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ABSTRACT

The subject of this issue is the status of compensatory education. Past programs are reviewed, and new effective programs are described. Field reports on various local school integration programs are presented, including programs in Pontiac, Michigan; Ypsilanti, Michigan; and the South. (JW)



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Status Report on Compensatory Education

Adelaide Jablonsky, Ed. D.

The frustration and anger of the lay critics of "education for minority-poverty children" because of the failure of schools to meet the demands for palpable evidence of success on any or all criteria is matched by the concern and despair of those professionals responsible for producing results. Rationalizations used in past years that the programs were too new, the funding too weak, the staffs too few and unprepared, the social problems too pervasive, are no longer acceptable to the community supporting the schools. The community now has a structure as well as a new voice in most sections of the country, partly due to federal agency insistence that parents and community representatives be involved in all stages of planning, implementation and evaluation of federally funded programs. In addition, books, paperbacks, magazines, radio and television have spread the word that in isolated schools something has happened to reverse the bleak picture.

Among the stated responsibilities of the ERIC clearinghouses are the retrieval, analysis and dissemination of information of interest and importance to education. The Information Retrieval Center for the Disadvantaged, as one of the clearinghouses, is responsible for assisting in the improvement of education of minority-group and poor children, helped in specialized areas by the other clearinghouses.

The interest of IRCD in these areas preceded the development of the federally approved ERIC system and, indeed, most of the specialized programs for compensatory education. The local library of ERIC-IRCD, including over 11,000 published and unpublished documents on the disadvantaged in addition to the large number of documents reported in *Research in Education* and available in microfiche and/or hard copy (see page 22), traces the history of the thrusts of society and its schools to meet the patent and emerging needs of children and youth in schools in the lower economic segments of the country. The staff of ERIC-IRCD has periodically examined the field of compensatory education and reported its findings in *Bulletins*, periodicals, reports and state-of-the-art and position papers.

The most extensive document was the book, *Compensatory Education for the Disadvantaged: Programs and Practices Preschool Through College*, by Edmund W. Gordon and Doxey A. Wilkerson, published by the College Entrance Examination Board in 1966. Included was a summary of then current theory and practice and a directory of programs in existence in 1965 and 1966, with some selected data. As time went on, however, it became clear that this directory, an important work at the time it was compiled, was outdated. Programs listed had been discontinued, key personnel had shifted bases of operation, new emphases had emerged. It was decided to attempt to serve the field of education through a three-pronged endeavor.

(1) An intensive check would be made to determine which programs were still effective, what influences had contributed to their stability, and what had been instrumental in the discontinuation of the others.

(2) A broad survey would be conducted to identify, if possible, the most successful or promising programs presently offered throughout the country at the preschool through the high school levels. This information would be made available through the IRCD reference services.

(3) The professional staff of the center would select for study several programs dispersed both geographically and in emphasis. This effort was to result in this *Bulletin* and one or several subsequent documents (see page 2).

The Survival Record

The directory of programs in the Gordon/Wilkerson book included a total of 244 programs in 31 states and the District of Columbia. They varied widely in the number of students served, the nature and extent of services, their longevity, staffing patterns, extent of supplementary funding, and the objective bases for evaluation. In the current survey ongoing activities were reported for only fifty-one programs still identifiable by title, purpose or key person. Responses for thirty-seven indicated that the program had been terminated. It might be reasonable to assume that an appreciable percent of the non-responses was due to discontinuation of programs or such extensive revision that the identity of the original program was submerged in a current structure retaining some of the elements of the parent project.

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Those programs listed in the Gordon/Wilkerson book which were reported as being discontinued gave varied reasons for termination. Most intriguing of the reasons was the one given by the Merced County program for teaching Spanish to Mexican-American students. This highly rated pioneer program to resolve problems of bilingualism was dropped because of integration. One question this move. Granted that integration would tend to enhance the overall quality of education for these children, yet the benefits to Spanish-speaking students to be derived from learning to master the intricacies of their own language had been clearly demonstrated at Merced and elsewhere.

Demise of programs after one to five years was reported as due to lack of funds, initially planned termination of project, attrition, project components being absorbed into Title I ESEA or district programs, failure to demonstrate expected achievement levels, critical changes in personnel, problems of being unable to produce matching funds, absorption into more comprehensive ongoing programs, centralizing and decentralizing of systems, administrative reorganization, community resistance and anxiety over possible disruptive behavior of students known to have social or emotional problems. Among the reported positive outcomes were positive changes in attitudes, outlook and self-concept, increased enrollment in higher education institutions, improved attendance and retention records, improved involvement of parents with their own children and with the school, improved interpersonal relationships both within and outside the school building, success in job placement, improved behavior, study habits, homework assignments properly executed and on time, formation of lasting friendships and relationships which destroyed false myths concerning the poor.

The single element reported as having contributed most to the success of the program was variously reported as one-to-one or one-to-small group teacher-student ratio, concentrated guidance services, parent involvement, cooperation from associations within the community, the enthusiasm, cooperation, dedication and/or leadership of the person in charge, research teams which brought personnel from various agencies into cooperative arrangements, rewards to participants based on performance in behavior and work, and positive shared experience leading to enhanced motivation. One program eloquently described the most valuable element as: "freedom from hang-ups, viz., classification systems, tests, marks, courses of study, physical compartmentalization, attempts at measurement and 'formal evaluation,' use of only professional teachers, etc., etc.—all the things we're so often stuck with in a traditional school operation."

Some programs which were widely publicized and implemented in a large number of school districts have faded from view.

The Search for Excellence

In order to identify the most successful or promising programs, 350 people representing heads of federal agencies dealing with education, all state commissioners of education, superintendents of schools of the largest cities, heads of selected professional education organizations, outstanding community leaders, university researchers, directors of some ERIC clearinghouses, regional laboratories, major foundations which contribute to educational programs, directors of education colleges and other individuals identified as being knowledgeable in the area of compensatory education were contacted. They were asked to recommend those compensatory education programs which they felt were either successful or promising. Recommended programs were then sent a questionnaire. A *Directory of Selected Ongoing Compensatory Education Programs* has been developed from the responses. The Directory will be available shortly from the ERIC Information Retrieval Center on the Disadvantaged.

The completed questionnaires have been placed in a special reference file in the library of the ERIC Information Retrieval Center on the Disadvantaged with those documents which were submitted in support of the questionnaires. It is assumed that this collection will provide a resource of useful information for those interested in the development and effectiveness of compensatory education programs. This material may be studied at the Center.

The Field Reports

Those factors which have been identified early as being critical in the solution of problems in providing quality education for all children continue to plague the schools, the related communities, political groups, and veritably society itself. Some systems have moved closer than others to solutions of one or many of the facets of the complex whole.

In order to bring perspective to the information collated through this survey, this author visited several programs. Intensive interviews with many people involved with the programs at all levels were taped and transcribed. Directors, superintendents, principals, teachers, specialists, community representatives, paraprofessionals, and students shared their perceptions with candor. Conflicting and reinforcing statements from different persons helped to clarify the complexity of each situation. The cooperation of all who contributed to these studies is deeply appreciated.

In the reports which follow excerpts of those interviews will be quoted to illumine issues. Minor editing has been used to provide conciseness, and only brief excerpts have been used for this paper. In most instances the speaker will be identified by role rather than by name. These reports of just five systems are not intended to represent more than a small segment of compensatory programs in this country. The problems, issues, and attitudes, however, do reflect a much larger sample, and in some cases the global picture of the status of education for poor and minority-group children.

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PONTIAC: School-Community Cooperation

Reports of activities involving parents and community members in the development of a new integrated school with intensive revision of instructional methods in Pontiac, Michigan, prompted us to attempt to study the Human Resource Center being built in the heart of the inner city. Costing over five million dollars, innovative in design, and to be opened in September 1971, this center was planned so that the community would become interwoven with the education program within this structure. Offices of social service agencies and adult education workshops were to be housed side by side with instructional facilities and indeed the main street leading to city hall passes right through the building.

Designed for preschool and elementary children from two black and one white inner-city schools, the hopes and dreams of many people were based on the expectation that the schools' emphasis on team teaching and the individualizing of instruction would bring improvement to the very ineffectual education which had been provided children in the feeder schools. In several of these schools, despite some federally funded programs, including several years of a National Teacher Corps program and extensive parent involvement the academic achievement of the students ranked in the lowest five to two percent on state-wide tests.

PONTIAC: Black Elementary Principal

The black woman principal of an elementary school has been chosen to head one of the divisions of the new Human Resource Center.

Principal: This is only my third year of holding the position of principal. I was one of the original Teacher Corps team leaders before that and a teacher for the fourteen prior years. Of the three team leaders of the first cycle Urban Corps, two of them are now principals, so the assumption of leadership development through that program appears to be valid. Another example of leadership development is that one of my present team leaders was an intern in the Urban Corps when I was team leader. One of the interns here last year is a master teacher this year and she will be a team leader next year.

Any time you start a program that is entirely different from your present operation, to get people to accept not only the organizational plan but a new philosophy is a challenge. Unless people really embrace the concept of continuous progress, it's not going to work, so I think the pre-service preparation will be most important. This will give the staff an opportunity to learn to work together, to air out problems. Much of the literature on non-graded schools indicated that a great deal of planning is needed.

There are numerous changes taking place every day in the concept of non-gradedness and individualized instruction. Most of the programs we know about are for middle-class children so we will have to make the translation for our poor children.

Before the workshop begins and before I move into that position in the Center I feel I need to visit several school systems where similar programs are already in progress. I need to observe scheduling patterns and instructional modules. Unfortunately, it still comes through loud and clear that the traditional teachers will find it difficult to change. I hope we will be able to help them through in-service education.

Dr. Jablonsky: Do you feel that there is any discrimination against blacks which prevents them from moving up in the school system?

Principal: Yes, I would have to admit there is discrimination. There are thoughts that people have in their minds which cannot be erased overnight. When you try to impose notions on people when they aren't ready for change they resist. I think people will bury their hostilities when they work in a bi-racial situation, they get to realize that you are human too. No amount of reading can change this, only contact will do. There is hostility in both the white camp and the black camp. Many of the black youngsters are influenced by their homes. They prefer the separatist movement, being part of the black people. If you aren't part of being black militant, you are an oreo, an Uncle Tom. So rather than being called those names, you get with the movement whether you buy the philosophy or not. The whites, on the other hand, feel that if the blacks are going to stick together, they must, too. It will be a hard struggle for the twain to meet. It's hard to overcome this, but you can use group discussion, interaction, role-playing, getting groups together might work. We have 60% white and 40% black in this school. It takes more than moving white and black children into one central location to really achieve an integrated society. You can have separation even within the integrated situation. I hope you don't interpret this as hypocrisy, but I feel that if you do something long enough whether you mean it or not eventually it will become a part of you.

PONTIAC: White Elementary Principal

In contrast, the male white principal of an elementary school who will head the other half of the HRC, speaks about his role.

Dr. Jablonsky: When you first came to this school, what were the most serious problems that you faced?

Principal: The biggest problem that I had to overcome before I could do anything was to establish myself as a white person in this community with parents and with children to give them the confidence that I had something to offer them. I found that all parents really want the best for their kids, and they want a good program. Once you solve this then they can accept you as a white person, if they believe that you're going to do a job for their kids. So I had to go up and down the streets and talk to key persons in the community trying to sell them the idea that I was going to find out what the needs of their kids were, and that I was willing to work with them. Since it was an impossibility at this time for them to have a black principal I had to prove that I was the best white principal that they could get.

Dr. Jablonsky: Why do you think they would have preferred a black principal?

Principal: I can understand that they wanted someone black, because they felt that a black image in the position of principal would give their kids something to aspire to. A second reason is because a black person certainly has an understanding of the black problem and black kids in a different way than a white person can. Because a white person in no way could experience the kind of problems that black kids have gone through.

Dr. Jablonsky: How do you feel the attitudes have changed since September?

Principal: I don't know of any negative people in the community as far as I am concerned. There are negative feelings about the school as far as what the school is doing for kids. But as far as me personally and the kind of job we are trying to do, I don't know of any negative people.

There are a lot of real difficult learning problems. There is a lot of lip service as far as what teachers are doing for the slow children. I don't feel we are teaching the slow children. The usual methods work with the average or more capable youngsters. We have a lot of successes with those kids, but the compensatory education things we've tried so far are not working.

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One of the most successful programs we've had with some of the children has been the oral language program where those teachers who know what they are doing have been able to reach a lot of kids. But there are some who are not sold on the idea.

We have to understand that children who come from a home environment where they do not speak standard English have a dual language problem. There are some sounds in standard English that he doesn't hear and use. Then he comes to school and he hears almost a foreign language. The white teacher from a middle-class background many times cannot even understand what the child is saying. It isn't because the kid can't communicate in his own environment, but he can't communicate in the school environment. The oral language idea is that you start where the kid is and you accept his language and then introduce a new language to him with the idea that here is another way of speaking. If you want to apply for a job, this is the kind of English you'll have to use.

Dr. Jablonsky: Do you have any data on the achievement levels of this school on the last standardized tests which were administered?

Principal: We did very poorly on the state assessment. In the bottom five percentile. This pattern has existed for the last five years.

Dr. Jablonsky: Do you anticipate that you will be able to show improvement before you go into the new building?

Principal: I am convinced that we will show some improvement this year, but we will not go above that five percent. Compared to what we've done before we will do better.

Dr. Jablonsky: Has the parent-community involvement influenced achievement in any way?

Principal: Attitudes are the important keys to learning. They have to feel good about themselves. If you get parents at home talking about improvements in the school, then the kids feel good about themselves.

I don't think we are doing as good a job as we could. We do have a nucleus of parents who feel real good about the school, they work real hard. I don't think you'll find a PTA that puts more into a school than they do here.

A study of the five schools that might be involved in the Human Resource Center, showed that our school has the highest record of parents with negative feelings about the school. So there is a nucleus of parents who reject what we are doing.

Dr. Jablonsky: How do you intend to improve instruction so that greater learning can take place?

Principal: We are trying to move toward individualized instruction. Mostly what we are doing now is preparing for the Human Resource Center for next year. We are doing very little grouping now. Only on a superficial basis. We are doing some multi-age grouping in the Urban Corps classrooms, some interest grouping, some one-sex grouping (stag grouping). That seems to be working out quite well in those fourth and fifth grade classrooms.

PONTIAC: Parent Monitoring

The involvement of parents in monitoring federally financed programs is described by the director of evaluation for Pontiac, along with some perceptions on the role of evaluation in compensatory projects.

Dr. Jablonsky: Can you summarize your role in the school system?

Evaluator: We have about \$2,500,000 worth of federal programs. The federal people frequently imply that the internal evaluator is biased and that those results are questionable. That may be but if you have a research person, all he can do is take the data and present the data, and draw conclusions and implications. When you do a test of statistical significance, and it comes out non-significant, that's the result.

But I am sure there is some fudging of data which gives rise to the criticism. I try to be as objective as possible. I've been through this discussion with the federal people who tell me that since I am paid by the school district my results may not be completely objective. At the same time the external evaluator is paid through the project funds. I know people in the evaluation business who do it privately. They want the project to succeed because it means another evaluation contract for them.

Unfortunately, funding does not really depend on evaluation results. Sometimes programs are successful and the funds do not continue. But I am not in a position to say what the factors are in determining where support will go. I am sure that there are political factors that I am not even aware of. On the state level, the political factors that determine funding depend on the fact that in the legislature the rural representatives complain that money is being funneled into urban centers.

Dr. Jablonsky: What do you consider your most successful program during the last three years?

Evaluator: One of the most successful programs was the short-term teacher training program to retrain teachers to work with inner-city youngsters. Follow-up studies indicated that the school system hired some of the participants in the program. If you look at the evaluation forms for these teachers they consistently score higher on many critical criteria. The people who come into the program are college graduates with degrees other than education. This is an EPDA supported master's level program. Some of the graduates have remained in the inner-city school; some have migrated to more affluent school districts. I am starting to work on the Urban Corps evaluation. The results show that their graduates are employed in both Pontiac and Detroit inner-city schools. We will follow them up and see how they rate as teachers.

Dr. Jablonsky: How are parents and community involved in evaluation?

Evaluator: In Pontiac we have had an active advisory group. Things haven't always been smooth, nor should it have been. The new guidelines for Title I are rather clear on community involvement. One section indicates that parents must be involved in the evaluation process. I have always wanted to build the monitoring process into our evaluations. Traditionally the office was primarily concerned with product, achievement. That never tells the whole story. It's impossible for me to monitor programs physically. When the advisory committee met at the beginning of the year and decided to establish an evaluation implementation sub-committee, I suggested the monitoring function. This is our first year. We are still struggling. Essentially the monitors go to schools, meet with the program director to be oriented. They then go in to see if things are going as the proposal said they were supposed to.

At the beginning the monitors and I went to the different schools to explain the role they would play. For the most part there is very little resistance to the monitoring concept. We do have several teachers, however, who resent having a parent in the classroom. There have been several incidents where teachers voiced the opinion that parents have no business in the classroom, but I don't think that's the majority opinion. Teachers for years have been saying "let's get the parents involved." Now we've got them involved. At the parent state-wide conference we learned that in some areas the school doors are locked and that it's very difficult for anyone to get into the school. Fortunately, our school doors are still open. Some teachers feel (and it is probably valid) that parents do not have the training and skill to observe and evaluate effectively. We therefore spend some time in orientation to overcome this. The monitoring function is also an educational tool. In order for someone to evaluate what the teachers and children are doing they have to have extended experience in the schools.

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Some of the monitoring members in the past have been extremely critical of teachers, in some cases justifiably so, but by now they have begun to see that teachers have problems. They see both sides.

Dr. Jablonsky: If you had the power to make the decision as to how federal, state, local, foundation, industrial, and other funds were to be allocated in next year's budget, what would your priorities be?

Evaluator: The research evidence shows us that if we are going to make any changes in the education of disadvantaged children, then we'd better put our money into preschool programs and early elementary programs. That's where my emphasis would be. One of our most serious limitations here in Pontiac at the present is the limitations of our preschool education.

PONTIAC: Two Views of an Issue

There follows two views of the same problem faced by the school system and the community. The first perceptions are abstracted from an interview with the Superintendent of Schools. The second represents the views of one of the most influential black women in the community. Her interview covers several other areas of intense interest.

Dr. Jablonsky: Can you give me your perception of the problem which evolved concerning the appointment of a black assistant to the superintendent?

Superintendent: A group of citizens were appointed by the Board of Education in 1967 to study the question of equality of educational opportunity with an emphasis on education of minority-group children. They published a report eighteen months later with a series of over one hundred recommendations. Among the major recommendations was one that there be appointed a new assistant superintendent in the field of human rights and intergroup relations. The Board followed up by studying the school district organization to find out how it would reorganize to include such a position. An organization was fashioned which brought together into this new position the community action programs, pupil personnel services, the human relations office and several others. Those functions were grouped together because it was felt that they were centered toward minority groups. A job description was written, and we advertised and interviewed people as we usually do. We had a local applicant who was head of our human relations office, and we had a number of outside people. Finally, the Board offered the position to Dr. Edmunds, Dean of the Graduate Division of Virginia State College. He had a strong background in personnel services. They developed a great movement to put the local person in that position. It became a crisis. There was a great emotional wave. The question of whether the person had the background and qualifications was lost entirely. Dr. Edmunds would not accept the position. He got telephone calls telling him not to come. Letters and telegrams were sent. People from the news media got involved. He was told that he was not wanted out here.

Dr. Jablonsky: Apparently, the person behind whom the community mobilized does have a responsible position as Director of School-Community Relations, a position which would appear to be a next step toward such an assistant superintendentship. Some in the community feel that he is really doing the job, but that he does not have the title because he is black.

Superintendent: It's unfortunate that people see it that way. He does not carry the responsibility of Assistant Superintendent, who is a line officer having a segment of the organization as his responsibility. He does work in the field of human relations and race relations. He lacked the training background for the position, by both education and experience. One thing we did accomplish, which I feel was a real strength in this controversy, was that we kept the channels of communication open with our black community on a number of levels. Three years ago the schools were one of the forces to help create an organization

called The Pontiac Area Planning Council, with 30 members on its board. This was the power structure of Pontiac, along with some of the leaders of the black communities and the Latin-American community. This organization had a tumultuous few years. The meetings were shouting meetings, and a lot of the people quit. Somehow it survived. It since has become an urban coalition, has expanded its board and changed its direction. But throughout the entire period it provided at the very top level a forum for communication.

It's going to be a growing concern from here on. They worry about the lack of tangible accomplishments, which are hard to come by. In our own school district through the advisory council and committees which we are required to have, we have a lot of communication, a lot of disagreements, and we get hollered at a lot but I think that people generally know that if they want to meet with us they can at almost any time and any number. We'll sit and talk, and explain, and argue; they can yell at us and we listen. Even though we have tensions, I think this is an asset.

* * * * *

Dr. Jablonsky: What do you think the community can do to hold a school system accountable? You personally seem to be moving toward accepting the model of the British Infant School with more individualizing instruction. You don't see this happening in Pontiac?

Community Woman: No, I don't. I think they have accepted the rhetoric of the idea, but not really accepted it.

Dr. Jablonsky: How can you force the change?

Community Woman: First we have to make the parents aware that we are dealing with their children. It's not the school district's children nor the state's children. The activities of the school are supposed to improve academic achievement. If the schools do not, it is the parents' responsibility to see that it does. They must become involved in the school, know what is going on in the classroom and point out to the appropriate person when they think that things are wrong. Parents have to do this. The school people don't have the leverage or the mobility that the parents do.

Dr. Jablonsky: Do parents and children have a warm feeling toward the school here?

Community Woman: I wish they did. You would see the answer to your question in the riots we have every spring. The children revolt, we have sit-ins, demonstrations, fire bombs. This is at the upper-grade levels. There is great tension among the students. In the senior high they expel students right and left for the least little things they do. A lot of blacks and a few whites. We are really worried in this community about what is going to happen now that it is getting warm. Central High School is a closed campus with a fenced-in bull-pen, which is the only place where the kids can get out to get some fresh air. They have a cafeteria that only serves about half the children. Northern High School has a very small minority of blacks. It is in the Appalachian white section of town. They are all poor and the tensions are very great. The school people working there reflect the white middle-class attitude, and the blacks have no protection.

In Pontiac traditionally, and certainly during the last two years, we lose a large percentage of the black children as dropouts. Physical dropouts, as well as mental dropouts, those who stay in school but do not work. This is mostly because of their feelings toward the school system. They start dropping out at the 8th and 9th grade levels. We have started a street academy over at the west side of town to pick up some of these dropouts. We have found a large number of fifteen-year-olds that we just lose. The parents go up there and try to get them back in. They meet a road block and the kids are then back on the street.

The community can try to force the school board to change the types of attitudes of the administrators in the schools. We have two black members on the Board of Education, but it's a seven-member board, so there is little that they can do. Usually

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when there is a vote that has something to do with the welfare of our black children the vote goes 2 to 5. It's so consistent that at board meetings when they call for a vote, everyone just calls out, because we know. It's a bad situation. It got worse after the last election. There was a concerned parent group in the north of town which was fighting against integration and bussing. The three candidates they supported were elected. This has given a mandate to the board that they can act any way they see fit. The situation has gotten worse. At least for a time, when there was a confrontation with the board there was communication going on. But it's gotten to the place where communication between the black community and the school board is almost nil.

Dr. Jablonsky: I see two conflicting pictures that need to be clarified. Around this school and the new building with the planning groups and the parent involvement, and accountability built into the structure, something very positive is happening between the schools and the community, and between whites and blacks, with the expectation that education will improve. This appears to be only a small segment of a larger city in which the resolution of the problems of integration have not been resolved, where many blacks feel they are not appropriately represented to bring about changes in their children's favor.

Community Woman: That's a very clear picture. It directly reflects that with the federal programs around the Human Resource Center you deal with staff, while at the board meetings you deal with politicians. The staff may not always agree with you, but they do know the laws, and if you force them to abide by the laws we found that we can work together. We've had conflicts and confrontations, but never to the point where communication stopped.

Although there is a seemingly impersonal corporate body that pays a large percentage of the taxes and a large amount of money comes from the federal government, the preponderance of white voters influences all decision-making in this community.

Dr. Jablonsky: What about personnel selection practices in the school system?

Community Woman: A majority of our black administrators, or what they classify as administrators, are in the federally funded programs, community school director jobs, and so on. We have a few black administrators who are principals but they came very late and they never rise to the point where they are in a decision-making position. We recently pushed for one black to become Assistant Superintendent of Schools. This aroused such a turmoil in the district and with the school board, that even the teachers walked out in support of this man. The school board reversed its policies so that they wouldn't have to appoint another assistant superintendent. That man has now been appointed Director of Human Relations. One of the recommendations of the OEO report was that a black assistant superintendent be hired. They specified that it should be someone that the parents knew and trusted. But it hasn't happened. The school board president has said that before it happens they would dissolve the school board. They had tried to hire a black man, Dr. Edmunds from Virginia. We met with Dr. Edmunds and discussed the situation that he would be doing damage to our community feeling by coming here, so he decided to decline. We felt he would do damage because we had a man that has been working with our system, with the black and white elements of the school. He knows all the people. All the community trusts him. We feel the only reason why they called in someone else was because he had too much community support, and therefore he would not be under the control of the board.

Dr. Jablonsky: Is the black voter strength sufficient to elect appropriate representation in the state?

Community Woman: There are enough blacks in the big cities to effect elections meaningfully. But the rural areas have always dominated the state, and they are predominantly white.

We are now beginning to get a broader base to parent involvement. At first only a small nucleus was active consisting of the

aides and other people working in the school. Now we have attracted many of the silent ones who wait until others take the initiative. We have those who are completely for integration and those who are strongly opposed to integration. Of course, that's a question that's hard to deal with, even within yourself.

Dr. Jablonsky: Why are class sizes so large in some of the schools?

Community Woman: Partly because of austerity. At first we had a large increase of population, about four or five years ago. Since then we've had a decline in the number of teachers hired. The board depended more on project personnel and therefore did not hire as many professionals. Last year we had a drastic cut in professional staff. Some principals were made to teach half-time, special consultants were put back in the classrooms, and it looks as if that austerity will continue. Last night at the board meeting they gave notices to all the administrators that their contracts are not guaranteed due to the need to cut positions further. If I had the power to allocate funds, I would put it into reducing class size and into inservice training of professionals. Although all of our teachers are certified, we have vast reading problems here. Most teachers do not have the training to understand the black children, their language or the concepts that they bring to school. They need help in understanding themselves and the children. In the end, we will probably have to live with the teachers we have. The colleges aren't producing a different type of teacher, so we'll have to work on the local level. Teachers need better skills in reading.

I have not had the experience of observing individualized instruction in schools in any large system, but I have seen several small programs which seem to be successful. I have some apprehension about the Bereiter-Englemann program I have seen. When we started with the Follow-Through program, we had four sections, three of them were Bereiter-Englemann and one of them Piaget-based. I decided to educate myself about these programs. When I read what the Bereiter-Englemann people said I couldn't believe them. Then I went into classrooms in Detroit and Ypsilanti. In Ypsilanti, Welkart had three programs in his project, one of them was Bereiter. The reward and severe punishment aspect is so bad I don't see how any parent would allow his child to go through this type of training. I think it's worse than any training you would give a dog. I don't believe that children should be trained. Children should learn to think, and to channel their thoughts properly. Children must learn to learn, to identify problems, to seek solutions and to experiment. It's very discouraging here to go into a classroom and see all the children having to sit in an erect position, with their hands folded to wait for the teacher. In one class I visited the teacher was doing drills. She made a statement, they had to give the appropriate response, back and forth. I went to the principal to complain and he said, "We have to have discipline here." I said that's not what I send my kid to school for. If I wanted to indoctrinate them in selected facts, I wouldn't have to send them to school. I would send them to Nazi Germany.

We are going to insist that as little federal funding go into the Human Resource Center as possible, since they are going to have enough school district funds. The school district is going to have to become committed to supporting some of these programs. If they don't, no change will ever come about.

We have in the district an individualized instruction program in a special building — the kids call it "Yellow Brick." It's an annex to Central. We freed all our disciplinary problems and dropouts there. About fifty kids have a principal, three teachers, and the open classroom idea. I think that most of the learning in the school district goes on in that building. When I am most depressed I go there for a pickup.

The teachers staying in the other schools because they want to will probably do a better job. There is a difference in teaching in all black schools than in an integrated situation, and different teachers react differently to these situations.

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An interesting note is that most teachers in Pontiac do not live here. There is almost an unwritten law that you don't hire Pontiac people for Pontiac schools. Local people have to be very good teachers, otherwise the pressures of the community force them out. Of course, there is then a reduction of commitment, ninety percent of the black teachers here live in Detroit. Housing here is so bad that it's almost impossible for a black person to get decent housing. I have always felt it is very important for the children to see their teachers outside of the classroom. So here, the teachers are put on the shelf at three o'clock. A lot of children think that the teacher aides are the teachers, because they do see them in their communities.

Unfortunately, the aide program may lose its funding. Federal programs are all satellites to the system and when the funds run out, the program ends. This is one of the problems we have placed before the board. The Urban Corps is now in the phasing out period and we want to know what the board has done to accept some of the responsibilities to replace these services. They said they haven't done anything and don't plan to do anything. We know this is going to be true with the "Yellow Brick" school and everything else. We've never had a federal program picked up and continued after the funds have run out. Not one.

Dr. Jablonsky: What do you suppose would happen to your school system if all federal funds were cut?

Community Woman: We would go bankrupt. We now have two teachers with classes of thirty-five children. One teacher would have to carry on while the other would be let go. Special consultants and district personnel associated with outside funding would be fired. One of the commitments the school board made to the north side parents was that they would get some of the federal money of the south side of town to use for their children. Those are the white poor kids. They said they would do that but we knew that they couldn't because the funds were allocated to the target area, which was here on the south side. So they would have to expand the target area. That would water down the money and spread it so thin that it wouldn't do the job in either place.

Dr. Jablonsky: Are you satisfied with the black school board members?

Community Woman: Not really. But we are not too dissatisfied realizing the situation they are in. They do speak up and vote to their consciences. Many of us would like them to be much more militant. But we know it would make very little difference in the final actions of the board. We've complained about the board meetings. They really are not public meetings, since the board members never discuss the important matters. The members of the audience are given an opportunity to speak but then when the vote is taken, it's two to five. The board members never explain their position, which is always determined before they come to the meetings. The board will even cut off discussion from the audience at their own will. We've had some very active school board meetings and several of us had to go to jail when we tried to change things.

PONTIAC: Trust

A white school official and a black agency head discuss the aspect of trust and the relationships between blacks and whites in that community.

School Official: Many of the blacks in the neighborhood have been put into the position where they have to trust me; they really don't like to trust me but they really don't have any choice. They really don't want to trust me.

Dr. Jablonsky to Agency Head: Do you trust him?

Agency Head: At times, no, even though he and I have had a very close working relationship with each other. But there are times that, in my mind, little things spin around, but overall there is a trust.

Dr. Jablonsky: Do you want to trust him?

Agency Head: Yeah.

Dr. Jablonsky: Is there a block to your trust because he's white?

Agency Head: Yes. I would have to be honest with you.

PONTIAC: Dreams vs. Fulfillment

In one of the schools an interview with a team leader of the National Teacher Corps reflected some of this author's concerns about the readiness of the Human Resource Center staff to implement its stated goals.

Dr. Jablonsky: It's a shame that someone with your advanced ideas isn't going into the Human Resource Center.

Team Leader: Well, I had some serious thoughts and doubts about the Human Resource Center. I like some of the exciting concepts but I also have some very serious doubts about how they are going to work out. I have a team here of only eight people, so innovation has a chance to work. But they are going to have both those schools combined and are trying four innovative programs at one time in a critical year. They are going to go into personalized instruction. The kids are going to have to cope with personalized instruction and with team teaching, neither of which has been introduced gradually so that these kids can get ready for that kind of a program. They have no transition to individual work because this whole school and all of Central is self-contained and structured, except for the Urban Corps. We have seven hundred and fifty kids in this school, and I am working with one hundred and twenty of them. What about the other kids?

Dr. Jablonsky: Not all the teachers from this school, who are traditional, are going to the new school?

Team Leader: Everybody had to apply to go into that kind of an experience. Most of the teachers have not had any experience in teaming or in personalized instruction or open classroom. There is that big freeze on funds right now. I think they should have started the training of the teachers long before now. Right now they should be in in-service training. All these problems that I see are not being handled. I can perceive a very difficult three years. For those first three years I just don't want to be part of it. I have the feeling that after a year or two they might begin to put the walls up again because their plans won't work without clearer goals, better teacher in-service preparation, stronger supervisory assistance. I don't mind the hard work, but all the other . . . there's too much. . . . There would be no way in which I could control these problems.

Dr. Jablonsky: You feel that you have no opportunity to influence the people who are developing that program?

Team Leader: No! I don't think I have any opportunities. The program was set up and it was given to us to implement. I don't have much to say about anything else. In other words, the philosophy and the policies are established and given to us to implement. Whether I agree or disagree — maybe after a few years one might be able to talk them out. . . .

Dr. Jablonsky: I have spoken with some of the officials about the fact that there hadn't appeared to be as much teacher planning for the school as there was parent planning.

Team Leader: No, none, none!

Dr. Jablonsky: Their rationale was that until they had the teachers who were going to be in the Human Resource Center, there wasn't any point in involving other teachers.

Team Leader: I know that's their rationale but I don't agree with that because I think if they would have talked about it, maybe they would have gotten some very valuable input. We've got some good teachers in Pontiac. Also, it might have made some very good teachers who did not apply to the Human Resource Center decide, "well, yes, I'd like to try that."

Dr. Jablonsky: How do the teachers feel about the intense involvement of parents in teacher selection and in monitoring programs?

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Team Leader: As long as it is real involvement and not one of those "name only" things, I don't think any teacher objects. I don't personally. But I mind having parents sitting in our schools so that Pontiac can get funding from Washington. And sometimes there is a feeling that that is happening, that the community doesn't really know what's going on, but that they have to be involved. So you select certain parents who are used for that purpose.

Dr. Jablonsky: Do you have a sense that the sixth-grade children here are prepared to go on to junior high school and function adequately?

Team Leader: No, I don't. I used to think about that. All the things we are trying to do this year, and it will be ruined next year when they go into a self-contained classroom. I really believe very strongly in the team concept, and the kind of education that they are receiving through the Urban Corps — I really do believe they are receiving a much better education, and I wonder, you know, a one-year shot, then they go back. I don't know about the lasting effectiveness. Nobody has really ever perceived that either.

Dr. Jablonsky: If you were to make suggestions to the Urban Corps authorities about necessary changes in the program for teachers, what changes would you suggest?

Team Leader: Some of the preparation that we received this year was not adequate. I think that the interns need better orientation to the community of Pontiac. I never realized how much I took it for granted, until I really got involved. I was born in Pontiac and I take a lot of things for granted. I understand the community because I grew up in it. But I think a lot of people coming from out-of-state are trying to cope with the bigger Pontiac problem. We have a very big race problem in Pontiac. A lot of times you've got really hot programs you want to implement but you've got very human people that are involved that have insecurities and you have to work with that. That's the first thing — dealing with people.

You should have more training in practical human relations rather than in theoretical matters. And in supervision and administration, because it has gotten to be a lot more a part of the job. As long as you don't have to give up teaching entirely, which I would not do.

Of my twelve years of teaching the last two years in the Urban Corps have been the most rewarding and fruitful to me personally as far as seeing real evidence of learning and growth taking place in the children. I think Urban Corps has got some big problems to solve, but I still think the potential is much bigger than the problems, and it can be much bigger.

Dr. Jablonsky: Were you considering going back to a self-contained classroom?

Team Leader: No, I would never. . . .

Dr. Jablonsky: Never?

Team Leader: I would hope not, because . . . no!

Dr. Jablonsky: Couldn't you implement individualizing of instruction in self-contained classrooms?

Team Leader: Yes, I could. I've always done that, and I would continue to try and do so. But it's a lot better to have other people involved with you who have some kind of strength to contribute. It's a richer experience for the youngsters. That's what I am thinking about. I can change the grouping, heterogeneous grouping, interest grouping, ability grouping, performance grouping. We have all that in our program. I am not sure I could do that by myself. I know I couldn't do all that by myself as effectively because I have tried it in other years. It just takes a lot more time than I have personally but a team can do more.

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PONTIAC: Evolutionary Progress

School Official: It's the same problem in our school district. There is a role for community involvement — real meaningful in the decision-making process. But when the grants come they come to the school district and the Board of Education gets the grants and you're responsible for the money. I just haven't been able to say 'o.k., it's your decision a hundred percent.'

Parent participation and the self-concept are all stepping stones to achievement in the broad sense. Parents are saying if our kids can achieve, the self-concept will go along with it. Our interrelationships with the schools will be good because this is what we really want. It almost seems that if we could flick that problem all the others would fall into place.

We're in a period of financial austerity. Everybody in Michigan is. One thing we're going to do is to give academic instruction our full support. We're going to see that achievement is strengthened, if possible. If we're going to cut things, that's not what's going to be cut. The effort toward individualized instruction really is for that purpose. The purpose of it is better education for individual children in basic skills. This is a long term emphasis. When we get the Resource Center it's going to be a big boost because we can show it in a more expansive way than we can now. I think the in-service emphasis shall be developed constantly.

The Title I schools do have services and activities that other schools don't have. That does create some irritation on the part of the people who live in those areas that don't receive those services.

Dr. Jablonsky: The direction in which the school system moves reflects the beliefs of the person in charge just as the direction of a school moves where the principal wants to move. Then you'll find some individual teachers who will be far ahead of other teachers because of certain firmly held beliefs which must be put into operation. The system only works if somebody believes strongly that it is going to work, because it's easy to fall back into traditional ways of operating.

School Official: I would say that's the number one obstacle to reasonable evolutionary progress.

Dr. Jablonsky: I can tell when complete transition has taken place through the language that people use when they're describing their system. I still have reservations as to whether or not the complete transition to the philosophy of individualized instruction has really taken place here. I still hear in the language the teacher's control of ongoing instruction rather than the teacher as the manager of a learning environment in which children are learning and the teacher is there as a resource, as guide, as expediter. I haven't sensed that transition. I hope it takes place in the summer in-service workshop.

PONTIAC: Postscript

Four months after the observation reported above, Pontiac had the unique distinction of being the first northern school district under court order to totally desegregate its schools. The Pontiac school board was found guilty of de-jure discrimination. The officials of the district are working intently during summer 1971 in order to comply with this order by the time school opens in September. This order will have an effect on the Human Resource Center. The preschool through fourth grades will probably be housed there while the fifth and sixth grade children from the proposed feeder schools will be assigned elsewhere. The news reports of the explosive conditions surrounding the opening of classes in September 1971 with the bombing of school busses and the alleged involvement of the Ku Klux Klan are further evidence of the powder keg conditions in Pontiac.

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YPSILANTI: Curriculum vs. Staff Model in Preschool Education

To many people interested in early childhood education Ypsilanti, Michigan is synonymous with the Perry Preschool Program, with the cognitive curriculum and with Dr. David P. Weikart. Since 1962 intensive research has been conducted there in the education of disadvantaged young children whose IQ's indicate functional underachievement. Year after year Dr. Weikart, now president of the High/Scope Educational Research Foundation, has developed and tested his theories and curriculum, starting with three- and four-year-olds, then moving down to infants in their homes and up to Head Start and Follow Through classes. Each experimental and control group has been carefully studied longitudinally. The results are impressive.

*Underlying the use of the cognitive curriculum is the assumption that a child cannot attain a basic understanding of himself and his world without first learning to place the self in time and space and to classify and order objects and events in the world. He must learn to construct and make use of relationships and meaningful representations . . . The materials and equipment change during the year as the child increases his understanding of and ability to use simple concepts involved in classification, seriation, and temporal and spatial relations.**

Out of these efforts has evolved the High/Scope Educational Research Foundation which is extending the influence of Dr. Weikart and his colleagues. The work of this group has been well documented in *Research and Education*. Other publications and films are available from the foundation. An extensive description of the cognitive program appears in *The Cognitively Oriented Curriculum*, by David P. Weikart, Linda Rogers, Carolyn Adcoch, and Donna McClelland, Washington, D.C.: National Association for the Education of Young Children, 1971.

This spring the program was observed and interviews held with a number of staff people including preschool teachers, supervisors, and Head Start coordinators. Excerpts from the conversation with Dr. Weikart are presented because of the implications not only for early childhood education but for educational researchers and practitioners at all levels. The less formal nature of this interchange affords a wide range of topics and candor which might not appear in other published materials on these programs.

The script is presented with no additional comments by this author since the purpose of this paper is to stimulate debate rather than merely to serve as a vehicle for this author's views.

Dr. Weikart: I hope that in my work I have been able to test the parameters of research, stress the borderlines. I am not so concerned any more about all of the possible criticisms of my research designs. I am willing to take some risks.

Dr. Jablonsky: In review of your recent report on your research I note how candidly you have described your transition from complete belief that only the cognitive style could be successful to the more subdued realization that several kinds of approaches to working with young children might be effective.

Dr. Weikart: One of the problems in research is that if you take the same general area and keep working on it, you must at some point face up to what the data are saying. I often sacrifice short-term goals in research to keep a consistent long-term replicated model. I am more interested in total program development than explicit immediate outcomes. We have had to look increasingly beyond curriculum. As this has happened we have had to expand our research from the original Perry Preschool Model to the Curriculum Demonstration Project, and now Head Start and Follow Through.

We have just finished three years of work in an infant training program under a Carnegie grant sending people into the homes to work with mothers. We hope to receive funding for extensive film documentation of how the curriculum is carried out in the home with the babies. Our total work therefore deals with infants, preschool, Head Start, and Follow Through.

Follow Through is on a national basis at ten locations throughout the country. The original assumption we started with was that the curriculum used in working with children was what was important. That led us to the cognitive curriculum because of its theoretical excellence, its depth and potential. What I discovered was that when I worked with staff I got different kinds of results year by year. I became increasingly aware of the importance of staff. At first I dismissed this as the result of Hawthorne effect. Many people dismiss any good results in preschool education as Hawthorne. We then developed the idea to check three different curricula to see which style was best. I knew all the while of course that cognitive would be the best. Much to our amazement in the first year we got no differences in teacher ratings, observations of the classroom, data and from outside observers. Everyone said they looked different, but in practice and in fact they were not different. Inevitably came relaxation in the feeling that the program was good and was working well. We had the opportunity to replicate this experiment several times in order to draw conclusions that would help us move on.

When we wrote up the first year results we developed the "impact of staff" model. If you allow the curriculum to vary but hold the performance standards the same, you get the same results. It was almost prophetic. As we came into the second year of the project one group of teachers in the unit-based program stopped functioning very well, which in retrospect we discovered was for very clear reasons. There was a consequent reduction in child growth. We then had normal, typical, human problems with staff in the cognitive curriculum the last half of the second year and throughout the third year. This also resulted in poorer productivity but not as severe as with the child-centered curriculum.

I would not recommend the language training program (Bereiter-Engelmann) even though it has many aspects which could be recommended for experimental purposes and it sailed along for three years because of fine staff morale.

If I needed to predict outcomes for children based on staff performance I could do so very clearly using standard measures of performance.

The other thing we started to do was to observe the classrooms for the total day more closely. In the last year we spent considerable time doing an intensive study of the three classrooms. Lo and behold! we found major differences in the actual operation of each of the classrooms. There was a little trouble here because of complications with staff model problems. We did the rating for March and April of last year, just as the teachers were getting their presentations ready for demonstration around the country and in England. The staff morale problems disappeared as they realized they were really going. The last burst of enthusiasm carried them through. It was enough for us to look at the classrooms as typical but it wasn't enough time to salvage child performance for those two groups.

I am fully convinced therefore that there must be a clearly defined curriculum and I would argue for a certain kind of curriculum because of my philosophic beliefs. The real issue of getting quality for the children is the quality of administration and teaching. It is tragic. As we now look at our ten Follow Through

* High/Scope Educational Research Foundation, Ypsilanti, Michigan, Page 17.

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centers, we see that the places where kids are growing, where we are getting IQ changes and achievement results are the places where staff is cooperative. The places where we are not getting changes is where there are disruptions in staff. This situation is the exact opposite of my research design where I kept the curricula different. Here the curriculum is the same, but the staffs vary. And you wouldn't even know it's the same curriculum! You might think they were from ten different sponsors! They cluster: there are two or three at the top, two or three at the bottom, and the rest in the middle.

Dr. Jablonsky: Did you incorporate any of the aspects of the Bereiter-Engelmann language development curriculum into your Follow Through model? You had indicated that you felt this model was not appropriate for preschool children. Since Follow Through classes are much older did you absorb any elements into that program?

Dr. Weikart: No, we withdrew all of the Bereiter-Engelmann style training from the curriculum model. Originally in the Perry Preschool model we had absorbed some of the elements but when we went into the three-style demonstration project, we separated the Bereiter from the cognitive. In the cognitive curriculum we have a language component, but it is not Bereiter style. We find them incompatible. We don't use it and we don't recommend it.

Dr. Jablonsky: Some of your staff feel that elements of the Bereiter program are useful and should be incorporated in your program.

Dr. Weikart: There is some debate. I know that one of our teachers who worked in the Bereiter unit last year and has been retained for the cognitive program this year found some very strong possibilities in that program. Yet, when she was given the option she chose to work in the cognitive style.

Dr. Jablonsky: She feels that elements of the language curriculum could be very useful at the Head Start and Follow Through levels.

Dr. Weikart: We might end up eventually absorbing some of it. I would like at the present time to talk about what happens when you make assumptions about how children learn. Our problem with teachers is to get them to recognize the breadth of possibilities. If we give them anything to hang their hat on they focus there without recognizing the broader scale. There is a tremendous problem in getting staff to recognize that you have to create a continuous learning environment. Getting that environment in order such as getting children to know when to be quiet, is actually stifling learning. Learning comes from the decision-making experiential process — not from behavioral conformity. While during the first few weeks learning to be quiet, sit in your seat and wait for everyone to be quiet before you raise your hand, is learning — after that point it becomes a ritual and has no real impact. Our tendency is to try to get teachers to explore some of the more open things that can happen in a classroom before we turn to more formal teaching of content. I think that any time you want to teach calculus, if the child has had adequate experience and has a positive attitude, it can be done.

Dr. Jablonsky: Doesn't the child need to choose to learn it?

Dr. Weikart: I hope the child chooses to learn it, but I get a little worried because many of the programs such as the direct instructional approach also couple their methods with behavior modification, which is an extremely powerful tool even for normal children, let alone the exceptional. I am concerned about giving the teacher the power of behavior modification when what she is doing is implementing her own desires. I am not ready to face up to that implication. I prefer at this point to try to shape the teacher's understanding of curriculum and the children. When she has this fully under control, when she thinks about this at all times when she works, she can move into the situation moving up or down the ladder as needed, making adjustments when necessary, keeping the content identical but moving to where the child is. The child's behavior is then within the realm of what she wants to do and the teacher supports this. I know I can take any group of children, even three-year-olds and teach

them to read. I am not sure that it's an appropriate activity at that level. It may get higher reading scores, but I am not sure that that's what I want. To me it's still a puzzle to which I don't have a clear solution.

Dr. Jablonsky: The ERIC-IRCD staff is interested in learning how model programs can best be replicated throughout the country. There is David Weikart who has had a unique experience where he has been able to test some of his thinking and has reached a level of sophistication in organizing and supervising an effective learning environment. Can this be packaged in some meaningful way so that it can be repeated?

Dr. Weikart: That is of concern to me, too. There is no one person who is going to be able to accomplish this directly on his own. On one hand you have O. K. Moore who says that we cannot do this until we get the video-phone where he, as supervisor, can pick it up and look into each classroom and tell the teacher what she is doing, right or wrong, even though she is in Denver and he is in Pittsburgh. I don't buy that. On the other hand we get the commercial strategy program development people who say that what we have to have is a program that is so teacher-proof that she requires only minimal supervision. We can build it in such a way that she sees children growing and passing their criterion tests, so she is rewarded. We then have a cycle. As long as she doesn't question, it works. That is commercially viable. You package materials, sell them, one hundred dollars a child per year. I maintain that there is a place in the middle. It's funny because I started out being very structured and have now become more open. We are part of a Zeitgeist. I remember many a meeting with the university child-educator-based group who were in tears of anger over some of our very mild practices such as casual small group teaching. What we have done in the past is disseminated curricula. People now want to know what is the cognitive curriculum. But that is only one part of a total package. They have to accept our training procedures, the supervisory-staff-maintenance model, a quality control technique for assessment to know whether or not they are at an appropriate level. They must make a commitment not just to a curriculum but to a total package.

Dr. Jablonsky: When can we expect such a package from you?

Dr. Weikart: We are further ahead in our infant work than with our preschool program even though we started the infant program much more recently. With the Infants we realized this issue from the start. We approached our grant request very systematically. To send a package of curriculum materials would be silly. Carnegie Corporation is willing to fund us for two years to do 160 hours of training films which takes the curriculum and puts it into the films. We will then take the films and put them into an experimental package to try to find out what happens when they are used. We would then use the necessary quality control procedures.

In the Head Start program we have been struggling with a very complex curriculum. We have a book out next month which will give the basic curriculum. However, we are way behind in training materials. By the end of next year I hope to develop the quality control elements. What we think of as accountability is a profile of performance and climate in the classroom rather than a reading score level such as the percent of cooperative responses that a class gives or the percent of divergent questions asked by the teacher. These are the kinds of things we want to look for in accountability. If we were doing performance contracting, we would use those criteria rather than the reading or math scores.

Dr. Jablonsky: How did your program compare with Ira Gordon's?

Dr. Weikart: There are very fundamental differences. The key difference is that we feel that an aide or professional who goes into the home goes in to discover and support what the mother desires for the child. We would never do a series of sequenced exercises that were predetermined in any way. Our activities are always generated within the mother's framework. The mother is the principal teacher. We bring her support and shaping.

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Dr. Jablonsky: What are your feelings about moving day care center activities down to the early childhood and/or infant level?

Dr. Weikart: We have no quarrel with day care centers. They serve another purpose than our infant program. I would like to see them develop and develop well. The trouble I see is that many people see them as alternatives. At the present time, as long as we still give the mother the primary responsibility, even when the child is in a day care center, we find that the mother needs assistance and welcomes it. Most mothers are able to integrate the help. Of course there are many homes in which the catastrophic social problems or personality problems are so pervasive that other alternatives must be sought. White's observations of mothers' styles involved seven levels. Our mothers cluster in the bottom two groups and go down from there. Ours is a very difficult group but, of the seventy mothers we have just been working with, possibly two or three are really unable to cope and to profit from our instruction.

Dr. Jablonsky: During an observation of another program in the south I observed situations where mothers had placed their children in the care of an old woman. There were ten or twelve children who were not permitted to make any noise, who lay inertly on the bed or sat dully in a corner.

Dr. Weikart: That would be very rare in this community. Although we have very difficult situations, they do not tend to be as bad as that. Poverty groups in this area are just not the same as they are in the deep south.

The major question is does a theoretician take a theory, generate a curriculum, train people to implement that curriculum, send them into the homes to say "now we are ready for exercise #22"? Or is it possible to take a more general theory of child development, such as Piaget's, a global theory, which suggests multitudinous channels to reach what you are after, where your desire is to build a meaningful relationship between the mother and her child, where you can help her to see learning as being broader than just going to school, you get her to see the child with broadened perception. She learns to do things to enjoy the moments with her child. Our program shows that this is workable, the parents respond well.

Dr. Jablonsky: Do you think that you and your disciples have had any impact on educational practices in the Ypsilanti School District?

Dr. Weikart: Whatever impact there was on the school happened in a time of enormous social changes. When I came to this system we had no special education programs. Three years later we had fifty special education classes. Last July we moved out of the school system and have become an independent foundation. This was done with careful planning and the cooperation of the superintendent of schools of Ypsilanti, because in a way our work had gone beyond normal public school functions. Our access to large sums of money was disturbing to many in the school system.

What I would try to do differently would be to try to change attitudes. We are trying to apply that principle in our Follow Through program. But frankly, I am quite desperate in some of the centers about getting motion toward change. I walk in the door with a half a million dollars to service a school system, and then we say that they must have a parent advisory committee, they have to have teachers come for in-service training, they must have a curriculum assistant. They say 'sure', but it doesn't quite work. There is subtle resistance which I do not think is due to distrust of us. It is uncomfortable for an organization to have people come in who want to do things differently, people who are action-oriented and who are not going to go away.

This is my thirteenth year in Ypsilanti. As I look back there were many individuals who came right along with the program and made great contributions. Many of them have gone on to responsible positions in universities and other school systems.

I think I can say that the children in Ypsilanti are different than they were because of our projects. There has been no racial upheaval. Every single disadvantaged home in this community

has been visited by teachers for at least one hour a week for at least one year, sometimes for two and three years. Every family, white and black, has had the opportunity to attend group meetings and to have the school system show very direct concern about its children.

The achievement rates for the kids that had been in the experimental projects are significantly better than the others. If you take the control groups of comparable four-year-olds with IQs between 60-80, only one child in seven becomes an achiever at the 25th percentile or better by the seventh grade. With the experimental group our record was one out of two. As far as we know this improvement should go on indefinitely. This is educationally significant.

In our cost analysis we are looking at what it costs to retain a child in special education programs as compared with giving him a year or two of this very specialized training and then having him functioning in normal classrooms. Many more children in the control groups are being retained in grades and going into special education classes. I think it is also important to note that the half of the children in our experimental group who do not achieve at third level grade had serious physical difficulties, birth defects and other seemingly insurmountable deficits.

One of our board members who is an economist is concerned about cost-benefit relationships. He is taking the initiative in this direction. We are projecting even as far as what happens to students who are unable or able to complete their high school educations. My guess is that preschool education will just about pay for itself in actual dollars and when you project into adult life it will show significant savings.

THE SOUTH

The Southern Association of Colleges and Schools has served not only as the regional accrediting group in the south, but also as initiator and coordinator of several programs for improving the education of elementary and secondary disadvantaged students. Since each of their programs is conducted at several sites distributed throughout the southern states, and since it was felt that viewing several programs at this stage of the integration process would be enlightening, we asked to visit programs selected because they were both representative of their work and because they were exemplary in their genre. The two chosen were the Educational Improvement Program (EIP) and Project Opportunity (PO).

Project Opportunity

Project Opportunity (PO) is one segment of the larger Educational Improvement Project (EIP). It attempts to motivate poor and minority-group students to continue their education after high school and to facilitate their preparation and admission to college. The associate director describes the program. He is followed by several other staff people associated with the project.

Associate Director: In 1963-64 the project was the direct outgrowth of concern of college admission officers in the south about the numbers of youngsters from minority poverty backgrounds who were not going on to college. The program is an attempt to find these youngsters early, to identify them, encourage them, keep them from dropping out of high school and to get them into college. The program was begun with support from the officials of Southern Regional Office of the College Entrance Examination Board, from some concerned admission officers in

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the south, some people like John Monroe from Harvard, the Ford Foundation with the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools.

Currently there are about 2,000 youngsters in eleven centers. About 400 students finished the program last year. They are now either in college, in technical schools or have decided not to continue their education. Therefore, altogether the program has served about 2,500 young people.

Some of the eleven demonstration centers are in urban centers such as New Orleans, Atlanta, Nashville, Charlotte; others are in rural areas such as the mountains of Eastern Kentucky, Virginia, small towns in northeastern Alabama.

Dr. Jablonsky: Is Nashville typical of all of your programs?

Associate Director: It is hard to say that any center is typical. Each center differs in some important facet. All centers have two, three common elements. First, all of the centers exist under the aegis of the local school system. We work within the framework of the system but it must be an active participant. Secondly, there must be a sponsoring college or colleges. The third requirement is that the only full-time professional person in each center is a Project Opportunity counselor. The reason for this, and conscious throughout our project, is the idea of keeping costs low, so low, in fact, that any school system anywhere could, if they desire, institute the program at small cost. The cost would be no more than \$20,000-\$25,000 a year for serving 200-300 students. It is assumed that the counselor has supportive people such as admissions officers, financial aide officers of the nearby supporting college, other faculty members of the college who play various roles in advisement and orientation, college students who serve as students, and town's people who volunteer their services.

Students are identified at the seventh or eighth grade levels and are continued in the program for five or six years until graduation. This makes it possible for the guidance counselor to serve this large a load because only a small number of students are introduced to the program in any one year. Her continuing relationship with the others helps to reinforce her work. Forty to fifty youngsters are introduced each year. We must recognize that counselors would vary their work loads with the age of each group. With the seventh or eighth grade youth she will be identifying them, getting to know them and their parents, have group meetings and orientation. By the time they get to be eleventh or twelfth grade she is going to be concentrating more on career guidance, college selection and admission. I think most school systems make a mistake in assigning a counselor to being the senior grade counselor at that level. She does not know them well enough. She needs long-term contact to influence them. If she then had to advise 300 seniors, write recommendations for them and contact the colleges of their choice, this would be too large a load. Ours is a longitudinal model. It makes much better sense since it takes a long time for a good counselor-counselor relationship to develop. The crucial element in our program is providing for our students the kind of relationship that assures them that there is someone in the school that cares for them, encourages them, who is their trusted ally and supporter.

It has sometimes been a problem when we have had a change-over in guidance counselors. We haven't been as successful in those communities where there have been frequent changes. One center in eastern Kentucky has had three or four different counselors. It has resulted in a reduction of impact. In those centers in which the same counselor has functioned for the six or seven years of the project, the results are more favorable.

In the first group of youngsters who finished the program last year, June 1970, there were 418 youngsters who graduated. Seventy-five percent went on to either a two- or four-year college. Another ten percent went on to vocational or technical schools. For this kind of population we think this is remarkable. In comparison, among black youngsters in Georgia you will find no more than twenty percent who are graduated from high schools who go on to college. The rate for white youngsters in

Georgia is about 40%. So we doubled even that record. However, the statistics are not quite comparable because these youngsters were selected because of their potential for going on further, and they are only a small percent of the disadvantaged students in their respective cities.

These students basically were exposed to the regular academic programs in their schools. Many of these students had been going to schools where no special attention was given to their programs. We would find some of them taking only two or three academic courses a semester or taking French I and then Spanish I the next semester. Neither they nor their schools appeared to be concerned about this. There was almost no academic planning. One of the things which we did which seems very simple now, was to monitor the kind of course selections these children were permitted. We tried to encourage the schools to offer a richer variety of academic courses, particularly when the schools were segregated. More recently, many of the all black schools have ceased operation and the program offerings for the integrated schools are richer.

We are making a study at the present time of our college retention rate. Although the results are not in completely, we have gotten reports which show that in some communities the retention is very high. In Atlanta, for instance, of the 45 graduates in one school, one went to MIT, two went to Purdue, one went to the University of Chicago, one to Reed.

Finances were not nearly the problem we thought they would be. We told the students in the very beginning that the project would assure them help in finding the financial support for meeting their college expenses. We faced a minor problem that some of the youngsters interpreted our assurance of help as a pot of money ready for them. We didn't ever mean this, so when some of the students reached the junior year they asked for their scholarships. We explained that we would help them find money through regular sources. They had to have their parents fill out a confidential statement, they had to apply for financial aid, supported by our recommendation. When students did this and submitted their application on time, we found we were able to get help for all of them. We had instructed the counselors in our program to be aggressive in seeking aid.

Of the fifteen percent who did not go on with post-secondary education, a large number were girls, some early marriages, some pregnancies. Low college board scores did not present problems since we were able to find a place somewhere, no matter how low the score was, as long as the student had graduated from high school. Even 200 verbal and 220 math scores were placed. People who tell me that college board scores keep youngsters from being accepted in colleges are not telling the truth. The student who went to MIT had a college board score in the 500s. He was the number two student in his graduating class. In most black high schools girls tend to do much better than boys academically. They seem to demonstrate more of the qualities that teachers seek: compliance, dependability, not making disturbances in the classroom. There is a direct relationship between these characteristics and the grade they receive. As an exception in this particular high school last year, both the valedictorian and the salutatorian were boys, which we were very happy to see.

I also get upset with people who criticize tests. I feel that our use of psychological tests in selecting students originally was very helpful in identification. If we had relied solely upon teacher judgments, we would have had twice as many girls as boys. By relying on tests for potential, we were able to select an equal number of boys. The fact that the boys do not get as good grades as the girls does not mean that they are not fine prospects for college.

Basically we look for students who have potential to succeed in completing high school and college. He might be in the upper quarter of his class. Since there is a limited number of youngsters who can be selected from the top quarter of the class, we provide some guidelines for the people at each center who will be making the choices. Our limit is determined by the capacity of the counselor who, in addition to the activities I mentioned before, must also work with parents, plan summer enrichment programs, take students on field trips, work with teachers.

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Our original model was to work in one high school and its leading junior high school. The original model no longer quite works with some of the recent changes in integration in the south. For instance, in our center in Charlotte, N.C., our counselor now has his load distributed among 23 different schools. All of those students had come from one original all black inner-city school. They were sent to all the schools in the county. The counselor therefore was no longer school-based but rather community-based, with an office provided by the Model City Program, in the old community. The counselor therefore sees the youngsters in or near their homes.

Dr. Jablonsky: How did your program compare with Upward Bound?

Associate Director: It's like Upward Bound in objectives. Upward Bound is a federally supported program. Both attempt to motivate youngsters to stay in school and to go on to college. The programs differ in method. The UB program has a part-time staff working on Saturday mornings who are somewhat divorced from the school system. Many of the teachers are college instructors or regular teachers employed by the sponsoring college to work on Saturday mornings. The director is not a part of the school system. The Project Opportunity counselor works within the school system. Her immediate superior in all cases is the school principal, and superintendent. Secondly, UB has concentrated on remedial instruction. We place far more emphasis on motivation and encouragement.

The third basic difference has to do with the cost of the two programs. In Upward Bound students receive stipends for coming in the Saturday morning session and to the summer sessions. Giving students stipends is a very expensive procedure. At Project Opportunity we give no stipends and therefore we keep the cost down. As far as cost factors are concerned, we figure that Project Opportunity cost about \$150-200 per student per year. For the same money, therefore, we serve many more students.

Basically, our costs run about \$20,000 a year at each of the centers. About half goes for the salary of the counselor, the other half for field trips, fees for taking examinations, health care, cultural activities, books, supplies. While we don't emphasize remedial instruction, we provide funds for some teachers who feel they could do a little bit extra if they had certain materials. In this way we make the school a little livelier place in which to be. We also often pay the students' fees for applications to colleges and sometimes carry the cost of a trip to visit one or several colleges, to help in selection. It helps now that most colleges have waived the application fee for poor students on the written request from the guidance counselor. College Entrance Examination Board also waives its fee.

We could wish for more active participation on the part of our local policy committees. These are the people who actually determine policy for their local centers. The committees consist of school representatives, a college representative, sometimes a school board member, a parent. In some centers we have had strong direction from our committees. In others, however, this has been lacking. In other words, all other things being equal, one of the major factors for success is the caliber of leadership of a person or a group of people. For instance, here in Nashville we have tremendous cooperation from the school people and the representative from Vanderbilt University. Our program has demonstrated that a good plan can work but you need good people.

Project Opportunity: Resource Consultant—and Students

A Project Opportunity resource consultant and several students share information on the effects of staff integration during the 1970-71 academic year.

Resource Consultant: In the fall of 1970 the edict came that all schools had to have the same proportion of white teachers and black teachers. This was very upsetting for some of our programs. For instance, there were six teachers in the math project.

They had looked forward to this year to show the results of all their planning for individualizing instruction the last several years. With the transfer, all the teachers except one were moved out and five new white teachers were assigned here. These new teachers did not have any of the workshop experiences of the prior group and therefore were not committed to the revised program. The one remaining math teacher and I have tried to serve as consultants to the others. All of the new white teachers fall into two categories: inexperienced or very traditional, so that any innovations present insurmountable problems.

We feel that the initial investment of time and energy was worthwhile. We have heard that one of the teachers transferred out of the math program here has gone to another school and has introduced a similar program there. Another teacher who was very quiescent here has assumed a leadership role in the school to which he has been transferred. He has set up an individualized program in a portable classroom and has influenced to some extent the entire staff of that school.

One outcome of the program in this school became evident between the spring vacation and the end of the semester. Everyone, including the principal, teachers, custodians, students, volunteers, began to feel that this was a great school and we are going to make it the greatest school in the system.

When we began to make innovations, students were frustrated by any change. After a while they began to realize that changes often meant enhancement of their education. It takes a long time for this awareness to develop. They expected teachers to act like their concept of teachers and when teachers began to act like people it took time to adjust but ultimately, of course, it was just great. A number of students in the last year told us that they were learning better than before and that they now want to come to school. One index that proved this was that our attendance rates went up significantly. This year they are just beginning to get used to the new staff.

Girl: In the integration of the school I guess they gave us better teachers than we had last year. We may not have seen it then, but now they are teaching us with better methods. But we had very good science teachers before and the new teachers aren't as interesting. One of the teachers just writes stuff on the board, and we have to copy it down and then he gives us a test. That classroom is not exciting. Some teachers teach straight out of the book.

Boy: Last year we moved at our own pace. This year it's according to what class you're in. Some classes you go by yourself and other classes everyone goes together.

At the end we all have a test. I prefer teaching myself than having the teacher put an example on the board and everybody has to work together. Some of the class can't keep up, and they make a bad grade in the test, and it holds the rest of the class back.

Project Opportunity: Guidance Counselor

Dr. Jablonsky then spoke with the project coordinator at Rose Park School and at Cameron High School for the Project Opportunity Program. Both of these schools are predominantly black.

Counselor: I work with about 350 students, grades 8-12. The students were selected in the eighth grade on the basis of their performance on the SKAT and STEP tests. A few were selected on the basis of teacher recommendations and their academic grades since we are aware of problems some children have with taking tests. This is only my second year in this program. I received orientation from my predecessor who fortunately is still here to help me when I need it. It was not an easy job to initially move into an ongoing program which required becoming familiar with 350 children and their families. I had never worked with high school youngsters before, so this was a new experience for me. I have a degree in educational guidance which helped to prepare me for the special nature of college-bound advisement. But one

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does not learn everything in courses. So I had a great deal to learn on the job. I visited one of the other Project Opportunity counselors to observe the way in which he was working.

The big challenge was to work with the twelfth graders who were preparing to select the colleges of their choice. There was a lot of work to be done to get them into colleges. There were 65 students out of which 57 were ultimately accepted in four-year colleges. This fall I sent a questionnaire and learned that all but two of those students were in school. All of them received financial aid for both tuition and living expenses. In addition to those students admitted to colleges in this area, some went to Morehouse and Spellman, which are both black colleges. I tried to keep contact with those students in college to determine how well they were doing. Most of the colleges sent us the students' grades. Many of the students going to Nashville colleges come to visit me. Generally, the students are doing fairly well considering the many adjustments they have to make, particularly those students who went to integrated schools. They have come from a black high school and for the first time feel the impact of being in the minority. All of the students had to face the normal adjustment problems when moving from high school to college. Their study habits, making new friends, learning to live away from home, increased academic competition. We expect a good survival rate. The students report that they feel more comfortable now in the second semester than they did last term.

Dr. Jablonsky: Please describe the contacts you have with the 8th and 9th graders.

Counselor: I am only at the junior high school one day a week. I try to interview each student individually. I haven't yet gotten around to all of them. I try to meet their parents. I also meet them in groups. For instance, it is now time for me to help them in scheduling their programs for next fall. Sometimes I meet them in groups just to chit-chat to find out informally what and how they are doing.

Dr. Jablonsky: At what stage do you find a clarification of goals taking place and a decision made to go to college?

Counselor: You must remember that Project Opportunity students are told at the outset that this is a special college preparation program because, according to performance, you have the ability to succeed in some post-high school educational programs. I guess, you might call it "brain-washing". By the time they are in tenth grade they haven't selected a college, but they are on the way. I allow the eleventh graders to sit in on meetings with college recruiters, so that they might have some idea at the end of this year about possible schools for them.

Dr. Jablonsky: Have any of the students dropped out of the program?

Counselor: From the original group we have about ten students whom the other counselor had to drop because of poor attendance or poor academic performance. Most of these kids had problems but they didn't find it possible to overcome them.

The Project Opportunity students are only a small percentage of the total enrollment of this school which totals about 800. In the original selection the top twenty percent were chosen. There has been some loss of students because families move away. Originally, if a family moved out of the school district, the student was forced to leave the school. But last year I kept contact with the twelfth graders who had moved, feeling an obligation to complete our work. That regulation has now been liberalized so that students who have moved may choose to remain in the project school if his parents can arrange for transportation. If the family moves to another city that has a Project Opportunity program they would be welcomed there.

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Project Opportunity: Community Volunteer

Dr. Jablonsky then spoke with Mrs. Herbert Shayne active in the volunteer program in Nashville.

Dr. Jablonsky: How long have you worked as a volunteer in the Nashville School System?

Mrs. Shayne: Just for the past year. I am a social worker by training. I worked as a social worker in the psychiatric field until three years ago when our family moved to Nashville from New York. I had no experience in working with schools until I worked in Project Opportunity. In the summer of 1968, when I moved here, I had already been influenced by my brother-in-law who is very active in the field of compensatory education in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. I also was influenced incidentally by my mother's involvement as a member of the Board of Trust in Nashville, which is one of the participating groups in Project Opportunity. She said one summer day, "let's see what's doing at Project Opportunity program at Rose Park school." As a Board of Trust member I think I ought to see what's going on." We went that day and became very interested in the things they were doing. Subsequently they asked me to help them to get a photographer to take photographs of the institute they were conducting. I got a friend of a friend of mine. That fall they invited me to serve on the policy committee as a community member. I had joined the Council of Jewish Women when I came to Nashville because Nashville has a very small Jewish community and that's one of the things you do—you join. After I had been on the policy committee, the project had financial problems. The Ford Foundation had said that they would give us a grant of \$12,000 if we could come up with a local matching fund of \$6,000 to continue the on-site in-service training program that Dr. Landers conducted. I had become very impressed with him and what he was doing. The principal teachers of that school felt that he was a catalyst for all the good things that are going on in the school. The policy committee tried to think of ways to raise the \$6,000. The Council of Jewish Women in Nashville has had since 1964 a program of volunteering to work in inner-city elementary schools. The Council is the one organization in Nashville which has had for a sustained period a real commitment to aiding education. The Junior League's activities, as far as I understand them, are primarily bringing cultural activities to many schools, not necessarily into the inner-city.

Project Opportunity: Students

Two of the senior black students, one a boy and the other a girl, share their views of some aspects of their education.

Dr. Jablonsky: How do you see the quality of education offered black students here?

Boy: The teaching itself depends on the teacher. It varies. Some teachers are concerned and others are not. The science labs are very poorly equipped. We don't have enough equipment to do any kind of experimentation. That does make a difference in one's understanding of chemistry, physics, and biology. A lot of the classes are not grouped as they should be. The math classes are grouped because of the nature of the subject matter; but the English classes are not, and that makes the big difference. So I don't feel challenged, and a good deal of my time is wasted in English.

Dr. Jablonsky: Does the fact that you are an exceptional student place special responsibility on you in your perception of your future.

Boy: I feel that it does put a special burden on me to learn as much as I can, and to use my talents to help others, particularly people of my race. I've had better opportunities than many other black students. There is a real danger that one can become more

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interested in money or material things than helping others. I hope that I can avoid being so selfishly oriented that I would forget the others who do not have the opportunities that I have had, and who may not secure those opportunities if I don't do what I can do to help.

Girl: I see that my first responsibility lies with my people. After I finish college to go on to medical school I want to bring back to the black community any aid that I can. I always recall what my life was like, and I want to remember those people after I rise to a higher economic status.

Girl: When I was in seventh grade I became part of Project Opportunity. It had a strong influence on me. The financial aid that they offered was very instrumental. At times when I needed certain funds it would have put a terrible strain on the family and I would not have been able to pay.

Last summer I stayed at home, but the summers before I attended workshops through Project Opportunity, and summer school classes. Last summer I tried to find a job but I found it very difficult and I wasted the whole summer because I couldn't find one.

Dr. Labfonsky: How do you view the school in which you are studying?

Girl: Right now we are trying to get a unitary school system in Nashville. I feel it would be very helpful for all black students. I believe we are getting quality education here, but we do not get the proper equipment to go along with our work. We are being told by most of the white parents here that they want neighborhood schools. But I don't think there should be any such thing as a neighborhood school. It means that someone must suffer, because he doesn't live in the right neighborhood. They talk about bussing students out of their sections of town. In Springfield, Tennessee about 4-5 years ago, the black kids who lived in three surrounding cities, were bussed to another city. So if black students have to go clear out of town to go to school, so why shouldn't white students do the same?

Boy: It is a shame that there is such an issue such as desegregation at the present time. My experiences in integrated schools and integrated classrooms is that it really doesn't make for personality clashes because of race. It's more on an individual basis. Of course, by the time you get to be a high school senior it's hard to change your opinions and feelings about other people if you have prejudices. But if you start at the grass roots at the first grade and grow up together, and start school together, you haven't really formed high opinions about other people, and you can adjust to the white environment. They're talking about changing people. There probably will be a big clash at the upper grade level, because they will find it hard to go along with integration. They really have to start early. I recall when I had to move out of the integrated school I was angry because it was a bigger unknown factor, and I had heard so many wild stories about what would happen to me if I went to this black school.



WEWA: A View of a Southern Rural School

Located on the western panhandle of Florida in the rural area 30 miles east of Panama City is the town of Wewahitchka (Wewa). In its center stands a new modern high school building which, with the one old remaining school structure and several small units, houses all the education programs for that area from preschool through high school. The changes wrought by the Rural Educational Improvement Program (REIP) and some perceptions on tangential but deeply related problems are described first by the coordinator at headquarters in Atlanta, Georgia, and then by others in Wewa itself. The project relies heavily on use of the Initial Teaching Alphabet (ITA) in the early grades due to the success they have had with their experimental groups.

The Jesse Smith Noyes Foundation of New York and the Ford Foundation contributed to the development of this program.

REIP Coordinator: The Gulf County in which Wewa is situated is practically owned by the St. Joe Paper Company. Many of the people in and around that community are employed either in the papermills or in logging for the mills. The biggest business in Wewa itself is raising bees for honey, which is not lucrative for the workers. Recently there has been some large-scale agricultural development bringing in middle-western farming methods, managed by large land-development companies. If you ask the people in the town they would say they were middle-class, but what they mean by middle-class in both economic and cultural terms is somewhat below what is generally meant by this term. Some are small entrepreneurs who own their own trucks to haul lumber, but most are laborers. There is poverty. It doesn't show as in the big cities, because most of them have gardens which help them to avoid malnutrition for their children. But there is also lack of cultural advantages. The St. Joe Paper Co. might have been more helpful in improving the education in the community. Since the company is the largest taxpayer in the community, it tries to keep taxes low which reflects on the amount of money available for education. Improved education which would elevate the people out of the labor category would also diminish the supply of manpower. In spite of this, however, two new and excellent high schools have been built in the county, one of which is in Wewa. In the past four years, the project has tried to improve the level of sophistication in the community. When we went there five years ago to explore the possibility of initiating a program, the present elementary school was the high school. That building, which was built around the turn of the century, is far from appropriate for secondary education, but it was the best they had. They had some good staff people. One of the reasons why we went there was because we thought the principal was capable of helping us develop the project. Unfortunately, he had to change positions for health reasons before the project got underway. His replacement proved to be very good. He has cooperated well and learned along with us as the project developed.

Wewa is an inbred community. It is hard for them to get school personnel to come in from outside. Most of the staff, therefore, are natives or they have married into a Wewa family. There are about 800 children from the preschool program through the secondary school. The Early Childhood Center building is about ten years old. The high school building is now in its second year of use. While REIP cannot take credit for securing the funds for this high school, we do feel we were influential in generating enthusiasm in the community, which probably contributed to the vote for the bond issue.

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Dr. Jahlonsky: What cultural deficits did you find in the community when you first went there which you feel are typical of a rural area?

REIP Coordinator: Many of the children had never been outside the county, even those children in the high school. Some may have gone as far as St. Joe, the largest community in Gulf County, which has a population around 7,000. Some may have gone to Panama City, a somewhat larger town. Only the few upper-class children had experienced travel beyond those limits. Very few had ever attended a concert. A large number had never attended a movie since the nearest movie house is thirty miles away in Panama City. The children had little awareness about the history of this area or about its historical sites. They had speech patterns which are typically local, which would interfere to some extent in communication with people speaking standard dialect. The dialect still exists. Children still come to school saying "skreat" instead of "street."

The greatest problem was the lack of hope or expectation that anything would happen to them that would be very good. The impact of an outside agency coming in and saying "we want to help you improve" had perhaps as much effect as the amount of money which was brought in. We tried not to impose our expectations on them. We sat down with the local school people and asked them "What do you feel your principal deficits are?" "What are your problems, which would you like to attack?" They knew their kids were not reading as well as they should. They knew there was a lack of cultural advantages; there was no music or art program in any school. We worked with them on the general plan of the proposal, subject to their approval.

Dr. Jahlonsky: Can you describe the racial distribution in the project?

REIP Coordinator: About $\frac{1}{3}$ of the participants are black, $\frac{2}{3}$ white. There are no other significant minorities.

REIP Coordinator: The blacks are not represented on the School Board because the board serves the whole county. There is no local official school unit. The blacks are completely unorganized. The school system integrated without court order or external pressure. The separate black and white schools were virtually integrated a year before we started the project, 1966. The school district was going to be consolidated into the Port Saint Joe district. Rather than undergoing consolidation, they integrated voluntarily, and with practically no friction. While there were some fights between the black and white children, the school reported no greater friction than the fights one found between whites and whites, or among the blacks themselves.

Economically, the blacks are in the lowest end of the scale. There is, however, considerable overlap between the whites and blacks, since some of the poor whites fall much below those blacks who have elevated their economic status. People doing the same sort of work are paid equally poorly. While some of the wives also work and contribute to the support of the family, it is probably not as wide-spread as you might find in other communities since there are very limited employment opportunities for women. There are a few factories; some women do domestic service, but it is limited. It is probably more characteristic that the affluent women work.

When we went to Wewa originally, we had no idea of where the funds would come from. We were searching for a locale on which to build the proposal and the project. We hoped to build at least one rural project in each of the eleven Southeastern states, from Texas to Virginia. We finally got three plans funded, after which the foundations began to veer away from school improvement programs. We wrote one proposal four times. It was never funded. Because of categorical aide, it was frequently impossible to get federal funding, unless each part of the project was independent. You were running a chance because one segment might be funded by a foundation, but necessary supporting funds would not be available from federal or other sources. The advantages of confining ourselves to foundation support was that you could put together six different interventions, which might be mutually dependent, and get the whole thing funded. There was a further

advantage that if some of our original and sometimes naive ideas didn't work with the federal government, the whole thing would have to be redesigned. The foundations are more understanding and allow greater flexibility of experimentation. You are freer to maneuver.

You asked about imposing our ideas on the school system. We did make suggestions. Sometimes they accepted them, sometimes they had their own ideas. Sometimes they came back after their ideas did not work to try some of the suggestions we had originally made, or based on the information they gave us we came up with further ideas. In many cases, we knew of things which were reputed to work under certain circumstances, but we didn't know whether they would work in these rural schools. There might be something in the culture which would interfere with the effectiveness of the method.

The curriculum is usually more limited in rural schools. Wewa was the only one of our rural projects which had an agricultural program with practical application. In some of the other rural areas, there were agricultural programs in communities where only a very small percentage of people were in farming. The students took the courses, but then had no use for them. Wewa has a course in Bee-Culture, and some of the youngsters do work in the production of honey.

Dr. Jahlonsky: Did your project improve the dropout retention rate of the Wewa high school?

REIP Coordinator: There was improvement, but there has been improvement throughout the Florida school system, therefore, we have no way of knowing whether our project had any influence. Two years ago, Florida made available to each school funds, part of which had to be used for inservice education, but some of which could be used for developing new programs. We took advantage of our foundation financing, so that some of the things we were doing could be supported by the state funds, and we could move into new areas. For instance, when we went to Wewa there was no money in the state of Florida for kindergartens. Funds were later made available, so we shifted the funds to the nursery level to include the four-year olds.

Wewa wanted to employ remedial reading instructors. Money for this was available under Title I. Except for the first year, little or no foundation money was spent for reading specialists.

We have only one more year of foundation money, which we will use to support the pre-kindergarten, and we will also supplement the ITA program in the kindergarten and first grade. We supported half of the cost of originally securing the ITA materials. We support an art teacher and a music teacher for work at both the elementary and secondary levels.

We support a school-home community agent. This is not a school sociologist but rather a liaison person. We have found the most successful ones have been residents of the community who are not so highly educated that they have lost rapport with the people. They contact the family to find out why children are not in school. If one of the reasons is that the child does not have proper clothing, they get the clothing. They help adults to continue their own education. We did have two such people, but now we have only one. One of the original team was black, and the other white. They did not work exclusively with families of their own race, but the community is like South Georgia, particularly in the laboring class where there is economic competition. There is resentment if a white person must take assistance from a black. We had no serious incidents, so apparently they worked well together. The black liaison person remains.

The foundation also supports the seven paraprofessionals in Early Childhood Education.

By design the funds taper off. Each year they get a little less, hoping that the system will find other ways of picking up the expenses and institutionalizing the innovations. I spoke with the superintendent of the Gulf County School System several months ago, and he reported that the community would not allow him to drop some of the programs. He wasn't sure about how he would finance them, but the School Board was committed to continuation of those aspects which were working.

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For education in general I think there should be provision of more options for kids, particularly at the elementary level. There should be more work with concrete experiences and objects, rather than the primary focus on the printed word. Of course, eventually all children should learn to read. This is important, but I don't think that reading is the first step. I wouldn't be concerned if some of them would not learn to read until the third or fourth grades, if they have been brought along in other ways, which suit their particular learning styles.

Dr. Jablonsky: Has moving the educational experience down to age four made a difference for children?

REIP Coordinator: Yes, it has. We don't have statistics for the four-year-olds yet, but we have data showing quite a bit of difference at the kindergarten level. It will make quite a bit more difference this next year. It's going to upset the first grade entirely. They found that some children were not making the transition from ITA to traditional orthography until after the end of the first grade. This meant that scheduling had to be readjusted so that all children could be put into one group, so that they could make the transition in the second grade. They believed that if they introduced the ITA symbols at the kindergarten level, this would mean that most of the children would be helped to make the transition in the first grade. About one-third of the children in the kindergarten mastered the 44 symbols, and then they wanted to do something with them. So by now, about one third of the kindergarten children are only one book behind the first grade at this time in reading. The children were extremely enthusiastic about demonstrating their reading skills. At the fourth grade level the project children who were originally in the ITA group are almost all reading at or above grade level. The first ITA class was originated by a really exceptional teacher. At that time not all of the grades had been integrated because of space problems. Some of the first, second, and third grade black children were segregated. She was white but she was teaching in the black school. She introduced ITA. Some of those children tested about 10 points less than the white children on intelligence tests. At the end of the year they administered a Metropolitan Achievement Test. The one translated into ITA. These children tested above the others. They have maintained their advantage. They are outperforming the others. They have been kept together for the first two years and then were dispersed among the white children. This year we administered an IQ test. The original project children ranked approximately 6 points below on IQ, but they were above the others on achievement. They are achieving above grade level. They are even above in spelling, which some people feel ITA does not help. These results induced the system to move entirely to ITA for all children. The ITA has also helped some of the dialect problems.

Of all the projects we have had, the rural project in many ways has been most rewarding in the sense of seeing changes take place. This may be an artifact of the smallness of the system. I think it may be a product of the intimacy and isolation, and low mobility. We realize early that we would not be able to bring people from the outside in to implement change, so we focused on the reeducation of the indigenous personnel. Many of the teachers with funds from the project have pursued further graduate work, almost half of the entire faculty have master degrees, which is unusual for a rural system. So we raised expectation for the children and for the staff. All of this was able to be accomplished with the addition to the budget of no more than fifteen percent of the standard operating costs for a comparable school system. The 15% override was maintained in order to make it possible for the local, county or state system to assume the cost of those programs which prove themselves.

WEWA: Principal and Staff

Principal: In my seventeen-year overview of the Wewa schools I have seen a growth of over one hundred percent in the student body. I think the greatest change the EIP has brought about is encouraging teachers to further their education. We've been getting many good staff members. When I first came here we had quite a number of teachers who were not even college graduates. Now practically half of our staffs have master degrees. We have only one substitute teacher.

Dr. Jablonsky: What has this meant in terms of the achievement level of the students?

Principal: You'd have to go back and compare test scores over the years.

Dr. Jablonsky: Haven't you done that because of intellectual curiosity?

Principal: Most curiosity we've had is of a different type. The difference in the programs we've offered the students. There are some you are not going to improve regardless what you do. The first group that we started with—the eighteen Negro students in the ITA—it did help improve their work. Now we've decided to give all of the classes in this school at the younger levels the ITA program.

I've been the principal here since 1965. Our students in the last years have not moved up in relation to national norms nor on the SAT's, but they are moving up in the Florida Senior Test. You have to remember that the national norms are for the urban child and we are not an urban area. The urban children use terms that are not familiar to our students. For instance, in a first-grade test that I have seen they had a picture of three men, one was dressed in sports clothes, one was dressed in a business suit, one dressed in overalls. The question was, which one of these fathers was going to work. Some of our students would say the man in overalls. Then they would be wrong according to the test.

Dr. Jablonsky: What percentage of your graduates go on to college?

Principal: About forty to fifty percent of them. The junior college system has made this possible. I believe we had one student this past year who went to a regular four-year college out of a graduating class of forty-six. This is typical of the last few years. They get by easier in the junior college, it's cheaper, and money is a problem.

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Wewa Coordinator: In our four-year-old nursery program we are field-testing the Karnes Ameliorative Program. This program was designed by Dr. Merle Karnes of the University of Illinois. She used it in a laboratory setting in writing the lesson plans. We are now field testing them in the classroom before they are published. It is a structured program based on the Illinois Test of Psycho-Linguistic Ability. We test the children to see what their psycho-linguistic deficiencies are. Then we select the lesson plans to meet the deficiencies

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Teacher: I had many courses in child development, and an extensive teacher workshop in Atlanta for four days. I have observed schools in Tallahassee, Indianapolis, and Champaign to learn about this program. I was sent to all of these places through the Rural Educational Improvement Program (REIP) funds. I am convinced that what we are doing is effective, based on what these children were doing before and what they are doing now. I wasn't fully convinced from my observations, but now that we

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are using the program on our own I am convinced. I used the traditional nursery program last year, and I can see all the difference in the world in this year's children.

Dr. Jablonsky: What skills and development do you hope to achieve for these four- to five-year-old children by the end of this year?

Teacher: In math we hope they will be able to recognize the shapes in anything we show them, not only in cardboard forms. We hope that they will achieve a one-to-one relationship, know a little bit about sets and ordinal and cardinal numbers. By the end of the year we will mention numerals, but Dr. Karnes said it was not necessary for them to be able to write their numerals yet, although I think some of our children will be able to. In science we started with things they knew—with body parts, their surroundings. We hope they will understand their environment, be proud of their race—white or black—, know something about their community helpers. Social studies is very similar to science, building on things they know and going to the things they don't know, from the concrete to the abstract. We divide the language arts into twelve different parts. This is very complex, but the main objective is to build good language skills. We do not move into the letters of the alphabet at this level. The verbal expression of our children is the weakest, so we work mostly on that. Sometimes children won't talk for six weeks at the beginning of the year. They do very well with their bodies and their hands.

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Preschool Teacher: We have eighteen children in the afternoon, and nineteen in the morning group. I have two paraprofessionals working with me. All of our black children come in the morning because despite the fact that the REIP provides the program for the four-year-old black and white children, transportation is not provided except for the school busses run by the system itself. The busses bring the children in the early morning and take them home after the school day. Since the preschool children go for half a day, they are brought to school in the morning by school busses. All the parents of the black children work in the paper mill. One of them picks up all of the children at the end of the morning, and returns them to their homes.

WEWA: Hope for the Future

Dr. Jablonsky then spoke with the young man who had been identified as the outstanding poor black student in the graduating class.

Dr. Jablonsky: Do you feel that the cultural activities of the EIP made any difference in your education?

Youth: Yes, I am sure they did. I was exposed to only a few of the programs, but I believe they improved my test scores. They provided me with enrichment courses, such as in physics and advanced mathematics on an individual basis, which helped on the tests.

Dr. Jablonsky: Did you go on any field trips through EIP?

Youth: No, I don't think I did. I have not had any of the art or choral activities that some of the others had.

Dr. Jablonsky: You have younger siblings in your family who are now going through the EIP program in the early stages. Do you see any difference between their education and your education at that age?

Youth: They spell the words differently. My brother who is in the fourth grade now, his reading level is very high. He reads many books that I couldn't read at that age. From 1st to 6th grade I went to an all-black school. It was an underprivileged school, much behind the white school. The white school had better books and teachers, and even the playground was better. My teachers were all black, but I was too young at that time to know whether they were good teachers. Now my sister who is

about 11 years old, is real excited about school. She loves school. I remember when I was in the 4th grade I had a period of despondency. I went to school but I did nothing. I don't know how I got over it, I don't remember. I could read a whole book in a day, and the other children would read it page by page. I was always a grade or two ahead of everybody. I could do the arithmetic faster too. The teachers never gave me any special work then. When I got into high school I slowed down because I was so far ahead of the other classmates.

Dr. Jablonsky: When did you decide to go to college?

Youth: In my junior year in high school. Mr. Patterson, our grade counselor, and Mrs. Halley and my grade average made me decide to go to college. You see, Mrs. Halley is the principal's wife and she is a personal friend of mine. She works in the reading program, and she gave me a great deal of special help and advised me to read special books that helped me with my school work and my tests.

Dr. Jablonsky: Did any people in your family go to college?

Youth: I have an older brother who is 29 years old. He is in the Air Force and went to college for one year. My parents didn't go to college. I don't think they even finished high school.

Dr. Jablonsky: Why did you choose the college that you are going to?

Youth: Mainly because I visited the campus. The EIP arranged for that trip for me, and they had a lot of technical equipment there and it's mainly a white college, and since I am a black, I decided to go there. I realize that I may have a difficult adjustment period, but I feel I can absorb anything and take it as it comes.

Dr. Jablonsky: Can you tell me about your family?

Youth: There are seven children. My father is about seventy, or sixty-five years old. My mother is a housewife. I am the second-oldest in the family.

Dr. Jablonsky: Since you are getting a scholarship, will you have to work while you are in college?

Youth: I will definitely have to work. I don't know what kind of work; they will tell me when I get there.

Dr. Jablonsky: What do you hope to become?

Youth: A scientific engineer, that's what I want now, but I'll have to see what happens when I get to college. I may decide to be something else.

Dr. Jablonsky: Your speech seems to be very good. Did you have any help from the speech teacher here?

Youth: No, I think my speech was improved mostly because I read a great deal. I like to read short novels, mostly about historical events, but sometimes I like fiction. I love to read about black athletes. I play football and do track, but I did not apply for an athletic scholarship because I didn't want to have to play in college. I don't want to be an athlete, at least not in college anyway.

Dr. Jablonsky: How do you feel about the pace of integration and opening of opportunities for blacks?

Youth: I can't see that it's changed much, not much really. We still have to take a lot of things, but I don't because I won't. But I see a lot of people, especially in this community, that do. My parents are old-fashioned, they take a lot of things and they have to do a lot of things. They work for menial wages, do menial work, that's the way they've grown up here. But I'm going to get out of here.

Dr. Jablonsky: I sensed an urgent timbre in your voice as you just spoke. How do you see yourself being instrumental in bringing about change?

Youth: There is only one way. Around here almost everything is owned by whites. So if I can make good in college and get a good job, and establish some kind of an industry that my people around here can work in, they can become self-sufficient and not have to depend on the white people for everything.

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CONCLUSION

The statements which follow have been abstracted from the five sets of interviews discussed above in order to provide some degree of anonymity to the speakers and because the problems referred to are to be found in too many schools and systems. The three segments are from different school systems.

Man's Inhumanity to the Young

In these last decades of the twentieth century, in this assumed enlightened country, infant and child abuse continues to deform large numbers of our young physically, intellectually, and emotionally. When a frequently disturbed or harassed parent inflicts his hostility upon his child it is a sad and criminal act, leaving indelible scars; yet this is a personal act. When a supposed professional, a principal, teacher, guidance counselor or other staff member beats a child, insults him, or diminishes him in any way he and the whole system bear responsibility for the act.

In an interview with six randomly chosen elementary school children, a number of stories about "whupping" were detailed. In later discussions with an official at central headquarters I asked if he was aware of the fact that beatings took place on a fairly regular basis at the school I visited. He mentioned the name of one of the staff people involved. When I voiced amazement that he knew and asked him how he knew, I was told "I was the principal of that school several years ago. He beat children then. People don't change, so I assume he still beats them." In discussion of the system's responsibility to stop such practices I was informed that the parents used physical punishment and expected the school to use the same in order to maintain control.

An interesting dichotomy of children's feelings is presented in the following quotation from that interview. It does not, however, represent their general resentment against those who beat them.

Dr. Jablonsky: What is a good teacher like?

Boy: We have a good teacher. She says she is not doing it for her, but she want to see us when we grow up, about ten years from now, that we can do things and... that she cares that we get a good education.

Girl: Like if you don't do your work or something, and your mother sends you to school to work and not to play. If you don't do it, she come over and hit you. And then, if you still don't do your work, so then she start beating you. If you did your work, she'll never do nothing to you.

Dr. Jablonsky: And you say she is a good teacher and she beats you?

Boy: She doesn't beat you. She just hits you to make you do your work.

Dr. Jablonsky: Has she ever hit you?

Boy: Yes.

Dr. Jablonsky: And you still think she is a good teacher because she cares and makes you learn?

Boy: Yes, because when she talk to you she tell you that when you grow up she don't want to see you like ten years from now scrubbing other people's floors, or doing something like that. She want to see you being a teacher, or a doctor, or something like that.

Dr. Jablonsky: Is this teacher a white teacher or a black teacher?

Boy: She is black.

Dr. Jablonsky: Do you think that that is another reason why you feel good about her—because she is black?

Boy: No, I like that teacher because she makes us learn.

Professionalism

The research director of a large northwestern community is discussing projects:

Research Director: After this integration business is over I have a wonderful idea about how to teach our ninth grade non-readers how to read.

Dr. Jablonsky: In my travels I have heard of some seventh grade non-readers but usually by the ninth grade the students are capable of reading at least at the second or the third grade level. Do you mean your ninth graders are second-year-level readers?

Research Director: No, I mean ninth grade non-readers.

Dr. Jablonsky: How is that possible?

Research Director: It's very simple. We have all-black and all-white elementary schools. In the all-white schools, most of the children achieve at or above grade level; but in the all-black schools the achievement is extremely low. And for many children they are admitted to junior high school with no reading skill. Since our junior and senior high schools are integrated, these children are mixed together in classes. Since the black children cannot read, they become frustrated and play hookey. We then suspend them for three months. This pattern of frustration, hookey, suspension continues through junior high school. So the children reach high school still as non-readers.

Joy

From the gold-mining community of Lead, South Dakota, with about 6,500 population, we received a report on their preschool program in which they said: "I believe the single element that has contributed to the greatest success of the program has been the concept of 'it is fun to learn'. Our teacher and aide have tried to make each learning experience an enjoyable challenge. We have tried to allow the children the freedom to find out who they are and to develop a feeling of confidence in regard to their individual abilities."

The attainment of these objectives were well-demonstrated at a school in Nashville, Tennessee. The black woman principal had as the current vernacular would put it "good vibes," and every corner of the dilapidated school building, every teacher, every child reflected the glow in her face, the warmth of her relationships, the sparkle of her laugh, and ultimately, her drive and determination that these children would learn.

Principal: The EIP was a Ford Foundation supported program to research and demonstrate ways of working with disadvantaged children in a public school setting. It lasted for five years, from 1965-69. It had some startling results. They were able to do some very outstanding things, so much so, that the Metropolitan schools bought part of the program and are implementing it in ESEA schools now. The elements were: (1) They had resource teachers, whom we call master teachers, who had demonstrated their ability to work well with inner-city children and to help the children really achieve. Now we have resource teachers who do the same job for inservice education. (2) We have a structured phonics program to supplement the basal reader program. We train the teachers in how to implement the program. There is one resource teacher presently in each inner-city school. We also have a special reading teacher who works with children

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who are not achieving as they should. She works with 60 children a day. (3) We have a kindergarten program for five-year-old children. Metropolitan Nashville does not have a kindergarten program. But all of the ESEA schools do have kindergartens. This is a carry-over from EIP. They had never had any program for five-year-old children prior to EIP. I was coordinator of that program at that time, K-3. We worked with children at their initial entrance into school helping them to acquire positive attitudes and behaviors.

One element of the EIP which has been dropped was the non-gradedness. This was a tremendous shock to me. I was coordinator of the program from 1965 through the summer of 1967, then I was asked to become the principal of a school, and someone took my place here. That person was then transferred, and another principal took his place. They retained the non-graded program through the termination of EIP, then they went back to grades. I don't know who made the decision.

Before the inception of the program in the fall we worked with the parents in the summer to get them to understand the philosophy of non-gradedness. The children were functioning two to three years behind grade level. Why hold on to grades? Isn't it better to say "Here is a sequence of skills, let's master these skills?" The parents could understand that very well. Not one parent questioned the decision. I had met with small groups of parents in the neighborhood. I had small group meetings here. We had a series of coffee hours from 9-11 every morning attended by 20-25 people every morning for two weeks. Then we had a series of night meetings in the neighborhood telling the parents about our plans. The program was instituted and was successful. I was then transferred to the other school, and when I came back here this fall I found that we had also had a tremendous turnover of faculty because of integration. I was new and didn't know the people. We only retained six members of the faculty. I didn't know what the previous principal had structured, so I began to carry out things just as they were so that I would observe and evaluate. When I came back here I was not aware that the program was not non-graded, so I began by following the same pattern of listening and observing. By now we are taking the first steps again for non-gradedness, so that by next fall we should move on to being a totally non-graded school.

Another major element was that I didn't want to do too much planning or shifting this year, because next year we will have another dramatic turnover in terms of pupils. The attempt is being made to get the children in all schools into the 20-80 ratio. We're in court now to get this, we may get the directive before this year is out, but we may not have to implement it until next September. Our community has been quite upset because they feared it would upset the children again if the shift is made during this term. According to the edict last summer we had begun to register white children here for the fall. Two days later the directive came that we were not to worry about integrating the children this time, just the faculty. So we sent all those children back. We had to undo what we had already done.

We are going to have to integrate the student bodies of all the schools. I don't know how they are going to tackle this. I hope that they will not pair two very disadvantaged schools together, since this does not solve the problem. This school has 319 children out of 520 on free lunch, with most of their parents on welfare. Their parents make \$2,000 per year or less. To pair the school with a white school which has this kind of a liability serves no purpose, but to pair the school with one that has a great deal to offer, where the parents are educated, where there is money for remedial programs, where the parents have the know-how to get a good school going. That's what is needed.

All that I can do here is limited. We have \$3.00 per pupil per year to buy supplies for the children. Even the equipment which was left here after the EIP program was discontinued was stolen in a big robbery, televisions, record players, tape recorders, all gone. Unfortunately, equipment is only insured against fire, not theft. I thought that when I was returning to this school that at least the hardware would be here. The price of new equipment was just prohibitive, so we have to manage without.

This is a highly transient neighborhood. This year I have had 207 children transferred out, 204 transferred in. It's very difficult to look at test scores and say that this youngster has or has not made progress. Of the original children who entered the EIP program at kindergarten level in 1965, only seventeen (17) finished the five-year program. Those seventeen (17) were all tested at grade level or above, and this had never happened to any group of children in this school before. When we started the program we tested the children and found that in no classroom averaging 30 students were five students achieving at or above grade level. When I came, I pulled out 57 children at the 4th, 5th and 6th grade who were very far behind, and I told the children that they are going to learn to read. I sent a letter home to their parents and told them to have their children at school at a quarter to eight each morning. I would work with them from that time until 8:30. Just before Christmas, those children were reading well enough to go back to their rooms and function adequately.

In the beginning of the year I had to spend a great deal of time on disciplinary problems. I kept a record and made a home visit to every child that was referred to me because of behavior problems. Many times, however, disciplinary problems were really instructional problems. I had to help the teachers to understand this. For instance, a teacher brought me a child saying "she is so belligerent I refuse to keep her in my room." I asked her what caused the outbreak and she said "I corrected her arithmetic paper and gave it to her. She was so angry, and said a lot of things that I won't let any child say to me." I then called the child in and asked her what the problem was. She said with great anger, "She put all them check marks on my paper." I asked her why she thought the teacher had done that. She replied, "I don't know." I repeated "What do the check marks on your paper mean?" She said, "I guess it's wrong." I said, "You don't have to guess about it. It was wrong, and your teacher has to let you know when you are wrong, so that you can correct your mistakes, and learn how to do things right." She then responded with great emotion, "Well, the first time I brought my paper up there she put all these check marks on my paper, and she told me to go back to my seat and do it over, and I went back there and I did it over, and I brought it back up and she put her check marks on it again. She told me to do it again, and that I was just stupid." I asked the girl to bring me her first paper, and the second one. Do you know what the child's problem was? She had 20 problems in simple multiplication, and she said "5 x 8 = 40, put down the four and carry the zero." And everyone of them had been done that way twice. The teacher had not diagnosed the problem. After I looked at the paper, I asked her to tell me again. She said, "5 x 8 = 40." She wrote the four and carried the zero. I took out a piece of paper, broke down 40 and asked her, "Is the zero in the one's place or the ten's place?" She told me correctly that it was in the one's place and that the four was in the ten's place. She looked at it and said, "I should have put down the zero and carried the four! I didn't know that." I then asked the child to do the examination over again with this new understanding. She got all the questions right. Then I said to the teacher, "When a child misses every single problem, did that tell you anything?" The teacher responded, "Yes, it told me she just had not studied." I asked her, "How did you know they were wrong?" She responded that she used a key to check the answers. So she never really looked at what the child was doing!

In doing the diagnosis for the second grades I discovered that the children had not learned the sounds of most of the letters, nor their names, and had almost no symbol recognition. I had their eyes tested for vision defect, but that was not the problem. I wrote a special reading program for these children, which included areas such as visual discrimination, auditory discrimination, language, perceptual skills. These children were so far behind that I couldn't do it all myself so I had to work with the teachers to get them to learn how to teach reading properly. Most of my time was spent in the classrooms giving demonstration lessons. I tried to help the teachers learn how to write behavioral goals and to understand sequencing:

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Observations

The principal then escorted Mr. Fordyce and the author through the school to visit the kindergarten where the children in April of the year were able to count to 100, they could write the numerals from one to one hundred, they know all the sounds of initial consonants and short vowels, they can blend sounds together to form words, spell words, and read.

As one looked around the room each of the lockers had the child's name neatly printed in script. At the beginning of the year every child was given his own name in his hand and had his name pinned to his clothing so that he and all the children in the class could learn to identify each other by name. By April, every child could read every other child's name. On a chart there were the name equivalents for numerals, color blocks with the names of colors, even extending to chartreuse. The room also contained traditional building blocks and a painting section. There was a listening center with eight ear phones. There were records with songs of Sesame Street with a television set for reception of that program. Many of the traditional instructional aides were apparently being used here.

When the children came to this classroom the principal started a reading game with them. The first game was colors. She wrote 're' and they called out 'red.' She wrote 'ye,' they called out 'yellow,' she wrote 'bl' and there was silence, until she added the 'u' which distinguished for the children the word 'blue' from 'black.' She then wrote 'gr' and they called out 'green.' She told them she had fooled them and wrote an 'a' after the 'gr,' which they then identified as the initial letters of gray. They moved from colors to children's names, to sentences, and the kindergarten class enthusiastically read them all. The children picked up Nathaniel from Nat and Gregory from Greg. After each child's name was written on the board, he came up to the principal who gave him an enthusiastic hug.

We then went to the second-grade classroom where the principal wrote on the board "Your visitors today have big hard names. If you pronounce them correctly, you should be in high school. Their names are: Mr. Hugh Fordyce and Dr. Adelaide Jablonsky. Mr. Fordyce is Associate Director of Project Opportunity, and Dr. Jablonsky is at Columbia University." The class studied this as it was being written. She then turned to them and asked who would like to read it, and virtually all hands shot up. She then asked them to read it in unison. This appears to be a practice performed so frequently that the children are accustomed to the principal's visit and instructional style. The only words which presented serious difficulties for the children were Fordyce and Jablonsky, which she then proceeded to break up into syllables and help the children to analyze.

While I was making this report on tape and playing it back, some of the children listened with me while others had gone to the blackboard to write letters to us, telling us how happy they were to have us visit them. Still another group clustered around Mr. Fordyce insisting that he hear them read in their books, which they did with fluency. In a large closet of the room a volunteer community aide was working with an individual child. I observed the child phonetically untangle words with which he was not familiar. The teacher of this second grade class was the one teacher remaining from the original EIP program at the school.

Mr. Fordyce sharing his perceptions of the classroom, indicated that what he saw here appeared to be a better learning environment than in many advantaged schools. The children had spontaneity, a joy of learning, a love for each other, and competence which was indescribable. To set a tone of joy, the principal starts the day with the children by telling them "be sure you make your day wonderful."

The principal reported that when she came to the school in September all of the 4th, 5th, and 6th grade teachers reported to her that they were unable to teach reading in this school since they had come from white advantaged schools where teaching reading was no longer needed at these grades. This group of teachers agreed to stay after school every Thursday for an hour without remuneration in order to receive instruction in the teaching of reading skills.

The excitement of coming to the depth of the inner-city ghetto and finding a school in which the joy of learning permeates every corner is a rare reward in our search for excellence in the education of poor and minority-group children. It proved again that there are in isolated instances truly gifted individuals who through their personalities, competence, enthusiasm, and belief that these children can learn, can turn the tide of deprivation. This person sometimes is an upper echelon administrator, on occasion a principal, and frequently a classroom teacher. Each of them throws the lie in the face of those who would explain away bad education on a rationalization of genetic inadequacies.



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