading in books written
like these on the following occasions?

37. Reading a note from you at home.   Yes____1 No____2 DM____3

38. Reading a note with his friends.   Yes____1 No____2 DM____3

39. Reading a book during "free
    reading" in school.   Yes____1 No____2 DM____3

40. Reading a book during a reading
    lesson in the classroom.   Yes____1 No____2 DM____3

41. In the last four cases, would it
    matter what race the teacher or
    his friends was?   Yes____1 No____2 DM____3
    Comments:_____

42. In any of the cases, would it matter
    what the age of the child was?   Yes____1 No____2 DM____3
    Comments:_____

Would you object to your child writing like these samples on
the following occasions?

43. Writing a note to his friend telling
    him he couldn't wait any longer.   Yes____1 No____2 DM____3

44. Writing a note to his friend's
    parents telling them he can't go
    on a trip with them.   Yes____1 No____2 DM____3

45. Writing a note to his brother.   Yes____1 No____2 DM____3

46. Writing a thank-you note to his
    grandmother.   Yes____1 No____2 DM____3

47. Writing a poem during creative
    writing time at school.   Yes____1 No____2 DM____3

48. Writing a report in geography at
    school.   Yes____1 No____2 DM____3

49. In the last four cases, would it
    matter what the race of the
    teacher or his friends was?   Yes____1 No____2 DM____3
    Comments:_____

50. In any of the cases would it matter
    what the age of the child was?   Yes____1 No____2 DM____3
    Comments:_____

Preference for Black English for Child According to
Domain - Less Africanized
(order reversed for half of the interviews)

Do you object to your child talking as the person on the tape does on
the following occasions?

51. Kidding with his brother at home
    about his brother's girlfriend.   Yes____1 No____2 DM____3

52. Reporting on what he did in school
    at the dinner table at home.   Yes____1 No____2 DM____3

53. Yelling in the streets with his
    friends while playing ball.   Yes____1 No____2 DM____3

54. Talking with his friend's parents.   Yes____1 No____2 DM____3

55. Telling a joke about John in his
    class.   Yes____1 No____2 DM____3

56. Giving a science report to his
    class.   Yes____1 No____2 DM____3

57. In the last four cases, would it
    matter what the race of the
    teacher or his friends was?   Yes____1 No____2 DM____3
    Comments:_____

58. In any of the cases, would it matter
    what the age of the child was?   Yes____1 No____2 DM____3
    Comments:_____

Do you object to your child hearing speech like the person on the tape
is speaking on the following occasions?

59. Hearing you speak at home while
    playing cards with friends.   Yes____1 No____2 DM____3

60. Hearing you speak at home while
    answering the door for a salesman.   Yes____1 No____2 DM____3

61. Hearing his friend speak while
    playing with him on the block.   Yes____1 No____2 DM____3

62. Hearing his friends talk about their
    trip to the museum on the lawn.   Yes____1 No____2 DM____3

63. Hearing his teacher speak while
    fussing with him on the playground.   Yes____1 No____2 DM____3

64. Hearing his teacher speak while
    reviewing a test.   Yes____1 No____2 DM____3

65. In the last four cases, would it
    matter what the race of the teacher
    or his friends was?_____   Yes____1 No____2 DM____3

66. In any of the cases, would it matter
    what the age of the child was?   Yes____1 No____2 DM____3

Would you object to your child reading in books written
like these on the following occasions?

67. Reading a note from you at home.   Yes____1 No____2 DM____3

68. Reading a note with his friends.   Yes____1 No____2 DM____3

69. Reading a book during "free
    reading" in school.   Yes____1 No____2 DM____3

70. Reading a book during a reading
    lesson in the classroom.   Yes____1 No____2 DM____3

71. In the last four cases, would it
    matter what the race of the teacher
    or his friends was?   Yes____1 No____2 DM____3
    Comments:_____

72. In any of the cases, would it matter
    what the age of the child was?   Yes____1 No____2 DM____3
    Comments:_____

Would you object to your child writing like these samples on the
following occasions?

73. Writing a note to his friend telling
    him he couldn't wait any longer.   Yes____1 No____2 DM____3

74. Writing a note to his friend's
    parents telling them he can't go
    on a trip with them.   Yes____1 No____2 DM____3

75. Writing a note to his brother.   Yes____1 No____2 DM____3

76. Writing a thank-you note to his
    grandmother.   Yes____1 No____2 DM____3

77. Writing a poem during creative
    writing time at school.   Yes____1 No____2 DM____3

78. Writing a report in geography at
    school.   Yes____1 No____2 DM____3

79. In the last four cases, would it
    matter what the race of the teacher
    or his friends was?   Yes____1 No____2 DM____3
    Comments:_____

80. In any of the cases, would it matter
    what the age of the child was?   Yes____1 No____2 DM____3

81. Less Africanized Score _____   Africanized Score _____

82. Less Africanized Rate _____   Africanized Rate _____

Why Against Africanized English

83. Are these good reasons not to use this form of Black English (show High John) in the classroom?

	V.Good	Good	Bad	V.Bad
1. It should be used only for oral communication among Black people in informal situations.	VG	G	B	VB
2. The school is the child's only chance to learn the language of education.	VG	G	B	VB
3. Most teachers don't know this form of Black English and would merely be "looking down" on the children by allowing them to use it.	VG	G	B	VB
4. Most Black children already know this form of Black English; the schools should teach the other kind--the kind they don't know.	VG	G	B	VB
5. No other English of this form is being taught in the schools; this must be another plot to hold us back educationally.	VG	G	B	VB
6. The teaching of this form of Black English will take time away from teaching the other kind, which will, in turn, affect my child's ability to get a job or go to college later on.	VG	G	B	VB
7. My child will learn this form of Black English at home or with friends.	VG	G	B	VB

Open-Ended Advantages of Black English

84. Can you think of any other reason why you were against this form of Black English (show High John) being used in the schools?

85. Can you think of any reasons why you were in favor of this form of Black English (show High John) being used in the schools?

86. Which sentence sounds like you most of the time? (Read from High John; read from Other.)

    Sentence 1_____ (Africanized)
    Sentence 2_____ (Less Africanized)

87. Which sentence sounds like your child most of the time? (repeat from High John, etc.)

    Sentence 1_____ (Africanized)
    Sentence 2_____ (Less Africanized)

88. Can you talk like both sentences?

    Yes_____1
    No _____2

89. Can your child talk like both sentences?

    Yes_____1
    No _____2

90. Should the teacher be required to take a course in both kinds of Black English in order to understand Black children?

    Yes_____1
    No _____2

Attitudes to Black English in General

91. Are these good reasons to know this form of Black English? (show High John)

	V.Good	Good	Bad	V.Bad

92. It helps in maintaining a bond between Black people, regardless of age or where they're from.

    VG ___ G ___ B ___ VB ___

93. It has a logic and system of its own, worth learning for itself.

    VG ___ G ___ B ___ VB ___

94. It helps to preserve Black language and culture.

    VG ___ G ___ B ___ VB ___

95. No Black person is really Black unless he can speak both forms of his language.

    VG ___ G ___ B ___ VB ___

96. It helps to be understood by Black people.

    VG ___ G ___ B ___ VB ___

97. It's the only way to say some things such as teachings, jokes, and slang (i.e. "The Lord don't like ugly.")

    VG ___ G ___ B ___ VB ___

98. It helps to make people feel at ease
     in informal and social situations.   VG   G   B   VB

99. Can you think of any other reasons
     to learn this form of Black English?

     _____

100. Are these good reasons to know this form of Black English?
     (show other)

101. It helps to make friends with dif-
     ferent types of people.   VG   G   B   VB

102. It is useful in getting a job.   VG   G   B   VB

103. One needs a good knowledge of it to
     be respected in the wider community.   VG   G   B   VB

104. No one is really educated unless he
     is fluent in it.   VG   G   B   VB

105. It will help to be understood
     clearly by the wider community.   VG   G   B   VB

106. It's the only way to speak on some
     occasions such as speech-making.   VG   G   B   VB

107. It helps them feel at ease in formal
     situations.   VG   G   B   VB

108. Can you think of any other reasons
     why one should learn this form
     of Black English?

     _____

109. Is there an advantage in being able to speak both   Yes_____1
     forms of Black English?   No ____ 2

110. If so, what is it? (record exactly)   Good   ___1
                                                           Bad   ___2
     _____   Neutral ___3
                                                           No Ans. ___4

Advantages of Black English Scale

Which of these forms of speech would be more advantageous on the following
occasions? (Play tape 44; jot down remarks.)

		African- ized	Less Afri- canized	Super Standard	Both	Either	Both Inap.
111.	Answering inter- view questions in applying for a job with a Black employer.	1	2	3	4	5	6
112.	Answering inter- view questions in applying for a job with a White employer.	1	2	3	4	5	6
113.	Telling a Black proverb, anecdote, or joke at a very informal party with mostly Black friends.	1	2	3	4	5	6
114.	Telling a Black proverb, anecdote, or joke at a very informal party with mostly White friends.	1	2	3	4	5	6

People

115. Would you mind telling me your age? _____
(Record exact age, then check one)

Under 20____1   21-25____2   26-30____3   31-35____4

36-40 ____5   41-45____6   46-50____7   Over 50____8

Please tell me the places you have lived for more than two years. Would
you give me the place you lived in longest first? I'd also like to know
for each place the length of time you stayed there, and the type of town
it was. (See categories on following page.)

116. Place   117. Length of time   118. Type of town

(Write in, then check)   (write in, . . .)

_____   _____

(1)

_____ 1	2-5 _____ 1	City _____ 1
_____ 2	6-9 _____ 2	Large Town _____ 2
_____ 3	10+ _____ 3	Small Town _____ 3
_____ 4		Suburban _____ 4
_____ 5		Rural _____ 5
_____ 6		

<u>Place</u>   <u>Length of time</u>   <u>Type of town</u>

(Write in)

_____   _____

(2)

_____ 1	2-5 _____ 1	City _____ 1
_____ 2	6-9 _____ 2	Large Town _____ 2
_____ 3	10+ _____ 3	Small Town _____ 3
_____ 4		Suburban _____ 4
_____ 5		Rural _____ 5
_____ 6		

Total # places _____

119. Father's Birth _____   Mother's Birth _____

1 _____   2 _____   3 _____   4 _____   5 _____   6 _____

<u>NE</u>	<u>SE</u>	<u>NCen</u>	<u>SCen</u>	<u>Pac;Mtn</u>	<u>Foreign</u>
Conn., Mss.	Del., DC	Ill., Ind.	Ala., Tex	Ariz., Cal.	
Me., N.H.	Fla., Ga.	Iowa, Kans.	Ark.	Colo., Idaho	
N.J., N.Y.	Md., N.C.	Mich., Minn.	Ky., Tenn.	Mont., Nev.	
Pa., R.I.	S.C., Va.	Mo., Neb.	La.	Ore., Utah	
Vt.	W.Va.	N.Dak., S.D.	Miss.	Wash., Wyo.,	
		Ohio, Wis.	Okla.	Hawaii	
				Alaska	

120. What kind of work do you do? (Record exactly; then check one)

_____

Professional____1 Manager____2 Clerical____3 Salesworker____4

Craftsman ____5 Operative___6 Service ____7 Private Service___8

Unemployed____9 Welfare____10 Student, Und.____11 Student, Grad___12

121. What is your marital status?

Single___1 Married___2 Coupled___3 Separated___4 Divorced___5

122. How many years of school have you had? (Record exact number...)____

Less than Hi School Grad____1   Hi School Grad ____2

Business, trade school, some college____3 College grad or more____4

123. What is the combined monthly income of you and your spouse (if
spouse is present)

Under $400____1 Between $400-600____2 Between $601-800____3

Between $801-1,000____4   Over $1,000____5

(Record exactly) _____

We'd like to know whether you agree or disagree with some statements you
hear all the time. Please feel free to make any additional comments about
the statements as we go.

Black Consciousness Scale

	Agree Strongly	Agree Mildly	Disagree Mildly	Disagree Strongly
124. Black people should try to become integrated into White communities.	1	2	3	4
125. Black people should try to look like everybody else in this country rather than wearing bubas and Afros.	1	2	3	4
126. High school kids in this community should be bused to integrated high schools.	1	2	3	4

127. The reason Black people
     aren't moving as fast as
     they could is that the
     system discriminates
     against them.   1   2   3   4

128. Black kids don't do as well
     as they could in school be-
     cause their parents won't
     help them at home.   1   2   3   4

129. Black people should be
     willing to take on the cul-
     ture and life style of the
     rest of America.   1   2   3   4

130. Black people should live
     in their own communities.   1   2   3   4

131. The reason Black people
     aren't moving as fast as
     they could is that they're
     not as industrious as
     they should be.   1   2   3   4

132. Black kids in this com-
     munity should go to
     neighborhood high schools.   1   2   3   4

133. Black people should talk
     like everybody else does
     in the country.   1   2   3   4

134. African hair and dress
     styles are very attractive. 1   2   3   4

135. Black people have their
     own distinctive pattern
     of speech which other people
     in this country should
     accept.   1   2   3   4

136. Black kids can learn as
     well as anybody else if
     they are taught properly.   1   2   3   4

137. Black people should take
     pride in the distinctive
     culture which they have.   1   2   3   4

138. <u>Culture</u> 2_____
            11_____
             7_____
           14_____
           10_____
           12_____

139. <u>Integration</u> 1_____
             6_____
             3_____
             9_____

Sum _____ 4= _____

140. Sum _____ 6= _____

Total Score _____

Hi _____ 1 Medium _____ 2 Low _____ 3 Sum _____ 4= _____

141. <u>System</u> 4_____
            8_____
           5_____
        13_____

142. Total Attitude Score _____   Total Attitude Rate _____

143. Interviewee has "Black
Kinesics" (gestures, in-
tonation, use of
emphasis, humor)
       Yes _____ 1
       No _____ 2

144. What kinds of music do you like best?
      (check three)
      1. _____ Cl _____ NC2
      2. _____ Cl _____ NC2
      3. _____ Cl _____ NC2

    Rhythm and Blues _____
    Parlor _____
    Gospel _____
    Classical _____
    Hard Rock _____
    Jazz _____

145. Assuming rent was no problem, what kind
of community would you like to live in?
    Predom. Black _____ 1
    Predom. White _____ 2
    Integrated _____ 3

146. Assuming salary was no problem, what
kind of job situation would you
prefer?
    Predom. Black _____ 1
    Predom. White _____ 2
    Integrated _____ 3

147. What kind of social situation do
you prefer?
    Predom. Black _____ 1
    Predom. White _____ 2
    Integrated _____ 3

148. Do you attend a church? (Record which one) _____ Often
_____ Sometimes _____ Never

149. Do you attend a Black church? _____   Yes _____ 1 No _____ 2

150. Are you a member of a Black fraternal
organization such as the Masons or
Eastern Star? _____
    Yes _____ 1
    No _____ 2

151. Are you a member of a sorority or fraternity,   Yes_____1
such as Alpha Phi Alpha or Delta Sigma   No_____2
Theta? _____

152. Are you a member of a business or community   Yes_____1
board or committee?_____   No_____2

153. Do you play whist, dice games, or other   Yes_____1
informal or card games?   No_____2

154. How well does your child do in school?   At grade level_____1
                                Above grade level_____2
                                Below grade level_____3

155. How well did you do in school?   At grade level_____1
                                Above grade level_____2
                                Below grade level_____3

156. Identify the following people by telling what organization they
belong to or something they did. (Write in what is said, and
check "yes" if proper identification given.)

    1. Malcolm X_____Yes_____1 No_____2

    2. Stokely Carmichael_____Yes_____1 No_____2

    3. Martin Luther King_____Yes_____1 No_____2

    4. Roy Wilkins_____Yes_____1 No_____2

    5. Elijah Muhammad_____Yes_____1 No_____2

    6. Rev. Ralph Abernathy_____Yes_____1 No_____2

Cultural Behavior Score

(Total of items 143-153, 156 etc.)_____

157. Cultural Behavior Rate   High_____ Medium_____ Low_____

Political Involvement Index

158. Have you ever participated in a civil rights or action organization
such as the NAACP, CORE, the Panthers, RNA, Nation of Islam, Nairobi
Day School, Nairobi College, College for Struggle or other such
national or local organization? Or have you ever taken part in
any direct action to change the condition of Black people in this

country, such as knocking on doors, giving a speech, participating in a picket, boycott, or sit-in? Or have you ever protested a racial mistreatment by writing a letter to the Editor, "telling off" the person, reporting the incident to the authorities, suing, leaving a restaurant, refusing to pay a bill, hanging up on the offender, etc.?

Activity	Dates	Approximate Number of Times
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____

Total #_____

159. Political Involvement Score   High____1   Medium____2   Low____3

160. One of the things we're interested in finding out while doing this survey is some of the old Black jokes and how we as Black people tell them. Could you tell me a joke about John, Shine, or Stagalee?

(If the interviewee says he doesn't know one, ask him: Then tell me, please, about the funniest thing that ever happened to you or the funniest thing that ever happened to a friend. As I said before, we're as interested in how Black people talk about funny things as we are in the joke itself.)

161. Please rate the following in terms of how important each is to your child in school.

	Good Job	Could Be Imp.	Very Important	Important	Not Very Imp.
Black culture			1_____	2_____	3_____
History			1_____	2_____	3_____
Self-pride			1_____	2_____	3_____
Foreign languages			1_____	2_____	3_____
Math			1_____	2_____	3_____
Art			1_____	2_____	3_____
Social Studies			1_____	2_____	3_____
Reading			1_____	2_____	3_____
Music			1_____	2_____	3_____
Science			1_____	2_____	3_____
Economics			1_____	2_____	3_____
Physical Ed			1_____	2_____	3_____
Thinking critically			1_____	2_____	3_____
Black History			1_____	2_____	3_____
Job Training			1_____	2_____	3_____

162. Now please rate each in terms of how well you think your child's school is doing in teaching them. (Check above under "Good Job" or "Could be Improved.")

163. Please rate the following in terms of how important each is to you.

Community service (drainage,
   transportation, etc.)   1_____ 2_____ 3_____

Education of children   1_____ 2_____ 3_____

Incorporation
   (Self-Government)   1_____ 2_____ 3_____

Stopping the Drug
   Traffic   1_____ 2_____ 3_____

Control of the Schools   1_____ 2_____ 3_____

164. What does it take a Black child to be successful in school?
     Write in exactly:_____

165. Should parents help make decisions concerning school   Yes_____ 1
     matters such as hiring staff, spending funds, picking   No ____ 2
     books and subjects taught, evaluating teachers, etc?

166. Do you help your child with his homework?   Yes_____ 1
                                                              No _____ 2

167. Would you like to have a library or home study   Yes_____ 1
     group in your home?   No _____ 2

168. What do you want your child to be when he   Professional_____ 1
     grows up? (Write in, then check) _____   White Collar_____ 2
                                                         Blue Collar ____ 3

APPENDIX G

MULTIPLE REGRESSION ANALYSIS OF AFRICANIZED RATE BY SUBFILES

Female Interviewer

Predictor	R	R^2	F
Attitude to Black English			
Tape Order	.514	.265	4.80
Black Proverb	.600	.360	3.85
Black Consciousness	.663	.440	3.59

Male Interviewer

Predictor	R	R^2	F
Previous Exposure	.470	.221	5.97
Attitude to Black English	.568	.322	3.00
Birth	.646	.418	3.11
Black Proverb	.685	.469	1.74

Oakland

Predictor	R	R^2	F
Black Proverb	.502	.252	3.72
Africanized Grammar	.591	.349	1.49
Birth	.702	.493	1.16
Attitude to Black English	.761	.580	1.44

APPENDIX H

TAPED SENTENCES ACCOMPANYING QUESTIONNAIRE

Africanized

Item

21. Looka here! That ain't choor girlfriend! She goes places with HANK!

22. I already axted the teacher could I bring my projec home.

23. Pass that ball over here fo I gets tired o' you.

24. Is you gon let Bob come out and play?

25. Today ah wants to tell you a joke bout High John de Conquah.

26. Dis here report is on insects.

29. That's the second time you done played that joker. Must be you think we crazy or something.

30. I done bought all the stuff ah mo buy dis week.

31. I might could tie yo shoe if you'd set still!

32. I ain't never goin nowhere like no museum wit choo agin.

33. Git down from that slide; it ain't cho turn!

34. Ah mo go ovah dese teses one mo time.

Less Africanized

51. Look--I don't know if that's your girlfriend or not! I see her with Hank all the time.

52. I've been asking my teacher to let me bring home my project for a long time.

53. Hurry up and pass the ball; I'm getting tired of you.

54. Can John come out and play?

55. Today I'm going to tell you a joke about High John the Conqueror.

56. My report today is on insects.

59. That's the second time you've played that joker. You must think we're crazy or something.

60. I don't care for anything today, thank you.

61. Hold still while I tie your shoe.

62. I'm not going anywhere like a museum with you any more.

63. Move away from the slide and wait til it's your turn!

64. I'll go over these tests one more time.

Taped Sentences Accompanying Advantages of Black English

Item

111,112 a. Is you the one ah'm sposed to see? (Africanized)

        b. Are you the person ah'm supposed to see? (Less Africanized)

        c. Are you the person in charge?) (Talking Proper)*

113,114 a. . . . and then he said: "Come on in, my man! We gon do it! You ain never lied! (Africanized)

        b. . . . and then he said: "Come on in, brother. We'll do it! You're definitely telling the truth! (Less Africanized)

        c. . . . and then he said: "Come on in, brother. We'll do it! You're definitely telling the truth. (Talking Proper)*

*Same pattern as Africanized: attempted network phonology used.

APPENDIX I

Table I-1

Responses to Importance of Curriculum by East Palo Alto Parents

Item: Please rate the following in terms of how important each is to your child in school.

	Very Important	Important	Not Very Important	No Answer
Reading	85.9	9.4	---	4.7
Self-Pride	82.8	14.1	---	3.1
Math	79.7	17.2	---	3.1
Job Training	70.3	26.6	---	3.1
Black History	65.6	31.3	---	3.1
Economics	62.5	34.4	---	3.1
Black Culture	56.3	40.6	---	3.1
Thinking Critically	53.1	40.6	3.1	3.1
Science	53.1	39.1	4.7	3.1
History	45.3	46.9	4.7	3.1
Social Studies	42.2	48.4	6.3	3.1
Physical Education	37.5	50.0	9.4	3.1
Music	31.3	54.7	10.9	3.1
Art	28.1	46.9	21.9	3.1
Foreign Language	15.6	64.1	17.2	3.1

Table I-2

Responses to Importance of Educational Items by East Palo Alto Parents

Item: Please rate the following in terms of
how important each is to you.

	Very Important	Important	Not Very Important	No Answer
Education of Children	92.2	4.7	---	3.1
Stopping Drug Traffic	87.5	9.4	---	3.1
Jobs	75.0	21.9	---	3.1
Incorporation (Self-Government)	73.4	23.4	---	3.1
Control of Schools	70.3	26.6	---	3.1
Community Services	67.2	25.0	4.7	3.1

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