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ABSTRACT

In an attempt to get the teacher's perspective on integration problems, the Title IV Elementary Secondary Education Act staff organized small problem-solving sessions, joining teachers from two elementary schools in groups of three to six with staff for half-day sessions. After an understanding of each school's situation was achieved, a select group of fifth year credential students from the University of California at Riverside, School of Education were identified and invited to join the project and complete their academic and practical requirements in the lab schools. From October through December, students met with teachers in the two schools weekly for two-hour meetings with the director for lecture and discussion on multi-ethnic educational topics. In January, many of the students continued in the program as full-time student teachers, with in-class duties four out of five days, the fifth day being reserved for lectures, workshops, and discussions. Overall program evaluation consisted of administering standard attitude and personality inventories to student teachers, observing them while teaching and in other program activities, and finally relating evaluations by university and school personnel and Title IV staff to the data obtained earlier. (Author/JM)

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THE CADRE APPROACH TO TEACHER TRAINING:
DEVELOPING CHANGE AGENTS FOR DESEGREGATED SCHOOLS*

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WHY THE TEACHER?

During the early days of school desegregation many observers focused their research and evaluation on the students. Undoubtedly, many school districts found that an easily acceptable rationale for school desegregation was one which focused on the achievement benefits which would accrue to non-white students. The complimentary half of the premise attempted to show that desegregation would not have an adverse effect on the achievement of Anglo students. The California experiences may be somewhat characteristic of research findings which attempt to support the premise stated above.

The Riverside School District became the first school district of its size to completely desegregate its schools. Riverside was closely followed by Berkeley. Evaluation and research data from these districts (Sullivan, 1968, Dambacher, 1967, Mercer and Purl, 1970 and Singer, 1970) reveal conclusions which are two-fold. Sullivan's conclusions typifies the first part:

Students in the slum-ghetto schools came out worst of all in paragraph meaning-achievement on the Stanford-Binet test despite all of the compensation, experimentation, and enrichment in those schools. There was a significant improvement for those who attended racially-mixed, middle class schools. They came out best, all around, and most of these children had been transported to the hill schools which had been predominately white and upper class ...Nevertheless, there remains a considerable achievement gap between Negro and other students even at hill schools. Generations of enforced deprivation on top of heritage of slavery cannot be rubbed out easily or quickly. Moreover what is lacking in the hill schools is that essential

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revolution in teaching programs, styles, and technology which has only just begun.

The conclusions of the Singer study are more point^{ed}ly stated:

Interpretation of these analyses supports the Coleman Report conclusion only partially: Anglo achievement was not, reduced, but Blacks and Mexican-Americans achievement was not improved as a consequence of integration...If the assumption that the distribution of minority and majority group achievement under ideal conditions should be approximately equal and if the trend is predictable over time, then determinants other than physical integration have to be postulated to account for the continuing disparity in the academic achievement of majority and minority ethnic groups.

These conclusions clearly indicate that the problems of delivering equal education to a multi-racial group of youngsters may not reside entirely within the student. Thus, the Laboratory School: Teacher Education Project staff is attempting to investigate and become involved in the entire school process which may impinge upon the student. The purpose may best be described in the proposal funded by the Title IV grant:

"The Laboratory School: Teacher Education Module will be designed to use the situation of the desegregated school as a laboratory for the study of problems of desegregation. Emphasis will not be on the introduction of curricular materials nor on the instruction of teachers in new techniques, but rather on the process of helping the entire staff of schools in transition to become involved in identifying and analyzing the problems and working toward their solutions."

Thus, this project focuses heavily on the situation in which our student teachers and classroom teachers are located. In addition, the project chose the teacher as the main focus in the investigation. This decision on direction of the project rests upon two assumptions which are:

- A. The school is a unique social system with a variety of needs in the area of equal education. Some of these needs create specificity not found in other school buildings.

- B. The teacher is a central figure in the desegregation process and he experiences certain needs, fears, value delimmas, etc. which may impair his effectiveness as a classroom teacher.

SITUATIONAL COMPONENTS OF THE DESEGREGATED SCHOOL

SCHOOL PROFILES

The pilot project was located in two Riverside elementary schools. Looking at Arroyo and Valencia as social systems with individually different atmospheres it is apparent that each presents a distinctive "image" From comparable on-hand data we attempted to put together certain variables which might influence such differences. Our school profile contains six such variables. However, we believe the list could contain far more measures which might create a profile. The six are: size, stability, socio-economic status, median I.Q. 6th grade, achievement data and percent minority. When these measures for Valencia and Arroyo are ranked the plots take on characteristic shapes.

[insert Figure 1]

Size:

In number of pupils, Arroyo ranks second in the district (out of 24) with 972 pupils in November, 1970. Valencia ranks 15th with 487 pupils during the pilot year.

Stability:

The average per cent of children experiencing a move into or out of a particular school within a year is a rough measure of transiency of the population involved. During the past two years Arroyo and Valencia were below the district-wide average for transiency

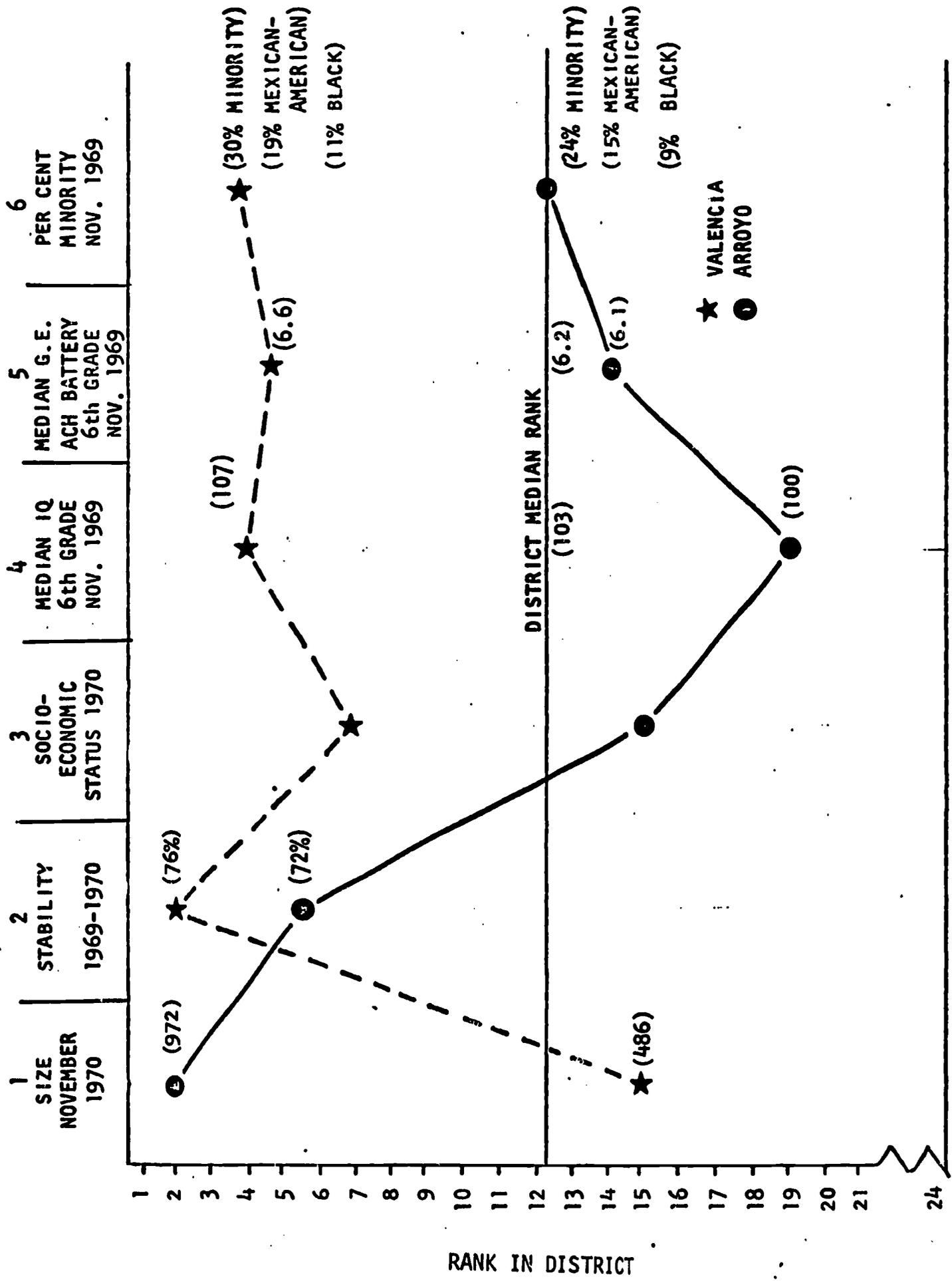


FIGURE 1 PROFILES OF TWO SCHOOLS

TABLE 1

	VALENCIA	DISTRICT	ARROYO
1968-1969	41%	44%	34%
1969-1970	24%	36%	28%

A complementary statistic, "stability" can be obtained:

STABILITY (100% - Transiency)

1968-1969	59%	56%	66%
1969-1970	76%	64%	72%

NOTE: Both Arroyo and Valencia rank high in "stability."

S.E.S:

Valencia is above average, with a predominately professional and managerial class clientele; Arroyo below with a mainly "blue collar" clientele.

I.Q. and Grade Equivalent:

Valencia is above average in both; Arroyo, below average in both.

Per cent Minority:

There are slightly more at Valencia (30%) than at Arroyo (24%).

SUMMARY DESCRIPTIONS

Valencia

Both schools chosen for the study are located in white neighborhoods with minority children bused in from distances of approximately four to ten miles. Valencia is located in the "new downtown" area and has many military families in the area some of whom return after tours of duty elsewhere. Although many of the homes were built by tract developers around ten to fifteen years ago, there is a significant number of expensive individually built homes. Within recent years, some residents have sold houses in the area in order to move to more expensive tracts in the hills to the northeast. Teachers at Valencia often say that they have lost good students because families have moved "up the hill." The 11 per cent Chicano children arrive by bus from two communities, one Black about five miles to the southeast. The woman principal there has been an elementary school administrator for many years. This was her third year at the school. A majority of the teachers at Valencia project an upper-middle class image of the polite, well-dressed, college educated female. Before the entrance of our student teachers, there were no Black faculty

members and only one native Spanish-speaking teacher who resembled more an upper-class Puerto Rican type than the local Mexican-Indian "Chicano" American. Of the 20 teachers on the faculty, only four were men.

Arroyo

Arroyo is located in the outskirts of Riverside in the southeast corner of the district. The neighborhood consists of smaller tract homes built about 8 to 10 years ago. The Black and Chicano youngsters are bused from the same communities as send children to Valencia. In the case of Arroyo, the Black children have a long (around 9 miles) ride each way. The Chicano area is approximately 4 miles away depending on the bus route taken. The principal of Arroyo has been with the district for eighteen years and with Arroyo since its opening. The staff of Arroyo presents a varied picture of a basically white staff with one Chicano and three Black teachers. Individually, the teachers are not as "polished" as those at Valencia and are more open in expressing themselves. They project a lower-middle class image and appear basically friendly and non-critical.

THE TEACHER SPEAKS

After several years of integration there are still problems not directly related to the achievement area, such as teacher attitudes, acceptance of minority children in the school, dilemmas of discipline, grading, etc. (Mercer, 1968, Bryan, D.E., 1969). In an attempt to get the teacher's perspective on these problems the staff organized small problem-solving sessions. The teachers came to the university in groups of three to six to join with the staff in half-day sessions. Principals and other administrators were not invited so teachers would feel free to express their feelings in a supportive atmosphere. The

sessions were extremely interesting. The dialogue revealed a variety of beliefs and attitudes in addition to specific school-instructional problems. The facsimile of one part of such a conversation is shared:

This is a group of five teachers in a group problem-solving session. The task of the group is to identify the most pressing problems faced by the classroom teacher in a desegregated school.

Discussion Leader:

I have just shared with you some research findings on the problems others such teachers as yourselves had. Do these adequately express your problems?

After a long pause:

Miss Jones: "Well, everyone seems to make such a fuss about race. Children are children, white, blue, purple or black. I have never made any distinctions. Thus, I don't see the need to talk about changing things just because of desegregation."

Mrs. Edwards.

"I disagree--partly, I do have some of those same problems in my classroom. Let me tell you about Essie Mae Banks.* She came to school one morning in the worst smelling and worst looking dress I have ever seen. You see her mother is on ADC and she told me one day after the other children left for lunch that her "uncle" had beaten her mother that night because her other uncle had been there the night before. Well to make a long story short --this child is simply neglected. How can you expect a child from that kind of home to learn anything when she has to cope with all those problems at home. At least we seem to get along together. She is always asking to help me after school; I just feel sorry for some of them. And those kinds of problems really make it hard since desegregation occurred.

Mr. Smith: Well, now that you mention it--you would think that the superintendent and all those other downtown people would have had enough insight to know that those kinds of problems would come up. What do they think we classroom teachers can do about all the Essie Mae Banks in our school? I just think the administration should provide some buffer--in the plans.

*For those who have trouble attaching ethnicity to names--Essie Mae could only be black.

in the plans for handling these problems. But of course those guys haven't been in a classroom in years. They have their heads in the clouds. In fact the other day I asked the Assistant superintendent of instruction about that order of spelling books I gave him five months ago for the fifth grade team--I'm team captain for the ungraded upper --he told me they would be here next month but in the meantime I'm sure you've been innovating without the spellers all this time. And they're paying that guy 22 thousand a year to screw up the system!

Miss Taylor: Well now wait just a minute Ed. We really don't need those spellers any way. They are nothing more than an extension of the Dick and Jane series anyway and my Chicano and Black youngsters would laugh me out of the room if I gave them those books. I have managed quite well so far--you know about my creative writing units which incorporate spelling. In fact I have Darrel Banks--Essie's brother who you all know was the terror of the school and he wrote a beautiful haiku poem after our lesson on Martin Luther King Jr.'s assassination. You simply have to break away from those tried and traditional methods if the minority youngsters are going to have any success in school --segregated or desegregated!

Mrs. Baker: Well, Dorothy, everyone knows that you and Edna and Laura had that summer workshop last year. Even though you've been trying to get me to coordinate in my primary program, I still don't think those Black and Chicano kids are being helped--After all they've got to learn the traditional way sometime!

Miss Taylor: Well, have you tried it--if not, don't knock!

Mr. Plaski: Well, I did try it--you remember I told you about trying to get those high school youngsters to come into my class one day a week to work with my slow readers. Well, after three weeks of planning and letters, phone calls and two trips to the high school I finally got these three very nice young ladies to come. I gave them the slow group and they took them out on the lawn to work with them. Well, those girls had to bring Manuel and Roosevelt back because Roosevelt called the girl a white sucking bitch and Manuel was asking her for a date. I just told the girls to forget it I couldn't expose them to that kind of abuse. However, one still comes over one evening a week--I just let her help grade papers though.

Leader: Well, it seems as though I am getting several reactions all somewhat different. Some of you definitely do see some racial problems which interfere with learning in the school. What about that Mrs. Jones?

Mrs. Jones: Well, as I said before, I love 'em all--they are just children to me!

Miss Taylor: Well, you know the fifth grade teachers tried last year to bring Dr. Matthew in the school to do some sessions on Black History and you primary teachers (block) voted it down because you didn't think we needed it.

Mrs. Jones: Well, after all Doris we are second in the district with our achievement scores. And we had an African dance on the talent show last spring. If we are second on the Iowa Reading exam we can't be doing that much harm to them.

Leader: Well, you know the research and evaluation office in their report last spring showed a tremendous gap in achievement for the Anglo and Black and Chicano youngsters in the district.

Mr. Plaski: Jim, surely you don't believe in all, that evaluation junk! You saw the kids on the playground the other day--did you see any race riots erupting? If we could just get them some breakfast in the morning, those Black kids would make the all-city track team!

Leader: Yes, Plaski, you're probably right!

Plaski: Well, you sound sarcastic!

Leader: Well, I am a little disturbed because I don't know where you are coming from with that statement. For instance, if you believe that the Black students can be all city track stars because of hereditary advantages, that's one thing, but if you think their potential rests upon environmental conditions then that's something else, and....

Plaski: What's that got to do with it? Jeese! I won't say anything anymore about the Black kids.

Leader: Well, Plaski if you believe Black youngsters make good runners because of some hereditary advantages then I think you may well be conditioned to believe that they don't learn as well as white kids.

- Plaski: Well, I made it the hard way--if they wanted to they could also!
- Leader: Well, its about time for us to adjourn. Miss Tucker you've been awfully quiet. Don't you have anything to say?
- Tucker: This has been a tremendous eye opener for me!
- Leader: In what way?
- Tucker: Well, I...I think we should do it again.
- Taylor: I agree! Then maybe we can start coordinating our social studies program with you primary teachers.

The teachers began leaving, Miss Tucker lingered behind and reaped praises upon the good job I did in handling the group. She went on to tell me that she went to high school with colored children in Brickstomp, Indiana and that she would be most interested in cooperating in making some of the changes which the project wanted but she didn't think the group (the primary teachers) would approve.

- Leader: Well, Mrs. Tucker I really admire you for the wonderful experiences you had in high school. I am sure because of these you can be of far greater help to the children in your classroom. Why don't you invite me to see them sometimes.
- Tucker: O.K.--anytime--it would be nice for the youngsters to see a colored success model!
- Leader: Let's hope not!!

TOWARD THE PROCESS COMPONENTS

We knew immediately that part of the problem was the wide variance in views and feelings expressed by the teachers on school desegregation. In response to these feelings and attitudes we began to look at this problem in some classifiable way. We were looking for some classifiable way to plot attitudinal differences found in each school. From numerous conversations, faculty meetings, anecdotal records and questionnaires these

attitudes have been varied. Teachers, of course, may differ radically within a school, but we were looking for evidence that one school, compared to another approach more closely a state of true integration rather than simply existing in a desegregated condition.

We find that this dimension of the desegregation process at the school level somewhat confirms portions of the Purl (Purl, 1970) hypothesis which states:

"The (integration) process seems to progress through several stages. First, there is resentment and hostility, not so much toward the low-achieving pupils as toward the power structure that brought the situation about. Secondly, there is an emphasis on discipline and behavior. Having the situation in hand behavior-wise, the next stage is ignoring the achievement problem, or at least assuming no responsibility for it. Next comes half-hearted attempts to individualize instruction and finally an all out attack on the problem....Arriving at the final stage is done only after many defenses have been employed. Not all teachers ever arrive at this point, but the resistance either becomes less or become unconscious. The process is long and difficult, but it is the process that is important. The final solution, if applied without the process would be meaningless."

Thus, the process, in terms of teacher attitudes seems to be:

THE SINGLE SCHOOL INTEGRATION PROCESS

- Component 0: Teachers oblivious to difficulty refuse to recognize that problems require differential responses.
(Mrs. Jones) "I haven't changed my standards in thirty years and I am not going to start now!"
- Component 1: Expressions of hostility toward authorities who brought situation about.
(Mr. Smith) "How could they do that to these children, it isn't fair to them!"

- Component 2: Positive action underground. "Those children really work for candy, but I couldn't use that on the others."
(Mrs. Tucker)
- Component 3: Stiffening resistance, delaying tactics, stalling, "Those children are going to have to learn the traditional way, otherwise, how will they succeed?"
(Mrs. Baker)
- Component 4: Focus on deviant characteristics of children as rationale for difficulties. "They just can't help it, look at the home they came from!"
(Mr. Edwards)
- Component 5: Token actions taken, "And if a child dictates 'Damn', I write down 'Damn!'"
- Component 6: Cleavages develop among teachers as positive actions become better organized, more important. "If they want to try that new-fangled staff, they can, but you notice I took no part in it!"
(Mr. Plaski)
- Component 7: Negotiations and information dissemination between interested faculty and administration. "Let's get together, guys, and see what we can work out."
(Mrs. Taylor)
- Component 8: Plans formulated, outsiders brought in, experimental programs begin. "Let's get Mr. Matthews to give us an inservice session for our cultural awareness unit."
- Component 9: Resistance goes underground "I can't go along with it, but I guess the administration likes it."
- Component 10: Whole-hearted acceptance or resignation. "Well, it seems to be working out, after all."

SCHOOL PLACEMENT ON THE CONTINUUM

Valencia

Teachers at Valencia in the upper-middle class walking community, generally presented a picture of relative satisfaction with school program. When questioned at length regarding progress made by minority children in the school

a few teachers reacted in a rather defensive, emotional manner. Their behavior toward the children was well-rationalized in highly intellectual manner. Their jobs seem to be viewed as ones which require the inculcation of white middle-class values. While these teachers are surely not racist in the usual sense of the word, they are having some trouble getting their program across to children who may not be clean, docile, and alert to the nuances of middle class disciplinary measures. There is a general quality of aloofness and emotional distance conveyed by the teachers from the ethnically different children who behave in "ways we don't understand." Their statements seem to reflect the feeling that these children come from foreign cultures which need to be translated and formally taught. Strong emphasis is placed on the deviant nature of the ethnically different child. Module staff has been viewed as there basically to help with individual behavior problems. The staff is not satisfied with their disciplinary program and have repeated difficulties with specific individuals known by name to the entire staff.

In general, the teachers present a unified picture. There were no severe criticisms of fellow teachers, and much defending of shared opinions. When several of the Module staff attempted to relate the special nature of the Black experience to Valencia teachers, there were several who resisted the impact of what was being said by relating their own struggle to achieve. They seemed to be conveying the notion that Blacks and Browns could not be expected to be tolerated as equals in American society until they had assimilated Anglo middle-class values. The conservative nature of their values was pointed up by the concern that the Valencia teachers had regarding the possibility that the incoming University students would be "radical." That the school would stand as a bastion against onslaughts from without seemed clear.

In a few isolated cases, individual teachers approached module members privately relaying the notion that they personally would be interested in cooperating in making various kinds of changes in the school. These incidents had a rather clandestine quality as if the teacher realized that the majority of her fellows preferred things to remain as they were. No important cleavages were observed among this school's members and a few of the conditions necessary for progress were noted during the sessions in this school.

In the process model, the school could be said to be located along points one to five. Needless to say, module members were, at the conclusion of the sessions, rather disinclined to hope that new programs would be undertaken at Valencia in the near future.

Arroyo

If the meetings with Valencia faculty were basically unproductive, those with Arroyo were quite the opposite: sessions did "buzz" with the exchange of ideas and even hoped-for plans. The module had obviously fallen into an entirely different situation, as it became clear that there had been a history of both administrative and faculty attempts to attack the achievement level problem in the school. The atmosphere and productivity of any one of these groups was also contingent upon effects generated by the interaction of teachers, administration, and even module staff between sessions. The sessions became forums, in some instances, for problems which had developed over a considerable period of time and underwent redefinition during the sessions. As Arroyo is one of the largest schools in Riverside, it has a vice-principal specializing in curriculum. Thus we would expect more response regarding curriculum changes there than at Valencia.

In observing the larger number of teachers from Arroyo it was patently obvious that all varieties of persuasion existed regarding the integration process. Reactions to module plans ranged all the way from "I treat minority children exactly as I do white children, I always have and always will" to "I can't wait to get started!" Distinct cliques and cleavages already existed as one would expect in such a large group of people. In general, the most vocal of the cliques would be classified as exhibiting the problems accentuated by busing. In contrast to Arroyo, resistance to change was largely underground and not readily apparent to most module members. It may also be significant to our program that teachers had few compunctions regarding criticizing their fellow staff members. Some even implied they would rather spend extra time with the students than "some of those teachers we have." Specific objections were never revealed. Personal risks, however, of many varieties were taken during these sessions as teachers freely expressed their hopes and feelings. Negotiations and communication designed to implement program changes were common in the later sessions. Several sessions even had a "brainstorming" quality. Many of the teachers at Arroyo seemed to have an enthusiastic approach to their work and took obvious delight in the exchange of ideas. While a few teachers expressed feelings of emotional distance from individual students, there was less of a "we-they" attitude at Arroyo. The general impression received was that many of the teachers enjoy the minority children as projections of certain of their own desirable characteristics of simplicity, strength, and dignity. Regarding the process model, Arroyo school thus presents behavior classifiable as belong in components four through nine.

In summary, the positions of the schools could be pictured thus:

THE SINGLE SCHOOL INTEGRATION PROCESS

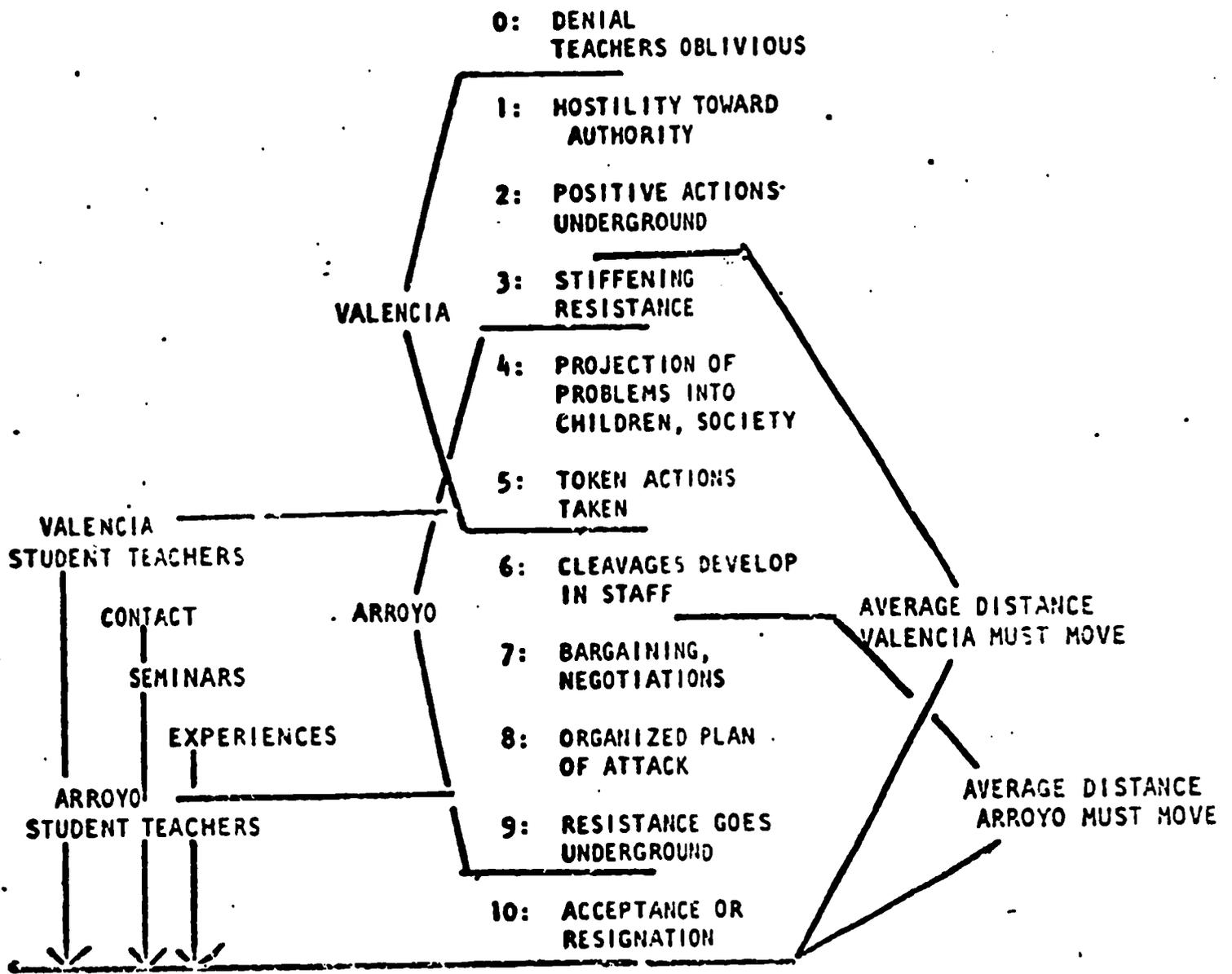


FIGURE 2
INTEGRATION ACCOMPLISHED!

Thus, Valencia school had a greater distance to travel in terms of attitude adjustment. The staff also presented greater chances of rejecting any student teacher with strong desires to modify the Valencia academic program or attempts to incorporate activities which would reflect and support the multi-ethnic makeup of the student body.

In addition to revealing certain attitudes regarding desegregation the teachers also specifically identified instructional, curricular and organizational problems incident to school desegregation. These are basically classified in six categories, the order does not devote priority. These represent problems common to both schools.*

1. Resegregation-Resegregation occurs within the school building through several avenues: ability grouping in self-contained upgraded or team teaching; dual standards of discipline; after school activities; flexible reading schedules and busing.
2. Grading - The present grading systems promotes a series of problems centered around maintaining a standard academic achievement level, grading for effort vs. grading for achievement and socially promoting children. Whereas these grading problems would exist in segregated schools; desegregated schools compound and intensify the problem.
3. Communications - There is a "tread softly" attitude and "don't make waves" sense of precaution. This attitude negatively affects the communication between all groups concerned with the school. There is the growing concern that teaching jobs are becoming scarce which reinforces the "don't make waves" attitudes. This attitude is especially prevalent when the waves concern minority students--teacher relations.
4. Discipline - There are a number of "deviant" youngsters in each class which makes the teacher's day very rough. The most severe cases of deviancy involve a disproportionate number of Black and Chicano youngsters.
5. Integration-Pluralism Goals - are difficult to plan for and achieve because teachers feel there is a high degree of regimentation of the school's function through state and district mandated policies. These policies generally focus on the achievement of youngsters and completely ignore the affective or human component of the school.

*For greater detail see Deslonde, J., "Can We Really Integrate the Schools", Integrated Education, Vol. 57

6. Community Polarity - The families served by both schools live in three distinct communities: Casa Blanca, the Eastwide, and the walking community. The three rarely communicate with each other. The first two rarely communicate with the teachers.

INITIAL PREPARATION OF STUDENTS

With a firm understanding of the situation in each school, preparations were made to identify a select group of fifth year credential students from the U.C.R. School of Education to join the project and complete their academic and practical requirements in the lab schools.

Briefly, the structure of the program involved the following steps.

From October through December, students met with teachers in two Riverside elementary schools weekly for two-hour meetings with the director, for lecture and discussion on multi-ethnic educational topics. Students were invited to participate in the programs of the two participating Title IV schools as tutors, aides and so forth. Most students by this time had completed a formal "teaching assistant" assignment previously. In January many of the students continued in the program as full-time student teachers, with in-class duties four out of five days, the fifth day being reserved for lectures, workshops and discussions. Teachers and students held after-school workshops with university and school consultants. Of the twenty-eight students beginning the formal student teacher assignment in January, twenty-four received a credential in elementary education in June, 1971.*

In addition to the two-hour meetings the attitudinal and other situational components were shared with the students. They were expected to respond to identified problems with constructive classroom and school activities and personal interactions with the teaching staff. On-going seminars and workshops would respond to their perceived needs for problem solving

*More detail of program content available from Western Regional School Desegregation-University of California.

--and at all times classroom teachers were encouraged (not mandated) to share in these experiences with the student teachers.

Because of the comparatively conservative image projected by Valencia, Title IV staff did not feel it wise to place some of the more "activist" types at that school. It was felt that "change agent" personality types might present such a contrast to the "establishment" at Valencia that the student teacher program could conceivably "boomerang" to the overall detriment of the project. Arroyo, however, with its more "rough and ready" image, seemed to welcome these particular students for their obvious eagerness to proceed with the job at hand.

PLAN OF EVALUATION

Overall program evaluation consisted of administering standard attitude and personality inventories to student teachers, observing them while teaching and in other program activities and finally relating evaluations by both Title IV personnel and university and school people to the inventory and observational data obtained earlier. In this way it was hoped to identify differential bases for evaluations made of the students as "teachers" and the students as "agents of change" in the classroom.

The use of the psychological and attitude inventories had a three-fold purpose. First, many research projects dealing with student teachers and teacher behavior have employed these measures, and our use lends continuity to the general body of information on such groups. Secondly, such measures are excellent "backup" for participant observation. If, for instance, a student teacher group experience in one school turned out to be quite different from that in another, it would be helpful to know that personality factors, believed to be a cause of such variation, are indeed reflected in standard test scores.

No one would contend that psychological inventories given in a non-therapeutic setting would "reveal" more to anyone giving the tests than simply knowing the test-takers on an everyday basis. However, test scores can, in these circumstances, help define hypotheses regarding the probable chief reasons regarding causes of a particular event. In essence, the test scores may be partial substitutes for astute painstaking observation. It should be added that we did not at any time act on the basis of any of the test scores. The CPI and MTAI answer sheets were simply put away until the conclusion of the year's activities. There was no rationale at any time for doing otherwise. In fact, such actions, had they been instituted, might have been counter-productive, in that there was no sound basis for knowing in advance just what type of "personality" would cause the greatest impact upon the educational scene. Would it be the dominant "change agent" type or a more conforming but high-achieving type? As no particular "strategy" had been evolved, the greatest use of psychological tests remained in their usefulness in helping us identify logical explanations of events in the presence of many plausible rival hypotheses.

Finally, our intent was to use summarized results of the measurement sessions to communicate what was "out there" to the participants. Dissemination of such information was intended to illustrate the use of testing in a "democratically engineered" project. To this end, average scores and score distributions were discussed and related to group behavior. Hopefully, this kind of information would help make others' behavior more comprehensible to the participants. The overall evaluation strategy, then, was to make available all possible background information, relate it to present needs and goals and rely on the director and other participants to resolve difficulties to the benefit of all.

RESULTS

Data was analyzed from several points of view. It was clear to staff that the students were initially perceived to be individually unique personalities and, as such, could be expected to be perceived differentially and to react differentially to the program on the basis of their special attributes. Staff of the two schools connected with the project had, before placement of the students as full-time teaching assistants, already developed opinions about the students and had made known their particular needs and preferences.

CPI Differences

Before examination of the CPI results we had expected that the students who appeared more "activist" would obtain high scores on certain of the CPI subscales. Perusal of the literature in this area would lead us to expect higher scores in inventory areas dealing with poise, self-assurance and achievement by way of independence¹. Conversely, an effective activist ought, it would seem, score lower in "Communality" a subscale ostensibly measuring how much one is like other people. If our informal observations were valid, the student group at Arroyo could be expected to display what could be called "activist" profiles on the CPI.

Figure 3--Median Standard
Subscale Scores on CPI, January,
1971]

Seven of the eight areas selected as reflecting "activist" personality qualities were in the direction predicted. It appears that in CPI responses the Arroyo students differed from the Valencia group in ways consistent with our observations. It is interesting to note that the Arroyo students were higher in all areas of achievement interest and somewhat lower in "Feminity"! [Show Figure 4, CPI Profiles of School Groups.]

¹For a review of the literature in this area see Horn, J.L. and Knott, P.D., *Activist Youth of the 1960's: Summary and Prognosis*, *Science*, Vol. 171., No. 3975, 12 March, 1971.

ACTIVIST GROUP EXPECTED TO BE HIGHER ON:

DOMINANCE
 CAPACITY FOR STATUS
 SOCIAL PRESENCE
 SELF ACCEPTANCE
 WELL BEING
 RESPONSIBILITY
 ACHIEVEMENT VIA CONFORMITY

ACTIVIST GROUP EXPECTED TO BE LOWER ON COMMUNALITY

<u>CPI SUBSCALE</u>	<u>VALENCIA</u>	<u>ARROYO</u>	<u>ACTIVIST GROUP PREDICTED TO BE</u>
DOMINANCE	57	62	HIGHER*
CAPACITY FOR STATUS	55	55	HIGHER(NO DIFF.)
SOCIABILITY	57	57	
SOCIAL PRESENCE	60	65	HIGHER*
SELF ACCEPTANCE	58	62	HIGHER*
WELL BEING	53	54	HIGHER*
RESPONSIBILITY	48	51	HIGHER*
SOCIALIZATION	49	49	
SELF CONTROL	50	50	
TOLERANCE	57	55	
GOOD IMPRESSION	48	47	
COMMUNALITY	55	46	LOWER*
ACHIEVEMENT VIA CONFORMANCE	52	55	
ACHIEVEMENT VIA INDEPENDENCE	62	65	HIGHER*
INTELLECTUAL EFFICIENCY	63	64	
PSYCHOLOGICAL MINDEDNESS	64	64	
FLEXIBILITY	70	70	
FEMININITY	53	48	

**FIGURE 3 MEDIAN SUBSCALE STANDARD
 SCORES ON CALIFORNIA PSYCHOLOGICAL INVENTORY
 FOR TWO PLACEMENT GROUPS
 JANUARY, 1971**

* A t-test of the difference between school groups on a total score made up of the sum of the eight predicted direction scores ("Commuality" calculated as 100-X reveals $t=2.20$, $P < .05$ (two-tail)).

PROFILE SHEET FOR THE *California Psychological Inventory: FEMALE*

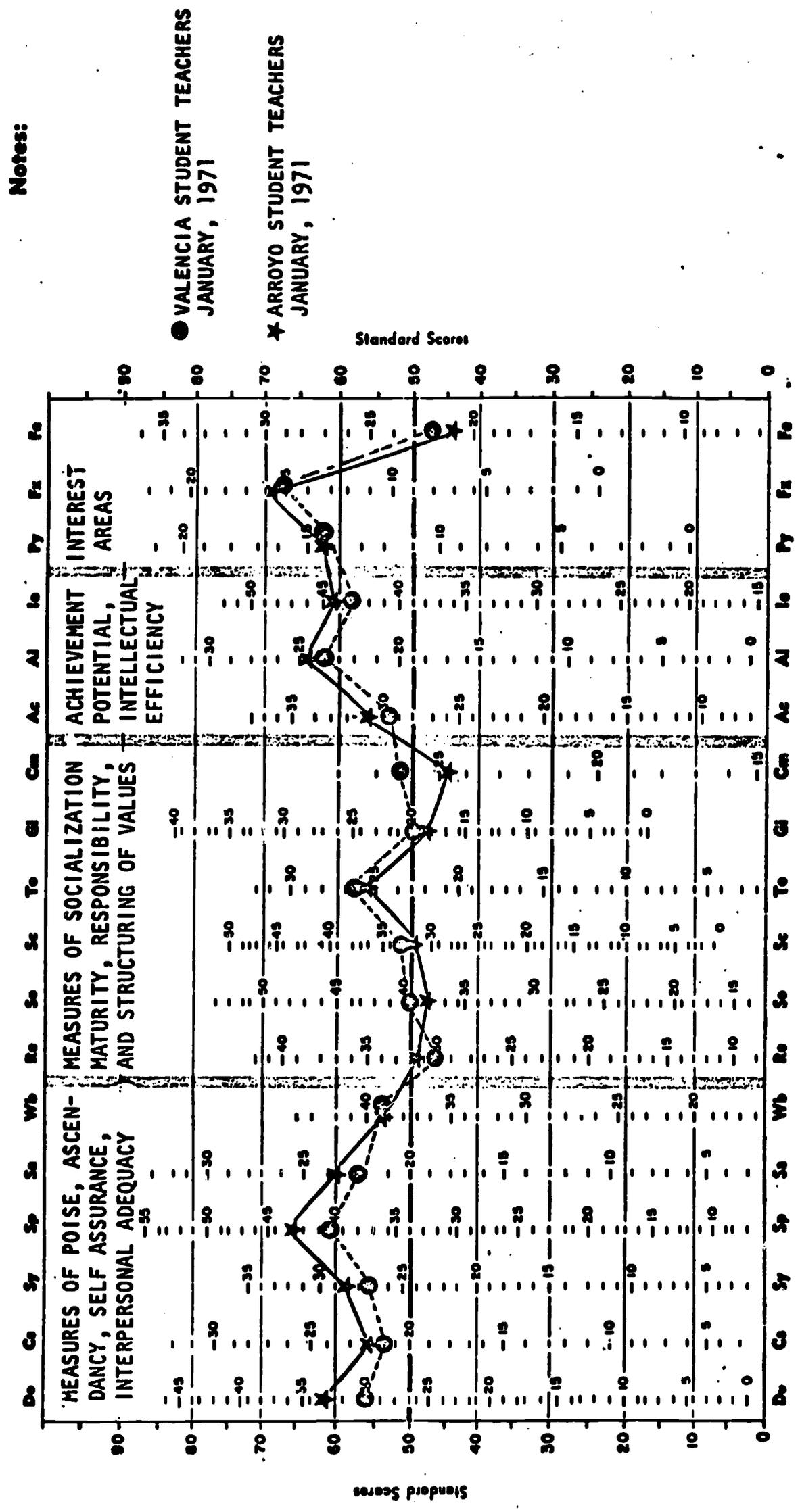


FIGURE 4 PROFILES OF TWO STUDENT TEACHER GROUPS

Female Norms

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While the two groups are different in ways discussed above, it is interesting to note how similar they are to each other in relation to the publisher's standard score norms. Also of interest is the relationship between the mean CPI profile for the entire student group and that for "Grade School Teachers" given by the publisher. [Figure 5, "Grade School Teachers"].

MTAI Initial Differences

The Minnesota Teacher Attitude Inventory has been a part of a great number of studies in the area of teacher attitudes. The aspect of teacher attitude supposedly measured by this instrument has been variously described by students as "modern ideas vs traditionalism," or "permissiveness vs authoritarianism" and so forth. Factor analytic studies of the MTAI bear out these informal notions and could be summarized as identifying a "traditionalism vs progressivism" continuum reflected in scores on MTAI.

Note that as a total group, our students had a mean (and median) score about as expected for graduate students in education. However, the two subgroups of students placed at the two schools are again significantly different. It appears that the group placed at Arroyo had a higher average MTAI score than did those placed at Valencia with a lower average MTAI score. As we have already discussed the "activist image" of the Arroyo group, it is interesting to look at whole group correlations between some of our measures.

Figure 8, MTAI Distribution, GPA's 3.00 and above]

Note the concentration of students with the higher grade point averages among those with higher MTAI scores. In general, it appears (see correlations on overlay) that the MTAI, the CPI and grade point averages may be

¹ For a summary of the research in this area see Lopez, M.F., 1971. "Shaping Teachers' Attitudes," in Research in Teacher Education, B. Othanel Smith, Ed., Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc., N.J., pp. 99-118.

PROFILE SHEET FOR THE *California Psychological Inventory: FEMALE*

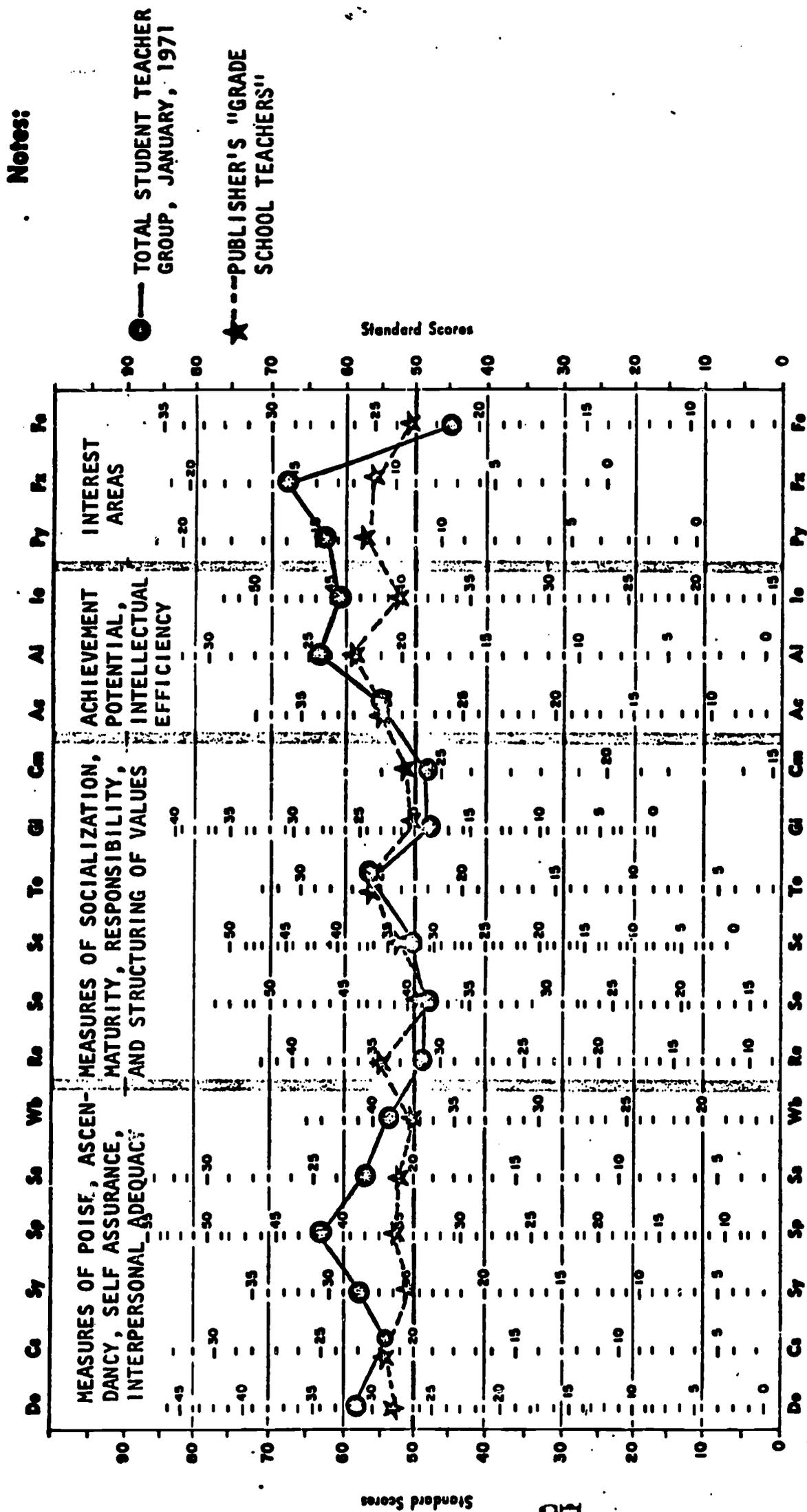


FIGURE 5 PROFILES OF TOTAL STUDENT TEACHER GROUP AND PUBLISHER'S "GRADE SCHOOL TEACHERS"

*ALL NORMATIVE DATA FROM
MTAI MANUAL, COOK, W.W., LEEDS,
C.H., AND CALLIS, R., PSYCH.
CORP., NEW YORK CITY, 1965

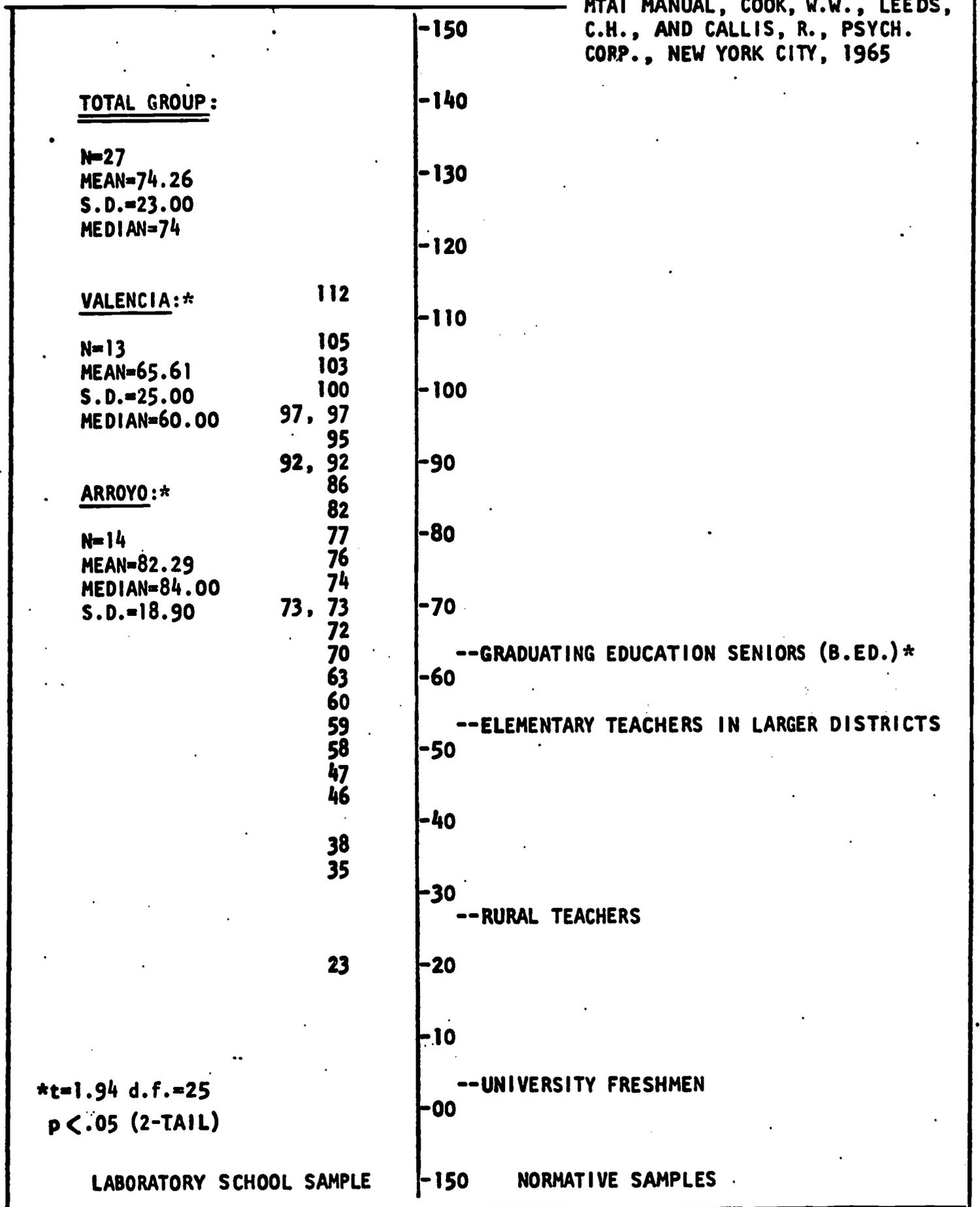


FIGURE 6

COMPARISON OF SCORES ON THE MINNESOTA TEACHER ATTITUDE INVENTORY
BY TITLE IV STUDENT TEACHERS AND PUBLISHER'S SAMPLES
PRETEST: JANUARY, 1971

*ALL NORMATIVE DATA FROM
MTAI MANUAL, COOK, W.W., LEEDS,
C.H., AND CALLIS, R., PSYCH.
CORP., NEW YORK CITY, 1965

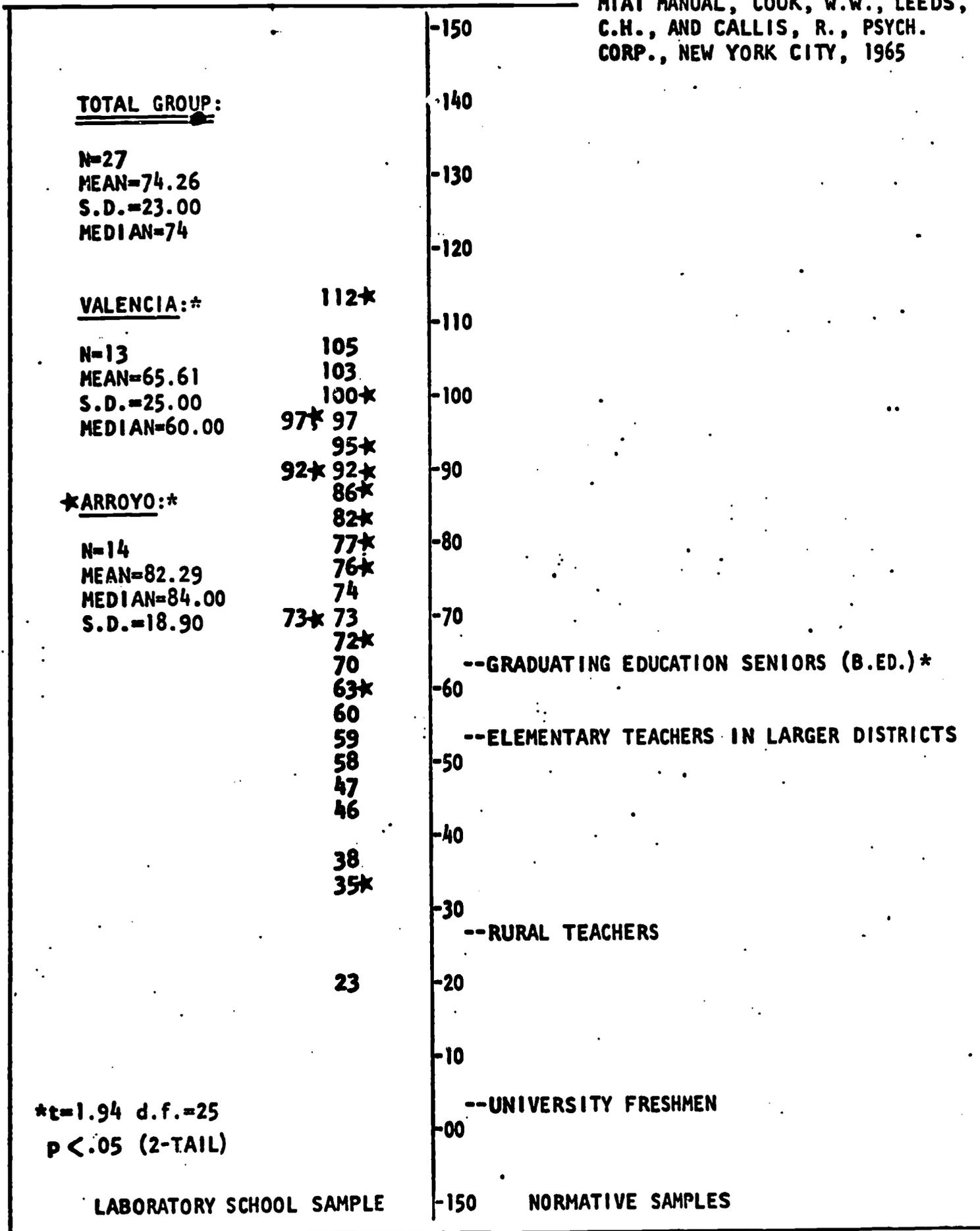


FIGURE 7
COMPARISON OF SCORES ON THE MINNESOTA TEACHER ATTITUDE INVENTORY
BY TITLE IV STUDENT TEACHERS AND PUBLISHER'S SAMPLES
PRETEST: JANUARY, 1971

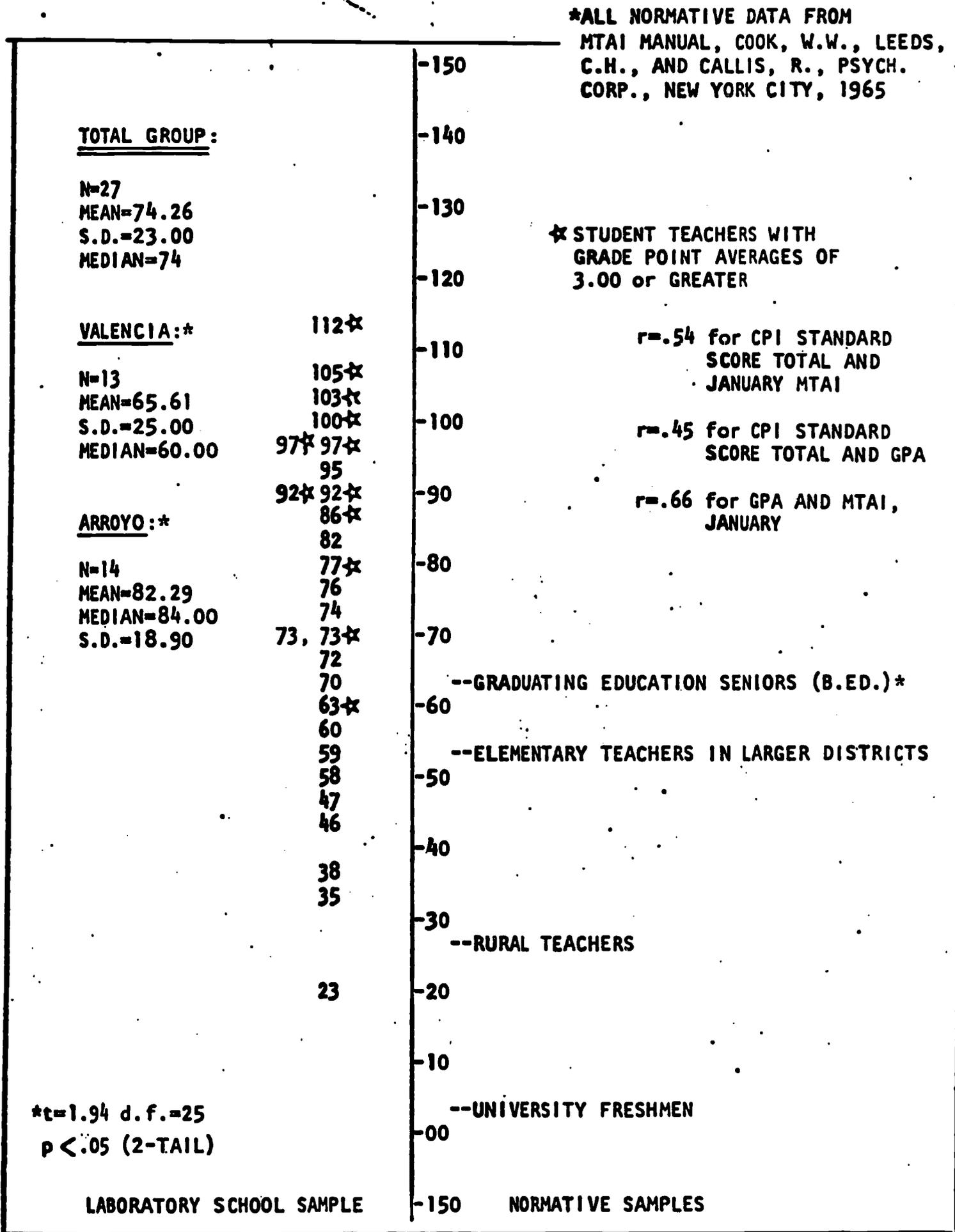


FIGURE 8

COMPARISON OF SCORES ON THE MINNESOTA TEACHER ATTITUDE INVENTORY
BY TITLE IV STUDENT TEACHERS AND PUBLISHER'S SAMPLES
PRETEST: JANUARY, 1971

tapping some of the same factors. Whether any of these measures are related to actual performance or effectiveness ratings remains to be seen.

FIRST QUARTER EVALUATIONS

The student teachers actually completed two quarters of in-class teaching experience between January and June. At the end of March students were shifted to a classroom at a different grade level to develop breadth of experience. Two school staff members (a Title IV coordinator and the individual student's cooperating teacher), the University supervisor and the evaluator all completed rating scales asking for an evaluation of the student teacher's ability to manage the classroom, to establish rapport with pupils, to carry out her duties reliably and so forth. In addition, supervisors provided a letter grade in student teaching for each candidate at the end of each quarter. To discover if teaching performance was correlated with the CPI as an indicator of general level of functioning, a total score for each student (made by summing the CPI subscale scores exclusive of the scale for "Feminity") was correlated with the performance ratings made by the evaluator, the two teacher coordinators, the cooperating teachers as a group and the three university supervisors, handled as a group. Neither these CPI total scores nor the MTAI total scores correlated highly with performance ratings. However, of the 18 CPI subscale scores, several repeatedly appeared as the best correlating subscales over the various groups of raters.

[Figure 9: Correlations CPI Subscales
With March Ratings]

"Responsibility", "Flexibility", and "Tolerance" seem to be the characteristic subscales predicting high student teacher performance ratings at the end of the first quarter of student teaching.

	<u>r</u>	<u>SUBSCALE</u>
LETTER GRADE BY SUPERVISOR	.46 .33	RESPONSIBILITY TOLERANCE
RATING SCALES BY SUPERVISOR	.42 .33	RESPONSIBILITY FLEXIBILITY
RATING SCALES BY COORDINATORS	.51 .31	RESPONSIBILITY FLEXIBILITY
RATING SCALES BY TEACHERS	.32 .30	FLEXIBILITY RESPONSIBILITY
RATING SCALES BY EVALUATOR	.33 .33 .33	RESPONSIBILITY ACHIEVEMENT VIA INDEPENDENCE TOLERANCE

**FIGURE 9 CPI SUBSCALES CORRELATING
.30 OR HIGHER WITH STUDENT
EVALUATIONS, MARCH**

SECOND QUARTER EVALUATIONS

Three students left the program after the first quarter ended. Two of the three projected the "activist" image; all three had been students at Arroyo. With their leaving, certain concerns of the various raters shifted away from the focus upon such problems as student responsibility and moved toward second quarter concerns which seemed to center about morale. Remaining students seemed committed to finishing the program in spite of the heavy scheduling and fatiguing in-school responsibilities.

MTAI, CPI, RESULTS

As was the case at the end of the first quarter, student teacher performance evaluations did not correlate significantly with either the CPI or the MTAI tests taken in January. CPI subtest correlational emphasis shifted away from "Responsibility" toward "Well Being" as the highest correlating subscale for three of the four rater groups. "Flexibility" also correlated 3.0 or better with ratings made by all four sets of raters. During this period, the students at both the schools had come to be viewed by some staff members as perhaps applying pressure to the cooperating teachers to make certain innovative alterations in classrooms or programs. Ratings by persons administratively superior to students correlated negatively with the CPI Achievement via Conformance subscale for both supervisors and coordinators, indicating perhaps that an interest in high level planfulness, organization and achievement on the part of the student may lead to negative evaluations when students are expected to behave as learners in a classroom situation ($r = -.46$ for supervisor ratings and achievement via conformity subscale; $r = -.31$ for teacher coordinator ratings and achievement via conformity.)¹

¹ Persons scoring high on the CPI subscale "Achievement via Conformance" are described as "Capable, cooperative, efficient, organized, stable, and sincere; as being persistent and industrious; and valuing intellectual activity and intellectual achievement." Gough, H.G., Manual for the California Psychological Inventory, Palo Alto, Consulting Psychologist Press, Inc., 1969.

<u>STUDENT</u>	<u>JANUARY</u>	<u>JUNE</u>	<u>DIFFERENCE</u>
1	112	103	-9
2	105	15	-90
3	103	79	-24
4	100	84	-16
5	97	79	-31
6	97	89	-8
7	95	62	-33
8	86	80	-6
9	82	92	+10
10	77	82	+5
11	74	71	-3
12	73	72	-1
13	73	92	+19
14	72	101	+25
15	70	62	-8
16	63	59	-4
17	60	74	+14
18	59	46	-13
19	58	60	+2
20	47	57	+10
21	46	25	-21
22	38	87	+49
23	35	61	+26
24	23	54	+45

SCHOOL MEANS

	<u>VALENCIA</u>	<u>ARROYO</u>
JANUARY	65.62	82.28
JUNE	60.08	81.91

FIGURE 10 MTAI MEANS AND SCORE DISTRIBUTIONS:
TWO ADMINISTRATIONS

however, seems to be exhibited without regard to particular school in which the student was placed, with school means remaining more or less constant over the two administrations. If one wishes to expand on the notion that average scores between 60 and 80 reflect a middle-of-the-road attitude regarding the teaching of children, then it might be said that students initially more extreme came, over time, to have a more modal point of view.

DIFFERENTIAL VIEW OF STUDENTS

As was mentioned previously, we were initially interested in seeing whether raters with different underlying bases for assessment would perceive students differentially. To specifically assess raters' view of the students in their role of effective "agents of change", and additional rating instrument was devised asking for assessment of the students' skill and drive in the area of problem solving on an administrative level, their sensitivity to needs of both children and school people, their originality and creativity in problem solving, and finally, their ability of follow through on innovations and understand and act in terms of long-range strategies. Raters for the students on this instrument were the director, the head University supervisor and the evaluator, all of whom had had extensive contact with all of the students both within and outside of their classrooms.

[Figure 11 Correlations for Raters on Performance and "Effectiveness" Dimension]

To contrast predictability of student teacher performance as opposed to predictability of "Effectiveness" a review is presented of the various raters' correlations of teacher performance with certain program variables; all are at or near zero. Performance rating correlations with June letter grade are given on the last line, also. The second table on the page gives the correlations of the "Effectiveness" measure; it appears to be,

In as much as our CPI subscale results do not agree with findings of other studies, it is probable that our situation was somewhat different from usual student training programs, requiring somewhat different behavior on the part of the participants.¹ Because of diversity of pressures upon students to either conform or innovate, depending on the source of the pressure, it is no wonder that "Flexibility" comes through as a predictor of success!

ALTERATION IN MTAI SCORES

Of great interest is the amount of direction of change in MTAI scores obtained before and after the student teaching experience. Yee in a 1969 review article claims support for the hypothesis that cooperating teachers influence the attitudes of their student teachers.² Unfortunately, we were not able to administer the MTAI to last year's cooperating teachers. However, if students' scores changed in any consistent way, perhaps influences as to cooperating teachers' attitudes could be made.

[Figure 10: MTAI Scores, January and June Administration]

It appears that a pattern may exist: those with the higher scores tend to drop, whereas those with the lower scores tend to rise. It is interesting to note that departure from the pattern at the upper and lower ends of the distribution is characteristic of students at particular schools, i.e. persons 9 and 10, with relatively high scores rising over time, were both students at Arroyo, as were persons 13 and 14. Likewise persons 18 and 21 were both students at Valencia. The overall pattern,

¹ For a review of CPI studies in the area of predicting student teaching performance see Gough, H.O., G.W. Duflinger, and R.E. Heil, 1968. "Predicting Performance in Student Teaching." Journal of Educational Psychology, 59:119-27.

² Yee, A. H., 1969, "Do Cooperating Teachers Influence Attitudes of Student Teachers?" Journal of Educational Psychology, 60:327-32.

TEACHER PERFORMANCE RATINGS
JUNE, 1971

	BY TWO UNIVERSITY SUPERVISORS	BY TWO TEACHER COORDINATORS	BY COOPERATING TEACHERS	BY EVALUATOR
JANUARY MTAI	-.02	.01	-.11	.12
JUNE MTAI	-.24	.02	-.06	-.07
GPA	-.02	-.10	-.27	-.34
CPI TOTAL	.18	-.01	-.07	.02
JUNE LETTER GRADE	.62	.84	.72	.57

TEACHER EFFECTIVENESS RATINGS

JUNE, 1971

	BY UNIVERSITY SUPERVISOR	BY EVALUATOR	BY DIRECTOR
JANUARY MTAI	.17	.44	.47
JUNE MTAI	-.11	.33	.35
GPA	.24	.39	.49
CPI TOTAL	-.02	.54	.58
CPI "CHANGE AGENT"	.05	.55	.62
JUNE LETTER GRADE	.60	.48	.38
"EFFECTIVENESS": SUPERVISOR ---		.36	.22
"EFFECTIVENESS": EVALUATOR ---		----	.82

FIGURE 11 CORRELATIONS FOR PROGRAM VARIABLES
AND STUDENT TEACHER PERFORMANCE AND EFFECTIVENESS RATINGS

for the evaluator and director, much more predictable than performance as a classroom teacher. The University supervisor, however, did not appear to rate students in accord with their scores on the MTAI or CPI. Her responses seem most highly correlated with the "grade in student teaching" variable. It is possible that her view of students' effectiveness was highly influenced by her view of the students as classroom teachers.

These observations lead us to conclude that for this particular program, with these participants, the CPI and MTAI are more predictive of change agent effectiveness than of student teacher performance in the classroom.

Several student CPI profiles are presented which we feel exemplify some of the relationships discussed.

Figure 12: A student who received high ratings on student teaching and moderate ratings on effectiveness. Note the mildly elevated profile.

Figure 13: A student receiving a high rating on effectiveness, but only moderate ratings on performance. Note the relatively higher elevation on areas dealing with poise, ascendancy and tolerance, with lower scores in the areas of socialization and responsibility.

Figure 14: A student receiving high grades in student teaching and low ratings in change agent effectiveness. Note the elevation in the areas of responsibility and the lower scores in areas of poise and ascendancy.

CONCLUSIONS

Many alternative hypotheses could explain the data presented. It appears evident that change agent effectiveness can be predicted by use of the MTAI and CPI. It also appears, however, that predicting ratings of teaching ability by means of these instruments was not feasible in this study. The fact that MTAI scores not only did not predict performance ratings, but also lowered during the teaching experience for students

initially high scoring, could conceivably lead us to investigate the apprenticeship climate. If an initial high score reflects an optimistic view of the expected relationship with pupils, then perhaps the lowered score reflects a disappointment that the "progressive" theories espoused by the student were not effective in the student teaching situation. In other words, activist students initially entering the program with a "change agent" profile should be carefully matched with a classroom teacher beyond point seven on the single school integration model. This would reinforce the change agent effectiveness. However, in our particular situation these teachers are scattered throughout the district. Further questions arise from the analysis of the CPI data. It may be hypothesized by some that the secret of good teaching is so unrelated to measurable personality factors as to defy prediction. Others, however, may be led to question a training situation that does not seem to recognize and reward personality characteristics generally observed to be related to success in the world at large.

PROFILE SHEET FOR THE *California Psychological Inventory: FEMALE*

Notes:
 □ JANUARY MTAI = 97
 □ JUNE MTAI = 79
 GPA = 3.64

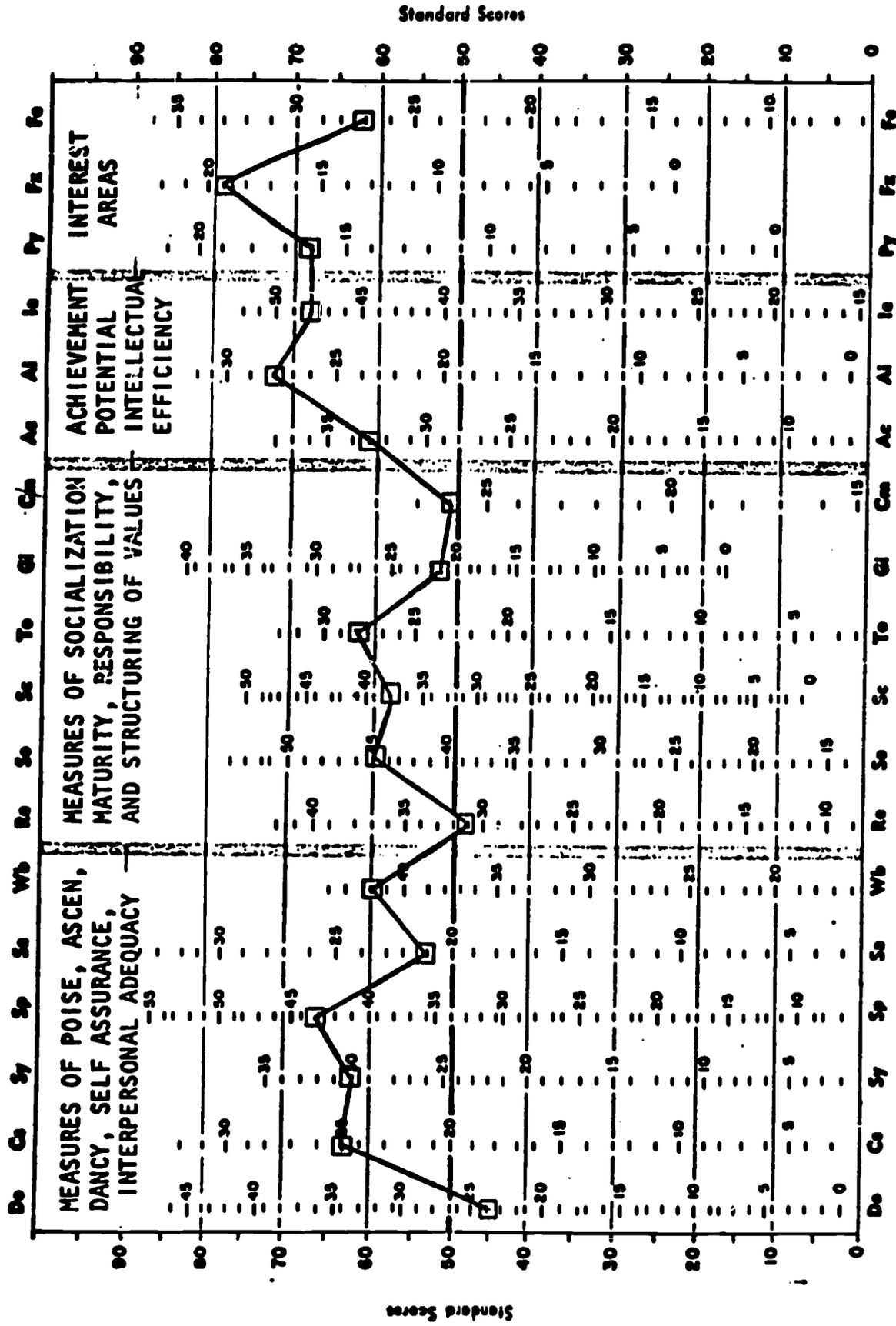


FIGURE 12 STUDENT RECEIVING HIGH RATINGS ON STUDENT TEACHING, BUT MODERATE RATINGS ON EFFECTIVENESS

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PROFILE SHEET FOR THE California Psychological Inventory: FEMALE

Notes:
 * JANUARY HTAI = 112
 JUNE HTAI = 103
 GPA = 3.32

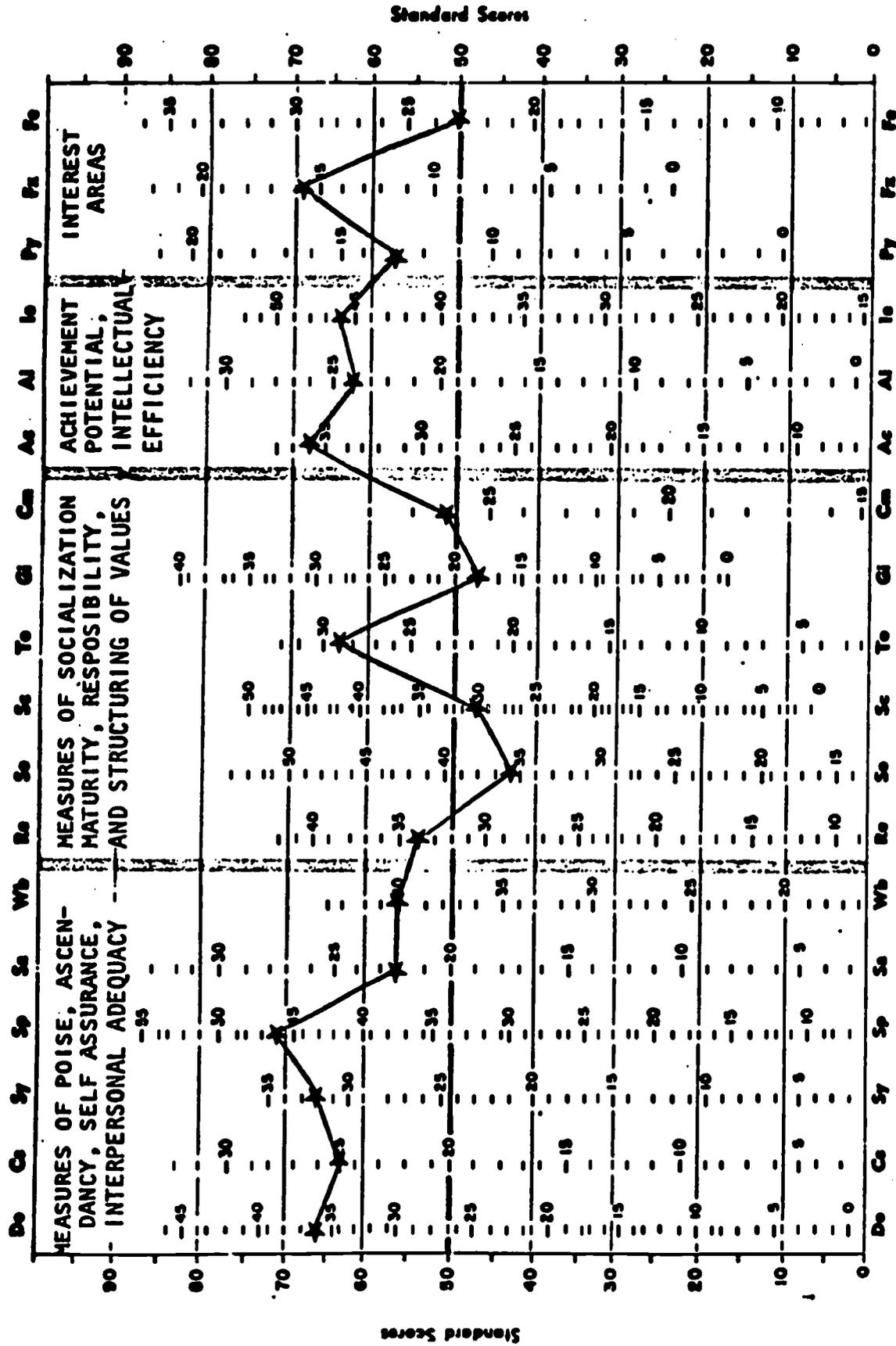


FIGURE 13 STUDENT RECEIVING HIGH RATINGS ON EFFECTIVENESS, BUT MODERATE RATINGS ON STUDENT TEACHING

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PROFILE SHEET FOR THE *Calif. a Psychological Inventory*: MALE

Notes:

● JANUARY MTAI = 74
 ● JUNE MTAI = 71

GPA = 2.58

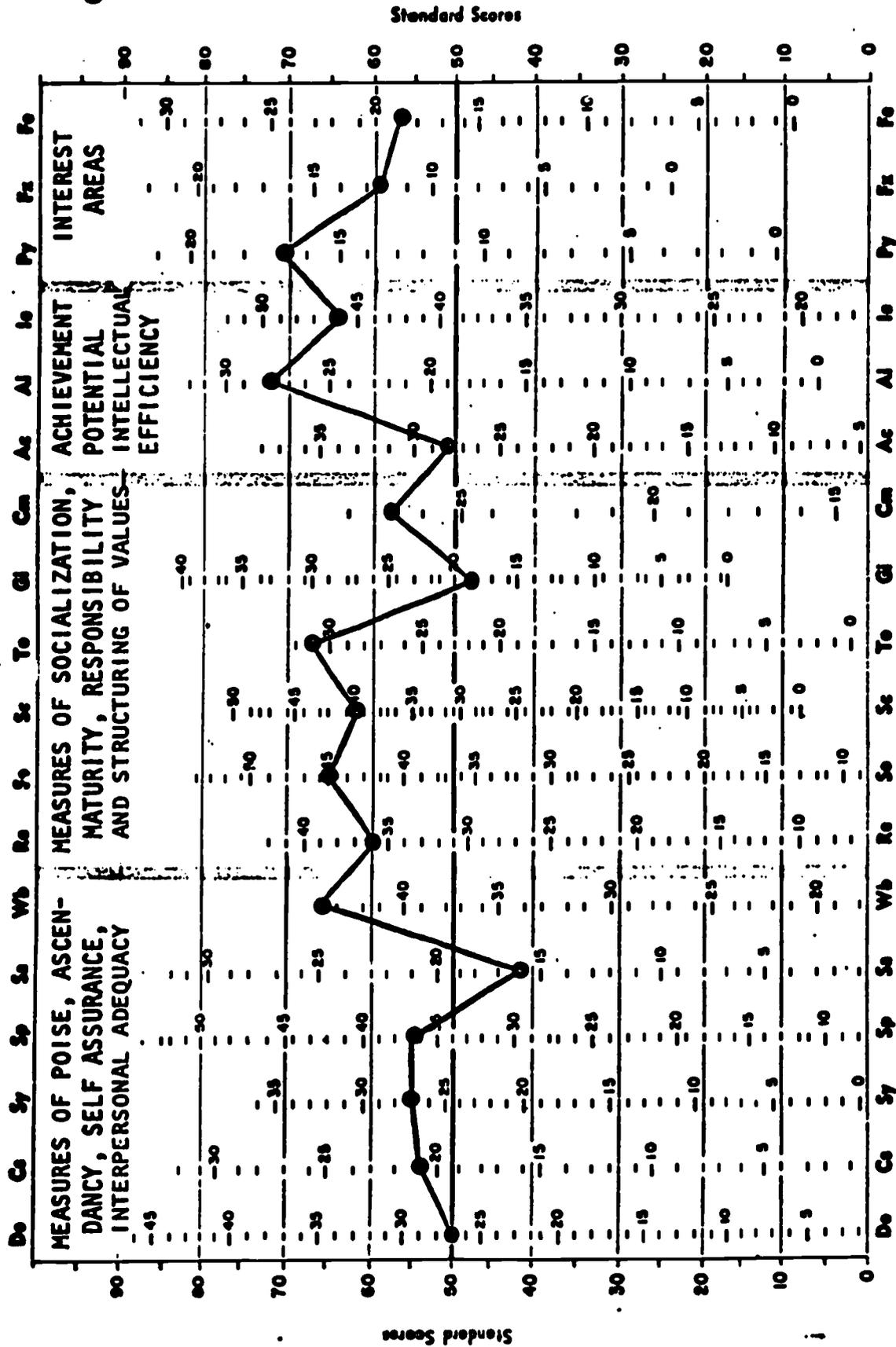


FIGURE 14 STUDENT RECEIVING HIGH RATINGS ON STUDENT TEACHING, BUT LOW RATINGS ON EFFECTIVENESS

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