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ABSTRACT

This handbook was designed as a guide to acquaint child care workers and parents with the broad spectrum of preschool programs now in existence. In section I, theoretical approaches to preschool education such as Montessori, Piagetian, Progressive, Developmental-Interactionist, Behaviorist, and Psychoanalytic and the effects of these different approaches on practice are reviewed and discussed. Section II contains descriptions of a wide variety of center-based and home-based preschool programs and Section III presents a brief overview of the evaluation of preschool programs. In Section IV, some considerations and recommendations for establishing an effective preschool program are presented and in Section V, the importance of preschool education is examined. Section VI contains a discussion of trends, issues and future directions of preschool education. An extensive bibliography is included. (JMB)

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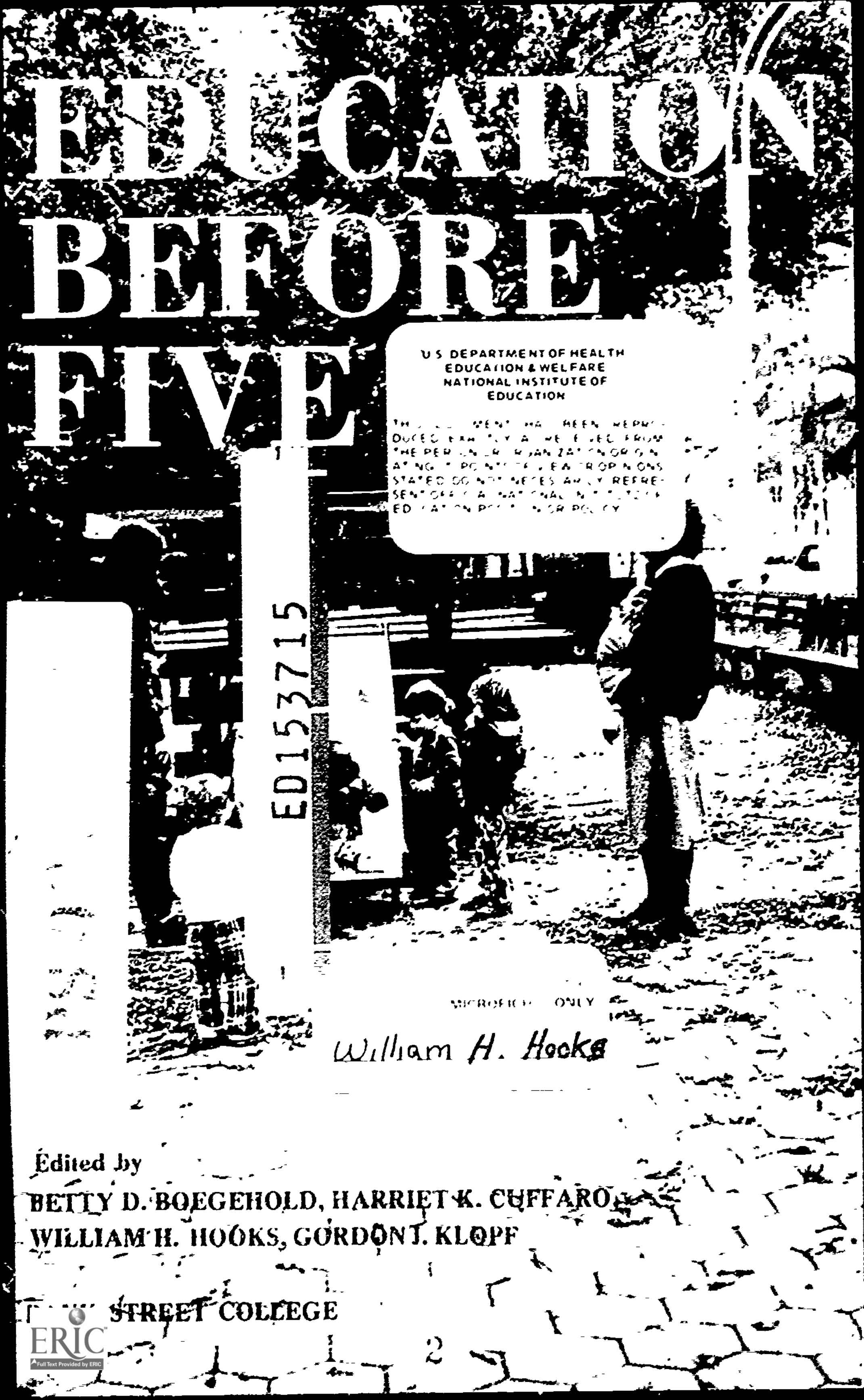

EDUCATION BEFORE FIVE

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EDUCATION BEFORE FIVE

A Handbook on Preschool Education

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With an Introduction by

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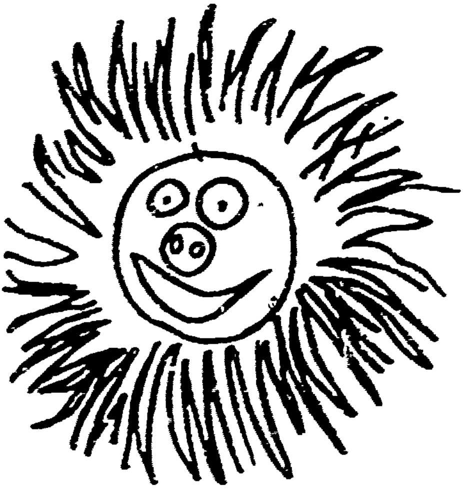

INTRODUCTION

For a long time school people tended to think of early childhood as corresponding to the primary grades. Now we know that is far from the mark. Early childhood means the *first* few years of life. The pre-kindergarten years, from birth to five, are being recognized as a uniquely important stage in human development.

Learning begins in the earliest moments of life, and in ways more profound and important than we often acknowledge. Learning proceeds in a thousand ways in that most basic school of all, the home. And, of course, today it is commonplace for children to take part in out-of-home learning settings such as developmental day care, parent-child centers, infant and toddler programs and a broad array of pre-kindergarten schools and programs ranging from very informal to very structured and elaborate.

The special current focus on those early years and the many programs evolving to serve these children and families arises from the convergence of several trends. The first, and perhaps the most potent because it contains economic and human factors, is the tide (hardly just a stream) of women entering the workplace at every level of specialization. For some this is a return to work interrupted by the arrival of their children; for others it is a continuation of an unbroken sequence; and importantly, for many it is a bursting forth of a new, more confident, more autonomous adult who intends to seek her sense of self in part outside the house. Many who are specialists in human development cheer this movement on, believing that if society makes the proper arrangements both women who are mothers *and* their families can benefit. In any case, since it is estimated that women now constitute forty percent of the work force, there is an immediate and increasing need for an array of options in child care and preschool programs.

A second and related cluster of factors is the changing makeup of the American family, including the large number of children who are reared in families headed by one parent. Divorce, living styles, and personal choices of marital status coupled with the nearly complete shift to insular family units separated from grandparents and other surrogate parents, have left the parent or parents in need of varying support systems for child care.

The third broad social trend is toward viewing the first few years of life as especially important and fruitful times for a focus on learning and development rather than just a time for custodial care. Whether the focus is on prevention of later social and educational problems or on developing the fullest potential of the whole child, there is wide awareness of the primacy of the early years and few educators continue to think of kindergarten as the "start" of school.

In an unusual and fortunate coincidence, this time of rising need for programs for young children and families is matched in part by the hope that such programs will become increasingly possible from the viewpoint of resource allocations. A declining birth rate is a major factor in releasing in elementary schools new space hitherto in scarce supply. The reduced birth rate is also gradually relieving the financial burden of providing for ever larger waves of regular school children. Released from the pressure of meeting a shortage of teachers, the colleges are now in a position to provide an ample corps of trained personnel. All of us in education should not only be aware of, but informed about these broad trends which point the way to a substantial expansion of preschool programs.

We hope those of you who are workers in the education field, or who are preparing for such careers will find this book to be a clear and useful introduction to this rapidly emerging field.

Perhaps of equal importance (as a parent of three young children I'd say *more* important) is that this book might be of great help to parents who are interested in child development but are puzzled by the array of programs.

You will find these essays useful to you in three broad ways:

—*To deepen your understanding of child development*, especially of the early years. You will find the theoretical pieces

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as well as the detailed programs surprisingly applicable to a deepened understanding of your own children or the children you work with. While each of the theories and practices described here could—and often does—constitute the contents of entire books, this handbook attempts to present only an overview of their most important principles; our hope is that the reader will make extensive use of the bibliographic material in pursuing further any area of particular interest.

—*To acquaint you with the broad spectrum of programs* now being experienced by an ever-increasing number of children. Some of these you will find familiar, others you will know well from examples in your own area, and depending on where you live, some may be quite new to you. Comparative examination of the various practices and descriptions will give you a substantial picture of the remarkable range of programs for young children.

—*To prepare you to visit and study the preschool programs in your* school area. You may wish to refer to the relevant section in the handbook for an overall view of a particular program before visiting the program. The handbook presents examples, but each program is its own example, and your community's programs may well differ from those described here. By moving into close articulation with preschool programs in your community you can effect a welcomed linkage. In any case, visit those programs yourself. There is no substitute for field observation, whether as a parent or as a professional.

Our hope is that this handbook will be a useful guide and preparation for your own personal exploration of the variety of programs existing in your community. We are convinced that parents, professionals and others who are concerned with young children will not only want to insure the continuity of pre-kindergarten learning experiences, but will work to maintain and strengthen the bonds between those most dedicated to fostering optimal child development—the school and the home.

Francis Roberts
President
Bank Street College of Education

I.
THEORETICAL APPROACHES AND PRACTICES

INTRODUCTION TO THEORETICAL APPROACHES AND PRACTICES

Rochelle Selbert Mayer, Ed.D.[1]

Many different psychological theories and educational principles have influenced the development of theory and practice in early childhood education. Some of the major forces which have shaped preschool programs are dealt with in the following chapters. Three of the chapters discuss the three basic theories of child development—cognitive theory, behaviorist theory, and psychoanalytic (Freudian) theory. Each of these theories focuses on a different aspect of development. Cognitive theory focuses on the development of logical thought and the child's acquisition of internal mental rules for understanding physical and social experience; behaviorist theory focuses on learning and changes in the child's behavior through external reinforcement; psychoanalytic theory focuses on personality development and the child's emotional conflicts. Each is useful for understanding and explaining certain aspects of development.

Although the theories have some elements in common, their fundamental assumptions about growth and learning differ significantly. And these divergent assumptions, in turn, lead to divergent educational priorities. For example, educators influenced by the behaviorist position that external factors shape learning have tended to favor didactic instruction and a directive role for the teacher. Those strongly influenced by the cognitive view, which stresses the importance of internal factors in the development of thought processes, have tended to favor child-initiated activity and the use of play as a mode of learning. And finally, those educators who are strongly influenced by psychoanalytic theory and the importance accorded unconscious processes in personality development have tended to favor expressive activities that can be used as outlets for the child's emotional conflicts.

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[1] Program Associate in Program Analysis, Bank Street College of Education

The chapter on cognitively-oriented theory and practice provides an overview of Piaget's theory of intellectual development and discusses three preschool curricula which use Piaget's theory as a source for program building. The chapter on the behavioral view outlines the principles of learning theory and discusses their programmatic applications in the Behaviorally Oriented Planned Variations for Head Start. The chapter on the psychoanalytic approach discusses aspects of Freudian theory. Although educators have not derived specific programs from psychoanalytic theory, it has been assimilated into much educational thought, and has influenced the design of programs.

Theories of development, learning, and personality have obvious relevance to the educational enterprise. However, psychological theories are only one source of information for program building. While psychological theories are extremely useful for describing and explaining development, they do not directly address issues of pedagogy. Social values, pragmatic concerns, intuitive ideas, and insights gleaned from actual experience all help to shape the goals, activities and teaching strategies of programs for young children.

The role of values in shaping education is well illustrated in the chapter on the progressive movement. Ideas regarding school programs and practices are delineated within the context of a broad social philosophy. The chapter on the developmental-interaction approach illustrates one formulation of educational practice consonant with the social philosophy of progressivism. This social philosophy is blended with insights from psychoanalytic theory, developmental theory, and the knowledge accrued by practitioners working with young children to form an educational approach.

The Montessori method is also a blend of social values, psychological principles, and practical experience. Montessori was a great observer of children, and an ingenious inventor of materials that held the interest of the young. Her beliefs about the necessity for the "liberty of the child" and her notions about educating the senses led to the formulation of an auto-educational environment—replete with sensory exercises and materials that were self-correcting.

Anyone who has observed programs for children under five will recognize various elements of those programs in the following chapters. While it is extremely useful, for purposes of clarification, to deal separately with the different theoretical forces that have shaped early education, in practice most programs are eclectic. Any early education program, *in practice,* incorporates many overlapping ideas from various theoretical sources.

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THE MONTESSORI METHOD

Claudia Lewis, Ph.D.[1]

Theoretical Approach

Maria Montessori (1870-1952) was the first woman in Italy to receive a medical degree. While studying at the University of Rome she became interested in the work of an earlier French psychiatrist, O. Edouard Seguin, who had developed didactic materials for the education of retarded children. Using her own methods and materials based on Seguin's, Dr. Montessori began her educational work with a group of retarded children in Rome. Seeing that she was able to help these children progress to normal levels, she reasoned that her methods might also benefit normal children. Her chance to test this came in 1907, when she began her classes with slum children, ages about two to six, in the "prepared environments" she termed the *casa dei bambini* (house of children).

Dr. Montessori based her practices on the theory that children could learn spontaneously when given freedom to progress at their own pace in a well organized environment offering tasks suited to their degree of development. Her "prepared environments" provided children with attractive, spacious rooms with furniture scaled to child size, and with the learning materials ("didactic materials") laid out in neat order on easily accessible shelves. The teacher served as a resource person, a skilled, impersonal observer who could determine when the child was ready to move from simple to more complex exercises in the task materials, whose carefully graduated sequences were planned to offer challenge as the child grew in abilities to differentiate. The important relationship was not between child and teacher but between child and materials. The teacher was not to interfere in the child's freedom to pace himself. Her leadership was through demonstration of the proper use of the materials.

---

[1] Distinguished Specialist in Children's Literature. Bank Street College of Education

Children of all ages from two to six were grouped together. It was reasoned that not all would need to work with the same materials at the same time, and that the older ones could assist and serve as models to the younger ones, while all could benefit from variety in companionship.

The primary components of the Montessori method were to serve three major purposes: motor education, sensory education, language education. To this should be added academic learning (writing, reading, and arithmetic) beginning at about age four.

Motor Education

This began with training in such everyday practical experiences as dressing, washing, carrying objects, sweeping floors, and scrubbing tables, as well as caring for plants and animals. Dr. Montessori believed that precise sequences should be followed in such a matter as learning how to scrub a table. These sequences were taught through demonstration rather than verbal instruction.

Also useful in motor education, for the development of physical coordination and equilibrium, were gymnastic and rhythmic exercises. Children were taught to walk on a chalk line drawn on the floor, to climb on rope ladders, and to hang by their arms from a "fence."

Among the didactic materials planned to aid in the physical coordination necessary for care of the person were frames to which were attached pieces of cloth to be buttoned, hooked, snapped, or tied together. The teacher demonstrated first, then the child could sit at a table with a chosen frame and practice as many times over as desired.

Dr. Montessori believed that all of the activities she devised for motor education were functional, geared toward the building of self-discipline, attention, and good work habits, as well as toward the development of the sensory-motor skills essential for later academic learning.

Sensory Education

It was for the education of the senses that Dr. Montessori derived the majority of her didactic materials. She believed that through practice with these materials in orderly sequence and coordination children could learn to recognize identities and contrasts, and refine their discriminations of form, size, color, weight, temperature, and texture, as well as of odors, sounds, and tastes. Discrimination, however, was not the sole aim. She believed that as a refining of the senses came about through these exercises of attention, comparison, and judgment, intelligence was developed. As the child worked, for instance, with the well-known "cylinder block" to place small cylinders of decreasing diameter into their proper holes, the purpose was, in Dr. Montessori's own words, "an inner one, namely, that the child train himself to observe; that he be led to make comparisons between objects, to form judgments, to reason and to decide; and it is in the indefinite repetition of this exercise of attention and of intelligence that a real development ensues."[2] And in another context she explains, "The mind has formed itself by a special exercise of attention, observing, comparing and classifying."[3]

The didactic materials consisted mainly of four cylinder blocks varying in the dimension problems involved; sets of cubes, prisms, and rods to be arranged according to graduated size; geometric solids to be touched and named by the child when blindfolded; rectangular tablets with contrasting rough and smooth surfaces; wooden tablets of differing weights; small colored tablets to be arranged according to gradation of shade; sound cylinders to be placed in a series according to loudness; wooden tables containing nested geometric inserts, to be removed and traced with the fingers before replacing them in the proper apertures or matching them with outline drawings on sets of cards. There were also materials of various textures, small cylindrical boxes for odor discrimination, a set of bells tuned to the scale, for matching and grading exercises. All of the tasks involved were of a self-corrective nature. There was always one correct way to approach each problem, and no piece of apparatus was to be manipulated by the child in a free or playful way. Nor was free dramatic play or fantasy play encouraged in any way in the program. The reader is referred to *Dr. Mon-*

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[2] Maria Montessori *Dr Montessori's Own Handbook* (New York Schocken Books 1975), p 71

[3] *Ibid.*, p 137

tessori's Own Handbook for clear photographs of all the didactic materials.

Language Education

Dr. Montessori believed that training the child to recognize and discriminate among sounds and noises in the environment was preparation for following accurately the sounds of articulate language. She emphasized that teachers must speak very clearly, using a precise terminology in referring to pieces of the didactic apparatus and drilling the children in the use of these and other pertinent terms (e.g., large, small, thick, thin, square, triangle, darkest, lightest). This vocabulary training was designed to aid children in their work of observing, judging, and classifying, so they could become like the scientist who, according to Dr. Montessori, can make discoveries only after careful processes of observation and classification. As can be seen, her emphasis in language education was on vocabulary building through drill, not on spontaneous verbal interchange or on stimulating language activities. Nor did she deal with the complex question of the relation of language to thought.

Writing, Reading, and Arithmetic

At about age four, the child was considered ready for academic learning, after many pre-academic experiences had prepared the way and made for coordination of motor and sensory skills. For writing, training procedures enabling the child to manage the instruments of writing were crucial. For instance, among the didactic materials were boards displaying sets of metal insets, with colored pencils and small sheets of white paper carefully placed at the end of the board. The child was to lift out an inset (handling it by the small knob on its top, to encourage small muscle coordination), place it on a sheet of paper, draw around it, and then fill in with straight strokes the resulting design. This filling in procedure was to give practice in the movements essential to writing with a pen or pencil.

Further readiness for writing as well as for reading was provided through the exercise of learning the names and sounds of sandpaper alphabet letters, while tracing them with the fingers. The next step was construction of three-letter words with short vowel sounds, using red letters for vowels and blue for consonants, from a supply of cardboard cut-out letters. Ability to read the words followed along as the child constructed them; and writing the words was the next easy step, occurring in a spontaneous fashion, according to Dr. Montessori. Advanced exercises for sounding out vowel-consonant combinations and learning parts of speech were made available as the children were ready for them. It must be emphasized that this approach to writing and reading favored the single-letter rather than the "whole word" method now in use in many schools.

Children were prepared for arithmetic as for writing through use of various pieces of the didactic apparatus that encouraged formation of concepts of quantity, identity, and difference. For more formal training children were given red and blue rods scaled in size to represent units of measurement based on the decimal system. Also used were cubes and counters and sandpaper numbers. After these simple beginnings the child could progress to the more advanced Golden Bead material which aided in counting large quantities and in learning basic principles of the decimal system.

Summary

In summary, it can be seen that Dr. Montessori considered mastery at a young age of the instruments of academic learning an important goal. She believed that good motor coordination and control were essential for mental development, and that knowledge could only flow from a base of sensory-motor skills well developed through processes of ordering and classifying. She respected children's capacity for self-discipline and their ability to give long periods of attention to cognitive activities and to find them self-rewarding. She urged freedom within a structured and ordered environment in which a skilled, "non-teaching" observer was alert to the child's readiness to progress.

To place her in relation to other educational thinkers, it can be pointed out that one of her streams of thought was the developmentalism that characterizes both Dewey and Piaget: the belief that a child's mental development proceeds in stages in an invariant sequence, as the organism and the environment interact. Her emphasis on ordering and classifying as basic to cognitive advance is likewise consistent with Piaget's thought, though there is a significant difference. Piagetian theory does not view ordering as resulting from sensory discrimination, and finds no reason to restrict ordering and classifying to pure sensory materials. Nor does recent research on discrimination learning bear out the Montessori belief that as the child makes sensory discriminations he is developing a generalized faculty of discrimination that can aid him in transferring from one learning task to another.

The reader is referred to Kohlberg[4] for fuller discussion of these and related theoretical questions. Some recent research is also reviewed by Evans.[5]

In his introduction (1964) to Dr. Montessori's book, *The Montessori Method*[6] the psychologist J. McV. Hunt expressed a word of caution against the development of a Montessori cult which would restrict innovation and evaluation, or fail to meet the needs of today's children whether from the middle or lower economic classes. While some programs still strictly adhere to the original Montessori practices, many of the modern Montessori schools in this country have made numerous adaptations and adjustments, developing their own philosophies within a broad Montessori framework. Such a school is the one that will now be described as a model.

An Illustration of a Montessori School

This school, thirteen years old, is now in its second year of location in a five-story old brick mansion on the Upper West Side in New York City. The building was formerly occupied by another private school, so when the Montessori School moved in it found a ready-made, appropriate layout. The rooms are large, light, airy, and the building is in good condition. The school is a non-profit organization chartered by the New York State Board of Regents and accredited by the American Montessori Society.

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[4] Lawrence Kohlberg. "Montessori with the Culturally Disadvantaged A Cognitive Developmental Interpretation and Some Research Findings in R D Hess and R. M Bear (eds.). *Early Education* (Chicago Aldine-Atherton. 1968)

[5] Ellis D. Evans *Contemporary Influences in Early Childhood Education*. 2nd ed (New York: Holt. Rinehart and Winston. 1975)

[6] Maria Montessori. *The Montessori Method* Introduction by J. McV. Hunt (New York: Schocken Books. 1964) First published in English in 1912

Number of Children

Two hundred thirty, ages three to eight.

Grouping

Twenty-three children with two teachers in each class. "Mixed-age" grouping is the practice in all classes. Various programs are offered to meet the particular needs of children and their families, at present as follows:

	Hours	*Number of Classes*	*Ages of Children*
Half day	9:00-12:00	4	3,4,5,
Half day	1:00-4:00	2	3,4,5,
All day	8:30-5:30	2	3,4,5,
All day	9:00-4:00	2	5,6,7 (turning 8)
Extended day	9:00-3:00	1	5,6,7

(The 5-year-old spends the morning with 3-, 4-, 5-year-olds and the afternoon with just 5-year-olds).

Adult-Child Ratio

Though the school assigns only two regular teachers for each group, parent volunteers come in one day a week, and student teacher help is also available. A dance teacher comes in two mornings a week and holds classes in the gymnasium.

Socio-Economic Background of Children

It is the school's policy to have its student population reflect the ethnic and economic groups in this neighborhood. At present, one-fourth of the preschool children are eligible for day care service and are receiving it here (as will be explained under Funding). Parents whose children are not eligible for this service but still need assistance can obtain help from the school funds raised by the parents.

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Space Set-Up

For each class there is a large room extending from the front to the back of the building, with its own bathroom equipped with child-size fixtures. On the upper floors there is an additional smaller room for special purposes. A gymnasium occupies the entire top floor. It is equipped with swinging ropes, wall bars, and movable apparatus such as a horizontal ladder, a jumping board on springs, and a narrow horizontal bar to walk on. Especially conspicuous is a large hanging knotted matting for climbing. (One recalls Dr. Montessori's strong recommendation of rope ladders for climbing.)

On the main floor at the right of the entrance is the parents' room, formerly the mansion's library. Behind it is a large room for office space.

The classrooms, painted white, are neat, orderly, and spacious. Shelves are very much in evidence, on which Montessori and many other materials (puzzles, reading games, arithmetic games, etc.) are carefully placed. As the director said, "Each thing in the room has its own place. The kids feel good about this." All rooms are equipped with light movable tables and chairs.

There is no outdoor play space. The children go regularly to a playground in a park one block away.

Goals, Objectives, Philosophy

The school's philosophy is aimed (to quote from their brochure) "at the development of the whole child, enabling him to grow in both physical and mental independence, self-confidence and self-discipline." It is hoped that through the mixed-age grouping children will be enabled to "help and learn from each other and to develop at their own pace without the pressure of competition." Respect for people and their rights is one of the fundamental rules.

Though the school is committed to Montessori ideas, it has picked out one of the Montessori strands to emphasize, as the director explains, just as other contemporary Montessori schools may emphasize other strands. The strand here places stress on the importance of each child's learning for himself/herself and at his/her own pace, in an appropriate environment. The skillful teacher through careful observation of a child's learning styles and needs can change the environment when necessary, bringing out more or different materials for particular children. Each child's inner drives to understand and learn are respected as they become evident.

Though each preschool room is equipped with the Montessori didactic materials, there are abundant other materials also—additional puzzles, Lego blocks (small plastic blocks that can be fastened together), carpenter bench, sinks for water play, tables for coloring and pasting, and a small corner for block building on the floor. If there are children who only use the structured materials—Montessori and others—they will be steered to the more "open" ones; children who always choose the more "open" materials—paints, water—will be steered to the structured ones. Careful observing of children throughout the year is the keynote.

Teaching Strategies

In view of what has just been said, it follows that the concept of the teacher's role here stresses observation rather than intervention, particularly in the preschool rooms. Children are expected to work independently, alone or in groups, with their chosen materials and companions. It is for this reason that only two teachers are assigned for each twenty-three children. It is believed that independence is best served when numerous adults are not "hovering over the children," to quote the director.

On the April morning of this observer's visit, the observation began at about 9:20 in a 3,4,5's room. On the walls no children's easel paintings were posted, but a few recent paintings were lying on a shelf. The work that was posted covered a bulletin board space of about three feet by six feet. These were small papers on which children had pasted buttons, beads, pompoms. Also on the walls of the room were a large commercial dinosaur poster, a group of magazine photos of people of the world, an experience story chart printed by the teacher, and rows of letters and numbers from 1 to 10, on small cards.

The children were active in the following ways: Two had tucked themselves into the large empty ornamental fireplace where two cushions had been placed for sitting. The children had propped up two other large cushions in front to make an enclosure for themselves. They appeared to be just sitting, talking, watching. Several children sat at a long table using white paper for cutting and pasting; two or three were at a waterplay sink that was foaming with white soapsuds. Several were sitting on the floor playing alone with toys such as Lego blocks (not Montessori materials). Three or four children sat with a teacher at a table where the children were beginning to form words (rag, man, bat, etc.) with red cardboard cut-out vowels and blue consonants (Montessori materials) and placing appropriate pictures beside the words. Two children were on the floor in a small block corner building with the type of blocks now used in almost all nursery schools, originally called the Caroline Pratt blocks. This small corner could not have held more than two children nor were there enough blocks for more than two. This, perhaps more than any other physical feature except the presence of the didactic materials, distinguishes this school from one such as the Bank Street School for Children, where the blocks when in use may cover about one-third of a classroom floor.

After about ten minutes of the morning's observation half of the children lined up when their names were called and left the room with one of their teachers for a dance session up in the gym. The observer left with them to watch there for about fifteen minutes. When she returned to the classroom to observe for about twenty minutes more, the children and teacher who had been at the table working with alphabet letters were still there. Other children continued their play quietly and independently in the block corner and at the paper work table. At no time did the teacher get up or call out to intervene, supervise, or comment. At one point a boy went to a low table where a Montessori board containing metal insets was displayed. The boy lifted out an inset, put it on a small square piece of white paper lying nearby for this purpose, and with a colored pencil traced its outline. Then with rough strokes he divided his drawing into approximate quarters. He showed this to the teacher, who said something appreciative and suggested that he fill in his quarter spaces (a Montessori exercise). The boy began to do this, making a few rough straight lines with the colored pencil. But he abandoned it before he had finished and picked up a sewing card off a nearby shelf to work on (not Montessori). The use of this metal inset was the only use the observer saw of any piece of Montessori material lying out on the shelves, either in this room or in two other rooms briefly visited where children were having work periods. (In one of these rooms children were seated closely together at a table learning to paint on small pieces of white paper about four inches by six inches, using the traditional water color block paint boxes and small brushes. All were producing essentially the same results—covering their papers with splotches of color. In the other room, children aged five and six were reading, writing, and drawing freely; and cutting and pasting with sheets of white paper. Several children were folding and pasting the paper in the shape of baskets). Of course, a valid generalization about the use of Montessori materials in this school could be arrived at only after a long period of observation over many days and at different times of year.

Daily Schedule

Teachers try to follow the natural flow of the children's work and for that reason do not post schedules on their doors with definite times for activities. In general, for the preschool morning classes the day is as follows:

Arrive and pick work off the shelf—about 9:00 A.M.
Work period—10:15, 10:30, or even 10:45
Clean up.
Juice and circle (Some teachers put juice out for one or two friends to have together; others serve it in the circle. Circle time may be for show-and-tell, story, or demonstration of a new material.)
Outdoor play in park
Dismissal at 12:00.

Preschool children whose day is from 8:30 to 5:30 have lunch when they come back from the park. This is followed by nap, and then by more play indoors and out.

The Caregivers

At least one teacher of each two-teacher group is Montessori-trained. The other may be Montessori or from Bank Street

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College, Teachers College, etc. Some are receiving in-service training at the school. The student teachers are from a wide variety of colleges including Teachers College, Hunter College, New York University, New York City Community College, and others.

Parent Involvement

Parent involvement is very important in the school. Not only do some of the parents volunteer in the classrooms, but fund-raising to help families who need assistance is a major responsibility. The parents hold a bazaar for this purpose before Christmas and a Spring Street Fair in May. Parents are urged to observe in their children's classrooms, and teachers maintain close contact with them.

Funding

The school is funded through tuition only. At present the costs are:

Half day	$1,060
9:00-3:00	$1,700
9:00-4:00	$2,100
8:30-5:30	$2,450

Tuition for children eligible for day care service is funded by the city's Division of Day Care, under an arrangement called "Limited Purchase of Service." This enables almost one-quarter of the school's children to attend the school, in both the half-day and full-day programs, paying no tuition.

Children in this full-day program are required to have a hot lunch. There is no cooking in the school at present, and all the other full-day children bring their own lunches. To meet the hot lunch requirement, the school has found someone who cooks the lunch outside the school and brings it over. It is served in the classroom, buffet style. Children with lunchbox lunches spread out their food in the buffet also, so that there can be exchanging and choosing, and the day care children will not stand out as a group apart.

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Summary Statement

The school believes that its approach, combining Montessori's insights with its own educational philosophy develops the whole child and 'creates the most appropriate educational environment for the modern, urban, American child." Stressed is the prepared environment, where "the confusions in a child's life are minimal and he is more free to learn."[7]

Additional Reading

Evans, Ellis D. *Contemporary Influences in Early Childhood Education.* 2nd ed. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1975, pp. 255-286.

Montessori, Maria. *The Montessori Method.* Introduction by J. McV. Hunt. New York: Schocken Books, 1964.

________. *Dr. Montessori's Own Handbook.* New York: Schocken Books, 1975.

Rambusch, N. *Learning How to Learn. An American Approach to Montessori.* Baltimore: Helicon Press. 1962.

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[7] Quotes are from the school's brochure

THE COGNITIVE APPROACH: PIAGETIAN THEORY AND PRACTICE IN PRESCHOOL EDUCATION

Rochelle Selbert Mayer, Ed.D.[1]

Historical Aspects

The cognitively-oriented approach to early childhood education draws upon Jean Piaget's theory of intellectual development, and is identified with the programs of the psychologists and educators who have used Piagetian theory as a source for defining educational aims, curriculum content and teaching strategies.

Jean Piaget, a Swiss epistemologist and psychologist, has studied the development of thinking processes from infancy through adolescence for over fifty years. However, it was not until the early 1960's that Piagetian theory exerted a strong influence on American educational thought. J. McVicker Hunt's *Intelligence and Experience* (1961) was a particularly influential treatise on the relevance of Piagetian theory to education. Hunt took Piaget's premise that environmental encounters were a critical factor in a child's construction of knowledge and interpreted it as a challenge to the prevailing assumption that heredity determined I.Q. That challenge had significant implications for preschool education.

Piaget's theory of intellectual development focused attention on the potential contribution of early childhood education to a child's intellectual development. Preschool experience came to be seen as a way of providing low-income children with a "head start" in developing intellectual competence. His theory provided a framework for a number of cognitively-oriented programs. The following pages review ideas central to Piaget's theory, their educational implications, and three preschool programs which have been based on Piaget's ideas.

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Main Features of the Theory

Psychological theories of development and learning are usually formed around assumptions of how man acquires knowledge. Piaget adopted the *interactionist position*. He sees the development of ideas as growing out of the child's interaction with objects, people and events in the environment. The child is viewed as a philosopher or a scientist—as an experimenter acquiring data from personal experience, and using that data to make sense out of his world He believes this quest for understanding is *intrinsically motivated*—that the child has an inherent desire to master the environment by developing increasingly adequate theories to explain reality.

Piaget describes the evolution of the child's theory in terms of *cognitive stages*. He has charted how the child's *cognitive structures*—his rules for processing information and interpreting experience—undergo qualitative changes in the course of development; and he explains this development in terms of *assimilation* and *accommodation*. The child either assimilates an experience into his existing thought patterns, or accommodates and revises his ideas to account for information which conflicts with his current rules for predicting and understanding experience.

Piaget has charted four major stages enroute to mature, logical thinking.

1. The Sensory-motor Period (birth-18 months). During infancy the child learns about the world through his direct action on objects. His inborn reflexes to suck and grasp are applied to an ever-widening variety of objects, and initially random movements are modified and become purposeful. The child acquires the ability to coordinate his actions and senses: he grasps what he sees and looks in the direction of a sound. These *action schemes* are seen by Piaget as the basis of intelligence—as the first steps in a child's construction of ideas about objects, space and causality.

Piaget has used the method of naturalistic observation to study developments in the sensory-motor period. The most salient factors he has identified include the child's emerging sense of his own body as separate from other objects; his growing ability to imitate observed behavior; his rudimentary understanding that certain actions produce particular effects; and his developing notions of object permanence (objects exist even when out of sight), and object identity (mom, even with a new haircut, is still the same person).

2. The Pre-operational Period (18 months-age 7). The pre-operational period differs from the sensory-motor period in the child's use of language and in his ability to think symbolically. Although this represents a great advance, its limitation is that the child's thinking is perceptually oriented. The child remains "pre-logical" in that his rules for predicting or explaining reality are based on appearance instead of logic.

Pre-operational thought characterizes the mental processes of the preschool-age child. It is a period when the child has difficulty differentiating fantasy from reality; when his casual thinking is characterized by *animism* (the tendency to attribute life-like qualities to inanimate objects) and *artificialism* (the inability to distinguish between external and personal causes for phenomenon). The child's imperfect theory of reality can sometimes be a source of delight—as when a child revels in the excitement of a magic show—or a source of anxiety—as when a child feels upset about a bad dream that he believes really happened.

To investigate the characteristics of this and subsequent stages, Piaget employed an approach known as the *clinical method*. This procedure involves questioning or interviewing a child about a phenomenon he observes or experiences.

A well-known application of the clinical method has been the *conservation tasks* experiments, which explore a child's understanding of number, space, time, movement, weight and volume. In one, the child is shown two identical containers, each containing identical amounts of liquid. After the child agrees that the quantities of liquid are equal, the investigator pours the liquid from one container into another of a different shape—one that is taller and thinner. During the pre-operational stage the child insists that there is now more liquid in the taller, thinner container because "the juice is higher." The child's tendency to focus on only one perceptually salient variable—the height of the liquid in the taller container—characterizes this stage of intuitive, perception-bound cognitive rules.

3. The Concrete Operations Period (ages 7-12). In contrast to pre-operational thinking, the child now employs inductive and deductive logic to explain events he observes or experiences. The child's thinking is no longer dominated by the perceptual aspects of a situation because he can now focus simultaneously on more than one variable, and understand the relationship among variables by means of mental operations. Such mental operations, according to Piaget, are analogous to logico-mathematical operations, like those used to understand the relationship of factors in a mathematical equation. And like the mathematical operations of adding, subtracting, combining and separating, mental operations are characterized by the property of *reversibility*. Thought is reversible either through *negation* (mentally undoing a process) or *reciprocity* (compensating for an increase in one factor by a reciprocal decrease in another factor). The child can now solve the conservation of liquid problem because he can recognize that the liquid's changed appearance is due to changes in the container's shape. He can reason that the narrowness of the container compensates for the height of the liquid (reciprocity), and that the liquid could be returned to the original container as proof that it is equal to the amount of liquid in the other original container (negation).

4. The Formal Operations Period (age 12 onward). Although logical operations characterize the period of concrete operations, they are applied only to concrete situations. In the period of formal operations, the adolescent can apply logic to abstract situations. The adolescent is able not only to consider a wide range and combination of events solely in terms of their logical properties, but also simultaneously to utilize several mental operations to solve a problem.

Piaget describes the growth of intelligence in terms of progressive changes from an egocentric, perception-bound world-view to one in harmony with realities as a result of the dissociation of perception from logic, and of subjective from objective experience. He assumes that the direction of cognitive development is always toward greater coherence, that the advances characterizing each stage are irreversible, and that the sequence of stages is invariant because each new stage builds upon and integrates the cognitive rules of a prior stage.

This does not mean that all people progress through the stages at the same rate, or that all ultimately achieve the highest stage of cognition. Differences in individual biological maturation and cultural factors affect the rate of progress and the ages at which various stages are attained. Indeed, cross-cultural studies reveal differences as great as four years in the age of stage attainment.

Piaget has identified four factors influencing stage change. These include biological maturation, physical experience, social experience, and the process of *equilibration.* Equilibration occurs when cognitive conflicts are experienced and resolved through the construction of new cognitive rules. A child is in a state of disequilibrium when he realizes that his current cognitive rules are inadequate to explain an event. For example, a child's notion that large things sink and small things float is seen as an inadequate rule when the child is confronted with a large piece of wood that floats and a metal needle that sinks. When this contradiction is resolved by the accommodation of existing rules to the concept of specific gravity, a state of equilibrium is restored.

Equilibration may be the most distinctive aspect of Piaget's theory. It attributes an active, constructive role to the child's physical and mental activity. In contrast, the behaviorist position views the child as a passive recipient of experience, a "blank slate" on which environmental experiences are imprinted. In direct opposition to learning theory, which holds that any behavior can be changed by the external application of reinforcement schedules, Piaget believes in internally motivated structural change, which is sequential, cumulative, and irreversible.

Educational Implications

Three of the factors Piaget identifies as responsible for cognitive growth have special relevance to educators: physical experience, social experience, and equilibration. His description of intellectual development suggests that children should have ample opportunity to be active, to manipulate a variety of objects, and to receive feedback from these interactions. Secondly, his theory also suggests the importance of opportunities to interact with peers and adults. Social friction which causes cognitive conflict can be a stimulant towards less egocentrism and more awareness of others' viewpoints. And thirdly, optimizing the equilibration process suggests providing opportunities that will cause cognitive conflict and thus stimulate the child to revise his current way of thinking.

There is disagreement, however, about whether educators should deliberately plan experiences aimed at creating disequilibrium. On one side of the issue are those who argue that Piaget's theory emphasizes that the young child learns on his own through self-initiated play and other activity. They believe that Piaget's naturalistic observations dramatically reveal how children use their intelligence in play—how "the play of the child is not just random activity, but involves considerable directed experimentation."[2] Hence, the child should be free to explore the environment on his own terms, inventing his own problems to solve.

On the other side of the issue are those educators who argue that although Piaget has described intellectual development as it occurs naturally, such development might be accelerated by means of planned experiences. Proponents of this view see a more directive role for the teacher and see a place in the curriculum for structured activities geared toward specific cognitive goals.

Finally, Piaget's theory has implications in the area of assessment. A number of psychologists and educators see in cognitive stage theory an alternative framework for assessing a child's intelligence. Normative tests of I.Q. base an individual's score on his performance relative to others his age. In contrast, a Piagetian test would assess an individual's intelligence in terms of his stage of thinking. A Piagetian test might be applied both for formal (program evaluation) and informal (formative evaluation) assessment purposes. Additionally, by incorporating Piaget's clinical interview method as a teaching strategy, teachers might stimulate children's thinking. Questioning the child for the reasons underlying his beliefs or behavior may reveal inconsistencies to the child himself, thereby encouraging him to consider previously unexamined aspects of a situation.

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[2] C Lavatelli. *Piaget's Theory Applied to an Early Childhood Curriculum* (Boston American Science and Engineering 1970) p 12

Preschool Programs Based on Piaget's Theory

Three preschool curricula have used Piagetian theory as a direct source for program building. It is important to note, however, that Piaget's theory, and more generally, developmental theory, are not inconsistent with the theoretical principles of many other early education programs. Programs variously identified as "progressive" or "child-development oriented" or "open" all subscribe to the importance of self-initiated play and the need for active manipulation of the environment. Likewise, it would be a mistake to suppose that when Piagetian theory is used as a prime source for program development there is one "pure" or "correct" way of translating it into educational practice. Many factors in addition to theory—some pragmatic and others value-laden—help shape the design of a program.

Furthermore, no theory comprehensively addresses all aspects of learning or development. This is especially true of Piagetian theory, which deals with the acquisition of cognitive structures rather than with the acquisition of specific information and skills. Carl Bereiter, among others, has challenged the educational relevance of Piagetian theory by claiming that cognitive structures develop independent of schooling anyway, and that schooling should concentrate on those learnings which will not take place without specific instruction. Advocates of Piagetian-based programs counter that unless educators take account of children's cognitive stage, they may be teaching concepts for which children will have no real understanding. According to Kamii, children may learn to parrot the multiplication table, but if they haven't achieved concrete operations such learning can be meaningless and easily forgotten.

Three preschool programs inspired by Piagetian theory all draw upon the activities and methods of the traditional child development preschool. Indeed, each of the programs can be described in terms of what they have added to or how they have modified the basic design of the child development model. At the core of the child development curriculum is self-initiated spontaneous play with objects and peers. Typical activities in a child development program include block building, woodwork, sand and water play, dramatic play, art experiences with paints, clay and other media, cooking experiences, music, story time, care of plants and animals, outdoor play, and trips into the community. For much of the day children are free to choose and change activities, and to work individually or cooperatively according to their particular desires. They are given ample opportunity for self-initiated activity, for social interactions with peers, and for naturally occurring disequilibrium. The teacher's role is to plan experiences for optimum cognitive development, to organize an environment rich in material resources, to guide children in their play activities, and to help each child develop a positive self-image.

Celia Lavatelli's *Piaget's Theory Applied to an Early Childhood Curriculum* (1970) accepts the child development model as the foundation of a good preschool experience, and holds that free choice of activity should occupy much of the child's day. However, Lavatelli feels there is something to be gained by inserting short (10-15 minutes) small group (5 or 6 children) structured "logical training" activities into the program. These activities or lessons are modelled after Piaget's cognitive tasks and are based on his work in the areas of classification, seriation, number, measurement and space.

Lavatelli developed a sequence of activities which reflect the developmental sequence in the child's acquisition of abilities in each area. For example, before a child is able to classify objects according to two or more properties, he must be able to identify the properties of objects and match objects in terms of such attributes as size, color, or shape. Thus, beginning activities for development of classification operations involve having children make string beads with directions which require children to recognize the properties of objects and match objects along various dimensions. Lavatelli describes the activities as follows:

> Activities are sequenced, beginning with the very simple one where the child is instructed to make a necklace by stringing *all* the *red* beads on a shoelace. He does the other colors in turn and, in subsequent lessons, shapes and sizes. Next, he must copy models that the teacher makes, models that begin with a simple alternation of red bead with yellow bead and end with a complex pattern demanding that the child attend to number, size, shape and color of beads all at the same time.[3]

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[3] Lavatelli *op. cit.* p. 88

Activities using picture puzzles or matrices are then introduced for training in the ability to classify objects according to two properties. The matrix is a picture board divided into four squares. Pictures of different objects appear in three of the squares (a large red flower, a small yellow flower, and a large red apple) and the fourth square is left blank. The child selects from a set of picture cards of apples and flowers the one which belongs in the matrix (the small yellow apple).

The Lavatelli curriculum comes complete with the materials needed for each activity (e.g., beads of various colors, sizes and shapes; matrix puzzles, etc.) and lesson plans for the teacher specifying how to conduct the activity. The lesson plans pay particular attention to the language training component of the program—to the kinds of teacher verbalizations which should accompany children's actions. Language training is emphasized as a means to facilitate logical thinking. Lavatelli describes the language components for the bead activity as follows:

> After the teacher gives the directions and the child begins the action, the teacher says, 'Tell me what you're doing. Why did you choose that one?' This exercise forces the child to attend to not one, but several properties of an object at the same time, and to describe the object using noun phrases: 'It's a round bead'; or, 'it's a small yellow bead.'[4]

Lavatelli inserts structured cognitive tasks into the preschool program to benefit both student and teacher. She feels that some children may need specific types of cognitive training to stimulate the acquisition and reinforcement of cognitive skills. "*Some* children make exciting discoveries as they carry on transactions in the preschool," she writes. "others do not . . . *Some* will carry on 'directed experimentation' in their play with materials; others will use materials only to manipulate for sensorimotor satisfaction."[5] Structured sessions are one means of insuring that *all* children are exposed to activities that require specific types of problem solving. As for teachers, the structured activities provide an opportunity to better understand Piagetian theory as a consequence of confronting the children with

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[4] Lavatelli, *op. cit.*, p. 69

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 43

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problems and listening to the ensuing explanations or reactions Additionally, the teacher is able to discover an individual child's thinking processes. Such knowledge can help the teacher be more effective in intervening to guide children through their other activities. As Lavatelli writes:

> No daily ten-minute period of mental gymnastics is going to work miracles in developing intellectual competence, but when the teacher knows how to reinforce the learnings of the directed periods *throughout the day*, as children paint, set tables, build with blocks, play house, etc., she increases the likelihood that generalization of the concept will occur and that tranfer of training will be possible.[6]

A second program based on Piagetian theory is *The Cognitively Oriented Curriculum* (1971) developed by David Weikart and his colleagues. This program has much in common with a child development program, especially in terms of the kinds of materials and activities available in the classroom. The cognitively-oriented classroom has an art area, a doll corner, a large motor area for block building, a quiet area, and a large area for group meetings. Children in a cognitively-oriented program engage in block building, cooking, dramatic play, art activities, and other experiences analogous to those found in a child development program. The difference is that in the cognitive classroom the teacher takes on a more directive role in defining activities for children as well as helping children make their own choices. Whether they are child- or teacher-initiated, the classroom experiences are organized in terms of specific cognitive goals.

A three-pronged framework for curriculum development, inspired by Piaget's theory, shapes the traditional activities of a child development preschool along cognitive lines. Activities are planned in terms of . 1) content areas for cognitive goals, such as temporal and spatial relations, seriation or ordering, and classification; 2) levels of representation for goal implementation, such as object, index, symbol and sign; and 3) levels of operation, such as motoric or verbal.

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[6] Lavatelli *op cit* p 47

Weikart's description of an activity in which children cook pudding highlights the central factors which set his cognitively-oriented program apart from the traditional classroom approach. In the latter approach the activity is less focused. The children might take turns at stirring, while the teacher verbally describes the pudding thickening as a result of the heat and the stirring. Many things happening around the children are not mentioned. Each child must make certain discoveries on his own, and be able to integrate his random observations in a causal sequence. Whereas in a cognitive program

> ... making pudding would become a classroom activity only if the teacher saw this as a way of approaching a certain goal ... Making pudding might be an activity she would use as a lesson in temporal relations; the specific temporal goal would be, for example, sequencing of events in time. With this goal in mind, the teacher might utilize the actions which the children perform to emphasize *first. next*, and *last*, or the ordering of events that are taking place.[7]

It is up to the teacher, using the curriculum framework and the general activity areas and materials of a child development classroom, to generate the specifics of the cognitive curriculum. Structured tasks are often planned for the various activity areas. For example, the teacher may decide to focus on the goal of classification at the motoric level in the block area and specify that the activity for that area is to build *big* and *little* houses. In this case, she may describe a child's actions to him: "Jeffrey has a big block; he is going to make a big house," and so forth. Other times the children may be free to plan their own use of materials. In either case, the teacher takes an active verbal role in the activity, labeling the children's actions in relation to cognitive goals to facilitate learning the target concept.

The structured teaching role is also employed with respect to children's socio-dramatic play. The teacher directly participates in children's play in order to develop cognitive components which may be lacking in the play episode, such as the use of make-believe in regard to objects. For example, the teacher may pretend to be a nurse and hand the child who is playing doctor a pipecleaner, suggesting that he use it as a thermometer.

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[7] D. Weikart. L. Rogers. C Adcock. and D. McClelland. *The Cognitively Oriented Curriculum A Framework for Preschool Teachers* (Washington. D.C.. National Association for the Education of Young Children. 1971). p. 15.

A typical day in a cognitively-oriented classroom includes planning time (activities for each of the areas are presented so that each child may choose among them); work time (children carry out their work plan); group meeting for evaluation (review of work time happenings); clean-up; snack; activity time (for large-motor activity either inside or outdoors); and circle time (group discussion, music, or story reading).

The third Piagetian-based preschool program we will examine was developed by Constance Kamii and Rheta DeVries. In their article, "Piaget for Early Education,"[8] the authors state that they have incorporated and built upon the child development curriculum because child development teachers, like Piaget, have long recognized the value of play for cognitive growth. Thus, the activities which have been shown to be intrinsically interesting to children—such as block building, painting, sociodramatic play, etc.—are included in the design of their program. In addition to these traditional activities the Kamii-DeVries curriculum has developed special guidelines for physical knowledge activities and group games, based on Piaget's theory.

Although Kamii and DeVries feel that the teacher should plan and initiate physical knowledge experiences and group games, they oppose the use of highly structured teacher-directed lessons. They believe that the heavy emphasis other Piagetian programs place on language training is misguided in terms of Piaget's theory. To promote physical knowledge, activities suggested include shuffleboard, using balls on an incline, and using a pendulum. Each of the above activities requires a different action (i.e., pushing, rolling, and swinging). Children are encouraged to anticipate the result of an action, and to argue with each other when their predictions differ.

Kamii and DeVries also offer suggestions for group games that have special value for promoting cognitive development and cooperation. To illustrate, the game of "Hide and Seek" is recommended because in playing this game children need to see themselves from the point of view of another person and to "think spatially" in terms of finding a place to hide.

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[8] C. Kamii and R. DeVries. "Piaget for Early Education." in R. Parker (ed.). *The Preschool in Action*, revised edition (Boston: Allyn and Bacon. 1976)

The typical day in a Kamii-DeVries classroom is quite similar to one in a child development classroom. Children choose their own activities within an environment filled with possibilities. The teacher arranges the environment and facilitates the activities. However, Kamii and DeVries believe that an understanding of Piaget's distinction among types of knowledge—and the different sources of information and experience necessary to develop each type of knowledge—can modify the *why* and *how* of traditional child development teaching practices.

Piaget makes distinctions among physical knowledge, logico-mathematical knowledge, and arbitrary social knowledge. Physical knowledge is concerned with learning about the properties of objects. Such knowledge grows out of the child's experiences and interactions with physical objects. The child receives direct feedback from the environment, in the form of confirmation or disconfirmation of expectations regarding actions on objects, as in the sinking floating example cited earlier. Logico-mathematical knowledge is concerned with learning about relationships among objects. Unlike physical knowledge it is not observable through feedback from a child's actions on objects. As illustrated in the conservation of liquid experiment the child's observation of liquid being poured into another container does not provide the kind of direct feedback necessary to understand that the amount of liquid is unchanged. This understanding grows out of a child's reflecting on and reasoning about the phenomenon. Arbitrary social knowledge deals with the kind of knowledge that can only be acquired from other people rather than through one's activity.

From Piaget's analysis, Kamii and DeVries derive their fundamental principle; "Teach according to the kinds of knowledge." If physical knowledge is involved, the teaching strategy should encourage children to act on objects, uncovering answers for themselves. If logico-mathematical concepts are involved, the teacher should ask questions that will encourage the child to think about the factors involved in the situation. Trying to teach children correct responses is viewed as fruitless and possibly counter-productive because a child must construct these relationships for himself. If social knowledge is involved the teacher can transmit the information directly, since there is no way for the child to construct social knowledge on his own.

Kamii and DeVries illustrate how this conceptualization of knowledge relates to teaching strategies in a pudding-making activity:

> If a four-year old sticks his finger in the pudding and licks it, the teacher can suggest that she would prefer everybody to use a paper cup and a spoon. Since the only possible source of such social knowledge is people, the teacher should not hesitate to give this information.
>
> If a child believes that chocolate pudding will turn into solid chocolate if he puts it in the refrigerator, the teacher should encourage him to do just that to see what happens. In physical knowledge, the teacher should thus encourage the child to get feedback from the object.
>
> If a child brings paper cups for the group's pudding, the teacher might ask whether there are "just enough" and encourages each child to decide whether or not he agrees. In logico-mathematical knowledge, the teacher should thus refrain from giving-direct feedback, but, instead, encourage reflecting abstraction.[9]

Expected Outcomes of Piagetian Programs

What will children learn in a Piagetian-oriented program? What will be different from exposure to other types of preschool experiences? Will their stage of cognitive development be accelerated? Will they be "better thinkers"? Such questions raise issues about the goals of cognitively-oriented programs. Lavatelli's basic goal is the acceleration of concrete operational thinking. She reports a study showing the superiority of her curriculum as compared with a traditional child development program in terms of children's responses to Piagetian tasks.

Weikart's goals are the achievement of specific skills in the areas of classification, seriation, temporal relations, and spatial relations. The goal for seriation, for example, is that the child be able to order four sizes, four quantities, and three qualities. Such socio-emotional goals as promoting sustained attention to a task

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[9] Kamii and DeVries, *op. cit.*, p. 27

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are also specified. Studies involving several different programs in the Head Start Planned Variations project have shown consistently positive outcomes for the Weikart program in terms of I.Q. gains.

Kamii and DeVries approach the issue of goals differently. Rather than attending to content areas such as classification, they have focused on Piaget's conception of how knowledge is acquired—that is, through the child's active use of his developing intelligence. Their goals for children are defined in terms of the characteristics that will facilitate the development of the child as a thinker—"to be independent, alert, and curious, to use initiative in pursuing curiosities, to have confidence in his ability to figure things out for himself."[10] This formulation places the child's cognitive development within the broader context of his or her personality development. It is reminiscent of the importance traditionally accorded socio-emotional objectives in preschool education; and underlines the position that intellectual and affective development are interdependent.

Additional Reading

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[10] Kamii and DeVries, *op. cit.*, p. 42

THE PROGRESSIVE MOVEMENT

Charlotte B. Winsor[1]

Historical Perspective

Group care for young children has been and is an almost invariable concomitant of highly industrialized societies. Women in the labor force, whether in factories or professions, call for programs of child care. In recent decades, we have seen (to name a few) the WPA nurseries of the great depression, the Lanham Act nurseries of the war years, the Head Start programs of the great "War on Poverty." Such publicly supported efforts were, in effect, an arm of the economic strategy of the times they served. The burgeoning of programs for the care of young children under private auspices provided other groups of working women with facilities which made possible their movement into the professional-career life they sought.

This is not to gainsay or belittle the efforts of early childhood educators to recognize the needs of children; to offer pre-service and in-service opportunities for teachers and, more recently, for para-professional staff. The massive input of public and private funds in the past decade made possible the production and dissemination of a massive amount of material for direct use by the children as well as teacher aids, general directives, and much "how-to" information.

Today, the growing and permanent rather than social emergency role of women working outside the home is a social truism. And with it comes a need for development of policy which has as its prime target the fundamental needs of young children. More than half a century ago at least a few programs moving toward such goals became a viable aspect of the world of education. Facilities for the very young child in group settings were established. Efforts at systematic recording and research were begun. Accounts of the aspirations of such pioneers are not abundant. Some bespeak an almost quaint faith in the babies' role in fashioning a better world. And yet others report a truly professional stance towards the program they envisage, its purposes, and the possibilities it offers for discrete research design.

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[1] Distinguished Teacher Education Specialist, Bank Street College of Education

One such definition of purpose is to be found in the 1922 statement by Lucy Sprague Mitchell in the "Introduction" to a detailed report of a program undertaken by the Bureau of Educational Experiments.[2] She says:

> Why do we want such young children? . . . We did not set about our task of caring for children from fifteen months to three years because of the economic condition of working or professional mothers . . . Our first answer is in terms of educational needs . . . the *educational* factors in the environment for babies need study and planning as much as and perhaps more than those in the environment of older children. Our second answer is in terms of research: we feel the need of fuller scientific data concerning children's growth, of every sort that is measurable and observable.[3]

The first director of this nursery program was Harriet Johnson, the writer of the above mentioned report and also the author of a full study of the program.[4]

It should come as no surprise that many of these beginnings in early childhood education were made by the people who allied themselves with progressive movements in the society as well as in the world of child growth and development. Progressive education may be seen in many guises. It is indeed a broad umbrella beneath which one finds a wide variety of principles of education resulting in many different programs for young children. In fact, many of the theoretical approaches discussed in this volume have been or could be described as progressive. It was an ironic come-about to find the very nursery movement which had its beginnings in progressive education described as the "traditional nursery schools" in contrast to some of the newer, cognitively-oriented programs in early childhood developed in the 1960s. The concept of a "progressive" approach to child development and learning has had adherents profoundly opposed one to the other, sometimes co-opting the term whenever a new or novel notion would be introduced in a program.

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[2] The original name of Bank Street College of Education.

[3] Lucy Sprague Mitchell, "Introduction to 'A Nursery School Experiment'" in Charlotte B. Winsor (ed.) *Experimental Schools Revisited* (New York: Agathon Press, 1973) p. 127.

[4] Harriet Johnson, *Children in the Nursery School*, reissued with an Introduction by Barbara Biber (New York: Agathon Press, 1972).

Theoretical Objectives and Practices

Despite such loose application of the term, the progressive education movement does have definite objectives, ideals of implementation, and practices developed through many years of trial, study, and research. One may describe the present stance as a broadly encompassing psycho-philosophical school of thought.

To return to expressions of belief by those responsible for the origin of the ideas whence came a progressive school philosophy may clarify basic tenets. John Dewey needs no justification as a leader of American thought in this field. Modification and amplification of his ideas have rightfully appeared in full measure since by its very nature his philosophy is non-static, therefore demanding changing positions in changing times.

This statement of the fundamental differences between traditional and progressive education is beautifully clear, pure and deceptively simple since in truth it encompasses a social philosophy as well as schoolroom tactics:

> To imposition from above is opposed expression and cultivation of individuality; to external discipline is opposed free activity, to acquisition of isolated skills and technique by drill is opposed acquisition of them as means of attaining ends which make direct vital appeal, to preparation for a more or less remote future is opposed making the most of the opportunities of present life; to static aims and materials is opposed acquaintance with a changing world.[5]

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[5] John Dewey *Experience and Education* (New York Collier Books 1938)

Granted acceptance of these basic principles, what theoretical positions have emerged? To this writer the schools which professed progressivism as an ideal seem to fall into two groups—progressive and experimental, a distinction which cannot be maintained in the absolute but is perhaps useful in considering their historical development. In the early models of progressive schools more emphasis seems to have been on curriculum improvement; on materials by which to improve pedagogy; on the introduction of a broadening array of content to include the arts, health, vocational education, and so forth; on closer interpersonal relationship between teacher and pupil.

The stereotype of teacher at the blackboard with children in their rows of nailed-down seats was no longer applicable in such schools. But the objective, consciously or otherwise, remained immutable—namely, to prepare children for successful entry into the society by means of the acquisition of such skills, knowledge, and behaviors deemed correct and useful by the adult world.

Those progressive schools with an experimental focus offered a far more radical stance. Assuming a profoundly changing world, the founders of these programs began with a consideration of the child, whatever the psychological school of thought they adhered to. Curriculum grew from what was perceived as the child's need existentially and would serve his most productive development. It should be noted that it was almost entirely in the experimental programs that the very young child—toddler and even younger—was included in their purview. Recently there has been growing recognition of the role of cognitive development in the infant, almost from birth. It was in these experimental-progressive schools that the *educational* expectations for very young children were laid down and expressed in the setting, materials, and opportunities provided for experiences

It would be presumptuous, even were it possible in this brief discussion, to attempt an inclusive statement of tenets of belief of the progressive movement in the education of young children. To offer some salient concepts which seem to have remained viable through the years is a more realistic task.

Some major tenets of early childhood education which have stood the test of time are. Provision for a rich body of sensory experience and exploration, a profoundly respectful attitude toward the play life of children; a commitment to clarify children's experience in their world and to bring them to ever wider contact with their environment as it is age- and stage-appropriate.

Progressively-oriented educators believe that the young child needs the fullest opportunity for sensory development. This may be so widely accepted as to seem to be a redundant proposition in a progressive nursery setting. However, complex and many-faceted criteria enter into providing the maximal opportunity for sensory experience: challenge and safety in large muscle equipment; suggestive as well as prescribed use of stationary equipment; materials that offer the kinesthetic experiences of size, weight, shape, movement, balance; materials that invite exploration in color, sound, texture.

For tactile, visual and auditory sensory development the nursery school seeks to provide materials that are rich but not over-abundant or adult-oriented (e.g., electric trains or elaborate dolls), yet moving toward greater complexity as the children mature.

Another major criterion—that materials be adaptable and open-ended to serve the manifold uses for which children wish to exploit them, and suggestive of real life or fantasy experiences that children recreate in their play through dramatization with peers or individual expression in their play productions. Specifically, one sees blocks (most useful in unit sizes both large and small) as offering one example for almost limitless expression of reality or fantasy. The two-year-old, using blocks large enough to enable him to build structures in which he can be the actor, may place an upright on a horizontal block, sit down upon the structure, announcing verbally or otherwise that he has built a chair. But several four-year-olds may announce that they have a gas station and need toy cars or trucks to help them in recreating a known piece of real life. Or another child may simply enjoy a design arrived at by placing blocks in a pleasing geometric pattern. The child has the autonomy to plan, construct, and invest such material with his her own content, bringing life to the process through play.

A carefully thought through program offers all materials with an integrated, holistic approach. There are no set boundaries for the use of a specific material other than recognition of its functional limits—e.g., "experimenting" with paint by covering oneself with it would be frowned upon, but using the material for widely divergent purposes would be acceptable, perhaps even admired. Adaptation of a material to an imaginative purpose is viewed as an enriching aspect of the child's development. The adult sets the stage, the children recreate their experiences or fantasies, receiving structure and nurturance from the adult as growth needs indicate.

In a group of three-year-olds observed recently, play dough was the material to be used. First the children, with the teachers, mixed the ingredients following a picture recipe on a chart. It would be stretching a point to suggest that this is a reading readiness lesson in any academic formulation. But one might contend that here we have an introduction to a symbol system in purposeful function. Then comes the tactile pleasure of mixing and mushing the material accompanied by expressions of delight as well as frustration. And coloring the play dough—each child announcing the color wanted for his/her special piece. Teaching colors to three-year-olds? For these children it is an unnecessary exercise as experience with crayons, paper, paints, cloth has provided innumerable opportunities to use color to express some purpose of their own. And finally, they use the play dough dramatically, making "cookies to sell," "pizzas," and a "fancy pizza" with a clown's head, all of this with great glee and almost furious verbal interaction.

This episode is offered as an example, commonly observed in a nursery classroom, of an organismic rather than a columnar approach to teaching. Such a piece of early childhood program could be perceived (and taught) as a pre-reading lesson; a lesson in tactile, sensory experience; a review of color recognition; an opportunity for verbal expression; and for socialization. Such a breakdown of the experience would be columnar, and in the view of this author, unproductive of integrated learning which includes affective response by children as they are involved in a task set for them by the adult.

An organistic approach to the learning-teaching syndrome mutes the lines between the various aspects of the opportunity presented by the task and seeks an inclusive, integrated response in terms of the child's capacity to assimilate the totality of the experience pleasurably albeit acquiring a body of useful skills. Learnings may evolve across a wide spectrum of maturing competence and cognitive growth and although the teaching goals are conscious, they remain implicit, expressed only as the teacher provides the structure, the materials, the guidance for outcomes as needed.

Children's play life is perceived as the major vehicle for interactions of child to materials, child to child, and child to adult. One may perceive it as a prime force in the child's development and learning. Play is seen in such a context as a child's major tool for experimenting with and resolving the confusions of the multi-various stimuli of early childhood. One may also view it as the teacher's entree to clues of a child's developmental status by which to determine what is appropriate input for that child's next steps in growth.

Erik Erikson, a noted psychologist of the psychoanalytic school, offers this definition of play, perhaps enlarging and deepening its purpose and meaning: "The child's play is the infantile form of the human ability to deal with experience by creating model situations and to master reality by experimenting and planning."[6]

Even a cursory examination of such a statement asks one to see more than the child's random pleasure in the house play or the adventurous airplane crash. Such play is seen as the dramatization of experience—building Erikson's "model situation"—and offering the child a position from which to recreate what is often a body of confused experience, and giving the adult (teacher) the opportunity to clarify reality, thus enriching the child's repertoire of information and furthering a fuller body of content for extended play life and dramatization.

In addition to a setting designed for the fullest exploration and refining of sensory skills, provisions of materials for the widest expression of cognitive and imaginative growth, the progressive nursery school commits itself to bringing the child into meaningful contact with his world.

The immediate environment is used consciously to acquaint

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[6] Erik Erikson, *Childhood and Society* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1950) p. 195.

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the child, even as young as three, with some of the processes of his community. A walk to the corner store to purchase crackers for mid-morning snack may, for the three-year-old, simply be a walk, a package to carry, something to bring to one's group. For the five-year-old, such an errand, with an alert teacher, becomes a lesson in "community study."

Trips are almost a hallmark of such a nursery school program. They are seen as a source for primary experience from which content related to a here-and-now child's world can be drawn. More important, relationships and interdependencies between aspects of that world are opened for child-like examination and discussion.

Harriet Johnson expresses such purposes in this statement:

> . . . The nursery world must have its contacts with the life outside . . . to help the child find his place there, or it fails of its purpose.
>
> His introduction to this world should be so made that he will hold his thread of a familiar experience as he goes out to find a new one. A fact has no value in and of itself; the significance of one experience or fact lies in its relationship to others.[7]

The goal is to provide experience and content so that the child may become a knowing person in a knowable world.

Inevitably the question is asked: What about discipline in a progressive early childhood program? One needs to examine the developmental school of psychology to find a sound basis for the precepts upon which discipline is based. All too briefly, one may say that young children's behavior is a vastly complex expression of conscious needs and subconscious wishes. Awareness on the part of the adult calls for overt responses to the child's needs as well as understanding of the child's expanding wish for independence from the adult.

How does this translate to the classroom and the adult's role? Early progressive idealists believed that in a completely free atmosphere children would internalize acceptable social behavior with the least possible adult intervention or control. The more psychologically sophisticated leaders of the progressive movement saw discipline as part of a total growth process. For them the child's need for security as well as freedom called for active adult participation in the peer interactions of young children. Here the adult always plays a supporting role even though this may at times mean restraint of the child's unsocial behavior. At times there is articulation of social expectation without recourse to moralizing. Simply, "it works better for all of us" when we observe some modes of dealing with each other.

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[7] Harriet Johnson *School Begins at Two* (New York Agathon Press. 1970). Originally published by The New Republic. 1934.

However, discipline viewed simply as a modus vivendi for the social good is a narrow interpretation indeed. There is the discipline of the child's growing competence with things and ideas. Here there enters the concept of the child's autonomy, to be valued and respected no matter how egocentric it may appear to the adult. Refining and organizing the realms of the child's free expression of his experience is in effect the totality of teaching and learning.

An Illustration of a Progressive School

One school of many which could serve as an example of enactment of the progressive-experimental point of view in early childhood education is the Lower School of the New Lincoln School in New York City. An independent school, it depends for support almost entirely on the parent body and *a priori* serves an economically middle to upper class community. Probably more than in most independent schools, this parent body represents upper echelons of professional life with a concomitant socially progressive outlook. The school is located in two converted townhouses, offering good outdoor play space (for city children) in their own back yards. Located within a short walk of Central Park, there is ample provision for larger play space.

The age range of children in the Lower School is from two years through seven, at which time the children move on to the middle and secondary divisions of the New Lincoln School. Combining the primary and nursery programs is in part a practical space adaptation, but also bespeaks a point of view about developmental needs of children entering upon the task of symbolic mastery. The six-year-old group, for example, occupies two fairly large rooms. On a recent visit, one found the group engrossed in a reading lesson in one room where there were books, charts, and the many materials associated with academic work. In the second room the floor was almost completely covered with block buildings which, when examined closely, were seen to be reproductions of structures in the city which the children had visited and discussed. Here was a play scheme built out of a primary experience, offering the children a play-like entry to a social studies curriculum.

As is to be expected, classes are small, ranging from ten two-year-olds to sixteen four-year-olds. Each class is in the charge of a head teacher specially trained in early childhood, working with an assistant and usually responsible for the field placement of a student from one of the colleges in the city. In addition, specialists in art, music and a librarian are on the faculty which is headed by an experienced early childhood specialist. A school psychologist is always available.

The toddler program is an innovation, in operation only this past year. However, one can see how even for these very young children, the principles and goals of the school are functional. There is time and space organization. A period for outdoor play is followed by rest, a story, snack, and indoor activity. Individual possessions are assigned given spaces with each child's photograph pasted at eye level below the child's name in large letters. Many lessons can be drawn from this seemingly practical arrangement. Namely, the little child lives in a group, but his individuality is clearly denoted. The photograph identifies his space but the name in symbolic form tells that there is another identification possible, subtly introducing a world of literate symbols. Story reading is a group activity taking place as the children rest on their mats, but each child is encouraged to participate, to verbalize, as much and as often as possible in response to picture or story content.

For the three-and four-year-olds, grouping is essentially by chronological age although there is no absolute adherence to this in principle, and deviations are often made in respect to individual needs.

As the children move from the toddlers' group to threes and fours, the teaching staff provides more and more complex materials, play experiences requiring more group effort, content from which to draw relationships as well as factual knowledge. The teacher's input becomes more direct as the children's vocabulary and comprehension increase. The children's response is more articulate and exhaustive, thus giving clearer clues to their levels of maturity and readiness for further development of the learning process. The teaching-learning equation is in a state of constant flux, the curriculum non-static although expressive of the overall goals of this program.

What about reading and other academic skills? This question is so often posed it can hardly be avoided here. A formal reading program is not begun until the children are six. However, throughout the prekindergarten years, the world of symbols plays a role, consciously developed by the teachers although usually presented as an aspect of functional purpose. Counting becomes a necessary tool for sharing; selecting blocks for building sharpens a child's awareness of the relationship of sizes; playing with pretend money is a rehearsal for reality. Similarly, to find one's own things, names need to be read; to give the teacher the desired story to be heard requires recognition of cues; signs on block buildings to indicate the use for which a building is meant must be read or guessed at. So, quite naturally, the children gain an understanding of symbol systems and a small degree of skill in deciphering them.

Another question almost invariably asked in discussing a progressive approach to education has to do with behavior—permissiveness versus control. The director of this school is quite explicit in her response. There is reliance on the child's internalization of the structured life presented by the program; time sectors to be met, space for the group's and the individual's occupations, an orderly presentation of materials and an expectation of care and respect for these by the children. The children are offered almost complete autonomy in their peer and play life but the adults retain the authority to intervene when needed in order that a relatively smooth enactment of program is maintained. It is also the adult's charge to study the child with deviant behavior patterns and turn for advice when teacher training and expertise are not sufficient to meet the needs of such a child.

Summary

One may state the goals of the early childhood progressive education movement in this brief summary:

- to reach out from family figures in order to meet and use an expanded world of people;
- to explore relationships and interdependencies in the here-and-now world;
- to share things and experiences in order to receive peer gratification;
- to move from simple body pleasures toward engagement with materials in order to experience competent manipulation and mastery;
- to rechannel impulsive behavior while keeping alive spontaneity and vitality;
- to develop acceptable social behavior without cut-off of all expression of negative feelings;
- to become a knowing person in a knowable world.

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THE DEVELOPMENTAL-INTERACTION APPROACH

Harriet K. Cuffaro[1]

Theoretical Background

Historically, the developmental-interaction approach is part of the social and intellectual atmosphere of the progressive movement which is described in the preceding section. The developmental-interaction approach [illegible] with the theories and practices of educators such as John Dewey, Susan Isaacs, Caroline Pratt, Harriet Johnson, and Lucy Sprague Mitchell. With time, other significant influences were added to enlarge and deepen the view of the child and the aims of education. An eclectic choice evolved. Interwoven with educational philosophy were the dynamic psychology of Freud and his followers, especially those who have been concerned with ego processes, such as Anna Freud, Erikson, Hartmann and the developmental psychology of those who have contributed to cognitive developmental theory, such as Werner and Piaget.

From these varied and rich sources has grown the developmental-interaction approach. Although the view of learning and of the child reflected in this approach, and the underlying values on which it is based, are shared by a number of other educators, the developmental-interaction approach is identified with the Bank Street College of Education.[2] It is within this institution's history of demonstration schools, teacher training programs, and field services that the theory and practices of the approach were generated and refined.

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[1] Graduate Programs Faculty. Bank Street College of Education.

[2] Bank Street College of Education is located in New York City and operates a demonstration-laboratory school for children of ages three through thirteen Current enrollment is 425 children

Defining the "label" to this approach makes explicit two basic underlying premises.[3]

- *Developmental* refers to the fact that growth and development involve not only an increase in physical size and sheer amount of knowledge, but also involve qualitatively different and increasingly complex ways of organizing and responding to experience.
- *Interaction* refers to the child's interaction with the environment—the social and physical world in which the child functions—and also to the interaction between emotional and cognitive growth.

> It is a basic tenet of the developmental-interaction approach that the growth of cognitive functions—acquiring and ordering information, judging, reasoning, problem solving, using systems of symbols—cannot be separated from the growth of personal and interpersonal processes—the development of self esteem and a sense of identity, internalization of impulse control, capacity for autonomous response, relatedness to other people.[4]

The interdependence of these developmental processes is a basic imperative of the developmental-interaction approach.

The child is seen as characterized by qualitative shifts in ability and perspective, involved in a growth process in which there is conflict, plateaus and unevenness, and that these are seen not as negatives but rather as intrinsic elements which may induce and support further growth. Further, development is not something that happens to a child but is the result of the child's interactions in the social and physical world—i.e., the child's doing, making, questioning, testing, trying, formulating, experiencing. In this active, participatory and transactional interplay the child defines self and world—as the world also defines the child.

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[3] Presentation of the basic theoretical framework and the educational practices of the developmental-interaction approach appears in three publications. B Biber, E. Shapiro, D. Wickens, in collaboration with E. Gilkeson, *Promoting Cognitive Growth from a Developmental-Interaction Point of View* (Washington, D C. National Association for the Education of Young Children, 1971), E Shapiro and B Biber, "The Education of Young Children A Developmental-Interaction Approach," *Teachers College Record*, Vol. 74, No. 1 (September, 1972), and B. Biber, "The Developmental Interaction Point of View, Bank Street College of Education," in M. C Day and R K Parker (eds), *The Preschool in Action* 2nd edition (Boston Allyn and Bacon, 1976) Other references will be found in the bibliography

[4] E Shapiro and B Biber, "The Education of Young Children A Developmental-Interaction Approach," *op cit* p 61

In this view of the child, attention is given to the development of competence, individuality, socialization and integration.

- *Competence* is viewed as more than a skill or skills, as more than performance. It is conceived as *how* the individual uses skills, knowledge and propensities effectively in interaction with the challenges, the people, and the work of the environment. It involves resourcefulness and resilience.

- *Individuality* places emphasis on autonomous functioning—the ability to make choices, develop preferences, take initiative, risk failure, accept help without sacrificing independence. It is the active declaration of self. It is also to see oneself as a unique, thinking, feeling, caring person involved with others and able to participate in social processes while maintaining one's own integrity.

- *Socialization* may be seen on two levels. In the early years of development it requires control and rechanneling of drives and impulses, and adaptation of behavior and internalization. It is the responsibility of the adults involved with children to guide this process in ways that will not violate the aforementioned goals of individuality and competence. Socialization on another level refers to the capacity to engage in relations with others which are characterized by caring, fairness, mutuality and cooperation. Further, it implies sensitivity towards and awareness of the uniqueness of others and their varying points of view. Inherent in this process is the concept of responsibility—at the beginning it is the gradual acceptance of responsibility for internalization of control and later it is the responsibility towards others and to chosen ideals.

- *Integration* is conceived of as a process of synthesis of seemingly disparate elements of experience. It is bringing together rather than compartmentalizing. It is the joining of thought and feeling, the subjective and objective. It implies an openness of functioning which may support dualities—the rational and the intuitive, reality and fantasy, reflection and

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action. In essence, it suggests maintaining awareness of the continuity of self.

An Illustration of the Developmental-Interaction Approach: A Community of Learners

The "preschool" program at the laboratory-demonstration school of Bank Street College is for children of ages three through five. There is a half-day program for three-year-olds; beginning at age four there is a full-day program. Children are in inter-aged groupings. There are certain materials which are found in each preschool class of the school: blocks, clay, paint, paper, wood, crayons, books, puzzles and manipulative equipment. There are also common activities: cooking, dramatic play, taking trips, outdoor time, music, group discussions, water play. Variety is fostered within the commonality of materials and activities. The manner in which individual teachers allocate space, organize time and activities makes this evident. A preschool day finds the children actively involved in using many of the materials mentioned above: sawing, building, painting, chatting, cooking, planning and doing. The feeling which permeates is that of a community of learners: children learning from the environment, children learning from each other, children learning from teachers, and teachers learning from children.

In the developmental-interaction approach observed at the Bank Street School for Children, the teacher is a central and important figure; it is this person who creates both the physical and social environments, the opportunities for experiences and learning. While the teacher is central in this description of classroom life, the important role played by the administrators of schools and school systems is not ignored Just as teachers create an atmosphere for children that will support or constrain, the same qualitative interplay occurs between teachers and administrators. It is the teacher, aware of the developmental principles, goals and values of this approach who translates these formulations into the practice of a functioning classroom with real children. This requires of a teacher not only a base of child development understanding, but also a fundamental understanding of the potential of each material and the opportunities for learning that each may offer.

This means that upon hearing a statement such as, "The ability to recognize similarities and differences is a necessary skill for a beginning reader," the teacher knows what kinds of materials to provide for such skill learning. For example, the teacher will construct games that require children to think about and name—or to sort pictures of—air vehicles and land vehicles; foods that are made (bread, pasta) and foods that are grown (vegetables, fruit). The teacher also knows that such skill development will be encouraged and supported by work in the outdoor area and in block building, collage and painting.

The teacher has the ability to assess materials and to match them to the development of children. Therefore, materials are chosen for the children's direct learning and also for purposes of expressing and recreating what has been learned. The teacher provides unstructured materials such as blocks, paints, clay and wood so that children have the freedom to make their own impact, the opportunity to create their own synthesis. The teacher also provides structured materials, such as puzzles, pegs, pegboards and lotto games, which encourage differentiation, comparison, evaluation, ordering. Each material has a place and is accessible to the child with minimal effort, so arranged that initiative and independence are promoted. In the room there is order and a functioning which is apparent and sensible to the child—but none so fixed that individual or group needs would become secondary to the arrangements. The environment is responsive and adaptable to the development of the child and of the group so that areas may be expanded or limited as the need arises.

The preschool curriculum of the developmental-interaction approach reflects the themes of great concern to children—the "how," "what," and "why" explorations of the physical and social worlds and the question of origins.[5] For example, through block building and dramatic play children discover the inherent order underlying traffic patterns; children in discussion compare the variety in growth of their individual apple, orange and lemon seeds.

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[5] In the elementary grades of the Bank Street School for Children themes of concern and areas of knowledge are brought together in social studies which frequently constitute the core of the curriculum

Questions and answers are referred back to one's own experience, connecting the objective with the inner self, and finding one's place in the order of living. For example, in responding to questions growing out of a trip to a fire station, the teacher will help children to make connections by focusing on the details of reality while also acknowledging the feelings of uncertainty which may be aroused.

Here we must give emphasis to the word *experience* and see it not only as referring to direct involvement and sensorial participation but also as the opportunity to live what is being learned; it implies assimilation of knowledge through every means available to the child including the making of connections between self and information. From John Dewey's statement of the relation between experience and education we may select two criteria—*continuity* and *interaction*—as they are relevant to the developmental principles and educational goals described.

First,

> . . . the continuity of experience means that every experience both takes up something from those which have gone on before and modifies in some way the quality of those which come after. [Thus] every experience is a moving force. Its value can be judged only on the grounds of what it moves toward and into.[6]

Further, in experience there is also interaction and by this is meant the interplay between the objective and internal conditions of the situation. "An experience is always what it is because of a transaction taking place between an individual and what, at that time, constitutes his environment."[7]

With these criteria in mind, the teacher must consider the *quality* of the experiences children are having: their relevance to continued growth; the catalytic impact they may have; the opportunities created in which this interplay and transaction will occur. These criteria are used by the teacher to assist in assessing the learning-teaching environment.

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[6] John Dewey, *Experience and Education* (London: Collier Macmillan, 1969) Quotes taken from Chapter 3 "Criteria of Experience," pp. 35-38

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 43

The teacher also creates the atmosphere which determines the nature of the interaction between and among people, and between people and things. It is here that children discover their worth, their individuality, the meaning of social living. The primary task of the teacher is to establish mutuality of trust. For the young child this means: here is a person who will understand and share both my fears and joys, my accomplishments and my budding competence; who sees error not as failure but as a step in a process; and who has the authority of knowing and the openness of learning. The teacher is a person who understands both that which is explicitly stated and that which is implied through cues.

The teacher's concern with the social interactions and atmosphere of the classroom also includes the entire team of adults who are considered essential to meeting the needs of the whole child—assistant teachers, parents, social and health service personnel and administrators. Integral to this working community are those who provide the daily, essential services such as cooks, kitchen and maintenance staffs. The cooperation, trust, and mutual respect which are created and maintained among adults serve as a model of community behavior and expectations for the children. It is the teacher who is basically accountable for establishing the nature of both the social relationships and the atmosphere in the classroom.

The authority of the teacher in the developmental-interaction approach is dependent on group goals and relationships, and on the sense of community which has been established. As Dewey said,

> The primary source of social control resides in the nature of the work done as a social enterprise in which all individuals have an opportunity to contribute and to which all feel a responsibility . . . It requires thought and planning ahead. The educator is responsible for a knowledge of individuals and for a knowledge of subject matter that will enable activities to be selected which lend themselves to social organization in which all individuals have an opportunity to contribute something, and in which the activities in which all participate are the chief carriers of control.[8]

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[8] Dewey *op cit* p [illegible]

We may see the synthesis of all that has been talked about—developmental principles, educational goals—when we observe children's play. It is here while children work—for there is no separation of work and play—that one may see the interaction and integration among principles and the fusion with goals and values. In the developmental-interaction view, play is seen as one of the most profound means available to children for constructing and reconstructing, formulating and reformulating knowledge. It is a means for synthesis and integration in that it brings together the objective and the subjective, the child's concept of reality with the inner world of feelings and fantasies. Information gathered in fragmented fashion is put together in play in order to find connections and relationships while seeking clarification and personal meaning. In the symbolic reconstruction of reality, children create their unique synthesis and in the doing exercise the autonomy, independence, problem-solving, initiative, judgment and resourcefulness so prized in this approach. In play children refine their knowledge and give it form through the differentiation and integration of the details and parameters of reality.

The style of play—its characteristics of flexibility, self-direction, and activity—and its transactional, integrative nature create a model for learning which guides the quality of classroom life and extends beyond moments of playing. It is a style which honors experimentation, exploration, discovery and synthesis and sees the child as a necessary participant and contributor to the learning situation.

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THE BEHAVIORAL APPROACH

Leslie R. Williams, Ed.D.[1]

Historical Perspective

Like most of the conceptions of human growth and development in current use, the behavioral view of man as a learner has its roots in early philosophical inquiry. Aristotle (384-322 B.C.) believed that knowledge came to man through his five senses and that the power to reason relied in part on these collected "sensations" (sense impressions). The legitimate objects of study, then, were phenomena which could be directly observed.

After a lapse of nearly two thousand years, this notion was vigorously revived in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries by a group of philosophers known as the English empiricists (Locke, Hume and others). The English empiricists opposed the idea then popular that "ideas" and the power to reason resulted from certain capacities inborn in human beings. In his famous *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (1690), Locke argued that, to the contrary, man is born with a mind like an empty slate, which is "writ upon" by the force of direct, sensorial experience and reflective consciousness. Thought came about by the association of ideas with one another—ideas which were originally derived from sense impressions.

The belief that thought results from the association of ideas had special force, as it reflected the spirit of scientific (empirically-based, objectively-oriented) inquiry which had been gathering strength through the work of Newton, Harvey and much later, Darwin. That which can be known, claimed the new scientists, is an objective reality which exists independent of man's thought about it. Man can learn about objective reality through careful observation (by means of the five senses) and by associating with one another, pieces of information gained through observation.

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At the beginning of the twentieth century, J. B. Watson refined the concept of learning by association to eliminate any reliance upon subjective constructs such as "ideas," "consciousness," or "reflection." In his review of the elements of stimulus-response theories, Baldwin (1968) marks this refinement as the true beginning of the behaviorist movement in psychology. Followers of Watson (e.g., Hull, Miller and Skinner) stressed two important principles: 1) all behavior is learned by processes of association, and 2) that which can be known about any organism is that which can be observed, i.e., overt behavior. The second principle gave the movement its name.

During the 1930's, 1940's and 1950's, B.F. Skinner and others popularized the "science of behavior" by a dramatic series of experiments which illustrated how animals could be conditioned to perform on cue any behavior that fell within the animals' normal behavioral range. While the stimulus-response strategies developed during this period were useful in explaining certain types of behavior exhibited by human beings (e.g., feeling hungry at particular times of day), other more complex behaviors (e.g., the tendency to imitate a person loved, respected, or admired) appeared to require more sophisticated approaches than those offered by Skinnerian investigations.

The late 1940's, 1950's and the 1960's saw a response to that need in the growth of social-learning theory, an offshoot of the original learning theory investigations, which applied the principle of associative learning to the realm of interpersonal behaviors such as modeling, imitation, and peer teaching. The behaviorally-oriented early childhood programs developed over the past fifteen years are based on a combination of elements from both traditional ("stimulus-response") learning theory and social-learning theory.

Distinctive Characteristics

The principal tenet of the behavioral approach is that all behavior is learned. If all behavior is learned, then it follows that

1) particular behaviors can be unlearned, and 2) existing behaviors can be changed or modified.

The branch of psychology in which Skinner became a leading figure is known formally as the Experimental Analysis of Behavior—a name which describes well its major features. Within this discipline the overt, observable behavior of animals and human beings is examined under controlled circumstances to determine how particular learnings occur and what conditions are likely to foster (or inhibit) learnings as they are expressed in behaviors. From the many studies done on human learning behavior to date, researchers have drawn conclusions having profound implications for the teaching learning process. Among those conclusions are the following:

- Behavior is learned by association of one event with another.

- The associated event usually takes the form of consequences for the person that performs it. Some of these consequences are seen as positive by the person, and some are seen as negative.

- A behavior is likely to occur frequently when it is consistently followed by a positive consequence. The behavior is *reinforced* by the positive consequence with which it becomes associated.

- A behavior can be reduced in the number of times it occurs if it is consistently followed by a negative consequence. The behavior is *inhibited* by the negative consequence.

- A behavior can disappear altogether if no discernible consequences follow it. The behavior is then perceived as pointless by the person and will be *extinguished*.

- A behavior can be changed from an undesired to a desired one by a process known as *behavior shaping*. In shaping, a behavior which is close to the desired behavior is positively reinforced by giving the individual something he or she wishes to have. Each time the person comes closer to the desired behavior, he or she is positively reinforced again until (by successive approximation) the person is actually performing the desired behavior.

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A specific example may make the operation of these principles easier to envision. If a small child generally shouts comments to her teacher, and if the teacher would prefer that the child speak in a normal tone of voice, the teacher could shape the child's behavior in the following way. Shouting is the behavior that the teacher wishes to extinguish; speaking in a conversational tone is the behavior the teacher wishes to strengthen or reinforce. First, the teacher must determine what reinforcer the child finds most rewarding (e.g., a smile, praise, or something more tangible). As soon as that is discovered, the teacher is ready to start the shaping process. From now on, each time the child shouts a remark, the teacher totally ignores her, thus providing neither positive nor negative consequences for the behavior. The first time that the child lowers her voice even a little, the teacher reinforces her positively. The teacher continues to reinforce the child each time she lowers her voice a little more, until finally the child is reinforced *only* for speaking in a conversational tone.

Numerous studies of behaviors of this sort have shown that when a schedule of reinforcement is consistently adhered to, the undesired behavior is in fact extinguished and the desired behavior produced. One should note, however, that two factors are important to the success of this procedure: 1) timing, and 2) consistency of approach. The positive consequences of the behavior (positive reinforcement) must follow *immediately* after the desired behavior if it is to have the effect of strengthening the behavior. A delay can break down the association of the two events in the child's mind and thus make the procedure useless. Consistency in approach is important so that particular consequences can be viewed as predictable. If the child is sometimes ignored for shouting and sometimes told to stop it, she may continue shouting because of the occasional attention it brings.

Early childhood programs that are behavioral in orientation invariably include systematic use of positive reinforcement, although the form the reinforcement takes may vary considerably. Since particular, desired behaviors are to be reinforced, they must be clearly identified at the outset of the program. The behaviors (learnings) the children are expected to exhibit at the end of the year are carefully analyzed into a hierarchy of skills and subskills, and each of these skills is expressed as a behavioral objective.

Behavioral Objectives

Behavioral objectives (sometimes called performance objectives) state clearly what the child is expected to be able to do in a given sphere of action (e.g., The child will be able to identify by name six basic colors). Depending on the degree of specificity required by the program, behavioral objectives may also describe 1) the conditions under which the behavior is expected to occur, and 2) the minimum level of performance considered acceptable (e.g., *Given a chart of eight basic colors,* the child will be able to identify *at least six* of the colors by name).

Behaviorally-oriented early childhood programs usually have available to teachers a compilation of objectives which are considered suitable end points for the children at the conclusion of the year. When children enter the program, their "entry behaviors" are assessed for each of the areas considered relevant to their development. Successive objectives are then set for the children, and learning activities are derived from the objectives to enable each child eventually to reach the behavior that is sought. Like the objectives, these learning activities are carefully sequenced. Because of the tracking of the children's progress required under the system, highly structured and/or programmed learning materials are frequently used.

Another distinctive feature of behaviorally-oriented early childhood programs is tied to the effect of reinforcement on behavior as it has been viewed by social-learning theorists. Social-learning studies have pointed to the importance of modeling and peer influence as reinforcers of a more subtle type than had been previously recognized. Teachers taking a behavioral approach often consciously model the behavior they wish the children to display and reinforce children who are showing a desired behavior in the expectation that other children will imitate the peer who is receiving positive attention.

Principal Proponents of the Approach

The best known of the behaviorally-oriented early childhood programs are the Behavior Analysis Model originated at the University of Kansas by Don Bushell, Jr.; the Engelmann-Becker Model (originally called the Bereiter-Engelmann Model)

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presently under the supervision of Siegfried Engelmann and Wesley Becker at the University of Oregon; and the DARCEE Model, which grew from the Early Training Project under Susan Gray's direction at George Peabody College in Nashville, Tennessee. (For a listing of additional programs, see Evans (1975).)

All three of these programs were originally designed for preschool children (ages three to five) and were implemented as part of the Planned Variations research and demonstration plan for Project Head Start. Over the past six years Bushell's program and the Engelmann-Becker program have been extended into the primary grades as part of the Follow Through and Developmental Continuities efforts. DARCEE (the Demonstration and Research Center for Early Education) no longer supports a demonstration classroom, but its influence has been so far-reaching through its early teacher training programs that it should be recognized as an application of selected aspects of the behavioral approach. DARCEE does remain an option for interested parents and preschool staff, however, through its published materials (available through CEMREL Institute, St. Louis, Missouri).[2]

View of the Child

Behaviorists view children in the same manner as they view adults—as beings whose actions are shaped by whatever environment immediately surrounds them. Children are not seen as having special capacities or processes of thought different from adults. Rather, it is understood that development from childhood to adulthood is a cumulative experience, with gradually increasing complexity of associations. The course of development is discernible through logical analysis of adult thought—that is, through the breaking down of the complex into its simple elements.

In terms of learning, variation is found among individuals in two spheres—the rate at which one learns and the connection of particular environments with particular learnings. Obviously a child raised in New York City will not have the same set of learnings as a child raised on a farm in Kansas. Even two children raised in the same neighborhood will not have the same learnings because of the differences in the familial and or cultural environments.

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[2] The acronym CEMREL originally stood for Central Midwestern Regional Educational Laboratory CEMREL was one of the large research and demonstration centers for early education federally funded during the 1960's Now it is a private corporation

A commonality of all children is seen, however, in the fact that new behaviors can be learned and old behaviors can be modified or extinguished. The child is, in fact, seen as a learner who is both ultimately predictable (following the broad laws of learning theory) and ultimately knowable (as the finer laws of learning are discovered). A behaviorist can never use the excuse that "there is more to the child than meets the eye," but he/she does recognize that all the intricacies of human learning have not yet been unraveled.

Role of the Teacher

Since the child is shaped by his/her environment, one of the primary roles of the teacher is to create a setting which is conducive to the acquisition of desired learnings. This means that the teacher must be absolutely certain of the goals for learning and must be a fine observer of behavior both to interpret what the child already knows and to determine an appropriate next step in the learning sequence. The teacher must also carefully and consistently reinforce desired learnings as they occur and ignore any behaviors that are counter-productive to efficient learning (Spodek, 1973).

The teacher must recognize that he/she is also part of the child's environment as a model and must be conscious of the impact of his/her actions on the child at all times. It is through this person-to person interaction (and the interaction among peers) that socialization occurs in what at first glance might seem like a mechanistic process. Persons unfamiliar with behavioral programs should not make the assumption that the teacher's role is a detached and impersonal one. On the con[illegible]y, the intensive tracking of pupil progress and the involve[illegible]t required for genuine individualization often result in both strong emotional ties of teachers with their children and a sense of investment in the children's progress, which undoubtedly lend validity (from the children's point of view) to the reinforcements the teachers administer.

Finally, the teacher is seen as a dispenser of knowledge and a direct developer of skills. Instruction is prescribed and under the teacher's control. It is the teacher's responsibility to see that each child achieves the stipulated learnings.

Expected Outcomes

The primary concern of behaviorally-oriented early childhood programs is to enable children to cope with the formal schooling process. Children are, therefore, taught the foundations for academic subjects (usually reading, mathematics and language), with heavy emphasis on the development of the symbolic systems which are the common medium of exchange in schools.

Some of the behaviorally-oriented programs stress language as the cornerstone for all other activity. There is a controversy among learning psychologists and among educators allied with particular learning theories as to the connection between language and thought. The argument centers around the question of whether language development *follows* and depends on the appearance of certain cognitive faculties, or whether logical thinking skills can be fostered by deliberate language teaching (Evans, 1975). A number of behaviorists (among them Carl Bereiter and Siegfried Engelmann) incline toward the view that conscious development of language will facilitate and expand the processes of thought. Bereiter and Engelmann's approach to intellectual development is another example of the behaviorists' position that outward behavior (in this case, use of language) is a strong determinant of inward, cognitive learnings.

Certain of the programs recognize that orientation to academic tasks is not necessarily sufficient preparation for the school experience.[3] These programs include in their curricula the development of the social skills which have been found to be correlated with academic success, such as the ability to trust peers and adults, willingness to accept direction from others as the occasion demands, and belief in self as an individual who can succeed.

With or without the addition of social skills, the general expectation of the behavioral programs is that they will produce children who are competent in formal learning situations.

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[3] Examples are DARCEE and The Discovery Program (see Parker, 1972)

Some Illustrations of the Behavioral Approach

Historical Development

During the early 1960's, when the nation was becoming conscious of the effects of poverty on the child as a learner, groups of psychologists and educators were funded to develop programs which would counteract environmental deprivation in young children. The researchers established demonstration centers where they planned, implemented, and evaluated a variety of approaches to accelerating intellectual, psychomotor, and social growth in the children of "disadvantaged" populations.[4]

The initial results of the experimental programs were promising. Children from lower socio-economic backgrounds did indeed make significant gains on the existing instruments for measuring growth of intelligence (standarized I.Q. tests).[5] Partly because of the "success" of the experimental programs and partly in response to a growing belief in the malleability of the young child as a road to social reform, Project Head Start was conceived during late 1964 and first implemented during the summer of 1965. (See the section on Head Start for further details).

Originally some of the planners of Project Head Start had intended that Head Start's educational program be derived from the experimental programs which had demonstrated dramatic changes in the children's level of performance. This plan was not carried out, however, as some educators took exception to the behavioral orientation of the demonstration projects and lobbied instead for use of the traditional nursery school approach, which was based on maturational-nativist and or psychoanalytic theory. The advocates of reduced structure won their point, and the original Head Start adopted nursery school strategies and content.[6]

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[4] Three of the better known of the early demonstration projects were those established by Deutsch in New York City (Research and Demonstration Project. Institute for Developmental Studies). Gray in Nashville Tennessee (The Early Training Project), and Weikart in Ypsilanti Michigan (The Perry Preschool Project)

[5] See R. Klaus. S Gray J Miller and B J Forrester. *Before First Grade* (New York Teachers College Press. 1966). J Edwards and C Stern. "A Comparison of Three Intervention Programs with Disadvantaged Preschool Children." *Journal of Special Education* Vol 4 (1970). pp 205-214. and D Weikart. in J Stanley. ed . *Preschool Programs for the Disadvantaged* (Baltimore The Johns Hopkins Press. 1972). pp 22 66

In spite of this choice the experimental programs were not abandoned, as it was recognized that Head Start should ultimately offer options in educational programming. Instead, demonstration and research centers were funded throughout the country to continue or to begin to develop early childhood program models which were geared to what were perceived to be the special needs of the disadvantaged child. The new program models were known as the Planned Variations for Head Start.

Some of the Planned Variations were influenced by Piagetian research or by the British open education movement. A number of them, however, were derived from behavioristic psychological theory, which suggested specific strategies for preparing children for the tasks they would encounter in school (see the preceding explanation of the behavioral approach to learning).

General Characteristics

This section will discuss the general characteristics and uses of the behaviorally-oriented early childhood programs created as Planned Variations, with special attention to the Behavior Analysis Model developed by Don Bushell, Jr. at the University of Kansas, the Engelmann-Becker Model presently under the supervision of Siegfried Engelmann and Wesley Becker at the University of Oregon, and the DARCEE Program originally sponsored by Susan Gray at George Peabody College in Nashville, Tennessee, and now available in published form through the CEMREL Institute in St. Louis, Missouri.

Most behaviorally-oriented early childhood programs are center- or classroom-based.[7] Some of the programs have developed accompanying home-based components, but the home-based work is generally seen as supportive of the classroom work rather than a complete educational system in itself.

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[6] For a general description of the origins of Project Head Start see E Evans *Contemporary Influences in Early Childhood Education* (New York Holt Rinehart and Winston, 1975) Chapter 1 Knowledge of the conflict comes to this writer through acquaintance with members of the original research and demonstration staff at DARCEE (The Demonstration and Research Center for Early Education at George Peabody College, Nashville, Tennessee)

[7] Examples of behaviorally oriented home based (or predominantly home-based) programs are the Home Visitor Program (an offshoot of DARCEE) and the Appalachia Preschool Program based in Charleston West Virginia

The children in the programs may range in age from four to five years. Most frequently they are children preparing for entry into the first grade. There are twenty to thirty children in each classroom, and they tend to be grouped by ability. In the Engelmann-Becker program, however, children are arbitrarily divided into subject groups. The Behavior Analysis Model offers programmed instruction in which each child progresses at his own rate, so that grouping is again only by subject being taught. In all programs the recommended adult-child ratio is one to five. In actual fact, it may be as much as one to seven, but it will almost never be higher than that.

The children in behaviorally-oriented early childhood programs often come from homes with lower socio-economic status or have been identified as having special learning needs (because of perceptual handicaps, neurological impairment, etc.).

Goals and Objectives

In all behavioral programs, goals and objectives are stated in terms of the learner's expected performance. The particular areas of development covered under the learning goals vary from program to program. The Behavioral Analysis Model emphasizes the development of social and classroom skills with work in prereading, mathematics, and handwriting. The Engelmann-Becker program stresses objectives for language development, mathematics, and prereading (no emphasis on social skills). DARCEE has developed objectives under four general categories: Sensory Skills, Abstracting and Mediating Skills, and Response Skills (all three being "aptitudes"), and Attitudes.

The Behavior Analysis Model and DARCEE operate diagnostically, moving from a general compilation of desired terminal objectives to assess the children's present skills, and then setting objectives to enable the children to reach the specified end points. In these programs, interim objectives are continually being reformulated as the children progress. In the Engelmann-Becker Model all objectives are predetermined in the instructional materials used.

Teaching Strategies

The programs rely heavily on the principles described through the branch of psychology known as the Experimental Analysis of Behavior. The teaching strategies used are derived directly from those principles and consequently stress teacher-directed activities.

All behaviorally-oriented early childhood programs use some form of positive reinforcement to develop motivation in the children. The Behavior Analysis and Engelmann-Becker programs make a clear distinction between work and play periods and tend to emphasize reinforcement during the work period. In the Behavior Analysis classroom, children receive tokens each time they give a correct response. During "back-up" periods, they can exchange the tokens for a play activity. Children in an Engelmann-Becker classroom may receive stars (or other "markers") or, more frequently, verbal praise as encouragement for correct responses. A DARCEE child is given whatever has proven to be an effective reinforcer for him her—a smile, a hug, applause, or verbal praise each time he she makes an effort to achieve.

The specific instructional materials used differ from program to program, but have several characteristics in common: they are derived from particular behavioral objectives, they have a high degree of internal structure, and they are presented in a sequenced fashion. The Behavior Analysis Model uses programmed materials such as the Sullivan Programmed Reading Series and the SRA Reading Laboratory. The Engelmann-Becker program has developed and published its own instructional materials (DISTAR). DARCEE encouraged teachers to create their own materials (using articles from the children's environment) which were tailored to the objectives to be achieved. The DARCEE program also published (through CEMREL) a series of unit manuals with suggested objectives and activities (Chow and Elmore, 1973).

Program Implementation

Classroom space in behavioral programs generally defines very clear work areas. The children may sit at child-sized tables while the teacher circulates freely around them to give reinforcement. In the Engelmann-Becker program the children sit in chairs facing the teacher, who is also seated. In some programs, one end of the classroom is reserved for play materials which are used during specific portions of the day. The work tables generally contain only the materials being presented to the children, to help everyone stay on-task. There is no particular arrangement given to outdoor play areas.

Daily schedules usually include three work periods of approximately twenty minutes each which are alternated with some form of recreation. Most programs consciously try to balance quiet periods with activity, and periods requiring one type of skill with periods requiring a different one. The programs may vary in length from half-day to full-day. All of them allow time for a nutritious snack, and learning activities may be conducted using the snack as the material. Full-day programs include lunch.

Commonly in behaviorally-oriented programs there are four staff members in each classroom: a lead teacher, an assistant teacher, and two aides. The lead teacher organizes the activities and usually is responsible for the reading or language groups. The assistant teacher often takes the math groups, while the two aides take the remaining groups. In a DARCEE classroom, which does not have academic subject groupings, the lead teacher directs the large group activities as well as one of the four small groups.

In all behaviorally-oriented programs lead teachers are expected to have a college degree which includes early childhood education courses. Assistant teachers usually have some college training, preferably in early childhood education. The aides are trained on the job.

Besides the general training received in college, lead teachers, assistant teachers, and sometimes the aides participate in workshops periodically given by representatives of the model program or supervisors who have been trained by representatives. Continuing in-service training is considered crucial to the vitality of the programs. Many programs also incorporate field supervisors who assume the role of support for the classroom staff, rather than the more traditional role of evaluator.

The Behavior Analysis Model offers regular seminars at the University of Kansas for teaching and supervisory personnel. The publishers of the DISTAR system (Science Research Associates) include as part of their service training in the use of the materials. The Engelmann-Becker program also conducts workshops for persons officially using DISTAR under Follow Through funding. Consultants from both models are available to preschool programs that wish to implement a behavioral approach.

Parent Involvement

Parent involvement in the Behavior Analysis Model is closely linked with classroom practice and offers a system of career development for interested parents. Parents of children in the program train and work as aides in the classroom for periods of six to eight weeks during the school year. If particular parents wish a more extended experience, they then become aides for a semester and may eventually be hired full time.

The Engelmann-Becker program trains parents to work with their children each evening on the "take-homes" the children bring to them. Concentrated attention from the parents on these tasks is seen as motivating to the children and as a way of keeping the parents informed about what is happening in the classroom.

DARCEE has developed a home visitor component geared mothers of children in the program who have infants or toddlers as well as the preschooler. Home visitors demonstrate ways to interact with the preschool child to encourage learning and teach the mothers how to use common household articles as learning materials. The expectation is that the mothers will continue to use with their younger children the techniques they learn from the visitors. In addition, parents who wish to participate are integrated into the classroom as aides volunteers through a process of observation, limited responsibility, and then small group teaching. The DARCEE home visitor materials are available through CEMREL.

Other Considerations

During the late 1960's the Head Start Planned Variations were extended by their developers into programs appropriate for children in kindergarten through grade three. These program expansions became part of Follow Through and were available to selected school districts. It was not considered necessary for a district to have had a behaviorally-oriented Head Start program in order to receive a behaviorally-oriented Follow Through model. At present new Follow Through programs are infrequently funded by the government, as Follow Through is operating on a fixed allocaton.

Persons wishing to start a behaviorally-oriented preschool program generally must seek funding through their local school districts or through private foundations. Some federal funding (Office of Child Development and Office of Education) is available to programs that are mainstreaming handicapped children into regular classes or providing classes for children with special needs.

Behaviorally-oriented programs appear to be especially effective with children with learning impairments or coming from homes with lower socio-economic backgrounds (O'Leary and O'Leary, 1972). The high degree of structure characteristic of the programs provides a framework for children who may be having difficulty in organizing themselves for learning (whatever the reason for this may be). Another advantage of the programs is that they offer children ways of keeping track of their physical, socio-emotional, and intellectual progress through instant recognition of their accomplishments. Children see their gains and thus are stimulated to renewed efforts. Through a behavioral program, children with learning impairments may for the first time experience the joy of success.

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THE PSYCHOANALYTIC APPROACH

Herbert Zimiles, Ph.D.[1]

Psychoanalysis is both a theory of behavior and a method of therapy; it does not define a formal method of early childhood education. Nevertheless, since the basic tenets of psychoanalytic theory are concerned with the emotional life of childhood, it has definite implications for early childhood education. It is probably accurate to say that most methods of dealing with young children, whether they be within an educational setting or elsewhere, have been influenced by psychoanalytic theory. However, only those early childhood programs in which psychoanalytic theoretical constructs constitute the dominant theoretical framework and where the education methods are especially shaped by psychoanalytic constructs might be considered to fall under the rubric of "psychoanalytic approaches."

Brief Historical Perspective

Psychoanalysis as a theory and a method was devised by Sigmund Freud during the last decade of the nineteenth century. It continued to evolve during the remaining fifty years of his life and is still undergoing reconstruction. Psychoanalytic theory was subjected to continuous revision and elaboration by Freud and his numerous followers almost from the moment of its inception.[2] Despite its controversial nature and the sharp opposition it evoked, the theory has emerged as one of the major influences upon twentieth century thought.

During the 1920's there was widespread application of psychoanalytic concepts to various avenues of life including the education of young children. The most systematic examination

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[2] Sigmund Freud, "The History of the Psychoanalytic Movement," *Basic Writings of Sigmund Freud* (New York The Modern Library, 1938). First published in 1917.

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of the implications of psychoanalytic theory for the education of young children appears in the writings of Susan Isaacs. Anna Freud, too, especially in her *Psychoanalysis for Teachers and Parents,* has addressed herself to the early development of children and the influence of education. In addition to Anna Freud and Susan Isaacs, the writings of Erik Erikson and Bruno Bettelheim are the most notable efforts to describe the early years and the educational needs of children in terms of a psychoanalytic framework.[3]

Distinctive Characteristics

Since, as has already been stated, there is no such thing as a psychoanalytic approach to early childhood education, this section will present the main features of psychoanalytic theory which are relevent to early childhood education.[4] These are: Freud's concept of the unconscious, the three hypothetical structural elements of the mind—id, ego, and superego—and the theory of psychosexual development and infantile sexuality.

Perhaps foremost in Freud's system of thought is the concept of the unconscious, the idea that major aspects of an individual's psychic life exist below the level of awareness. According to Freud, thoughts and impulses which are disturbing because they arouse fear or conflict are suppressed into the unconscious in order to avoid confronting them. Freud's formulation of unconscious motivation, derived from his analysis of dreams, humor, slips of the tongue and other errors, and various symptom patterns, is probably his most significant theoretical contribution.

Freud conceived of psychic life as governed by three hypothetical forces: the id, ego, and superego. Only the id is conceived as being present at birth. It is the seat of all instinctual impulses. Described as a "cauldron of seething excitement," the id is oblivious to all considerations of time and reality. It is concerned only with immediate gratification. The ego, viewed as forming out of the id, is the organized part of the self; it is in touch with reality. Its job is to master the environment so as to maximize the gratification of the id. The superego, which develops last, is opposed to instinctual gratification. It functions as a conscience. Thus, the task of the ego is to mediate between two opposing forces. But it needs to remain in command. Insofar as it loses control to either the id or the superego, the stability and intactness of the individual are threatened.

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[3] See bibliography for specific writings by Isaacs, Anna Freud, Erikson and Bettelheim.

[4] For an overview of psychoanalytic theory, see Sigmund Freud, *An Outline of Psychoanalysis* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1949). First published in 1940.

Among Freud's most revolutionary ideas was the concept of infantile sexuality, the notion that young children, even infants, have sexual impulses and experiences. He defined "sexual" in different terms than is customary. To Freud, it meant the process of obtaining pleasure from zones of the body. He identified the erogenous zones as the mouth, the anus, and the genitals. According to his theory of psychosexual development, the individual first experiences sexual pleasure from oral activity. During the first year of life, instinctual impulses are expressed and satisfied by means of stimulation and activity of the mouth. During the second and third years of life, the organ which generates the most sexual pleasure is the anus. Thus, the child's anal activity during these years is both the occasion for impulse control by means of toilet training and the main vehicle for sexual expression and gratification.

During the fourth year of life the genital area becomes the source of sexual impulse and pleasure. It is at this stage, termed by Freud the phallic period, that the dynamics of the Oedipus Complex, one of Freud's most controversial and most powerful explanatory tools, is hypothesized as coming into being. The Oedipus Complex refers to the lust which the young boy has for his opposite-sex parent. The son's wish to possess the mother exclusively is regarded as representing a new manifestation of a sexuality present from birth. Only now the instinctual impulse is directed at another object, the opposite-sex parent, whereas previously the instinctual life was autoerotic, derived from and aimed toward the self. Thus the young boy is plunged into a sexual rivalry with his father for the possession of his mother, a rivalry which fills the child both with rage at the father, and also, inevitably, intense fear that the larger, more powerful rival will retaliate and punish him. Since the potential punishment is fantasied as being aimed directly at the source of the sexual impulse itself, the son develops a fear of castration. The father is seen as having both the potential and the inclination to destroy the manifestation and the very anatomical source of the rivalry. The counterpart in the girl, named by Freud the Electra Complex, views the daughter as directing her sexual wishes toward her father and enmeshed in a rivalry with her mother.

According to psychoanalytic theory, the conflicts aroused by these incestuous wishes are resolved by repression and denial, and by identifying with the parent of the like-sex. Thus in the ensuing years, from about the time the child begins school until he/she reaches puberty, the process of identification, wherein the child models him/herself after the like-sex parent, is a major developmental task. The process of identification is made possible and is facilitated by the repression of overt interest in sexual matters. Because of the denial of sex, this stage is referred to as the latency period. During this period, too, the child transfers some of his/her emotional investment from the parents, who until this time were the only significant figures in the child's life, to the peer group. Further, to help reinforce the repression of his/her forbidden and conflict-laden sexual and aggressive impulses and to support the new form of group living which is entailed in the move toward the peer group, the child becomes preoccupied with questions of right and wrong, with rules for living. This is the period of the development of conscience and of moral concerns. The final stage of psychosexual development occurs during puberty and adolescence when the intensified sexual impulses press to the surface for expression and the individual redirects these impulses toward other opposite-sex members who are displacements from the original love-objects, the parents.

Each of the psychosexual stages has a dominant emotional theme. During the oral stage which encompasses the first year of life, feelings of helplessness predominate. The dynamics of an individual's dependency originate during this period. The anal period is given over to the child's mastery of body functions. Attitudes toward cleanliness and tidiness, and toward meeting the demands of an authority figure are shaped during these years of development. Issues of power and control come into play at this time. The phallic period is viewed as a time of exhibitionism and assertiveness and the occasion for dealing with fears of

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retribution which such thrusts seem likely to elicit. The Oedipus Complex is resolved by repressing one's sexuality, identifying with the like-sex parent, becoming preoccupied with issues of moral correctness, finding ways to substitute and sublimate the forbidden sexual impulses and moving from the nuclear family to the peer group. It is a period of rapid socialization.

Freud postulated that an individual may remain fixated at a particular psychosexual stage. That is, the themes of a particular stage of development may assume an overriding importance in the child's ultimate character structure if he/she experiences extremes in gratification—that is, frustration and deprivation, or its opposite, excessive gratification, during a particular stage. Thus the pattern of gratification and conflict experienced during the course of psychosexual development is viewed as having a decisive influence upon the eventual personality dynamics of the individual.

Most traditional forms of early childhood education, especially the child-centered programs, are heavily influenced by psychoanalytic theory. Yet few if any are exclusively governed by the theory or rigidly adhere to it. The Erikson Institute in Chicago and the Child Development Center in New York City, among leading training and research centers, probably come closest to articulating a psychoanalytic approach to early childhood education.

View of the Child

It was psychoanalytic theory which pointed to the formative nature of the earliest years, describing them as decisive determinants of the adult character structure. In sharp contrast with more traditional views of the child as unformed, naive and benign, without intense emotion and highly tractable, and of childhood as an uneventful period of steady, tranquil growth, psychoanalytic theory views childhood as monumental and tempestuous. The growing child's concerns revolve around the fear of abandonment and the struggle to attain power. From the psychoanalytic standpoint, the young child is viewed as beginning life in a state of helplessness, bombarded with instinctual drives which demand instant gratification, completely lacking a sense of self and of the world around him, abjectly dependent on the provider for gratification. The child's first differentiation is between the self and all else. The child at first regards himself as the center of the universe, and then gradually begins to differentiate others, primarily those who feed and care for him. The emotional investment in the self is gradually transferred to the caring person, and only much later to others. Thus the beginning of life may be described as a period of vulnerability and egocentricism which diminish in the course of further development. The child gradually strives to gain power and autonomy at the risk of losing his caretakers.

The child passes through a period of helplessness and dependency to an era of increasing control over bodily functions and increasing autonomy through the development of movement and speech. The gradual mastery of reality occurs in the service of maximizing instinctual gratification. When the child's instinctual forces are directed outward toward a love object outside the self, as they are in the Oedipal situation, the conflicts which are aroused confront the child with a massive threat which calls forth a radical reconceptualization of alliances, goals, and values. The child combats his dangerous instinctual impulses by denying and repressing them, identifying with the like-sex parent, moving away from the nuclear family which had generated such intense conflict, and toward a regulation of events in terms of moral precepts and a concern with more remote, less personal aspects of reality.

Thus the child is portrayed as engaged in the pursuit of instinctual gratification (the forms of which themselves undergo change in the course of development) from birth onwards and as developing competencies and independence to facilitate the quest for gratification. Because of the numerous barriers to achieving gratification, conscious and unconscious conflicts and fears are aroused, goals are concealed and distorted, and a unique character structure, set of abilities and interests, and way of relating to the world, emerge.

Role of the Teacher

The focus of a psychoanalytically-oriented teacher is on the emotional life of the child. This does not mean that intellectual development is to be neglected but rather that intellectual growth and functioning are viewed as proceeding in the service of biologically derived drives. The emotional life provides both the impetus and content for intellectual growth. The child's mastery of reality, development of skills, problem-solving activity are seen as motivated primarily by the need to resolve conflicts and achieve gratification.

Since the child learns at an early age that there is strong opposition to his primary impulses, he may suppress them entirely or disguise them from himself as well as others. So much of the child's energy may be directed toward defending himself that he loses sight of what it is that he really wants. The task of the teacher, then, is to provide channels for exploration and for the expression of impulse and to help the child to remain in communication with his own feelings. One way to give expression to instinctual impulses is to provide for their sublimation—i.e., to endow them with more socially acceptable aims. Thus a great many activities and learning experiences derive their impetus from the fact that they are socially acceptable substitutes for instinctual aims. The teacher needs to protect the child from trauma so that he is not retarded or deflected from his path of growth and to be mindful of each child's anxieties with regard to separation and castration. The teacher's job is to help the child to become aware of his feelings and to use them rather than to control and obliterate them. With young children, this entails understanding the various avenues for the symbolic expression of feeling and how they function, especially play behavior. The teacher is less concerned with explicit training and socialization, and more interested in freeing the child to express himself, to enjoy a group situation, and to find satisfaction through mastery of new skill

Influence of This Approach

The role of psychoanalytic theory in education is paradoxical. On the one hand it has probably contributed most to understanding early childhood and to promoting child-centered education; on the other, it holds a rather limited view of what education can accomplish. This is because psychoanalytic theory attributes the most profound aspects of psychological development to the relationship between mother and child and the dynamics of nuclear family relations. It regards the child's going to school as a move away from the arena of primary psychological influence. For this reason, most psychoanalytic approaches are opposed to institutional care for very young children. However, school is viewed as a place where the child can relax from the turbulence of familial conflict and learn to sublimate his instinctual drives. The success of a school is evaluated in terms of the degree to which it opens up the child, frees him to explore and express ideas and impulses, and provides him with the tools to do so, as opposed to reinforcing trends toward repression and denial and contributing further to the rigidification of the child's defensive armor.

Additional Reading

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CONCLUSION

The foregoing sections have identified and discussed some of the major forces which have influenced the thinking and practice of early childhood program developers and practitioners. Indeed, these theoretical orientations have not only influenced preschool education but have filtered into the elementary grades. Many of the programs discussed in this section have elementary school counterparts.

Although these sections have tended to stress the origins of programs and practices in terms of psychological theory and social philosop[illegible] there is in reality, always a gap between theory and practice. Theories continue to evolve and change while preschool teachers continue to confront classrooms full of children with snowy leggings. But getting down to earth about life in classrooms doesn't mean theory is irrelevant. Assumptions about how children learn and develop and change—whether explicitly expressed in the form of a recognized theory or held implicitly—underlie all educational efforts.

II.

DESCRIPTIONS OF PRESCHOOL PROGRAMS

Programs have been described which reflect the theoretical approaches discussed in Chapter I. However, there are other definable preschool programs which, while not directly based on a given theoretical approach, utilize elements of one or more of those approaches. The following examples of these are divided into center-based and home-based programs.

CENTER-BASED PROGRAMS

Project Head Start

Doris Wallace[1]

Initiation and Planning

Project Head Start was legislated in 1964 as part of the Economic Opportunity Act.[2] The purpose of the act as a whole was to implement policies which would

> eliminate the paradox of poverty in the midst of plenty in this Nation by opening to everyone the opportunity for education and training, the opportunity to work, and the opportunity to live in decency and dignity.[3]

Head Start legislation represented two important milestones in the social history of this country. As part of the War on Poverty, it represented congressional recognition of, and willingness to act upon, the fact that there existed population groups in the country whose members had been denied the benefits and opportunities of the mainstream society. It also represented a legislative response to scientific knowledge about the importance for later development of the early years of life, as evidenced in an address by Senator Mondale:

> We know that the beginning years of life are the most important for a child's intellectual growth and for his social, emotional, physical, and motivational development . . . These early years are the formative years—they are the years in which

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[1] Associate, Research Division, and Associate Director, Parent Child Development Project, Bank Street College of Education.

[2] *Economic Opportunity Act of 1964*, 42 U.S.C. 2701, August 20, 1964, as amended.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 1.

> permanent foundations are laid for a child's feelings of self-worth, his sense of self-respect, his motivation, his initiative, and his ability to learn and achieve.
>
> Research reveals, however, that as early as 18 months of age, disadvantaged children start falling behind middle-class children in tests of language development and general intelligence . . . It was an understanding of the relationship between early childhood deprivation and the cycle of poverty that led to the creation and development of Project Head Start, and the funding of numerous very promising pilot and demonstration projects in early childhood education, health, and nutrition.[4]

Head Start was directed at those young children whose families were not only poor but who had little chance of escaping their life conditions.[5] It legislated comprehensive health, nutritional, social, educational, and mental health services for young children who had not reached the age of compulsory school attendance (that is, kindergarten or first grade). In addition, it was to provide activities for and encourage the direct participation of parents in the development, conduct and overall direction of programs. Training, technical assistance and evaluation were to be provided as appropriate.

Program planning and policies were directed by and funded through the Office of Economic Opportunity. In 1969, however, Head Start moved to the newly established Office of Child Development (OCD) where it still is.[6] As of 1972, legislation has required that at least ten per cent of Head Start enrollment openings be made available to handicapped children.[7]

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[4] Senator Mondale, opening address. *Head Start Child Development Act. Hearings before the Subcommittee on Employment, Manpower and Poverty of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare*, U.S. Senate, 91st Congress, on S.2060, August, 1969 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1970), p. 15.

[5] Ten percent of children enrolled in Head Start programs, however, may be from non-poor families, that is, from families whose income is above the federally-defined poverty line.

[6] In 1973 OCD became a part of a larger structure—the Office of Human Development which was established in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) to serve Americans with special needs or vulnerabilities. The Office of Human Development has nine agencies dealing with children and youth, Native Americans, the aged, mentally retarded and other handicapped persons, and people living in rural areas. In 1975 the transfer of Head Start to the Department of HEW was made official, see *Economic Opportunity and Community Partnership Act of 1974* enacted January 4, 1975 (P.L. 93-644).

There are ten regional OCD and HEW offices through which the program is administered by means of grants to local non-profit organizations, such as schools districts, community action agencies, and Indian tribes.

The operation of Head Start programs began in 1965 in the form of summer programs. In the fall of that year, Head Start programs started on a full-year basis, operating from eight to twelve months. The majority of children in summer programs were four and five years old and would enter the school system in the coming fall, while the full-year programs served more three-year-old children.[8]

Summer programs operate for at least fifteen hours per week, usually for an eight-week period. Full-year, full-day programs operate up to eight hours a day, while full-year, part-day programs are open about four hours per day. The full-day programs thus provide day care when other appropriate care is not available for most of the children.

Funding and Enrollment

The tabulation below presents the Head Start enrollment figures and funds appropriated for each year from 1965 to 1974. As can be seen, the general trend has been for a rise in costs, accompanied by a decline in the number of children enrolled, especially since 1969. According to the Office of Child Development, these trends are due to the expansion of the number of full-year programs and a decrease in the number of summer programs. The cost of supporting a child in a full-year program is considerably more, obviously, than that entailed in serving a child in a summer program.

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[7] *Economic Opportunity Amendment* [illegible]

[8] *Project Head Start 1965* [illegible] *The Development of a Program* [illegible] Office of Child Development [illegible] Health [illegible] Washington [illegible]

Fiscal Year	*Children Enrolled (Summer and Full-Year)*	*Federal Head Start Budget (Millions)*
1965	561,000	$ 96.4
1966	733,000	198.9
1967	681,400	349.2
1968	693,900	316.2
1969	663,600	333.9
1970	434,800	325.7
1971	415,800	360.0
1972	379,000	376.3
1973	379,000	400.7
1974	379,000*	400.7
Total	5,320,500	$3,158.0

*Estimated.

Source: *Project Head Start: Achievements and Problems* (Washington, D.C.: Office of Human Development, Department of Health, Education and Welfare, 1975), p. 12.

For the first nine years of its existence, then, some 5.3 million children have attended Head Start[9] at a cost of $3.1 billion. It should be pointed out, however, that this is only a small proportion of the children who are probably eligible to attend Head Start. For example, as of 1974, only slightly less than ten percent of eligible children were actually enrolled in the program.

Overall Goals and Organization

The underlying approach of the Head Start program is, first, that children who come from a background of poverty will benefit most from a comprehensive interdisciplinary program which fosters development and can identify and correct problems; and, second, that the child's family as well as community must be involved in these efforts. Head Start has a comprehensive developmental approach which, as a matter of principle, is geared to both short- and long-term goals. If a child is to function optimally, many factors must be taken into account; for example, that he or she is healthy, physically and mentally, and that nutritional needs are being met. Head Start was legislated with the express purpose of increasing the "social competence" of children it would serve. Social competence refers to the ability to deal effectively with the environment and, from the long-term point of view, with later responsibilities in school and life. To this end, Head Start lists the following as basic goals:

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[9] Actually this is an overestimate. Some of these children will have been counted twice since they will have attended Head Start for two years from age three to five.

- the improvement of the child's health and physical abilities;

- the encouragement of self-confidence, spontaneity, curiosity, and self-discipline which will assist in the development of the child's social and emotional health.

- the enhancement of the child's mental processes and skills, with particular attention to conceptual and verbal skills.

- the establishment of patterns and expectations of success for the child, which will create a climate of confidence for his present and future learning efforts and overall development.

- an increase in the ability of the child and his family to relate to each other and to others in a loving and supporting manner.

- the enhancement of the sense of dignity and self worth within the child and his family.[10]

The range of services provided in the program to achieve these goals reflects the interdisciplinary nature of its basic approach. Program planning is undertaken by the grantee agency together with the Parent Policy Council and the Head Start Director.

Every Head Start program must have a Policy Council, a majority of whose members are parents elected by parents. The Policy Council is responsible for helping to develop and for approving the program application, for selecting the Head Start Director and other staff, for initiating suggestions and ideas for program improvement; for helping to organize programs for parents and communicating with parents; and for serving as a link with public and private organizations and community resources.

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[10] *Head Start Program Performance Standards* (OCD-HS Head Start Policy Manual, OCD Notice N-30-364-1) Washington, D.C.: Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Child Development, [illegible]

The teaching staff usually consists of a teacher and a teacher aid for every fifteen children. Ideally, a third adult, acting on a volunteer basis, is added to each group. Additionally, professional and paraprofessional staff are responsible for the delivery of health, nutrition, psychological and social services.

Training

As well as delivering direct services to children and parents Head Start programs are obligated to provide a program of career development and staff training. This includes in-service training programs; career counseling and guidance; and arranging for staff and parents to take courses for credit at cooperating academic institutions.

In 1973, the Child Development Associate programs was initiated to develop a new professional role in child care. The Child Development Associate (CDA) is a trained child care worker whose credentials are based primarily on performance skills in working with young children, and less on the amassing of credits through academic course work. CDA trainers affiliated with academic institutions work on an in-service basis with individual trainees. The specific content and pace of the training are mutually agreed upon by the CDA trainer and trainee within the prescribed limits of the program. As of 1974, some five thousand Head Start classroom staff were working toward obtaining the CDA credential.

Recent Innovations

In Fiscal Year 1973 the Head Start Improvement and Innovation Program was initiated. This program is directed at improving the overall quality of Head Start. In addition to issuing a new set of performance standards to strengthen local performance,[11] and providing alternative options to the classroom-based design, the Improvement and Innovation Program has introduced new, experimental projects. One of these, the Child and Family Resource Development (CFRD) program, makes family-oriented, comprehensive child development services available for children from before birth through age eight.

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[11] *Head Start Program Performance Standards*, 197[illegible]

A second experimental program is the Head Start Developmental Continuity Project which has been undertaken in cooperation with the Office of Education. Its major goal is to provide a continuity of experience for Head Start children as they enter the Head Start program from home and, later, as they move into and through the primary grades of school.

The Early and Periodic Screening, Diagnosis and Treatment program (EPSDT) is a third innovation. This program is an attempt to make screening, diagnosis, and treatment services available to some 125,000 Medicaid-eligible children through Head Start. It is part of recent and more general federal efforts to identify handicaps (physical and psychological) among children when they are young, when treatment is likely to be more successful.

Educational Objectives

The educational program, in accordance with Head Start principles, should follow a plan in which children's developmental needs are taken into account and in which education is broadly conceived, for example, going beyond the teaching of numbers and colors. Thus, experiences must be provided which account for individual differences. Individual differences include both the age and the developmental level of the children. It also takes into account many other kinds of individual differences, for example, special talents and abilities, the child's culture, his or her membership in an ethnic group and, most important, the child's language. The teacher who bears in mind the racial, ethnic, and language differences will use the child's home experiences in introducing relevant stories, games, music and foods. Program resources would thus include persons, especially parents, who speak the same language as the children and who also help in curriculum development.

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In many Head Start programs, children are encouraged to solve problems, initiate activities, explore, experiment, ask questions and learn through action. Language facility and understanding are promoted through individual and group activities. Many programs seek a balance between free choice and structured activities. Activities to promote reading readiness and math and science concepts are generally included.

Trips are also considered an important activity for these young children. By studying the immediate environment—the people, the flora and fauna, the institutions and services—children extend their experience of their own culture and broaden their horizons. Throughout all these activities children are encouraged and guided to organize their experience so as to foster the development of conceptual skills.

Physically, the program must, first, take place in a properly lit, ventilated, heated, and safe environment. Second, it must provide activities and materials to exercise and develop physical skills, both indoors and outdoors. Equipment must be safe, appropriate in size, accessible, durable, versatile enough to provide variety and experimentation.

Parents participate in the planning of the educational program; they are involved in classroom and center activities whenever possible; and they are helped to use the activities of the program at home to reinforce children's learning and bring home and program closer together. Through these activities parents sharpen their understanding of their child's growth and development and can respond to their child's needs at home.

Head Start programs develop methods of assessing children's progress, report regularly to parents in parent conferences, and consult other staff and specialists whenever appropriate to evaluate growth and plan ahead.

Social Services

The main objectives of the Head Start social service staff are to recruit and enroll eligible children; to encourage parent participation in center activities, to help families in their own efforts to improve the condition and quality of their lives; and to make parents aware of community services and resources which might be useful to them. e kinds of services often provided include

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appropriate counseling, assistance in emergencies, follow-up to assure that needed help has been obtained, enlisting volunteer help to provide services such as babysitting and transportation and acting as advocates for Head Start families when necessary.

The social service program also works with parent groups in helping to inform them of and make contact with community and neighborhood groups which have similar concerns; helping to improve coordination and cooperation and exchange of information with community agencies concerning the needs of Head Start families, such as calling attention to new services, preparing and circulating community resource files.

Health Services

The Head Start program as a whole is aimed at delivering health services, promoting preventive health services and early intervention as needed, and providing the family of each child with the skills and understanding that will link families to a continuing health care system. This helps ensure that children will continue to receive comprehensive health care even after leaving the Head Start program. Services consist of general medical and dental services, mental health services and nutrition.

All children are required to receive regular medical examinations and, when necessary, requisite treatment. Histories must be taken and records kept on each child. Screenings include assessment of height and weight, vision and hearing testing, tuberculin testing, hemoglobin determination, assessment of immunization status, and various screenings which will identify possible handicaps. Regular dental examinations and appropriate treatment are also required.

The psychological services mandated in Head Start specify that a psychologist must be on the staff. This person's responsibilities include consulting with educational staff concerning evaluation, consultation, and follow-up of individual children. The psychologist also consults with parents concerning special needs and referrals to agencies, and serves as liaison with other mental health resources.

The Head Start nutrition program provides meals for the children and nutrition education for both children and parents

Although the backgrounds of the children are taken into consideration in planning meals and cooking activities, new foods are introduced so that children can become accustomed to them. Lunch, snacks, and in some cases breakfast are provided daily. A nutritionally-balanced lunch is considered a most important part of the program. It also offers an opportunity for the child "to learn about new foods, to accept them, and acquire good food habits which will stay with him through life."[12]

Conclusion

It is clear from the previous pages that the Head Start program represents an attempt to respond to a variety of societal needs by means of a multifaceted, single program. The population included in the Head Start program was defined as economically disadvantaged. However, White, et al., in their survey of federally supported programs for young children, point to the variety of criteria of disadvantaged; for example, income, ethnicity, social class and home environment, crisis and equity. They go on to say:

> A weighty body of evidence and speculation attempts to define the boundaries and partitions of disadvantage, thus making this concept useful for policy planning. Yet none of the categories seems wholly satisfactory in terms of logic, clarity, or validity of evidence.[13]

White and his co-workers conclude that:

> The disadvantaged child is, in general, that child . . . for whom there does not seem to be a clear path to some economic place in society, who grows up feeling excluded rather than included in American society, or who is at risk because of a variety of family crises, handicaps or health factors.[14]

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[12] *Head Start Child Development Program. A Manual of Policies and Instructions* (Washington, D.C.: Community Action Program, Office of Economic Opportunity, 1967), p. 41.

[13] S. H. White, M. C. Day, P. K. Freeman, S. A. Hantman, and K. P. Messenger, *Federal Programs for Young Children: Review and Recommendations*, Vol. I, Huron Institute, Contract No. HEW-OS-71-170, Publication No. (OS) 74-100 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1973), p. 16.

[14] White et al., *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 2.

The health services component of Head Start has been among the most successful. Through the program, many children whose immunization histories were inadequate were properly immunized, and other health problems have been identified and treated. According to Edward Zigler, former director of the Office of Child Development, after Head Start had been in operation for five years, about 43 percent of Head Start children were found to have an identifiable health problem; in 75 per cent of these cases, the problem had been corrected or helped.[15] The introduction, through Head Start, of services to handicapped children will help to identify problems early enough to make treatment as effective as possible.

The staff training mandated by the program has also meant that thousands of previously untrained individuals now have credentials which can move them up the economic ladder and provide them with professional jobs. For many a better understanding of human development has resulted, and with it, ways of nurturing children's development.[16]

It is probably true that Head Start social services and parent involvement components have been the slowest to gain ground.[17] Participation of parents often comes up against the problem that parents are already overburdened with the tasks of taking care of families, often with many children, and under conditions of economic stress.

The educational program is characterized by variety--both in the quality of programs and in the educational theory and practice they espouse. Head Start thus accommodates differences in quality as well as different, or even antithetical, ideas about what constitutes good education for preschool-aged children. It contains programs, for example, which rest upon behavioristic or learning theory tradition, where content is broken down into small sequenced steps and children are continually reinforced for correct responses with the intent of keeping failure to a minimum;[18] and programs are also found which subscribe to a developmental-interaction approach[19] in which the child is encouraged in free exploration, discovery and experimentation with the material and human environment, and in which intellectual and emotional functioning are viewed as inseparable.

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[15] E. Zigler. "Contemporary Concerns in Early Childhood Education." *Young Children.* Vol. 26 (1971), pp. 141-156.

[16] C. Jacobson, *The Organization of Work in a Preschool Setting Relations between Professionals and Paraprofessionals in Four Head Start Centers.* final report. Office of Economic Opportunity grant No. OEO4122.CG.9928 OEO-CG-8034-A/O (New York. Bank Street College of Education. 1973).

[17] See, for example, D. Horton. "The Interaction of Parents, Child, and Staff in Head Start Theory and Practice," paper presented at annual meeting of the American Orthopsychiatric Association. Atlanta, Georgia. March, 1976 (New York. Bank Street College of Education).

Underlying the War on Poverty of the sixties was the idea that effective programs, among them Head Start, "could be implemented full scale and would quickly result in significant life improvements among economically handicapped Americans."[20] The complexity of implementing a national program like Head Start and of making inroads on the problems of poverty have turned out to be much greater than was assumed in the sixties. Furthermore, it has become clear that poverty cannot be eliminated by educational programs, but requires simultaneous and radical efforts in economic, social and political spheres.

Of one thing there is little doubt: that parents and communities thoroughly approve of Head Start. Whenever one visits a Head Start program, parents voice their approval and mention its benefits to their children and how much it is liked by them. Cutbacks have been resisted and there appears to be a universal wish to extend the program. This in itself is a powerful indication of the positive influence of the program upon the adults, as well as the children, who are connected with it. Further, the very existence of Head Start emphasizes recognition of the importance of the early years; and indeed Head Start has provided the impetus to programs for older children—that is, Follow Through—as well as for younger children; for example, parent-child centers and, more recently, the Child and Family Resource program already mentioned. It can, on many grounds, then, be considered a national program that has worked.

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[18] The Bereiter-Engelmann Model represents one example of this approach See C Bereiter and S. Engelmann. *Teaching Disadvantaged Children in Preschool* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1966)

[19] E. Shapiro and B Biber, "The Education of Young Children A Developmental-Interaction Approach." *Teachers College Record*. Vol. 74 (1972). pp. 55-79.

[20] E. D. Evans. *Contemporary Influences in Early Childhood Education* 2nd edition (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1975). p 67

ERIC Full Text Provided by ERIC

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GROUP DAY CARE
PART I: AN OVERVIEW

Priscilla Pemberton[1]

Day care[2] programs' unique role in the education of young children in the United States burgeoned during World War II when thousands of mothers needed to be freed from much of their child-rearing responsibilities to enter the labor market. The need for day care has continued to grow as more and more mothers work outside the home, or elect to enter training programs leading toward gainful employment. Other parents who are not employed may choose day care because they desire their children to experience the kind of social interaction offered by group care.

There are two major categories of licensed day care centers. These are family day care homes, where children are cared for by trained teacher-mothers in private homes in small groups; and group centers, which usually operate year round from 8:00 A.M. to 6:00 P.M. Group centers generally accept children between the ages of three and five and offer them an educational experience as well as food and health care. Many group centers also accommodate school-age children and provide them with after-school educational and recreational experiences. This paper will concern itself with licensed group day care centers.[3]

Licensed group day care centers are located in both rural and urban communities across the United States. Approximately one-half of them are publicly funded and are situated in many places—housing developments, store fronts, and churches.

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[1] Director of Non-Matriculated Students. Graduate Programs Faculty. Bank Street College of Education.

[2] An important source for materials of many kinds dealing with day care for children is the Day Care and Child Development Council of America. Inc.. Fourteenth Street. N.W., Washington. D.C.. 20005

[3] An in-depth discussion of day care is provided in another volume of this compendium.

Other day care programs are supported by private non-profit organizations. Some centers are cooperatively run by parents who contribute services, pay fees, and do large amounts of fund raising to meet center expenses.

There are also day care programs which are operated for profit. Some are the so-called "mom-and-pop" centers, conducted by husband and wife teams in their homes. On a more complex level, there are franchise and chain operations. Such profit-making centers will be discussed in Part II of this piece.

Those centers funded with public monies draw their funds from the state through the bureau or department set up to provide this service. In New York, for example, the state agency is the New York State Department of Social Services. The funds are disbursed to the centers by local agencies authorized by the state, which in turn receives up to 75 per cent of the funds from the federal government. In publicly-funded centers, low-income parents usually do not pay fees; other parents may pay on a sliding scale. In private day care centers, parents usually pay a fixed fee.

Every state has laws and regulations under which day care programs are operated. No group of persons interested in organizing and operating a publicly-funded center may do so without meeting state and local licensing requirements. These requirements usually include adequate indoor and outdoor space to ensure the health and safety of each child cared for in the center; a few states require sufficiently trained professionals to promote the learning and growth of the children. Privately-operated day care centers also have to meet licensing requirements.

The maximum allowable child population of each properly licensed center is determined by the total square footage of indoor and outdoor space on the premises. Unless the center has an after-school program, the ages of the children usually range between two years, ten months and five years, six months. The typical center groups its children homogeneously. However, since an increasing number of centers are unwilling to switch children from one group to another after a birthday, inter-age grouping is becoming popular.

Most licensing regulations under which day care centers operate mandate or suggest the adult-child ratio. Practice differs in different localities and for different age groups. Some professionals recommend a ratio of one adult for every group of five three- and four-year-olds; and one adult for every eight children past four years of age. The funding agency plays a major role in determining the eligibility of children who can attend a center.

Early in the history of the day care movement, educators criticized day care centers for being largely custodial in orientation and scope. This criticism would be valid today for many centers. However, it is also true that many modern centers provide an educational experience for the children which compares favorably with any well-run independent preschool.

The curriculum of centers that would be generally considered educationally sound reflects the various philosophies and pedagogies described elsewhere in this volume. Such centers believe that they observe sound child development principles. In many centers visited by the author, the curriculum stresses sensory exploration, discovery, and interpersonal relationships. The program is designed to utilize the necessary materials and equipment which help children learn about themselves, other people, and the world around them. The child's growth is supported by the adults in the classroom, who function as enablers in stimulating learning within the context of each child's intellectual style. The perceptual, language, manipulative and problem-solving skills that children acquire in day care center classrooms are those considered basic to acquiring later, more formal learning.

A central ingredient in the learning process for children in these day care centers is the setting—the space, both indoors and outdoors, used by the children for a variety of activities during the long day. The several indoor activity areas center on block building, art, housekeeping, music, science, library, woodworking and table activities. Here, children have opportunities for creative expression, cognitive development, social interaction, problem-solving, small muscle development and acquisition of language skills. While the same activities occur outdoors, the larger equipment, such as outdoor blocks, boards, wagons and slides, also provide opportunities for large muscle development.

A day care center child may be in the center six to ten hours. The length of the child's day is related to his/her parents' working or school hours, or to the availability of older siblings or relatives.

Children feel more secure and happy when they know the order of each day, so fixed daily schedules are important. To facilitate the objectives of the group, however, flexibility in the scheduling is necessary. While schedules vary from center to center, a typical day in a center begins with preparations for the children's arrival. The "early bird" children get involved in simple table activities or chat with the teachers until the others arrive. Most centers provide a simple breakfast which is eaten in the classroom. Afterwards, the children select the activities and materials they wish to work with. This work time usually continues for an hour or more. Then, after putting away materials and tidying up the room, the children have a snack, usually a raw vegetable or fruit, crackers and juice. A "meeting time" or class group time generally follows the snack. The outdoor time comes next. This period is usually an hour. After outdoor time, children return to the classroom for toileting, wash-up and lunch. Lunch is followed by rest time. Upon arising, the children have a snack of cookies and milk. Then directed activities often follow. This is a time in which small group experiences may occur in the areas of language, art, music, rhythms, or science. Projects may be begun, continued, or completed, or trips may be taken.

There is sufficient time left for some of the children to return to the outdoor play area. As children begin to leave for home, the teachers can work with individuals who remain. Usually by six o'clock, all children have left the center.

Many people work in licensed day care centers and have direct or indirect responsibility for the children in the program. In the leadership role is the director. Only a few states require that this person be a trained professional. There is wide variety of practice in requiring teachers to be professionally trained in early childhood education and in the intellectual, social, emotional and physical needs of children and how these needs may be met. Assistants and aides generally do not have formal credentials but many may have experience in child care. Other center personnel may be the kitchen, secretarial and maintenance staffs. Federal regulations require that centers receiving federal funds provide some social services. Some centers meet this requirement by hiring social service workers; most find ways of meeting this requirement through the use of various community agencies.

Parent involvement can be an important part of day care center life. Some centers have Parent Advisory Committees through which parents help make policy. In some centers, also, parents volunteer their services in classrooms, kitchen, office, or in other ways. Many activities are held during the evenings to enable working parents to become involved. They may attend workshops and other training experiences offered at the center.

An effective day care center maintains a working relationship with other community agencies. For example, a nearby hospital might arrange to offer its clinic facilities to children and their families.

Regular health services are usually provided for center children in two main ways; one. through a "cluster" arrangement — that is. a group of centers using the same health facilities; and two, by periodic visits from physicians, dentists and nurses. The funding agency may also provide a variety of consultants, such as a nutritionist.

If there is a social service staff, it not only makes every effort to connect with the agencies serving the center families, but when needed, acts as a facilitator for children and parents.

GROUP DAY CARE
PART II: FOR-PROFIT DAY CARE

Harriet K. Cuffaro[4]

In looking at day care centers which are operated for profit it is necessary to introduce concepts and structures which are familiar in the business world. Generally speaking, three categories of operations emerge: 1) the center which is an individually-owned business (similar to the small entrepeneur—local grocery store, local hardware store); 2) centers which are part of a franchise operation (for example, in the food franchises, Kentucky Fried Chicken, McDonald's); 3) centers which are run as a chain operation (similar to Safeway, Sears-Roebuck).

Further refining along the lines of these three categories, in an individually-owned center we have the most simple and direct organizational structure. Operating costs, curriculum, child-adult ratios, physical environment and materials, per cent of profit are choices and decisions made by the individual owner(s). Such small "mom-and-pop" operations are probably the most common form of center-based day care available to parents in this country.

In the early seventies franchise care entered the field of early childhood education with the appearance of Romper Room Schools, Mary Moppet, Les Petites Academies, Kinder Care Nursery and American Child Centers. The last mentioned was probably the most well-known and publicized of the franchise operations.[5] Basically, a franchise operation necessitates both an initial investment and usually a continuing fee of about 6 per cent of gross sales to the parent company.[6] A franchise buyer purchases a name, familiarity of a setting, a guide for operation, expertise and materials from the parent company which may also include a training period. Mid-point in the seventies, many of these operations are no longer in existence. Projected plans for opening one hundred to one thousand future sites have fizzled. One of the most successful remaining franchise operations is the Mary Moppet Centers, a Scottsdale, Arizona, enterprise.[7]

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[4] Graduate Programs Faculty. Bank Street College of Education.

[5] Photographs and a description of the pilot center of the American Child Centers may be found in Paul Abramson. *Schools for Early Childhood: Profiles of Significant Schools* (New York: Educational Facilities Laboratories. 1970). pp. 26-29.

[6] Ann Cook and Herbert Mack. "Business in Education: The Discovery of Center Hustle." In V. Breitbart. *The Day Care Book: The Why. What and How of Community Day Care* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1974). p. 44.

Possibly growing out of the franchise operations, and in some instances replacing them, is the third category mentioned earlier—the chain-operated centers. A major difference existing between franchise and chain organizations is that the latter is a centralized operation. A business organization incorporates to establish centers which are operated by the central organization which establishes the center, hires the center director, creates policy, prints material for parents, guides and supervises curriculum. Les Petites Academies, formerly a franchised center, is now chain-operated. Other business chains are American Preschool, Living and Learning Schools and Children's World, which has operated in Colorado since 1970 and has centers in six other states. As occurs in the business world, employees in chain operations may sometimes have the option to purchase stock in the parent corporation.

When franchise care began in the early seventies, it evoked considerable concern in the educational community. Articles which did appear describing this phenomenon were uniformly critical.[8] These writers pointed to what appeared to be common characteristics of franchise care: inadequate adult-child ratios, profits gained through minimal expenditures on materials, salaries and services, lack of staff training and preparation, staff turnover, and the focus on efficiency, standardization and profit. For many educators these concerns remain, whatever the organizational form, as a basic question: Can *quality day care* be provided in a center operated for profit?

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[7] Information obtained from National Association of Child Development and Education, 500 12th Street, S.W., Washington, D.C., Wayne Smith, Executive Director.

[8] See articles by Ann Cook and Herbert Mack, Judy Kleinberg, Alice Lake in Vicki Breitbart (ed.), *The Day Care Book The Why, What and How of Community Day Care* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1974). Sandra Simons, "Who's Minding Our Children?" in *The Workbook*, Issue No. 9 (November, 1975) (Albuquerque, N.M., Southwest Research and Information Center), pp. 354-362. Joseph Featherstone, "The Day Care Problem: Kentucky Fried Children," *The New Republic*, Vol. 163, September 12, 1970), pp. 12-16.

Across the nation, day care centers vary widely in approach and program, and in terms of location, finances, leadership and child population. In the best of these centers, the basic concern is for the child as a developing, learning person.

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PARENT-CHILD CENTERS

Doris K. Hiller[1]

Planning, Funding, Organization

Parent-Child Centers were conceived and developed as comprehensive service programs for low-income families with children from birth to age three. In the 1960s, as part of the War on Poverty, these programs evolved from research on the critical impact of the earliest years of life on later child development.

Recommended by President Johnson's Task Force on Early Childhood Education in 1966, there were, by 1970, thirty-six Parent-Child Centers (PCCs) operating in urban and rural areas across the United States. Through a local community agency, each PCC was given a planning grant from the Office of Economic Opportunity's Project Head Start. Once a PCC was established, the community agency set up a Policy Advisory Council, with at least fifty per cent membership from parents and neighborhood residents. Each center was encouraged to develop a program to meet the needs of its own participants. Although no more than ten per cent of the families could be above the poverty level, centers were encouraged to have an economic, racial and ethnic mix in their groups.

The population to be served by the centers and the programs' theoretical framework are similar to those of Project Head Start. The centers differ from Head Start, however, in that the primary emphasis is on parents—on broadening parents' knowledge of childhood and child development and on reinforcing parents' skills, family life, and the use of community support services, in the interest of parents and very young children.

To achieve these goals, Parent-Child Centers were expected to work with the entire family and to make linkages with a wide variety of community services. In addition, in order to provide technical support, to conduct training, and to organize evaluation and research, the PCCs were, in the beginning, required to affiliate with an institution of higher education. Programs were to be developed through the Planning Committees in order to test the effectiveness of different designs and methods, make use of local resources and meet the needs of the population being served. All PCCs thus include the following components:

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- a focus on the family
- health care and referral
- opportunities for parents to better understand child development and their role in fostering maximum growth
- activities for children designed to stimulate cognitive, emotional and physical development
- assistance in economic and personal problems.

In 1974, responsibility for the operation of thirty-three of the PCC programs was transferred from Washington to regional Health, Education and Welfare offices and as of 1976, they are still in operation.

Model Programs and Replication

In 1970, three of the original thirty-six programs, those in Birmingham, Alabama, New Orleans, Louisiana and Houston, Texas, were chosen to become model Parent-Child Development Center programs. Funding was provided by the Office of Child Development (OCD) for the three centers to:

- develop their respective models in theory and practice;
- mount a research and development program to assess the impact of the program on target and control families;
- develop packages of replicable materials consisting of curricula for mothers and children, training manuals for staff, and instruments and procedures for carrying out the program.

On the basis of research findings which indicated that there were significant increases in parent competencies and child rearing skills in all three models, the three programs were selected for replication. In the fall of 1975, with support from

OCD and the Lilly Endowment. the Bank Street College of Education was selected as the management organization responsible for the replication effort. Each model is briefly described below.

Houston Parent-Child Development Center

The Houston PCDC serves a Mexican-American population in a two-year program. The first year of the program is based in the home; the second is a center-based program. Families are recruited in door-to-door fashion.

The home visiting program begins when the child is one year old, an important time in language development when, it is felt, Spanish-speaking mothers can best be helped to become bilingual models for their children. During this first year, a trained home visitor visits the mother one day per week for approximately 1½ hours and supports the mother in her interactions with her child through the use of toys and books which the worker brings. Each week one of these is left with the mother to use with her child between visits. The mother also attends an English class at the center once a week, and the entire family attends four Sunday workshops at the center during the year.

During the second year, the two-year-old child and the mother are brought to the Parent-Child Development Center four mornings each week. The child, supervised by a trained community teacher, participates in group activities designed to promote cognitive, language, social and motor development. At the same time, the mothers attend sessions in child development and health care with parent educators. The mothers also engage in home management activities. Both mothers and children stay for lunch before returning home.

New Orleans Parent-Child Development Center

This center serves a low-income Black population that consists largely of one-parent families. The program is center-based and serves children from two months to three years of age.

Mothers and children come to the cente two mornings a week for a total of six hours. Trained educators from the same community as the families lead discussion groups with mothers on child development topics. Mothers also attend a workshop where they construct age-appropriate toys and equipment for home use.

While the mothers are attending workshops and discussion groups, the children are cared for in programs structured for each age. At other times mothers and their children participate in a Parent-Child Laboratory program with demonstration activities conducted by community teachers. Mothers are encouraged to apply the new concepts learned in discussion groups and through observation of the staff. Active participation by the mother is continually stressed. There is opportunity for mothers to interact with each other and with the educators.

Birmingham Parent-Child Development Center

A racially-mixed low-income population is served by this center. Both mother and child enter the program when the child is between three and five months old and remain until the child is three years old. The program is center-based. The organization of the center is structured to promote positive change, with members helping each other and the children toward achieving their highest potentials.

In the Birmingham PCDC model, mothers are the primary teachers of their own children, of each other, and of each other's children. The mothers are at the same time learning from each other and from the members of the staff.

The children move from one nursery to the next as they get older. The mothers stay with their own children in the early months; then they begin to care for children other than their own. They learn from and work with other mothers. A special group of mothers who have demonstrated their competence and have regularly attended the classes offered by the center are considered Model Mothers. All mothers have the opportunity to become Model Mothers as they progress through the various levels of the center's program.

Each of these programs is being replicated with a population comparable to that served in the original site. The Birmingham program is being replicated in Indianapolis, the New Orleans program in Detroit, and the Houston program in San Antonio, Texas.

Research Implications

The replication which all three models are currently undergoing includes an external evaluation which will provide an assessment of the replication outcome. At the same time, an internal analysis is also being undertaken to systematically analyze the replication process as it takes place. From the latter study, a replication model will be derived. It is expected that the replication model will become a primary guide for implementing parent-child development programs on a widespread basis with local as well as federal support.

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For information concerning specific programs:

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Dr. Hazel Leler
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University of Houston
Houston, Texas 77004

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Birmingham Parent-Child Development Center
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INFANT-TODDLER CENTERS

William H. Hooks[1]

Planned Programs for Infants: A New Concept

Center-based care for infants and toddlers is in the pioneering stage in this country. One of our oldest infant care centers, The Children's Center at Syracuse University, dates from 1964.

Historically, such care for young children in America has meant "institutional" care for orphans. Data showing the retarding effects of this kind of institutionalized care are plentiful, and have provided the basis for the generally negative feelings which still abound concerning care for infants and toddlers in groups.[2] While group infancy care remains minimal, there is a growing number of professionals who believe that quality care for infants can be provided in group settings; and, further, that it may enhance the child's learning capabilities. There are group care settings in which this belief is put into practice. Definitive research on the results of such programs is limited or yet to come. But some researchers have concluded that the period between the tenth and eighteenth months of life is a critical time in the setting of patterns for intellectual competence.[3]

In the Castle Square Center in Boston, Evans and Saia offer group infant care for the purpose of providing a warm, child-centered environment and to stimulate infant learning. They claim that

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[2] E. Belle Evans and George E. Saia. *Day Care for Infants* (Boston: Beacon Press. 1972). p. 2.

[3] Burton L. White. *Human Infants Experience and Psychological Development* (Englewood Cliffs. N.J.: Prentice-Hall. 1971).

> ...quality infant day care is not only a valuable supplement to exclusive home care, but in fact may be an improvement over typical home care because it stimulates an infant's physical, emotional, social and intellectual development.[4]

Dr. Mary E. Keister, Director of the Demonstration Nursery Center in Greensboro, North Carolina, has produced research which indicates that infants involved in quality group care do no worse than those infants cared for exclusively at home, and in most cases score higher on standard I.Q. tests.[5] Research findings from The Children's Center at Syracuse University also showed that I.Q. scores for infants in group care tend to be higher than those in a control group which had exclusive home care.[6]

Two programs which exemplify the belief that quality infant-toddler centers not only provide good custodial care but also enhance the educational potential of very young children are briefly described here. They are both located in Philadelphia; one is a satellite program of the Medical College of Pennsylvania, and the other is a program operating within a public elementary school system.

The Learning Center, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

The Learning Center (TLC) was established in 1971 to provide quality care for infants and young children of the students and faculty at the Medical College of Pennsylvania and for children from the community in which the Center was located. This resulted in a fifty-fifty mix of white children from the College and Black children from the neighborhood.

The Center is designed as a support system for families and as such tries to replicate an extended family setting. Each classroom, or unit, contains ten children—two infants, two toddlers and six preschoolers.[7] Two caregivers are assigned to each unit, one male and one female, of which one is Black and the other is white. Each of the caregivers has primary responsibility for one infant and one toddler, with general responsibility for the preschoolers.

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[4] Evans and Saia. *op cit.*, p. 10

[5] Mary E Keister. *The Good Life for Infants and Toddlers* (Washington DC National Association for the Education of Young Children. 1973)

[6] Evans and Saia. *op. cit.*, p 32

[7] In 1976, TLC had four units, with a total of forty children

The learning program is aimed at the nursery school-age child, but both infants and toddlers are involved in most activities. The staff of the Center has strong feelings that infant-toddler stimulation—physical, social and cognitive—is essential to optimal growth and development. They are also convinced that this occurs best when young children interrelate with caring adults and children of mixed ages. The infants and toddlers, insofar as possible, are included in all of the classroom activities as well as in frequent field trips. In addition, there are specific stimulation activities for infants. TLC has devised some ingenious sensory methods of involving infants and toddlers in activities—e.g., when the older children fingerpaint, so do the infants, using chocolate pudding instead of paint, giving them all the fun of the activity and eliminating the danger of eating real paint.

Early socialization is viewed as having a positive effect on later learning—both thinking and feeling. And, the association of the infants and toddlers with older children is regarded as a contributing factor towards this socialization.

The Center has a comprehensive, carefully planned program of health, nutrition and physical development. Through their Health Advocacy Program, frequent clinical check-ups, special screenings and the unique Daily Experience Sheets (on which parents share daily health and other pertinent information about the child's home life, and caregivers reciprocate with daily information about the child's life in the Center), both the family and the Center provide for the child's physical well-being.

Parents associated with the Center claim that they have their children in TLC *primarily* for the benefits and advantages they believe it provides for the children themselves; and secondarily for the convenience it provides working parents. The Center furnishes many support and referral services for the parents. When a parent is going through a difficult period with a young child, the Center often pairs that person with a "Big Sister" or "Big Brother" from the parent group who has gone through a similar experience. Parents are also involved in decision-making processes concerning both administrative and programmatic aspects of the Center.

The Learning Center also serves as a demonstration school for students of child development, nursing, child psychology and social work.

Infant-toddler care is expensive,[8] probably the most expensive of all preschool care. The funding for TLC comes primarily from federal sources, under Title XX, with additional support from the Medical College of Pennsylvania and fee-paying parents.

The Durham School Infant Care Center, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

The Durham School is an unusual public school which accepts children from three weeks of age through fifth grade. It is also unique in that it has a Continuing Education Program which serves school-age mothers twelve to fifteen years of age.[9]

School-age mothers who live in the Durham School district have the option of dropping out of their regular junior or senior high school and transferring for a year to the Durham School Continuing Education Program. These girls have top priority for infant care; additional openings are allotted to working mothers or mothers in training programs. The Philadelphia Board of Education bears the educational expenses of the school-age mothers while the infant care is funded through federal money under Title XX.

The teen-age mothers have a classroom which adjoins the infant center. During their stay at the Durham School, the girls continue their regular school curriculum and have parenting and child development classes as well. Equally as important, they have on-site experiences with their infants.

Although the infants have experienced caregivers, the mothers have specific, daily responsibilities for their children. The caregivers serve as models and assume complete care when the mothers are attending classes, but the mothers have regularly scheduled times for caring for their own babies. This involves not only custodial care such as feeding, bathing and diaper-changing; it also involves stimulation activities with the infants.

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[8] The unit cost-per-child was approximately $80 per week in 1976.

[9] The Infant Center is equipped to care for thirty children, ages three weeks to three years. The Continuing Education Program serves twenty school-age mothers.

The staff of the Durham Infant Center assumes that infants are capable of learning and need physical, social and mental stimulation. The mothers engage in interactions with their infants which include talking, singing, exposing to sights and sounds and tactile experiences, all of which they feel aid in the young child's development. Babies participate in a wide range of school activities. They are taken on trips outside the building, sometimes with their parents, other times only with the professional caregivers. They are included in all of the social functions of the school as well. During an on-site observation of the Infant Center, the babies attended, with their mothers, an entertainment in the school auditorium. Most of the infants responded happily with hand-clapping and gurgling sounds to the lively company of African dancers, singers and musicians.

In interviews with the young mothers, one quickly gets the feeling that the Durham School provides a warm, caring environment for teenagers going through a very trying time. There is a strong camaraderie among the girls and the staff, and many express regret over the fact that they can remain only one year in the program. However, their children may remain at the school for a longer period since Durham provides continuous care and schooling from infancy through the fifth grade.

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NURSERY SCHOOLS, PROGRAMS FOR THE HANDICAPPED, PARENT COOPERATIVES, ALTERNATE OR FREE SCHOOLS

Betty D. Boegehold [1]

From early days, Americans, like others before them, have established schools for special needs or purposes. Sometimes the need arose from group isolation or from individual choice; at other times, religious, political, or philosophic beliefs have fostered special schools. Handicapped or "different" children usually received no education beyond that provided at home; later, when their needs were recognized, they were segregated into separate facilities, where and when they were available. Though some progress has been made, their needs are not yet fully met.

Nursery Schools

While most preschool children are still cared for privately—at home, by relatives or neighbors—many attend preschool programs. One of the oldest of these programs is the "nursery school." This term is defined in the dictionary as a "prekindergarten school,"[2] and is often used as a generic term for all preschools. Much confusion exists as to what can be called a "nursery school." The Pre-school Association of the West Side (PAWS), a New York City referral agency, reports that parents often ask for nursery schools when they mean day care programs. In its 1975 Directory, PAWS states that

> . . . according to the Division of Day Care, Day Camps and Institutions of New York City's Health Department, a day care

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[2] *The Random House Dictionary of the English Language* (New York, Random House, 1967), p. 990.

> center and a nursery school are synonymous—both mean a place where children are cared for outside the home . . . Day care usually refers to a center that is open from 8:00 A.M. to 6:00 P.M. with fees scaled to what the parents can pay. Nursery schools, on the other hand, usually have a three-hour program at a set rate, often quite high.[3]

However, this distinction becomes blurred by the growing trend in nursery schools to offer full-day programs. For the purposes of this paper, nursery schools will mean those small, independent, private, non-profit or proprietary programs, usually with half-day schedules and sometimes without well-defined theoretical bases.

Nursery schools have been in existence in America at least since the beginning of this century on a formal or informal basis. In the earlier decades, they were viewed as preparation for "real school" and for learning to socialize with their peers and with adults—even to learn "manners." Parents may have had a third need: a chance to be free of responsibility for the child for part of the day. All these reasons—with the possible exception of learning manners—probably still account for the popularity of nursery schools.

Generally, most nursery schools served a middle-class population up to a few decades ago. In the middle thirties, alarmed at the proliferation of so-called "mushroom nursery schools,"[4] concerned educators in New York City successfully petitioned to have certain standards and regulations established by law for operating nursery schools. Since then, legal requirements have existed for operating a preschool program for more than five children.

An excerpt from a listing[5] of nursery schools on Manhattan's West Side displays the typically wide range of nursery school fees, hours and sponsorship.

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[3] Pre-school Association of the West Side. *Directory of Child Care on the West Side* (New York: PAWS. 1975). p. 14.

[4] "Mushroom nurseries" were defined as those places offering custodial care only, with untrained personnel and little or no consideration given to health and safety regulations.

[5] *Directory of Child Care on the West Side*. pp. 9-13.

	Age Range	*Hours*	*Fees*
West Side YMCA Co-op Nursery	3-5 years	9 AM-11:45 AM (3s) 1 PM-3:45 PM (4s)	$750 per year
Advent Preschool	2½-5 years	9 AM-12 PM	$15 per week
Beanbag Daycare Nursery	2½-4½ years	various morning and afternoon sessions; also an all-day session	$80/month for AM session; $70-$100 month for PM session; $180/ month for full-day or $135 if parent assists in program
Columbia Greenhouse Nursery School	2½-5 years	various morning, afternoon and all-day sessions	From $950/ year part-time to $1450/ year full-time; fee reduced if Columbia-affiliated
New York Philanthropic League	3½-5 years	9:30 AM-1 PM, Mon., Wed., and Fri. only	None. Program for orthopedically-handicapped children

Since the latest census shows that more children live in the suburbs than in cities or rural areas, many of the small nursery schools will be found there. Different states have different laws regulating these schools; each section of the country must be checked out for the existing regulations. Nursery schools can be found in many places and settings, such as private homes, community centers and churches. Religious organizations may establish nursery schools open to the general community and containing little or no religious instruction; or the schools may be only for members of that religion and emphasize religious training.

Just as the majority of young children are cared for by informal methods of using relatives or neighbors, so most of the small nursery schools may be informally based on a potpourri of educational theories. They may be conducted by persons with the minimum of qualifications or by experienced professional teachers. However, many small nursery schools reflect the methods and principles of their better-known educational models. With the exception of the highly structured programs, most nursery and day care programs are more similar than different in their materials and daily activities. A typical nursery program will include free play with materials, simple games, stories and songs, juice time, rest time, short walks or trips, indoor and outdoor play, and some school "readiness" work. The emphasis will be on "getting along with others" and developing individual skills. However, some nursery school programs may have a paucity of appropriate materials, or may not have fully qualified teachers in areas lacking legal regulation. Nursery schools offer many parents their first opportunity for a more objective assessment of their child's physical, emotional and social well-being; and they provide the child with the opportunity to engage in interactions with his/her peers.

Programs for the Handicapped

Historically, handicapped children have been a neglected minority in preschool opportunities. Some hospitals and related non-profit organizations have instituted nurseries for these "different" children; elsewhere, a very few small groups have been established. In the past, most parents of handicapped children have had to meet their child's needs by themselves. Some public school systems have nursery school classes for deaf or deaf-and-blind or multiple-handicapped children. Active parent organizations of cerebral palsy children have organized nursery schools. Social agencies for blind and deaf children have set up nursery schools for their specific disability. Traditionally, educators have regarded the inclusion of handicapped children in programs for the non-handicapped as not feasible and too expensive. Parents of the non-handicapped, and the public in general, have also felt the handicapped to be better served in separate programs.[6]

These ideas are slowly changing. In 1972, federal legislation required that at least 10 per cent of Head Start enrollment openings be available to handicapped children.[7] State and federal legislation establishing the rights of the handicapped has already been passed. For instance, in New York, in 1975, the Education for All Handicapped Children Act was passed. This act states that a free appropriate public education must be provided for all handicapped children aged three to eighteen. And in some cities, aid is also being extended; one example is the New York City Agency for Child Development's policy to provide limited entrance for handicapped children in day care centers.[8] Already some children with handicaps are entering "regular" nursery schools where there is the willingness and capability to accept them. Many educators advise that not more than one or two handicapped children should enter a non-handicapped group at one time, and always under the supervision of a trained advisor.[9]

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[6] Ruth Barngrove Sauer. *Handicapped Children and Day Care* (New York: Bank Street College of Education. Day Care Consultation Service. 1975). Chapter 2. p 2.

[7] *Economic Opportunity Amendments of 1972*, September 19, 1972 (P L. 92-424).

However, at least one preschool program without the services of a trained advisor has "reaped rich and various rewards from the policy of placing at least one special education child in each of its groups of normal children."[10] The director of that program, Ms. Joan Christopherson, feels this success has resulted from several basic considerations: attitudes of acceptance of the policy; thorough pre-admission planning; and continuous review.[11] Educators experienced in both the field of preschool programs and the education of the handicapped agree that "preschool education can be a preventative program for many children who are prone to need special education."[12]

In discussing the kind of programs most suited to such children, these specialists state that

> . . . the results from various types of preschool programs showed that, regardless of the type—from highly structured to open programs—these three characteristics seemed to be necessary for the optimum development of the handicapped child:

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[8] Sauer, *op. cit.*, Chapter 2, p. 10.

[9] Interview with Elsbeth Pfeiffer, Specialist in Education for the Handicapped, Bank Street College of Education.

[10] Joan Christopherson, "The Special Child in the 'Regular' Pre-school: Some Administrative Notes," *Childhood Education*, December, 1972, p. 138.

[11] Christopherson, *op. cit.*

[12] June B. Jordan and Rebecca F. Dailey (eds.), *Not All Little Wagons Are Red: The Exceptional Child's Early Years* (Arlington, Virginia, Council for Exceptional Children, 1972), p. 49.

- a carefully defined approach and strong theoretical orientation;
- a mode of operation which stresses continuous inservice training, curriculum development, daily planning and critiquing of instruction, high child-adult ratio (5 to 1) and supervision;
- a curriculum which attends to individual needs, fosters development of cognitive language, motivation to learn, self-concept skills, social skills, motor skills, information processing, involvement of the mother (or parenting person) in the program, either at home or at school.[13]

While such highly developed programs may seem an impossibility at a time of financial stress, nevertheless the directives are clear both from the government and from educators that future policies for handicapped children will be to place the child in the least restrictive environment appropriate to his or her individual needs rather than placing the child according to disability grouping. This will mean for many children *inclusion in* rather than *exclusion from* regular educational programs, except for the seriously handicapped.

Parent Cooperatives

Although parent cooperative schools were the first types of primary school established by pioneering Americans, today they exist more frequently in preschool programs. These may be run by parents themselves, with a small fee charged for materials, rent and other necessities; or they may be directed by a paid staff, with varying degrees of parental cooperation. As indicated in the sample listing shown previously, the parents may often pay extra fees instead of working in the program themselves.

Rachel Cowan was one of the founders of the Purple Circle,[14] a privately-funded parent cooperative day care center in New York City. Speaking of its inception, she said that two couples who couldn't find a day care center available for their children decided to start one themselves. After recruiting other interested parents, they tried to adapt a basement owned by one of them to fit the needs of the children. The parents themselves made the alterations, built the furniture, and ran the program, but didn't conceptualize any specific theoretical basis—the most important thing, they felt, was to be loved and to be loving. Each parent also paid $1.00 an hour, and the hours were irregular in order to accommodate individual needs.

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[13] *Ibid.*, pp. 76-78.

[14] The Purple Circle Community Day Care Center, 251 We: 100th Street, New York, New York.

Some problems arose, however: their basement kept flooding; they were feeling "hassled" by various city agencies; and the older children were getting bored. After failing to obtain any grant money, they decided to hire teachers and to look for a new place, finally settling in their present location built to house the school of a local synagogue.

As of 1976, there are thirty parents in the cooperative. There is a parent board to oversee the preschool program and the teachers; however, parents still donate three hours a week to working in the program. Those who can't donate time donate money. Though the parents have raised their fees because of the rent and salaries, the financial situation is still difficult.

The program is much like that of any well-planned day care or nursery school; the hours are from 9:00 A.M. to 4:00 P.M. or, in some cases, to 6:00 P.M. They have made no special effort to establish a racially or socio-economically diverse student body, but welcome children from all ethnic and economic backgrounds. Ms. Cowan feels that the parent cooperative emphasis is most important. Though initially because of need, parent participation is now an integral part of the structure; for this ensures that the school maintains a strong connection to the home, whose emotional support makes the school itself a kind of extended family.

Alternate or "Free" Schools

The parent cooperative schools may follow the traditional programs of most preschool programs, or they may reflect the "anti-establishment" philosophy of the founders. These latter groups are often called "alternate" or "free" schools ("free" often in methodology rather than in fees).

Alternate or free schools are the latest offshoot of the continued critical challenges to traditional education which began with the establishment of progressive, experimental, Dewey-oriented schools in the second decade of this century. In the sixties, three groups were voicing dissatisfaction with the existing educational establishment—students, minority groups, and educators themselves. Some minority groups set up ethnic "storefront" schools, while some radical students established free schools where the child was not to be indoctrinated into the mores of society. These students viewed even the most liberal of progressive schools as supporting the "establishment," and, in their view, thus not effecting changes in the great social, moral and economic problems of the mid-twentieth century.

In their rejection of traditional schooling, students may not have been aware that they were following a "romantic" tradition. One of the three broad streams of educational thought seen by Lawrence Kohlberg is the maturationist's stream. This view may best be expressed as "what is most important in the development of the child is that which comes from within him."[15] Kohlberg further defines maturation as developing in a climate which allows the child's inner "good" to unfold, and the inner "bad" to come under the control of the inner "good," rather than to be fixated by cultural pressures.[16] He sees Rousseau, the great romanticist, as the originator of this maturationist or unfolding point of view, represented today in schools such as A. S. Neill's Summerhill.[17]

Free schools which included preschool children were instituted by a variety of people with a variety of motives: some were to show an alternate model which might be adopted by all schools; others, perhaps despairing of changing the status quo, merely sought to liberate the individual. While technological information and skills acquisition were not totally discarded, the emphasis was on self-directed exploration and choices. Free schools seem to agree that "radical school reform depends on a perception of deep and pervasive harm that can be ascribed to the dominant structures, values and techniques of the existing schools;"18 but, according to the same source,

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[15] Lawrence Kohlberg. "Early Education. A Cognitive Developmental View." *Child Development*. Vol 39. No. 4 (December. 1968). p. 1013.

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 1014.

[17] Edna Shapiro and Barbara Biber. "The Education of Young Children A Developmental-Interaction Approach." *Teachers College Record*. Vol. 74. No. 1 (September, 1972). p 58.

> rather than talking of the theory of radical school reform, it is more accurate to talk about a cluster of attitudes, assumptions and interpreted experiences . . . about the nature of children, the evaluation of the effects of dominant school techniques and the relation of educational questions to larger, social, political and economic issues.19

One organizer of an alternate school describes his program as one that allows children to be

> . . . free to move and grow in healthy creative ways without the need of hindering and conflicting conditions of their behavior . . . The 'how' is not a method such as Montessori or Piaget or Summerhill; [it is] the *process*, the cultivating of one's intrinsic intelligence to perceive directly what is real, true, essential . . . This intelligence activated will be the child's own freeing awareness, freeing the child from dependency, authority, which is a fundamental aspect of conditioning and the basis of further conditioning.20

One of the principal philosophies underlying the free school movement is that stated by A.S. Neill, both in his writings and in the activities of his school, Summerhill.21 Erich Fromm, in describing Neill's work, says, "Neill shows uncompromising respect for life and freedom and a radical negation of the use of force. But [for Neill] freedom does not mean license."22 Neill himself says,

> We had one main idea—to make the school fit the child, instead of making the child fit the school. In order to do this, we had to renounce all discipline, all direction, all suggestion, all

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[18] Allen Brauberg, *Free the Children Radical Reform and the Free School Movement* (New York: Vintage Books, 1972), p. 7.

[19] Brauberg, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

[20] From a letter written to the author by Terry Doyle, Coordinator Director, Symbas Alternative School, Penngrove, California, June 1976.

[21] Some of the other writers and philosophers influencing the free school movement are John Holt, George Dennison, Caleb Gattegno, Paul Goodman, Ivan Illich, James Herndon, Jonathon Kozol, Herbert Kohl, Edgar Friedenberg

[22] A. S. Neill, *Summerhill. A Radical Approach to Child Rearing.* Foreword by Erich Fromm (New York: Hart Publishing, 1964), p. xiii.

> moral training, all religious instruction, [based on] a complete belief in the child as a good, not evil being.[23]

While Summerhill was indeed one of the "free-est" of schools, in reality it did have some "discipline," some "moral" training. The children were free as far as their own actions were concerned; but they were not free to interfere with the activities of others. Neill's use of the words "good" and "evil" implies a moral distinction. While freedom was the basis of the school, there were instructional programs which the teachers, if not the children, were required to attend. However, as Neill points out, if a child attended a class but then didn't appear again for a week, the others "might rightly object that he is holding back the work and they might throw him out for impeding progress."[24] The objective observer might well deduce that discipline and moral judgments were present, if unstated, at Summerhill.

One of the older schools founded on the Summerhill model is the Fifteenth Street School in New York City. The Director, Ms. Patty Greene, said that a

> . . . major difference between us and Summerhill is that we have self-regulation but not self-government or total democracy. The teachers retain a basic authority over the students. The whole idea is freedom with responsibility, and that when the atmosphere is right children will reach out for what makes them happy and what interests them and will learn to govern their own lives. When you have the right thing, the children are very warm and trusting and the whole feeling is calm and harmonious.[25]

This atmosphere was evident in a recent visit to the school. The older children who had chosen to attend lessons were as hard at work as any in a traditional school. Ms. Greene explained that if the children choose lessons, they must come on a regular basis, but are free to drop out on any given day. They may go to another class, to gym or quietly pursue their own projects.

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[23] Neill, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

[24] *Ibid.*, p. 15.

[25] From a letter written by Patty Greene to the author, July, 1976.

Although the activities and materials of the youngest children seemed very similar to those of other good schools, the Director believes children here have more physical freedom (i.e., the whole building) and more responsibility within the classroom and outside it to take care of themselves than they would elsewhere.

A parent cooperative school, freely based on Summerhill and other "liberated" ideas, and described in detail by one of its founders,[26] is the Children's Free School in New York City. Here, too, the play activities, materials and general program are similar to those of other preschools.

Some free school programs have been disbanded;[27] a number of those listed by Allen Brauberg[28] are no longer in existence. Other alternate schools, especially the Black schools, have become more formalized.[29] However, the impact of these schools has already been shown in the new choices now offered to older children in traditional schools; and the involvement of parents in preschool programs may well have been strengthened by their work in schools outside the educational system.

However, some observers feel that the *laissez-faire* atmosphere in free schools may hamper development in such root areas as:

- *psychosocial learning* (getting along with others, developing confident self image and patterns of behavior for successful coping in social life);
- *concept formation* (building up broadly based sets of ideas founded on concrete manipulative transactions with materials, moving toward abstracting and generalizing);
- *oral language development* (to store and recover ideas in symbolic form, to organize and structure information, to express and communicate ideas);

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[26] Nora Harlow. *Sharing the Children. Village Child Rearing within the City* (New York: Harper and Row. 1975).

[27] Seven of the alternate preschools which were sought in this research were found to be defunct.

[28] Brauberg. *op. cit.*. p. 40.

[29] *Ibid.*. p. 41.

- *creativity* (to freely explore, improvise and imagine, to test ideas, to discover relationships through play and to sustain curiosity).[30]

Sylvia Ashton-Warner was such a gentle critic of the absolutism of freedom and its hampering of cognitive development. Although she admired the goals of the American free school in which she was involved, she expressed her concern over the paucity of disciplined learning.[31]

Critics such as Ivan Illich and, lately, John Holt, feel that the alternate schools are not the answer, and that "radical reform" means a "de-schooling." But those engaged in the free school movement feel they are making a real contribution to effective changes in the American school system, as described so disarmingly in *Rasberry Exercises.*[32]

Finally, what of the education of young children far from the mainstream of preschool education—the young children in communes? John Rothchild and Susan Wolf took their own preschoolers in a battered Volkswagen and set out on a trek to find the answer.[33] They discovered that "there are more counterculture people out there than you might think; that most are white, college-educated Americans; that most of their children are between 3 and 8 years old."[34] The expectation was that they would discover the commune children to be wild and untamed. Rothchild and Wolf did report that the most "tormented children, the most hostile children, were the three children from the Miami free families;"[35] but also that "it was in the isolated communes, at the far fringes of America . . . that we discovered the best-behaved, most responsible children we had ever seen."[36]

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[30] G. F. Ashby. *Preschool Theories and Strategies* (Melbourne, Australia Melbourne University Press, 1972), p. 61.

[31] Sylvia Ashton-Warner, *Spearpoint "Teacher" in America* (New York: Vintage Books, 1974).

[32] Salli Rasberry and Robert Greenway. *Rasberry Exercises How to Start Your Own School and Make a Book* (Freestone, Calif.: Freestone Publishing Co., 1970).

[33] John Rothchild and Susan Wolf. *The Children of the Counter-culture* (New York Doubleday, 1976).

[34] *Ibid.*, p. 8.

[35] *Ibid.*, p. 9.

[36] *Loc. cit.*

The explorers also describe the disorganized child care in some urban communes; the highly structured preschool programs in such communities as Synanon in California and The Farm in Tennessee; and child education in rural communes. Their conclusion is one that may well surprise some traditional educators:

> If a new kind of child is emerging from anyplace, it is from the rural communes. Not from the political radicals and free school families, where children were either lost in unworkable fantasies or else acted just like the kid next door. Not from the religious places, where the different style of life had little to do with a different kind of child. It was in the rural communes where we found something clear and definable and ultimately challenging about the new children.[37]

As parents themselves, Rothchild and Wolf ruefully conclude that they "could no longer believe that their children were superior to commune children."[38]

But what of the commune children's future? The returns won't be in until this first generation of the offspring of the "flower children" reaches maturity. And at present, it is unlikely that these toddlers and youngsters will enter the mainstream of public education in the near future.

Conclusion

Preschooling itself is still the most free of educational programs and seems most open and receptive to change. The movement of handicapped children to the regular preschool program, the effective involvement of parents in the program, and the acceptable diversity of programs—all these movements are no longer seen as startlingly innovative. The future problems of preschool programs may well lie in preserving this diversity and open structure, in retaining the emphasis on individual development and close involvement of parents.

In some instances, inclusion of preschool programs within the public school structure has been successful, and perhaps has even influenced open programming in the early grades. But many feel that there is a danger that the rigidity of structure in other public schools might have an adverse effect on preschool programming.

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[37] Rothchild and Wolf, *op. cit.*, pp. 192-193

[38] *Ibid.*, p. 207

Additional Reading

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Mainstreaming: Origins and Implications, Vol. 2, No. 2, Spring 1976. Proceedings from July 1975 Dean's Conference, sponsored by LTI, University of Minnesota. Copies may be ordered from 104 Burton Hall, College of Education, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minnesota, 55455.

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HOME-BASED PROGRAMS

Doris K. Hiller[1]

Introduction

Despite the variety and wide range of preschool programs, the majority of young children are cared for through an informal network of family, friends and neighbors. Such private supervision runs the gamut from minimum meeting of physical needs to excellent care which is characterized by individualized attention, stimulation and loving concern. This kind of care may often involve some financial arrangement but usually remains outside the regulations which apply to other kinds of child care.

There is a great deal of overlap between this kind of care and what is defined as family day care, which is discussed fully in another volume of this compendium.[2]

An innovative feature of home-based programs that has appeared in the past decade involves the conscious utilization of the parents' natural skills, combined with materials and training, in the development of their children.

Education programs for parents and involvement of parents in some aspects of their children's school programs have had a long and varied history in the United States. In broad terms, we may say that, generally, school systems have given parents a limited role in the education of their children. It was in the middle sixties with the initiation of Project Head Start (one of the most massive federal educational efforts in this country) that parental participation in the education of their children became a central concern. An innovative feature of the Head Start program was the inclusion of parents in policy-making decisions; another important addition was that supportive services for children were integral to the program.

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[1] Graduate Programs Faculty. Bank Street College of Education.

[2] Home-based family day care may be described as a child or children (the number is usually limited to six or fewer) being cared for in the home of another person

From the Head Start experience, those most concerned with the development of young children began to focus attention on establishing programs for children not only between the ages of three and five, but under three years old as well. Now education was moving out of the school setting and into the home. A variety of home visit programs was designed to intervene in the process of parenting at an earlier age than Head Start. Some programs began with infants in order to stimulate the mother-child interaction in the home environment. The developers of most home visit and mother-child programs shared these assumptions:

- that the impact of family on the child is so important and pervasive that for most children it is not modified by school experience;
- that many children from low-income homes do not have adequate stimulation, motivation, experience, or interaction with their parents for successful achievement in school;
- that substantial learning takes place in the earliest months and years, long before children enter preschool programs;
- that the mother, father, or primary caregiver in the home is not only the first but the most important teacher of the young child.

Essential to most of these early childhood programs was the concept of *intervention*. With increasing research and societal pressure, the limitations of intervention became apparent.[3] Many planners began to see their role as *facilitators* rather than as *intervenors*. Currently, the facilitator's role is viewed as that of:

- helping parents to utilize their own strengths;
- helping parents to define their own goals;
- helping parents in the process of attaining those goals.

All of the home visit programs are designed to involve parents in the education of their children. But these programs may differ in their focus. Some concentrate on programs for children only; others on programs for parents only, still others on programs for both parents and children. Programs are also carried out in different ways. Some programs use home visits only; others use both home visits and preschool programs for children; still others use parent classes only, or both parental and preschool classes.

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[3] S. S. Baratz and J. C. Baratz, "Early Childhood Intervention The Social Science Base of Institutional Racism *Harvard Educational Review*, Vol. 40, No. 1 (1970), pp 29-50.

Programs that are directed mainly toward mothers and fathers assume that the children will be affected positively through the parents' actions; while programs that include both parents and children are believed to have direct and indirect effects. Some programs emphasize the parents' stimulation of the child; others concentrate on increasing their overall knowledge of child development. All the programs are concerned with improving the skills, abilities, and confidence of the parents in working with their own children. Each program develops its own rationale and selects and trains its own group of home visitors, who may include college students, social workers, teachers and/or paraprofessionals.

The programs described here are only a few of many which have been in operation for varying periods of time since the early 1960's.[4]

HIGH/SCOPE INFANT EDUCATION PROJECT

High/Scope Educational Research Fundation,
Ypsilanti, Michigan (originally known as the
Ypsilanti-Carnegie Infant Education Project)

The original Ypsilanti Home Teaching Project, in 1966, sent teachers into the homes of low-income families with four-year-olds to interact with mothers and to train them in language teaching and child management skills. Mothers learned skills demonstrated by home-visiting teachers and then progressed first to assisting these teachers and then to becoming teachers of their own children in a daily implementation of the program. Program content was not rigidly packaged although there were set cognitive goals. Home assignments for mothers were flexibly set according to the needs of mother and child.

In 1968 this original design was modified. The entrance age of children beginning in the program was changed to under one year, and emphasis shifted from focus on the child to facilitating the mother's growth as teacher in the belief that this was the most effective way to support cognitive development in infants. Through training, mothers were encouraged and helped to develop teaching styles and strategies compatible with their individual needs, expectations for the child, and socio-economic situation.[5]

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[4] Further information and the current status of these and other programs can be found through sources listed in the bibliography.

The program sought to help mothers achieve a better understanding of the nature and sequence of a child's development, particularly its cognitive aspects, and to learn to think of themselves as teachers who could facilitate their child's development. This could occur in a "give-and-take" relationship between mother and baby in which the needs of both persons were considered. Such a facilitating relationship is possible when a mother . . .

> . . . is able to take her infant's point of view, infer his needs and interests, and determine some way of balancing them against her own and those of other members of the family. There are no uniform rules for achieving this balance; each mother must find her own solution.[6]

With the ability to sensitively understand their child's behavior and with knowledge of the sequence of development, mothers would be able to support and extend child-initiated activities, and provide opportunities for infants to explore and master their world. Understanding the meaning of the infant's activities and explorations, the mother's "child-rearing objectives are not simply to control but to involve the child in purposeful activity."[7]

Working with very young children was seen less as intervention and more as support of development during this important sensory-motor period. The rationale for this program is based on the work of Piaget. The curriculum was not based on pre-developed specific tasks but grew out of the facilitating relationship between the mother and the home-visiting teacher who served as a resource for the mother to help her develop her own teaching style.

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[5] Dolores Z Lambie. "Mothers as Teachers." *High Scope Foundation Report* (Ypsilanti. Mich High Scope Educational Research Foundation. 1974). p. 6.

[6] *Ibid.*. p. 7.

[7] Lambie. *op. cit.*. p 9

PARENT EDUCATION PROGRAM

Institute for Development of Human Resources
University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida

The Parent Education Program was started in 1967 as a pilot study in rural and small town Black communities in Florida. The study population was a group of newborn infants, identified by an area hospital as being of normal health, and their mothers, who were interviewed while in the hospital. Mother and child were visited six weeks later in their home. Home visits to these pilot families lasted over a period of one or two years. Generally, the program trained mothers to interact with their young children in play which would be "mutually satisfying and that would enhance the intellectual and personality development of the child."[8] The program's aim was twofold: the mutual growth of mother and of child.

The Parent Education Program tried to provide the mother with activities to teach her child (beginning at three months), thus facilitating the child's development. It also offered opportunities to enhance her own growth and development: to strengthen her self-esteem, to change her view of self as a victim of chance and fate to the belief that she could affect her child's development, to facilitate her use of language and language materials to help provide her child with an increased vocabulary.[9]

It was felt that the best teachers of the parent would be women of a similar background as the mother. Non-professional, low-income women usually from the same community as the mothers were intensively trained as Parent Educators and visited every mother-child pair once a week for a period of over two years.

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[8] Ira J. Gordon. "Reaching the Young Child through Parent Education," in Bernard Spodek (ed.), *Early Childhood Education* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., Prentice-Hall, 1973), p. 278.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 277.

Specific sequenced concrete activities were the main elements of the program. These tasks were taught to the mothers by the Parent Educators through role-playing and demonstration (modeling), and included sample language for use with their children. Mothers were also taught simple toy-making skills so that they could make age-appropriate toys, such as puppets and mobiles, thus making tangible both their skills and contributions.

In December, 1968, a Home Learning Center component was added. Two-year-olds who had been in the program since the age of three months came together as a small group in the home of one mother who had been trained in the program and who was employed as an aide to the Parent Educator. Each child, along with four other children, would spend four hours a week in these "backyard center" settings. The child received direct individual tutoring from the Parent Educator for about ten to fifteen minutes in each two-hour session. The remainder of the time was spent in being read to, handling books, learning some group games, and in playing with materials specifically chosen for the cognitive opportunities they offered. This component was designed to extend the learning opportunities of the children by providing a social group situation and supplementing the role of the mother as the child's main teacher.

HOME-ORIENTED PRESCHOOL EDUCATION PROJECT (HOPE)

Appalachia Educational Laboratory (AEL)

The Appalachia Educational Laboratory, a non-profit regional laboratory, developed an intervention program for rural isolated Appalachian families with three-, four-, and five-year-old children. The program design combined television instruction, home visits to parents and children, and group instruction in a mobile classroom during a nine-month school year. The program, field-tested in southern West Virginia from 1968 to 1971, has since 1971 been tested in four demonstration sites in Virginia, West Virginia, and Tennessee.

The program directors wanted to develop children's readiness for school through improvement of verbal, sensory-motor and linguistic skills. They also hoped to help parents become better teachers of their own children through improvement of parent-child interactions in the home.

The program had three components. The first, a daily half-hour television show, "Around the Bend," produced by AEL, was designed to interest and actively involve the children and motivate them to learn while watching. Parents were encouraged to watch with their children and to observe the instruction by the trained adults. Each lesson was designed with particular emphasis on basic skill instruction such as counting.

The second component was a weekly home visit by a paraprofessional home visitor which was coordinated with the TV lesson. With each family she watched the TV episode for that day with children and parents; gave them guide sheets to stimulate interaction; and acted as a model for parents. Weekly home assignments were given and the theme of the following week's TV programs was discussed with parents.

The third component was a weekly visit of a mobile classroom with trained teachers who came for one and one-half hours of program complementing and sometimes repeating the TV and home curriculum activities.

It was felt that the program would remedy potential deficits in cognitive and motor development, parent-child interaction and social skills.

HOME START

Office of Child Development, Washington, D.C.

This program was started in 1972 as a three-year Head Start demonstration program designed to bring center-based Head Start services into the home. Both Head Start and Home Start programs include nutrition, health, education, and social and psychological services, and are designed to reach the same three- to five-year-old age group. The significant difference is that Home Start brings these services to rural and urban families in their own homes and concentrates on developing the skills of parents.

The concept that parents are the first and most influential educators of their own children underlies the educational aspects of the program. The goals of the programs are to help parents increase their understanding of child development; to help them make use of objects and materials in the home for games and learning activities; to help their children toward future success in school.

The program is staffed by paraprofessionals who have been trained for three to four weeks. A home visitor serves between eight and fifteen families. The program emphasizes health and nutrition by directly helping mothers with menu planning (making use of foods which are part of the family's diet), helping plan purchases, preparation and storage of the food. At the same time, home visitors demonstrate how activities become learning experiences for young children. They also help to secure health, psychological and social services for the child and family. They involve the mother in the process so that she can learn how to handle this herself.

VERBAL INTERACTION PROJECT/MOTHER-CHILD HOME PROGRAM

Family Service Association of Nassau County and
State University of New York at Stony Brook

This program began in 1965 as a small pilot project to study

> . . . the possibility of increasing in preschool children the capacity for verbal symbolization . . . by encouraging meaningful verbal interaction between very young children and their mothers, organized around toys and books.[10]

The program design is relatively simple. The Mother-Child Home Program trains and supervises women called Toy Demonstrators who are both paid (low-income, high school-educated) and unpaid (middle-income, college-educated) to work with low-income mothers and children in their homes. Children enter the program at age two and remain for two years.

During the two-year program, mother and child are visited by the Toy Demonstrator twice a week for a twenty-three week

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[10] Phyllis Levenstein and Robert Sunley. "Stimulation of Verbal Interaction between Disadvantaged Mothers and Children." *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*. Vol. 38, No. 1 (January, 1968), p. 117.

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period each year from October to May. Each week the Toy Demonstrator brings as a gift a carefully selected toy or book which remains in the home and which serves as a stimulus for verbal interaction between adult and child. The Toy Demonstrator's main job is to demonstrate to the mother how to interact verbally with the child in a play situation, thus fostering the child's conceptual growth. The Toy Demonstrator involves the mother in the session as early as possible so that the main responsibility for promoting verbal interaction quickly transfers from the Toy Demonstrator to the mother. Commercially available materials are used and a structured curriculum has been developed which guides the work of each session. Children are tested before beginning the program (Cattell, Binet and Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test) and at the end of the two years.

From September 1970 to June 1971, the Mother-Child Home Program was replicated in four settings each reaching a different low-income population. To study the generalizability of the method's effectiveness, the Mother-Child Home Program is being tested, as of 1975, in ten states of the country. The research project's Demonstration Center has been guiding replication centers at thirty locations in a variety of settings: schools, family service agencies, churches, mental health clinics and Indian reservations.[11]

Additional Reading

The Home Start Demonstration Program. Washington, D.C.: Office of Child Development, U S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, 1973.

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[11] Phyllis Levenstein, "A Message from Home: Findings from a Program for Non-Retarded, Low-Income Preschoolers," mimeo paper, February, 1975.

III.

EVALUATION OF PRESCHOOL PROGRAMS: A BRIEF OVERVIEW

EVALUATION OF PRESCHOOL PROGRAMS: A BRIEF OVERVIEW

Edna Shapiro, Ph.D.[1]

It seems reasonable to ask whether preschool programs do in fact accomplish what their proponents claim. Indeed policy makers, funding agencies, educators and parents have asked for demonstration of the effectiveness of educational programs, and evaluation of programs is considered imperative. The stress on accountability has the positive effect of making educators more responsible both to those who fund and those who participate in educational programs. At the same time, this emphasis has tended to support thinking of education in terms of cost-benefit analyses: one puts in so much money and effort and gets so much in return. In actual fact, of course, the evaluation of educational programs turns out to be much more complicated than had been thought, and this is nowhere more evident than in efforts to evaluate the impact of programs for young children.

In general, evaluation means the measurement of the effects of a program in terms of the goals the program is designed to meet. This principle is brought to bear not only on educational programs but on a wide range of other social programs—in geriatrics, criminal justice, mental health consultation, urban planning, drug abuse and delivery of health care. There has been a great deal of discussion and critique of research methodology and of the social and political issues that influence evaluation studies; and evaluation research, like the programs it is designed to assess, is a controversial area.[2]

Program evaluation depends on a worked-out and appropriate research methodology, a clear articulation of program goals, and on the availability of measures that can be used as indices of the extent to which goals are met. As must be evident from the descriptions of preschool programs in the previous sections, programs for young children have many different goals. Further, most programs have comprehensive goals. They aim not only to teach specific facts and behaviors and enlarge the child's repertoire of knowledge, to improve verbal skills and, in many cases, to teach a second language, but also to strengthen and improve the child's concept of self, to increase self-confidence, to promote trust in adults, and to develop curiosity and initiative. Many preschool programs (for example, Head Start) have comprehensive health, nutrition and social service components, as well as programs for parents. Parents are involved in the planning and running of programs and often learn new skills and ways of relating to children which may change not only their patterns of raising their own children, but also may qualify them for jobs in other programs. Yet. by and large, evaluation of educational programs has used a single yardstick to assess program effectiveness—that is, increase in I.Q. or achievement test scores.

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[2] A useful set of papers can be found in C. H. Weiss (ed.), *Evaluating Action Programs. Readings in Social Action and Education* (Boston, Allyn and Bacon, 1972).

One reason for this focus on I.Q. and school achievement is that a central underlying purpose of preschool programs, especially those for children of the poor. has been to provide "cognitive enrichment" or educational experiences that will help children to do better in school. Another equally important reason is that intelligence and I.Q. tests are available; they have been in wide use for many years and are considered standardized; they correlate well with future performance in school. The use of I.Q. tests is one of the issues on which informed people in the field disagree; while some support the use of I.Q. and achievement measures, others point to their cultural bias, and to the fact that they sample only a small (though important) set of the competences that preschool programs are designed to foster, and sample these inadequately.

This issue, like many others, relates to the evaluation of education programs in general; it is especially acute for the evaluation of preschool programs however, since young children are more difficult to test than older children and their test results are less reliable and less valid. Furthermore, most of the young children in funded preschool programs under consideration in this volume belong to cultural groups which differ from that of middle-class American culture, which is the cultural group for which these tests were designed and on which they were standardized.

There have been a number of reviews of studies evaluating school effectiveness[3] and there is considerable agreement as to the main findings. It should be noted, however, that there is no general agreement about what the findings mean, and different reviewers interpret the data in different ways. For example, it has been consistently shown that children who attend preschool show an immediate gain in I.Q. This gain, however, is not usually sustained in subsequent years. It is not clear whether the gain reflects increased familiarity with the school and testing situation, the types of questions and materials in the test, or even greater self-confidence and willingness to respond to questioning adults. That is, the gains may represent a greater sophistication about tests and test-taking, but not a genuine intellectual advance. Sometimes gains may not be sustained because primary programs are not capitalizing on the kinds of knowledge and the approach to learning that have been encouraged in the preschool program. The pattern of findings suggests that the children show gains in areas and on kinds of performance that the preschool program stressed, and this also suggests that to sustain gains, primary schools must also continue to strengthen the children's capabilities.

In evaluating findings, however, especially those which compare children who have participated in different kinds of programs, it is important to bear in mind some of the limitations of test results. We often seem to forget that responses to test items are made in a unique interpersonal setting. It is generally accepted that examiner variables (ethnic background, sex, manner and style) can have a powerful influence on responses in the testing situation. A number of studies have reported dramatic differences in obtained I.Q. as a result of optimizing testing conditions.[4]

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[3] See, for example, F. D. Horowitz and L. Y. Paden, "The Effectiveness of Environmental Intervention Programs," in B. M. Caldwell and H. N. Ricciuti. *Review of Child Development Research.* Vol. III (Chicago. University of Chicago Press, 1973); S. H. White, M. C. Day. P. K. Freeman. S. A. Hantman. and K. P. Messenger. *Federal Programs for Young Children: Review and Recommendations.* Vol. II of *Review of Evaluation Data for Federally-Sponsored Projects for Children* (Washington. D.C.. U.S. Government Printing Office, Contract No HEW-OS-71-170, Publication No. (OS) 74-102. 1973).

But certain aspects of the test situation which have received less attention are especially relevant to the assessment of educational programs, especially to comparing effects of different kinds of programs.[5] For instance, tests assess an individual's ability to transfer from one situation to another, the ability to generalize from information learned and attributes fostered in the classroom to the content and attitudes appropriate in the testing situation. There seems little question that the conventional schoolroom and structured learning program, with its emphasis on the teacher's dominant role, on children's rather passive acceptance of what the teacher tells them and tells them to do, is much closer to the test situation than the more informal, open, program-centered classroom. Children in conventional classes are more tuned in to the teacher-question-child-answer kind of interchange, to the notion that there is a right answer and a right way of doing things. In more open classrooms there is more exploration without specified outcome. more questioning and more self-initiated activity. Different kinds of competence are fostered. The fact is that educational programs vary in their emphasis on teaching children to perform on demand, in the practice given in test-like activities and the value placed on the kinds of skills that are conducive to success in test-taking.

Furthermore, in conventional programs, there is much greater uniformity of experience in the classroom than there is in the more open programs. Susan Stodolsky also points out that when the children's experiences have been heterogeneous, one cannot consider the educational program a treatment, in the usual sense.[6]

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[4] See. for example. A Thomas. M E Hertzig. I Dryman and P Fernandez. "Examiner Effect in I Q Testing of Puerto Rican Working Class Children." *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry.* Vol 41 (1971). pp 809-821

[5] Some of these issues are discussed more fully in E Shapiro. "Educational Evaluation Rethinking the Criteria of Competence. *School Review* Vol. 81 (1973). pp. 523-549

[6] S.S Stodolsky Defining Treatment and Outcome in Early Childhood Education." in H J. Walberg and A. T Kopan (eds). *Rethinking Urban Education* (San Francisco Jossey-Bass. 972)

While the situational constraints that operate in the testing situation apply both to adult and child, obviously the examiner is the freer agent and the one who determines the course of events. It is a situation of face-to-face interaction in which one party holds almost all the power. The major options open to the person being tested are to withhold, or give minimum or distorted responses. Usually what you get is the language of respect; the child tells you what he or she thinks you want to hear. In the test situation (as in the conventional schoolroom) the demonstration of cognitive ability is heavily dependent on language usage. The two kinds of competence are intimately connected. Yet in recent years, a wealth of data has shown that speech is extremely susceptible to situational influence.[7] Yet almost all evaluation data come from the testing situation.

Furthermore, preschool programs have considerable influence on a broader range of behavior and feelings than is revealed by I.Q. and achievement test scores of the participating children. The data on these effects, however, are less extensive as well as less reliable. Some programs have reported, for instance, that there is a diffusion of effect beyond that on the target children—that is, younger and older siblings and even neighbors of the target children may be positively influenced by the preschool program.[8]

It has also been reported that children who have gone to preschool have better attendance records in kindergarten and first grade.[9] This may mean that the children have acquired a positive feeling about school; better attendance is important also because it is a precondition for greater exposure to the curricular content of the primary grades.

There are very few studies which have measured the impact of preschool education on the families of the participating children, even when the mothers have been included in or have had jobs in the preschool program. Even more important, there have been only a handful of studies on the impact of preschool that have tried to assess the effects on the social and emotional development of the children. Many researchers reviewing the evaluation data take the position that, unfortunately, there are few valid and reliable techniques available for assessing aspects of social and emotional development in young children. This is a serious problem in the area of psychological and educational research and, again, is an issue on which there is considerable disagreement. Since, as we have already seen, the goals of preschool programs are not limited to cognitive gains, but include, indeed often focus on, attitudes and feelings, the development of problem-solving approaches and of more positive ways of interacting with adults and peers, there is a tremendous need for a broader range of measures appropriate to assessing these aspects of development.

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[7] C. B. Cazden. "The Situation. A Neglected Source of Social Class Differences in Language Use." *Journal of Social Issues*. Vol. 26 (1970). pp. 35-60: and W. Labov. "The Logic of Non-Standard English." in F. Williams (ed.). *Language and Poverty* (Chicago: Markham Publishing. 1971).

[8] R. A. Klaus and S. W. Gray. "The Early Training Project for Disadvantaged Children: A Report after Five Years," *Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development*. Vol. 33 (1968). Whole No. 120; also S. W. Gray and R. A. Klaus. "The Early Training Project. A 7th Year Report." *Child Development*. Vol. 41 (1970). pp. 909-924.

[9] See J. C Stanley (ed.). *Preschool Programs for the Disadvantaged* (Baltimore, Md Johns Hopkins University Press. 1972).

One compilation of reports of longitudinal evaluations of preschool programs[10] suggests that measurement of non-cognitive variables is indeed possible and supports the view that preschool programs can have a positive, significant and sturdy effect on the participating children. A recent evaluation of Home Start programs also supports the positive value of education in the home setting.[11] Furthermore, different kinds of programs report that children show a significant gain in I.Q. score (on the Stanford-Binet) when compared to a control group of children from similar backgrounds who had not participated in any program. Further, some studies show that preschool has a positive impact on the child's adjustment to school. The studies also highlight the importance of motivation. For instance, Beller's study begins to differentiate children who profit most and those who show less effect of preschool programs.[12]

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[10] S. Ryan (ed.). *A Report on Longitudinal Evaluations of Preschool Programs* (Washington. D.C.. U.S. Department of Health. Education and Welfare. DHEW Publication No. (OHD) 75-24. 1974).

[11] J.M. Love. M. Nauta. C. Coelen. et al.. *National Home Start Evaluation.* Vol. 11. Final Report—*Findings and Implications* (1976) Based on Department of Health. Education and Welfare Office of Child Development No HEW-105-72-1100 (Cambridge. Mass.: Abt Publications. 1976).

[12] E. K. Beller. "Impact of Early Education on Disadvantaged Children." in S. Ryan. *op. cit.*

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There has been progress in the past few years to a more sophisticated view of what educational evaluation can do and what kinds of questions it is most useful and pertinent to ask. When the Westinghouse evaluation of Head Start was first made public, many people reacted by criticizing the study (which did warrant criticism), but many took it at face value as showing that Head Start did not have the positive impact that had been anticipated. But the Westinghouse study did show that full-year Head Start programs were more influential than summer programs—a fact which influenced federal policy. Furthermore, in their re-analysis of the Westinghouse data, Smith and Bissell pointed out that the gains shown by participating children, although small, could lead to their placement in on-grade reading groups rather than in so-called special or remedial classes.[13] This in itself can have a positive and reinforcing value which may have far-reaching consequences for children's sense of their worth and their adjustment to school, as well as for the expectations which teachers have of the children's ability.

The questions about preschool education are no longer being phrased in yes/no terms. Education in the early years is generally accepted as a significant, indeed a vital force in furthering children's cognitive and social-emotional development and helping them to be able to profit more from what "regular" schooling has to offer.

In recent thinking about evaluation, more attention is being paid to the fact that programs often, if not always, have effects other than those intended. Sometimes these are positive effects which the planners had not thought of; in other instances, however, these may be negative effects. Program evaluation needs to take account both of the intended outcomes—how well the specified goals are being met—and also of the unanticipated effects of educational programs.

Questions in program evaluation have shifted to a more long-term view of educational effectiveness, to issues of what kinds of preschool programs followed by what kinds of primary programs have greater impact. In the past the great majority of studies have dealt with group effects, often pooling data from many

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[13] M. Smith and J. Bissell, "Report Analysis: The Impact of Head Start," *Harvard Educational Review*, Vol. 40 (1970), pp. 51-104

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different children in different programs and even in different geographic localities. There has been growing awareness of the importance of taking program variation and specific regional differences into account in designing and carrying out evaluation studies. Further, it is essential to know more about individual differences within school groups—what kinds of children profit most from what kinds of programs.

In the next few years it is possible that we will learn more about effects of preschool education in the context of subsequent schooling. The major findings of the national evaluation of Follow Through, with its emphasis on Planned Variation in Head Start and in Follow Through programs, will soon be released by the Huron Institute. Another major study is the ETS (Educational Testing Service) Head Start study. This six-year longitudinal study was started in 1969-70 with a sizeable sample (about 1900 children) in four different geographic regions of the United States.[14] The design is ambitious and the findings should turn out to be a model of what a sophisticated evaluation of educational programs on a large scale can tell us.

The kinds of evaluation studies discussed above are all studies in which a program is assessed in terms of its (usually the children's) achievements; the evaluation provides a kind of summary of the program's achievements. In fact, this kind of evaluation has been termed *summative*.[15] Summative evaluation is designed to assess what the program can do, it uses "hard" measures to evaluate outcomes. It is based on the assumption that the program being evaluated is at least an adequate exemplar of its type, that goals have been specified and that there are reliable and valid measures available for assessing the extent to which these goals have been achieved. But many programs, especially those for young children, are in flux; the goals may be clear but the ways of implementing them change as the program is put into action. Furthermore, teachers and program planners often want feedback from the evaluation, and summative evaluation characteristically involves end-of-the-year testing, or may extend over several years during which time there is little flow of information back to those involved in the program. Thus a different evaluation strategy is required for programs that are themselves in process of development, a strategy that allows for, even encourages corrective changes in the program while the study is in progress, and that provides feedback to those who are running the program. Such evaluation is termed *formative*; it focuses on the process of enacting an educational program and is geared to providing feedback to help formulate the strengths and correct the weaknesses of the program being assessed. Formative evaluation appeals to many educators because of its focus on educational processes and its potential value for teachers and administrators in highlighting effective procedures and pointing up weaknesses. It has the advantage of promoting communication among those engaged in teaching children and operating schools.

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[14] V. Shipman. "Disadvantaged Children and Their First School Experiences. ETS Head Start Longitudinal Study." in J. Stanley (ed.). *op. cit.*

[15] M. Scriven. "The Methodology of Evaluation." in R W Tyler. R. Gagne and M Scriven. *Perspectives of Curriculum Evaluation*. AERA Monograph Series (Chicago Rand McNally and Co.. 1967).

There has been general dissatisfaction with standard (primarily summative) evaluation procedures for a variety of reasons, many of which have already been noted: the preoccupation with cognitive measures and consequent low priority on looking at emotional and social development, and on the impact on parents and family life; the fact that the types of measures used favor structured programs in which the curriculum is geared specifically to these kinds of learning. Not surprisingly, much of the dissatisfaction with this kind of evaluation has come from those who favor more open, program-centered and informal approaches to education. Some administrators and teachers have been experimenting with different ways of evaluating their programs through the use of observation and record-keeping—documenting what goes on, how different children make use of the opportunities offered in a classroom with a heterogeneous program, keeping logs, diaries and using children's work as a way of assessing what they have learned and what they need help with.[16] There are some techniques available which try for a broader range of assessment than the standard paper-and-pencil achievement and I.Q. tests.[17] It is important to note that these newer methods, like the conventional ones, have not solved all the problems. It is crucial that the information from tests (of whatever kind) is available to the teacher while the children are still in her classroom. It is equally crucial that teachers and school administrators are aware of the limitations of testing. When there is a discrepancy between what the test says and what the teacher thinks, it is not necessarily the test that is right, the teacher wrong. Such discrepancies, however, can be a useful course of learning for teachers. Teachers can profit from using corrective devices to test against their own perceptions of what is happening in their classrooms. Teachers and school administrators need to know more about testing, what it can and cannot do, so that the processes and findings of educational evaluation are not mysterious and therefore sacrosanct, but can be a useful source of information for making educational practice more effective.

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[16] See, for example, G R Hawes, "Managing Open Education, Testing, Evaluation and Accountability," *Nations Schools*, Vol 93 (1974), pp. 33-47, B. S Engel, *A Handbook on Documentation* (Grand Forks, N D., University of North Dakota, 1975).

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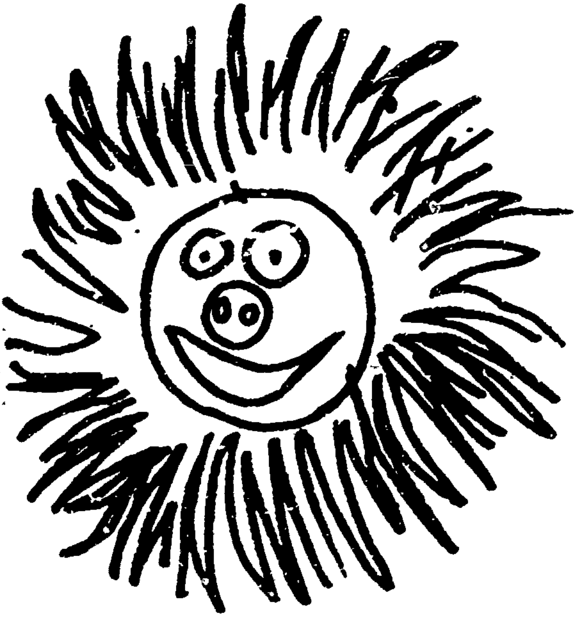
[17] For example, *CIRCUS Comprehensive Program of Assessment Services for Preprimary Children*, manual and technical report—preliminary version (Princeton N.J Educational Testing Service, 1974)



IV.

SOME CONSIDERATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR ESTABLISHING AN EFFECTIVE PRESCHOOL PROGRAM

Rather than being just a watered-down version of kindergarten, effective preschool education should be distinctly appropriate to the developmental stages of the young children it serves. Not only should it be sensitively responsive to the needs of the family and community, but good preschool education should also involve the parents in its enactment. While not directly involved in this unique segment of education, the elementary school principal can play an effective role in helping to create the necessary network of services for the preschool child and his or her family. The principal, as a concerned educator and childhood advocate, may be viewed as a strong supporter of, and a resource person for, good preschool education.

SOME CONSIDERATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR ESTABLISHING AN EFFECTIVE PRESCHOOL PROGRAM

Betty D. Boegehold[1]
Harriet K. Cuffaro[2]
William H. Hooks[3]

The Central Concern

Although preschool programs for three- to five-year-olds described here represent a variety of theoretical points of view, in practice they often do not greatly differ. The most obvious difference is whether or not the emphasis is [illegible] teacher-directed or child-initiated activities. We believe that the most effective program has its focus on the child-initiated activities and establishes a setting, materials and supportive personnel to encourage the development of the whole child. We view the teacher's or caregiver's role as that of a nurturing person who (1) views thinking and feeling as interactive processes; (2) is a supporter of the child explorer and experimenter, a resource person rather than a dictator of learning content and social behavior; (3) is a supplier of materials and an initiator of programs. We believe that interaction between the participants in the program—between children, between children and teachers, between teachers and parents, between any combination of these—is the most successful method of developing effective interaction of social, affective and cognitive learning.

Initiating the Program

The desire for an early childhood program may be the result of a variety or a combination of factors: working parents who need care for their children; parents who seek to extend their children's learning through an educational program; parents who wish to join and share with others in the task of raising their children; or concerned educators. Whatever the reasons may be, programs are created from needs which are met through action—what parents or parents and educators want for their children combined with the actions taken to realize these goals.

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From the birth of the idea for a preschool program to the time when a community has a preschool program functioning is a process which must include:

- analyzing the specific needs of the children for whom the program is planned;
- analyzing the needs of young children based on knowledge of their development;
- clarifying and sharing ideas on child-rearing practices that are intrinsic to the values of participating parents;
- deciding on the kind of care and programs to be created.

This process of meetings, discussions, expression of thoughts and feelings also includes a considerable amount of vigorous "legwork":

- observing other programs;
- checking out equipment catalogues;
- communicating with funding sources;
- identifying the existing community network of child care;
- visiting and discussing coordination with service agencies;
- contacting other community resources;
- seeking a site.

Who are the people involved in all this activity? They are:

- the parents of the children to be served;
- concerned educators;
- community people who have facilities, services and expertise to offer;
- people in the fields of education, law, health, community planning and social services, all working together, sharing and exchanging their knowledge and views of childhood.

This initial exploration will lead to the creation of working committees. For example, a subcommittee may assess the need for early childhood programs by surveying the community, may meet with people to discuss the types of programs which could be made available. (Do we need an infant center? A program for toddlers? Family day care? Afterschool day care?) As ongoing work of committees begins to take form, the need for coordination arises, and this may become the function of an Early Childhood Board. We believe the most successful board will represent five groups:

- parents;
- early childhood educators;
- teachers and caregivers;
- representatives from the community;
- persons in health and social services.

The parents, or those in the parenting role, should be, to a large extent, the initiators of the program and will have more representation than the other groups on the board. But they will also need the advice, expertise and help of professionals and other community members with special skills. Then the program will reflect a consensus of the larger community, not only as advisors, but as examples of collaboration in the program itself between:

- child and child;
- teacher and child;
- teacher and teacher;
- teacher and parent.

The Type of Program

Among the questions to be discussed by any group considering an early childhood program is the type of program that is best suited to the needs of the community. What type of care is more compatible with the values and lifestyles of the parents?

For instance, is the primary need for infant care? If so, shall it be home-based or center-based or both? We believe that, in infant care as in other programs, the program not only consists of meeting physical needs but also emphasizes other aspects of development. A model infant program offering health and custodial services must also include a program of stimulation, attending to the infant's social, emotional and cognitive development in an atmosphere of warm loving concern.

The program for any age group should reflect the importance of nutrition and general health to the total development of the child. Arrangements for health services should be made with a medical facility (nearby if possible) that can provide regularly scheduled physical examinations, advice on nutrition, immunization shots and post-natal care for mothers.

In addition, provision should be made for family support services, such as assistance with family counseling, or referral services. An effective preschool program becomes a place for integrating community services which will contribute to the positive development of the whole child.

In creating the curriculum, we believe that certain principles are true for all ages and are of critical importance for children in early childhood programs:

- that the whole child develops best within an atmosphere of caring, respect and mutuality;
- that optimum development (social, physical, cognitive and affective) occurs when children are actively and personally engaged in experimenting, exploring, working with other children;
- that for the young child, play is an important method of sorting out and coming to terms with the world of people, things, and concepts;
- that children need input from adults and also need times for privacy and quiet;
- that the program and materials in the curriculum should offer opportunities and options for these experiences;
- that the overall program should provide a learning community for both children and adults.

These principles are realized in an environment which:

- encourages freedom of movement;
- is accident-proof as far as possible, yet is sufficiently flexible to allow for spontaneity and modification;
- is organized so that children can function knowingly and independently within it;
- is sufficiently predictable to ensure ease and comfort in functioning;
- is a place that offers room for individual and group activities, yet creates a sense of community;

- encourages questioning, participation and reciprocity;
- is aesthetically pleasant and congenial.

These principles are best translated through materials which:

- are safe and durable;
- are largely unstructured to enable children to make their own unique impact;
- often come from the natural environment;[4]
- are, if structured, multi-dimensional and offer a range of possibilities in use and evoke a variety of responses;
- are often created by teachers and children and community members;
- encourage individual and/or group use;
- accommodate differences in individual learning styles and developmental stages;
- are relevant to the children's cultural milieu.

Paying for the Program

The availability of funds for early childhood programs may come from many sources, such as private, community, state and federal agencies. While most low-income families may qualify for government subsidy, many parents must pay all or part of the tuition costs Often in cooperative programs parents contribute time which reduces the cost of financing the program. In practice a community should utilize any combination of these approaches which seems appropriate. In another volume of this compendium, detailed information is given on how a community group may effectively seek such funding. Regardless of the source, in recent years it has become increasingly important, if not essential, to produce proposals in order to obtain funding.

Also, groups must examine how funding sources may possibly affect, alter, or compromise the original goals set by the initiators of the program. Political awareness and expertise in regard to funding sources are imperative.

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[4] Rachel Rippy (ed.),"Finding and Using Scrounge Materials" (New York. Teacher Corps Project. District 3, and the Learning Center, Bank Street College of Education, 1975). Printed under Grant No. OEG-O-73-1278, Office of Education, Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

Licensing the Program

Any group considering an early childhood program must consult local authorities to learn if there are requirements concerning physical space, teacher credentials, health and fire regulations. Beyond the requirements of the local town/city, groups must also check to see if there are regional, state and federal guidelines to be followed. The licensing agency will differ with each community; it may be located in an Office of Child Development, the Health Department, or other agencies. Having community agency representatives on a planning board will be a great asset, as they will add their expert advice and political skill to group knowledge and action.

Specific licensing requirements will determine the base from which a group plans an early childhood program. For example, age will often determine the maximum number of children that may be enrolled, the minimum footage allowed per child, the air space, the size and number of toilets, and other physical, health and safety requirements.

Choosing a Site

When the initiators of the desired program have resolved the above problems, they must decide upon and seek out a desirable site. Perhaps an existing educational or religious institution will pro' le a suitable space; or sufficient room may be found in an apartment house, an empty store, or an office building. The site must be large enough to allow for free physical activity both indoors and out; to comfortably accommodate the necessary materials; to provide for bathroom facilities; to meet the existing local codes without too much alteration. The best site is one which the children and their parents can easily reach without too much cost or effort. And it should lend itself to extended uses—i.e., as a meeting place for parents and staff as well as children.

Providing Indoor Space

The atmosphere created in the site must be as home-like as possible; for, to the children, it will be an extension of their homes. The site should provide small areas for pursuit of different activities without blocking the free flow from one activity to another. The specifics of each area will be determined by what is appropriate for each stage and age of development.

For three- to four-year-old children, one area would have a "reading corner," for book-looking or quiet reflection, with rugs, cushions and comfortable chairs. Another area might be a workbench with saws, hammers, nails, clamps. A science area would contain plants, animals, sandbox and space for ongoing experiments. An ample supply of blocks and supplementary materials will provide an opportunity for children to participate in dramatic play and to explore their understanding of the world. Creative materials for art in another space would include paints, easels, clay, scissors, paper. Another place might have hot plates and cooking equipment; yet another, a playhouse setting with appropriate materials. A record player or piano or other musical instrument should be available.

Every child should have a chair or other seating space; sufficient tables are needed to seat all children for provided nutrition. Each child should have a "cubby" (a small box or shelf space) labeled with his or her name as a private storehouse. Hooks for outdoor clothing (also labeled) will be necessary. Much of this equipment can be made by the parents from "found" materials, such as cardboard cartons, discarded wood pieces, grocery or milk boxes.

Materials for large muscle development might include a small ladder, a gym-type of structure or other climbing equipment; various kinds of manipulative materials for small muscle development should be provided, such as puzzles, games, pegboards and crayons. And, of course, blocks, toys, dolls, clothing materials, dishes, puppets and sturdy vehicles for dramatic play.

Providing Outdoor Space

Outdoor space is almost a necessity. If such space is not immediately available, the site must be close to an outdoor play park. The outdoor area is important as a place where children can run and romp freely as well as engage in group games. Equipment should be simple and invite a variety of uses rather than complex, detailed and therefore limited. Well-sanded and weatherproofed planks of wood of varying sizes, sturdy boxes, swings made from rubber tires, rubber tires for crawling through or sitting in and some large but simple vehicles constructed from planks or boxes with wheels, lend themselves to a variety of uses.

Selecting the Staff

Again, it is necessary to first check applicable licensing procedures to determine what credentials are required of adults working with children, such as health and certification requirements. A staff may range from certified teachers to neophytes in child care who have little or no professional training

In selecting staff, in addition to specified requirements cited, there are three important considerations. First, the qualifications (education and life experience) of the proposed staff member; second, the goals and methods employed by the prospective caregiver; and third, the willingness of the applicant to work with both other staff members and with and for the parents.

Key to the success of a good preschool program is the effectiveness of the director. Ideally a director should be an educator as well as an administrator. When this combination is not available we recommend that the director be chosen first for his or her educational qualifications and that the managerial task be given to an administrative associate. When these roles are divided there must be a close and understanding relationship in which the administrative role enhances the educational goals.

Atmosphere is an intangible but very potent component of the program; therefore, the caring concern of the staff members is perhaps the most important requirement of all. For small children not only react to but learn from the attitudes of teachers and caregivers who must foster dependable pleasurable relationships with the children and with other staff members as well as with parents. The staff member who believes that her / his role is limited to the instruction of children will not be a learning member of the group. Interaction among the adults as well as among the children is a vital ingredient in a good program for children. It is essential that staff members be people who enjoy working with young children—infants, toddlers, or preschoolers; who are responsive to the particular learning style and communication of these ages; who find satisfaction in encouraging and supporting the growth of each child; who relate successfully with other staff members; who relate with understanding to the families of the children; who view themselves and their actions as part of the modeling process for children.

Admission Procedures

Recruitment of children for a program will depend on the local setting. If the program is under the auspices of an educational institution, the sponsoring school will help in the recruitment; or, recruitment may occur informally on a word-of-mouth, door-to-door and store-to-store basis. Other sources may be found in local religious and political organizations, the local school community agencies, referrals from social service agencies. We recommend that whatever combination of means is used, it is important to utilize the existing network of communication in a community. The style must be personalized and responsive to people; primary focus cannot be on guidelines, requirements and regulations.

Admission procedures will be determined during the planning stages of the program. It is important to include an interview with the parent(s), observation of the child, a physical examination, health record (illnesses, vaccinations). These are procedural concerns. Also to be considered in admissions is the manner in which a child will enter the program. There must be a comfortable and gradual introduction to the new setting which will include the parents' direct involvement.

In preliminary interview with parents, the following questions might be discussed:

- What are the parents' goals for their child?
- How do they see this program as meeting their child's needs?
- Are they willing to give time and / or money to the program?
- Do they view their role as a learner as well as a giver?

We believe that the most successful program results from a close collaboration of parents, staff and community. However, such unanimity develops slowly. Some parents may hold opposing views; some may not be experienced in group participation; while some may lack confidence in their own

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competencies. Other participants (educators, community service members) may see themselves as leaders rather than as group members. The originators of the program, while respecting individual viewpoints, must devote time and understanding to the establishment of a truly democratic group process.

Putting Long-Range Goals into Practice

We believe that the long-range goal of a preschool program must be directed toward the positive development of the whole child, with "results that won't be evident for many years; the development of abilities, interests, attitudes and values that will develop over a lifetime."[5] The day-to-day objectives in the program will be related to these goals by providing materials, opportunities and social interaction that will help develop the child not only physically but emotionally, socially and cognitively.

For the child, a "good preschool program means a warm, secure and challenging environment; for the parents and staff, the program will also be responsive to their needs, values and concerns."[6]

Thus the needs of child, parent and staff will be reflected in the choice of materials, the daily activities and the close relationships between the staff and the home.

> This last point deserves some special emphasis. The unfortunate pattern in education has been the sharp division between the 'professional' staff that 'knows what's best' and the parents, who are asked to leave their children, 'early in the morning, please.' and then vanish as quickly and quietly as possible. To change that pattern is not easy and parents and staff must continue to work hard at conscious communication so that this kind of division is minimized. The [program] at its best is not only a supportive growth environment for children, but also for all the adults involved in it.[7]

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[5] A. L. Butler. *Early Childhood Education Planning and Administering Programs* (New York: D Van Nostrand. 1974).

[6] P. Silverman. *An Introduction to the Family Center at Bank Street* (New York The Family Center at Bank Street. 1976). p 2

[7] *Loc. Cit.*

The Preschool Program

We believe with others that *play is the work of children*;[8] and that the materials must lend themselves to dramatic play, to exploration, and to discovery—a basis for true cognitive growth. For in dramatic play, children constantly test out and explore their understanding of the world around them, try on adult roles, creatively express themselves physically and vocally and work out their feelings. Blocks and related materials, clothing, household items and large apparatus are appropriate vehicles for such dramatic play. Puzzles, clay, manipulative counting objects, sorting and other math materials, paint, woodworking, blocks and, of course, books, offer developmental challenges so that children can persist and work toward personally set goals of exploration, discovery and problem-solving.

> Play should be a combination of exploring new objects. practicing new skills, meeting new challenges and enjoying the ease of using a skill already mastered, the comfortable feelings of re-exploring the familiar.[9]

Learning situations must offer a variety of opportunities for expression of thought and feeling through language, movement and materials. In many instances, one material or activity may combine several of the desired objectives, for we believe that cognitive and affective learning are inseparable; for instance, an activity initiated primarily for cognitive skills, such as the child's recognizing his/her name, involves other objectives also: language skills (word recognition), social relations (taking turns), perception (small eye muscle movement), and emotional satisfaction (positive self-image).

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[8] For further explanation of this statement. see B Biber. "Play As a Growth Process." *Vassar Alumnae Magazine.* Vol. 37, No. 2 (1951), B Biber. "A Learning-Teaching Paradigm Integrating Intellectual and Affective Processes." in E. M Bower and W G Hollister (eds.). *Behavioral Scien., Frontiers in Education* (New York John Wiley. 1967). pp. 111-155, E. Erikson. "Identity and the Life Cycle." *Psychological Issues.* Vol. 1, No 1 (1959), and E. B. Omwake. "The Child's Estate," in A J Solnit and S. A. Provence (eds). *Modern Perspectives in Child Development* (New York International Universities Press. 1963), pp. 577-594.

[9] A. Willis and H. Ricciuti. *A Good Beginning for Babies Guidelines for Group Care* (Washington. D.C . National Association for the Education of Young Children. 1974) pp. 41-42.

In building a firehouse with blocks, the child brings to the structure experiences from the outside world: a trip to the firehouse, information gathered from a variety of sources (adults, peers, television, books), and the child's own emotional reactions (pleasurable excitement or anxiety). All through the day, the child's interactions with materials, with other children and with adults help him or her to substantiate, alter, share or reconsider his/her fund of information and thoughts.

Development of academic skills is inherent in many of the activities. Science concepts and facts are discovered as the children investigate the science corner and the world around them; a child involved in block building, mixing paints, or caring for gerbils is actively engaged in scientific research. Mathematical concepts are fostered by recognition of sets, geometric relationships, exploration of weights and volume and, of course, enumerating or "counting." But a good program always relates the abstract to the tangible, such as matching crackers to the number of children present; or matching blocks to discover halves and wholes. "Reading readiness" is constantly reinforced as the children identify labels, names, street signs; discover differences and similarities in letters and words; and pore over books and listen to stories. We believe the most important and effective preparation for reading is being read to; that delight in stories (both their own and those of others) is the best reading readiness.

The adults will offer opportunities for broadening and deepening this fund of information and perception, not only through discussions, questions and books, but also through trips to explore the community around them. Trips are a basic way to foster children's understanding of the environment, both social and natural, through direct experience and participation.

The preschool program introduces the child to the personal pleasure of the "arts"—to rhythmic responses in music and dance—and sets the foundation for future skills when the adults working with the children are able to recognize and use the foundations on which these skills are based and which arise from the children's play. Thus the children are encouraged to dictate stories or experiences to the staff or to the group; to express verbally their feelings and ideas. In this way, children learn that words are basic tools of communication, and they begin to comprehend the importance of the printed word and numeral, our system of signs and symbols.

And, to make learning vital, the curriculum must be relevant to the life experiences of the children by including their families, their culture and their community.

Keeping the Program Vital

Programs are kept alive and vital through ongoing evaluation and the continued growth of all who are involved. children and adults. Adults working with children need varied opportunities to discuss their work together, to evaluate their learning, to increase their skills, to learn more about children, to develop materials and to share their ideas and work with parents. Teachers will find that keeping daily records of each child's activities and/or social behavior is an invaluable tool not only for parent conferences but in charting each child's progress.

Vitality can be maintained through the development of ongoing inservice training which grows out of the expressed needs of the staff. Courses may be offered on-site or through local educational institutions (when available). A staff may want a course on child development, on curriculum, room arrangement, or interpersonal relations. Or they may want workshops on developing curriculum materials, bilingual education, or other areas of concern. Staff development must also include opportunities to visit other programs and to exchange ideas with others who are working with children.

Parents also seek opportunities for their own growth. An early childhood center can become a focal point for the learning of all who are involved—children, parents and teachers. In addition to programs which inform parents about child development, curriculum, nutrition and health, parents may also wish to extend their learning in other [illegible]s—e.g., opening up new job opportunities.

Coordination with health and social services requires ongoing meetings, face-to-face sharing of concerns, continued evaluation and opportunities for direct participation and involvement with the families of the school. For example, if a doctor is assigned to a center for physical check-ups of the children, this is a good opportunity both for examining the child and also for getting to know the parents as people, to learn of their concerns and their hopes for their children.

All adults involved in a program are obligated to be knowledgeable about the current trends in political, social and legislative affairs. Only in this way will they be able to take action to influence the forces that affect the quality of life for their children and themselves.

Continuity in Learning

We have outlined some basic considerations and recommendations for establishing effective programs for young children. In what we have selected as being important features of programs, we have focused on these several themes as being essential: that cognitive and affective learning are inseparable and are an ongoing process; that staff must be responsive to children's life and learning styles; that parents must be involved in a variety of ways in the education of their children; that all participants—children, staff and parents—interacting with respect and concern, become a true community of learners.

As children leave early childhood programs, their parents and teachers must think about and plan for the transition to the usually more formal, traditional world of schools. We recommend that teachers and parents establish close ties with the principals of the receiving elementary schools. Principals can be one of the most effective links between the preschool and public school life of children. We also recommend that:

- teachers visit schools which children will be entering and talk with staff;
- teachers make arrangements to take small groups of children to visit the local kindergarten possibly for a shared snack time;
- teachers and administrators from early childhood programs establish an open communication system with local schools to discuss goals for children, services to be offered, and to exchange ideas.

Parents should make every effort to maintain a central role in the education of the children. We recommend that:

- parents visit the school their child will attend and talk with teachers, principals and other administrative staff;

- parents form or join school organizations which will give them a strong voice in the school;
- parents maintain frequent contact with their child's teacher to learn about the daily program, the teacher's goals, and to share and exchange information and ideas about the child so that the education of the child is a collaborative effort between home and school.

Together, parents and educators form a community which is part of the larger society in which they live. It is important that the experience gained by this community of active participants in the preschool education of the children be continued and remain vital and meaningful as children move into more formal schooling. Such a key role does not come about automatically—a great deal depends on the interaction between parents and educators, the links they have established with each other. with the school system and with other support services.

Just as children must not lose the joy in learning they have gained, parents and staff members must not relinquish their roles as advocates for children.

Additional Reading

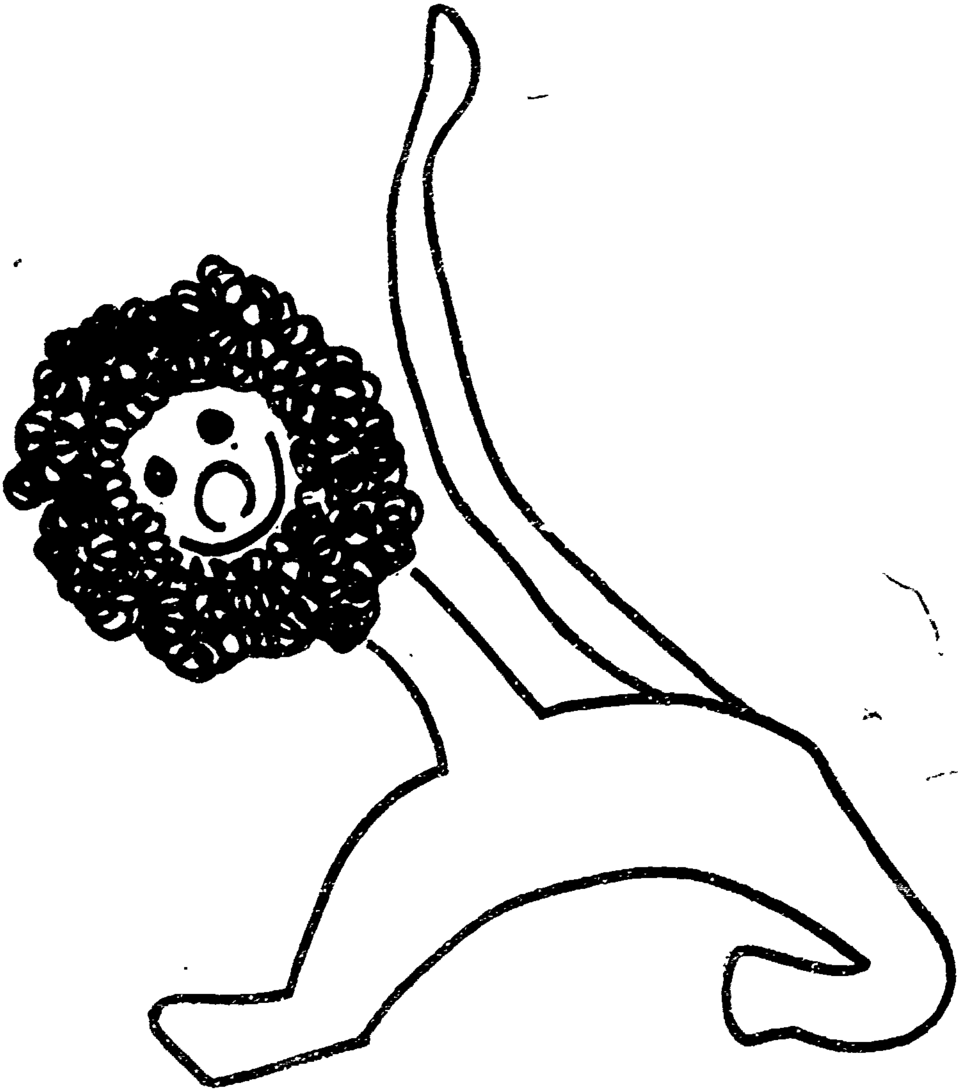
Butler, A. L. *Early Childhood Education: Planning and Administering Programs.* New York: D. Van Nostrand, 1974

Colvin, R. W., and Zaffiro, E. M., eds. *Preschool Education: A Handbook for the Training of Early Childhood Educators.* New York: Springer Publishing Co., 1974.

Evans, E. C. *Contemporary Influences in Early Childhood Education.* New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1975.

Weber, E. *Early Childhood Education. Perspectives on Change.* Worthington, Ohio: Charles A. Jones Publishing Co., 1970.

The General Bibliography offers a wide variety of references pertaining to the various aspects of preschool education.



V.

A VIEW OF PRESCHOOL EDUCATION

A VIEW OF PRESCHOOL EDUCATION

Barbara Biber, Ph.D.[1]

Awareness of our responsibility as a society to provide publicly supported education in the preschool years (prior to the accustomed entrance into the first grade at six years of age) is based on two major developments in recent years: advances in the study of early childhood and recognition of the expanded role of the school as a socializing institution.

There has been a long-standing assumption that the nature of experience in the early years of childhood is a major influence on ultimate levels of performance and characteristics of life style. This provided the rationale for the century-long investment in preschool education supported as it was under private auspices and usually in connection with university-based programs, often oriented toward research. Granting that there is a difference in given potential, the course of each individual's development was not taken to be predetermined. The factor of environmental influence was studied and evaluated along different dimensions. Investigators attached to academic institutions were interested in differences in intelligence quotient attributed to contrasting stimulating environments. Scholars of the psychodynamic school of thought were more concerned with deeply-invested life attitudes, often operating unconsciously, attributed to the dynamics of family life history.

In the last two or three decades the assumption of major influence of the early years has gained strength. It has been differentiated theoretically, communicated more broadly and substantiated through systematic studies, utilizing new methods of analysis. As a result, the earliest years are now characterized as having the highest degree of plasticity compared to other periods of development. The quality and content of the infant's and young child's experience affect the entire panorama of the developing person—the intellectual emergents, the internalization of self-feeling, the primary values of interpersonal relations, the mode of language utilization, the parameters of each individual's search for penetrating the unknown and a style of learning how to learn.

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Especially in the area of cognitive development there is increasing recognition of the importance of early, planned stimulation. Experimental programs have been directed toward encouraging responsiveness in a variety of psychological domains—from elementary processes of visual perception to complex judging and reasoning requiring the capacity to engage competently with symbols for experience in place of direct manifestations. Furthermore, it is now generally agreed that what matters is not only the quality and relative richness of stimulation provided for the young child but also the positioning of experience at optimal periods in the course of growth. Thus, it is both the availability and timing of appropriate experience that is said to facilitate or inhibit the fulfillment of potentiality.[2]

This premise is only a first step. The challenge remains to interpret what kind of stimulation is optimal toward which developmental goals. In very short order we come face to face with decisions about goals for education in the broadest terms, requiring choices as to which values in human functioning we wish education, from the earliest years, to strengthen and what kind of teaching strategies are most likely to be effective. In our pluralistic society, there is no agreement on these issues. In fact, there is a ferment of disagreement among educators that is paralleled in the discipline of psychology.

There are those who prefer a relatively restricted role for the school, assigning central importance to achievement, primarily in the realm of intellectual growth, represented in the early years by the academic subjects of reading, mathematics and language. In this basically traditionalist view, which surfaces periodically in reaction against experimental changes in educational ideology and practice, the goal is efficient transmission of an established body of knowledge, mastery of fundamental skills in word and number symbol systems as foundation for later school years.

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[2] J. McV. Hunt. *Intelligence and Experience* (New York: The Ronald Press, 1961).

Creative arts or free dramatic play may be given some time and space in programs for the younger children but only as supplementary accessories to the program. These activities are not regarded as central to the learning design, when included at all. Through codes of approval and disapproval the socialization process is geared toward bringing children to behave in socially desirable ways with positive value placed on early conformity to the established standards and the designated voices of authority.

In recent years, behavioristic learning theory, applied to education, has provided a technology for "shaping" behavior and for raising learning efficiency suited to the circumscribed goals of the traditional view and to the directive role of the adult in relation to the child. In this volume, the application of this theory to preschool education and its intrinsic congruence with the traditional orientation is explicated in the paper by Leslie Williams in which "the teacher is seen as a dispenser of knowledge and a direct developer of skills. Instruction is prescribed and under the teacher's control." The preschool years are viewed as the preparatory period for the formal schooling experience of later school years, with no questions raised as to need or desirability for inaugurating basic changes in the whole social enterprise of education such as are indicated by advances in developmental theory or by the considerable shift from family to school in responsibility for the progress from dependent infancy to competent maturity.

Differences in the ideological concept of the role of the school are reflected in the differences among preschool programs. In contrast to the conformism of behavioristically-oriented programs, other programs with broader perspectives are oriented toward making basic changes in the educational enterprise as a whole. They see preschool as a foundation not for what "school" has been but for an image of what school can and should be. Among adherents of this "long view" there are, however, basically different alignments as to goal and method. Some are concerned with the relation between schooling and personality (see chapter in this volume on psychoanalysis), some concentrate on maximizing potential for thinking processes (see chapter in this volume on Piagetian programs), some build on formalized exercise in early sensory-motor skills as preparation for more complex psychological processes (see chapter in this volume on Montessori).

In actuality, many operating preschools do not have a clear theoretical orientation. It is nevertheless true that the preschool movement as a whole has, for more than half a century, contributed significantly to new learning-teaching techniques and new concepts of the teacher-child relationship as part of its resistance to incorporating unsuitably the rigid "academism" of the elementary school into early childhood education. This was an intrinsic part of its commitment to fulfilling the growth potential of the "whole" child in the first years of schooling.

There has been progress in recent years, especially since the psychological profession has become actively involved in preschool programs for the disadvantaged population, in grounding educational designs in one or another theoretical proposition. Earlier in the century, preschool educators of the progressive school orientation had established theoretical alliance with the philosophy of John Dewey and inaugurated programs enacting its implications for changing education.[3] (See chapter in this volume by Charlotte B. Winsor).

In the contemporary scene, in line with that earlier trend, the developmental-interaction approach[4] (see chapter in this volume by Harriet Cuffaro) represents the most comprehensive approach, both in terms of the scope of its educational goals and its allegiance to both the developmental and psychodynamic schools of psychological thought. From this position, the wide parameter of school influence, including the preschool years, has been formulated as follows. School experience can and should be the foundation for positive

> self-feeling, for integrating diverse experience both by acting and by sharing, for thinking symbolically, for being able to express experience fully, for getting attitudes of adventure. for establishing individual identity and respect for others' identity, for adapting primitive impulses to socialized ends, for becoming deeply involved in people and the world around, for finding pleasure in fantasy as well as mastery through problem-solving,

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[3] L. A. Cremin, *Transformation of the School: Progressivism in American Education, 1876-1957* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1961).

[4] B. Biber, "The Developmental-Interaction Approach: Bank Street College of Education," in M. C. Day and R. K. Parker (eds.), *The Preschool in Action*, 2nd edition (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1976).

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for living in a society which has rules not enacted through threat and punishment.[5]

This is in no sense meant to underestimate the potent influence of family, peer group and subculture; it is intended to raise general consciousness of the major impact of school experience.[6]

Certain basic principles are the warp and woof of this approach: the psychologically basic interaction of thought and feeling, of cognition and affect guides the choice of methods; there are subjective correlates, not directly observable, to the objective elements of experience that are crucial to scope of mastery and depth of insight; the real values transmitted to children are embedded in the methods, the learning environment, and the teacher-child relationship, not in a formalized verbal code; the goals of education are anchored in broad developmental processes which encompass the more specific goals for achievement and effective functioning; it becomes the educator's responsibility to guide these processes in the direction of preferred values.

In illustration, following are brief statements of three developmental processes and some of the educational goals, in general terms, associated with them. The way in which humanist values are integrated with choices of method is left implicit.

Competence: Function and Feeling

This concept of competence includes and extends beyond the acquisition of skills and knowledge. It emphasizes the capacity to use knowledge and skills effectively in positive interaction with the challenges, people and problems of the life environment; to engage in the multiple, varied activities of doing, making and thinking appropriate to the stage of development. The mastery of the symbol systems is important not merely for itself but rather as an essential tool for systematizing experience.

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[5] B. Biber. "A Time Perspective Values, Issues and Uncertainties in Bank Street History." An address to the College staff. May 14, 1975.

[6] P. Minuchin. B. Biber. E Shapiro, and H Zimiles. *The Psychological Impact of School Experience* (New York, Basic Books. 1969).

Adequate language usage is an essential medium for concept-formation and for attaining cognitive power to judge, to reason, to infer in the logos of our society.

Competence, at one level, can be assessed in terms of specific skills in various domains but for its broader meaning we need to turn to certain general qualities of an individual's response systems. Here we refer to the gradually-acquired ability to express and communicate meanings, ideas and intentions through various modes of communication, verbal and non-verbal; to bring to the dilemmas and complexities of life experience a general resourcefulness and resilience; to take the stance of assessing situations preliminary to taking action.

Where these general qualities are associated with competent behavior, they bespeak a positive subjective phase of the process—a growing sense of self as a person able to overcome obstacles, master confusion, and solve problems. For the goal of competence to be fulfilled in these subjective aspects as well as in its behavioral components, the school needs to take responsibility for weighing teaching methods in broader terms than simple achievement. Furthermore, it can be maintained, theoretically, that an internalized sense of competence is an important factor in generating more competent behavior in more overt forms.

Self and Social Self

In this system, the educational experience is planned so as to contribute to a sense of individual identity early in life, beginning with the preschool years—awareness of one's self as a distinct, thinking, feeling being with a sense of worth derived not only from competent performance but also from being valued in the eyes of others. Teaching methods as well as interpersonal relations are enacted in accord with a central goal, namely, to support and encourage autonomous functioning characterized by the ability to make choices, develop preferences, take initiative, risk failure and generally set an independent course while still accepting help and support when needed, realistically.

The socializing process—the inevitable need to adapt impulse and behavior to a system of controls—is given a rational basis and tempered to suit the criteria for optimal individual func-

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tioning. Learning experiences are organized so children can pool ideas and efforts in activities that are mutually satisfying. The implicit and explicit values communicated by the adults accent non-predatory relations of mutuality in play, work, talk, or argument. The program activities are planned to give ample opportunity for—in fact, demand—interacting with others in terms of their individual uniqueness—wishes, ideas, temperaments. Thus, the socialization process, too, becomes grounded in sensitive awareness of others rather than on dependence on a coded technique for avoiding trouble on a behavior level.

Affect and Imagination

There are both expanding and integrating processes at work in the course of development. In the developmental-interaction approach the goal is to stimulate an open, expanding system of sensitivity and responsiveness to develop the propensity to perceive and react to a wide range of phenomena.

There is great value in developing such ease with imaginative processes that seemingly random elements of experience can be combined, arranged or re-enacted in ways that may solve some cognitive dilemma, at one time, or may satisfy an impulse to engage in a composition of fantasy at another. Fundamentally, the purpose is to educate so that there can be productive interplay between the individual's personal and impersonal experience, between his encounters with the stimuli of the objective world and the subjective meanings of feelings, attitudes, strivings and conflicts. Ideally such experience should have important yield toward the individual's psychological equilibrium as well as increased potential for creative productivity in the spheres of thought and action.

Each successive stage of development has particular characteristics—ways of thinking, learning and perceiving the world, forms of pleasure and gratification, modes of establishing the self in the social setting, conflicts about impulse fulfillment and control. While educational theory, values and propositions need to be general enough to pertain to the whole span of growth from infancy to adolescence there is a great distance to be travelled in deducing classroom practice at any given stage of development from theoretical propositions.

In the developmental-interaction approach, this step has been systematized. General theory, applied to the preschool stage, has been translated into a roster of eight educational goals under which specific practices relevant to each of these goals are subsumed. These eight goals can be used as an effective measurement for the evaluation of any preschool program. It is possible to trace this rationale in reverse order from practice to theory. In fact, education at all levels, preschool included, would be on firmer ground if the teacher in the classroom could give a clear answer to a question about why he is doing what he is doing, both in terms of immediate and long view gains for the children and the overall goals of the curriculum.

In illustration, taking this reverse order, I will select some piece of the classroom environment—activity or personal interrelationship—and indicate its alignment with one of the eight educational goals (italicized) for the preschool level.[7]

> There is open space and equipment for climbing, stacking, riding, sliding, etc., and a variety of materials for constructive manipulative activities, *to serve the child's need to make an impact on the environment through direct physical contact and maneuvers.*
>
> Thinking about the ongoing experience in the classroom is stimulated by the teacher and pervades the learning climate—asking "why" and "if-then" questions, comparing for similarity and difference, tracing time through sequences of events, *to promote the potential for ordering experience through cognitive strategies.*
>
> The children become acquainted with the school building—the heating system, the kitchen, etc.; are taken on trips in the environment to visit the fire station, see building construction, etc.; hear stories and engage in discussing the work functions

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[7] B Biber, E Shapiro, and D Wickens. *Promoting Cognitive Power: A Developmental-Interaction Point of View* (Washington, D.C.: National Association for the Education of Young Children, 1971)

of carpenters, tailors, etc., *to advance the child's functioning knowledge of his environment.*

The school provides space, materials, props, time, and encouragement for self-initiated dramatic play for the children both to rehearse experience realistically and engage in fantasy transformation, *to support the play mode of incorporating experience.*

Rules and regulations are clearly communicated and made as rational as possible; adult authority is established without threat, through an established relation of trust, understandable restraints and the offering of alternative behavior patterns, *to help the child internalize impulse controls.*

The child's home experience is welcomed into school through parent visits and school trips to home neighborhoods; the need for dependence and protection is recognized as alternating with the opposing drive to become independent of adults, *to meet the child's need to cope with conflicts intrinsic to this stage of development.*

The teacher takes opportunity to bring to awareness, with positive affect, the child's identity as an individual, his family and ethnic membership, his growing powers to initiate activities and carry through on his own, *to facilitate the development of an image of self as a unique and competent person.*

Cooperative child-group relations in play, in work projects, in discussion periods are major components of the program with the teacher taking a supportive role as troubleshooter, as well as the knowledgeable source for solving play and work problems, *to help the child establish mutually supporting patterns of interaction.*

From the descriptions of programs in earlier sections of this volume it is plain that differences originate, not only on the basis of varying theoretical approaches and varying degrees of interest in having a defensible rationale between theory and program, but also because of the practical administrative aspects of operation of programs. Realistically, it can scarcely be expected that goal priorities, teaching methods, and adult-child interaction patterns would be identical between franchise care group programs and home visitor programs, for example. Adaptations must, of course, be made to the realities and special needs of the parent and child population, to the resources available in the situations in which the programs are established, and to the level of accomplished or anticipated expertise of the teaching personnel. Within these operational variations, it is nevertheless requisite that there be principles and images of learning and teaching modes as guidelines for program development, revision and improvement. It is in this interest that the brief sampling of the elements of the developmental-interaction approach—goals, values, developmental processes and teaching techniques—is offered as a template of a comprehensive design based on developmental principles and humanistic values. It should serve the reader as a tool for assessing and evaluating the variety of programs described. Two major criteria of judgment have been presented: the relative restriction or comprehensiveness of program goals and values, and the degree to which knowledge of childhood and developmental principles influence choices concerning teaching technology and interaction processes. The developmental-interaction approach is identified with the Bank Street College of Education. It is also exemplified in other programs, among them two nationally-developed programs: Head Start[8] and the Child Development Associate programs.[9] To all these programs the succinct comment of the Chief of the Office of Child Development, a few years ago, is especially applicable: "Treat the child as a person, not a learning machine."

Increasing recognition of the importance of publicly-supported preschool education has been fed from several sources. As has already been pointed out, the psychological and biological advances in recent years point to the early years as a period of burgeoning growth—a time when given potential should be stimulated and activated. Furthermore, there is

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[8] *Project Head Start. Daily Program* (Washington. D.C . Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Office of Human Development, Office of Child Development. Bureau of Child Development Services).

[9] J. W. Klein and R. Weathersby, "Child Development Associates. New Professionals, New Training Strategies." *Children Today* September-October, 1973.

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considerable uncertainty as to how far developmental loss in the early years can be compensated at later stages. At the same time, processes of social change have diminished the potency of the family to function adequately as the prime child-rearing institution. The reasons are well-known: tremendous increase in the number of mothers of young children engaged in out-of-the-home employment; the increase in the small nuclear family pattern and the reduction of available care-taking; and swiftly changing concepts and patterns of parent-child relationships. The family, it is generally agreed, is not about to be dissolved as a social institution, but it is also agreed that it needs extensive support from other social institutions such as the school if it is to be a successful instrument for the positive realization of its individual members.[10] In this connection, the preschool, where parents and teachers of young children can readily find common ground, is of special importance.

Since the 1960s, there has been great investment in ameliorating some of the basic faults of our society by government investment in and funding of experimental preschool programs. The reasoning behind these programs was that problems of poverty, racism and inadequate parenting reflect negatively on the quality of home life experience in early childhood and injure the capacity for learning in later years. The positive experience of a humanly supportive and intellectually stimulating alternate environment—in the preschool—is one way in which a democratic society can deal with inequalities that are accountable for extensive individual and social loss.

The preschool educator has a special kind of mandate to fulfill in a pluralistic society such as ours, where subcultural styles of life are honored and the preservation of their identity looked upon as a healthy contribution to the richness of our society as a whole. Problems arise where there are discrepancies between home and school not only in the proper interpretation of what is "learning" but also in the codes of interpersonal behavior and the values underlying them. There is no magic solution to this complex personal-social issue but a degree of satisfactory resolution is reported in those situations where school people make every effort to establish functional connections with families, to interpret their ways to parents and to become sensitive to the style of life that the children experience at home.

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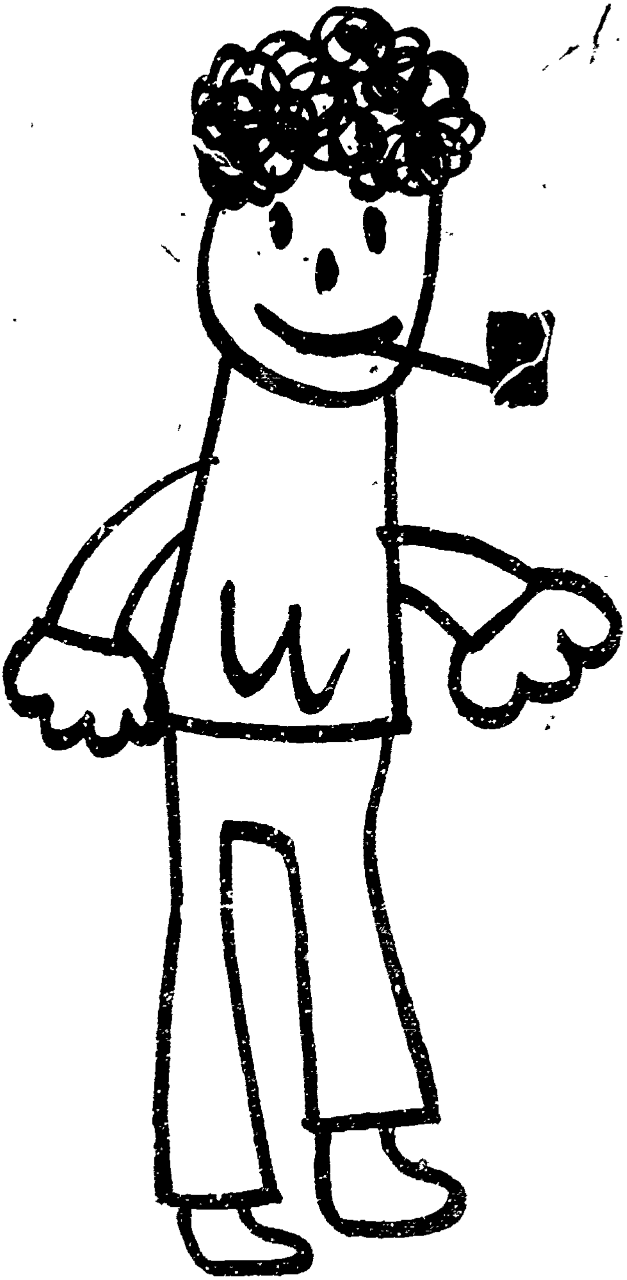
[10] The Joint Commission on Mental Health of Children, Inc., *Report to the Congress of the United States* (June 30, 1969)

With reference to the issue of pluralism, I would like to refer to a point made earlier, namely that there is advantage to conceptualizing goals for education in broad developmental categories rather than by specific achievement markers. Only then is it possible to keep principles and developmental goals in focus while being flexible and imaginative in adapting specific practices and programs to situational realities.



VI

THE FUTURE: NEW DIRECTIONS, TRENDS AND ISSUES

THE FUTURE: NEW DIRECTIONS, TRENDS AND ISSUES

Gordon J. Klopf, Ph.D.[1]

In the last decade, societal pressures and an awareness of the importance of the very early years for learning have resulted in the creation of a variety of programs for young children in and out of school settings; and the federal government has become increasingly involved on a national scale in providing such programs for certain groups of children.

It is reasonable to assume that the federal government will not only continue to be involved in the field of child care for the very young, but that funding of early childhood programs will continue to be shared by various branches of the federal, state and local government.

As in the past, the government, for political considerations, may occasionally withdraw some funding; but dropping such support will again arouse strong opposition, not only from the recipients of child care and their teachers, but also from many members of educational institutions and from the public itself.

However, the pressure of some groups to keep preschool programs separated from government control—if not from government money—will, in all possibility, remain a political force. The role of the family in programs for young children will be enlarged and strengthened. Parents will seek support that will enable them to care for their children more effectively. The whole society will move towards greater advocacy for the young child and national concern for the years before the traditional kindergarten and first grade will be more than peripheral.

In general, we foresee that the following trends and issues may well dominate the field of preschool care:

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[1] Provost and Dean of the Faculties, Bank Street College of Education

I. ROLE OF THE GOVERNMENT

- An increasingly strong trend toward (federal, state and local) government support of early childhood care.
- The rising demand by government agencies for inclusion of the handicapped child in regular day care centers will continue; there may be a corresponding demand for enlargement of existing facilities for the severely handicapped very young child.
- Welfare reform may result in more parents going to work, thus increasing numbers of children needing day care services.
- The federal government will continue to enable state and local programs to see education as a developmental continuum from birth to death with accompanying consistencies in theoretical and programmatic approaches to work with children and youth.
- The government will continue to support greater integration of multi-cultural groups of children as well as of staff in centers for young children.
- There will be greater stress on coordinated planning and consolidation among federal, state and local programs for young children.
- The federal government will continue to support research and replication activities in early childhood education.
- The federal government will increasingly include parent participation as essential to program development.

II. ROLE OF PARENTS

- The increasingly evident role of women as family caregivers and breadwinners will enlarge the demand for subsidized child care.
- Single persons in the parenting role will be included in subsidized child care.
- The middle economic class will exert increasing pressure to have its children also receive government funding for day care coverage.

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- There will be continued strong pressure to keep day care of young children in the control of parents rather than of the government.
- Parents will continue to insist on having a voice, through direct and indirect participation, in the kind of care their children receive.
- Vouchers, now in experimental stages, may be used in increasing numbers for parental options and choices.
- Parents will continue to demand that programs be responsive to cultural and community needs.
- The family may become the center of early education with less focus on institutionalized approaches.
- The concept of "parenting" and the role of parents will be dealt with more systematically in both institutional child care programs and in support systems for care within the family and home.
- There will be an increase in programs concerned with child rearing and parenting in middle and secondary schools.
- To a greater degree grandparents and older citizens, as well as extended family members, will be included in the voluntary personnel serving children.

III. STAFFING AND ACCREDITATION

- As school population declines, public school educators looking toward early child care for potential job opportunities will need retraining activities and programs.
- There will be an increase in the numbers and kinds of early childhood courses for both training and retraining of personnel.
- Paraprofessional "career ladders" will be continued.
- There will also be an increasing insistence on other-than-academic credentials such as life experience for teacher accreditation.
- Parents may have more decision-making power in determining personnel who work with their children.

- Teacher unions will exert continued pressure for unionization of the caregivers of young children.

IV. INCLUSION OF COMPREHENSIVE SERVICES

- There will be an expanding demand for other-than-educational services for preschool children, such as:
  - —medical and social services for both children and families;
  - —nutritional guidance for the whole family;
  - —educational programs for parents.
- There will be more cooperative and coordinated planning of all services for young children.

V. ROLE OF PROGRAM DEVELOPMENT STUDIES AND RESEARCH

- Future studies will develop new and varied approaches to program evaluation.
- Future studies will emphasize clarification of theoretical bases and their effective application, as well as development of new concepts and approaches to programs.
- Future studies will reflect the values of the pluralistic society through the development of multiple approaches in early childhood education.
- There will be greater interest in human ecological research, which emphasizes the child interacting with the natural and structured environments.
- Studies relating to sexism, plural cultural settings, bilingualism, the impact of home vs. institutional setting, will receive more attention.

VI. CHILD ADVOCACY

- New legislative child support and pr tective legal policies and programs will be enacted.
- More coordination and integration of services for young children will occur.

In summary, we may deduce that the federal government will increasingly enlarge its role in early childhood programs. State and local governments will share this role and responsibilities with the national government. In fact, early childhood care may well become part of the larger system of public education. We view this possibility as arousing controversy and raising many questions not only with parents but with the general public—questions such as:

- Does government funding mean government control of program content?
- Will parents be able to maintain control of forces that shape their children's lives?

The answers may well lie in the continuing development of options and alternatives for both parents and educators as befits a pluralistic society.

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3300 Freret Street
New Orleans, Louisiana 70115

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For other information, write:

Office of Child Development
Department of HEW—Project Head Start P.C.C.
P.O. Box 1182
Washington, D.C. 20013

INFANT-TODDLER CENTERS

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Mother Child Home Program
Family Service Association of Nassau County, Inc.
5 Broadway
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ERIC
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Dr. David Weikart
Ypsilanti Carnegie Infant Education Project
High/Scope Educational Research Foundation
125 North Huron Street
Ypsilanti, Michigan 48197

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"Meetings: New Ways to Work with Young Children"

"Reading: A Way to Begin"

"School Beginnings: The First Day"

"School Beginnings: The First Weeks"

"A Teacher Talks about her Classroom"

BEHAVIORAL APPROACH

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  Support from the Community, Set 3
  Support from the Helping Professions, Set 4.

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  Intellectual Disabilities, Set 3
  Educational and Language Disabilities, Set 4.

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DAY CARE

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HOME START

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HEAD START

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SETTING UP AN EFFECTIVE PRESCHOOL PROGRAM

Early Childhood Program

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Child Development

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"Development of the Child: Infancy"
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"The Growing Mind," Time-Life.

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"Preparing the Child for Learning," Set 2
"The Child's Point of View," Set 3
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Environment

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Curriculum Areas and Play

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"Catch a Tiger," New York University.
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Staff

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"I Am a Teacher Aide," Bank Street.

ADDRESSES

Films for Early Childhood. A Selected Annotated Bibliography by
Mariann Pezzella Winich. Available through:
Early Childhood Education Council
196 Bleecker Street
New York, New York 10012

Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
315 Lexington Avenue
New York, New York 10016
(212) 689-7400

Audio-Visual Center
Film Rental Service
746 Massachusetts
Lawrence, Kansas 66044

Bank Street Films
470 Park Avenue So.
New York, New York 10016
(212) 684-5910

Brandon Films, Inc.
34 MacQuesten Parkway South
Mt. Vernon, New York
(914) 664-5051

Campus Film Distributors Corp.
2 Overhill Road
Scarsdale, New York 10583
(914) 472-9590

D.C. Society for Crippled Children
c/o Mrs. Ewing
2800 13th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Educational Coordinates
6 Alfred Circle
Bedford, Massachusetts 01730
(617) 275-9420

EPIE Institute
463 West Street
New York, New York 10014

Modern Talking Pictures
1212 Avenue of the Americas
New York, New York 10036
(212) 568-5530
(Contact NYC office for addresses of other cities in the United States
from which these films are available.)

New York University Film Library
26 Washington Place
New York, New York 10003
(212) 598-2251

Parent's Magazine Films, Inc.
Department P 12
52 Vanderbilt Avenue
New York, New York 10017

Promethean Films South
P.O. Box 26363
Birmingham, Alabama 35226
(205) 822-7119

Syracuse University
Film Rental Center
1455 East Colvin Street
Syracuse, New York 13210
(315) 479-6631

Time-Life Films
43 West 16th Street
New York, New York 10011
(212) 556-4207

University of California Extension Media Center
Berkeley, California 94720

University of Illinois
Visual Aids Service
704 South 6th Street
Champaign, Illinois 61820

Weston Woods
Weston, Connecticut