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ABSTRACT

This report documents for the first time the growing ethnic mix of center-based child care in California. Based on a survey of 434 centers in 5 California counties selected for their ethnic and geographic diversity and large child populations, the report presents several types of information. First, it documents the scope of the demographic challenges facing child care centers by presenting the findings of the demographic analysis of the centers surveyed. Second, the report provides an understanding of the importance of culturally and linguistically appropriate early care and education by referring to relevant research and literature. Finally, the report describes the everyday activities of several innovative child care centers in California that offer examples of culturally and linguistically appropriate care. The report makes recommendations for further research and calls for immediate action from the following groups: (1) California state agencies; (2) the federal government; (3) professional associations; (4) the statewide resource and referral network in California; (5) training institutions; and (6) private foundations. Three appendixes contain a methodology report, the child care center survey instrument, and a 63-item annotated list of books, articles, and other materials. A separate 8-page "Executive Summary" is appended. (TJQ)

Affirming Children's Roots

Cultural and Linguistic Diversity in Early Care and Education

A CALIFORNIA TOMORROW PUBLICATION

Affirming Children's Roots

Cultural and Linguistic Diversity in Early Care and Education

By Hedy Nai-Lin Chang
California Tomorrow Co-Director
Early Childhood Project Director

With Laura Sakai
Project Associate

A CALIFORNIA TOMORROW PUBLICATION
FALL 1993

CALIFORNIA TOMORROW is a non-profit organization committed to making racial and ethnic diversity work in California, and to building a society that is fair and open for everyone, especially the children who are our future.

CALIFORNIA TOMORROW:

- Identifies and reports on the joys, challenges and problems that diversity brings to schools and other institutions serving children and their families.
- Seeks out and reports on the people and programs that deal most successfully with those challenges, and that build on the strengths of diversity.
- Delivers this news through publications and presentations to a broad cross-section of people.
- Brings outstanding teachers and other professionals together to share their experiences and perspectives on the challenges of a diverse California.
- Provides one-on-one consultation and assistance to schools, agencies and policymakers striving to create services and institutions appropriate to the rich diversity of our peoples.
- Through the media and other public forums, offers informed analysis of diversity issues in California, both the challenges and the successes, to counteract public ignorance, skepticism and fear.

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Affirming Children's Roots

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Affirming Children's Roots reflects the contributions and insights of many individuals and organizations. Most significant has been the talent, effort and enthusiasm of project associate Laura Sakai, who played a major role in enriching, informing and carrying out this work. In particular, the demographic analysis reflects Laura's strong quantitative skills and willingness to explore the statistical nuances of the data collected from child care facilities. Laura's thoughtful approach, patience and cheerful spirit have been invaluable.

In order to collect demographic information, California Tomorrow contracted with Field Research Corporation (FRC) to conduct telephone interviews with child care providers in five counties. Throughout our relationship, California Tomorrow has benefited from FRC President Deborah Jay's impeccable research skills and keen understanding of child care issues from her experience as a professional and as a mother of two young children.

In many ways, *Affirming Children's Roots* is the combined result of the energy, ideas and talents of all the members of the California Tomorrow "family." It particularly reflects the contributions of co-director Laurie Olsen whose vision, breadth of knowledge and ingenuity always amaze me. Laurie's early research as the founder of California Tomorrow's Immigrant Students Project helped develop the theoretical underpinnings of this work, and she has continued to shape its tone and content. California Tomorrow staff and board members alike have greatly enriched this report by reviewing early project research plans, preliminary findings and the drafts. Editor Carol Dowell assumed responsibility for fine tuning the document, helping to incorporate comments from readers and coordinating production. The flow of the report reflects her creativity and thoughtful editing skills. We are indebted to volunteer Amy Muckelroy who provided crucial assistance in researching specific child care issues and developing the annotated listing of resource materials. This report, like every other California Tomorrow product, could not have moved forward without the support of our office staff, Nancy Belton and May Li. Their talent, good humor and common sense hold us together.

Affirming Children's Roots benefited tremendously from the expertise and insights of each and every member of our project advisory group, listed at right. We would particularly like to express appreciation to advisor Fran Kipnis of the Statewide Child Care Resource and Referral Network for her assistance in designing the demographic analysis, to Julie Olsen Edwards of Cabrillo Community College for her careful review and feedback on two full drafts of the report, and to Professor Lily Wong Fillmore for being a continual source of inspiration and in-

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Finally I would like to express my deepest appreciation to the children, parents and staff of Hintil Kuu Ca, The Foundation Center for Phenomenological Research, the Winters Child Development Center, Kai Ming Head Start and Cabrillo Community College Child Development Center for sharing generously their time, experiences and expertise. Their resolute spirit, creativity and caring allow us to catch a glimpse of what is possible.

Hedy Nai-Lin Chang
Project Director / Principal Author
Fall 1993

PREFACE

Young Children and California Tomorrow

Affirming Children's Roots builds upon California Tomorrow's past work, experience and organizational philosophy. California Tomorrow is dedicated to making California's multiethnic and multiracial society both fair and workable. We believe our society's democracy, economy and social well-being depend upon our ability to tolerate and respect differences among individuals and groups, and to draw upon the strengths of the diverse society in which we live. Rather than fear that diversity will lead to the demise of our society, California Tomorrow seeks to identify strategies, policies and programs that will build upon the assets created by this remarkable influx of traditions, perspectives, languages and human resources. From our vantage point, diversity and societal unity are interrelated. Given that the whole is only as strong as the sum of its parts, it is our view that society as a whole benefits from efforts to foster the strong development of various sub-ethnic groups.

California, and ultimately the entire country, are at a crossroads. We can either accept the challenge of creating public institutions and policies that support our diversity and enable residents to function productively and equitably in a pluralistic society, or we can deny the existence of our current demographic reality and its implications for our society. But, as demonstrated by the civil unrest following the Rodney King verdict of 1992, to engage in such denial is a recipe for disaster. California Tomorrow further believes that it is in efforts to support our increasingly diverse children and their families that the success or failure of our "world nation" will ultimately rest.

Nearly seven years ago, California Tomorrow embarked upon what has become one of its best known works, the Immigrant Students Project. It started with open questions: What were the experiences of the immigrant children from scores of nations in California's public schools? What were the experiences of educators attempting to teach students with whom they increasingly shared neither languages, cultures or national backgrounds? The resulting first report, *Crossing the Schoolhouse Border*, documented a range and depth of needs that schools were largely ignorant of and wholly unprepared to respond to. This and subsequent publications and outreach by California Tomorrow have called for changes in teacher education and professional development, in teacher credentialing, in the structures of schooling such as tracking which work against the full inclusion of immigrant and minority children, and in curriculum content.

In the course of identifying these public school issues, California Tomorrow also discovered trends which appeared to be rooted in early childhood care and education practices and policies that raised questions about the experiences of immigrant children prior to K-12. We wondered, for example, what was occurring when child care providers did not share a language with the children under their care, given that a solid base in one's native language is a precondition for the smooth and fluent adoption of a second language—as the research literature on K-12 instruction suggests. Did the same lack of awareness that we found among

K-12 educators as to the role of culture in shaping a child's learning style, expression and understanding of the world exist among early childhood professionals as well? If so, what effect was it having on the early socialization of children? Wouldn't early childhood professionals have the same need we had documented for K-12 educators to receive professional development opportunities to prepare and support them to work effectively with diverse students? What was occurring in the field of training and preparation for early childhood professionals? Was it possible, we wondered, if some of the problems that language and cultural minority children were having in elementary school could be traced back to cultural and language mismatches in early childhood care and education?

As we were shaping these questions, Lily Wong Fillmore, a professor of education at the University of California, Berkeley (now a member of our Board of Directors), enlisted us in her national study on native language loss among language minority children and its relationship to English immersion in early childhood care. This study, conducted under the auspices of the National Association of Bilingual Educators, convinced us that research was absolutely necessary to address the central question of what is culturally appropriate and responsive early childhood care and education. Interrelatedly, we determined to probe what policies should be in place to ensure that cultural ignorance does not lead to long-term damage to families whose culture, race and language differ from those of white, middle class, standard English speakers.

In the meantime, California Tomorrow's Collaborative Services for Diverse Communities project has spent the past four years working on strategies for agencies, parents and community groups to join together to holistically meet the needs of children, youth and families. California Tomorrow operates a clearinghouse of innovative, collaborative efforts throughout California, develops key resource materials, provides technical assistance to selected communities, convenes a network of technical assistance providers, and advocates for state-level policies. In the course of this work, we observed that the early childhood system is at least as fragmented as other segments of our child and family serving "system." Early childhood programs are run by a plethora of different public and private agencies (local, federal and state) that often have conflicting goals and funding mandates. Cross-agency coordination is minimal and the many professionals who work with young children rarely communicate with one another, particularly across disciplinary lines. And yet, at an early age, developmental issues such as physical health, mental health and learning are even less separable.

In an attempt to ensure that our proposed early childhood work would not replicate existing efforts, we convened a group of key professionals in the field to ask them if they thought a project documenting the challenges of cultural and linguistic diversity was needed. Once this need was confirmed, we asked many of these same individuals and others to serve on our advisory board.

This report presents the findings of the first phase of our project—a unique effort to document the impact of California's profound demographic changes on child care centers and to raise questions about the implications of our growing diversity for early care and education. The central question which lies before us is how to build programs that affirm and strengthen the roots of all young children, and foster their healthy development as members of their families, communities and the larger society.

Was it possible, we wondered, if some of the problems that language and cultural minority children were having in elementary school could be traced back to cultural and language mismatches in early childhood care and education?

INTRODUCTION

The Demographic Challenge

The first five years of a child's life provide the foundation for his or her physical, cognitive and affective growth. During this crucial time, children begin to form their first emotional attachments, learn to interact with others, and develop a sense of self. While in the past, parents were considered almost entirely responsible for a child's development, in today's society most parents now share this responsibility with other adults and institutions. Over the years, the likelihood of a young child spending time in the care of another adult has greatly increased. In the United States, most children (57 percent) under the age of six currently share their parents with work. While their parents are working, the children often spend significant hours of each day in the care of other adults.

Some time each week, at least two thirds of children under the age of five may be found under the care of individuals other than their parents, grandparents and siblings. The child care arrangements used by families vary somewhat with the age of the children. According to the National Research Council, while more than three-fourths (78 percent) of families with a very young child (birth to two years) arrange for the child to be cared for in a family day care home (facilities typically run by a single adult caring for a small number of children in her home) or by a caregiver who comes to the family's home[1], still a significant 14 percent place their young children in a center. Families use centers even more as their children grow older. In the 1990 National Child Care Survey, of children aged three to four who had working mothers, 43 percent spent time in child care center care and 17 percent in family day care homes.

Demand for child care is so great that in recent years, funding for early care and education programs has increased even at a time when many other services have faced severe cutbacks. In 1988, the passage of the Family Support Act made new monies available for child care to women working their way off welfare. In 1992, Congress endorsed a major expansion of Head Start programs and allocated new funds to child care through federal block grants under the Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act (OBRA) of 1991. An even greater expansion of Head Start has been proposed under the Clinton Administration. In California, pre-school for four-year olds has been a cornerstone of Governor Wilson's policies for children.

However, many still call this relatively recent support too little and very late, coming at a time when the early care and education field is already in crisis from under-staffing, under-training, underpaying of workers and extremely high turnover. While new monies intend to expand the availability of care, many believe not enough attention is being paid to these problems which are directly related to the quality of care. Child care *teachers* continue to earn less than half the salaries of comparably educated women in other occupations and less than one-third the salaries of comparably educated men. A 1992 update to the National Child Care Staffing Study found that since 1988, real wages for teaching assistants, the lowest-paid and fastest growing segment of the child care work force, declined to $5.08 an hour. The highest paid child

care staff receive only $8.85 per hour, an increase of only 66 cents over the last four years.[2] In California, excellent early childhood education training programs found in many of the community colleges are in severe shock from the budget slashes aimed at the community college system as a whole.

These problems have a tremendous impact on the ability of the field to fulfill its responsibilities for nurturing more than half of our future citizenry. Better pay, better training, better opportunities and higher value for the workers charged with this responsibility is essential.

The value of an early childhood program rests with its ability to support the whole child's social/emotional, physical and cognitive development—within the context of the family and the community.[3] Poorly run, inappropriate forms of child care can stifle development and irreparably damage a child's sense of self and well-being. At their best, programs can be instrumental in instilling in children many of the skills they will need for success far beyond the pre-school years.

New Challenges for the Promise of Child Care

The belief in the promise of high-quality care to positively influence a child's life underlies the recent growth in public support for programs such as Head Start. But this promise must encompass more than academic achievement and "assimilation" into the mainstream culture. Solid family communication, connection to community and a strong sense of self are also important in fostering a child's success and happiness.

Parents who must utilize childcare have always hoped that caregivers will honor and reinforce in their children the values that they themselves uphold in their homes. As parents walk away from dropping off their children every morning, how often do they wonder "would it be better for my child to be able to spend the day with me?" These parental emotions have not changed, but the children and families in childcare have. Of course ethnic minority parents have always utilized childcare, but only recently has attention been paid to what can be lost when the language and culture of a child's home are not reinforced in the early care setting. Meanwhile, as this report will document, the cultures and languages among families utilizing child care have multiplied exponentially. And within these cultures may be discovered often very diverse child rearing practices and expectations, from whether a child is communicated with verbally or nonverbally, to when a child is toilet trained, to who is involved in the nurturing of the child, to how a child is enfolded into the fabric of family and community.

The cultures and languages among families utilizing childcare have multiplied exponentially.

Strong parent-provider partnerships are crucial to ensuring that the practices adopted in the home and in the care facility are mutually reinforcing and complementary. A strong focus on parent participation has long been considered one of the keys to the success of Head Start programs. What constitutes appropriate

The idea of babies sleeping in separate cribs off in a quiet room away from the family activity is not a universal belief

child rearing practice is a reflection of the values and beliefs of families and the culture of their community. The most basic acts of daily care—feeding, toilet training, comforting, playing—reflect the cultural values of both the parent and caregiver, but these expectations may not necessarily match. For example, a caregiver who has been raised to believe that early mastery of skills is important may use feeding time as an opportunity to encourage an infant to build specific motor skills. If a provider was trained to emphasize the autonomy and independence of young children, he or she might create a feeding situation where children feed themselves even if the results are quite messy. On the other hand, a caregiver who grew up in a home where food was scarce may have a greater tendency to control how an infant eats in order to ensure food is not wasted.

In all of these cases, it is the duty of the caregiver to try to understand how parents perceive these nurturing activities and to as best as possible match the home practices. Particularly for very young children who are just beginning to form the core of their identity, consistency in caregiving approaches is considered by many in the field now to be key in fostering this development. Strong communication with parents is one of the keys to ensuring providers can understand the unique practices and traditions of the child's community.

Like many other institutions in our society, however, child care policy and standards have been heavily influenced by the values and the beliefs of the dominant culture - that is the white middle class that traces its roots to Europe. But the child care that might be suitable for white middle class children may not be appropriate for children who come from families whose lives have been shaped by a different set of cultural beliefs. For example, as Janet Gonzalez-Mena writes in *A Guide to Culturally Sensitive Care*,[4]

The idea of babies sleeping in separate cribs off in a quiet room away from the family activity is not a universal belief. Many cultures believe it is important for the infant and caregiver to maintain close physical proximity, and when the baby needs to sleep, he or she does so while being carried about. Not all families have room for members to sleep alone and separate... Regardless of the reason, it is not hard to imagine that a mother who is used to having her baby sleeping with her would request that the child not be put off in a crib to learn to sleep alone.

Gonzalez-Mena acknowledges that this may not always be possible for caregivers, particularly in large centers with specific licensing regulations, however:

These differences are inevitable with the increasing cultural diversity. What is not necessarily inevitable is that one cultural view remains or becomes dominant over another. Instead of automatically responding

in your usual ways, take time to listen to parents who want for their babies something different from what you ordinarily provide.

Caregivers, administrators and policy makers, unaware of the child rearing practices of ethnically diverse families and their impact on children's development, unwittingly risk advancing contradictory practices that may be ultimately detrimental to family functioning. This ignorance also puts at risk the social and academic achievement of children whose families do not come from the dominant culture and language.

For example, in the book *Black Children: Their Roots, Culture and Learning Styles*, Janice Hale Benson demonstrates how Black children grow up in a culture distinctly different from the white mainstream. She suggests that one of the major causes of low academic achievement among African American children is the failure of programs to incorporate this culture into the learning process—to draw upon the strengths and abilities that have been nurtured in the children while being raised in the distinct African-American culture. A more effective strategy could involve, for example, encouraging children to express themselves through oral story telling, just as they might at a family gathering. Culturally distinct learning styles have been documented for many ethnic groups including Chinese-American, Mexican-American and Native American children.[5]

The Risk of Family Language Loss

Equally importantly in recent years, a growing number of educators have become deeply concerned that the emphasis on increasing school readiness by promoting English language development among pre-schoolers can cause long-term damage to language minority families. Given, the question of when and how children should begin learning a second language has long been controversial among educators. But some recent studies warn that too early an emphasis on English can cause children to lose their ability to speak their primary language—the language of their home and their parents.[6] This loss can have a devastating impact upon families where the parents do not speak English. Reflecting on an analysis of interviews with 1100 language minority families, Lily Wong Fillmore explains:

What is lost is no less than the means by which parents socialize their children—when parents are unable to talk to their children, they cannot easily convey to them their values, beliefs, understandings or wisdom about how to cope with their experiences. They cannot teach them about the meaning of work, or about personal responsibility..rifts develop and families lose the intimacy that comes from shared beliefs and understandings.

While Wong Fillmore recognizes that children must eventually develop English language skills, her research suggests that an early emphasis on English can have unintended harmful consequences, particularly if it occurs without concurrent attention to the development of a child's home language skills.

While not all educators agree with Wong Fillmore or Hale Benson, their work and others' nonetheless demonstrates that policy makers and practitioners alike must begin to examine and understand the capacity of our current child care system to provide culturally and linguistically appropriate quality care for all children.

Unfortunately, information about what constitutes such care is not part of the current training of child care providers.

Studies warn that too early an emphasis on English can cause children to lose their ability to speak their primary language—the language of their home and their parents.

Information documenting the importance of culturally and linguistically appropriate care and how to achieve it is limited in scope. What does exist is scattered among agencies, centers and individual researchers and not easily accessible to the average practitioner, no matter how motivated. At the same time, there has been no discussion or formulation of child care policy in consideration of cultural and linguistic differences.

Our survey found that virtually all child care centers are being profoundly affected by our changing demographics. Cultural and linguistic diversity is the norm.

The Demographic Reality

The capacity of early childhood programs to provide culturally and linguistically appropriate care to the children and families who now make up our society has never been examined. The United States is in the midst of a dramatic and swift demographic revolution. According to an analysis by the Center for the Study of Social Policy, the nation's children are more racially diverse than ever before and this diversity is most pronounced among children under the age of six. Consider the following[7]:

- *Between 1980 and 1990, the percentage of non-Hispanic white children declined in every single state in the union. In twelve states, non-Hispanic whites comprise less than 65 percent of the population and in three states, children of color are the majority. This shift can primarily be attributed to rapid increases in the number of Asian and Latino children.*

- *Families with children are more common among non-whites. Only 32 percent of white households are families with children compared to 40 percent of African-American, 53 percent of Latino, 47 percent of Asian and 45 percent of Native American households.*

- *One out of twenty-five school-aged children lives in a family in which all members speak a language other than English and no "adult" reports being able to speak English well.*

- *Between 1974 and 1990, the number of children who come from a home where a language other than, or in addition to, English is spoken rose from 1.8 million to 2.6 million.*

Nowhere have these demographic trends been more pronounced or rapid than in California:

- *No single racial group constitutes a numerical majority of California's children. While 46 percent of California's school children are white, 35 percent are Latino, 8 percent are African American, and approximately 10 percent are Asian.[8] Whites ceased to comprise a majority of California's school-aged children in 1988.*

- *34 percent of California's school children come from a household in which a language other than English is spoken. In more than a third of these households, no adult speaks English fluently.[9]*

- *According to the California Department of Education, in 1992, 21 percent of all students are considered limited English proficient. Among kindergartners, this figure is closer to 30 percent. While almost 80 percent of these kindergartners are Spanish speakers, the next largest language groups are Vietnamese, Hmong, Cambodian, and Cantonese.*

Unfortunately, because responsibility for childcare is fragmented across private, public and community agencies, information about the demographics of children in care is non-existent with the exception of a few statistics kept by state or

federal agencies on their own specific programs. Nonetheless, the little data that does exist suggests that early care and education programs have been profoundly affected by the overall demographic changes in our country. A recent analysis found, for example, that 20 percent of the 466,000 children enrolled in Head Start spoke a language other than English.[10] The great majority of these—76 percent—spoke Spanish. The remaining were dominant in a multitude of different languages including Khmer spoken by Cambodians, Haitian Creole, Japanese, Korean, Hmong and Vietnamese—to name a few. In California, statistics on subsidized child development programs operated by the California Department of Education reveal tremendous increases in the numbers of Latino and Asian children. Between 1979 and 1986, the number of children whose dominant language was not English escalated from 1 out of 7 to nearly 1 out of 4.[11]

The Report

This California Tomorrow report begins to explore the challenges of cultural and linguistic diversity for early care and education by examining the current conditions in *child care centers only.* While we recognize that the field itself includes a broad range of different types of care, such as family day care and individuals hired to come and care for children in families' homes, we chose to first focus on center-based care because there is a growing policy interest in that area. Unfortunately, this interest is largely rising without an understanding of the implications of our growing racial, cultural and linguistic diversity.

This report presents several types of information. First, it documents the scope of the demographic challenges facing child care centers by presenting the findings of our demographic analysis of 434 centers in five California counties. Prior to this project, information about the demographics of care did not exist with the exception of a few statistics kept by state or federal agencies on children who receive services from a select group of subsidized programs.

Our survey found that virtually all child care centers are being profoundly affected by our changing demographics. Cultural and linguistic diversity is the norm. Ninety-six percent of the surveyed centers worked with more than one racial group and 81 percent provided care to children from two or more language groups. Seventy seven percent of child care centers serve at least some children who do not speak any English or only speak a little English.

Moreover, information on staffing suggests that the centers are hard pressed to meet the cultural and linguistic needs of the children in their care. While nearly all of the centers could provide home language support to their English speaking children, only 55 percent had a staff person who could speak in Spanish to their Spanish-speaking children. Less than one-third had staff who could speak the home language of their Tagalog, Chinese, Vietnamese or Korean-speaking children. Similarly, children of color are less likely to be cared for by teachers of the same race than white children.

The demographic analysis upon which this report is based was conducted by the Field Research Corporation. It involved lengthy telephone surveys with a random sample of 434 centers operating in San Francisco, Alameda, Merced, Los Angeles and San Diego counties. These five counties were selected because they are demographically diverse and geographi-

Information on staffing suggests that the centers are hard pressed to meet the cultural and linguistic needs of the children in their care.

cally distributed across California; collectively, they are home to almost half of all the state's residents. In order to ensure that we included child care centers from a variety of auspices, facilities were randomly selected from the state licensing lists. The telephone survey was conducted in Spanish, English and Chinese. (At this time, we also surveyed 599 family day care providers. These findings will be incorporated into the next phase of California Tomorrow's early childhood research project.)

The interviews were specifically designed to provide insight into the following issues:

- *The extent to which centers served children from more than one racial or linguistic group.*
- *The ethnic and linguistic diversity of center staff.*
- *The extent to which centers served young children who had limited proficiency in English.*
- *The extent to which the racial and the language background of staff matched the background of the children in their care.*
- *The extent to which activities involving parents were included in normal operations.*
- *The extent to which providers perceived language barriers as impeding communication with parents.*

A copy of the final interview protocol and a description of the research methodology appear in Appendix A.

The report's second goal is to provide readers with a deeper understanding of the crucial importance of culturally and linguistically appropriate early care and education by referring to relevant research and literature. We hope to expose practitioners as well as policy makers to the growing body of such research about appropriate care. Our demographic findings from child care centers indicate that these issues must be taken more seriously than ever.

Finally, the report describes the everyday activities of several innovative childcare centers around the state that California Tomorrow visited during our field research. These centers offer readers a glimpse of what culturally and linguistically appropriate care can be. The centers were identified with the help of project advisors who have expertise in both child care and issues of diversity.

Building upon the results of our demographic analysis, initial literature review and selected site visits, the future activities of the California Tomorrow early childhood project will focus on two areas. First, we intend to gain a deeper understanding of how diversity issues affect parental decisions about child care and how families are affected by linguistic and cultural differences with care providers. Second, we will investigate the implications of cultural and linguistic diversity for program design, policy, staff training and recruitment. We will use the following strategies to obtain this information: 1) family interviews, 2) visits to centers and family day care homes, 3) identification of innovative recruitment and training programs, and 4) interviews or focus groups with resource and referral agencies.

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Racial and Cultural Diversity in Child Care Centers

While the general public has become more and more aware of the demographic changes occurring in the population as a whole, little information is available about how these demographics are manifesting themselves in the context of center-based child care. This information gap led California Tomorrow to ask the following questions:

1. Do child care centers tend to serve only children from certain racial groups even though the demographics of the general population of children from 0-6 are extremely diverse?

2. Do child care centers collectively serve children from a variety of ethnic backgrounds, but individually in general work with children from a single racial group?

3. Are individual child care centers faced with the challenge of working simultaneously with children from multiple ethnic groups?

4. Do the staff employed by child care centers reflect the ethnic background of the children they serve?

In order to gain insight into these questions, California Tomorrow asked child care center providers about the racial background of the children under their care and the staff at their facilities. For ease of comparison and clarity, the survey generally relied upon the broad racial categories used by the Census Bureau. This chapter presents our findings with respect to these issues.

Note: Although the terms "race" and "racial" are used throughout this report, the authors would like to acknowledge the limitations of these terms and the controversy surrounding the selection of precisely which ones (e.g. White vs. Anglo) are appropriate. Use of the term race is often criticized because it implies a clear-cut biological basis for making a distinction which science has failed to prove. These terms do, however, reflect the way this society currently tends to categorize people. Consequently, when we developed our survey for child care centers, we found it necessary to rely upon the socially constructed racial categories originally used by the Census—namely White, Latino, Asian Pacific Islander, African American and Native American. In selecting the terms, we tried to be sensitive to current concerns about how groups are named, and to use terms which would easily be understood by the person being interviewed. Moreover, while race is certainly not the same as ethnicity, this report does assume that race is one indicator of a child's ethnic and cultural background. One of the biggest problems with traditional "racial" categories is that they mask significant ethnic and cultural variations within particular racial categories.

The Rich Diversity Of Children in Center Based Care

Our survey found that the norm is for a child care center to serve children from more than one racial group. Less than 5 percent of the surveyed centers work only with children from a single racial group. *More than 95 percent of all surveyed centers work with children from more than one racial group.* In slightly more than a third (38%), there is a dominant ethnic group but children of other races are present as well. Approximately one third of centers (34%) work with large numbers of children from two racial groups. In almost a quarter (23.5%), no single racial group makes up more than a third of the children in the facility. Please see figure 1.

Among the centers serving two racial groups, the most common pairing of children (32%) is White and Latino. Other frequently found pairs are White and Asian (18%), Latino and African American (18%) and African American and White (15%).

Our data suggest that children of all racial backgrounds are found in child care centers in California. Most centers (92%) care for at least one Latino child. Centers are almost as likely to be found caring for at least one African American child as they are a White child. More than three quarters (76%) of the centers report caring for at least one Asian child. Please see figure 2.

Our survey also asked centers whether they served at least one Native American child. Unfortunately, a comparison of the responses with numbers in the general population suggests the data is invalid. We believe some respondents may have interpreted the surveyor to be asking about children who were born in the United States versus immigrants.

Figure 1. Percent of child care centers that serve one racial group, a dominant racial group, two racial groups or multiple racial groups.

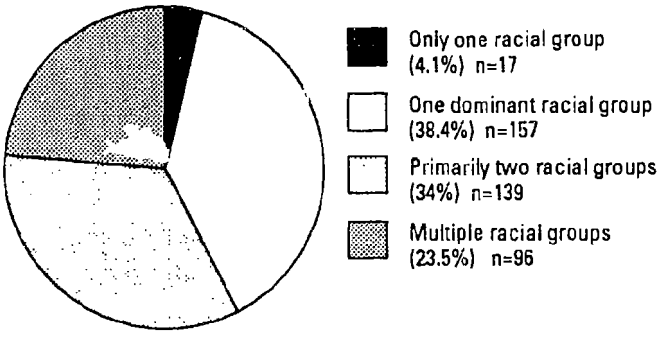
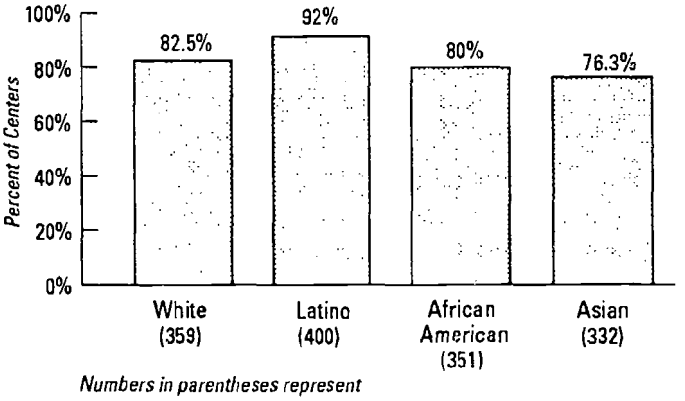


Figure 2. Percent of child care centers that serve at least one Asian, Latino, White or African American child.



Numbers in parentheses represent number of centers (unweighted)

These findings suggest that most child care centers in California are now in the position of simultaneously caring for children from several different ethnic groups. This means that virtually all child care centers must be prepared to understand and provide appropriate care to children who come from a wide range of cultural backgrounds.

The Cultural Context of Child Rearing, Socialization and Learning

Child-rearing practices are embedded in the values and culture of a child's home and community. Culture, in this context, refers to the values, beliefs and traditions of a particular group. It is the set of rules that, to varying degrees, guide the behavior of individuals who are members of that group. The culture of the group is influenced by a number of factors including nationality, ethnicity, socioeconomics and racial experience. While it is important to avoid over-generalizing and stereotyping when describing the attributes of specific cultural and class groups, particularly since cultures evolve and change, understanding the impact of culture and class on how a child develops is essential.

Consider the variations which have been found in the use and reliance upon speech as the primary mechanism for the nurturing, teaching and socializing of children. Shirley Brice Heath's ethnographic study of rural Appalachian working class and middle class Black and White families illustrates these differences well. Among both the middle class Black and White professional families, discourse was seen as the primary means for the family to teach children about life and the world. From infancy, children were "enveloped in a web of words" and books were introduced very early in their development. Parents coached children to become conversational partners and information givers. Meanwhile, the working class White parents also talked to their children, but the nature of the interaction was somewhat different, with the parents assuming the role of teacher as opposed to conversational partner. Much of this communication involved "instructing" children about appropriate ways of behaving and speaking.

Working class Black families, on the other hand, rarely spoke directly to babies, and love and affection tended to be conveyed through non-verbal communication. Children were encouraged to learn by imitating the behavior of adults, setting the pace of their own development. Children gradually acquired language by practicing what they overheard and by observing the connection between words and events. In these families, one of the most important forms of discourse was recounting events in the form of stories. In order to gain access to this discourse, however, children needed to be assertive. Moreover, their contributions tended to be valued more if children had the creativity to tell an interesting tale rather than to necessarily recount an event accurately.

Culturally distinct socialization patterns have also been documented for a number of other groups. For example, research suggests that Native American families tend to value visual and experiential learning more than the use of words.

Children tend to learn through observation and practice. Family members recognize the mastery of new skills but tend not to push children to take on new tasks.[1] Child-rearing in Chinese families, on the other hand, provides a sharp contrast. According to Chinese culture, the parent's job is to "civilize" children beginning at a very young age by imparting crucial concepts such as humility, good manners and deference to parents. Consequently, parents blame themselves when their child misbehaves. As Lily Wong Fillmore writes:

"Nothing is left to chance. Parents decide when children are ready to acquire particular skills, and they train them in the performance of the instructional task. The instruction given to the child consists more of exhortations and criticism than explanation or direction."[2]

Cultural differences in how children are socialized in the home significantly affect a child's response to the teaching techniques used by teachers. Following are examples from the elementary school arena, although it should be mentioned that there is controversy in the early childhood field as to how much of elementary school data applies to children under six years old. Still, given the need for further study of these issues with younger children, it is useful to understand the range of different learning responses among culturally diverse elementary aged children.

The oral English language gains made by Chinese and Latino third and fifth grade students have been found to be directly related to classroom teaching techniques and the structure of learning activities. Different techniques appear to work better for children of specific ethnic backgrounds. Whereas Latino children tended to progress more rapidly if the classroom promoted opportunities for them to learn through interaction with their peers, Chinese children appeared to be much more affected by teacher interaction and opportunities to practice through instructional activiti . Among the Chinese students, peer interaction only promoted development if the child had already acquired enough English for him or her to have the confidence to use it with English-speaking classmates.[3]

Among Native Americans, striving for individual achievement is often not a part of the community's world view and therefore a child's world view. Consequently, teachers create a sense of internal discomfort when they either pressure children to present answers individually before the entire class, or when they publicly reward specific children, for example by prominently displaying their names on a classroom chart. Being singled out for either reward or criticism may be cause for embarrassment. On the other hand, cooperative learning techniques that emphasize working together in small groups are much more likely to enable a Native American child to productively use the social skills he or she has acquired at home.[4] Also, Native American children have been found to be more likely than other children to respond positively to activities involving group speaking.[5]

Similarly, teachers who use a variety of teaching techniques and problem-solving tasks appear to be more effective at improving the academic achievement of African American youngsters.[6] According to A.W. Boykin, this variety of approaches makes a bigger difference for African American children than for White children. One possible explanation of this phenomenon is that African American parents may be more likely to use a broader

Child-rearing practices are embedded in the values and culture of a child's home and community

range of approaches to help their children learn. Music and dance, for example, may be as much a part of a child's developmental repertoire as books. Consequently, when children enter school, they are bored and do not respond to sterile, monotonous classrooms where teachers do not stray from a given format.[7]

Research on differences between the culture of the home and the school is often used to explain the high rate of school failure among language and cultural minority children. In the book, *Beyond Language: Social and Cultural Factors in Schooling Minority Children*, Stanley Sue and Amado Padilla view academic achievement as a function of "the dynamic interaction between the values of the ethnic minority group and the cultural values of the larger society."[8] Because schools, by and large, have been shaped by the dominant culture, current classroom instruction tends to be geared toward meeting the educational needs of children whose prior socialization conforms to that of the dominant culture. When children come from a cultural background which encompasses different forms of learning, they may have much more difficulty making the adjustment to school because the school environment tends not to validate or draw upon the skills and experiences that they bring. Improving achievement, then, involves some alignment between the culture of the school and that of the home. While many efforts to improve school achievement are premised on the idea that minority families must learn to conform to the culture of the school, this analysis suggests that the onus for changing this alignment falls equally, if not more heavily, on the shoulders of professional educators.

Implications of Cultural Differences for Early Care and Education

Located at the very nexus between home and school, early childhood programs play a critical role in the learning and socialization process. For many children, early care and education programs will be their first exposure to a group learning environment. Depending upon the type of interaction which occurs, the impact can be extremely positive or negative. Programs which understand, acknowledge and build upon the socialization that a child has received from family and community have been much more successful at improving intellectual, cognitive and social outcomes for minority children. Consider the experience of the Kamehameha Elementary Education Program (KEEP) in Honolulu, Hawaii. After 15 years of continuous research and development, this program demonstrates how academic achievement can be significantly improved by drawing upon the strengths of a child's home and community learning experiences. For example, KEEP teachers patterned classroom group discussions after Hawaiian "talk" story. A traditional conversational style still common among Hawaiian adults, "talk story" is a lively, rapid-fire dialogue during which participants informally take turns speaking and often more than one person speaks at a time. Similarly, the KEEP program recognized and validated the strong peer orientation of Hawaiian children by creating independent peer learning centers. These took advantage of the children's already developed skills in supporting each other's growth and shaping their learning activities with minimal adult supervision.[9]

While this was an elementary education program, the concepts can be accommodated to the early childhood field where children are learning to interact and support one another. Programs which fail to incorporate children's culture run several risks. At the very least, they may miss important opportunities to promote a child's cognitive and social growth. More seriously, culturally inappropriate programs can increase apathy and school failure among children. If the activities in the center are unengaging and conflict with (or worse disrespect) the child's past experience, they may turn children off from the schooling process. Past president of the National Association for the Education of Young Children, Barbara Bowman observes, "when [young] children find that the way they talk and act is not understood or appreciated in schools, they are apt to become confused or disengaged. And their rejection by school presages their rejection of the school."[10]

Early childhood programs that do not try to knit home childrearing practices into their philosophy may in fact fully socialize children to the norms of the dominant culture. But if this socialization causes the child to reject or fail to understand the culture of his or her family and community, dire consequences may result. The home culture is the vehicle through which families transmit to their children a sense of identity, an understanding of how to relate to other people and a sense of belonging. Children no longer socialized to the norms of the family or community risk losing their sense of identity and connection. Often they learn behaviors outside the home that alienate them from those very groups which should serve as their primary source of emotional and physical support—family and community. Although it is a common example, eye contact is viewed very differently among cultures. In mainstream U.S. society, children who fail to make eye contact when speaking with an adult may be viewed as dishonest, shy or inattentive. In many other cultures, however, children are taught to avoid direct eye-contact with an adult because it is seen as a sign of disrespect.[11] A caregiver who socializes children to "look me in the eyes" may unknowingly lead them to offend adults from their own community. While this may sound simplistic, it encompasses the greater issue of power relationships between adults and children.

Children no longer socialized to the norms of the family or community risk losing their sense of identity and connection.

Some believe that the dangers of placing children into culturally inappropriate care are greatest for very young children. Ron Lally, a researcher with the Center for Child and Family Studies at Far West Labs, explains:

According to developmental psychologists like Mahler and Erikson, children between the ages of 0-2 are in the midst of forming the core of their identity. They are just beginning to acquire preferences and beliefs. The development of this identity occurs in large part by incorporating the view held by the adults who care for them. If the views of those adults are negative and inconsistent with the values of the family and community, the impact on a child's sense of identity could be devastating.

According to Lily Wong Fillmore, the task facing the field of early care and education is the development of:

Programs that build on the families' capacity to provide their children with the experiences that will not only facilitate their future functioning in school but will also allow them to become competent members of their own societies in ways that are important to the particular group.

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Hintil Kuu Ca

Perched high amidst the urban forest of the Oakland hills, Hintil Kuu Ca currently serves more than 110 children. The majority are Native Americans who collectively represent more than 60 different tribal groups. Though most of the families who use the center live a good distance away, the Native American parents, grandparents and community members who joined together to select the center's current location, chose it because of its proximity to nature. In addition to serving pre-school children, Hintil runs an after-school program for children up through sixth grade.

Currently run by the Oakland school district as one of the state subsidized child development programs, Hintil Kuu Ca originally was started by a parent cooperative. The impetus for its creation was the American Indian community's growing concern over their children's high drop-out rates. At the time, American Indian children were dropping out of school as early as third grade and virtually none were completing high school. The community felt that at least part of the explanation for their children's academic failure was that Native Americans isolated in an urban environment were hard pressed to find the community institutions and familial supports that could offer their children a strong sense of self-identity and pride and help to bridge the chasm between the home and school.

From its inception, Hintil was designed with several goals in mind. First, it was viewed as a transitional place where parents and children could be introduced to the educational system. Second, the curriculum was designed to build the confidence and the skills that Native American children would need to succeed in an interracial school system. Third, Hintil was seen as a forum where parents could come together to provide each other with much needed support and advice. These goals continue to influence the design and the development of Hintil's program. Parent Corinne Davis states:

Hintil helps children become aware of who they are. This is really important particularly when children get out into the larger school system. Schools don't teach culture. In most schools, the stories told about Native Americans are based on misconceptions and stereotypes. In my son's classroom, stories about American Indians made the other children laugh. A strong sense of cultural identify is crucial preparation for his entry into school.

Hintil's Native American focus is alive in the classrooms. On the walls of the large spacious rooms hang photographs of Native Americans and various forms of Native American art work created by both masters and the young children themselves. Each room has a reading corner with a wide range of children's books including an impressive selection of those that tell Native American stories and describe the various lifestyles of different tribal groups.

In addition to promoting school readiness by helping children learn their colors, shapes and numbers, teachers at Hintil consciously seek to teach children values important to the Native American community, such as respect for elders, care for others, the importance of sharing and respect for Indian things. The singing of Native American songs in various tribal languages and the thump of the drum may be heard everyday in the center. At Hintil, activities are designed to promote

each child's sense of pride in his or her heritage and understanding of other tribal groups. Teacher Marlene Beltran explains:

One of the programs first objectives is to make the children feel good about themselves. Students watch television, too, and see stereotypical images. Sometimes children don't even know what tribe they are from. When this happens, we help them find out about their identify. We also spend time talking about the characteristics of various tribes, such as their housing, foods and ceremonial dress. For this age group, it is important to keep the curriculum simple. For example, we can't talk about where reservations are located because children do not yet understand the concept of location. Most of the information is shared through show and tell and experiential activities.

Often center resources are enriched by contributions from the community. Money in the parent fund is set aside to support consultants so that, for example, a Sioux mother may teach the children how to make bonnets of safety pins or a Navajo artist may instruct the children in the intricacies of traditional pottery.

In many ways, this practice is a holdover from Hintil's early days when parents and grandparents were a regular part of the classroom. At that time, non-working parents were expected to help out in the classroom at least once a week. With this, children benefited from interaction with the role models and lower adult-child ratios. Too, parents were able to gain a better understanding of how the center operated and how they could participate in their child's education. When Hintil first opened, many of the parents viewed schools with distrust and alienation. Center staff offer the following insight:

Indian parents are not passive merely because they do not march in and take charge in a classroom. Do not expect parents to be comfortable at first. Parents and grandparents need time to get used to the idea of making decisions concerning their child's education. The fact is, most adults have had negative experiences throughout their life with boarding schools, which were government institutions. These institutions were designed to strip Indian people of their culture, and they did. Boarding schools were controlled by White people who were insensitive and unsympathetic towards the needs of Indian people. Inevitably, education was not a priority among Indian families as it should have been. The main focus was to regain the culture we had been stripped of. Hintil has struggled to change the attitude of our Indian people regarding education. It has taken 17 years to see the change. Children who were in the program at two and a half are now attending local colleges.

While parents still play an active role in school decision-making and curriculum design, the level of parent participation unfortunately has dropped in recent

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years. Parent Janet King attributes this to changes in the program's eligibility guidelines. Several years ago the loss of federal funding meant that the center could only survive if it was adopted into the school district system of state subsidized child development centers. According to state eligibility rules, however, families can only enroll children in the center if both parents are either working or students. This regulation effectively eliminated the families with non-working parents who were much more likely to have the time to participate on a regular basis. She says, "it has really undermined the program. We [meaning the parents who currently use the program] have the talent but no time to share."

Three out of the ten teachers at the center and all of the classroom instructional assistants are Native American. Teachers are selected through a consensus of the interview committee made up of supervisor, staff and parents. Criteria include familiarity with Indian culture and the Indian community, experience in teaching, awareness of concepts of child development and the ability to discipline children in a way that is sensitive to Indian culture (e.g. not singling a child out in front of his or her peers). While the community has always felt the ideal is to have Native American staff, parents are comfortable with the non-Indian teachers. Many have been at the center for years. Parent Janet King explains that the non-Indian teachers have made tremendous efforts to educate themselves. Sometimes they have made mistakes, like teaching a traditional dance during a season when it was not appropriate, but they work at informing themselves.

Cathy Moran has been associated with Hintil throughout its long history and recently retired as acting director. According to her, the center has been extremely successful. When Hintil first began it was part of larger effort which included Title VII programs for elementary and secondary grades. When all three programs were in place, the drop out rate was reduced from the high 90 percent range to between 30 and 40 percent. Unfortunately programs for children beyond 6th grade were dismantled when federal funding dried up, even though the need continues.

Limited Availability of Training and Resources

Hintil Kuu Ca demonstrates the importance of centers employing staff persons who understand the cultural backgrounds of the children they serve and are able to use this awareness to provide culturally as well as developmentally appropriate care.

Child care providers can improve their awareness and sensitivity to cross-cultural issues through training and staff development activities. They can also read the available literature, which for the most part falls into two categories. The first encompasses materials that provide overarching principles, techniques or approaches for working with culturally diverse children of any ethnic backgrounds. The second category includes publications about the specific practices of particular groups. Some materials attempt to cover general principles as well as provide information about specific ethnic groups.

Some of the best materials in this area have been produced by the Program for Infant Toddler Caregivers (PICT). These include a thoughtful and informative video which is available through the California

Department of Education. Entitled "Ten Keys to Culturally Sensitive Child Care," the video together with the accompanying guide are designed to help "infant/toddler care givers (1) better understand themselves and how they are influenced by their own cultural beliefs (2) better understand the children and families they serve and (3) learn a process of relating to cultural issues that will help them become more effective care givers."[12] Similarly, *Multicultural Issues in Child Care* by Janet Gonzalez-Mena shows how child care providers can take a more sensitive, less biased approach to establishing cross-cultural communications and handling cultural conflicts in approaches to care. For example, the handbook describes how mothers from some cultures may expect their very young children to use the toilet at a center, rather than diapers, because their own attunement to their child's body language allows them to know exactly when it is time for the child to go to the bathroom:

If you understand the mother's experience, her point of view, and her definition of toilet training, your attitude toward her will be different than if you, without this understanding, just look at her as lacking in knowledge. The parent too might have a more accepting attitude of you and your caregiving practices if you had had a conversation with her about how the care of infants and toddlers in groups is different from caring for one baby alone at home.[13]

The National Association for the Education of Young Children has also produced some training materials. While most NAEYC publications focus on techniques for reducing prejudices through the development of an anti-bias curriculum (which will be discussed in more depth later in this chapter), a few, notably *Understanding the Multicultural Experience in Early Childhood Education* and various articles appearing in *Young Children* attempt to provide more information about what constitutes culturally appropriate care for various ethnic groups.

The available materials are limited however, and those existing do not yet cover the full range of ethnic or age groups. For example, information about child care practice for Southeast Asian children, who themselves comprise several sub-groups, is virtually non-existent to date. While some materials offer useful guidelines for individual practitioners, virtually no work exists on the ramifications of culturally appropriate care in program design or in local and state child care policy. Moreover, while relevant materials are produced by a wide variety of institutions from universities to non-profits to professional associations, there is no centralized clearinghouse dedicated to making this information easily available. To gain access to them requires extensive searching and individual motivation on the part of providers.

In spite of the resources and research that do exist, information on culturally appropriate practice does not appear to be reaching the typical child care provider.

In spite of the resources and research that do exist, information on culturally appropriate practice does not appear to be reaching the typical child care provider. Issues of diversity have yet to be incorporated into those guidelines that have gained widespread acceptance within the field. No mechanism exists for ensuring that child care workers are exposed to information on cultural and linguistic diversity as part of their regular preparation for working with children.

The most well recognized guidelines defining what constitutes appropriate care in early childhood programs were developed by the National Association for the Education of Young Children. *Developmentally Appropriate Practice in Early Childhood Programs Serving Children From Birth to Eight* is a valiant effort to establish standards within a field which previously lacked a written consensus about what

constituted "quality" child care. Over the years, these guidelines have become increasingly used by practitioners and educators throughout the child care field to define practice and shape programs. Their creation grew out of a fear that the strong focus on early development of academic skills being demanded by the public was causing child care programs to adopt methods that did not take into account the full range of basic developmental needs of young children. The NAEYC document addresses this through guidelines for curriculum design and teaching strategies based upon the age and individual needs of a child. The document paved the way for the field to begin examining its assumptions about what constitutes appropriate, quality care.

As it is currently written, however, the document does not explicitly discuss how culture or language issues should be taken into account in the development of appropriate teaching strategies and curricula. Consequently, as these guidelines have gained in popularity, concerns have grown about their suitability for teachers who work with children who do not come from the dominant culture. Janice Jipson analyzed teachers' reactions to the NAEYC guidelines for developmentally appropriate practices. Her study found that some teachers felt the document overstressed the dominant culture's emphasis on the importance of a child's individualism and autonomy. For instance, they felt that the promotion of activities emphasizing the "child as knowledge constructor" ran counter to Asian traditions that believe in adults taking a more direct role in the child's learning. Similarly, a Native American teacher felt that the stress on teaching a child to think and act for him or herself ignored the importance of encouraging children to value thinking and acting on behalf of family and community.

In the recently published report *Caring For the Future*, Abbey Cohen and Carol Stevens write:

While child development is a universal phenomenon, practices that are considered acceptable in a child care or education setting are often bound to the dominant culture. Cultural differences in expectations about children's behavior and activities sometimes lead to very different curricula and structure in child care settings... Until child development standards are examined in practice in multicultural settings, consensus about quality criteria can mask a certain lack of agreement regarding specifics in curriculum or actual practice.

In 1990, the National Advisory Panel for the Head Start Evaluation Project recognized the importance of gaining a better understanding of how programs worked for different populations when it called for further research on the applicability of Head Start to ethnically diverse groups. "There is a need for reliable and valid information about what works, why it works, for whom it works, and under what conditions." [14]

No system exists for ensuring that the information which is available regarding culturally appropriate practice is a regular part of the training received by individuals who become child care providers. California, like most of the United States, lacks a cohesive, integrated system for training and certification for early care and education programs. First, many people begin working in the field of child care with little or no formal training. Often, child care workers first start working as a classroom instructional assistant then obtain training after they have already begun caring for children. Second, there is little incentive to obtain training. The wages of child care workers are extremely low even for the most highly

trained staff persons. Third, while California is one of 29 states which do mandate some training for child care providers, these requirements are not stringent. Six to 24 units of early childhood coursework is the norm for professionals working with children under five years old—compared to kindergarten teachers who must have graduate training.

The training opportunities and programs that do exist for early childhood professionals are fragmented across several different systems including the community colleges, vocational education programs, the California Department of Education, Head Start centers, school districts and Montessori programs, to name a few. There is little coordination of efforts, no common curricular standards and no mechanism for transferring credits from courses taken in one system to another.

Frustrated by this, Pacific Oaks College in Los Angeles has embarked upon an effort to develop a more integrated system of recruitment and training. This began in June of 1991 with a two day seminar of key early childhood professionals and trainers who drew up nine major recommendations for the development of an integrated system. In their report, cultural and language diversity as a unit was identified early as one of the three essential elements of a training framework for early childhood professionals. Members of the initial team convened by Pacific Oaks are continuing to meet in smaller work groups to develop an implementation plan for their recommendations. In the meantime, however, California is a long way away from an integrated system for training early care and education professionals.

Meanwhile, it is still possible for individual centers to provide staff the chance to enhance their skills in working with children of different ethnic backgrounds. Activities can include workshops on the cultural backgrounds of children in a center; training on working with children and families who come from ethnic backgrounds different from the providers; encouraging staff from various ethnic backgrounds to share their respective knowledge about working with children from their communities; or exposing staff to written materials on culturally appropriate practice. These activities should be encouraged whether centers serve single, dual or multiple ethnic and language groups. No matter how many different children are being cared for at a center, staff should be skilled in learning about and honoring the developmental messages each may be receiving at home. At this point, however, little is known about the extent to which centers engage in such staff development activities.

Recruiting Staff from the Community

Improvements in training and staff education, however, are only part of the picture. Hiring staff who reflect the ethnicity of the children is essential. According to the California Department of Education guidelines for state subsidized care, *Exemplary Program Standards*, site administrators should as often as possible, "recruit and hire site personnel who are fluent in the languages spoken by the children and are representative of and sensitive to the cultures of the children being served."

Hiring staff who reflect the ethnicity of the children is essential.

Hiring community members and parents is a fundamental principle of the Head Start model and considered one of the keys to its success.

Caregivers of the same ethnic background can serve as role models for children and are important sources of knowledge and expertise for center staff. Perhaps even more importantly, the unique

We found that significant numbers of minority children are in centers where not even one adult is from the same racial background.

attributes of how a community rears its children can be very subtle. Culture influences everything from the body language an adult uses to convey affection or disapproval to how children are included in conversation. The reading of materials or attending of workshops cannot replace the understanding and expertise gained from having grown up as a member of a particular community. Most of us cannot precisely explain why we do things a certain way—we just know that we do it and it seems to feel right, and that it would probably be very difficult to teach. Usually these attributes have grown up with us from childhood.

The video *Essential Connections: Ten Keys to Culturally Sensitive Child Care* stresses that hiring some caregivers of the same cultural backgrounds as children in a center is vital to a culturally appropriate program for children aged 0-3. This helps to ensure that the practices of the center are in harmony with the beliefs of the home. "When the caregiver reflects the culture of the children served, parents and caregiver are more likely to have a common vision of the person they want the child to become." When this common vision exists, caregiver and family members are able to work together to ground an infant in the culture of the community and thus ensure that the child grows up with the self confidence, competence and connection which comes from having a strong sense of cultural identity.

Consider the experience of the Foundation Center, a non-profit organization which operates 23 centers throughout California. A fundamental principle of their program is hiring staff from each community being served. Though the Foundation Center began its work with Latino farmworkers, it has since expanded to administering centers located in a wide variety of ethnic communities. Co-Director Antonia Lopez, writes:

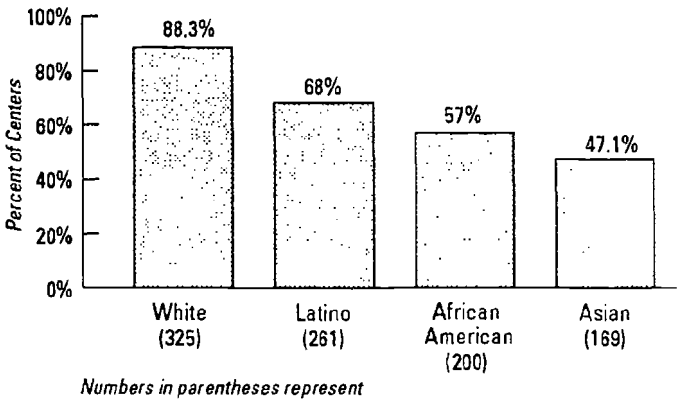
Each of the centers is different. Even in the 14 centers where the home language is Spanish and everyone at the centers speak Spanish all of the time, each reflects the cultural values and practices of the people it serves. In each case, the environment mirrors their particular cultural heritage, mores and world view. Take for example, noise level. At Winters, a rural program housed in a farm labor camp outside of Sacramento, on any day of the week you can sit in the almond orchard and hear the wind rustle the leaves in the trees or see it cause ripples in the fields of grasses that surround the center. In the center, there is a sense of peace and calm...it's "quiet." The children, parents and staff are country people. They use soft voices, they don't speak fast, they stop to look at you as you become part of their environment.

On the other hand, at the David Roberti Center in Los Angeles, it feels and moves like a Latin American city. The center faces a raucous street busy with motor and pedestrian traffic. Many parents take several buses to get their kids to the center and then take several more to get to work. In the center everyone likes to chit chat, they talk faster, they move faster, their bubbly voices and spirits punctuate the air like wind chimes on a balmy summer morning.

Everything about how the centers run is embedded in the culture of the people—what is acceptable noise level, what are appropriate adult-child interactions, how they talk about problems, what they say at parent meetings. Because the staff come from the communities, we don't have to worry about "cultural conflicts" or to plan inservices on cultural awareness. They relate with the families and respond to them naturally. Staff is often not even conscious of what they do that is culturally appropriate.

In order to gain a better sense of how often there is this kind of family cultural match for children in care, California Tomorrow used its survey to investigate how many centers with a child from particular racial groups also had at least one staff person of the same racial background involved in caring for the children. Most white children are in centers with at least one white provider. Significant numbers of minority children are in centers where not even one adult is from the same racial background. For example, more than half of the centers caring for at least one Asian child do not have Asian staff. Please see figure 3.

Figure 3. Percent of child care centers with children from given racial groups that also employ staff from those same groups.

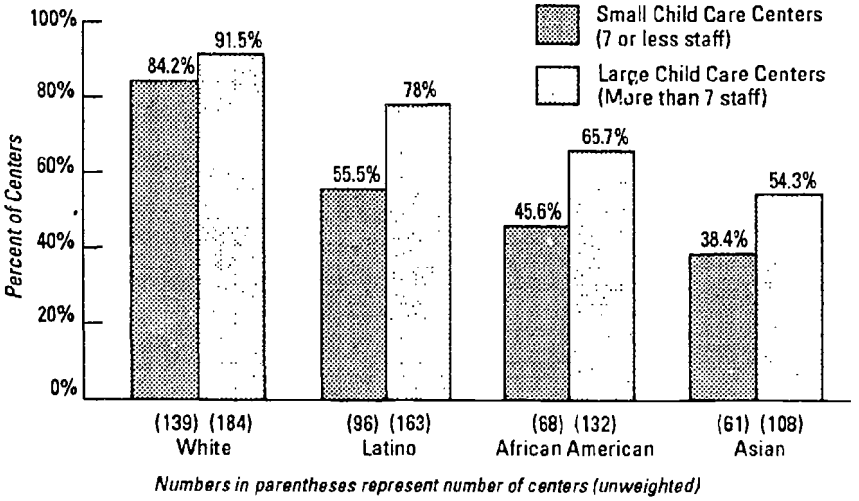


Numbers in parentheses represent number of centers (unweighted)

Racial match, however, is only a general indicator of whether a child and provider may be from the same community. It does not, for example, detect important class differences, or distinguish between the specific ethnic groups subsumed within broad racial categories. Our survey results suggest that these more specific matches may be even less likely. For example, an analysis of whether Asian children are in centers with at least one caregiver who speaks their home language shows a much lower match by the languages spoken by specific groups e.g. Vietnamese, Cantonese, Tagalog.

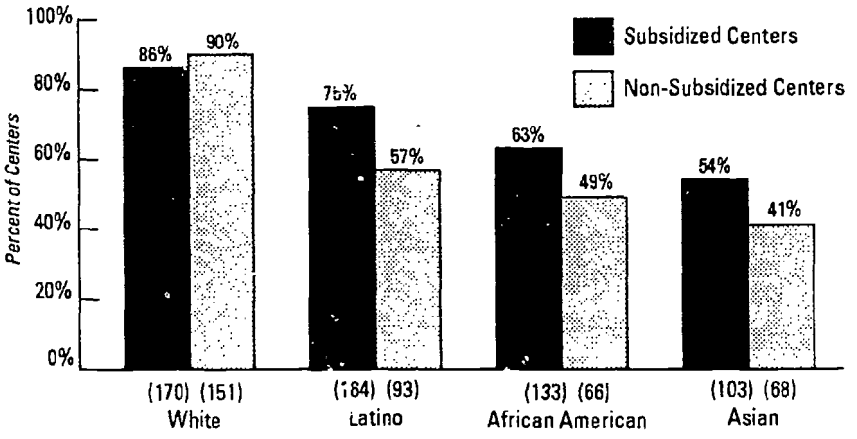
Matches are also more common in larger centers. This result is not surprising given that larger centers have more staff positions to fill on the whole. Please see figure 4.

Figure 4. Percent of child care centers with children from given racial groups that also employ staff from those same groups, by size of center.



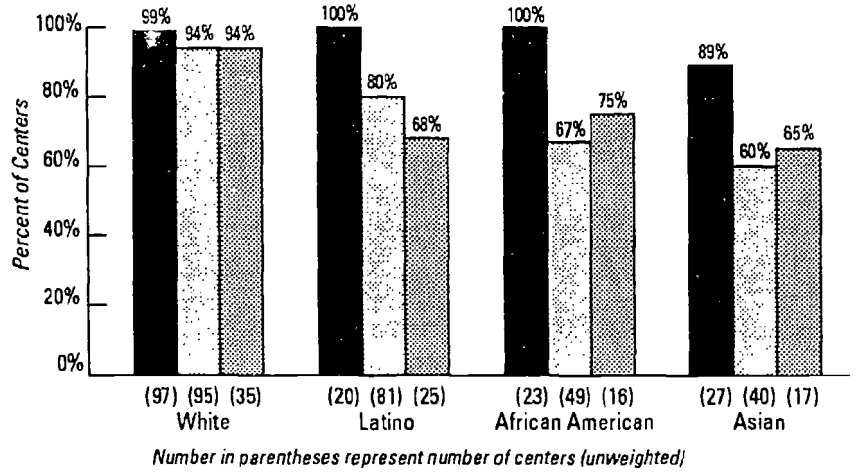
Numbers in parentheses represent number of centers (unweighted)

Figure 5. Percent of subsidized and non-subsidized centers with children from given racial groups that also employ staff from those same groups.



Numbers in parentheses represent number of centers (unweighted)

Figure 6. Percent of centers with large numbers of children from given racial groups that also employ staff from those same groups.



Number in parentheses represent number of centers (unweighted)

Centers where most or all children are from one given racial group.

Centers where approximately half of children are from the given racial group.

Centers where approximately one fourth of children are from the given racial group.

Moreover, when we looked at data for centers that reported serving children whose childcare costs were partially paid for by a government agency or program, we found that the subsidized centers were more likely than non-subsidized centers to have staff that matched the ethnicity of children of color. Please see figure 5.

Finally, it is important to recognize that centers are generally better at hiring staff who reflect their children's racial background when they serve significant numbers of children from that particular racial background. Centers serving children solely or predominantly from one racial group almost always had a staff person from the same racial background. This likelihood, however, was significantly less if the children being served were Asian. Please see figure 6.

These statistics suggest that centers do, in fact, make an effort to hire staff who reflect the racial background of the children in their care, particularly when the numbers of children are large. They also suggest, however, that considerable attention needs to be paid to situations where only a few children from a particular group attend a center. In some ways, children in these situations can be viewed as being the most in need of the presence of an adult caregiver from the same background, because such children do not have access to the support of peers from their community, and small numbers mean that their culturally specific needs may be easily overlooked.

The ability to ensure the presence of staff that is representative of the community served by a center is an issue of recruitment, training and retention. The Foundation Center, described here, illustrates one innovative approach to addressing this issue.

PROFILE

The Foundation Center

The Foundation Center began operating child care centers in 1980 when it submitted a bid to the California Department of Education to take over three centers in financial trouble. The Foundation Center now administers 23 centers, all funded by the Child Development Division of CDE.

A fundamental principle of the Foundation Center approach is the recruitment and training of teachers from the communities served. Co-Director Antonia Lopez explains,

When we first started, we found that most of the existing teachers were not from the same culture as the children. The teachers were frustrated because they weren't getting the results they wanted. There was an invisible distance created by barriers of language and culture. Children were acting out and teachers were having difficulty forming relationships with parents... We realized that in order to have an emotionally safe environment, we needed to find a way to bring people from the community into the center as staff. But we did not want them to simply become teacher's aides— children are already too accustomed to seeing members of the community in secondary, subservient roles.

Most of our parents believe that education is the door to a better future for their children, but many of them tell us that they are not prepared to help their children and believe it is necessary to give them up to the schools. Our goal is to help the parents stay connected with their children.

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We want to help them expand their awareness of their power and role as the primary educator, mentor and advocate for their children. We want to help the children stay connected with their parents and see themselves as part of a healthy, thriving and successful cultural community.

In this spirit, the Foundation Center developed its own training and recruitment strategy. Their program enables members of the community—ranging from migrant laborers to garment workers to fast food workers—to start as entry-level teaching assistants and emerge five years later with a California Children's Center permit and an American Montessori Society credential. Training is a regular part of each employee's job, mostly focussing on the Montessori curriculum. All staff receive 15 days of paid training a year for which they are able to receive college credit.

The Foundation Center needed to train people who might not speak English, have had little access to formal education, and have no prior training in child development.

When the Foundation Center first started operating child care centers, they evaluated a number of different curricula in terms of cultural and linguistic appropriateness and the practicality of using it to train staff. Originally, they did not even consider Montessori because they thought it would be too rigid and structured. However, a closer analysis of the other curricula such as High Scope, Alerta and Nuevas Fronteras revealed that they were not appropriate for the people the Foundation Center intended to train. More like frameworks than curricula, they required hiring people with a background in child development to interpret them. The Foundation Center needed to train people who might not speak English, have had little access to formal education, and have no prior training in child development. They needed a curriculum that they could install over a period of years.

Montessori turned out to be a more effective curriculum for addressing these needs. Designed to help children become independent, self-sufficient members of society who know how to participate in the world, Montessori is also a non-threatening approach to teaching adults about the physical development of the child and what constitutes developmentally appropriate activities. The first area of study in Montessori is practical life. Because it starts with concepts that adults already understand, uses objects from the home, and supports the parents' childrearing and socialization values, the Montessori curriculum is a perfect bridge between home and school. Lopez says, "With regard to the 'home language, home culture' approach, the question that we are sometimes asked is 'how do you prepare' the child for 'other cultures' and dealing with bias? The Montessori approach attempts to place the child first in their family, then in their community and then as a citizen of the world."

The Montessori program also provides adults with an opportunity to develop their basic academic skills. For example, many adults are learning math and arithmetic skills for the first time as they are introduced to the sensorial unit. Antonia Lopez believes that one of the strengths of the program is they can maximize the thrill that develops when a 30- or 40-year old figures out how to add—and this enthusiasm then transfers when she or he turns around to teach the newly acquired skill to a child. The adult is sensitive to the challenge facing the child and the awe that comes with mastering the skill.

According to training director Marjorie Farmer, the Foundation Center specifically seeks to meet the realities of the communities in which the centers operate. First, teachers in training are offered on-site study time so that they may also learn the skills of study itself. Often they are given written questions so they can practice giving directly corresponding

answers. They also organize discussion groups in which a facilitator encourages each person to contribute, ask questions, and be enriched by the comments of other teachers. This format draws upon the existing strengths of the teachers since most come from communities in which they have already been taught how to work as a team. Marjorie explains, "We can't leave it to chance...Many of the teachers haven't had parents or other role models who have gone on in education."

Second, the program accommodates the language background of the teachers by both offering instruction in multiple languages and allowing them to turn in homework in whatever language they choose. Third, teachers read about and discuss the lives of inspirational figures from communities of color, such as Ghandi, Martin Luther King, Rigoberta Menchu and Marian Wright Edelmen. "Studying their lives and ideas provides an understanding of the struggle for peace and justice and how to go beyond the obstacles we face," explains Marjorie. Finally, the program seeks to work at the pace of the teachers. The training takes place over a period of five years, and teachers can take longer if needed. Teachers are paid during the entire program so they do not have to worry about surviving financially.

Providing these unique trainings are well-known Montessori trainers with years of experience. And because the Foundation Center had difficulty finding Montessori instructors from the United States who could teach in Spanish, many of these faculty come from other regions of the world including Chile and other parts of Central and South America. The faculty is constantly reviewing and revising the curriculum to ensure it is appropriate. One of the most recent developments is a program to foster apprentices who will eventually join or replace the original team of core trainers. Apprentices are Foundation Center teachers who have finished their Montessori training, worked in the classroom for more than two years, and been identified for their expertise in delivering a particular component of the curriculum.

The teacher trainings are conducted in 4 locations throughout the state. The Foundation Center has adopted this statewide training strategy because it is cost effective, enables staff to see that they are part of a larger team, and fosters networks among teachers across centers. The joint trainings also expose the extremely diverse staff to one another's cultures, even if their own centers primarily serve a single ethnic group. Twice a week during the training sessions, staff from various ethnic groups are asked to conduct a presentation on their culture.

In addition, the Foundation Center together with 13 head teachers developed a 40-day on-the-job-training sequence to introduce new employees to the operations of a center. The training involves activities for new employees such as observing a current teacher do some part of his/her job (e.g. how snack is served or children greeted in the morning). The next day, the new teacher does the activity and the teacher observes and offers suggestions.

Thus far, the Foundation Center has graduated more than 80 teachers. It is the largest officially designated Montessori school system in the United States. The Center eventually hopes to help all of its teachers obtain a B.A. degree through continued off-site training.

PROFILE

Amazingly, this extensive staff development program does not cost "extra" money. The centers run by the Foundation Center receive the same monies as other state subsidized programs. The Foundation Center, however, has chosen to spend money on staff development instead of costly administrative staff. While the state rule is that centers can spend no more than 15% on administration, the Foundation Center only spends 7-9%. In part this is possible because the administrative process has been streamlined. The central office in Sacramento orders supplies for all 23 centers, so they can order in bulk and negotiate discounts. This office also processes all paperwork. When a child enrolls at any center, the site director registers the child and sends the information to the central office which creates a computer file. The director sends attendance information via fax to the center on a weekly basis and the central office uses this to generate nine different reports required by the state. Because operations are centralized, each site only requires a part-time administrator and they have never had to hire clerical support. Moreover, because the Foundation Center spends so much time on staff development, administrators from the central office no longer need to spend time supervising staff at the more established sites. This also means that the Foundation Center has not needed to hire new central office staff as they have expanded to new sites. Instead, administrators such as Antonia Lopez simply shift their time from the more established sites to the newer sites which need their assistance in developing quality programs. Experienced site directors also mentor each other in particular areas, or serve as "buddies" for new managers.

Using Ethnic Diversity To Foster Appreciation and Understanding

Understanding the distinct cultures of children in care is critical. But most of the surveyed child care centers reported working with racially mixed groups of children, and this indicates a tremendous opportunity to foster the ability of children to understand and appreciate diversity. Research on the development of children's self-concepts and attitudes towards others contradict the common myth that children are "innocent" and unaffected by the biases of society.[15] By the age of two or three, children notice racial and gender differences. By the age of four, color becomes affectively laden even though the child still lacks a sophisticated understanding of race. African American children are likely to have an emotional response to particular skin colors at an even younger age.[16] Even at this young age, children are able to observe and be affected by society's spoken and unspoken biases against people who are different.

Providers can have a significant impact on young children's understanding of and reaction to difference. Children learn about differences and similarities through their observations and experiences with adults. Intentionally or not, teachers communicate to children their own views, biases and stereotypes. Consequently, teachers unaware of how to deal appropriately with issues of prejudice, may inadvertently take actions or make comments which promote bias in children. For example, celebrating ethnic holidays and eating foods from various countries is often used by teachers to inform children about other cultures.

Many early childhood professionals, including anti-bias curriculum expert Louise Derman Sparks, worry that this approach can deteriorate into "tourist curriculum."

Tourist curriculum is both patronizing, emphasizing the "exotic" differences between cultures, and trivializing, dealing not with the real-life daily problems and experience of different peoples... Children "visit" non-White cultures and then "go home" to the daily classroom, which reflects only the dominant culture...What it fails to communicate is real understanding.

On the other hand, teachers appropriately trained in how to handle issues of bias can help to foster a positive appreciation of diversity, increase cross-cultural understanding and negate stereotypes. Teachers can serve as positive role models for children and design classroom activities that facilitate positive interaction between children who differ in gender, ability, class and race.

Adopting An Anti-Bias Approach

In recent years, concern about these issues has led a growing number of education researchers and practitioners to work on the development of techniques to help young children confront biases and stereotypes before they transform into real racism or are internalized in the form of negative self-images and attitudes. Produced by the National Association for the Education of Young Children, the Anti-Bias Curriculum developed by the Anti-Bias Curriculum Task Force, headed by Louise Derman-Sparks, currently represents the most comprehensive set of guidelines to help early childhood professionals address bias in the classroom. It seeks to assist teachers in empowering children to develop positive self-images, think critically about diversity and stand up for themselves and others in the face of injustice. These guidelines include suggestions for helping children to resist stereotyping and discriminatory behavior, learn assertion and empathy, and involve parents in addressing issues of bias.

A key principal of the Anti-Bias Curriculum is the creation of an antibias environment in the classroom. The checklist below was developed to help teachers assess the extent to which they successfully address issues of bias in their classroom's physical design and activities.

ANTI-BIAS CHECKLIST FOR THE CLASSROOM

Do you use materials or activities that teach about:

1. All the children, families, and staff in your program.

2. Contemporary children and adults from the major racial/ethnic groups in your community, state, and American society in their families, at work and at play.

3. Diversity within each racial/ethnic group.

4. Women and men of various ethnic backgrounds doing "jobs in the home"

5. Women and men of various ethnic backgrounds doing "jobs outside the home" including blue collar work, pink collar work, and artistic work.

6. Elderly people of various backgrounds doing a variety of activities.

7. Differently abled people of various backgrounds working, being with their families and playing.

8. Diversity in family lifestyles, including single mom or dad; mom works, dad is at home — dad works, mom is at home; mom and dad work; two moms or two dads; extended families; interracial and multiethnic families; foster families; families by adoption, families with differently abled members; low income families; middle class families.

9. Individuals of many different backgrounds who contribute to our lives including participants in movements for justice.

—Anti-Bias Curriculum

Another important emphasis of the Anti-Bias curriculum is the need to teach children about stereotypes and prejudices through developmentally appropriate activities. The following description of the Cabrillo College Child Development Center offers a concrete example of how one institution has used the anti-bias approach to shape its entire program.

PROFILE

The Cabrillo Anti-Bias Approach

The Child Development Center at Cabrillo community college was established in the early 1970s as a demonstration school for the Early Childhood and Family Life Education Department. It serves as a teacher training program for those working with toddlers through five year olds, and has as its particular focus Anti-Bias Curriculum and commitment to families. As part of a deliberate admissions policy, children from ethnically, economically and structurally diverse families attend the Center. The children, parents, student teachers (themselves highly diverse) and the Center staff benefit from a progressive partnership that encourages the explicit recognition of difference in the context of building community.

The child care center has been housed in its current site since 1975, a large building incorporating two large classrooms that open into outside play areas. There are observation rooms, meeting and student classrooms, a "Peace Education" children's library, a material's workshop and department staff offices.

The Anti-Bias approach is central to all aspects of training, teaching and service at Cabrillo. Formalized by Louse Derman-Sparks (1989), the goal of the Anti-Bias Curriculum is to promote a strong sense of pride in self and family, to support young children's natural interest in difference in order to counter "pre-prejudice," and to help children identify stereotyping and bias and be able to take stands, alone and with others, on their own and others' behalf.

As children gain their own self identity, they also come to recognize differences between themselves and others. The Anti-Bias Curriculum advocates that part of early childhood education must be to help children have appropriate language to talk about and appreciate age, gender, racial, ethnic, and physical ability differences among people. Children also need specific age-appropriate skills to stand up for themselves and others in the face of injustice.

Another assumption in the Cabrillo Anti-Bias approach is that parents are children's first, best and lifetime teachers, and that any attempt to change the lives of children must include a mutual education process between the parents and the Center staff. Parents participate in hiring committees, a classroom "parent co-op," parent meetings, conferences and home visits. A staff member is assigned to be available to parents at arrival and departure times each day to maintain an ongoing dialogue between the child's world at home and at the Center.

The Anti-Bias Curriculum recognizes that visual cues are important to children's development. Classrooms are covered with the children's own artwork because, as Cabrillo's director Janis Keyser explains, "Children need to know that they are valued. This is a place where their world, their families, can be fully represented." Cabrillo also uses visual images to break down social stereotypes whether they are about ethnicity, gender, physical abilities or age. The classroom walls are covered with posters of children of color, physi-

cally disabled children, girls and boys in non-stereotypical roles (e.g. girls playing with blocks and tools, boys dancing, fathers cuddling babies). Play areas are designated in both English and Spanish, and whenever possible ethnically diverse "tools" are incorporated into the different play areas. The program seeks to not only acknowledge and respect differences in others, but to embed the child/family culture into the day-to-day life of the center. For example, the dramatic play kitchen features cooking and eating utensils such as a bamboo steamer and Japanese lacquerware bowls, both of which are utilized in the homes of children in the Center.

Children at Cabrillo, ranging from two to five years of age, enroll in either full day or half day programs. Priority admissions are given to student and staff families, then families in the general community. However, according to Janis, the admissions policy takes into consideration children's ethnicity, family structure, and socioeconomic status as well as children's age and gender. The goal is to serve a broadly diverse group of children for the sake of the early childhood student teachers as well as for the sake of the children and families involved.

Parents bring their children to Cabrillo because of its excellent reputation and specifically for the diversity of its children. Nontraditional families are common at Cabrillo—children raised by grandparents, children in Lesbian families, single parent and foster parent families. Raneta's family, for example, is bi-racial. She and her husband are European American, and their adopted daughter Sierra is African American. Raneta worries about Sierra's cultural identity. How will outsiders deal with her family's bi-racial adoption? What prejudices will Sierra face as an African American child and how will she deal with them? At Cabrillo, Sierra learns about non-traditional families, about her own and others' cultures, and about ways to deal with bias and stereotyping.

In addition to an Anti-Bias Curriculum that is culturally and developmentally appropriate for children, Cabrillo derives much of its strength to combat stereotypes and appreciate diversity from a partnership between teachers and parents. Cabrillo's philosophy involves servicing the entire family. In addition to a carefully selected parenting library, parents have access to children's books which represent the diversity of families served. This is significant since people of color often have limited access to educational resources. The family bulletin board at Cabrillo reflects the diversity of families that bring their children to this child care center. Here children display pictures of their family. A Chinese boy has mounted pictures of not only his parents, but also his grandparents. Cabrillo recognizes that for some families, extended relatives play an integral role in the child's upbringing. In fact, grandparents are welcomed at Cabrillo and may even take part in traditional "parent/teachers" conferences. Pictures of bi-racial families also reflect the ethnically diverse families that Cabrillo serves. It is through the acknowledgment and recognition of each child's ethnicity and family background that Cabrillo has strengthened its program. Rather than excluding parents from their child's education, Cabrillo embraces parent empowerment. This serves as a powerful and positive role model for children.

PROFILE

Teaching the Anti-Bias Curriculum Full Time

Cabrillo currently employs three master teachers. All are European American: two speak Spanish. As part of their teacher training program, Cabrillo also staffs 18 half day student teachers and 2 full day student "interns." The teachers are highly thought of by parents. Raneta explains, "Teachers at Cabrillo are intelligent, versatile, creative and spontaneous. However she finds the turnover of student teachers each semester to be troublesome. Because Cabrillo is a training center, each semester means new faces for Sierra, and getting used to them hasn't been easy.

The Anti-Bias Curriculum is an integral and explicit part of Cabrillo's program. Master teachers appear to embrace this philosophy and enjoy working with Cabrillo's racially diverse students. Master teacher Eric Hoffman has spent much of his professional life working on fostering the joys of diversity. But it wasn't until he began working at Cabrillo that he first felt successful with the complexities of this issue. According to Eric, Cabrillo recognizes that prejudices and stereotypes are tangible and serious problems, and that staff needs to always be specifically looking for and thinking about ways to address these issues. He ways that the Cabrillo team approach has been very supportive of his efforts. He doesn't always know what of do in a given situation, but the staff supports him in taking action. In the classroom, Eric focuses much of his work on facilitating diversity through providing language, and through group problem solving. He is a strong advocate of Anti-Bias Curriculum not only to dispel racial stereotypes, but gender and physical stereotypes as well:

The Anti-Bias Curriculum cannot wait. Children pick up adult silences. Anything that adults cannot, will not, talk about is a powerful message of fear for children. Children need language to articulate what they are experiencing. I have to be so careful with these issues. I can't lay out the whole history of racism. That would not be fair to them: they don't understand historic time. But I can deal with their fears about differences, their issues about things that are happening at their age. When a child walks down the street, points to somebody in a wheelchair and says, "Oh, look at that funny person in that thing...", and the adults get an embarrassed look and remain silent or shush the child...that's the response we have to help the child unlearn. We have to find ways for everybody to talk about difference... ways that are thoughtful and socially acceptable.

Eric often uses puppets and flannel board characters to discuss issues of diversity and stereotypes with the children. He uses the same characters over and over so that the children get to know each one and feel an affinity for their struggles, interests, personalities. He finds that when the children talk about these characters they are really talking about themselves. During a typical circle time, Eric dressed Juan, a male character, in pink clothing. Some of the children insisted that boys couldn't wear pink. Others disagreed. Eric insisted that pink was Juan's favorite color, but added "that's unusual, isn't it? You haven't seen many men wearing pink—I wonder why? Could men wear pink if they wanted to?" His goal is not to force them to change their minds, but to plant some questions in their minds that will keep coming up for them in the future.

Cabrillo is a model of how the Anti-Bias Curriculum can work within a racially diverse setting. However, will it also work in ethnic specific settings? Can teachers trained at Cabrillo effectively use the Anti-Bias Curriculum to foster the joys of diversity with ethnic specific populations? Julie Olsen Edwards is a Santa Cruz educator who teaches Cabrillo College's Anti-Bias Curriculum course. According to Julie, two thirds of Cabrillo's former student teachers leave to work in schools serving predominantly a single ethnic group. In their view, the Anti-Bias Curriculum does work in ethnic specific settings. But Julie suspects that the difference might be in the teachers themselves rather than in the specifics of the curriculum. Since teachers trained at Cabrillo develop a sensitivity to the covert as well as overt ways in which age, gender, race and physical disability biases impact children, they become more proactive and responsive to the way these injuries are acted out in the classroom.

Master teacher Eric Hoffman has no doubts that the Anti-Bias Curriculum works. "I see a sense of community among these children, and see children helping and caring about each other in ways that I don't see a lot of older children about to do. I see myself making a difference: Eric explains how the Anti-Bias Curriculum has worked to change one child:

"I was trying to do some work around Native American issues. Several of the children were playing "Indian," whooping and jumping around and threatening other children with pretend tomahawks. I was trying to help the children understand the injurious stereotype they were playing with when the child said something that made me realize "This child doesn't think that Indians are people." Here I was trying to give a lot of historical information but I had overlooked emphasizing a basic fact: Indians are people. She looked at me and said, "uh uh, Indians are monsters." Everything this child knew about Indians came from Peter pan movies.

Last week this same child dictated a story to me about Indians and monsters—a story where they were separate. Indians were people and they went and got the monsters and worked together to solve a problem. I think I make a difference when a child starts to see that "they," "the other," are human beings. I see a lot of little victories like that."

At Cabrillo, the Anti-Bias Curriculum appears to be impacting student teachers, children and their parents. Julie adds "If from the very beginning we can help children experience difference as interesting rather than frightening. If from the earliest ages we can give children tools to stand against what is "unfair." If we can find a balance between supporting autonomy and building community. Then we have to be making a difference. The tiny steps made by each teacher are part of a movement. And it is wonderful to see parents become hopeful that the sense of connectedness, of community, can continue for them and their children." As a teacher training institution, Cabrillo assumes particular responsibility to model and train Anti-Bias Curriculum. "One way we are seeing results" says Julie, "is when centers that have served all white children begin actively recruiting children and staffs of color. It is significant when people "get" that segregation is hurtful to everyone."

Diversity in Staffing

In addition to teaching about diversity through classroom materials and activities, centers committed to this issue often reflect their ideals through their hiring and personnel policies. The NAEYC book, *Alike and Different*, states:

Figure 7. Percent of child care centers that employ staff from one, two or multiple racial groups.

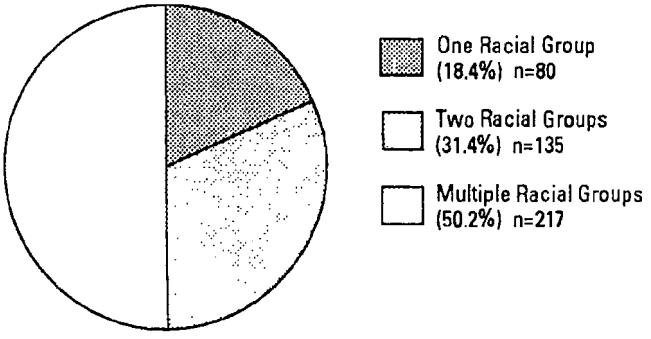
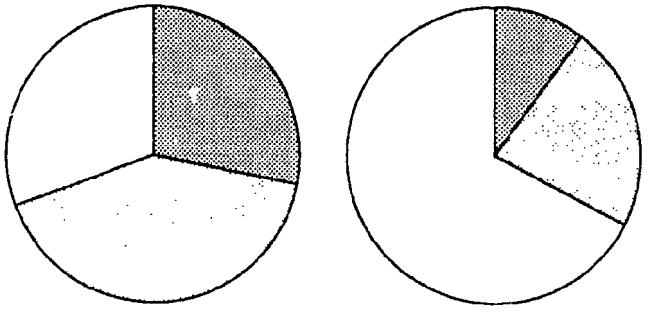


Figure 8. Percent of child care centers that employ staff from one, two or multiple racial groups, by size of center.



Small Child Care Centers
(Centers with 7 or less staff members n=203)

- One Racial Group (28.1%)
- Two Racial Groups (41.4%)
- Multiple Racial Groups (30.5%)

Large Child Care Centers
(Centers more than 7 staff members n=229)

- One Racial Group (10.1%)
- Two Racial Groups (22.4%)
- Multiple Racial Groups (67.5%)

A program that serves multiethnic families is usually conscientious in seeking a diverse staff to provide role models for children. If the program population is primarily homogeneous, it is even more important that we diversify our staff so as not to further a misrepresentation of the world in our learning environments.

One of California Tomorrow's most positive findings is that most of the centers in our study employed staff members from more than one ethnic group. Eighty-one percent of the child care centers surveyed reported that they employed faculty that represented two or more racial groups. Fifty percent of the centers employed faculty from three or more racial groups. This diversity increased with the size of the center. Please see figures 7 and 8.

It is important to note, however, that because of the way our survey was conducted, we were unable to determine the distribution of various groups within each center. For example, even though a center reports employing staff from three ethnic groups, most of the staff may still be from a single ethnic group. Moreover, as the early discussion of match between children and caregivers revealed, a center can be ethnically diverse and still fail to reflect the ethnicity of the children in care. The survey also did not indicate the ethnic balance between teachers and aides in centers. Children are extremely sensitive to cues about power relationships, and our research to date does not reveal the demographics of these relationships in childcare.

The benefits of this rich diversity of staffing go far beyond role modeling. The presence of an ethnically diverse staff provides centers with the broad range of skills, expertise and insights crucial to building and developing culturally appropriate programs. Staff members can

teach each other about effective, culturally appropriate strategies for working with children from their own communities and warn of possible cultural faux pas.

However, creating an environment where staff are able to operate in this manner requires continual effort, planning and staff development activities. In this day and age when so much societal tension surrounds issues of race and inequities, engaging staff in an ongoing open dialogue about cultural differences can be extremely challenging. But, unless staff are able to discuss these issues, it is impossible to identify sources of disagreement or explicitly define areas of common ground. Engaging in these types of discussions requires the building of a supportive, safe climate where individuals have enough trust in each other to believe that their concerns will be heard and not discounted or labeled as racist. Building staff cohesion requires allowing staff to discover, understand and appreciate different perspectives and approaches, and it requires a basic understanding that people do not always interpret events in the same way.

In her article, "Honoring Diversity: Problems and Possibilities for Staff and Organizations," Margie Carter concludes that in diverse settings, regular staff meetings are essential. These provide a much needed forum where staff can discuss and identify issues before routine concerns become major tensions:

I remember well a center decision on whether to have a policy requiring the children to eat all their food before leaving the table. One teacher said, "My family always used the line about the poor starving Chinese and now I (use) it." Another added, "We were never forced to eat anything in my family and I think that has limited my acquired tastes." Almost under her breath a third women said, "We just hoped there was enough food on the table when I was growing up." Almost by accident, this staff discussion uncovered these dramatically different experiences influencing our views. It deepened our understanding and appreciation of each other and drew us together as staff. From there, we were able more objectively to discuss what messages we wanted to convey to the children, and to set our policy accordingly.

Rather than allowing differences to divide the staff, these types of discussions can strengthen staff's ability to work together and identify strategies for best meeting the needs of the children in their care.

According to Carter, in order to keep trust and communication open, it is important to create a common set of agreements about how to handle potential areas of conflict among staff. These agreements can be invaluable in making sure criticisms are constructive and that judgmental and defensive reactions are avoided as best as possible. Please see the accompanying box outlining the "Staff Agreements and Approaches to Criticism When Agreements Are Broken" used by Carter's staff.

Staff Agreements and Approaches to Criticism When Agreements Are Broken

AGREEMENTS

1. We will each have an attitude of flexibility and cooperation in our work here, thinking of the needs of others and the group as a whole, along with our own needs.

2. We will each carry a full share of the workload, which includes some extra hours outside our work schedule (i.e. parent-teacher conferences, meetings, planning and preparation of activities, recordkeeping, progress reports.)

3. We will each communicate directly and honestly with each other. We will be respectful and honorable in our interactions.

4. When problems or difficulties related to our work arise, we will address them rather than ignore or avoid them.

Continued on page 42

Agreements and Approaches to Criticism... Continued from page 41

5. We will all be informed of significant problems that affect the center. These will be communicated in person as soon as possible and in writing as necessary.

6. We understand that it is appropriate to seek help from the director on sensitive or difficult issues.

7. When necessary, we will use a criticism/self-criticism decision process to identify attitudes and behaviors that are negatively affecting our agreements.

CRITICISM/ SELF-CRITICISM PROCESS

To investigate and educate so that we continue to adhere to our agreements.

Question to ask oneself before giving a criticism.

1. Is my criticism based on investigation or on assumption?

2. What is the most important element of the criticism? Secondary?

3. What is my side of the problem, my responsibility or my contribution to it?

4. What are my disguises that keep me from being criticized?

5. Is my criticism intended to hurt or attach or is it to educate?

6. How are our agreements hurt or helped by what I am criticizing?

7. How can I play a concrete, positive role in helping the other person change?

8. What changes do I need to make in myself?

Stating a criticism:

When you do...

I feel...

It hurts our agreements because...

Therefore I want you to...

In the future I will behave differently by...

Investigative discussion of the criticism:

Why do you feel that way? What happened?

What other things were going on? (objective thing happening, subjective impressions, feelings)

What is the main thing that needed to happen?

— Margie Carter

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The Language of Care

A large number of children who are ethnic minorities are also linguistic minorities. In California, more than one out of four households speak a language other than English. Of these, in nearly one out of ten, no adult speaks English well. This statistic is even higher among families with children. In order to gain a clearer understanding of the impact of increasing linguistic diversity in child care centers, California Tomorrow asked centers about the extent to which they cared for children who were not proficient in English, the languages spoken by children in their care, and the languages spoken by center staff to the children.

Languages Spoken by Children and Providers in Centers

Centers collectively work with children from a wide range of language backgrounds. However, English, Spanish and Chinese dialects were the most common languages spoken by children. Please see figure 9.

The norm is for centers to work with children from multiple language groups. Approximately 81 percent of the centers serve children from at least two language groups with 51 percent working with children from at least three language groups. Please see figure 10.

The majority of the surveyed centers also indicated that they care for at least a few language minority children who do not speak English proficiently. To account for the fact that all young children are in the process of developing language skills, the survey defined proficiency as speaking English as well as a peer of the same age. Seventy-seven percent of the centers reported working with children who do not speak any English or speak only a little English. Most (58 percent) reported only working with small numbers of non-English speaking children. However, a substantial minority of centers, approximately 18 percent, reported caring for large numbers of children who do not speak English fluently, coming from homes where another language is spoken. Please see figure 11. It should be noted that staff's evaluation of a child's language proficiency may be skewed by a number of factors. For example, because children are often skilled at following physical cues to keep abreast of activities, teachers may

overestimate their English abilities. Conversely, teachers may mistakenly assume that a bilingual child does not speak English well.

These findings suggest that most centers are not only responsible for meeting the needs of children who speak languages other than English, but they also face the challenge of working simultaneously with children from a variety of language groups.

The Critical Need for Support in a Child's Home Language

Acquiring language is one of the most important developmental tasks facing young children. Children between the ages of two and four acquire language almost effortlessly by talking to the people who surround them. According to the California Department of Education:

Every child acquires a first or home language through meaningful conversation with caretakers rather than any specific training. This natural process which is facilitated by adult support is based on the child's search for meaning.[1]

Consequently, the philosophy and approach of child care providers toward language development has a tremendous impact on how children develop language skills.

The question of how much English and how much of the home language should be used in early care and education and public schools is a source of major controversy. For some policy makers, an early, virtually exclusive focus on learning English is seen as the way to improve the chances for success in the

Figure 9. Percent of child care centers that serve at least one child from given language groups.

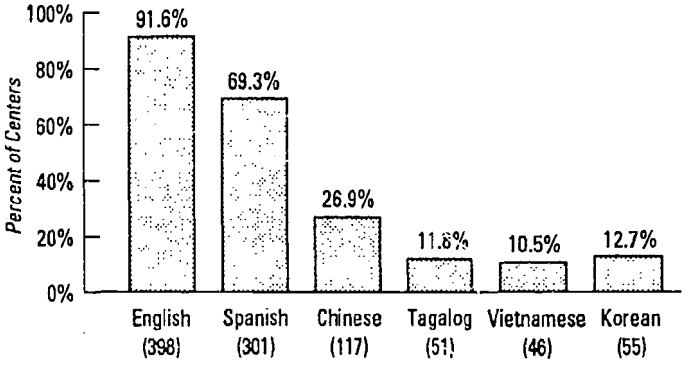


Figure 10. Number of different languages represented among children in child care centers.

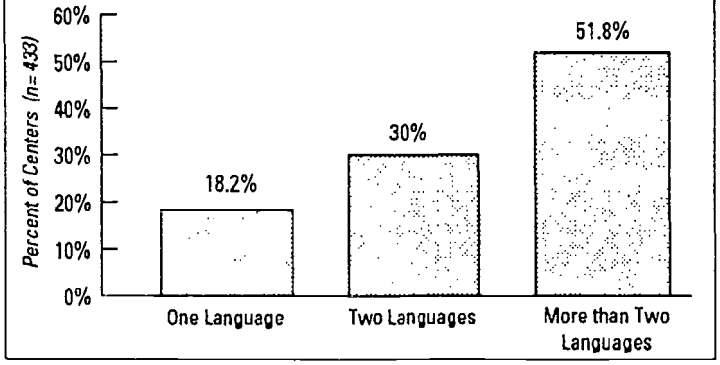
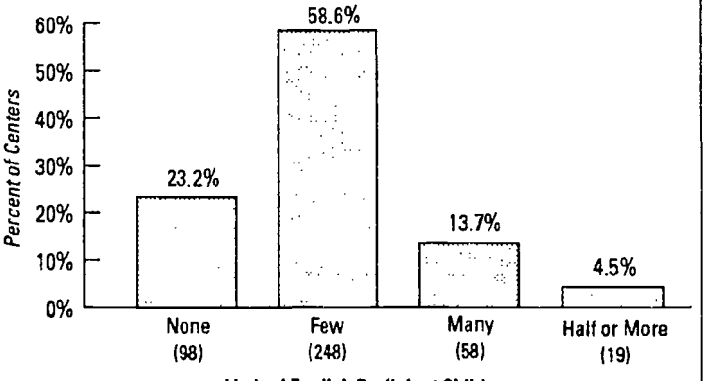


Figure 11. Incidence of limited English proficient children in care reported by centers.



Unable to talk to their children, parents lose their ability to provide verbal comfort and support, offer guidance or transmit family values, hopes and traditions.

K-12 classroom. More and more now, however, this philosophy is being opposed by educators who fear that learning English at earlier and earlier ages can damage children and their families by severing their ability to speak to one another. Poor communication in the home leads to a whole host of interrelated problems, including alienation from both school and the home community, and low academic achievement. These educators base their opposition on research which demonstrates a critical need for home language support in early care and education programs.

Critical to promoting the social and academic well-being of very young children is the development of a child's primary language—the language spoken in a child's home. As the U.S. Commission for Civil Rights stated in 1974:

When language is recognized as the means for representing thought, as the vehicle for complex thinking, the importance of allowing children to develop the language they know best is obvious.

A growing body of research in the United States and Europe suggests that child care programs which do not use home language contribute to the demise of a young child's ability to speak the language of his or her family, and diminish vehicles for age appropriate concept development and socialization. Home language atrophies without continued development. This loss can tragically occur even when parents originally intended for the child to continue speaking the primary home language.[2]

The following scenes were described by Lily Wong Fillmore to Pacific News Service in an article about the No Cost Research Group's study of language loss among more than a thousand immigrant families:

One interviewee described how she and her children had begun to write each other one-word notes—simple word like "rice" or "tea"—to communicate.... A Korean family was interviewed whose three daughters spoke only English while their parents continued to address them in Korean. The father interpreted the children's unresponsiveness as disrespect and rejection. The children, on the other hand, wondered why he always seemed to be angry with them. During the interview he realized that his children didn't speak or understand Korean anymore, and he began to weep."[3]

The explanations for home language loss are several-fold. First, when centers do not use the home language, they reinforce existing societal messages that a child's language is lower in status than the dominant language, English. Children observe that they are not encouraged to speak their home language, that their teachers do not speak their home language, and that their parents may be treated with less respect because they do not speak English. Keenly sensitive to status differences, children from language minority families will often refuse to speak the language of the home once they can get by communicating in English.

Lacking support for their home language, children in care miss the consistent interaction and exposure they need to develop their primary language skills and ability. This problem is often exacerbated by practices adopted by the home. Many parents, even those who are not proficient English speakers, are encouraged by educators to speak English rather than their native tongue to children at home. Many adopt this practice because they are under the impression that it will foster academic achievement and they are unaware of other strategies for reinforc-

ing learning through the use of the home language.

If a child's home language is lost, the effects on family functioning can be disastrous when parents do not speak English. Unlike their children, language minority parents are much less likely to have opportunities to learn English. Adults who do not speak English are generally relegated to the lowest, most unskilled jobs regardless of their prior levels of education. Typically such jobs do not facilitate English language development because they often involve manual as opposed to verbal skills and are in a setting where the entire group of employees are non-English speakers. Adult English as a Second Language classes are often overcrowded and limited in number with long waiting lists. Even if parents are able to attend classes or make the time to acquire English through self-study, it is not enough[4]. Learning a language well requires extensive exposure and on-going opportunities for practicing speaking under non-threatening conditions. The problem here is not one of ability. Contrary to popular belief, research demonstrates that adults, given the right conditions, acquire language more quickly than children because they have the more developed cognitive skills.[5] The problem is that the "right" conditions rarely exist for language minority parents.

Consequently, when language minority children lose their primary language skills, many find that meaningful communication with parents ceases to exist. "As children's ability to converse dissolves, parents lower the level of discourse to virtual baby-talk, stunting communication and development," explains researcher Lily Wong Fillmore. Unable to talk to their children, parents lose their ability

to provide verbal comfort and support, offer guidance or transmit family values, hopes and traditions. Parents find themselves feeling more and more inadequate and ineffective, and children often grow alienated from their families. When disciplinary problems arise, frustration over the lack of communication can create situations where parents feel they need to resort to physical punishment in order to regain their authority.

The impact of primary language loss on a child, however, goes even beyond the family; it can cause alienation from community. Language and culture are closely related since the language of an ethnic group is usually the vehicle through which the community transmits to its young its customs and beliefs. According to Barbara Bowman, past president of the National Association for the Education of Young Children:

Language is an integral part of a group's common experience. Speaking the same language connects individuals through bonds of common meaning...it is the cement for group members' relationships with one another.[6]

The decision to provide support in a child's home language should not be viewed as a trade-off between cohesive family functioning and academic success for the child.

Specific community values, beliefs and traditions are often embedded within the use of particular words and expressions. This interplay between language and culture is why most languages have at least a few words which cannot be meaningfully translated into all other languages. For many ethnic groups, passing down the group's language to the next generation is integral to maintaining cultural identity. Speaking the language of the group is viewed as a sign of membership and children who cannot may be viewed as having rejected their cultural identity.

It is critical to understand that the decision to provide support in a child's home language should not be viewed as a trade-off between cohesive family functioning and academic success for the child. Rather the development of a child's primary language skills is integral to helping a child succeed academically and to eventually develop skills in English. Consider the findings of an evaluation of a Spanish-language pre-school program for Latino children in the Carpenteria School District in California. Compared to a group of children in a program emphasizing English proficiency, Carpenteria children had higher scores on a test of conversational English, and their scores on tests of school readiness and academic achievement surpassed the published norms. Similar results have emerged for other programs including bilingual Head Start programs[7] and pre-kindergarten classes in New York City[8]. Evaluations of those cases demonstrated that children taught in both the home and school languages showed greater cognitive and developmental gains than similar groups of children who were placed in monolingual English programs. Contradicting popular belief, these studies suggest that, at least during the early years, less English and more home language instruction can lead to improved English acquisition.

Research by Lourdes Diaz Soto further suggests that academic achievement is improved rather than impeded when families encourage the development of the primary language. According to her recent study of Puerto Rican families who had migrated from the island, children from homes where Spanish was the preferred mode of communication had higher test scores and were perceived by their teachers to be academically more successful than peers whose parents preferred using English. These differences were found even though both groups of families appeared to have equally high academic expectations for their children.[9] One possible implication of this study is that, rather than reverting to English, parents are better off using their native tongue to create a strong home learning environment.

Such findings support the theory that the development of basic skills and concepts in a child's primary language is best because the child can eventually transfer those skills to the new language.[10] Consider the situation of a child who has learned to count and identify colors in Spanish. The cognitive understanding which underlies these skills is not language specific. Rather, a child who can count or identify primary colors will be able to easily transfer these skills to another language, provided the child eventually has adequate exposure and the motivation to learn. In the United States, such exposure to English is virtually inevitable once the child enters elementary school. Thus, it simply makes sense to

help the young child first learn these skills in the home language rather than to confuse the child by requiring him or her to struggle with them in English.

The Role of Child Care Centers In Developing English Language Skills

As discussed, support for a child's home language goes hand in hand with efforts to ensure that children learn English. Success in the United States has always depended upon the eventual acquisition of English language skills. Children as well as adults are quite aware of this fact. The earlier discussion regarding the transfer of skills across languages suggests that English is best learned when educators take an "additive" approach, which occurs when a teacher is able to promote the development of a second language while also continuing development of primary language skills.

Developing an additive approach, however, is not easy. For example, even bilingual programs and staff may contribute to declining use of the primary language if they create or reinforce the impression that English has a higher social value than the language of the home. Given the incredible emphasis on English throughout U.S. society, some educators believe that the preferred approach is for early care and education to be carried out entirely in a child's native tongue and for the introduction of English to be delayed until kindergarten.

An exclusive emphasis on Spanish is the approach taken by the Winters Child Development Program run by the Foundation Center for Phenomenological Research featured here.

PROFILE

The Winters Child Development Center

Located in the Winters public housing project, the Winters Child Development Center serves two- to five-year-old children of seasonal and migrant farm workers. Child care is available for 11 hours a day and includes two hot meals and two snacks. Like the other programs run by the Foundation Center, Winters uses a Montessori curriculum designed to promote a child-directed learning process. Spanish is the primary, and often sole, language of center staff—nearly all of whom are former migrant workers themselves.

Upon entering the center, visitors find children actively engaged in highly complex developmental tasks. A boy sitting in the middle of the floor manipulates a quantification and decimal system. Working on a cloth marked with columns and rows, the boy's first task is to properly arrange a set of cards labeled from one to ten in a column. In the next column, he arranges cards labeled 10, 20, 30, etc. Cards in the hundreds and then the thousands fill out the next columns. Then the boy searches for beads and strings of beads. Upon finding them, he matches single beads with the single digit cards, arrays strings of ten beads next to the cards in the adjacent column, and so on into the

thousands. Throughout the entire task, the boy applies himself with diligence—and without talking to a single adult. Antonia Lopez, Foundation Center co-director, explains, "We want children to experience their own pleasure. They don't always need to perform for adults, they should have the self-satisfaction of completing a process."

Literacy in Spanish is emphasized throughout the program, a goal of which is to have at least three books at each learning center. For example, in one of the learning centers lives a finch in a birdcage, and nearby is a book opened to a page about the finch as well as a puzzle of a bird. This arrangement helps the child to make the connection between the bird, printed materials and an abstract representation. The biggest challenge in this approach, however, has been the lack of Spanish materials appropriate for young children. While Spanish literature is abundant, simple concept books about subjects like fish and trees are not so easily available. Consequently, many of the center's books are there for the children because staff have taken the time and energy to create them themselves.

According to Antonia, the success of the program has begun to transform the views of staff at the area's local elementary school. At first, teachers complained that the children should be taught English. Now, they are coming to understand the benefits of a program run entirely in Spanish. Just recently, the head of curriculum from the local school district visited the center because they would like to learn how aspects of the Winters program can be incorporated into their own programs. Antonia says:

Every year, about nine children from the center enter first grade. Each wave reshapes the expectations of teachers who before did not think children from their backgrounds could succeed. This, in turn, changes the expectations of other teachers. As we free the children to explore, to reflect who they really are, they become the change agents.

Many programs, however, believe that English language development is an appropriate and essential feature of their curriculum. But how this occurs is typically quite different for young children than it is for older children and adults. First, young children are more apt to learn through natural interaction with native speakers than through directed instruction. Second, young children are typically less inhibited about trying new languages because they are less fearful than adults about making mistakes. Finally, teachers involved in helping young children to acquire a second language need to keep in mind that language skills are part of larger developmental processes. So, for example, a child will not be able to understand how to use the word "triangle" unless he or she already has mastered the concept of a triangle in the first place.[11]

Kai Ming Head Start, described briefly here, illustrates an effort to promote simultaneous development of English and the language of the home.

PROFILE

Kai Ming Head Start

Kai Ming Head Start in San Francisco was created in 1975 because the federal government wanted to identify a local agency that could meet the early childhood education needs of the Chinese community. The Clay/Larkin Street branch of Kai Ming is housed in a grey limestone church along the border between Chinatown and North Beach. The brightly lit facility has been divided into a small section for offices and two spacious, open classrooms. English and Chinese signs appear throughout, and the walls are liberally covered with art work made by the children. The cheerful sounds of pre-schoolers using both Chinese and English words greet the ears of visitors as they enter.

The children enrolled are at the center for 4 hours every day during which they are provided with comprehensive services designed to foster the whole child, including physical, emotional and intellectual development. Half come in the morning and half in the afternoon. A typical day includes a meal, an hour of free play followed by a "recall" exercise where children describe how they spent that time, small group activities, music, outdoor play, story time and another snack.

Kai Ming strives to promote language development in both English and Chinese. Their policy is to emphasize development in Chinese among three year olds. Then as children near kindergarten, teachers increase emphasis on English. Staff would like children to start school already having some basic English.

Language development occurs throughout the day through a variety of activities rather than during a set period of time. For example, it occurs by teaching children Chinese and English songs and encouraging them to use their language skills during recall time.

At Kai Ming, language development is fostered through exposure to appropriate role models. Staff takes particular care to avoid code switching (e.g. switching from Chinese to English in one sentence) and always makes clear distinctions between the two languages. In addition, Kai Ming has intentionally recruited native English speaking teachers to provide students with appropriate language models. The English speaking teachers appear to take this role very seriously. Teacher Lisa Broussard, has noticed for instance that working at Kai Ming requires constantly using English to label her actions and the objects in the room for her curious students.

Figure 12. Percent of child care centers with at least one staff member who speaks given languages to children in care.

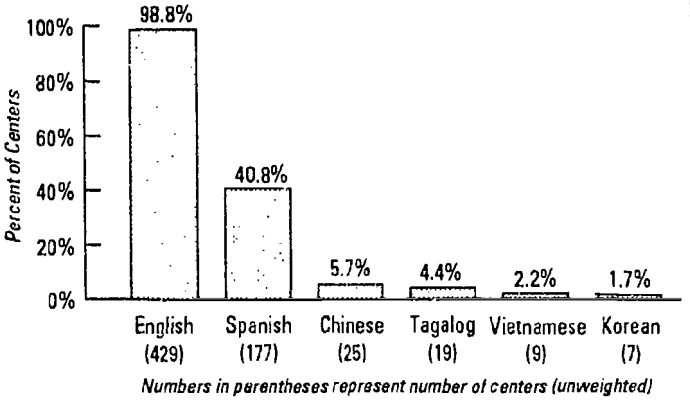


Figure 13. Number of different languages spoken by staff to children in child care centers.

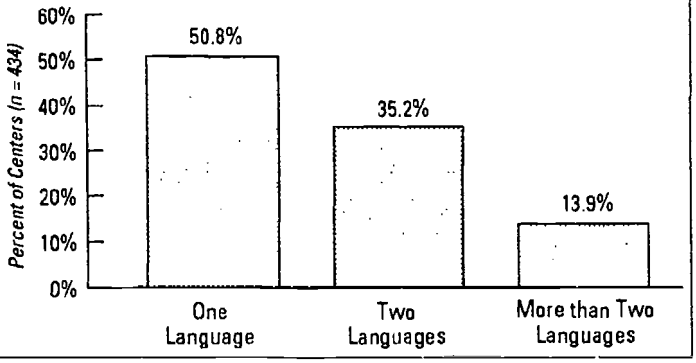
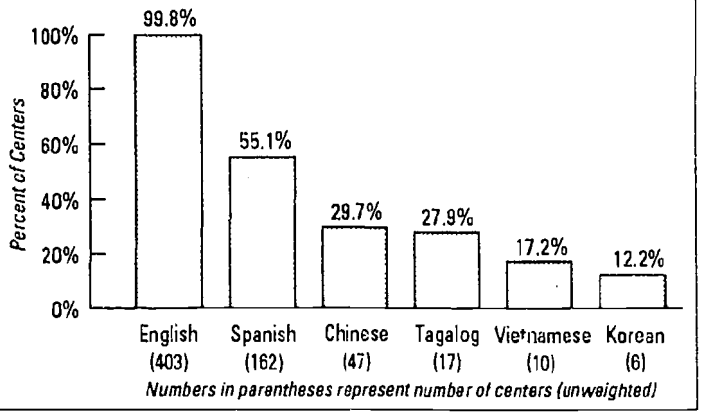


Figure 14. Percent of centers with children who speak given languages that also employ staff who speak the same languages.



The Capacity of Centers To Meet Children's Language Needs

The results of our survey suggest, however, that while centers are generally well-equipped to provide children with English speaking teachers, the capacity to offer home language support is limited. Home language support requires the regular presence of an adult who proficiently speaks a child's home language. Our survey uncovers a significant shortage of bilingual child care staff.

While nearly all centers reported the presence of at least one English-speaking staff person, only about 40 percent had a staff person who spoke Spanish and less than 6 percent of the centers reported hiring staff who spoke any other language. Please see figure 12.

Slightly, more than half of the centers reported that only one language was ever spoken to children on site. When this was the situation, the language spoken was almost always English. Two languages were spoken in 35 percent of the centers and only 14 percent reported three or more languages. These figures are a sharp contrast to earlier results which show children from two or more language groups in 81 percent of the centers. Please see figure 13.

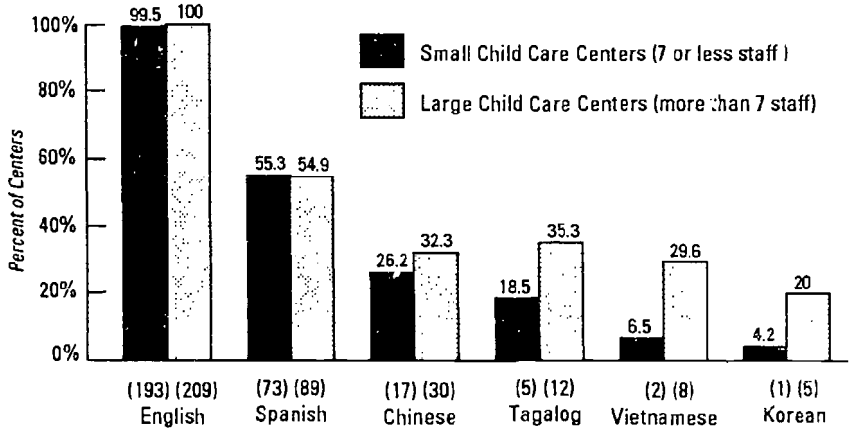
Not surprisingly, while nearly all of the centers had an English speaking staff person available to speak to their English speaking children, a linguistic match for other groups was substantially lower. Only slightly more than half the surveyed centers had a staff person who communicated with children in Spanish if there were any Spanish speaking children in the center. The shortage of linguistically appropriate staff was greatest for Asian Pacific Islander children: only a minority had staff who shared a language with their Tagalog, Chinese, Vietnamese or Korean speaking children (figure 14). As with ra-

cial groups, the level of match was significantly higher for larger centers. Please see figure 15. Matches were also more frequent in centers that reported serving some children whose childcare costs were partially paid for by a government agency or program (figure 16). It should be stressed, however, that the presence of provider-child linguistic matches in a center at any level are not an indication that a formal bilingual program is in practice there.

In addition, information obtained through our site visits suggests that these scarce staffing resources may not be being used as effectively as possible. Consider the dilemma confronting some of the state subsidized programs funded through the California Department of Education. State program design guidelines encourage the provision of home language support. However, program eligibility criteria for families, combined with

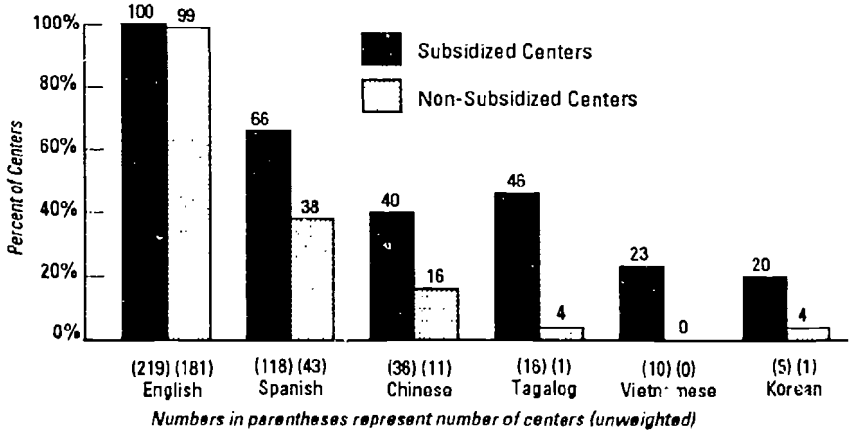
Only about 40% had a staff person who spoke Spanish and less than 6% of the centers reported hiring staff who spoke any other language.

Figure 15. Percent of centers with children who speak given languages that also employ staff who speak the same languages, by size of center.



Numbers in parentheses represent number of centers (unweighted)

Figure 16. Percent of subsidized and non-subsidized centers with children who speak given languages that also employ staff who speak the same languages.



Numbers in parentheses represent number of centers (unweighted)

Treating children and parents who speak Black English with due respect is essential to the fostering of children who are confident and competent.

the serious shortage of bilingual staff and subsidized slots, make carrying out this principle difficult. According to the state criteria, children are eligible to enroll in the center if: a family receives public assistance; family income falls below a certain level; a child is homeless; a child is considered at risk of neglect or abuse, and both parents are working or in school. While these criteria represent an important effort to make sure services reach the neediest children, they do not offer sites the flexibility to also give preference to children in need of a particular bilingual placement. In fact, choosing a language minority child over another child could be considered discrimination even if the program would be educationally more appropriate for the bilingual child.

Consider the dilemma we found in one California community. Not far from the school district offices are two adjacent centers. The neighborhood, which was once mostly Latino, has become increasingly Asian and now is home to a small but significant number of Ethiopian families. One of the two centers is bilingual Chinese and the other is a full bilingual Spanish program. Both now have Ethiopian children enrolled. Despite tremendous staff efforts to facilitate interaction among the children, the differences in background and lack of a common language have made it extremely difficult for the Ethiopian children to mingle with the other children. Since the Ethiopian children don't speak English —much less Chinese or Spanish, they are left out of 90 percent of the social interaction. This situation appears to be a disservice to all the groups involved — the Chinese or Spanish speaking children who cannot gain access to one of the few bilingual programs and the inappropriately placed Ethiopian child who sits isolated in a corner of the center. Unfortunately, the parents of the Ethiopian children need the nearby subsidized care to survive so they are unwilling to give up their space. Given the swiftness and magnitude of the demographic changes occurring in communities throughout California, this dilemma may be commonplace.

African American Dialect

Concerns about the appropriate role of child care providers in facilitating language development go beyond those children and families identified as speaking a language other than English. For example, in recent years, Black Vernacular English has increasingly become recognized as a legitimate dialect or language with a standard set of rules. In her book, *Testifying and Talking*, Geneva Smitherman defines Black English as "an Africanized form of English reflecting Black America's linguistic-cultural African heritage and the conditions of servitude, oppression and life in America. Black Language is Euro-American speech with an Afro-American meaning, nuance, tone and gesture." According to Smitherman, a typical example of a Black Vernacular English speaking pattern is the use of the word "be" or "bees" to indicate conditions which occur repeatedly or habitually as in the sentence "I see her when I bees on my way to school." While speaking patterns remain relatively stable, as in any language, they also continue to evolve with time.

Smitherman estimates that 80 to 90 percent of African Americans use the Black Idiom at least some of the time. The ability to speak Black English often serves as a crucial source of connection to the community and the inability to speak in the vernacular can be interpreted as a sign that an individual has rejected

his or her African American identity. The challenges facing African American children, who come from homes where Black vernacular English is spoken, parallel those who speak an entirely different language.

Like children who speak a language other than English, African American children who speak Black English are often taught that the language spoken by their parents in the home is illegitimate. In a child care setting, the message that a parent's language is unacceptable can be transmitted in many ways. A provider may not treat parents who speak Black English with respect, a child may be explicitly told to learn to speak "properly," or a child's speech may be ridiculed. These types of incidents can cause children to feel ashamed of who they are and consequently be alienated from family and community as well as school.

Treating children and parents who speak Black English with due respect is essential to the fostering of children who are confident and competent. Making children feel ashamed of how they speak creates rifts between child and home and provider and parent. In the video, *Essential Connections*, Yolanda Torres makes the following observation which could be applied just as easily to a child who speaks Black English as a child who speaks another language like Spanish.

The child's culture is tied into the self-esteem. That is what we are looking at right from the beginning to make a child feel good about himself. If you shame a child because he is using his own language, or if you shame the parents of the child and say his mother shouldn't do that and the child knows that this is very important to the mother, that is terrible because what you are doing is telling the child that his parents don't know how to raise him.

An equally serious problem arises when providers, unfamiliar with or unaccepting of Black English, mistakenly perceive children who speak it as less capable, less intelligent or sometimes even educationally delayed. The expectations of a teacher or care provider have a tremendous impact on a child's academic performance. Yet, the tale of the educator who mistakenly interprets the lack of standard English skills as an indication that a student is missing basic language or cognitive skills is all too common. The 1993 class valedictorian of a high school in the Sacramento area can attest to this. When this student first moved to the district from Meridian, Mississippi, she was placed in remedial classes because teachers interpreted her "country" style of speech as a sign that she was academically behind—even though she came with a straight A transcript. After her parents realized what had occurred, they protested until she was moved into honors classes where she continued to make straight As.[12] This student is the exception: she was able to escape the fate of being permanently tracked into lower level classes, perhaps because the prior validation of her intellect in the Mississippi schools enabled both student and parent to assert themselves. Unfortunately, this type of incident is not an isolated one. Studies show that when teachers have been asked to rate the intelligence of students based on their taped voices, they consistently rated students who spoke Black English as less intelligent and less academically oriented.[13]

The impact of these misperceptions is not limited to students. Providers who erroneously assume Black English is an indication of lower intelligence, often fail to value the ability of African American parents to raise their children. Such disrespectful attitudes can close out parents and preclude their involvement in their child's education.

Making children feel ashamed of how they speak creates rifts between child and home and provider and parent.

As in the area of bilingual education, the appropriate role of educational institutions in developing Black English is a controversial subject. The article "Making It and Going Home: The Attitudes of Black People Towards Language Education[14]" describes discussions held among five groups of African Americans including parents, teachers and community leaders, living and working in Roxbury, Massachussets. The topic was their feelings regarding Black English and the type of preschool language education they wanted for their children. A broad range of opinion within the African American community itself on the topic was revealed. Some participants believed that Black English has a legitimate place within early education programs because it was a source of identity, a key to survival and a mechanism for teaching a child certain types of thinking skills. One of the interviewed teachers observed, "Survival is the main thing and lots of times your mouth can help you. Within the Black community, survival requires street language." Others felt that since children learn to speak Black English in the home, the role of the school is to teach standard English so that children are able to successfully maneuver through the dominant society.

As in bilingual programs, individuals concur that children eventually also need standard English, the disagreements center around the question of how and when children acquire it and how the language of the home can be maintained and developed. This diversity of views demonstrates the crucial importance of consulting the community, particularly parents, about approaches to language development. Nonetheless, as Maria Casey of the Urban Strategies Council in Oakland explains, there is a bottom-line:

The bottom line is providers must understand what Black children are saying, appreciate that Black English is the combined result of African American cultural heritage and experience in the United States and not make the mistake of assuming that difference means "less than."

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Parent-Provider Connections

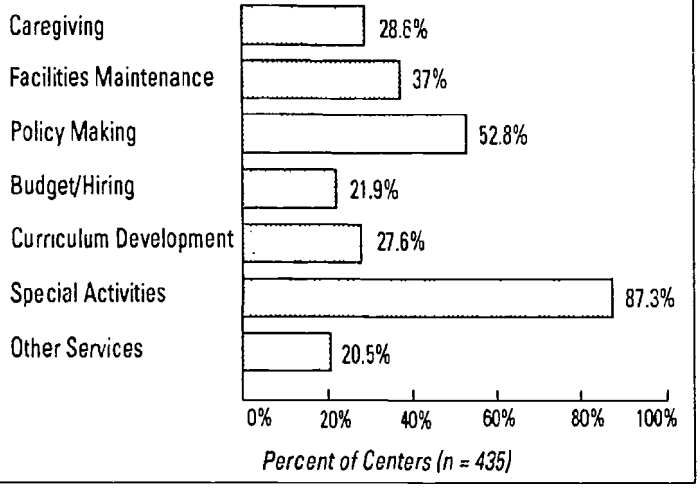
As the first and foremost teachers of children, parents are crucial to any effort aimed at promoting the physical, affective and cognitive development of a child. As Julie Olsen Edwards, instructor of Cabrillo Community College's Anti-Bias course for child care professionals in training, points out:

Child care is unique among social institutions in that staff have contact with family everyday. The potential for family support, for mutual education, for intervention, etc. is enormous. Families also use care at a time in their family history when they are usually surest of their right to impact upon the care of their child and often least sure of their own skills and knowledge.

Throughout this report we have tried to stress the importance of building partnerships between child care providers and ethnic and linguistic minority parents. Child care programs have a history of well recognizing the primary role that parents play in fostering the healthy development of children. This has led many programs to give a high priority to strengthening the relationship between parents and the child care providers to whom they entrust their children. Parent involvement, for example, is a cornerstone of the nation's most renowned early education program, Head Start. Similarly, guidelines for California's subsidized care programs state, "the staff must form partnerships with parents to learn more about each child and discover how best to facilitate the child's development."

However, how centers view and foster parent partnerships and involvement varies. Some look to parents as volunteers to work directly with the children or to raise funds to keep the programs going. Others work hardest at keeping parents informed about the progress of their children. Still others place a greater emphasis on parents as central to the center's decision-making structure. Moreover, while most centers would like to encourage parents to become more involved, actually engaging parents can be difficult particularly if parents and care providers do not share a common language. Of course, most parents work during the hours that children are in care. And as the example of Hintil Kuu Ca demonstrated in chapter 1, restrictions on which families are eligible for certain child care programs, e.g. when both parents must be working or students, means the very parents who might have more time to contribute are not eligible to put their children in the programs. This has particular implications for ethnic communi-

Figure 17. Types of parent participation reported by centers.



ties who by putting their children in care are trusting that their home culture and language will be preserved as their children develop other new skills.

In order to explore this issue further, California Tomorrow used its survey to ask child care centers about whether they engaged in various types of parent involvement activities at their facility and if language barriers were perceived as an impediment to their communications with parents.

According to our findings, most centers engaged in some type of activity involving parents. Most common are special activities such as hosting parties or driving on field trips. Over half also reported that they involved parents in policy decisions. Please see figure 17.

Unfortunately, because of the way the survey was designed, these findings merely reflect whether a given center had any parent engaged in these particular types of activities. Information about the numbers of parents who participate is not available as of yet.

On the other hand, provider responses to questions about the impact of language barriers on their communications with parents do suggest that certain parents may be left out of parent involvement activities. Forty percent of those surveyed in centers feel that they are having difficulty communicating with parents because they do not share a common language. These responses are not particularly surprising given our other survey results that reveal centers often do not have even a single staff person who reflects the cultural and linguistic background of ethnic minority children under their care.

Staff recruited from the community can play a crucial role in facilitating communication across cultural and linguistic groups. Without them, however, centers may be hard pressed to form relationships with parents of all the children under their care. These findings suggest that a closer analysis of which parents are most involved in a center would reveal lower participation rates among those who speak a language other than English.

The Importance of Strong Partnerships with Cultural and Linguistic Minority Parents

Meanwhile, the development of strong parent/provider relationships may be even more crucial for children who are cultural and linguistic minorities. First, particularly when providers are not from the same ethnic background, parents are the best source of information about how they can sensitize their approaches to the culture of the child's home. As the California Department of Education proposes:

Parents can educate the staff on cultural taboos. For example, in Punjabi, a mother is never referred to by name but as "mother of X"; while among Vietnamese, only animals, never children are motioned at with "bye, bye" and "come here" signals, and a younger person never touches the head of an older person.[1]

Identifying a developmental problem is a more complicated process because what one culture perceives as a problem another culture may not.

This kind of information is generally not passed along all at once like a handbook, but rather it becomes clear over time as respectful partnerships are nurtured between parents and providers. The process can be expedited, however, by hiring staff reflective of the communities served.

For providers caring for children from families whose culture is different from the mainstream, observing how parents care for and interact with their children is important. Once differences are recognized, being able to discuss them openly and respectfully with parents is crucial to making sure that the child does not become further confused by conflicting mechanisms. Such a process of "give and take" can enrich the home and the center.

Penny Anderson and Emily Schrag Fenichel have written an excellent guide: *Serving Culturally Diverse Families of Infants and Toddlers with Disabilities.* This guide not only reveals attitudinal differences toward illness and disability from culture to culture and family to family, but other perspectives to be sensitive to. For example:

(Providers) may see lack of "punctuality" as evidence of hostility or backwardness in people for whom the notion of punctuality itself may have a cultural meaning quite different from that of a professional. The same professional, on the other hand, may expect family members to share intimate feelings on the briefest of acquaintance, while for members of the family's, culture trust is something to be established slowly.[2]

Anderson and Schrag offer many real situations that may come where a provider must be careful not to make assumptions.

An Indochinese American client's response of "yes" to a suggestion, idea or program outline may actually mean simply, "yes, I heard you." Indochinese more likely say, "yes, I agree," if they do in fact agree.

While parents should be integral to any assessment of a child's cognitive development and special needs, involvement of language and cultural minority parents is particularly important to prevent inaccurate developmental assessments. In recent years, the growing emphasis on early intervention has produced programs specifically aimed at early identification and support for children with special developmental needs. These have the potential to be of great benefit, particularly to low-income minority children who may, for example, have had no safe place to play or regular medical attention while growing up, factors which put the child at risk for certain developmental problems. Unfortunately, however, such assessments typically use scales normed predominantly on groups of white middle-class children. Their applicability to other ethnic groups is still unclear.

In culturally diverse settings, identifying a developmental problem is a more complicated process because what one culture perceives as a problem another culture may not. According to Louise Derman-Sparks, "An important part of practicing culturally responsive care giving is knowing when a child's behavior really does suggest a developmental problem rather than a culturally different way of exhibiting normal development."[3] An accurate assessment requires the participation of a parent who can place this information within the context of the child's developmental history and help to correct for cultural biases of the testing instrument or the provider. Ultimately, parent expertise and participation are crucial in helping a provider identify what if any interventions might be most appropriate for a child. Then, a joint action plan can be embarked upon.[4]

Finally, the involvement of language minority parents in early childhood programs can make a tremendous impact on a child's academic achievement. For example, when parents and grandparents were recruited as instructional aides for three bilingual kindergarten classes in Phoenix, children in those classes achieved higher levels than those in a similar comparison group. In this case, parents or grandparents were asked to spend 1-2 days every week in the classroom providing support to children. The key difference between the demonstration and comparison groups was the presence or absence of parents—everything else including native language instruction remained the same. While this study does not conclusively explain these results, it does raise a number of possibilities. First, the presence of parents in the classroom may have led children to spend more time on task. Second, parent involvement may have helped students perceive more real connections between home and school. And third, parents may have gained a greater understanding of the mission and instructional practices of the school, leading them to support their children's studies more effectively.[5]

Keys to Communication

The more efforts made to build communication with parents, the more likely a child care provider will be able to anticipate and respond to parent reactions to various situations—reactions that may well be culturally based. Lisa Lee, past director of the Wu Yee Childcare Center in San Francisco, offered this example:

Water play is a consistent sore spot for parents who believe that being wet is unhealthy. Many forbid their children from playing with the water activities. Yet, children choose to play knowing that their parents disapprove of their actions. Already three year old children will look at their parents and deliberately play with the water. Some parents see this as a loss of control, and a sign of a disobedient child, yet the children are learning to code which behaviors are acceptable and deciding if they are acceptable at home or at school. Mixed cultural messages and choices being made by preschoolers noted by early childhood educators support the belief that the issues of cultural difference and competence be addressed at an early age.[6]

Alicia Lieberman, writing in *Infant Toddler Caregiving, a Guide to Culturally Sensitive Care*, reminds childcare providers that, "the child care setting is where the children of immigrant families are most thoroughly exposed to dominant values and traditions in the United States...The parents often disagree with what they see taking place in the child care setting because it clashes with their own cultural values." Lieberman points out a variety of scenarios where these disagreements may arise: caregiver responses to a child's crying; the encouragement of exploration or expressing anger and other feelings; gender differences; curiosity about one's body, and physical punishment. Lieberman then outlines tips for successful communication:

- *Remember the language difference*
- *Explain the child care routine*
- *Acknowledge tension and think about reasons for it*
- *Ask questions about the family's childrearing*
- *Serve as a cultural bridge between the parents and the culture of childcare*
- *Remember that you are an authority figure*
- *Establish a trusting atmosphere that encourages dialogue*
- *Give constructive feedback*[7]

Following is a description of Kai Ming Head Start's holistic efforts to keep cultural and linguistic minority parents involved in the center's care of their children.

PROFILE

Kai Ming Parent Outreach

The key is respecting the parent's position in a child's life. We need to learn what the parents have to offer as well as teach them alternative child-rearing strategies. When a child comes to the center, the child brings the habits and customs of the family. Staff at Kai Ming must recognize the strengths encompassed within those family traditions and build up from them. Families should not be made to feel that their language and culture are secondary. —Kai Ming Head Start Director Greta Yin

Kai Ming Head Start in San Francisco currently serves 240 low-income 3- to 5-year-olds at three locations. Some 90% of the children are Asian (mostly ethnic Chinese either from Vietnam, Hong Kong or mainland China). Most of these families are recent immigrants. The rest of the Kai Ming children are primarily Latino or African American.

At Kai Ming Head Start, working with parents often means helping them realize that they have a right to be involved in their children's education and to be their child's primary advocate. Many come to this country believing that the teacher is the sole authority. Kai Ming sees encouraging parent involvement as an ongoing process which has long-term benefits for the children and their future education. The intent is to lead parents to take an active role in their child's education long after he or she graduates from Kai Ming. Greta Yin finds that many parents are at first uncomfortable participating because they feel restricted by their limited ability to speak English. And, as the children learn English, parents often feel that they are losing control. If encouraged to be involved, however, parents can retain their authority.

Strong parent/teacher relationships are the norm at Kai Ming. Because most of the teachers were once parents at the center, they have an intuitive understanding of and respect for the parents. Since Kai Ming employs teachers and social workers who speak the languages of most of the parents, namely Vietnamese and Cantonese, communication is generally not hindered by language barriers. According to one of the parents, Mrs. Ma, being able to speak with teachers in Chinese was one of the features which attracted her to Kai Ming. Communication is somewhat more difficult for the Latino children, however, because staff generally do not speak Spanish. Kai Ming partially addresses this issue by seeking the help of Spanish speaking staff at the Mission Head Start located in a highly Latino neighborhood. This arrangement is reciprocal since the Mission center in turn has a small population of Asian children.

According to Greta Yin, "getting Chinese parents involved typically entails helping them to understand Head Start's emphasis on providing children with a learning environment and the varied experiences which will help them develop socially, intellectually, physically and emotionally in a manner appropriate to their age and stage of development." Because parents think of Head Start as a school, they often think that the structure is not academic enough. They do not understand why the teachers spend so much time playing with children instead of focusing on reading and writing.

Kai Ming utilizes a number of approaches to help primary caregivers understand these activities and the focus of the program. While the primary caregiver is usually the parent, in some families, the grandparents are the ones with the greatest responsibility for raising the children. First and perhaps most importantly, Kai Ming teachers and social workers are constantly in contact with parents. In addition to visiting parents at their homes on a regular basis, many of the staff live or go shopping in the Chinatown area. Teacher Salina Tang states, "I inevitably run into parents on the streets or in the shops." Parents are invited to parent workshops where they may discuss the Head Start philosophy and practices.

One of the most effective strategies for increasing parent understanding of the program has been encouraging them to spend time volunteering in classrooms so that they can observe the teachers working with their children. For example, parents often wonder, "How come my child will listen to the teacher but won't respond to me." Seeing the teachers in action shows parents how the teachers discipline with words and reason.

Kai Ming also encourages parents to help design programs for the center. These parent-organized activities may be for adults, such as forming a knitting club or making silk flowers, or they may be for children, such as planning a field trip. Often the more active parents will take responsibility for special events like Christmas parties and fundraisers. Finally, formal parent participation also occurs through the Parent Policy Committee comprised of one parent representative from each class. The Parent Policy Committee has the same decision-making powers as the Kai Ming Board of Directors.

In part, Kai Ming's strong history of parent involvement stems from its focus on fostering the development of the whole child within the context of his/ her entire family. One of Kai Ming's goals is helping families to obtain needed services so that they will eventually obtain a higher level of self-sufficiency. Such services range from health care to educating parents or offering nutritional meals to children while they are at the center.

Because most of the teachers were once parents at the center, they have an intuitive understanding of and respect for the parents.

Kai Ming makes a concerted effort to link families to needed health care. Of the 240 families enrolled, 83 currently have no form of medical care coverage. The immigrant families served are often unwilling to accept welfare or Medicaid because they fear it will jeopardize their chances of naturalizing or sponsoring the immigration of a relative. Kai Ming tries to connect these families with public health centers which base their fees on a sliding scale. If a family does have Medicaid, staff hook them up with a local physician who will accept Medicaid patients.

Kai Ming also pays close attention to children with special needs. Although Kai Ming believes in mainstreaming such children, the center also takes special care to ensure a proper diagnosis has been made and that a child has access to needed therapy. Kai Ming staff will help the family

PROFILE

The Parent Policy Committee has the same decision-making powers as the Kai Ming Board of Directors.

work through the special education process when the child is ready for the public school system. A support group of parents of children with special needs meets on a regular basis.

Additionally, any family with a problem may seek help from one of Kai Ming's three social workers, each of whom has a caseload of 80 families who are followed as long as they have children in the program. These social workers screen applicants, are involved in the initial two hour intake and enrollment interviews which include a family needs assessment, and work with the parents to plan the parent meetings. Often, social workers help families with issues that go far beyond the needs of the child enrolled in the center. These may range from helping parents speak to school personnel about the behavior of an older sibling to figuring out how to pay the PG&E bill or correcting their phone bill.

At Kai Ming, the monthly parent meetings typically include workshops to educate parents about choices in child rearing. These and other parent involvement activities enhance the ability of parents to care for their children. Because Kai Ming frequently serves siblings, staff can often see the progress of their charges. Yin states, "if you only worked with one child, you would be frustrated because it would be hard to see improvements. It is often possible, however to see how improved parenting techniques have resulted in better behavior on the part of siblings who eventually participate in Kai Ming Head Start."

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Conclusions and Recommendations

The increasing diversity of the population as a whole is having a profound effect on the demographics of the children who spend a significant portion of their day in center-based child care. Our survey of 450 child care centers in five California counties found that cultural and linguistic diversity is the norm. Ninety-six percent of the surveyed centers serve children from two or more racial groups and 81 percent serve children from two or more language groups. Seventy-seven percent report that at least some of the children in their care do not speak English well.

This diversity is both a tremendous asset and an enormous challenge. Diverse settings offer children, parents and caregivers an invaluable chance to learn about and benefit from the strengths of each other's cultures and languages. The stunning racial diversity of children and staff in centers offers a unique opportunity for adults to foster the ability of children to develop positive self-images, appreciate diversity, and resist stereotyping and discriminatory behavior. The large number of children who enter child care speaking a language other than English could provide an opportunity for fostering a bilingual citizenry.

On the other hand, child care providers and centers are currently ill-prepared to take advantage of these opportunities. Information and training about what early care and education practices work with such culturally and linguistically diverse populations are not easily accessible to child care workers. Because the existing information has been developed by a wide variety of groups ranging from universities to non-profit organizations, it is extremely difficult for even the most motivated child care provider to find relevant books and articles. Furthermore because the current fragmented system lacks cohesive pre-service and in-service staff development, there is no mechanism for ensuring that all child care workers receive at least some education and training about how to respond to our growing cultural and linguistic diversity.

Training materials are still limited in scope. While excellent resources exist on anti-bias approaches to caring for children, much less is available on what constitutes culturally and linguistically appropriate practice. Most materials either provide vague guidelines for working with children from diverse cultures or specific information about the child rearing practices of a particular cultural group. With a few notable exceptions, however, existing materials do not provide enough information about the specific actions child care workers can take to adapt their practice to the growing diversity. Perhaps one of the greatest gaps is the lack of research and materials discussing the implications of diversity for child care policy and program design.

Furthermore, although research demonstrates that culturally and linguistically appropriate early care and education is critical to the development of healthy, confident children, our survey suggests that many centers lack staff who can best provide this care and inform their colleagues about what practices are appropriate in their communities — staff who reflect the cultural and linguistic background of the children.

The field as a whole, already in crisis from understaffing, low wages and insuf-

Diverse settings offer children, parents and caregivers an invaluable chance to learn about and benefit from the strengths of each other's cultures and languages.

ficient training opportunities, suffers from a shortage of language and cultural minority staff persons. Children of color are significantly less likely to be cared for by teachers of their same racial background than White children. More than fifty percent of the centers that care for one or more Asian children do not have any Asian staff, and more than forty percent of the centers caring for one or more African American children do not have any African American staff. These trends improve when there are large numbers of children of a particular ethnic group in a center. Nonetheless, there are no Asian staff in more than a third of the centers reporting that at least a quarter of the children in their care are Asian. The findings are similar for centers where approximately a quarter of the children are either Latino or African American. Moreover, while nearly all of the surveyed centers could provide home language support to their English speaking children, only 55 percent had any staff person who could communicate with their Spanish speaking children. Less than one third of centers had staff who could speak the home language of their Tagalog, Chinese, Vietnamese or Korean speaking children.

Perhaps one of the most troubling concerns raised by California Tomorrow's survey results relates to how programs promote or inhibit the ongoing participation of parents in their children's development and education. Parent involvement, particularly among language and cultural minorities, has long been a top priority of educators at all levels from early childhood to secondary schools. The early childhood field often takes the best advantage of partnerships with parents by virtue of their everyday contact with them. Our findings suggest, however, that language and cultural barriers between child care providers and parents may be creating feelings of alienation for many language and cultural minority parents. When children enter care outside the home, many are being socialized to a language and culture quite different from that of their parents and communities. Because of the difficulty of communication across gaps of culture and language, it may be that parents and providers have few opportunities to discuss their joint responsibilities for fostering children's development and strategies for how they can bridge any differences. In the absence of such communication, many parents may perceive that the system does not value their voices and concerns, and find that they are losing control over their children's socialization process.

Recommendations

Areas Requiring Further Research

Our findings point to the need for further investigation and analysis of several specific research and policy issues:

• Given the challenges of simultaneously working with multiple racial and/or linguistic groups and the scarcity of existing bilingual/bicultural staff, is it appropriate for some early care and education programs to concentrate on meeting the needs of particular ethnic or linguistic groups with the understanding that children will eventually be placed in ethnically diverse settings? Under what settings would such "concentrated" programs be considered inappropriate because of the preference for children to be placed in a diverse setting? Is a concentrated program more appropriate or necessary for certain groups? What are the implications of such a strategy? For program eligibility regulations? For Civil Rights Law?

• Given that nearly all providers spend some of their work time with a child from a different ethnic background than themselves, what set of core principals and practices for ethnically and linguistically appropriate care should be adopted by all child care workers? How can such a set of core principles be disseminated to the entire field?

• What specific policy and program guidelines should exist with regard to primary language development for linguistic minority children? Given that many children are currently in centers where they do not have access to home language support, what strategies should be used by child care providers who do not share a common language with a child? What specific strategies can be used to assure that the development of English as a second language is additive versus subtractive in nature, meaning the home language of the child is preserved and also continues to develop? Is it more appropriate for some children (e.g., infants and toddlers) to be cared for exclusively in the home language? When and how can English be safely introduced without risk of destroying the home language? Should centers consider grouping children based on language needs?

• How does the need for culturally and linguistically consistent care relate to the age of the child? Are the effects of culturally and linguistically inappropriate care in fact more devastating for infants and toddlers who are in the process of developing the core of their identity?

• To what extent does the importance of culturally and linguistically consistent care merit public policies that offer families a greater range of choices for child care arrangements? To what extent could, for example, family day care homes be a resource for culturally and linguistically appropriate care given their ability to offer a home-like environment, small child-adult ratios, and a community-based context?

• What implications do concerns about cultural differences in socialization and learning have for practitioners implementing anti-bias curriculum approaches? What implications do anti-bias research efforts have for programs serving populations that are solely or predominantly of one ethnic group?

• Why are certain language and cultural minorities underrepresented in the field of early care and education? Is this more serious at higher levels of decision-making? How is this underrepresentation related to low pay, poor working conditions and current hiring practice?

• What factors explain our findings that subsidized centers are more likely than non-subsidized centers to employ staff who reflect the racial and linguistic background of the children in care? What are the implications of these findings for child care policy?

Recommendations for Immediate Action

In the meantime, based upon our findings, California Tomorrow calls for immediate action from the following groups:

State Agencies in California

• The California Department of Education should support the development of an ongoing statewide mechanism for collecting information on the demographics of child care facilities across systems and auspices. Such a mechanism could be tied to a number of existing data collection efforts including: 1) local resource

and referral agencies, 2) the statewide market rate survey, 3) the California Department of Education's effort to design a new computerized, linked system of data collection for child care programs, and 4) child care licensing procedures.

• The California Department of Education together with the Department of Social Services should establish a committee of advocates, researchers, providers and parents who will work with them to develop and disseminate materials outlining how child care providers can most effectively develop partnerships with parents—with specific suggestions about techniques for bridging gaps of language and culture.

• The California Department of Education together with the Department of Social Services should jointly fund and establish a clearinghouse aimed at collecting and disseminating materials and literature regarding the provision of culturally and linguistically appropriate care to practitioners, policymakers and program administrators.

• The California Department of Education, Child Development Division should examine whether some of its eligibility policies may be unwittingly working against efforts to provide children with culturally and linguistically appropriate care. In particular, we suggest that the Department of Education reconsider its current policies that prevent bilingual centers from giving priority to children most in need of their bilingual educational programs.

• The Commission on Teacher Credentialing should require teacher training programs to address linguistically and culturally appropriate practice in their basic curriculum.

Federal Government:

• The Department of Health and Human Services should convene a working group of practitioners, researchers, advocates and policymakers to examine the policy implications of cultural diversity for forthcoming federal initiatives—namely the Head Start expansion and the child care provisions of current welfare reform proposals.

• The Department of Health and Human Services should set aside funding (possibly from the Child Care Development Block Grants or Head Start programs) for research addressing the previously mentioned areas requiring further study.

Associations:

• The National Association for the Education of Young Children (NAEYC) should continue its efforts to produce materials about the implications of diversity for early care and education, and to strengthen its guidelines for developmentally appropriate practice with respect to their applicability to diverse populations. One approach would be to first pull together educators from specific ethnic groups to discuss within their own groups what constitutes culturally appropriate practice. Then, leaders from a range of communities could be brought together to seek commonalities among views of developmentally appropriate practices.

• The California Association for the Education for Young Children (CAEYC) together with NAEYC should hold a conference bringing together anti-bias curricula developers with educators working to define what constitutes culturally appropriate care and teaching approaches for children of various ethnic groups. The purpose of this conference would be to explore the relationship between these two fields.

Resource and Referral Network:

• The statewide childcare resource and referral network should work with local resource and referrals to develop and disseminate multilingual parent education/ consumer guides that provide parents with information about how to judge the quality of child care facilities, including the assessment of cultural and linguistic appropriateness. Such a guide should specifically include information about the potential trade-offs of placing a child in a facility that does not offer care in the language of the home, and provide parents with an awareness of the importance of culturally and linguistically appropriate care particularly for infants and toddlers.

Training Institutions:

• All existing professional training programs for early care and education professionals should incorporate a focus on culturally and linguistically appropriate care in their regular curriculum. Such a focus should provide students with a basic understanding of the Anti-Bias Curriculum, the cultural context of child-care including how to approach developmentally appropriate practice in various ethnic communities; techniques for fostering English language development without impeding home language development among children from non-English speaking backgrounds; and strategies for developing strong partnerships with language and cultural minority parents.

• Institutions involved in the education and hiring of child care staff should make immediate efforts to improve recruitment of underrepresented linguistic and ethnic minorities (e.g., Spanish-speaking and Asian staff), and should also increase training opportunities for these groups.

• Institutions that train child care providers should also develop in-service training programs to be offered to child care centers so that those already working in the field may be informed about strategies for appropriately working with culturally and linguistically diverse children and families.

Private Foundations:

• Foundations should fund the development and dissemination of training materials produced by various institutions on how to serve particular ethnic groups or diverse populations, as well as fund the development of new ones.

• Foundations should fund the development of models for teacher education that expose new teachers to theories of child development while simultaneously incorporating the expertise and knowledge of students from diverse cultural backgrounds.

• Foundations should support innovative efforts to recruit and train early care and education professionals from underrepresented cultural and linguistic groups.

• Foundations should support existing early childhood care and education programs, and the development of new ones, that model the practice of culturally and linguistically appropriate care for diverse children.

• Foundations should support efforts to develop parent education materials that provide parents with information about how to incorporate considerations of cultural and linguistic appropriatenesss into their childcare decisions.

APPENDIX A

Methodology Report

Questionnaire Development and Testing

Working with its advisory panel, California Tomorrow developed the preliminary draft of the early care and education questionnaire for the telephone survey. Then, Field Research worked closely with California Tomorrow's project staff to refine the questionnaire in order to facilitate administration of the survey by telephone, enhance respondent cooperation, and ensure the meaningfulness of survey responses. As part of this effort, Field Research conducted a pretest with eight child care providers who represented a range of potential respondents. Following the pretest, the questionnaire was revised, as appropriate, and finalized. Once the English-language version of the questionnaire was finalized, Field Research contracted with professional translators to prepare Spanish and Chinese versions of the questionnaire.

The final questionnaire included questions on the following topics:

- *Type of child care provider (e.g., for profit, not-for-profit, subsidized).*
- *Services provided (e.g., meals, counseling, health screening, parent services).*
- *Parent involvement (e.g., involvement in the classroom, on advisory committees).*
- *Types of children served (e.g., age, language skills, racial background).*
- *Types of persons who regularly care for or teach children (e.g., language skills, racial background).*

The words "race" and "racial" were used throughout the questionnaire. The authors would like to acknowledge the limitations and controversy surrounding the selection of precisely which terms, e.g., white vs. Anglo, are appropriate. Use of the term race is often criticized because its definition assumes a clear cut biological basis for making distinctions that science has failed to prove. These terms do, however reflect the ways that society currently tends to categorize people. Consequently, in developing our survey, we found it necessary to rely upon the socially constructed racial categories originally used by the Census—namely White, Latino, Asian Pacific Islander, African American and Native American. In selecting these terms, we tried to be sensitive to current political concerns about how groups are named as well as to use terms which would easily be understood by the person being interviewed. Moreover, while race is certainly not the same as ethnicity, this report does assume that race is an indicator of a child's ethnic and cultural background. One of the biggest problems with traditional "racial" categories is that they mask significant ethnic variations within particular racial categories.

In addition to information on race, we were interested in the languages that children and teachers/caregivers spoke in child care. The particular non-English languages addressed in the survey, Spanish and Chinese, were chosen because these are the most common non-English languages spoken in California. A copy of the final interview is provided at the end of this appendix.

The CATI Program

After the questionnaire was finalized, a program was developed that would allow the English-language version of the questionnaire to be administered using Computer-Assisted Telephone Interviewing (CATI). The program was designed to 1) ensure that only appropriate questions were asked of respondents based on responses to earlier questions, and 2) facilitate accurate data entry by allowing only valid codes or codes within prespecified ranges to be entered onto the computer during data collection. Because of cost and time constraints, the Spanish and Chinese versions of the questionnaire were administered using a paper and pencil questionnaire.

Sample Design and Selection

Five California counties were selected for this survey: Alameda, San Francisco, San Diego, Los Angeles and Merced. These counties were mainly selected because of their ethnic diversity. San Francisco, Alameda, Los Angeles and San Diego also were chosen because of their large child populations and because together they generally represent urban areas in Northern and Southern California. Merced was selected to provide information about child care in an ethnically diverse rural county in Central California. In addition, all counties had a large number of children who were limited in English proficiency as documented by the Census.

Figure 17. Number of Licensed Child Care Centers, by County

	Alameda	Los Angeles	Merced	San Diego	San Francisco
Infant Centers	69	189	6	83	18
Preschool Centers	430	2,279	50	582	248
Total Centers	499	2,468	56	665	266

California Tomorrow arranged for the State Department of Social Services to provide Field Research Corporation with the names and phone numbers of all licensed child care providers in California. The database included four categories of licensed child care centers: (1) infant centers, (2) child care for preschool children, (3) child care for school-age children and (4) child care for ill children.

In each of the five targeted communities, all child care centers for infant and preschool children were considered eligible. However child care centers that only serve school-age children or ill children were included only if they also served infants or preschool-age children.

Figure 17 is a breakdown of the total number of listings for eligible child care centers provided by the State Department of Social Services for each county that was surveyed.

Figure 18. Targeted Sample Size and Anticipated Margin of Error

	Targeted Sample Size	Anticipated Margin of Error at the 95% Confidence Level for Unweighted Data
Child care centers in all 5 counties	450	+ 4.8%
Child care centers in a single county	100	+ 9.8%

Figure 19. Sample Size By County

	Alameda	Los Angeles	Merced	San Diego	San Francisco	Total
Child Care Centers	101	101	32	100	100	434

Targeted Sample Size

The overall targeted sample size was 450 child care centers. This sample size was designed to provide a relatively small margin of error (i.e., less than + 5% at the 95% confidence level). Because of the small number of child care centers in Merced, we attempted to complete as many interviews as possible with child care centers in this county. In other counties, we targeted 100 child care centers. Because sampling error is related to sample size, the margin of error is greater for subgroup estimates (e.g., county estimates) than for the overall sample. The targeted sample sizes were designed to provide a maximum sampling error of + 10% at the 95% confidence level for child care centers.

Figure 18 is a description of the targeted sample size and maximum sampling error at the 95% confidence level that we expected to obtain for the overall sample and for various subgroups.

Because we anticipated that some child care centers would no longer be in business, that we would not be able to reach some of them, and that some would refuse to participate in the survey, the samples that were selected were larger than the desired number of completed interviews. These samples were then randomly divided into "minireplicates" and as many replicates were used as necessary to complete the targeted number of interviews for child care centers for each county. Figure 19 shows the final sample selection.

These child care facilities included both for-profit (15.6) and not-for-profit (84.4%) centers. Eleven percent of centers were part of the Head Start program. Fifty-two percent of centers received government subsidies to help cover the costs of care for at least some children. In addition, child care centers served an average of 70 children (range: 3-350) and employed an average of 10 providers (range 1-76). Analyses of child care centers were also examined in relation to size of center. Based on a median-split, centers employing seven or less teachers were considered "small" centers, and centers employing more than seven teachers were labeled "large" centers. Examining a center's capacity to meet the needs of racially and linguistically diverse children within the context of center size was important since larger centers have a greater opportunity to hire staff from different racial and linguistic groups.

Respondent Selection and Interviewing Language

For each child care provider, interviews were completed with one knowledgeable respondent. This was usually the center director. Before beginning the interview, respondents who appeared to have difficulty speaking English were offered the opportunity to be interviewed in Spanish or a Chinese dialect as appropriate. One interview was done in Chinese.

Data Collection Procedures

Data collection for the study was conducted from Field Research's central location interviewing facilities in San Francisco. Only experienced interviewers were assigned to the project, and before conducting any interviews, they attended a training session conducted by Field Research's project leader. The training session included an overview of the project, question-by-question review of the telephone instrument, and interviewing practice. During the first few days of interviewing, interviewers were debriefed in order to compare experiences, resolve problems, and ensure that appropriate interviewing procedures were used. In addition, throughout the data collection period, Field Research project staff monitored interviewer performance.

Interviewing for the study was conducted during December 1992 and January 1993. Initial contact attempts were made during normal business hours on weekdays. Once an eligible center was reached, appointments were scheduled, as needed, for respondents who preferred to be interviewed at another time. Up to six attempts were made to complete screening interviews with each child care center.

Presentation of Results and Weighting

Within each county, a simple random sample was selected from the universe of child care centers. Therefore each child care center in a single county had the same probability of selection. In addition, child care centers in smaller counties (e.g., Merced, San Francisco) were intentionally sampled at a greater rate than those in larger counties (e.g., Los Angeles).

Analyses of data for child care centers for individual counties do not need to be weighted to be representative. However, because of oversampling, combining results from more than one county will require weighting for the data to be representative. Institutional weights were designed to represent child care providers in the sample in the same proportion as they are in the overall population for the five counties, according to data from the State Department of Social Services. For the purposes of the present report, data are presented for all child care centers across counties and thus weighted data were used.

** For this study, California Tomorrow retained the services of Field Research Corporation to assist it in conducting a telephone survey of child care centers and family day care homes in five California counties. This publication focuses on the data from licensed child care centers only. The data on family day care homes will be presented at a later date. This appendix contains excerpts taken from the Methodology Report prepared by Field Research Corporation for California Tomorrow.*

APPENDIX B

Childcare Questionnaire

Field Research Corporation: San Francisco, CA
CALIFORNIA TOMORROW: CHILDCARE QUESTIONNAIRE

133-001: Final (Nov. 30)
Start Time _____

ASK TO SPEAK WITH THE PERSON ON THE CALL RECORD SHEET.

IF THIS PERSON IS NOT AVAILABLE, ASK TO SPEAK WITH THE CENTER DIRECTOR OR ASSISTANT DIRECTOR .

INTRODUCTION: Good (morning/afternoon), I'm_____calling from Field Research Corporation. We are conducting a survey of a random sample of child care centers and preschools in California about the types of children they serve. This information will be used to identify some of the needs of child care providers and the types of public policies and programs that would help them to serve children. The survey is being conducted for California Tomorrow, a not-for-profit research firm. We are not selling anything, and we are not a government or regulatory agency. This is strictly a confidential opinion survey.

(IF ASKED, SAY:) "**Field Research Corporation** was founded in 1946 and is located in San Francisco, California. It conducts research on a variety of topics for government agencies, nonprofit organizations, and private companies. **California Tomorrow** is a not-for-profit research firm based in San Francisco, California. It conducts research on the joys, challenges, and problems that racial and ethnic diversity bring to schools and other institutions serving children and families."

A. TYPE OF CHILD CARE CENTER

First, I would like to ask you some background questions about your child care center.

1. Is your center a "for profit" or a "not-for-profit" facility? *(PLEASE CIRCLE ONE CODE)*

For profit	1
Not-for-profit	2
Not sure	8
Refused	9

2. Is your child care center... *(PLEASE CIRCLE ONE CODE IN EACH ROW)*

		Yes	No	DK	REF
a.	Part of the head start program	1	2	8	9
b.	A parent cooperative	1	2	8	9

3. Is the cost of child care for any children in your center partially paid for or subsidized by a governmental agency or program? *(PLEASE CIRCLE ONE CODE)*

Yes	1
No	2
Not sure	8
Refused	9

B. SERVICES PROVIDED

4. We are interested in how many centers, if any, provide services other than child care. Does your center...*(READ CATEGORIES; PLEASE CIRCLE ONE CODE IN EACH ROW)*

		Yes	No	DK	REF
a.	Provide meals, such as lunch or breakfast	1	2	8	9
b.	Provide snacks	1	2	8	9
c.	Have **regularly** scheduled conferences with individual parents about their children	1	2	8	9
d.	Meet with parents as a group to share information	1	2	8	9
e.	Arrange for or provide individual counseling to families that need it	1	2	8	9
f.	Arrange for other professionals to screen for health or learning problems	1	2	8	9
g.	Arrange for health professionals to provide shots or immunizations or other medical or dental treatment	1	2	8	9
h.	Provide parents with information about community and social services, such as housing or public assistance	1	2	8	9
i.	Sponsor parent support groups, such as for single parents or parents of children with disabilities	1	2	8	9
j.	Ever provide information about an individual child's growth and development to another child care provider or school if the parents consent to this	1	2	8	9
k.	Provide any other services besides child care or instruction or other services we have already discussed *(PLEASE SPECIFY)*	1	2	8	9

_____

C. PARENT INVOLVEMENT

5. Next, I would like to ask you about different types of parent involvement at your center. For each, please tell me whether this regularly occurs at your center. Do parents of children at your center **regularly** ...*(READ LIST) (PLEASE CIRCLE ONE CODE IN EACH ROW)*?

		Yes	No	DK	REF
a.	Help primary care givers or teachers take care of the children	1	2	8	9
b.	Help with special activities, such as with parties or driving on field trips	1	2	8	9
c.	Provide other types of services, such as preparing newsletters or helping with fundraisers	1	2	8	9
d.	Help you to clean, maintain, or repair your building or facilities	1	2	8	9
e.	Serve on a policy committee or advisory board	1	2	8	9
f.	Participate in budgetary or hiring decisions	1	2	8	9
g.	Work with teachers to shape the classroom curriculum	1	2	8	9

D. TYPES OF CHILDREN SERVED

6. Altogether, how many children are enrolled in your center at this location? *(PLEASE ENTER NUMBER OR CIRCLE CODE, AS APPROPRIATE) (IF NECESSARY, SAY:)* "Please give your best estimate."_____

Not sure	998
Refused	999

7. What are the ages of the children your center currently serves...Does your center currently serve ANY children who are...*(READ CATEGORIES, PLEASE CIRCLE ONE CIRCLE CODE IN EACH ROW)*

		Yes	No	DK	REF
a.	Under 18 months	1	2	8	9
b.	18 months to two and a half years	1	2	8	9
c.	Age two and a half to four	1	2	8	9
d.	Age 4 to 5	1	2	8	9
e.	Over age 5	1	2	8	9

IF DOES NOT SERVE ANY CHILDREN 18 MONTHS OR OLDER, GO TO Q. 15.; ELSE, ASK Q. 8.

8. Are there any children at your center who DO NOT speak ANY English? *(PLEASE CIRCLE ONE CODE)*

ASK Q. 9	Yes	1
GO TO Q. 10	No	2
GO TO Q. 10	Not sure	8
GO TO Q.10	Refused	9

9. Approximately how many children at your center DO NOT speak ANY English...Would you say "a few," "about half," or "almost all" of the children at your center? *(PLEASE CIRCLE ONE CODE)*

A few	1
About half	2
Almost all	3
Not sure	8
Refused	9

10. Are there any children at your center who speak ONLY A LITTLE English? *(PLEASE CIRCLE ONE CODE)*

ASK Q. 11	Yes	1
GO TO Q. 12	No	2
GO TO Q. 12	Not sure	8
GO TO Q.12	Refused	9

11. Approximately how many children at your center speak ONLY A LITTLE English..Would you say "a few," "about half," or "almost all" of the children at your center? *(PLEASE CIRCLE ONE CODE)*

A few	1
About half	2
Almost all	3
Not sure	8
Refused	9

12. Which languages do the children you serve speak either at home or at your center?
PROBE: Anything else? *(PLEASE CIRCLE ALL THAT APPLY)*

English	1
Spanish	2
Filipino/Tagalog	3
Chinese	4
Vietnamese	5
Korean	6
Another Asian language (e.g., Japanese, Cambodian, Hmong) *(PLEASE SPECIFY)*_____	7
Another nonAsian language (e.g., Russian, Armenian, Arabic, Farsi) *(PLEASE SPECIFY)*_____	8
Not sure	98
Refused	99

IF ONLY ENGLISH IS SPOKEN, GO TO Q.15; ELSE, ASK Q. 13.

13. Do any of the children at your center who speak NonEnglish languages also speak English fluently, that is, as well as other children their age who only speak English?
(PLEASE CIRCLE ONE CODE)

ASK Q. 14	Yes	1
GO TO Q. 15	No	2
GO TO Q. 15	Not sure	8
GO TO Q.15	Refused	9

14. Approximately how many of the children at your center who speak Non English languages also speak English fluently, that is, as well as other children their age who only speak English...Would you say " a few," "about half," or "almost all" of the children at your center?
(PLEASE CIRCLE ONE CODE)

A few	1
About half	2
Almost all	3
Not sure	8
Refused	9

15. Next, I would like to know if your center is serving children in any of the following ethnic or racial groups at this location. Are you currently serving any children who are...
(READ LIST) (PLEASE CIRCLE ONE CODE IN EACH ROW)?

		Yes	No	DK	REF
a.	White, but not Hispanic	1	2	8	9
b.	Hispanic or Latino	1	2	8	9
c.	Black or African American	1	2	8	9
d.	Asian or Pacific Islander, such as, Filipino or Samoan	1	2	8	9
e.	American Indian or Native American	1	2	8	9
f.	A member of another ethnic or racial group *(SPECIFY)*_____	1	2	8	9
g.	A member of more than one ethnic or racial group	1	2	8	9

IF ONLY ONE ETHNIC GROUP IS SERVED IN Q. 15, GO TO Q. 22; ELSE ASK Q. 16.

16. Do half or more of the children in your center belong to a single ethnic or racial group?
(PLEASE CIRCLE ONE CODE)

ASK Q. 17	Yes	1
GO TO Q. 20	No	2
GO TO Q. 20	Not sure	8
GO TO Q.20	Refused	9

17. Which one? *(PLEASE CIRCLE ONE CODE)*

White, but not Hispanic	1
Hispanic or Latino	2
Black or African American	3
Asian or Pacific Islander,such as, Filipino or Samoan	4
American Indian or Native American	5
Other *(PLEASE SPECIFY)*_____	6
Not sure	8
Refused	9

18. What about the other children at your center who are **not** *(READ ETHNIC OR RACIAL GROUP IN Q.17)*...Do most of them belong to a single ethnic or racial group? *(PLEASE CIRCLE ONE CODE)*

ASK Q. 19	Yes	1
GO TO Q. 22	No	2
GO TO Q. 22	Not sure	8
GO TO Q.22	Refused	9

19. Which one? *(PLEASE CIRCLE ONE CODE)*

White, but not Hispanic	1
Hispanic or Latino	2
Black or African American	3
Asian or Pacific Islander, such as, Filipino or Samoan	4
American Indian or Native American	5
Other *(PLEASE SPECIFY)* _____	6
Not sure	8
Refused	9

IF Q. 16 = "NO,NOT SURE OR REFUSED," ASK Q. 20; ELSE GO TO Q. 22.

20. Do one-fourth or more of the children in your center belong to a single ethnic or racial group? *(PLEASE CIRCLE ONE CODE)*

ASK Q. 21	Yes	1
GO TO Q. 22	No	2
GO TO Q. 22	Not sure	8
GO TO Q.22	Refused	9

21. Which one? *(PLEASE CIRCLE ONE CODE)*

White, but not Hispanic	1
Hispanic or Latino	2
Black or African American	3
Asian or Pacific Islander, such as, Filipino or Samoan	4
American Indian or Native American	5
Other *(PLEASE SPECIFY)* _____	6
Not sure	8
Refused	9

F. TYPES OF PERSONS WHO REGULARLY CARE FOR OR TEACH CHILDREN

My last questions are about the persons at your center who regularly care for or teach children.

22. How many persons at your center regularly care for or teach children? *(IF ASKED:* "Please do not count substitutes or parent volunteers." *(PLEASE ENTER NUMBER OR CIRCLE CODE, AS APPROPRIATE)*

_____

Not sure	98
Refused	99

IF Q. 22 = "1," GO TO Q. 24.
IF Q22 = "2 OR MORE," ASK Q.23

23. How many of these *(NUMBER IN Q. 22)* individuals are primary care givers or teachers, and how many are assistant care givers or instructional assistants? *(PLEASE ENTER NUMBER IN EACH ROW)*

a._____PRIMARY CARE GIVERS/TEACHERS

b._____ASSISTANTS

24. What languages do (you/the primary care givers or teachers) speak to the children at your center? *PROBE:* Anything else? *(PLEASE CIRCLE ALL THAT APPLY)*

English	1
Spanish	2
Filipino/Tagalog	3
Chinese	4
Vietnamese	5
Korean	6
Another Asian language (e.g., Japanese, Cambodian, Hmong) *(PLEASE SPECIFY)*_____	7
Another nonAsian language (e.g., Russian, Armenian, Arabic, Farsi) *(PLEASE SPECIFY)*_____	8
Not sure	98
Refused	99

IF Q. 23b = "BLANK OR 0," GO TO Q. 26
IF Q. 23b = "1 OR MORE," ASK Q. 25.

25. What languages do the assistant care givers or instructional assistants at your center speak to the children? *PROBE:* Anything else? *(PLEASE CIRCLE ALL THAT APPLY)*

English	1
Spanish	2
Filipino/Tagalog	3
Chinese	4
Vietnamese	5
Korean	6
Another Asian language (e.g., Japanese, Cambodian, Hmong) *(PLEASE SPECIFY)*_____	7
Another nonAsian language (e.g., Russian, Armenian, Arabic, Farsi) *(PLEASE SPECIFY)*_____	8
Not sure	98
Refused	99

26. We understand from talking to different child care providers that increasingly they are serving children from families who speak a variety of languages other than English. Do any children have parents who have difficulty communicating with you or other persons at your center because of the language they speak? *(PLEASE CIRCLE ONE CODE)*

Yes	1
No	2
Not sure	8
Refused	9

My last questions are for background purposes only. Once again, I would like to assure you that your responses will be strictly confidential.

27. What is your ethnic or racial background? *(PLEASE CIRCLE ONE CODE)*

White, but not Hispanic	1
Hispanic or Latino	2
Black or African American	3
Asian or Pacific Islander, such as, Filipino or Samoan	4
American Indian or Native American	5
Other *(PLEASE SPECIFY)* _____	6
Not sure	8
Refused	9

28. I would like to ask you about the ethnic or racial background of the primary care givers or teachers at your center. Are any of them...*(READ LIST) (PLEASE CIRCLE ONE CODE IN EACH ROW)?*

		Yes	No	DK	REF
a.	White, but not Hispanic	1	2	8	9
b.	Hispanic or Latino	1	2	8	9
c.	Black or African American	1	2	8	9
d.	Asian or Pacific Islander, such as, Filipino or Samoan	1	2	8	9
e.	American Indian or Native American	1	2	8	9
f.	A member of any other ethnic or racial group *(PLEASE SPECIFY)*_____	1	2	8	9
g.	A member of more than one ethnic or racial group	1	2	8	9

IF Q. 23b = "BLANK OR 0," CLOSE INTERVIEW.
IF Q. 23b = "1 OR MORE," ASK Q. 29.

29. What about the assistant primary care givers or instructional assistants...Are any of the assistants...*(READ LIST; PLEASE CIRCLE ONE CODE IN EACH ROW)?*

		Yes	No	DK	REF
a.	White, but not Hispanic	1	2	8	9
b.	Hispanic or Latino	1	2	8	9
c.	Black or African American	1	2	8	9
d.	Asian or Pacific Islander, such as, Filipino or Samoan	1	2	8	9
e.	American Indian or Native American	1	2	8	9
f.	A member of any other ethnic or racial group *(PLEASE SPECIFY)*_____	1	2	8	9
g.	A member of more than one ethnic or racial group	1	2	8	9

*CLOSING: **Those are all my questions. Thank you very much for your help with this very important survey.***

END TIME:_____

APPENDIX C

Selected Resource Materials

Anderson, Penny P. and Emily Schrag Fenichel.
Serving Culturally Diverse Families of Infants and Toddlers with Disabilities.
National Center for Clinical Infant Programs, 1989.

This publication is designed to assist policy makers and practitioners in their efforts to develop programs and serve families with infants and toddlers with disabilities within the families' own cultural frameworks. Following an overview of the concept of culture and how that concept may be understood and used by human service providers, specific cultural issues related to disabilities are discussed. These include family definitions, roles, relationships and childrearing techniques; health, illness, and disability beliefs and traditions; and communication and interactional styles. This information is then used as a basis for suggesting strategies which policy makers might consider to enhance cultural sensitivity in services to young children with disabilities and their families. *AB, DA.*

Categories Key

AF	African American
AB	Anti-bias Approach/ Multicultural Curriculum Development
AS	Asian American
CC	Child Care in General
DA	Children with Disabilities
CCC	Cross Cultural Communication
I/T	Infants and Toddlers
LD	Language Development
LA	Latino
LEP	Limited English Proficient/Bilingual Programs
NA	Native American School/Family/ Community/Culture
S/F	Relationships, Parent Involvement
SD	Staff Development/Teacher Training

Aotaki-Phenice, L. and Marjorie Kostelnik.
"Attitudes of Early Childhood Educators on Multicultural/Multiethnic Education,"
in *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development,* Vol. 4, No.1, 1983.

This study investigates the attitudes of early childhood educators on multicultural/multiethnic education. Early childhood teachers in training, teachers and administrators of pre-primary programs had similar responses to questions concerning attitudes about perspectives, curriculum, social dimensions, and academic success related to multicultural/multiethnic education. *AB, SD.*

Billman, Jane.
"The Native American Curriculum: Attempting Alternatives to Teepees and Headbands,"
in *Young Children,* September 1992.

Many teachers need help understanding Native American culture and how to teach it. This article discusses typical activities aimed at understanding Native American culture and why they are stereotypical and can be harmful to children. The author then suggests strategies for teachers to broaden their thinking when it comes to multicultural, hands-on activities for children. *AB, NA, SD.*

Bowman, Barbara.
"Education of Language-Minority Children: Challenges and Opportunities,"
in *Phi Delta Kappan,* October 1989.

Teachers facing the challenge of teaching children from different cultural backgrounds find themselves hard pressed to decide what constitutes an appropriate curriculum. Ms. Bowman identifies a few developmental principles that can provide a conceptual framework. *AB, SD.*

Brady, Phyllis.
"Columbus and the Quincentennial Myths: Another Side of the Story,"
in *Young Children*, September 1992.

The traditional Columbus story presents a dilemma for early childhood educators. The values imbedded in the traditional, or standard, version of the story of Columbus may not be shared by the teacher, nor be in the best interests of young children. While young children may not be ready cognitively to understand the historical issues of Columbus, they are ready to begin exploring related concrete concepts, e.g. stereotypes of Native Americans. The article debunks myths about Columbus' voyage and contact with Native Americans and discusses the perspectives of the dominant culture on Columbus, and responses to those perspectives. *AB, NA.*

California Department of Education,
Bilingual Education Office.
Beyond Language: Social and Cultural Factors in Schooling Language Minority Students.
Evaluation, Dissemination and Assessment Center,
Los Angeles, CA, 1986.

This book was compiled to help educators improve their understanding of minority students within the American social context. The authors, who come from a variety of academic disciplines and ethnic backgrounds, offer perspectives and suggestions for helping educators and minority students interact in ways which will result in the students' experiencing their fullest individual and academic potential. The authors assert that the most important factor leading to low achievement by some minority students arises from the relationship between social factors (e.g., socioeconomic status, attitudes towered minority groups, immigration patterns, etc.) and cultural factors (e.g., self-identity, child-rearing practices, language use patterns, etc.). The authors also emphasize the need to look beyond language background of the students to the broader social and educational contexts to understand achievement outcomes and formulate changes. A central point in each of the chapters is that educational success and failure should be understood as a product of the interaction among such factors as the student's cultural background, the educational setting and wider social forces. *LD, LEP, S/E.*

California Department of Education,
Program Evaluation and Research Division.
Triennial Report on Publicly Funded Child Development Programs 1985-1986.
Sacramento, 1988.

This report presents findings about the services provided though state funded Child Development programs during 1985-86. Its findings describe the children and families who receive services, the agencies and staff who provide the services, and the characteristics and cost of the services. Finally, the report identifies a number of policy issues arising from the findings and suggests areas in need of expansion or improvement. *CC.*

California Department of Education.
Here They Come: Ready or Not. A Report of the School Readiness Task Force.
Sacramento, 1988.

The School Readiness Task Force was charged with providing a report to the California State Department of Education examining the issue of school readiness and related development of the kindergarten child. It describes creative program delivery options including alternatives for the length of the school day and school year. It recommends model curricula based on educational research emphasizing experiential, meaningful, integrated, active learning; recommends options to assess kindergarten children, including social, emotional, physical, and cognitive development; and describes ideal methods to assist kindergarten children in acquiring the English language. In addition, it recommends methods to implement exemplary kindergarten programs that represent multidimensional solutions and provide for a continuum from preschool to kindergarten to primary grades. Toward that end the Task Force held four public hearings, interviewed experts, surveyed the available literature, and analyzed kingdergarten retention data. *LD.*

California Department of Education.
Suggested Activities Related to Language Development for Preschool-Age Children.
Draft, 1989.

California schools have experienced an unprecedented influx of limited English proficient (LEP) children. Similarly, state-subsidized preschool and child development programs have, in the past six years, experienced a doubling in the number of LEP children. The purpose of this document is to provide child development staff with some background in language acquisition and practical suggestions and strategies for designing culturally appropriate language development programs for LEP preschoolers. *LD, LEP, SD.*

Cazden C., V. John & D. Hymes, eds.
Functions of Language in the Classroom.
Teachers College Press, New York, 1972.

This book is part of the series on Anthropology and Education at Teachers College Press. The purpose of the collection is to provide useful information and perspectives on the functions of language in the classroom, and make those findings available to the professional educator. The meaning conveyed by language cannot be divorced from the behavioral context in which it is used. The papers collected here explore the relationship of the structure of language to the structure of speaking and identify how this relationship is at the core of many problems in classrooms. Features of intonation, tone of voice, rhythm, style and other modes of speech convey meaning of language. These modes of speech can convey respect or disrespect, concern or indifference, intimacy or distance, seriousness or play, etc. The appropriateness of one or another mode of speech differs according to topic, person addressed, situation, community and culture. *LD.*

Cazden, Courtney, ed.
Language in Early Childhood Education,
Revised Edition (originally published in 1972).
National Association For The Education Of Young Children, Washington D.C., 1981

This collection of studies offers parents and teachers a research based approach to helping children acquire language. Contributors discount myths and offer practical suggestions on a variety of current issues in language development and learning. Questions addressed include: How does language at home differ from that at school? What should be considered when planning a total curriculum for young children? Which criteria can be used to evaluate commercial language programs? How can teachers work best with children who speak a dialect or English as a Second Language? How are language and reading related? What kinds of language evaluations are most suitable for young children? *LD, LEP, S/E.*

Child Care Employee Project
Who Cares? Child Care Teachers and the Quality of Care in America,
The National Child Care Staffing Study of the Child Care Employee Project, Oakland, CA.

The National Child Care Staffing Study (NCCSS) was designed to explore how child care teaching staff and their working conditions affect the caliber of center-based child care available in the United States today. The NCCSS addresses four major policy questions; Who teaches in America's child care centers? What do they contribute to the quality of care provided? Do centers meet or fail to meet nationally established quality guidelines? How have center-based child care services changed from 1977 to 1988? The study concludes that improving the quality of center-based child care requires addressing the staffing crisis. Without major increases in salaries, qualified teachers will continue to leave the child care field for jobs that offer a living wage. The recommendations include increasing teacher salaries, expanding the proportion of teaching staff who have a formal education in early childhood, and adopting state and federal quality regulations. *SD.*

Clark, Leilani, Sheridan DeWolf, and Carl Clark.
"Teaching Teachers to Avoid Having Culturally Assaultive Classrooms,"
in *Young Children*, July 1992.

The authors are teacher training educators who found that they were unwittingly training students to emphasize differences rather than to highlight diversity in their classrooms. The resulting classroom atmosphere, rather than supportive of diversity, was what the authors term "culturally assaultive." The article discusses the new methods the authors used to teach their student teachers about multicultural and antibias curricula. The key to a program in which young children can learn to value diversity and treasure cultural differences is in the anti-bias values held by the teacher. *AB, SD.*

Cohen, Abby and Carol Stevenson.
Caring for the Future: Meeting California's Child Care Challenges.
Child Care Law Center, San Francisco, CA, 1992.

This report is a comprehensive review of the child care delivery system in California. It is organized into five broad topic areas: unmet needs; quality standards; child care staffing; delivery system structure; and child care financing. For each area of study, the report provides an exhaustive review of policy literature, and policy recommendations. *CC.*

Crawford, James.
Bilingual Education: History, Politics, Theory and Practice.
Crane Publishing Company,
Trenton, New Jersey, 1989.

James Crawford recounts the history of Federal policies in America towards foreign languages from the colonial period to the 1980s. He traces the evolution of federal policy, social attitudes, linguistic and pedagogical debate up to the present. Chapter 10 concentrates on California's need to cope with the linguistic diversity of its growing and changing population. *LEP.*

Cummins, Jim.
Empowering Minority Students.
California Association for Bilingual Education,
Sacramento, CA, 1989.

This book reviews the literature about language proficiency, language learning, bilingualism and academic development among minority students and relates these psychoeducational factors to the social and historical context in which schools operate. The author believes it is critical to identify the causes of minority students' academic difficulties and proposes a model for understanding why some groups of students fail. This "causal model" leads logically to a framework for considering what types of interventions are required to reverse the pattern of minority students' school failure. He also discusses the variety of specific ways (i.e., programs or strategies) in which the types of interventions might be implemented. Specific intervention strategies are likely to vary from one location to another depending on local conditions. The aim of the book is to help professional educators and parents develop an understanding of why some minority children experience difficulty in school and also to suggest ways in which educators and parents working collaboratively can help students overcome these difficulties. *LD, LEP.*

Derman-Sparks, Louise and the ABC Task Force.
Antibias Curriculum Tools for Empowering Young People.
National Association for the Education
of Young Children, Washington D.C., 1989.

A book of suggestions on helping staff and children respect each other as individuals, confronting, transcending, and eliminating barriers based on race, sex, or ability. The book is based on the premise that children are aware at a very young age that color, language, gender, and physical ability differences are connected with privilege and power. They learn by observing the differences and similarities among people and by absorbing the spoken and unspoken messages about those differences. Racism, sexism, and disabil-

ity have a profound influence on their developing sense of self and others. Through an awareness of this influence, and the use of techniques and strategies, teachers and parents can help young children develop an anti-bias identity and attitude. *AB.*

Derman-Sparks, Maria Gutierrez and
Carol Brunson-Phillips.
"Teaching Young Children to Resist Bias: What Parents Can Do."
Brochure #565, National Association for the Education of Young Children, Washington, D.C.

Tips for parents and teachers to help children appreciate diversity and deal with others' biases. *AB.*

Diaz Soto, Lourdes and Jocelynn L. Smrekar.
"The Politics of Early Bilingual Education,"
Chapter 10 in *Reconceptualizing the Early Childhood Curriculum: Beginning the Dialogue*, Kessler, Shirley A. and Beth Blue Swadener, eds., Early Childhood Education Series, 1992.

Current English-immersion practices are neither child centered nor developmentally appropriate for young learners. Enhancing and protecting young children's native linguistic and native cultural attributes are the salient features of the "best practice" for young bilingual learners. It is crucial that early childhood educators, policy makers and parents gain knowledge about optimal practices affecting young bilingual learners. This chapter provides this information as well as an examination of the political issues affecting second-language learning. It makes a case against the proliferation of English-only immersion programs for young native speakers by examining existing empirical evidence, describing our nation's continued loss of languages, and raising educational ethical concerns. *LEP, LD.*

Diaz Soto, Lourdes.
"Native Language for School Success,"
in *Bilingual Research Journal*, v. 17, 1993.

This paper provides insights regarding family provisions for home (native) language use as it relates to the school's perception of young children's school achievement. Teachers of young mainland Puerto Rican children nominated higher and lower achieving learners in grades K-2. Standardized achievement tests confirmed teacher nominations. Thirty families were interviewed at home where it was found that parents of higher achieving children prefer a native language environment to a greater extent than families of lower achieving children. These findings lend support for native language instruction (at home and at school) as an avenue for strengthening the academic school achievement of young mainland Puerto Rican children. A discussion of these findings is provided as are suggestions for future research. *LD, LEP.*

Diaz Soto, Lourdes.
"Understanding Bicultural/Bilingual Young Children,"
in *Young Children*, January 1991.

Teachers currently working with young linguistically and culturally diverse children have asked questions such as: "How can I best address the needs of speakers of other languages? Are there specific educational strategies that I should incorporate to enhance second language learning? What practical applications can I gain from the research evidence examining second language learning and successful instructional approaches in bilingual early childhood education?" This review attempts to answer these questions by examining demographic and educational trends pointing to the growing numbers of bilingual/bicultural young children in America today; misconceptions about young children learning a second language; successful educational approaches in early childhood bilingual education; practical applications of existing research which can be readily implemented by early childhood educators. *LEP.*

Garcia, Eugene E.
"Bilingualism in Early Childhood,"
in *Young Children*, May 1980.

This article reviews research and applied information specific to bilingual development in young children. Subjects such as definitions, linguistic overlap or "interference," cognitive interaction, and theoretical issues are addressed. It also looks at two forms of educational programs for linguistic minority children: immersion and non-immersion programs. The article discusses some of the misconceptions surrounding second language acquisition in early childhood. *LD, LEP.*

Garcia, Eugene, Martha Baca and
Mary Guerra-Willekens.
"Parents in Bilingual Classrooms,"
in *National Association of Bilingual Educators Journal*,
Vol. II, No. 1, Fall 1986.

Theoretical and applied information substantiate the need for an early childhood education program directed at bilingual children, their parents and their schools. The study focuses on language minority children utilizing an instructional program involving parents, grandparents and traditional education personnel within early schooling years. The active participation of parents/grandparents in such an effort was systematically evaluated. Specifically, three kindergarten classes served as intervention sites and three served as comparison sits. Parents of children in the interventions classrooms were recruited and trained as instructional aids. The progress of both intervention and comparison children in Spanish and English language and academic domains was extensively monitored during a two year period. Results indicate that children participating in this intervention significantly out-performed comparison group students. This was the case for academic and English language measures of the study. *LEP, S/F.*

Gonzalez-Mena, Janet.
"Taking a Culturally Sensitive Approach in Infant-Toddler Programs,"
in *Young Children*, January 1992.

The purpose of this article is to help caregivers look at ways to improve sensitivity to cultural and individual differences and increase communication across cultural barriers. The author discusses conflicts between parents and caregivers, categorizes and discusses possible outcomes. She adds tips to caregivers about working in a culturally sensitive manner with parents. *CCC.*

Gonzalez-Mena, Janet.
Multicultural Issues in Child Care.
Mayfair Publishing Company, Mountain View, CA, 1993.

This book may be viewed as a companion to Louise Derman-Sparks' *Antibias Curriculum* (see above). While Derman-Sparks focuses on preschool curriculum, the focus here is on an antibias approach to cultural information, adult relations, and conflicts in goals, values, expectation, and child-rearing practices. This book can be used by anyone involved in teacher training or early childhood education. The author concludes that teaching antibias to infants has very little to do with what the caregiver hangs on the wall, or the activities planned. It has everything to do with the agreement made with each parent about the way to take care of each baby—feed, diaper, hold, talk to, and interact with their babies. Antibias in infant and toddler care is achieved when there is no conflict between the caregivers' understanding of appropriate, quality care, and the parents' understanding of the same. The book provides practical information about culturally specific child rearing practices, communicating across cultures, parent-caregiver communication and the socialization process. *AB, CCC, SD, S/F.*

Greenberg, Polly.
"Teaching About Native Americans or Teaching About People, Including Native Americans?"
in *Young Children*, September 1992.

It is very easy to inadvertently say or do inappropriate or hurtful things in the classroom with regard to groups other than one's own. For concerned caregivers, this article suggests ways to avoid common misrepresentation of ethnic groups. *AB, SD.*

Hale, Janice E.
Black Children: Their Roots, Culture and Learning Styles.
Revised Edition (originally published in 1982 by Bringham Young University Press). The Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore MD, 1986.

Understanding the African-American child is dependent on a view of that child in the context within which the child lives and moves. Dr. Hale shows that the African-American child exists in a culture made up of African cultural aspects and the Black American experience. She discusses the abundant data that show culture patterns influence the way information is perceived, organized, processed and utilized. The findings of her research have implications for education, mental heath, family, community adjustment, and other areas. Her work provides a model for understanding behavior that gives appropriate weight to cultures as the context for that behavior. A successful educational system recognizes the abilities and the culture of the child and draws upon these strengths and incorporates them into the teaching process. The chapters review the African background of African-American culture. the way culture shapes cognition, culture and child rearing, play behavior and cognitive style, African-American arts as an expression of the Black experience, interviews with black and white grandmothers about child rearing in order to understand socialization in black families, a curriculum relevant to African-Americans, and implications for early childhood education. *AB, AE.*

Hale-Benson, Janice.
"Visions for Children: African-American Early Childhood Education Program,"
in *Early Childhood Research Quarterly*, 5, 1990.

This is a report on the design of an early childhood education demonstration program. The goal of the program is to facilitate the intellectual development and academic achievement and enhance the self-concepts of African-American preschool children. The features of the program are delineated. The research questions and the child development measures that are being used for longitudinal evaluation of the program are listed and described. *AE.*

Heath, Shirley Brice.
Ways With Words: Language, Life and Work in Communities and Classrooms.
Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, MA, 1983.

Ethnographic study of communication patterns in two small towns in the South from 1969 to 1978. The study asks the question: What are the effects of preschool and community environments on the learning of language structure and use which are needed in classroom and job settings? This book argues that in the two towns the different ways in which each community structured their families defined the roles that community members could assume and their concepts of childhood that guided child socialization. In addition, for each group, the place of religious activities was inextricably linked to the valuation of language in determining an individual's access to goods, services, and estimations of position and power in the community. The place of language in the cultural life of each social group is interdependent with the habits and values shared among members of that group. The narrative of the book tells the story of how children of two culturally different communities came to use language, and how their teachers learned to understand their ways and to bring these ways into the classrooms. *CCC, S/F.*

Jipson, Janice.
"Developmentally Appropriate Practice: Culture, Curriculum, Connections,"
in *Early Education and Development*, Vol. 2, No. 2, April 1991.

This study explores the implications of developmentally and culturally appropriate practice for early childhood education. Selections from classroom journals and personal narratives of 30 early childhood educators are presented to provide the context for the examination of the use of developmentally appropriate practice as a curricular base for early childhood programs. The capability of developmentally appropriate practice to respond to cultural diversity is analyzed and several questions are addressed: Whose experiences are represented by developmentally appropriate practice? Whose ways of knowing are validated by developmentally appropriate practice? Teachers participating in this study noted that developmentally appropriate practice often failed to acknowledge the roles of culture, care-taking, inter-connectedness, and multiple ways of knowing in the teaching-learning experiences of young children. Their voices add the critical perspective of the practitioner to the consideration of what constitutes "appropriate" early childhood curriculum. *AB, SD.*

Jones, Elizabeth and Louise Derman-Sparks.
"Meeting the Challenge of Diversity,"
in *Young Children*, January 1992.

The accreditation process of early childhood programs does not require an understanding and valuing of diversity. The lack of official attention to this essential component of early childhood education results in inappropriate approaches to multicultural curricula and issues of diversity in early childhood programs. The authors give teachers tools for evaluating their own center's approach to diversity, and ways they can make changes. *AB, SD.*

Kagan, Sharon L.
"Early Care and Education: Beyond the Schoolhouse Doors,"
in *Phi Delta Kappan*, October 1989.

In order to reform and improve education significantly, schools must reach beyond the schoolhouse doors to families, to communities, and to other social institutions that serve children and their families. The author suggests that early childhood education may have some lessons to share with those who are concerned about the general restructuring of our education system She outlines 10 "commandments" that may be useful in efforts to restructure general education practice and policy. *S/F.*

Kagan, Sharon Lyn and Eugene E. Garcia.
"Educating Culturally and Linguistically Diverse Preschoolers: Moving the Agenda,"
in *Early Childhood Research Quarterly 6*, 1991.

Despite growing interest in children's policy and in research regarding childhood bilingualism and language acquisition, much concern exists regarding the early care and education of linguistically and culturally diverse preschoolers. This article attributes comparative policy inattention to linguistically and culturally diverse preschoolers to several causes including widely and tenaciously held personal beliefs, political ideologies, misperceptions regarding the lack of a demographic imperative, and academic disciplinary fragmentation. After questioning these causes, the authors explore the current state of today's practice, suggesting that four fundamental issues must be addressed if policy and practice in this domain are to improve: (1) socialization, resocialization and the family/child relationship; (2) modalities of instruction; (3) contextually discontinuous strategies; and (4) subsystem creation versus system reform. Each issue is discussed, and action principles and leadership strategies are presented in hopes of moving an action agenda to assure linguistically and culturally diverse preschoolers access to high quality and developmentally appropriate preschool experiences. *LD, LEP.*

Kagan, Sharon Lyn, ed.
The Care and Education of America's Young Children: Obstacles and Opportunities.
Nineteenth Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, Part I.
University of Chicago Press, Chicago, IL, 1990.

Of particular interest is "Language and Cultural Issues in the Early Education of Language Minority Children," by Lily Wong Fillmore, which discusses very young language minority children and the potential loss of their native language as a consequence of early emphasis on English. The author asks what are the mechanisms and consequences of this kind of loss, and what relevance does this problem have in the discussion of early education for language minority children in the United States? What policy or pedagogical issues should the potential loss of language raise for us? Barbara Bowman's piece, "Educating Language Minority children: Challenges and Opportunites," described above, is also included in this volume. *LD, LEP.*

Laosa, Luis M.
"Socialization, Education, and Continuity: The Importance of the Sociocultural Context,"
in *Young Children,* July 1977.

What are some of the factors that affect the transition children must make between the family's sociocultural context and the often quite different sociocultural context of the school? This article discusses the research and issues surrounding the key factors of maternal teaching strategies and language patterns in home and school. The author stresses the importance of the sociocultural contexts which represent the total environment in which each child's development takes place. His findings raise serious questions concerning whether environments imposed on children are designed to provide sufficient continuity with the early sociocultural environment of the home. *S/E*

Laosa, Luis.
"The Cultural Context of Construct Validity and the Ethics of Generalizability,"
in *Early Childhood Research Quarterly 6,* 1991.

This article considers the mutual relevance of four themes: cultural diversity, construct validity, population generalizability and professional ethics. Questions regarding construct validity are considered in the context of both measurement and intervention. The implications of the existence and the absence of empirical evidence on which to base validity generalizations are considered in reference to decision making in the provision of services. Ethical dilemmas that arise from these considerations are discussed along with an emerging framework for resolving them. Previous research is reviewed to illustrate validity generalization limits. Also included are an assessment of research needs and a discussion of future directions for research and evaluation. *AB.*

Little Soldier, Lee.
"Working With Native American Children,"
in *Young Children,* September 1992.

This article discusses the differences between school life and home life of Native American Children. When these differences are not recognized and addressed, many Native American children eventually drop out of school. The different values, learning styles, and attitudes toward the dominant culture are outlined and discussed. *NA, S/E.*

McLaughlin, Barry.
Second-Language Acquisition in Childhood: Volume 1. Preschool Children,
Second Edition. Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Hillsdale, NJ, 1984.

This book is a comprehensive treatment of the literature on second language acquisition in childhood. The discussion is restricted to the preschool period, and untutored, naturalistic learning of oral skills in a

second language. There is a second volume that deals with second language acquisition in the classroom. The author views language acquisition through process models of language, and he discusses these models. Later chapters compare language acquisition in children and adults; summarize what is known about the developmental processes involved in simultaneous and successive second language acquisition; the effect of interference between languages, and code switching; explore the effects of early bilingualism on cognitive functioning; and make suggestions for future research. *LD.*

Moreno, Robert P.
"Maternal Teaching of Preschool Children in Minority and Low-Status Families: A Critical Review,"
in *Early Childhood Research Quarterly 6,* 1991.

This article critically examines the comparative research on maternal teaching behaviors of minority and low-status families. The conceptual and methodological foundations of the research are examined, focusing on some conflicting aspects of the area. The article offers an alternative perspective for the study of maternal instruction that may be particularly useful in making cross-cultural and socioeconomic comparisons. Additionally, the article offers some exploratory data that reexamines the verbal teaching behavior of Chicana- and Anglo-American mothers while instructing their preschool-aged children to tie their shoelaces. Contrary to earlier studies, the findings suggest that ethnic differences in instruction may persist despite the level of schooling achieved by the mother. Specifically, Anglo mothers utilize significantly more perceptual questions in their instruction. Perceptual questions have been associated elsewhere with more controlling teaching strategies. Although it has been argued elsewhere that Chicana mothers are more controlling when compared to Anglo mothers, it appears that these groups may differ only in the mode by which they control their children. *CCC.*

Morrow, Robert.
"What's in a Name? In Particular, a Southeast Asian Name?,"
in *Young Children,* September 1989.

Research suggest that our names have a strong influence on our self image, which in turn affects how we function in life. Therefore it is important to respect and use correctly the names of people of other nationalities. The article describes the structure and use of names among four Southeast Asian subgroups: Vietnamese, Cambodian, Laotian and Hmong. *AS, SD.*

Neugebauer, Bonnie, ed.
Alike and Different: Exploring Our Humanity With Young Children,
Revised Edition (originally published by Exchange Press, Inc., Redmond, Washington).
National Association for the Education of Young Children, Washington, D.C., 1992.

This is a collection of practical essays to help teachers integrate children with special needs and children of all sorts of backgrounds into the curriculum. The essays cover specific topics, including: antibias curriculum for young children, talking about differences, bringing the world into the classroom, nonsexist childrearing, foreign children in child care, helping non-English speaking children adjust, giftedness in early childhood, exploring diversity through the arts, staffing with diversity, learning from parents, early childhood education and the changing world, resources for use in an anti-biased classroom. *AB, DA, SD.*

Nissani, Helen.
Early Childhood Programs for Language Minority Children.
National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education, Occasional Papers in Bilingual Education, No. 2, Summer 1990.

Early Childhood programs should take into consideration the cultural and linguistic characteristics of all children if these programs are to provide for appropriate development. This paper is an overview of general issues in the development of programs for language minority children at the preschool level. Issues discussed are parent involvement, staff training, consistent funding, public schools and appropriate programs. *LEP, SD, S/F.*

Oakland Unified School District.
Native American Parent Preschool Curriculum Guide.
Division of Educational Development and Services, Office of Native American Programs. Oakland, CA, 1986.

The Native American Parent Preschool Program is a Native American preschool funded by the California Department of Education and operated through the Oakland Unified School District, Oakland, CA. The preschool grew out of a group of Native American parents and grandparents who were concerned about their children's futures in the Oakland Unified School District. The curriculum guide covers goals for students, general and cultural curriculum, activities, parent participation, staff selection, and cultural resources for the preschool. *AB, NA, S/F.*

Pease-Alvarez, Lucinda, Eugene E. Garcia and Pola Espinosa.
"Effective Instruction for Language-Minority Students: An Early Childhood Case Study,"
in *Early Childhood Research Quarterly 6*, 1991.

The study describes the attributes of effective programs and teachers serving language-minority students. Along with a brief summary of findings from large-scale studies, this article provides an in-depth account of two bilingual early childhood teachers who work with language-minority children. The description of these two teachers, their school, and communities draws upon a variety of data sources to tell an informed story of their instructional perspectives and practices. The discussion is organized around the following themes: the role of language and culture in the teachers' classrooms, their pedagogical philosophies and instructional practices, and factors that have led to instructional innovations. *LEP, SD.*

Philips, Susan Urmston.
The Invisible Culture: Communication in Classroom and Community on the Warm Springs Indian Reservation.
Longman, New York, 1983.

The concept of communicative competence provides a model of socialization that has relevance for all children, and one that can offer a means toward increasing ethnic minority children's access to the knowledge schools offer. Communicative competence refers to the ability of a member of a given culture to use language in a socially appropriate manner. The model is based on the premise that intuitions about grammatical acceptability cannot be separated from sociocultural knowledge about the appropriateness of an utterance. There is a developmental sequence in the acquisition of communicative competence, just as in the acquisition of linguistic competence, that may be culturally diverse in ways unacknowledged by curriculum developers. Susan Philips argues that the children of the Warm Springs Indian Reservation are enculturated in their preschool years into modes of organizing the transmission of verbal messages that are culturally different from those of Anglo middle-class children. This difference makes it more difficult for the Native American children to comprehend verbal messages conveyed through Anglo middle class modes of classroom interaction. The book focuses on cultural variation in the integration of information and in the structuring of attention and the regulation of turns at talk. *LD, NA, S/F.*

Phillips, Carol Brunson.
"Nurturing Diversity for Today's Children and Tomorrow's Leaders,"
in *Young Children*, January 1988.

Carol Brunson Phillips urges all human services professionals who are working to improve the lives of children and families to periodically stop and reassess what they are trying to achieve with efforts addressing diversity. She recounts the history of the multicultural movement in education, and clarifies key issues. The article suggests strategies for approaching the content of multicultural education. *AD, SD.*

Program for Infant and Toddler Caregivers.
Infant/Toddler Caregiving: A Guide to Culturally Sensitive Care.
California State Department of Education Child Development Division and Far West Laboratory for Educational Research and Development, December 1990.

Written by six noted experts in the field of culture and early childhood education, this guide is designed to help caregivers in child care centers and family day care homes become culturally sensitive to the vital role of the home language and culture of children in their early development and care. Exercises using case scenarios help caregivers to: 1) better understand themselves and how they are influenced by their own beliefs; 2) better understand the children and families they serve; and 3) learn a process of relating to cultural issues that will help them develop culturally responsive caregiving practices. The guide stresses the importance of ongoing and open communication between parents and child care providers, discusses how culture influences learning experiences, presents guidelines for dealing with recently arrived immigrant families and care of their children, and suggests ways to create an inclusive, nonstereotypical material environment for infants and toddlers. *AB, CC, CCC, I/T, S/F, SD*

Program for Infant and Toddler Caregivers.
Video: *Ten Keys to Culturally Sensitive Child Care.*
Far West Laboratory, San Francisco, CA.

The video makes ten recommendations of ways to structure and run child care programs to strengthen children's connections with their families and their home cultures. The focus is on the care of infants and toddlers. To strengthen the emerging sense of self and connection with their families, infants and toddlers from non-dominant groups need plenty of opportunities for positive interactions with members of their culture. Thus the video emphasizes the importance of connecting with each family that is served by a child care program. The ten keys are: provide cultural consistency; work toward representative staffing; create small groups; use the home language; make environments relevant; uncover your cultural beliefs; be open to the perspectives of others; seek out cultural and family information; clarify values; negotiate cultural conflicts. *AB, I/T, SD.*

Ramsey, Patricia G. and Louise Derman-Sparks.
"Multicultural Education Reaffirmed,"
in *Young Children*, January 1992.

Early childhood education has had a long-term commitment to fostering respect for diversity and to providing equal educational opportunities to all children. With the changing demographics of the United States, supporters and detractors of multicultural education are debating its merits. The Anti-Bias/Multicultural Leadership Project was created to provide a forum and network for all people involved in multicultural education. Write to the Anti-Bias/Multicultural Leadership Project, Research Center, Pacific Oaks College, Pasadena, CA 91103, for more information. *AB.*

Ramsey, Patricia G.
Teaching and Learning in a Diverse World: Multicultural Education for Young Children.
Teachers College Press, New York, 1987.

The focus and style of this book reflects the belief that teachers are, above all, active learners and creative problem solvers. Few of the available texts on lesson planning and curriculum development encourage teachers to integrate their knowledge of child development, curriculum design, and the needs of their specific children to develop their own creative applications. To offer such a synthesis, this book includes several sections on child development theory and research and examples of how teachers might apply this information in their classrooms. It provides general goals and a model for incorporating a multicultural perspective in all phases and areas of teaching. The book includes questions that encourage readers to reflect on their own experiences, the specific social contexts of teaching, and their current practices. The goals of a multicultural perspective in education are described: to help children develop positive gender, racial, cultural, class, and individual identities; to enable children to identify, empathize, and relate with individuals from other groups; to foster respect and appreciation of the diverse ways in which other people live; to encourage an openness and interest in others and a willingness to cooperate; to promote the development of a realistic awareness of contemporary society and a sense of social responsibility; and to empower children to become autonomous and critical analysts and activists in their social environment. *AB, SD.*

Sandoval-Martinez, Steven.
"Findings From the Head Start Bilingual Curriculum Development and Evaluation Effort,"
in *National Association of Bilingual Educators Journal,* Vol. VII, No. 1, Fall 1982.

Overall findings are presented for the national evaluation of the Head Start bilingual curriculum development project. The results of this evaluation were that bilingual children who received bilingual preschool services made greater preschool gains than comparison group children who received regular English-language preschool services. In addition, English-preferring children who were placed in bilingual classrooms achieved the same developmental gains over the preschool year as those who were placed in regular English-language preschool classrooms. The findings are discussed within the context of current policy debates about bilingual education. *LEP.*

Santos de Barona, Maryann and Andres Barona.
"The Assessment of Culturally and Linguistically Different Preschoolers,"
in *Early Childhood Research Quarterly 6,* 1991.

A rapid rise in the linguistically and culturally diverse population of the United States coupled with recent federal legislation is likely to result in increased educational opportunities for the culturally and linguistically different preschool child. As the opportunities for special services increase, there is a growing need to ensure accurate identification of minority-language preschoolers with special needs. This task is a difficult one because of the interaction of developmental, cultural, and linguistic variables. This article suggests strategies to improve the value of diagnostic information and present issues to be considered at each stage of the process. Additionally, the valuable contributions that primary caregivers can make during assessment, the decision-making process, and interventions are discussed. *LEP, SD.*

Saracho, Olivia and Bernard Spodek, eds.
Understanding the Multicultural Experience in Early Childhood Education.
National Association For The Education Of Young Children, Washington, D.C., 1983.

In this volume, many early childhood educators come together from varied backgrounds with numerous concerns to share their understanding of education and cultural diversity. This book incorporates the contributions of professionals concerned with the education of children form various cultural and ethnic groups. It represents different and sometimes uncomplementary interpretations of the functions and consequences of early childhood education and its impact upon people of different cultural groups. The role of the school should be to enhance the cultural

background of children, teaching them the new as necessarily without forcing the repression of the old and the familiar. The school can provide the basis in the early years for supporting cultural and linguistic flexibility in children. *AB, AF, AS, CCC, LA, NA, SD.*

Siren, Ulla.
Minority Language Transmission in Early Childhood: Parent Intention and Language Use.
Institute of International Education,
Stockholm University, Stockholm, Sweden, 1991.

One of the aims of immigrant policy in Sweden is freedom of choice, letting immigrants choose to what extent they wish to maintain their languages and transmit them to their children. Parental intentions during pregnancy are compared to language use with the children, when they are two and a half and four years old, respectively. Intentions and efforts to transmit minority languages to the children are analyzed with reference to background facts and the linguistic situation in child day care. Parental intentions were a fairly good predictor of later language use in similar groups. Minority language transmission proved to be strongest in groups that maintained the greatest social distance form Swedish society. *LD.*

Smitherman, Geneva.
Talking and Testifying: The Language of Black America.
Wayne State University Press, Detroit, MI, 1986.

Smitherman contributes to an understanding of Black English by setting it in the larger context of Black culture and lifestyle. In addition to defining Black English by its distinctive structure and special lexicon, Smitherman argues that the black dialect is set apart from traditional English by a rhetorical style which reflects its African origins. Smitherman also tackles the issue of attitudes toward Black English, particularly as they affect educational policy. Documenting her insights with quotes from notable Black historical, literary and popular figures, Smitherman makes clear that Black English is as legitimate a form of speech as British, American or Australian English. *AF.*

Snow, Catherine and Hoefnagle-Hohle.
"Age Differences in Second Language Acquisition,"
in *Second Language Acquisition: A Book of Readings,*
E. Hatch, ed. Rowely, MA: Newbury House, 1978.

Snow's approach to age difference in second language acquisition is to first dispel the notion of language as a monolithic process. Different students will excel in the acquisition of various aspects of the language system. Some seem to develop amazing vocabularies; others perfect pronunciation but suffer in vocabulary development. Snow's question is whether or not these skills are differently acquired over an age range. If so, this should be taken into account in planning second language education programs. This report presents interesting first findings in this area of study.

Swadener, Elizabeth B.
"Implementation of Education that is Multicultural in Early Childhood Settings: A Case Study of Two Daycare Programs,"
in The Urban Review, Vol. 20, 1988.

An ethnographic case study of two mainstreamed, multicultural day-care centers was conducted over a school year. Children's responses to formal and informal curricula dealing with aspects of human diversity (e.g. race, ethnicity, gender and exceptionality) were analyzed, as were the children's interaction patterns. Although both programs emphasized acceptance of individual differences, few planned activities dealt with race or cultural diversity. Programs were seen as more consistent with a human relations approach and not fully implementing education that is multicultural. The use of nonsexist language and nonbiased material and teachers' attempt to prevent gender stereotyping were found to have positive, though limited, effects. Children at both centers appeared to accept their mainstreamed peers, with cross-ability interactions improving over the year. Early childhood applications of multicultural education are discussed. *AB.*

Tharp, Roland G. and Ronald Gallimore.
Rousing Minds to Life: Teaching Learning and Schooling in Social Context.
Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, MA, 1988.

This book asserts that "teaching will not be reformed until schools are reformed. Schools will not be reformed until it is understood that schools must be a context for teaching and that context itself must be a teaching context. To demand that teachers truly teach in existing schools is like demanding that a surgeon achieve asepsis under water in a stagnant pond." What is needed, the authors continue, is a new theory of schooling that will guide organizational and operational decisions toward the correct priorities, i.e., to teach children. They argue for the establishment of such a theory and offer the background for a science and discipline that "unifies our understanding of teaching and schooling in terms of both theory and practice." Part I of the book introduces the theoretical structure of the proposed discipline. In Part II, the idea of the school as an institution for assessing performance is represented in practical terms using the example of the demonstration project KEEP. *S/F.*

Williams, Leslie R.
"Curriculum Making in Two Voices: Dilemmas of Inclusion in Early Childhood Education,"
in *Early Childhood Research Quarterly 6*, 1991.

This article explores the concept of inclusion as a goal of multicultural education. Originally defined as representation of various dimensions of diversity in children's educational experience, the concept of inclusion is broadened to encompass a dialogue between self and other. Recognition of the teacher's role as mediator among children's knowledge, attitudes, and behavior in fostering inclusionary practice is essential to the promotion of such a dialogue. Work toward this end must begin with adults in the early childhood program before it can be done effectively with children. Adults need to understand more about the inner structures of their own cultures before they can be expected to recognize those structures in the children they teach. Likewise, adults need to examine possible discontinuities among their own attitudes, behaviors, and current knowledge as sources of negative or mixed messages to children as they strive to implement inclusionary practices in their classrooms. *AB, SD.*

Wong Fillmore, Lily and Susan Britsch.
Early Education for Children for Linguistic and Cultural Minority Families.
Paper commissioned by the Early Education Task Force of the National Association of State Boards of Education, Washington, D.C., 1988.

This paper introduces issues related to the educational situation of children from bilingual families and children from different cultural, ethnic, and linguistic backgrounds. In families in which English represents an emerging presence, societal and linguistic pressures may in fact alienate children from their first language and culture. The authors describe the variety of children who comprise the group under consideration, their educational experiences, and the common beliefs and practices of many educators who work with minority group children. Issues that educators and policy makers should consider are discussed, and recommendations are made to improve the educational experience of language minority children. *LD, LEP.*

Wong Fillmore, Lily.
"Learning a Language from Learners,"
Chapter Three in *Text and Context: Cross-Disciplinary Perspectives on Language Study,* Kramsch, et al, eds. D.C. Heath & Co., Lexington, MA, 1992.

Immigrant children learning English do so under a number of difficult and problematic conditions that educators must take into consideration. This article looks at the situation of the many students attempting to learn English while having very limited access to native speakers of English. In any American city with a sizable immigrant population, the teacher may be the only native speaker with which students have any interaction. Students otherwise are surrounded by speakers of imperfect English—their classmates, who play a major role in their language learning efforts. It is up to teachers to provide access to the language and support for learning it to all students in a classroom. *LEP*

Wong Fillmore, Lily.
"Now or Later?: Issues Related to the Early Education of Minority Group Children,"
in *Children at Risk,* C. Harris, ed. Harcourt, Brace and Jovanovich, New York, 1990.

The beliefs and practices that guide the socialization of cultural and linguistic minority children may be quite different from those followed in mainstream American homes, since their families come from many different cultures. This paper discusses the adjustments society expects the children of these families to make in order to gain an education and to take their places in the society at large eventually. Specifically, the paper addresses the following issues: (1) how the difference between the ways in which parents prepare their children and the preparation expected by the school affects the child's early education experiences; (2) appropriateness of compensatory programs for non-mainstream children; and (3) how the exclusive use of English in school affects the communication between children and parents in bilingual or limited English proficient families. *LEP, S/F.*

Wong Fillmore, Lily.
"When Learning a Second Language Means Losing The First,"
in *Early Childhood Research Quarterly 6,* 1991.

In societies like the United States with diverse populations, children from linguistic minority families must learn the language of the society in order to take full advantage of the educational opportunities offered. The timing and the conditions under which they come into contact with English, however, can profoundly affect the retention and continued use of their primary languages as well as the development of their second language. This article discusses evidence and findings from a nationwide study of language shift among language minority children in the US. The findings suggest that the loss of a primary language, particularly when it is the only language spoken by parents, can be very costly to the children, their families, and to society as a whole. Immigrant and American Indian families were surveyed to determine the extent to which family language patterns were affected by their children's early learning of English. Preschool programs conducted exclusively in Spanish served as a base of comparison for the families whose children attended English-only or bilingual preschools. *LD, LEP, S/F.*

California Tomorrow Publications

Affirming Children's Roots: Cultural and Linguistic Diversity in Early Care and Education

Further copies may be purchased for $14 plus sales tax at the address below.

Bridges: Promising Programs for the Education of Immigrant Children
$17.

A resource for educators and advocates concerned with the education of immigrant youth and their transition to U.S. schools and culture. Describes 75 working programs at the school, district and community levels, with contact names and addresses: newcomer schools, intake and assessment centers, counseling and transition support, intercultural relations, immigrant parent outreach, curricula, supplementary academic supports, teacher trainings and technological innovations. Bibliography of literature, films and curricula.

California Perspectives: An Anthology from California Tomorrow's Education for a Diverse Society Project, Vol. 2, 1991
$12.

Includes articles, "Stopping Bias in its Tracks," on Cabrillo Community College's Anti-Bias Curriculum course that teaches early childhood professionals to help young people combat prejudice; journals of student teachers working in diverse classrooms; an analysis of California's debate over the social studies curriculum and the broader issues of power, knowledge and national identity; two women's experiences growing up biracial and bicultural, and more.

California Perspectives: An Anthology from California Tomorrow, Vol. 3, 1992
$12.

Includes articles on African-Centered education; human relations programs to help young people connect across lines of ethnicity and culture; the anti-immigrant backlash in California and why it is so damaging; collaborative efforts among social services in diverse communities; voting rights for non-citizen parents in school board elections; an interview with a professor on Black theater, and more.

The Children Nobody Knows: California's Foster Care-Dependency System
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Based on five years of research, this report chronicles California's exploding foster care system and analyzes emergency shelters, judicial proceedings, family reunification programs, and the demographics, health and emotional status of foster children, the majority of whom are ethnic minorities. Features interviews with children and social workers, policy recommendations, charts and statistics.

Crossing the Schoolhouse Border, Immigrant Children in the California Public Schools
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A groundbreaking report based on interviews with more than 400 immigrant students and hundreds of educators, community workers and parents about the needs and experiences of newcomers in California's classrooms. Information about the backgrounds of the students, their academic and social needs and adjustments, the political climate and funding.

Embracing Diversity: Teachers Voices From California Classrooms
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Meet 36 California teachers doing remarkable work in mainstream classrooms with students of diverse cultural, national and linguistic backgrounds. Through in-depth interviews, the educators share their strategies to inspire their students to bridge the gaps of language, culture and national backgrounds that often separate them. The teachers send out an urgent call to policymakers, staff developers and teacher trainers to support and prepare teachers for the reality of California's diverse classrooms.

Fighting Fragmentation: Collaborative Efforts to Serve Children and Families in California's Counties
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Budget-strapped counties are moving to build new forms of collaboration among agencies that serve children and families with complex needs. This report documents 31 such efforts among schools, health providers, businesses, police, courts, social services, parents and others. Based on the premise that fragmentation of services hurts children, Fighting Fragmentation includes an analysis of the recent realignment of fiscal responsibility from the state to the county level, a checklist for successful collaboratives, a bibliography and county by county descriptions.

Newcomer Programs: Innovative Efforts to Meet the Educational Challenges of Immigrant Students
$12.

This report comprehensively describes special immigrant/newcomer schools and programs. From separate-site newcomer schools to half-day programs on regular school sits, Newcomer Programs lays out key design and model characteristics of this rapidly proliferating school intervention. Legal and ethical concerns over the separation of immigrant youth and the need for information-sharing mechanisms among districts are also addressed.

California Tomorrow Magazine.

Back issues available of this acclaimed journal published from 1986-1990, including special issues on mental health, the environment, and the 1990 Census. Please write for index and prices.

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AFFIRMING CHILDREN'S ROOTS:
Cultural and Linguistic Diversity in Early Care and Education
A California Tomorrow Publication
Fall 1993

Executive Summary

Affirming Children's Roots, Cultural and Linguistic Diversity in Early Care and Education documents for the first time, the growing ethnic mix of center based care in California. Information for this report is based on a survey which California Tomorrow hired Field Research Corporation to conduct of 434 centers in San Francisco, Alameda, Merced, Los Angeles and San Diego counties. These counties were selected for their ethnic and geographic diversity and large child populations. Prior to this project, information about the demographics of early child care and education did not exist with the exception of a few statistics kept by state and federal agencies on a limited number of subsidized programs. Along with the survey findings, the publication refers to relevant research, literature and examples to provide a deeper understanding of the crucial importance of culturally and linguistically appropriate early care and education.

Child care centers are profoundly affected by the demographic changes occurring throughout the state. California Tomorrow's survey found that 96 percent of child care centers serve children from two or more racial groups and 81 percent serve children from two or more language groups. Seventy-seven percent of centers reported that at least some of the children in their care speak a language other than English and are not as proficient in English as children of the same age.

This diversity is both a tremendous asset and enormous challenge. Diverse settings offer children, parents, and caregivers and invaluable chance to learn about and benefit from the strengths of each other's cultures and languages. The racial diversity of children and staff in centers offers a unique opportunity for adults to foster the ability of young children to develop positive self-images, appreciate diversity, and resist stereotyping at the stage of development when children are just beginning to notice racial differences.

On the other hand, child care providers and centers are currently ill-prepared to take advantage of these opportunities. Some information and training about strategies for providing appropriate early care and education to culturally, linguistically diverse populations exists, but it is limited and not easily accessible to child care workers. Virtually no materials discuss the implications of diversity for program design and child care policy. The absence of a centralized clearinghouse makes it extremely difficult for even the most motivated child care provider to find relevant books and articles. Furthermore, because the current fragmented system lacks cohesive pre-service and in-service staff development, there is no mechanism for ensuring that all child care workers receive at least some education and training about how to respond to our growing cultural and linguistic diversity.

At the same time, the field as a whole suffers from a shortage of language and cultural minority staff persons who could help to increase the awareness and responsiveness of a center to families from minority communities. In order to gain a better understanding of the potential impact of this shortage on the quality of care, California Tomorrow used its survey to explore how many centers with a child from a particular group also had at least one staff person from the same background. Our results revealed that children of color were less likely to be cared for by teachers of their same racial background than white children.

Similarly, while nearly all of the centers in the California Tomorrow survey could provide home language support to their English speaking children, only 55 percent had any staff person who could communicate with their Spanish speaking children. Less than one-third had staff who could speak the home language of their Tagalog, Chinese, Vietnamese or Korean speaking children.

Combining these survey findings with research describing the importance of culturally and linguistically appropriate care, *Affirming Children's Roots* reveals that today's families require the development of and support for new approaches to early care and education. What constitutes appropriate child rearing practice is a reflection of the values and beliefs of families and the culture of their community. How even the most basic acts of care -- feeding, toilet training, comforting, playing -- are carried out reflect the cultural values of the caregiver. Like many other institutions in our society, child care policy and standards have been heavily influenced by the values of the dominant culture. Consequently, policies and practices must be re-examined and reshaped in order to ensure they are appropriate to families whose lives have been shaped by a different set of cultural beliefs. California Tomorrow co-director Hedy Nai-Lin Chang, principle author of the report, writes: "Located at the very nexus between home and school, early childhood programs play a critical role in the learning and socialization process. Programs which understand, acknowledge and build upon the socialization that a child has received from family and community have been much more successful at improving intellectual, cognitive and social outcomes for minority children."

Affirming Children's Roots stresses the crucial need to provide care to children in their primary languages because a growing body of research in the United States and Europe suggests that child care programs which do not use home language contribute to the demise of a young child's ability to speak the language of his or her family. Unable to talk to their children, parents lose their ability to provide verbal comfort and support, offer guidance or transmit family values, hopes and traditions. This loss can tragically occur even when parents originally intended for the child to continue speaking the primary home language. Part of the reason this loss occurs is that when the home language is not used, children perceive that the language of the home is not valued. The problem becomes even more serious if children or their parents are not treated with respect because they do not speak English fluently or speak with a strong accent. The report further explains that providing support in a child's home language should not be viewed as a trade-off between family functioning and academic success. Rather a growing body of research demonstrates that the development of a child's primary language skills is integral to helping a child gain skills in English and succeed academically. Children who have developed basic skills in their primary langauge, such as identifying colors or learning to count, are easily able to transfer these skills to another language. Development of the skills in the primary language offers children the advantage of hearing about the concepts in the language they knows best and also makes it possible for parents who do not speak English to promote concept development while the child is at home.

Affirming Children's Roots finds a parallel between the experiences of language minority children in care and African American children, 80 to 90 percent of whose families use Black Vernacular English at least some of the time. Black Vernacular English has become increasingly recognized by linguists and scholars as a legitimate form of English with a standard set of rules. But, children who use Black Vernacular English are often in situations where they are made to feel ashamed of their home language because they or their

parents are not treated with respect. Or perhaps even worse, children who use Black Vernacular are perceived by teachers as being less intelligent or capable. Maria Casey of the Urban Strategies Council in Oakland explains, "The bottom line is providers must understand what Black children are saying, appreciate that Black English is the combined result of African American cultural heritage and experience in the United States, and not make the mistake of assuming that difference means less than."

The report also explores the role programs may be playing in promoting or inhibiting the on-going participation of parents in their children's development and education. Parent involvement, particularly among language and cultural minorities, has long been a top priority of educators at all levels from early childhood to secondary schools. Early childhood programs are in a unique position to foster strong partnerships with parents by virtue of their everyday contact with them. Most of the surveyed centers engaged in some type of activity to involve parents. Most common are special activities such as hosting parties or driving for field trips. Over half involved at least some parents in policy decisions.

Our findings suggest, however, that certain parents, specifically those who are linguistic and cultural minorities, are being left out of parent involvement activities. Forty percent of the centers felt that they were having difficulty communicating with parents because they do not share a common language. This finding combined with data on the shortage of minority staff who can facilitate communication between cultural and linguistic groups suggests that center are hard pressed to form relationships with parents of all the children in their care. Yet, communication is critical for parents who may find that centers are socializing their children to a language and culture quite different from their own. The child's well-being depends upon the ability of parents and providers to discuss their joint responsibilities for fostering children's development and develop strategies for bridging any differences in child-rearing approaches. The danger in the current situation is that it will lessen the likelihood that linguistic and cultural minority parents are able to participate in their child's education because they discover early on that they have lost control over their children's socialization process and that their voices are not valued.

Examples of Culturally and Linguistically Appropriate Care

Affirming Children's Roots also describes the everyday activities of several innovative centers in California, offering a glimpse of what culturally and linguistically appropriate care can be.

The Hintil Kuu Ca child development center in Oakland, for example, was founded by Native American Indian parents 17 years ago seeking to reverse the high dropout rates of Native American Youth. With a focus on Native American values such as community projects, respect for elders and the importance of Indian crafts, the center can now point to college students who began their schooling at Hintil Kuu Ca. Central to the Hintil program has been rebuilding the trust of Indian parents who were alienated from education by their own boarding school experience which had sought to strip them of their Indian identity.

Affirming Children's Roots also travels to California's Central Valley where the Winters Child Development Center provides high quality care to two-to five year old children of seasonal and migrant farm workers. This innovative program stresses development in the children's home language, oral and written, with all activities carried out in Spanish. Children are found carrying out complex developmental tasks and enjoying a variety of children's books in Spanish, many created by the teachers themselves. According

to Foundation Center co-director Antonia Lopez, the local school district initially protested the home-language use approach because they wanted the children entering their schools speaking English. Now, however, on seeing the developmental and concept readiness of the former Winters children in their kindergartens, the district is now working with the Foundation Center to see how they may incorporate aspects of the approach into their own programs. One of twenty-three centers run throughout the state by the Foundation Center, Winters and its sister programs are supported by an innovative Montessori training program designed to foster the recruitment and development of teachers from the communities served by the centers. The Winter's Child Development Center is entirely staffed and directed by teachers who were former migrant farm workers.

The Cabrillo College Child Development Center works to counter stereotyping and the development of biased attitudes by using an anti-bias curriculum approach to promote a strong sense of pride in self and family and to support the natural interest of young children in understanding difference. Located in the Santa Cruz hills, the center's goal is to serve the broadly diverse group of children and families who participate in their programs and the student teachers who receive training by working at the center. The program seeks to not only acknowledge and respect differences in others, but to embed the child/family culture into the day-to-day life of the center. One of the teachers uses puppets and flannel board characters to discuss issues of diversity and stereotypes with the children. Recognizing that parents are the children's first, best and lifetime teachers, the center places a heavy emphasis on parent participation and making available materials for parents to use in the home to promote the concepts taught at the center.

Primarily serving ethnic Chinese from Hong Kong, Vietnam or mainland China, the Kai Ming Head Start program in San Francisco is founded on the notion that the key to strong early childhood education is respecting the position of the parent in a child's life. At Kai Ming, this often means helping parents realize that they have a right to be involved in their children's education and to be their child's primary advocate. Kai Ming parents participate in a number of center activities ranging from volunteering in the classroom so that they can gain a deeper understanding of center teaching techniques to designing educational programs for adults and children or serving on the Parent Policy Committee. In order to foster the development of children within the context of their entire family, Kai Ming also takes an active role in ensuring families obtain the needed social and medical services they need to eventually obtain a higher level of self-sufficiency.

Recommendations

Based on the results of the Field survey, literature review and site visits to innovative programs, *Affirming Children's Roots* offers a number of recommendations. These recommendations include areas requiring further research as well as recommendations for immediate action.

Areas Requiring Further Research

Our findings point to the need for further investigation and analysis of several specific research and policy issues:

Given the challenges of simultaneously working with multiple racial or linguistic groups and the scarcity of existing bilingual/ bicultural staff, is it appropriate for

some early care and education programs to concentrate on meeting the needs of a particular ethnic or linguistic group with the understanding that children will eventually be placed in ethnically diverse settings? Under what situations would such "concentrated" programs be considered inappropriate because it would be preferable for children to be placed in a diverse setting? Is a concentrated type of program more appropriate or necessary for certain types of groups? What are the implications of such a strategy? For program eligibility regulations? For Civil Rights Law?

Given that nearly all providers spend some time with a child who is ethnically different from themselves, what set of core principles and practices should be adopted by all child care workers? How can such a set of core principles be disseminated to the entire field?

What specific policy and program guidelines should exist with regard to primary language development among linguistic minority children? Given that many children are currently in centers where they do not have access to home language support, what strategies should be used by child care providers who do not share a common language with a child? What specific strategies can be used to assure that the development of a second language is additive versus subtractive in nature? Is it more appropriate for some children (e.g. infants and toddlers) to be cared for exclusively in the home language? When and how can English be safely introduced? Should centers consider grouping children based on language needs?

How does the need for culturally and linguistically consistent care relate to the age of the child? Are the effects of culturally and linguistically inappropriate care in fact more devastating for infants and toddlers in the process of developing the core of their identity?

To what extent could family day care homes be a resource for culturally and linguistically appropriate care given their ability to offer a home-like environment, offer small child-adult ratios, and operate in a community-based context? To what extent does the importance of culturally and linguistically consistent care merit public policies that promote offering families a greater range of choices for child care arrangements?

What are the implications of the concerns about cultural differences in socialization and learning for practitioners engaged in implementing anti-bias curriculum approaches? What are the implications of anti-bias research for programs serving populations that are solely or predominantly of one ethnic group?

Why are certain language and cultural minorities underrepresented in the field of early care and education? Is this more serious at higher levels of decision-making? How is this underrepresentation related to low pay, poor working conditions and current hiring practice?

What factors explain our finding that subsidized centers are more likely than non-subsidized centers to employ staff who reflect the racial and linguistic background of

the children in their care? What are the implications of these findings for child care policy?

Recommendations for Immediate Action

In the meantime, based upon our findings, California Tomorrow calls for immediate action from the following groups:

State Agencies in California:

The California Department of Education should support the development of an ongoing statewide mechanism for collecting information on the demographics of child care facilities across systems and auspices. Such a mechanism could be tied to a number of existing data collection efforts including: 1) local resource and referral agencies, 2) the statewide market rate survey, 3) the California Department of Education's effort to design a new computerized, linked, system of data collection for child care programs, and 4) child care licensing procedures.

The California Department of Education together with the Department of Social Services should establish a committee of advocates, researchers, providers and parents who will work with them to develop and disseminate materials outlining how child care providers can most effectively develop partnerships with parents - with specific suggestions about techniques for bridging gaps of language and culture.

The California Department of Education together with the Department of Social Services should jointly fund and establish a clearinghouse aimed at collecting and disseminating materials and literature regarding the provision of culturally and linguistically appropriate care to practitioners, policymakers and program administrators.

The California Department of Education, Child Development Division should examine whether some of its eligibility policies may be unwittingly working against efforts to provide children with culturally and linguistically appropriate care. In particular, we suggest that the Department of Education reconsider its current policies which prevent bilingual centers from giving priority to children most in need of their bilingual educational program.

The Commission for Teacher Credentialing should require teacher training programs to address linguistically and culturally appropriate practice in their basic curriculum.

Federal Government:

The Department of Health and Human Services should convene a working group of practitioners, researchers, advocates and policymakers to examine the policy implications of cultural diversity for forthcoming federal initiatives -- namely the Head Start expansion and child care provisions of current welfare reform proposals.

The Department of Health and Human Services should set aside funding (possibly from the Child Care Development Block Grants or Head Start programs) for research addressing the previously mentioned areas requiring further study.

Associations:

The National Association for the Education of Young Children (NAEYC) should continue its efforts to produce materials discussing the implications of diversity for early care and education and re-examine its guidelines for developmentally appropriate practice with respect to their applicability to diverse populations. One approach would be to first pull together educators from specific ethnic groups to discuss within their own groups what constitutes culturally appropriate practice. Then, leaders from a range of communities could be brought together to discuss what are the commonalities in their views on developmentally appropriate practices.

The California Association for the Education for Young Children (CAEYC) together with NAEYC should hold a conference bringing together anti-bias curricula developers with educators engaged in defining what constitutes culturally appropriate care and teaching approaches for children of various ethnic groups. The purpose of this conference would be to explore the relationship between these two fields of work.

Resource and Referral Network:

The statewide resource and referral network should work with local resource and referrals to develop and disseminate multilingual parent education/consumer guides that provide parents with information about how to judge the quality and assess the cultural and linguistic appropriateness of a child care facility. Such a guide should specifically include information about the potential trade-offs of placing a child in a facility that does not offer care in the language of the home, and provide parents with an awareness of the importance of culturally and linguistically appropriate care particularly for infants and toddlers.

Training Institutions:

All existing professional training programs for early care and education professionals should incorporate a focus on culturally and linguistically appropriate care into their regular curriculum. Such a focus should provide students with a basic understanding of anti-bias curriculum, the cultural context of child-care including how to approach developmentally appropriate practice in various ethnic communities; techniques for fostering English language development without impeding home language development among children from non-English speaking backgrounds; and strategies for developing strong partnerships with language and cultural minority parents.

Institutions involved in the education and hiring of child care staff should engage in immediate efforts to improve recruitment of and increase training opportunities for underrepresented linguistic and ethnic minorities.

Institutions that train child care providers should also develop in-service training programs to be offered to child care centers so that those already working in the field may be informed about strategies for appropriately working with culturally and linguistically diverse children and families.

Private Foundations:

Foundations should fund the development and dissemination of training materials by various institutions on how to serve particular ethnic groups or diverse populations, and the development of new ones.

Foundations should fund the development of models for teacher education that expose new teachers to theories of child development while simultaneously drawing upon and incorporating the expertise and knowledge that student teachers bring from their own cultural backgrounds.

Foundations should support innovative efforts to recruit and train child care professionals from currently underrepresented cultural and linguistic groups.

Foundations should support existing early care and education programs, and the development of now ones, that model the practice of culturally and linguistically appropriate care.

Foundations should support efforts to develop parent education materials that provide parents with information about how to take cultural and linguistic appropriateness into account when making their child care decisions.