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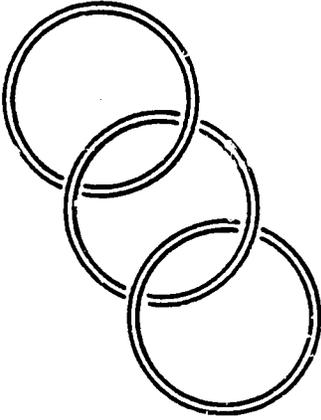
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ABSTRACT

This review of literature and research studies is designed to establish documented background for the development of a model teacher preparation program for reducing problems associated with school desegregation. The review is organized into three parts. Part One presents literature pertaining to the historical development of minority group education, school desegregation, and multicultural education. Literature and research studies supporting the enhancement of the desegregation process through multicultural education are presented in Part Two. The final section reviews the challenges facing teacher education programs preparing people to work in multicultural settings. A series of nine steps to assist teacher personnel in curriculum development is provided. (Author/MK)

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RESEARCH REVIEW OF SCHOOL DESEGREGATION
(A PROBLEM)
AND
MULTI-CULTURAL EDUCATION
(A SOLUTION)

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INTRODUCTION

This document presents a review of the literature related to school desegregation and multicultural education. It is designed to examine basic factors which should contribute to curriculum development in teacher education. Reducing the size of critical problems of desegregating schools demands revision of teacher preparation courses to assure attitudinal changes, skills and techniques for teaching multi-ethnic groups of learners.

Desegregation, for many Americans, is defined in terms of black-white America. Reinforcing this, is the case law and educational research which have until very recently, been a part of this black-white definition. Increasingly, as the desegregation process has moved from its biracial, regional roots in the South to more racially and culturally diverse North and West, the concerns of other non-white Americans have begun to be articulated.

The purpose of this review of the literature and research studies is to establish documented background for development of a transportable model teacher preparation program for desegregated schools.

The organization of the review consists of the introduction and three parts HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT, ENHANCEMENT OF THE DESEGREGATION PROCESS THROUGH MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION, and THE CHALLENGE FOR TEACHER EDUCATION.

Part I: The Problem: a historical overview of black education, student outcomes in school desegregation, and a historical overview of multicultural education. The enhancement is examined in Part II. Topics explored include: models of multicultural education, support for the cultural pluralist ideology, selecting a model for curriculum reform and teacher training activities, teacher attitudes toward ethnically different children in desegregated settings, characteristics and practices of teachers who are successful or unsuccessful in multi-ethnic settings. The challenge for teacher education is the focus of Part III.

PART I: THE PROBLEM

THE PROBLEM

Historically, public education in our country has been viewed as necessary for giving citizens the skills and knowledge to function effectively in a democratic society. It has been perceived by many as the great equalizer, enabling all Americans, regardless of race or social class, to pursue, and succeed in their life goals. However, in reality this concept of education has been used all too often to maintain the status quo and define success only in terms of the values, customs, and history of the majority culture manifested by the dominant white Anglo Saxon protestant society. In the following pages, the realities of minority group education are documented.

Historical Overview of Minority Group Education

Before the Civil War

Black participation in northern and southern schools was virtually non-existent until 1865 (Weinberg, 1977). In 1960, nearly 1.4 million black children under ten years of age lived in the United States. The enrollment rate was 55% for white children and less than two percent for blacks.

White southerners feared universal reading and writing skills which could encourage widespread circulations of anti-slavery material. South Carolina legitimized this position by passing a law in 1740 which made it illegal to teach slaves to read and write. Other southern states had passed similar "compulsory ignorance" legislation.

Of the 250,000 former slaves who had been granted freedom by 1860, few were educated. Weinberg's (1977) analysis indicated that only about 4,000 attended schools. In the early nineteenth century some were educated in private Sabbath schools. These were never widespread. In 1840, about 1,459 attended 15 schools. With the spread of abolitionist literature by 1830, even these schools were forced to stop teaching reading. Oral instruction was the replacement.

Two hundred free blacks lived in the north in 1860. Weinberg (1977) reported that between 1790 and 1830, private schools were built by blacks in a dozen northern cities.

He further described their plight of having to financially support these private schools as well as the white-only public schools. Weinberg also reports federal action taken when statehood was granted which provided 27 acres of federal land for schools.

Minority pressure in Boston in 1820 and in other northern districts forced erection of separate schools. By mid-century, segregated public school enrollment increased from 702 in 1831 to 7,456 in 1862.

After the Civil War

With emancipation, former black slaves in the south began to attend freedom schools to learn reading and writing skills they had previously been denied. Weinberg (1977) claimed that minority education following the Civil War gained impetus. Northern Missionaries contributed money, materials, and teachers and the Freedman's Bureau helped financially from 1866-1870.

During reconstruction in the south, state legislatures established public education systems for all students through new state constitutions. Enrollment and expenditures increased in some southern states (Wharton, 1965). With the end of Reconstruction in 1877, and the loss of minority political power, public school progress slackened.

In the north, minorities continued to enter the public school system during this latter half of the nineteenth century. Many were forced to attend separate schools, although states had laws outlawing segregation. These laws were not enforced or if they were, school boundaries were drawn to perpetuate separation ~~sometimes~~ achieved through forced occupancy of certain areas of schools. (Weinberg, 1977)

After Plessy vs. Ferguson

The Plessy vs. Ferguson decision by the Supreme Court sanctioned segregation with the "separate but equal" doctrine in 1896. The court ruled that separate but equal facilities in interstate transportation were not inconsistent with the 14th Amendment that granted blacks citizenship rights. Soon this "separate but equal" philosophy was extended to other public facilities in the country, including education. In many areas "separate but equal" was never realized. There

was unequal pay between black and white teachers; whites had more school days and higher per pupil expenditure than blacks. For example, in 1900 one county in Mississippi spent \$22.25 for the education of each white child and only \$2.00 for the education of each black child (Franklin 1969).

The "separate but equal" doctrine was virtually unchallenged until mid-twentieth century. Beginning in the 1930's, the NAACP initiated activities to attack the unequal pay for black and white teachers and were somewhat successful in getting acceptable remedies. Although this emphasis by the NAACP supported the segregation philosophy, its intent was to end the unequal educational provisions for the races.

Historical Overview of School Desegregation

Historical Overview

In 1950, the NAACP Legal Defense Fund (LDF) changed its focus. It addressed the issue that separateness itself was unequal. Financial equality was not enough, segregation had to end. Five separate cases were taken before the Supreme Court in 1954. In arguments before the Supreme Court, LDF lawyer Robert L. Carter contended:

... We have been deprived of the equal protection of the laws where the statute requires appellants to attend public elementary schools on a segregated basis, because the act of segregation in and of itself denies them equal educational opportunities which the Fourteenth Amendment secures. (Friedman, 1962:12)

On May 17, 1954 the Supreme Court reversed the 1896 Plessy vs. Ferguson decision and in Brown vs. Board of Education (Brown I) ruled:

... In the field of public education the doctrine of "separate but equal" has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal... We hold that the plaintiffs and other similarly situated ... are, by reason of the segregation complained of, deprived of the equal protection of the laws guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment. Brown vs. Board of Education (I), 347, U.S. 483 at 495.

After the Brown Decision

Following the Brown I, the Supreme Court took a year to explore possible methods of implementation for this decision. On May 1956 in Brown vs. Board of Education II (Brown II), the Supreme Court instructed schools to end segregation "with all deliberate speed." No deadlines for ending segregation were issued. The power to enforce this law was given to the federal district courts. White southerners who had legitimized and supported segregation did not easily accept the Brown decision. Civil rights were poised for action. Absence of guidelines or precedence complicated development of possible compliance procedures. The Brown decision itself had major weaknesses. Weinberg (1977) believed the Supreme Court erred in mandating "all deliberate speed." It left compliance to white controlled school boards and did not set up deadlines for ending segregation. Robert L. Carter (1968:243) further argued that this type of compliance was on "terms that whites would accept." Carter felt the Warren court sacrificed individual and immediate vindication of the newly discovered right to desegregate education. Weinberg also criticized the Warren court for over-emphasizing the dismantling of segregation instead of ending inequality of schools.

Immediately following Brown II, black parents in many parts of the south asked school districts to enroll their children in white public schools. Orangeburg, South Carolina, Yazoo City, Mississippi, and in Virginia: Newport News, Norfolk, Alexandria, Charlottesville, Arlington County, and Isle of Wite were places that were petitioned (Jones, 1978). In each case the petitions were rejected. The white backlash in Orangeburg and Yazoo City caused economic pressure, job loss, and credit denial for black parenst (Jones, 1978). When these parents turned to the courts they lost more cases than they won. W.E.B DuBois expressed the helplessness many blacks felt in the 1950's: "Unfortunately in the United States there is a long habit of ignoring and breaking the law" (Lester, 1971:132).

To prevent integration, white southern political leaders responded with "massive resistance" efforts that prevented any large scale implementation of the Brown decision until the mid 1960's. The purpose of this tactic by white southerners was to prevent segregation and to avoid problems in the court. Federal help at the congressional or executive level was minimal during these years and the plan was successful. As a result only 3% of the schools in the

south were desegregated by 1964.

Legislative acts that hindered desegregation in the south included repealing the compulsory school attendance laws, allowing whites to leave public schools, extending aid to court-ordered desegregated schools. Even the NAACP was declared an illegal group in some southern states (Jones, 1978).

Perhaps the most effective southern legislation to stall desegregation was the pupil placement laws. These laws were enacted to circumvent the federal courts' mandate to desegregate the schools. They purported to end segregation by allowing all students "freedom of choice" to attend any school within a school division, but in reality they kept the races apart. Black children who wanted to choose a white school had to fill out special applications, take tests, file formal appeals, and anticipate intimidation. Any student who didn't follow this procedure was automatically assigned to a traditional school.

To protest their school assignments individual suits had to be filed and no single decision ordering school desegregation could be used against an entire school system. The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights called pupil placement laws "the principle obstacle to desegregation in the south" (U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1962). Furthermore, Weinberg (1977), reported that between 1955 and 1963, the Supreme Court refused to review all cases involving black challenges to the pupil placement system. The courts approved these plans from 1955. three-judge federal court ruled in Briggs vs. Elliott (1955) that "the Constitution does not require integration, it merely forbids segregation."

Impetus to desegregation came with the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. In 1964, only 3% of black students in the south attended desegregated schools. Between 1964-1969 this figure rose to 30 - 40 percent desegregation (Jones 1978). Two sections of this Act were crucial to desegregation.

1. Title IV authorized the U.S. Commissioner of Education to help schools desegregate, and empowered the Attorney General to institute law suits to bring about desegregation.
2. Title VI forbade the use of Federal funds in any federally assisted program that practices racial discrimination.
(Weinberg, 1977).

Federal intervention and threatened loss of funds contributed to large scale desegregation in the south.

Before 1964 blacks were beginning to lose patience with the token desegregation. The protest movement of the early 1960's helped raise American consciousness of inequalities. The student-spearheaded civil rights movement culminated in passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. "This legislation," wrote Martin Luther King (1965) "was first written in the streets."

Federal court decisions following the Civil Rights Act began to reinforce the original spirit of Brown II. Freedom of choice plans that had been approved since 1955 were now coming under scrutiny by the federal courts. In the United States vs. Jefferson County 1966-1967 decision, the Fifth Circuit Court ruled that freedom of choice plans had to eliminate segregation and token desegregation. In May 1968, after examining freedom of choice plans, the Supreme Court noted slow movement in the south. In Green vs. New Kent County Board of Education (1968) the Supreme Court said:

The pattern of separate "White" and "Negro" schools in the New Kent County school system established under compulsion of State laws (is) the pattern to which Brown I and Brown II were particularly addressed.

Desegregation in 1969-70 did not move at projected speed. In that year only 27.5 percent of black students attended desegregated schools (Pottinger, 1971). Martin (1971) blamed the slowdown on the Republican administrations. The Johnson administration had rigorously enforced Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act but in 1970 HEW, with White House support, was not enforcing desegregation and was giving reprieves to school systems that refused to desegregate.

In 1969, the court expressed dissatisfaction with current progress in desegregation and in Alexander vs. Holmes County School Board (1969) the Supreme Court asked 33 Mississippi school districts to desegregate immediately. The decision was handed down in October, 1969 and Mississippi was physically desegregated by January, 1970. The stalling tactics of the Southern strategy would no longer be effective in delaying desegregation in the south.

Another court decision that encouraged immediate desegregation was the landmark 1971 case of Swann vs. Charlotte-

Mecklenburg. Weinberg (1977) claimed Swann rivaled Brown I in importance in ending desegregation. The case examined the issue of desegregation within the issue of residential segregation. In this decision the court approved busing as "a normal and accepted tool of educational policy" (U.S. Commission on Civil Rights). Districts now could employ extensive busing if necessary to end dual systems. By 1972 over 90% of the black students in the south attended desegregated schools (Weinberg 1977).

Desegregation in the North

By the 1950's all segregation laws had been eliminated in the North, but discrimination against black children was still prevalent in public education. Weinberg (1977) accused the north of using methods of "out-right exclusion, segregation in separate quarters..., and inequitable financial requirements" to perpetuate segregation in the schools. In the decade of the fifties, the north had latched on to the doctrine of de facto segregation as opposed to de jure segregation to legitimize its present segregation policies. This legal distinction enabled the north to justify segregation because it was a "happenstance" consequence of residential patterns and not caused by "affirmative statutory authority" as de jure segregation in the south.

Court rulings in the north during the 1960's allowed segregation to continue in that area. Two cases approved all black schools since "they resulted from assignment by residence not race," (Bell vs. School Board of the City of Gary Indiana, 324 F 2nd 209, 1963 and Downs vs. Board of Education of Kansas City, 336 F 2nd 988, 1964).

In the first northern desegregation case before the Supreme Court, Keyes vs. School District (1973) the Court found that the Denver school system had used a variety of methods to maintain a segregated school system. This decision seemed to weaken the de-facto doctrine. Northern and Western schools were being encouraged to desegregate.

Another northern court case, Milliken vs. Bradley (1974) resulted in a decision that is interpreted by many as being a set-back for desegregation in urban areas (Jones 1978). This case dealt with desegregation in Detroit and its adjacent suburbs. The court refused to order an inter-district remedy for desegregating schools in black Detroit and its white suburbs. Moreover the court ruled 8-0 in the Dayton Case (July 27, 1977) that:

Mandatory segregation by law of the races in the schools has long since ceased...The duty of federal trial and appellate judges in such cases is to determine if a school board intended to or did discriminate against minority pupils, teachers or staff...Then they should measure the "incremental segregation effect" the violations have on the racial distribution of the school population against what that distribution would have been had there been no violations...The remedy must be designed to redress that difference and only if there has been a system-wide impact may there be a system-wide remedy.

Although Dayton did not maintain a dual system, it did engage in practices that resulted in a segregated school system. The Supreme Court said Dayton has committed constitutional violations, but these did not "suffice to justify the remedy imposed."

Weinberg (1977) claimed that northern desegregation was at the point of southern desegregation in 1965 essentially because the residential segregation patterns had perpetuated the practice. Weinberg (1977) also believed the north had relied on southern stalling strategies such as "free choice arrangements, referred to as open enrollments, magnet schools, voluntary desegregation and other names" to avoid desegregation.

School Desegregation: Student Outcomes

Further desegregation of the nation's schools is linked to residential segregation. The areas that still have segregated systems, urban suburban school districts, will remain segregated unless recent court decisions are reversed (Milliken, 1974; Dayton, 1977). Southern states are more desegregated than the northern, western, or border states and further desegregation has to involve the urban centers. In 1970, 60% of all blacks lived in central cities, with only 5% living in suburbs (Rist, 1976). Seven of the ten had minority populations of at least thirty percent while the surrounding suburbs remained overwhelmingly white. These urban centers were equally spread over southern, northern and western parts of our country.

Urban desegregation remains questionable, and would probably need strong federal backing to succeed. Bullock (1976) identified potential problems. The costs would be

enormous. To effectively desegregate the schools, massive busing might be necessary to equally balance the races. The uneven ethnic distribution would pose an insurmountable barrier. Finally, if any major reallocation of pupils was mandated increased white flight would further drain the tax base.

Busing seemed to be the only way to achieve desegregation and many white and black question this approach. Bosco (1976) reported that the majority of Americans oppose busing for desegregation.

An alternative to desegregate involves combining urban and suburban school districts. Black opposition stems from contributing to a precedent for merging other public services (Bullock, 1976). Furthermore, it seemed not to be a viable choice after the Supreme Court ruled in 1974 in the Detroit case that it was not constitutionally necessary to consolidate 53 school systems in Detroit (Milliken vs. Bradley 1974).

Unless new decisions or interpretations come forth from the courts desegregation will remain at the present level. Those schools that have desegregated since Brown I and Brown II have undergone many changes. What effect have these changes had on student achievement, self-concept or racial attitude? Research in desegregation has examined these issues and certain conclusions have been reached. However, Crain (1977:31) warned that desegregation research has had many problems:

1. Almost none of the research has been concerned with determining how desegregation should be done, and in generating techniques which minimize public opposition or maximize student benefits. Instead almost all of it has been concerned with asking whether some desegregation was better than none, a question relevant to the national controversy over busing but of little relevance to policy makers.
2. When research had asked whether desegregation was good or bad, it had almost always asked the question in the wrong way--namely, in terms of short-run achievement tests rather than long-run effects on students or the impact of desegregation on the whole country.

As a result, Crain thought that researchers have had to focus only on the short-run effects of desegregation and have too often concluded by emphasizing the negative benefits.

Desegregation Achievement Studies

Desegregation research has resulted in conflicting findings concerning the effect of desegregation on student achievement. Recently several reports (e.g. St. John, 1975; Weinberg, 1977; Stephan, 1978) have reviewed desegregation research and each has reached somewhat different conclusions.

St. John (1975) reviewed sixty-seven studies of the effects of school desegregation on children. Black student achievement was measured in a pretest/post-test study in thirty-seven of the studies. Of these studies, twenty-five measured black achievement over a one-year period and that year usually was the first of desegregation. Of the sixty-seven studies examined by St. John, only two used a sample from more than one city. She (1975:36) concluded:

More than a decade of considerable research effort has produced no definitive positive findings...desegregation has rarely lowered academic achievement for either black or white children.

In an examination of 48 achievement studies Weinberg (1977) found black achievement rose in twenty-nine of the studies while 19 studies showed no effect. Weinberg pinpointed certain variables that seemed to reoccur in the studies. Two important factors that encouraged black achievement were teacher and peer acceptance of black students. He concluded that socio-economic factors do not overwhelm desegregation efforts. Although Weinberg maintained there was still an achievement gap, black achievement seemed to rise in desegregated settings.

Stephan (1978) examined fifteen published studies on the effects of desegregation on black student achievement. Six of these found an increase in achievement and nine found no effects or a mixture of effects. He also investigated nineteen unpublished achievement studies and found that in four there was an increase in achievement for minority students, no difference or mixed results in fourteen cases, and a decrease in one case.

Self-Concept in Desegregation

St. John reported that desegregation tended to have a negative effect on black students. She claimed both the self-concept and aspiration of black children are higher in segregated schools, and suggested (1975) that:

It is not merely academic self-concept in the face of higher standards that is threatened, but also general self-concept. (p.119)

She (1975) summarized twenty-five studies that measured general self-esteem. Her findings are that:

1. 9 found that desegregation had a negative effect (but in only 3 of these is the difference statistically significant).
2. 7 no effect
3. 5 mixed results
4. 4 positive effect

Controversially Weinberg (1977:159) reviewed 26 studies on possible effect of desegregation on self-concept or self-esteem and observed that:

1. 12 found the effect was positive
2. 3 found no difference between whites and blacks in segregated schools
3. 8 found the effect was lowered self-concept
4. all experimental groups experienced rising self-esteem

He concluded that desegregation has benefitted the black students' self-concept, but could not accept the idea that black self-concept is lowered in interracial settings. Weinberg also isolated certain factors he felt led towards a negative self-concept. Frequently in the studies that showed a negative effect, there were implications that this negativism resulted from school environmental actions.

Stephan (1978) examined ten published studies on the effects of desegregation and found that three had negative effects on black self-esteem while seven had no effect or mixed effects. In addition he reported on ten dissertations and other unpublished studies that have examined this question. Two found desegregation had a negative effect on self-esteem of black students, and eight found that desegregation had mixed effects or no effect.

Racial Attitudes

The effect of desegregation on racial attitudes has

also been examined by St. John, Weinberg, and Stephan. While some of the researchers focused on prejudice as a white problem, the majority examined factors in both black and white prejudice. St. John reviewed 41 studies from 1937 to 1973 with the majority undertaken in the late 1960's. Most had been done in the North and at a secondary level. Sample size ranged from 100 to over 3000. She felt the studies do not offer any clear conclusions. Over-all there are more positive than negative findings and in many studies there was no effect or mixed effect. Racial attitude scores sometimes showed white prejudicial attitudes had lessened and black's had intensified; often the findings were reversed.

Weinberg, however, reviewed 46 studies on student interaction in interracial situations and concluded that these types of interactions usually led to the development of positive racial attitude. From these studies faculty leadership emerged as an important factor in facilitating positive racial attitudes. Moreover, in newly desegregated schools the importance of the role and responsibility of students in the schools program were also vital issues in fostering positive racial attitudes.

In ten published studies on the effect of desegregation on prejudice, Stephan found that three showed a reduction and, four an increase in prejudice; while three found no differences between segregated and desegregated schools. Of the two studies revealing lowered racial prejudice, the reduction occurred only for blacks. Eighteen other published studies produced equally conflicting results. Three studies found desegregation reduced prejudice of blacks toward whites and one found reduced prejudice of whites toward blacks. Two found that desegregation had increased black prejudice and four reported increases in white prejudice. One found desegregation had no effect on black prejudice and one found no effect on whites

Conclusions

What are the effects of desegregation on student's achievement, self-concept, or racial attitude in a desegregated setting? After examining the findings of the desegregation research, it is impossible to reach any firm conclusions because of the conflicting findings.

Definition of what is being measured seems to be needed. Achievement scores from standardized tests were used in 65 of 67 studies as the criteria for achievement. Stephan also agreed that change in achievement was the most

studied and researched area in desegregation since standardized testing was so prevalent in the school system. However many educators questioned the validity of using a test score that has been norm referenced for the American population as a true measurement of achievement is difficult to measure while standardized tests are used as evaluation tools. Even with these concerns, Stephan claimed the results for the achievement scores are more valid than those for the study of prejudice and self-esteem.

The effects of racial prejudice and self-esteem in desegregated settings can also be questioned. Perhaps the greatest weakness was that the majority of these studies examined newly desegregated schools (Crain, 1976; Stephan, 1978). Differences that are found may not be "due to the effects of desegregation per se, but to factors associated with the implementation of a new and controversial program" (Stephan, 1978:224).

Stephan (1978:225) also cautioned against drawing conclusions from these findings because the results are obtained in so many varied desegregated settings. He felt "the region of the country where the studies were conducted, whether the desegregation was voluntary or mandatory, the ratio of minority children to majority group children, the degree of residential segregation in the community, and the age and social class backgrounds of the students" all could influence the data. He also questioned the measurement used for determining prejudice and self-esteem and the designs used in the studies.

From this review, one can only conclude that no overwhelming conclusions can be drawn about the effect of desegregation on students. Further research is needed.

Crain (1976) suggested that this research concentrate on two issues: (1) evaluation of school desegregation in terms of its intended consequences rather than using criterion of ones own choosing and, (2) answering the question, how can desegregation be done better. Also Crain (1976:42) felt that research evaluation of some aspects of desegregation not be attempted, but accepted for its own merit because some "goals" simply cannot be evaluated. If segregation is immoral and desegregation is favored in order to eliminate immorality, science has nothing to say. Also Crain proposed using other criteria to evaluate school desegregation. Some of these areas of focus, for example, may involve examining if desegregation has affected the number of blacks going on to higher education, or examining the effects of school desegregation on adult behavior in the adult community. To do

these types of research federal money is required. Firm conclusions about the effects of desegregation will have to depend on future research efforts.

Historical Overview of Cultural Pluralism and Multicultural Education

In the past, the public school system had been structured to teach all children the values, customs, and history of the majority manifested by the dominant white Anglo-Saxon protestant society. In the nineteenth century, Horace Mann's common school was believed to be the best hope for establishing the "American way." As with schools during any period of history, its goals tended to closely reflect the society in which it was maintained. The common school was no exception and took on customs and values of the prevailing nationalistic mood during the early nineteenth century. It attempted to Americanize its students as defined by support of and belief in values of the dominant white protestant American.

As the common school spread throughout the country, it became alien even to many white immigrants. Beginning with the Irish immigrations in the 1840's, large numbers of people began migrating to this country who did not reflect the WASP definition of an American. To counteract the common schools' inculcation of protestant values, the Irish-Catholics established church schools to preserve the Irish child's cultural heritage. These were viewed as anti-American and led to the burning of schools and convents, and riots in the 1850's

Further changes in immigration patterns, from the majority of immigrants coming from Northwestern Europe in 1885 to 75% coming from Southern and Eastern Europe by 1905, brought additionally different cultural entities. The Southeastern Europeans were largely illiterate, coming from semifeudal societies which had no history of education. However, the Southeastern Jewish immigrant came from urban areas and had a tradition of education. The American public school system continued to operate as one of the main socializing agencies in our culture to Americanize these different groups.

To accomplish this task, the schools became social efficiency models to turn out "products", students, according to predetermined numbers and specifications as set by society. Social efficiency advocated early channeling of the immigrant students. At first this was done by social class and then by testing. Curriculum was aimed at practical real life experienced, but these real life experiences were defined by what

school officials thought served the economic and social needs of the students. In many instances this meant maintaining the status quo. During this process the students were encouraged to use only the English language and to believe in "American" values and customs.

Although the basic philosophy of the public schools was to make one model during the latter part of the nineteenth and early twentieth century, in most instances the schools isolated racially different groups. However, for white Americans, native and immigrant, a theory began to arise to support the inculcation of the values, customs and language held by the dominant Anglo culture. Israel Zaneill's play, The Melting Pot, first performed on Broadway in September, 1909, introduced this concept. In that play a character, David Querzano, a Russian-Jewish immigrant to New York City describes the new country as follows:

America is God's Crucible, the great Melting Pot where all races of Europe are melting and reforming! Here you stand, good folk, think I, when I see them at Ellis Island, here you stand in your fifty groups with your fifty languages and histories, and your fifty hatreds and rivalries, but you won't be long like that, brothers, for these are the fires of God. A fig for your feuds and vendettas! Germans and Frenchmen, Irishmen and Englishmen, Jews and Russians--into the Crucible with you all! God is making the American... The real American has not yet arrived. He is only in the Crucible, I tell you--he will be the fusion of all races, the common superman (Zwaneill, 1909).

The melting pot theory was adopted as a means of absorbing the large and unprecedented influx of immigrants from different ethnic backgrounds. This amalgamation was supposed to produce a super human, the American, from these different cultural groups, but not from the different racial groups. The school program reflected the values, customs, behaviors, and language of the WASP majority. Ethnic diversity was not tolerated.

Obviously the melting pot theory was doomed to fail. First it was only designed as a means to assimilate white Europeans. Other culture groups, Native Americans, Blacks, Spanish-speaking and Orientals, were certainly not going "to melt" into the dominant Anglo culture. These culturally and racially different groups had been systematically excluded from the mainstream of American life since the Declaration of Independence. The melting pot never proposed

to include all American ethnic groups. Secondly this myth was based on the premise that all cultures could be assimilated into the American social, economic and political system and that this was a desirable goal.

Challenges to this theory called for a multicultural approach in American schools. In 1915 Horace Kallen wrote an article "Disadvantages of the Melting Pot" that advocated cultural pluralism in American society (Kallen, 1924).

In recent years American schools have taken steps to implement a multicultural component into the curriculum in an attempt to make the school more reflective of the cultural diversity in American society. Within the past few years the federal government has taken initiative to cultivate multicultural education through legislation for ethnic heritage studies projects. The Ethnic Heritage Studies Program Act declared that "All persons in the educational institutions of the Nation should have an opportunity to learn about the differing and unique contributions to the national heritage made by each ethnic group" (ESA, 1965). Moreover in an attempt to provide for clear goals, objectives, and sound guidelines which reflect current research and learning theory, the United States Office of Education funded a grant to formulate and disseminate guidelines for multi-cultural education. Curriculum Guidelines for Multi-Ethnic Education include a rationale for multicultural education, curriculum guidelines for multicultural education, multicultural education program checklists, and also serve to represent the position of National Council of the Social Studies toward multicultural education (National Council of the Social Studies, 1976). The Guidelines are based on the belief in a democratic ideology in which cultural diversity is held as a positive force. A democratic society protects and provides opportunities for ethnic pluralism. Ethnic pluralism is based on the following four premises:

1. Ethnic diversity should be recognized and respected at individual, group, and societal levels.
2. Ethnic diversity provides a basis for societal cohesiveness and survival.
3. Equality of opportunity should be afforded to members of all ethnic groups.
4. Ethnic identification should be optional for individuals.
(National Council of Social Studies, 1976)

Also in the Guidelines the schools are encouraged to make a commitment to:

- (a) recognize and respect ethnic diversity;
- (b) promote societal cohesiveness based on the shared participation of ethnically diverse peoples;
- (c) maximize equality of opportunity for all individuals and groups; and
- (d) facilitate constructive societal change that enhances human dignity and democratic ideals (National Council of Social Studies, 1976).

To insure this commitment, the school should focus on school reform. The two goals for school reform included:

- 1. Creating total school environments that are consistent democratic ideals and ethnic pluralism.
- 2. Defining and implementing curricular policies that are consistent with democratic ideals and ethnic pluralism (National Council of Social Studies, 1976).

As an educational concept, multicultural education is defined in many ways. The federal government implies that multicultural education is:

- (a) knowledge of cultures and of subcultures, with special emphasis on those minority groups which are prevasively represented in American communities;
- (b) awareness of how specific cultures, learning situations, and skills sensitize professional behavior to learners;
- (c) transformation of personal prejudices so that negative biases are minimized and positive appreciation of minority children increased;
- (d) adjustments in curricula to implement the transition from the concept of "melting pot" to "cultural pluralism" (Howsam, et al., 1976).

The Commission on Multicultural Education of the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education provides this description:

Multicultural education is education which values cultural pluralism. Multicultural education rejects the view that schools should seek to melt away cultural differences or the view that schools should merely tolerate cultural pluralism. Instead, multicultural education affirms that schools should be oriented toward the cultural enrichment of all children and youth through programs rooted to the preservation and extension of cultural alternatives. Multicultural education recognizes cultural diversity as a fact of life in American society, and it affirms that this cultural diversity is a valuable resource that should be preserved and extended. It affirms that major education institutions should strive to preserve and enhance pluralism (Journal of Teacher Education, 1973).

The Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development (ASCD, 1977) states:

Multicultural education is a continuous, systematic process that will broaden and diversify as it develops. Equally important, however, is the content the core of which is respect for all people, regardless of differences--in fact, the recognition and prizing of diversity.

These concepts focus on multicultural education being incorporated in schools where the institutional norms recognize and are sensitive to the cultural or ethnic diversity of our country. The total school program shares the responsibility for implementations within curricula. Schools can not ignore this responsibility and should work to develop an organized, complete, and continuous program which reflects America's cultural diversity to create an ethnic literacy needed for our nation and our world.

Multicultural education is viewed as preparation for the social, political, and economic realities that individuals experience in culturally diverse and complex human encounters. A serious review of teacher education programs in colleges and universities will be required by the new multicultural education program. What is new and significant is the too seldom emphasized need for teachers to search for an emphasize the core values of American life which are the basis for unity amidst diversity. New also is the commitment to preserve and enhance rather than melt away the uniqueness

of cultural groups in society.

Institutional commitment is the foundation of an effective multicultural teacher education program. The institution's provision for multicultural education must be an integral part of its curriculum design. The major purpose of the new multicultural standards is to stimulate active roles on the part of teacher educators and teacher education institutions in making education more responsive to the needs and aspirations of all Americans.

In an article on incorporating multicultural education into the standards of the National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education--the agency responsible for accrediting teacher education programs, James (1978) states that planning and teaching from a multicultural perspective requires the following that:

1. Teachers should actively encourage interaction among students maximizing opportunities for cross-cultural dialogue and communication.
2. Teachers should establish an environment in the classroom that enables each student to feel that his or her status is equal to that of every other student.
3. Each student should have a meaningful opportunity to participate in the formation of common goals to provide direction for the instructional activities.
4. Teachers should stimulate and promote the concept of cooperation among students as they seek to accomplish the set goals.

Further, according to James, the new multicultural standard requires a serious review of teacher education programs in colleges and universities. There must be a proper environment for planning and implementing and a framework for task accomplishment. Each institution will have to develop its own definition of multicultural education within the standard. Arriving at an agreement on stating the elements of a multicultural program at the institutional level is a next step. These compilations by Hilliard (1974) should be useful for teacher preparation such program planning. They suggest elements of the conceptualization of the teacher's role:

1. The personality, values, and social background of the teacher are critical cultural inputs.
2. The teaching process is always a cross-cultural encounter.
3. The classroom is not a benign contest but a potent matrix.
4. All teaching tools are culture bound.
5. Teachers must understand that all minds are equally complex.
6. Teachers must know that students can be victims of oppressive social and economic conditions.
7. Teachers must understand that learning is related to a sense of power over some of the forces which infringe upon our lives.
8. Teachers must understand intimately the culture of their students.
9. Teachers must be helped to understand that the poor and racial or ethnic minorities can and actually have been able to learn at the same level as others when proper environmental support was provided.

This statement from Banks (1977) is equally contributive:

The teacher education programs must be designed to prepare individuals to function successfully in multiethnic settings. They must help teachers acquire: (1) the ability to view society from diverse ethnic perspectives, (2) a clarified philosophical position related to pluralism, (3) knowledge of the emerging stages of ethnicity, and their curricular and teaching implications, and (4) more democratic attitudes and values.

PART II: ENHANCEMENT OF THE DESEGREGATION PROCESS
THROUGH MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION

Multicultural Education and Desegregation

Recent years have seen a phenomenal growth in the literature dealing with attempts to describe and analyze the phenomena which arise when groups of people who differ racially and culturally come into contact with one another. Writers were formerly interested in the characteristics, differences and commonalities of racial and ethnic groups but today they are beginning to see that the most important problems with reference to race and ethnic groups are not the differences between groups, but their relationships.

Since 1954 when the supreme court's historic decision mandated that public schools in this country must be desegregated, the American public school system has faced very serious and complex ethnic and racial problems in the area of human relations. Smith (1954) maintains that "the importance of the supreme court's decision on May 17, 1954 outlawing segregation in the public schools lies in part in the fact that the psychological facts of life have received judicial recognition for the first time."

In many school systems in American school desegregation has been characterized by ethnic and racial conflicts, partial ostracism; unequal treatment, and isolation which placed limits or restrictions upon contact, communication, and social relations. The minorities in the school system have often waged an incessant war against the discrimination and restrictions which isolated them and prevented their full participation in the culture.

Baptiste (1977), asserts that court ordered desegregation will not facilitate the formation of positive racial attitudes in students about themselves and others. He believes that the school environment and the quality of the encounters among multicultural children will make statistically and substantively significant differences.

Educators and writers in the fields of education have realized that the desegregated school has produced a multicultural educational setting with mounting human and educational problems and challenges. This realization has lead to an abundance of philosophical writings, research studies and innovative practices in the area of multicultural education and school desegregation reveals that we are living in a culturally pluralistic society; that there are numerous efforts pertaining to maintaining a pluralistic school system

in theory and practice; that cultural diversity demands a multicultural education program which respects the lifestyles of the various and many minorities which comprise our society; and that multicultural educational opportunities, must permeate not only the curriculum but all areas of school activity.

Rackley and Rackley (1978) believe that multicultural education can contribute to a pluralistic American society by sensitizing all school personnel to the special needs and problems of minorities; enhancing levels of personal achievement through fostering positive group and self-identity; and by preparing ethnic minorities for service to their communities.

Wennersten (1974) points out that multicultural education is a most effective weapon for dealing with racism and other ethnic conflicts which can prove to be socially disruptive in a democratic society.

At the other extreme, some cultural pluralistics (Stokely Carmichael and Charles Hamilton) advocate that since ethnic groups have distinctive political and economic interests, each member of a particular ethnic group should use his potential for the achievement and advancement of those special interests. Since full participation in the larger society comes only from a position of power, the curriculum should be culturally specific in order to train pupils to perform successfully in their own ethnic group.

Banks (1976) alleging that ethnic conflict and racism in American society resulted from the cultural assimilation of European immigrants while denying others such as blacks, Indians, Orientals and Mexicans the same opportunity to assimilate into the larger society presents a pluralistic assimilationistic ideology as a middle position between these extremes.

Baker (1978) explored the role of the school in transmitting the culture of all learners in a free and democratic society. She takes the position that the curricula of the school must reflect the cultural diversity of its students and that multicultural education must be the process. She strongly contends that the school can be effective in transmitting the cultures of all learners.

Baty (1971) asserts that cultural awareness should be the initial process of a multi-ethnic education model since

racial, ethnic and cultural differences do exist. If desegregation of schools is to be promoted these differences must be recognized, valued, accepted and rewarded.

Sullivan (1974) contends that multicultural education must focus upon affective objectives, which are directed towards producing a good person; an intelligent, informed and responsible citizen; and a person who is skilled in intergroup relations.

Nostand (1957) points out that a multicultural classroom utilizes content and methodology which emphasize valuing cultural diversity; encourages the development of diverse potentialities; and focuses upon content and methodology which stress concepts and skills in human relations.

Gibson (1968) concludes that an "Intergroup Relations Curriculum" is needed for teaching strategies on Race and Culture in a diverse society.

Hilliard (1974) points out that the teaching process is always a cross-cultural encounter so that teacher education must be restructured in order to emphasize and productively utilize multicultural imperatives in the area of humanism. Planning for successful cross-cultural experiences of teachers and students of all racial, ethnic and socio-economic levels is a prerequisite for accomplishing the objective of desegregating the American classroom.

Chaffee (1975) examined the consumer management patterns of disadvantaged families. As a result of this investigation, the premise raised is that all educational programs for all cultures would succeed or fail (a) depending upon the degree to which the programs fit the needs and interests of ethnic groups for which the programs were intended and (b) depending upon whether these programs are based on data obtained through methods adaptable to and comparable with the various ethnic groups and subcultures of the American society.

Rodriguez (1975) believes that the utilization of multicultural literature helps to bring about an awareness of the differences and the commonalities among the ethnic groups. This awareness promotes desegregation in the classroom.

Zinty (1971) points out the need for a multicultural curriculum which fosters democratic ideals; helps students to achieve self-identity; and enables students to obtain

interpersonal understanding. These objectives of multicultural education promote self-respect and respect for others in students, and encourage acceptance of different ethnic and racial groups.

Burger (1971) asserts that school methodology, content and curricula can be made flexible and organized so as to utilize ethnic traditions to enhance desegregation goals.

Lee (1972) advocates two multicultural curricular procedures which would facilitate school desegregation: studying of informal relationships in intergroup problems; and the focusing upon selected themes of American culture in terms of the various ethnic groups and sub-cultures.

Alexander (1973) and Wolsk (1973) emphasize the need for global education and international understanding which develop humanization qualities in students and tends to facilitate school desegregation.

Passow (1975) points out that the characteristics of a culturally pluralistic society should determine the curricular content and methodology used to facilitate the process of school desegregation.

The Cultural Literacy Laboratory (1973) asserts that a successful teacher for a pluralistic society should be a culturally literate educator with skills of cross-cultural communication. These teacher assets promote classroom desegregation.

Banks (1974) implies that the school has a responsibility to teach those basic values of human rights as justice, equality and human dignity as it attempts to do away with racism, cultural genocide, and promote desegregation and cultural pluralism in the American schools.

Combs (1970) contends that today's school curriculum should focus upon human qualities, as the humanistic development of the person aids in realizing the goals of desegregation.

Nelsen (1976) contends that the success and failures of students in multi-ethnic schools are determined in large part by the social climate and environment in a school should be defined, measured, analyzed and evaluated in terms of the human relationships that emerge among all participants in the school setting.

Wilson (1974) recognizes that educational achievement, as well as positive social development of students depend upon social-learning environments in which mutual respect, trust, tolerance, and understanding prevail.

The Report of the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights (1967) asserts that the success of school desegregation is related to the degree to which educators are able to create conditions under which students who are brought together in the school and in the classroom are able to understand and accept each other.

Wennersten (1974) points out that it is essential for teachers of desegregated schools to understand the social psychology and culture of the schools in which they teach so as to understand the elements and forces that influence students' attitudes and behaviors.

Since 1954, one of the prime motivating forces in school desegregation efforts has been the assumption that black students' achievement will improve in an integrated school environment. Notable, the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights (1967) in Racial Isolation in the Schools asserts:

Negro students suffer serious harm when their education takes place in public schools which are racially segregated, whatever the source of such segregation may be. Negro children who attend predominantly Negro schools do not achieve as well as other children.

Ryan and Cooper (1975) state that desegregation has stalled in urban areas where blacks and other minority groups inhabit the inner-city while the whites flee to the suburbs. Besides, many blacks and other minority groups are demanding local community control which would in effect, postpone integration efforts until parity in educational achievement is reached.

Ryan and Cooper (1975) assert further that Total System Reform-structure decision making power, teacher training, curriculum and organization offers the most promise of creating equal opportunity for poor and minority children. Admittedly, the task is enormous but some encouraging examples do exist. In Louisville, Kentucky, for instance, efforts have been made to use a systems approach for the renewal of the school district. The school leaders recognized that partial change is rarely successful because the

rest of the system tends to reject or isolate the innovations. In Louisville, an effort was made to concentrate resources at first in a limited number of schools, other schools then received the new resources, until the entire system had been overhauled. The organizational framework for instruction was dramatically changed, along with changes in teaching and instructional personnel. The community was involved through the creation of neighborhood school boards. Instructional materials, objectives and methods were systematically examined and revised. The administrative structure was dramatically changed to improve decision making.

It would appear that only when educational problems of a school district become intolerable does dramatic total system reform occur. In addition to Louisville, the Detroit School System is currently involved in similar total school reform as a result of tremendous financial and educational problems. While it is too early to evaluate the results, often it does appear that more large school districts will recognize that the "band-aid" approach to creating equal educational opportunities does not work.

The position of Ryan and Cooper (1975) is summarized very succinctly by Mario Fantini when he says: "In the subsystems, models of excellence must swim against the tide of the status quo system. The total approach has no such constraint; there is no boaring from within, for everyone starts at the reform gate at the same time." In a federation of autonomous subsystems, each with an equitable share of resources instructional practices would operate in an open, competitive market. The most successful models would be on display as a challenge to other school systems to adopt their approaches or surpass them in performance.

Royal T. Freuhling (1977) presents a most impressive model for multicultural education. He describes a study by Elliot Aronson who designed, for newly integrated classrooms, a program to remove certain obstacles to effective interpersonal interaction among children from diverse ethnic and racial backgrounds. He examines some concepts and propositions to analyze Aronson's study.

Aronson observed that the traditional classroom structure often contributed to an atmosphere of tension where all the children competed for the love and approval of a single important person--the teacher. The stakes were high, the competition often fierce, and one person's success was usually at the expense of another's failure. These

tensions increased with the arrival of the black and Chicano children, who could rarely compete successfully with their new classmates. Such an environment did little or nothing to make children like each other.

Aronson's strategy was to reduce competition between children by creating a different environment, one where each child would become a valued resource for his peers rather than a competitor. Each of the participating classrooms was divided into ethnically and racially mixed groups of children, and each group was assigned an activity, such as completing a picture-puzzle or a report. Each child was given either a piece of the puzzle or some essential information. Only after each person had made his contribution could a given task be completed and the group be rewarded. In this situation each student has less to gain by putting another child down and more to gain by cooperating with him. Aronson anticipated that, as a result of this experience, the children would come to like each other better and would exhibit less prejudice toward members of various racial and ethnic groups.

When compared with children from control groups, these children were superior in terms of the interpersonal affection and friendship that developed and more often were likely to develop positive self-concepts. Although these changes took place within the groups, there was no significant reduction in prejudice shown by group members toward Chicanos, blacks and whites in general. The white, black and Chicano children who worked cooperatively with each other had come to like each other better; but this liking had not transferred to children and adults of different racial and ethnic backgrounds outside of the cooperative group.

What began as a promising approach for enhancing the quality of interaction among members of various racial and ethnic groups seemed to lose some its promise at the point where Aronson attempts to account for the expected but obtained outcomes and where he suggests program modifications. In analyzing the Aronson study, Frehling (1977) suggests the need for a more comprehensive model and recommends one which is called the "Social Exchange" model.

The focus of social exchange theory is those transactions that occur between people whereby they exchange a variety of behaviors, actions and recourses that constitute rewards and costs for the participants. Rewards serve to reinforce those behaviors that follow and increase the probability that such behaviors will be repeated.

Costs exist as punishing stimuli, alternative rewards that must be deferred at the moment, or the loss of a reward to be or already obtained.

Values are those things that people, either as a species characteristic or through individual learning, find rewarding. A reward increases in value when a person for whom it is a reward has been deprived of it; it decreases in value to the extent that a person has become satiated and alternative rewards have become more attractive. The value of an action or resource to a person is related to the frequency with which it occurs, the available supply of it, and the degree to which it exists as a means for obtaining other things that are also rewarding to the person.

A person's status or ranking in relation to his peers within a group is related to his ability to control and provide valued resources or behaviors that are unique, scarce and in heavy demand. A valued resource or action that cannot be supplied by many other persons gives the person supplying it the power to negotiate a position of respect and worth.

Interaction alone does not produce liking. Friends are people who frequently reward each other by exchanging valued resources. We like people who reward us, and our behaviors of liking are themselves reinforces which usually increase the probability of our friend's repeating those behaviors we find rewarding.

In order to use the concepts of social exchange theory in a multicultural education program, the educator must make ethnicity or culture a salient part of such a program, but not as an end in itself or simply as information about others. Rather than treat ethnicity as an abstract concept, the educator must view it as a label for a unique heritage of learned skills and behaviors which a people cope with life's challenges and enrich their daily living. It is, in fact, a set of behaviors, and it has the potential for enhancing the life of both the individual and the group in a world where no one group has a monopoly on the means for creating the good life.

Freuhling (1977) states further that the kind of cooperative environment achieved in the classroom in Aronson's study is necessary for such a program, but the problems to be solved by each group and the required resources possessed by each child will be somewhat different. The

educator must create an environment or take advantage of an existing one where there are kinds of problems that require, for their successful resolution, the cooperative exchange of those skills and strategies that constitute the ethnic heritages of the various individuals and subgroups in the classroom or school. In order to do this, the educator must become a participant-observer and participate, as best as he can, in the life of the various groups from which his students come. In this way, he will begin to appreciate the unique resources that his students bring to the classroom.

Some transfer of liking to persons outside the classroom is likely to occur as a variety of "outside" persons are invited into the classroom to share unique resources which enable the entire class to achieve a valued outcome. First to be invited might be the parents, other relatives and friends of a cross-section of the students.

Fruehling (1977) concludes by stating that multicultural education can be more than an opportunity to learn about others. It can be an opportunity for every student to exchange something of value from his cultural heritage in a setting of mutual cooperative and respect.

Baker (1978), Washburn (1975), Rivlin (1975), and Gay (1975) implied that desegregation is enhanced through multicultural education because multicultural educational experiences assist students and teachers in:

1. Gaining further understanding and appreciation of the culturally diverse nature of the American society.
2. Understanding the lifestyles of the American cultural groups.
3. Acquiring those attitudes, knowledges and skills which are needed to enrich the positive human values of a pluralistic society.
4. Developing positive attitudes toward the unique contributions of ethnic groups.
5. Enhancing cultural diversity and expanding the tolerance for racial differences.
6. Improving and raising the level of understanding among representatives of diverse cultures and ethnic backgrounds.

7. Understanding the social conflicts which multicultural students experience.
8. Bridging the gap between cultural patterns of the home and the expectations of the school.
9. Developing strategies to cope with the social conflicts which are caused by cultural patterns of the home that are different from the culture and expectations of the school.
10. Identifying and understanding the unique needs of students from different cultural and linguistic backgrounds.
11. Helping to develop strategies for building a positive self-concept among multicultural students.
12. Acquiring those special competencies needed for quality teaching and learning in a culturally diverse society.
13. Providing new approaches for anticipating, preventing and solving problems of desegregation.

Gayles (1978), Banks (1973, 1977), Rackley and Rackley (1978) and Baker (1977) contend that multicultural education would enhance school desegregation through the implementation of the following basic concepts which are inherently a part of a multicultural approach to education:

1. The curriculum of a multi-ethnic school should acknowledge and accept ethnic differences and recognize and emphasize commonalities among the various cultural groups in American.
2. The curriculum of a multi-ethnic school should be organized around a core of general education which interweaves and recognizes the best of all its cultures as the American society.
3. The curriculum of a multi-ethnic school should recognize, accept, emphasize, and operate upon cultural equality and respect, whereby no group would be denied its cultural rights, and all cultures would be respected.

4. The curriculum of a multi-ethnic school should enhance the self-concepts of students of all cultural groups because it provides a more positive and realistic view of a pluralistic society.
5. The curriculum of a multi-ethnic school should provide for curricular experiences which would improve conditions for students of all cultural groups.
6. The curriculum of a multi-ethnic school should emphasize teaching ethnic respect for oneself, one's group and other cultural groups.
7. The curriculum of a multi-ethnic should focus upon the development of human resources of all ethnic people.
8. The curriculum of a multi-ethnic school should promote multi-ethnic harmony as a way of life within its classrooms.

Practices which tend to demoralize minority students and retard the process of desegregation in today's schools are examined by several authors, namely:

Allen (1971) and McLaurin (1971) indicated that many state-approved courses and supplementary textbooks in some southern states have an inadequate and prejudiced picture of Negroes.

Caliguri and Levine (1968) revealed that most school systems did not have written policies encouraging teachers to use inter-ethnic material. Caliguri (1971) and Noar (1966) found out that there was very little inter-ethnic material in social studies texts; very few illustrations of integrated groups; and in most instances a negative portrayal of minority groups.

Crimmius (1974), Clark (1964) and Rest (1970) examined the pitfalls of the educational track system and elaborated on how it discriminates against low-income minority students by placing them in low track programs that offer inferior academic experiences, with limited instructional resources and very little time and help from teachers. Stein (1971) asserts that at each academic level the curriculum is adjusted to teachers' images of what they expect of children. Hodkinson (1967) concludes that the tracking system is designed for middle class children. Carney (1974) indicates that the

tracking system is based upon tests, rewards and required performances which lower class children cannot perform. Hickerson (1966) implies that lower class children rarely receive good grades regardless of their performances on assigned tasks. Stein (1971) indicates that as soon as it is legally possible the lower class child is pushed out of school through the practice of social-promotion. Hickerson (1966) concludes that these students have no salable skills.

Approaches which have been used to enhance desegregation are cited by several authors:

1. Fielder and Dychman (1967) point out that increasing personnel sensitivity toward the ethnic students' problems, through institutes concerned with developing skills, techniques, and understandings, will promote problem-solving in the area of desegregation.
2. Forbes (1972) contends that designing and utilizing curriculum guides and resource materials to acquaint teachers with important data about ethnic groups should be useful to educators.
3. Smith (1971) and Kaplan and Coleman (1963) advocate the construction of several positions in the areas of teaching and counseling to help in desegregation.
4. Burger (1968) and Voutress (1969) assert that a thorough analysis and understanding of student behavior will help teachers and counselors with multi-racial classes.
5. Westphal (1970) indicates that curricular experiences including sensitivity training are essential to providing skills, attitudes and functional knowledges in the area of inter-personal relations. Irvine and Brierley (1973) concur with this conclusion as a result of their experiences with workshop sessions to produce involving blacks and whites.
6. Giles (1974) insists that ethnic studies should be an integral part of the curriculum from kindergarden to grade 12.

7. Banks (1973) points out that bilingual education and bicultural education should represent the core of a multicultural program.
8. Stent (1973) indicates that curricular focus should be upon diversifying education and structuring an inter-cultural educational experience since differences in students are seen as differences in cultures.
9. Gordon and Wilkerson (1966) assert that compensatory education has been one major approach related to facilitating desegregation in that it provides for remedial programs to help disadvantaged minority students.

Gay (1971), Short (1974), and Katy (1974) express concern for the inclusion of cultural factors and attitude in a multicultural curriculum. They emphasize the inadequacy of relying on purely factual materials in instruction. It is true that educators must look beyond the purely academic curriculum to meet the needs of the various ethnic students in American classrooms and to realize the goals of multicultural education. Teaching content and basic skills are not sufficient to prepare multicultural pupils for citizenship in today's world.

Stone and DeNeve (1971) believe that the present school and college system, as we now know it, should attempt to design meaningful multicultural education programs by carrying out the following activities:

1. Encourage and preserve bilingualism as one of our most valuable assets-valuable both to Anglo and non-Anglos.
2. Provide instruction which consciously and deliberately emphasizes Hispanic, Indian, Negro, Oriental, and other cultural contributions.
3. In all subject area bend over backwards, if necessary, to recognize the contributions of non-Anglos where relevant. Put greater emphasis in school and college curriculums on the literature, music, art, dance, games and sports of minority cultures. Bring into the schools new instructors, new material, and new methods which will increase the authenticity of

the schools' coverage of minority cultures.

4. Expand and enrich adult education opportunities so that parents and children are exposed to acculturation at a more closely related pace.
5. Retain Anglo teachers-particularly in the competencies implied by multicultural subject matter; and also in cultural sensitivity to and empathy with the various ethnic groups.
6. Multicultural teacher education programs should focus upon cultural differences and the need for cultural awareness by teachers.

Writing on multiculturalism and educators, Young (1975) had this to say:

...True multicultural education suggests that we make a much closer examination of the culture of our students, their curriculum content, evaluation and selection of textbooks and resource materials, teacher perceptions, attitudes, and communication skills and abilities of students from other cultures. Institutions must provide teachers with the skill to analyze themselves critically as the major teaching tool in the classroom.

Banks (1977) is of the opinion that educational institutions should strive to preserve and enhance cultural pluralism. He believes that those institutions which are committed to multicultural education and hope to establish themselves as successful multi-ethnic schools should:

1. Reject the melting pot idea and recognize and accept each child's ethnic culture.
2. Recognize that all children must learn to function effectively in both their cultures and in the mainstream culture.
3. Help all students develop the skills, attitudes, and abilities which will help them to function successfully within and across different ethnic cultures.
4. Acquire a racially and ethnically mixed school staff which respects and values diversity.

5. Construct a multi-ethnic curriculum which will help students view American society and history from diverse ethnic perspectives rather than primarily or exclusively from the viewpoint of Anglo-American historians and writers.
6. Provide for an interdisciplinary-conceptual curriculum wherein content related to ethnic diversity permeates the entire curriculum.
7. Seek to employ a professional staff with positive attitudes toward the linguistic patterns of ethnic students; view their languages as valid communication systems needed to survive in their families and communities. There should be no attempt made to replace their languages with standard English; rather teachers should introduce the students to the concept of alternative languages and dialects.
8. Construct testing and assessment procedures which reflect the ethnic and cultural characteristics of the students in the program.

Baker (1973), Cortes (1976), Dunfee (1974), and Gay (1975) also emphasize the point of suggesting to educators to plan multicultural schools with multi-ethnic and multi-racial curricula, teaching practices and educational materials which reflect ethnic and racial diversity. They, too, believe in a broad multicultural education which would include the concerns of multi-ethnic education and a functional multi-ethnic perspective which would recognize the integrity and value of different ethnic groups.

Blazer and Moynihan (1975) have suggested that educators must accept the fact that there are multiple cultural mainstreams in modern America and that individuals have the right to participate in as many of these mainstreams as they wish. The school, according to this position, should develop multi-ethnic educational programs which would help individual citizens to effectively participate within and across different ethnic cultures. They emphasize that differences in lifestyles, language, and values should be treated with respect, and persons from minority cultures would not be regarded as culturally disadvantaged and culturally deprived.

The Commission on Multicultural Education (1973), and the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education, recognized in their recently adopted policy statement, No One Model American, the culturally pluralistic nature of American society and they challenge today's educators to provide for an educational process which would enhance and perpetuate individualism and pluralism. They are concerned with an educational process that is more reflective of the ethnic diversity of American society. The policy statement implies that American educators must embark upon a mission of total school reform which would focus upon the following changes in American Education:

1. A curriculum which supports cultural diversity and individual uniqueness.
2. Cultural pluralism as an integral part of the educational process at every academic level.
3. Implementation of multi-ethnic education for all pupils-races, groups and social classes.
4. Creation and sustaining of a multi-ethnic educational environment.
5. Encouragement of existing ethnic cultures and their incorporation into the mainstream of American life.
6. Respect for and support of alternative life styles.
7. Encouragement and promotion of multiculturalism, multilingualism, and multidialectism.

Ballesteros summarizes the need for curriculum change with these insights:

The commitment to alleviate curriculum deficiencies in educational programs from pre-school through university levels must continue and be intensified. The university must act as a direct agent of change rather than simply as a recorder and analyst of events. Both schools and teacher preparation institutions must change before any real benefit will trickle down to the student. There will continue to be a need for major curricular changes in our schools and colleges and greater fiscal efforts by Federal, state and local governments

during the decade of the 1970's. There is no room for deprived, disadvantaged and handicapped students in American education, regardless of color or ethnic background. The need for recognizing the bilingual-bicultural student as a positive force in our society is essential...

In planning and implementing programs, the community, students, faculty, and administrators must work together if the curriculum is going to be relevant and viable. Programs must be designed to make students succeed, not fail. To meet the needs and demands of the upcoming 21st century, educators must plan for one type of disadvantaged student he who remains monolingual and monocultural.

History affirms the fact that American's culture is pluralistic. In addition, historians and educators have either omitted or distorted the facts regarding American cultural diversity. Consequently, multicultural education has become a major need in restructuring today's educational values, morality and concepts.

Dr. William A. Hunter (1973), a former president of the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education declares:

In today's society, any educational enterprise which does not incorporate cultural diversity as an undergirding principle is neither socially congruent nor morally functional. Separateness in American education whether espoused or imposed is divisive and vicious. Its products, the victims, are weak and incomplete; the internal nature of such an educational structure is mutative, cannibalistic and self-destructive.

Dr. Hunter further asserts:

The multicultural philosophy must permeate the entire American educational enterprise. To this end, we, the American people must reclassify our entire societal and institutional objectives, and rethink our educational philosophy. Assessment in light of these concepts will lead to conceptualizing, developing, and designing restructured educational institutions. Curricula learning experiences, the competencies of teaching professionals, whole instructional strategies, all must adjust to reflect and encompass cultural diversity.

The Steering Committee of the National Coalition for Cultural Pluralism (1973) holds the view that the creation of a truly multicultural society will not happen automatically. A plan of action, a leadership and a cadre of supporters must be established that will effectively implement the concept of cultural pluralism throughout the length and breadth of every community in America. The Committee's statement declares:

Institutions, groups, and individuals must be actively engaged in working toward at least three (3) goals, which are:

- 1) The elimination of all structural supports for oppressive and racist practices by individuals, groups, and institutions.
- 2) The dispersal of "power" among groups and within institutions on the basis of cultural, social, racial, sexual, and economic parity.
- 3) The establishment and promotion of collaboration as the best mechanism for enabling culturally independent groups to function cooperatively within a multicultural environment.

The accomplishment of these and other goals can be facilitated only through a national effort. Therefore, the emergence of the National Coalition for Cultural Pluralism is an important step in the right direction.

As a result of a conference sponsored by the National Education Association and the Council on Interracial Books for Children, entitled, "The Future of Multicultural Instructional Materials," the following statement was developed:

This is reality: Ours is a multicultural society. Our population includes U.S. citizens of European, Asian, African, Central and South American, Caribbean and Native American descent. All of these groups have contributed to the total cultural fabric of our society. Our laws, music, art, language, and literature reflect the values of this diversity. Our public educative process is obligated to reflect this reality. All people have the right of access to materials that express

the rich multilingual, multicultural nature of our society. Our heritage, of freedom of speech and freedom of inquiry, demands this. The goals of a democratic society require it.

Hunter (1974) believes that schools and colleges in America have the primary task of providing an educational environment that will reflect in process and content a commitment to cultural pluralism; and that teacher education institutions have a central role in this preservation and enhancement of cultural pluralism because it is through the instructional process of teacher education graduates that teaching of values, which support cultural diversity and individual uniqueness, occur.

Cortes and others (1976) suggest that the commitment to cultural pluralism should permeate all areas of the educational experience provided for prospective teachers.

Banks (1973) and Gay (1975) indicate that objectives of teacher education curricular activities and content, methodology, the competencies of teaching instructional materials, learning experiences and evaluative techniques within a program for the preparation of teachers must be adjusted to reflect and encompass cultural diversity.

Washburn (1975, 1978) and James (1978) are of the opinion that evidences of commitment to cultural pluralism are shown by:

1. Multi-ethnic and multi-racial faculty and staff.
2. A culturally pluralistic curriculum that accurately represents the diverse multi-cultural nature of American society.
3. A student body of prospective teachers, that is representative of the culturally diverse nature of the community being served.
4. Special programs where all prospective teachers are helped to recognize and accept cultural differences.
5. Programs that help minority prospective teachers understand themselves and how they can make their contributions to society.
6. Special programs designed to help prospective

teachers of various social and ethnic backgrounds understand one another.

7. An educational program that makes cultural equality a reality.
8. Competency-based instruction which is structured upon the basis of identified competencies needed by all teachers to teach in a culturally diverse society; and competencies needed for effectively teaching identified culturally different youth.

Rivlin (1975) asserts that the schools alone cannot solve the complex problems of race relations in the United States. However, the problem will not be served without each school's full participation. Schools must serve as an example of the ways in which cultural diversity is understood and treated.

Schools must regard cultural diversity as an asset; not a problem. Teachers must be able to respect and teach all children in their classes. Teachers need to analyze and understand their own backgrounds and behaviors so that they will be comfortable with a variety of students whose experiences and expectations are different from theirs. Multicultural education is the cooperative responsibility of state departments of education, colleges and universities, teacher education accrediting agencies, public schools and their regional education accrediting agencies and communities.

In recent years, there has been a growing emphasis on the multicultural education concepts. Some school districts have developed inservice programs on the subject for teachers and other school personnel. Some state departments of education have mandated multicultural requirements for candidates seeking certification and recertification. Further, some colleges and universities have established various types of courses and program multicultural in character. Finally the agency responsible for accrediting teacher education programs, the National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education (NCATE), has incorporated multicultural education into its standards. James (1978) pointed out that the new standard (2.1.1. Multicultural Education) will be implemented beginning January 1, 1979.

MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION AT THE STATE LEVEL

Blaylock (1975) reported on the 1969 California legislature's enactment of a statute which required every school district having one (1) or more schools with 25% or more

minority enrollment to provide its professional staff with 60 to 90 hours of inservice preparation in the history, culture and current problems of diverse ethnic groups (Education Code, Article 3.3. Section 13344.44). The inservice program plans for each school district was to be submitted to the State Department of Education. Each school district was asked to develop course offerings in cooperation with universities and colleges, implement the program as approved, evaluate it and report to the State Department of Education. Goals for the inservice programs were formulated. One (1) or more teachers, a principal, a parent and other adults from the community were required to be included on district planning committees. The planning committee was to reflect the diversity of ethnic backgrounds in the district. At least half of the members had to represent minority groups enrolled. In order to make the necessary preparation for compliance with this new law, school districts were given five (5) years. Multicultural inservice education programs have been developed in 75% of the affected school districts.

Washburn (1978) conducted a survey in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania to determine the extent to which the state through legislation and departments of education commitment to multi-ethnic education had actually reached the local school districts. Five hundred and four (504) public school systems, 29 intermediate units, and 56 area vocational-technical schools were sent questionnaires. There was a return rate of 94.7% (K-12). One hundred twenty nine (129) of the 558 respondents reported having ethnic studies programs. Blacks were the most widely studied group among the systems reporting ethnic studies programs. Other groups studied, in rank order, were: Native American Indians, Chinese, Jews, Amish, and Japanese.

Additional findings revealed that most of the programs were of recent origin; heavily concentrated in the last two (2) years of high school; and involved more than 84,464 public school students each year. Students most often studied, in rank order, ethnic history, social customs, culture and personality, religions, attitudes and other cultural elements. A wide variety of social science concepts were utilized in the ethnic studies programs. They were, in rank order, anthropological concepts of culture, school, race and prejudice. Sociological concepts that guide inquiry into the ethnic experience, in rank order, were prejudice, discrimination and racism. In an effort to expand students' framework for understanding ethnicity, the concept of poverty from the discipline of economics and the concept of immigration

from the discipline of history were utilized.

Washburn (1978) indicated that folklore played a part in some of Pennsylvania's systems which offered ethnic studies programs. In rank order, the following were explored: folk customs, legends, superstitions, folk music, and other oral, non-oral and material culture traditions. In an effort to enrich the students' ethnic studies experience, most of the school systems had some type of experience in the study of ethnicity in their local communities and interaction with community organizations.

MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION AND THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Multicultural education is being used to enhance cross-cultural understanding by many of the nation's large public school districts. According to a survey reported by David E. Washburn (1975), over 55% of all United States district schools with more than 10,000 students revealed that 72.5% had introduced ethnic studies into their academic curricula. Three hundred ninety seven (397) of the 715 districts with over 10,000 pupils answered the survey. Of districts responding, 64.7% included data from both elementary and secondary schools only. The European-American Student population in the "average" school district was 61% to 70% while the median was 81% to 90%.

The responses of the 109 school districts which reported having no ethnic studies were compared with the 288 which did. In each case, a high percentage of those schools having ethnic studies curricula used other practices to create cross-cultural understanding or to form closer links between school and community. The districts reporting ethnic studies curricula were characterized by the following: Slightly high proportion of native American Indians, blacks, Hispanic and other cultural groups and lower percentage of European American among their student population; human relations training for teachers; community public relations programs, inservice teacher training in multicultural curriculum and community centered instructional program. The districts which appear to have made progress at multicultural education represent only 40% of the total 715 school districts with more than 10,000 students.

PUBLIC SCHOOLS' REGIONAL EDUCATIONAL ACCREDITING AGENCIES AND MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION

Regional associations are unique in the United States. Control of education is centralized in a government ministry

in most countries whereas in the United States power to determine educational standards remain close to the people. Regional accreditation associations are a vital part of the unique independent sector of American life. Regional associations of colleges and schools include the following: New England, middle states, north central, western, including Hawaii and northwest including Alaska. What is needed is the inclusion of a multicultural education standard. Such inclusion will foster the concept of "No One Model American."

Educating teachers to perform successfully in a multicultural society is truly a professional challenge. The implementation of a functional multicultural teacher education program is the most demanding single obligation in teacher education today. Fortunately, there is a growing consciousness that revolutionary changes must be made to prepare prospective teachers for effective instruction of pupils from diverse racial, social, religious and cultural backgrounds.

The selected studies which provide an historical background for the development of multicultural education reflect a unique and critical need. Teacher education institutions must provide professional laboratory programs which are multicultural. The responsibility of the school to help the prospective teacher to develop an understanding and respect for the culture of diverse groups. This is a solution to the problems associated with school desegregation.

Models of Multicultural Education

A cursory examination of the literature on curriculum reform (See, for example, Banks (1975), Baker (1975), Leyba (1974), Lopez (1973), and Freedman (1977) indicated considerable confusion among and within schools as to the best process for educating populations. Indeed, there often seemed to be very little consistency with regard to the overall goals of curriculum development. Second, the theoretical positions which could be used to generate internally consistent educational policy suggested widely differing educational practice. Thus, the information which is provided to teacher education institutions in this paper should not only be couched in the content of an ideology most acceptable to the greatest number of educators from the major ethnic groups.

This section will first consider two competing models underlying educational planning for desegregated settings. . . The cultural "deficit" model (the assimilationist position) and the cultural "difference" model (the cultural pluralist position). A third section will consider the relative advantages of these positions and discuss possible compromises.

The Deficit Model

Traditionally, the American education system has reflected "middle class" values. It was expected that everyone regardless of ethnicity should be assimilated into the "melting pot" with everyone expecting to ultimately benefit from "middle class" values and life styles. This assimilationist ideology views those ethnic characteristics which do not fit well in the common culture as pathological, deficient, and in need of basic restructuring. This, of course, is the cultural deficit model. Most of the research supporting the cultural deficit model explained the deviation of black performance (e.g., achievement, self-concept, motivation, cognitive growth) from "white norms" in terms of environmental factors. In some cases it had been all too easy to overstate the hypothesized cause of observed deficits. Wrightman (1972), for example, referred to Moynihan's inflammatory characterization of the black lower-class family as a "cycle of pathology" as perhaps placing too much emphasis on the hypothesized dangers of material dominance and father absence in the black culture. This type of statement places too much reliance on the middle class value and family structure as a model, while overlooking the many positive aspects of black families who may operate differently, but successfully. Several environmental factors which have been studied in relation to "deficits"

in cognitive functioning of blacks and other minority groups need to be examined. In many cases the black lower-class family will be criticized, particularly in terms of language development and the quality of mother-child interaction. Some of these criticisms will be later refuted. In any event, the lower-class family comes off somewhat better than a "tangle of pathology."

The Deprived Home Environment

Stimulation. Perhaps the easiest aspect of the lower-class home situation to look at is amount and quality of stimulation. Wrightsman's (1972) short but informative review revealed the widespread disagreement as to whether too much stimulation exists, or too little. To circumvent this argument of differences in absolute levels of stimulation, a more fruitful approach is to look at the range and variety of stimulation, and in the case of language, how it is used. In any event, we need to look at the home and particularly at the interactions between parent and child. In this way we are moving away from a physical analysis toward a social view of the lower-class home.

Kalus and Gray (1968), reviewing child rearing patterns and particular handicapping elements in the physical environment surrounding low-income homes, typically find very few instances of a totally destitute environment. Instead, they reported the opposite condition, where children grow up with an essentially "busy" background, cutting across most sensory modalities. The adverse nature of the background, however, generally resulted from the limited range of potential stimuli and to the absence of patterns that permit figure-ground relations to emerge. The lack of spatial and temporal organization, where moveable objects don't have a particular place, where children and infants don't have undisturbed occasions to explore, and where the day is not organized around standard patterns such as mealtime, naptime, or bedtime all contribute to the child being unable to process what information would be available if the home was organized in some way. That the child is learning to tune out aspects of his home environment, rather than learning to respond selectively, is likely to interfere with later learning.

Mother-Child Interaction. Recent investigation of home and parental influences on the child's acquisition of cognitive skills have tended to look beyond the vague concepts of "stimulation" and subsequent "enrichment" as a vehicle for understanding the poor child's learning problems. Freeberg and Payne (1967) have found that the most compelling lines of evidence point toward the parent-child interaction, particularly the mother-child

interaction. In their review of the literature the important variables are the permissive-restrictive nature of the home environment, parental pressures for achievement, and the "style" of verbal communication. Reports of studies by Bing (1963) and Milner (1965), for example, showed that middle-class families are more oriented toward their child's accomplishments (remember more of them when later questioned), expect more of their children, but are also more willing to help them in achieving these goals. Klaus and Gray (1965) have also looked at reinforcements which the lower-class child receives. It seems that mothers tend to apply "copying" behavior, rather than "shaping" behavior that the direction of reinforcement is toward inhibitory behaviors, and that reinforcements are diffuse or global, rather than directed toward the quality of their children's performance. The amount of verbal reinforcement is also less from lower-class parents, with the major source coming from siblings, peers or the child's own sensations.

Importance of Language. Other studies reported similar, and often more subtle differences between lower and middle-class modes of parent-child interaction. However, the greatest influence on a child's cognitive development, in terms of parent-child interaction, has generally been reported to be the use of language in the home. Therefore, the strongest thrust in cultural deficit thinking was to look at language as a mediator of thought, and particularly the language characteristics of the Black and/or lower-class home.

Language as a Mediator of Thought. The use of language as a mediator of thought was a well-documented theme. Flavell (1966) described the process of verbal mediation as (1) possession of the verbal sign, (2) spontaneous production of the verbal sign in a cognitive task, and (3) the effective use of the produced sign to mediate the task. Kohlberg (1968) further clarified the connection of speech and thought by quoting Vygotsky's hypothesis that thought and speech have independent onto genetic roots which "fuse" early in the child's development. Vygotsky further suggested interiorized inferential thought. The conceptual failure of disadvantaged children may therefore result from a failure to use linguistic labels in "interiorized" form. This would account for the findings that a mere knowledge of verbal labels did not lead to verbal mediation in cognitive tasks. Instead, a spontaneous production of the verbal sign is called for in the mediation of such tasks. Bruner (1966) referred to this verbal mediation of cognitive tasks as freeing the child from dominance of the immediate perceptual aspects of the situation.

One might well argue that many "total enrichment"

programs (equipment, trips, perpetual training, etc.) have resulted from improper diagnosis of the key "deficits" of the deprived child. Children needed to engage in such activities as reflecting, comprehending, structuring behavior and choosing between alternatives. The failure of low socio-economic children to engage in such activities reflected the lack of a symbolic system with which to organize the plentiful stimulation around them (Blank and Solomon, 1968). Consequently, the lack of an ongoing, elaborated dialogue was often seen as the major experiential deficit of the deprived child.

The "deficit" theory, however, was not the only alternative to looking at subcultural differences in language development surveyed three at subcultural differences in language development. Wrightsman's (1972) broad coverage of language development surveyed three hypotheses underlying subcultural language problems, two of which present quite different findings. We will look at the "deficit" hypothesis here.

Bernstein's Theory. The "deficit hypothesis" is a major outgrowth of Basil Bernstein's theory of social learning (Bernstein, 1961). Bernstein proposes that "speech marks out what is relevant-affectively, cognitively, and socially- and experience is transformed by that which is made relevant" (Bernstein, 1961, p. 288). It then follows that certain linguistic forms involve for the speaker a loss or an acquisition of skills, both cognitive and social, which are strategic for educational and occupational success. Bernstein felt that these forms of language use are culturally, not individually determined.

Evidence from studies which Bernstein conducted in England beginning in 1958 led to the conclusion that differences between middle and lower-class language forms were of the nature that one form allowed elaboration of meaning, while the other did not. He postulated for the middle class a "formal" language, which is a speech mode where the structure and syntax are relatively difficult to predict for any one individual and where the formal possibilities of sentence organization are used to clarify meaning and make it explicit. By contrast, the lower class tended to use the speech mode characterized by rigidity of syntax and limited and restricted use of structural possibilities for sentence organizations. Bernstein referred to the latter as "public" speech.

Research Support. Although Bernstein's theory has received considerable criticism, both from a methodological

viewpoint and from subsequent conflicting empirical evidence (which will be discussed later), it has also received considerable American enthusiasm and has been extensively used to support the growing idea that "cultural" deprivation is "language" deprivation. Hess and Shipman (1965) have done perhaps the most well-known study which utilizes Bernstein's theory in explaining their observations.

The results of the Hess and Shipman study yielded a great deal of information concerning the style of interaction between mother and child, most of which fits nicely with Bernstein's theory. Generally, middle-class mothers allowed the child to work at his/her own pace, offered many general structuring suggestions, and gave positive feedback on the child's progress. They also prepared their children with verbal cues to look ahead, be prepared, and avoid mistakes. Thus, the child was encouraged to reflect, anticipate consequences of his behavior, and avoid errors. Bernstein's elaborated or "formal" code included many of the above characteristics. In short, its greater flexibility seemed to produce "cognitive styles" more easily adapted to problem-solving and reflection.

Lower-class mothers tended to offer highly-specific suggestions, generally failing to emphasize most the basic problem-solving strategies used by middle-class mothers. Additionally, they made frequent non-verbal intrusions into the child's work, and more controlling and disapproving statements. The sentence structure of lower-class mothers was less complex, and they used more personal references rather than specifying certain aspects of the learning task. Bernstein's theory of restricted or "public" speech is therefore supported by the language and teaching style of lower-class mothers.

Helen Bee and associates (1969) provided similar data concerning maternal teaching behavior. Middle-class mothers tended to use questions which provoked thought and verbal responses. The highly specific questions or suggestions typical of lower-class mothers tended to preclude the need for either thought or verbal responses.

Another fundamental aspect of Bernstein's hypothesis was that the middle-class child is capable of responding to both the "public" and formal language model. Williams and Wood (1970) provided some support for this with their findings of social class differences in word predictability. They found that middle-class boys had greater flexibility than lower-class boys in replacing words from a speech transcript in samples not of their class. It seems, therefore, on the basis of this

information, that the lower-class child is further restricted in his range of meaningful verbal contacts. The importance of this in the child's academic experiences is somewhat obvious, and will be discussed later.

To eliminate the minority child's deficit environment early intervention programs to make the minority child's environment more middle class have been recommended. The general trend seems to be toward earlier and more intense intervention efforts, with language training playing an increasingly important role. Hunt (1969) states his belief that we have not yet begun to realize maximum efficiency in our efforts. Other studies on the effects of early intervention (Karnes, Taska, Hodgins (1970), Golden (1968), Palmer (1970), Hunt (1971) have failed, however to find a particular age at which intervention is maximally effective. Blank and Solomon (1968) did report success in their utilization of a one-to-one teaching situation requiring preschool children to use language in the performance of a variety of tasks. They called for caution, however, in predictions of long-term effects, saying that perhaps two or three years of this type of experience is needed.

Maternal Training. The next obvious step is to bring in maternal training which Karnes, Studley, and Hodgins (1968) did in a study designed to determine the effects of a short-term training program. Instead of just providing lecture-type information, the mothers were given help in constructing low-cost instructional materials and encouraged to work with their children at home. Although the children were not enrolled in any type of intervention program, they did show a significant increase in IQ scores over a control group whose mothers did not attend the training program. While it is difficult to generalize from this program which lasted only eleven weeks, some positive aspects of its methodology seem worthy of mention. The mothers were paid for each weekly two-hour session, were actively involved in a training procedure which they did not see as threatening, and generally understood what they were expected to do. The authors also reported some tendency for a diffusion of training to other mothers in the neighborhood.

Klaus and Gray (1968) have accumulated a wealth of experience as directors of the Early Training Project, a long-term program concerned with the problem of "progressive retardation." The purpose of the project, which began in 1962, was to develop and test a set of procedures designed to provide poor children (ages 3 and 4 years) with skills needed for later academic achievement. The Early Training Program stressed small group instruction. Reinforcement theory was heavily emphasized, as

children were instructed in concept formation and language development. A program of "parent intervention" was also begun, with the initial focus on getting parents to encourage their children. Later the parents were instructed in various educational techniques.

In referring to their program, and intervention programs in general, Klaus and Gray state their belief that it is possible to offset "progressive retardation," but warn that unless massive changes are made in the home conditions of the child, the situation which created the original deficit will continue to take its toll. In this respect, intervention may be seen as a broad social endeavor, requiring interdisciplinary efforts at every state -- program development, execution, and evaluation.

Perhaps the most severe view of the deficits in the disadvantaged child's language is evident in the Bereiter and Englemann (1966) approach to intervention. Their description of restricted speech is that it consists of whole phrases or sentences that function like separate words. As such, they cannot be taken apart and recombined. Bereiter and Englemann devised an academically oriented preschool program emphasizing "pattern drill" and "identity statements" (subject paired with object and required to give statement such as "This is a ball"). While this type of program has achieved positive results, the premise on which it is based is open, as we shall see in the next section, to severe criticism.

The Cultural Deficit Model and Teacher Training

A rather substantial body of research, as we have seen, views the characteristics of subcultural groups which are associated with unsuccessful academic performance as deficient and in need of extensive modification. Implicit in this "deficit" thinking, of course, is the assumption that efficient and effective learning styles are universal, and that all students regardless of ethnicity should benefit from a common curriculum. Such a curriculum would emphasize the common "middle-class" culture and individual attention, if given at all, would be geared toward helping members of subcultural groups overcome their "deficiencies" while adopting common attitudes, skills, and motivations.

Certain aspects of the deficit model would seem to be attractive to teacher institutions. Teachers, for example, could be trained in a common set of competencies ostensibly useful for any group of students. Curriculum designers could focus their attention on goals and objectives universally applicable to members of the common culture. And finally, certification of acceptable teaching performance in one setting would be equally acceptable in all settings. In short,

the "deficit" view of minorities provides a comparatively uncomplicated model for planning teacher education programs.

Within the last fifteen years schools have experimented with various models of multicultural education. Several of these models are described below.

One of the first models of multicultural education to be introduced in the various school systems has been identified as the "Ethnic Additive" model. Basically, this model involves the addition of ethnic materials to the existing traditional curriculum. Most ethnic studies, such as Black Studies and Native American Studies, started out as a curriculum additive and tend to retain that form today. However, Banks (1976) and Gay (1975) and most contemporary educators believe that ethnic studies must go beyond the additive level. They believe such programs to be inadequate because of integrate cross-cultural understanding into the entire curriculum.

To overcome this deficiency, Gay (1975) suggests the following strategies for designing a multicultural curriculum:

- A. Integration of Ethnic Material Approach
This strategy is probably the most frequently used. Teachers can be alert to introduce ethnic materials at appropriate times in existing courses of study whenever they see an opportunity arise. Examples of this approach would be:
 1. The program of American History established by the Thornton Township High School, Harvey, Illinois. The basic objective of the program was to break down racial stereotypes by bringing in the contributions of the black American in each major period of American History, as well as dealing honestly with periods of history which were significant with regard to black political and social development such as the period of extreme institutionalized racism that followed the period of the Reconstruction.
 2. Guest speakers who are members of various ethnic and racial groups will visit the class to lecture and "rap" with students.
 3. An outing, repast or banquet which constitutes an integral part of a social studies or communications unit. The meal is characterized by

having foods, of the different ethnic groups represented, prepared and served. An important aspect of this activity is that each student will give a brief speech concerning the preparation of a dish and its origin.

B. Modifying Basic Skills Approach

This strategy involves using ethnic materials to teach fundamental skills such as reading, writing, calculating and reasoning. In addition to improving basic skills, ethnic identity is also enhanced. Since it allows pupils to learn about other ethnic groups, it can increase the relevancy of the curriculum. Examples would be:

1. Pupils will list as many assumptions regarding ethnic groups as possible. Although negative assumptions may be easiest, pupils are encouraged to list as many positive assumptions as possible. The pupils will discuss the possible origins of each assumption, both from historical evidence and direct observation of behavior.
2. Teachers can include ethnic minority authors in a study of literature. Such literature can be used to teach fundamentals of writing and literature appreciation, as well as the works of Anglo-Americans.

C. The Conceptual Approach

This strategy involves the use of a series of concepts selected from several disciplines which are applicable to all ethnic experiences. These concepts are inherent to the human condition and lend themselves to interdisciplinary analyses, using comparative and multi-ethnic perspectives. For example:

1. A discussion of the concept, "brotherhood." It is universal in nature because it transcends all racial and ethnic groups. A unit investigating this concept could be developed at many levels and for a number of courses.
2. Similar units investigating such concepts as power, identity, discrimination, survival and culture could provide much more for pupils than mere factual knowledge.

D. The Thematic Approach

Recurring themes that characterize the human condition are emphasized in this approach. The curriculum is designed to show how the larger society, as well as ethnic groups, have responded to these themes, and how these themes in turn have influenced the various ethnic cultures. For example:

1. Social studies units can be developed to study man's continuing struggle for freedom. In this approach, the organizing principles are centered on themes as opposed to ethnic groups. From earliest time and on every continent, this struggle has occurred. A unit of this type can be exciting as it shows how various groups have engaged in the struggle.
2. Topics such as search for identity, protests against injustice and the fight against dehumanization are all ideal themes for language arts units. Their universal nature and continuing concern make them relevant for multicultural education.

E. The Cultural Component Approach

This approach focuses on the characteristics of the individual ethnic groups, and how they form a cultural tradition different from other ethnic groups. Ethnic perceptions, expectations, behavior patterns, communication systems, socialization processes, value systems and styles of interpersonal interaction form the core of the curriculum. Examples would be:

1. A game entitled "Brothers All" which is designed to help children develop a feeling of brotherhood for all races and ethnic groups. All members of the class will bring in pictures of persons of different racial and ethnic origins and pupils will write all they know about each group. This is followed by a general discussion of what the students have listed.
2. A unit dealing with a comprehensive study of all ethnic groups within a particular school community or urban area. The cultural attributes of each group are compared and contrasted for a broad understanding of how community groups live.

Baker (1978) has explored the role of the school in transmitting the culture of all learners in a free and democratic

society. She takes the position that the curricula of the school must reflect the cultural diversity of its students and that multicultural education must be the process. She believes that multicultural education should be designed to begin with the primary grades and continue throughout secondary schools, and that the objectives and goals should be consistent with the life experiences of each learner. Children in the primary grades are exposed to individual differences. As they progress, they should learn to accept family variations. During the immediate level, the focus is upon a) community and state diversity and b) U.S. ethnic/racial minority participation. At the advanced level, emphasis is upon U.S. cultures (ethnic, racial minorities, religion, sex), and international, U.S. cultures and ethnicity.

Clothier (1978) has designed a model for the preparation of teachers for a multicultural society in which he suggests that the goals of a viable multicultural teacher education program should help the prospective teachers to:

1. Understand their own and their pupil's environment and culture.
2. Understand their own and their pupil's anxieties, insecurities, attitudes and prejudices.
3. Acquire teaching skills consistent with accepted purposes of education in a multicultural society.

In order to accomplish these goals, he believes that prospective American teachers should be involved in a teacher education program which would help them to acquire those competencies which would enable them to work effectively with pupils and parents of a different ethnic background. His model is as follows:

1. Socio-educational Competencies for Teachers in a Multicultural Society
At the conclusion of this component, each participant will be able to:
 - A. Demonstrate a knowledge of his or her own culture and a second culture which the individual may choose to analyze. Participants may demonstrate competence by:
 1. Achieving a passing score on a test of cultural literacy for their own culture and for another culture.

2. Recording information regarding two contrasting cultures gained from selected readings provided by the instructor.
- B. Demonstrate a knowledge of the economic structures of two contrasting communities
Participants may demonstrate competence by:

1. Ascertaining the extent of welfare assistance in each community, the problems of the poor and the criteria for eligibility for assistance through a visit to welfare departments and meetings with the National Welfare Rights Organization or similar organizations assisting the poor.
2. Surveying business establishments in each community and recording the ethnic composition of the work force and the types of jobs held by employees of different ethnic groups.
3. Recording the predominate level of job skills possessed by members of each community (e.g., unskilled, semi-skilled, skilled, professional, etc.).
4. Visiting a public and/or private employment agency in each community and recording information such as cost of service, clientele served and procedures involved in utilizing the services of the agencies.
5. Completing the following assignment:

Survey the "Help Wanted" ads in the newspaper and assemble a list of at least five different types of jobs which might be available to unskilled and poorly-educated employment seekers. Next, assuming the role of a mother of a small child with no husband, pick one of the five jobs from your present address. The bus route to that job must include a stop between home and the job at a day-care center or some other facility suitable for care of a small child while you are at work. Also, figure the cost of the bus ride (two ways) and the expense of the

day-care center per day; at what time you will leave home, when you will return and approximately how much money you will have remaining after transportation and child-care expenses are deducted.

- C. Demonstrate a knowledge of the physical environment of two contrasting communities
Participants may demonstrate competence by:
1. Surveying designated areas of the two communities and recording pertinent information.
 2. Interviewing Public Housing Authority representatives to learn of their functions and recording pertinent information.
 3. Interviewing representatives from a real estate agency to determine their views on housing, community development and the influence of government agencies on housing. Record information pertinent to the topic.
- D. Demonstrate knowledge of the political and legal structures in two contrasting communities
Participants may demonstrate competence by:
1. Visiting a meeting of the city or county governing body and recording the stated positions of political officials on matters of interest to different groups in the community.
 2. Visiting a legal aid office and recording information such as services rendered, criteria for eligibility and procedures for obtaining these services.
 3. Identifying leading political figures in each assigned community and obtaining their views on issues confronting the community.
- E. Demonstrate an understanding of the law-enforcement and judicial systems in target communities
Participants may demonstrate competence by:

1. Visiting a police station in each community and recording information such as the nature and extent of adult crime, perceived community attitudes toward police and expressed police attitudes toward the community.
 2. Accompanying in each community, if permitted, a patrolman on his or her beat for a minimum of four hours during the evening shift or dogwatch and recording activities and reactions to the experiences.
 3. Visiting one session of juvenile court in each community and recording the volume, nature, and disposition of cases observed and the interaction among court officials, juveniles and parents.
- F. Demonstrate an understanding of health care systems in two contrasting communities
Participants may demonstrate competence by:
1. Interviewing a medical doctor and dentist in each community to determine the adequacy of health care in the community. Information pertinent to the study will be recorded.
 2. Visiting a public health facility in each community and recording such information as services rendered, clientele served, cost of services, clinic hours and accessibility of services.
 3. Visiting the emergency room of a hospital in each community for a minimum of one hour and recording such information as range of emergencies, length of waiting period, clientele served and client-professional relationship.
- F. Demonstrate an understanding of the social structure of two contrasting communities
Participants may demonstrate competence by:
1. Surveying adult recreational and entertainment facilities available to community residents in each community and identifying the pre-dominant age, sex, and socio-economic levels

of patrons in the establishments
or facilities surveyed.

2. Surveying recreational and entertainment facilities available to young people in each community and identifying the extent to which these facilities are utilized.
 3. Participating in a cross-cultural live-in with a family for a weekend and recording evidence to support the following observations:
 - a. Nature of family structure--matriarchal or patriarchal
 - b. Child-rearing practices
 - c. Home materials for learning games, magazines, etc.
 - d. Eating habits -- kinds of food, regularity of meals, etc.
 - e. Purchasing patterns - what does the family spend its money on?
 - f. Recreational activities
 - g. Friendship patterns
- H. Demonstrate an understanding of religious influences in two target communities
Participants may demonstrate competence by:
1. Attending a minimum of one religious service in each community and identifying the similarities and differences found in each worship service, the racial composition of those attending, the predominate age and sex of the group and the apparent socio-economic level of the audience.
 2. Determining the nature and extent of social and/or political involvement of churches in each community and recording pertinent data.
- I. Demonstrate the ability to utilize a systematic process to analyze the socio-cultural element of a community. Participants may demonstrate competence by completing the following assignments in the community where student teaching will occur:

Community Analysis
PURPOSE:

To demonstrate your awareness of those factors that may affect your pupils' lives away from school and consequently affect your relationship with them as a teacher.

FORM AND LENGTH:

Your task is to convey in the best possible way your awareness of what goes on in the community and how this affects your pupils. Simply stated, the form and length your analysis takes is up to you, as long as you can get the point across.

ASSIGNMENT:

Choose a five square black section of the attendance area for the school to which you have been assigned. Your analysis should describe the physical features of this area and tell what impact, if any, the following factors have on your students:

1. Economic
2. Law Enforcement and Judicial
3. Legal and Political
4. Housing
5. Health
6. Religious
7. Social

NOTE:

During your observation and investigation, be aware of such things as:

Geographical boundaries of neighborhoods, area names, etc.

Major racial/ethnic composition (how much integration)

Age groupings and distribution of sexes

Family or aggregate social structures

What people do

Feelings about personal safety
and police protection

Housing density and condition
(ownership or rental)

Medical treatment (clinics,
hospitals, private)

Transportation (public,
private, none)

City services (streets, garbage,
recreation)

What goes on in people's minds
about the future

Values and attitudes concerning
law and order, social justice,
etc.

Interest in national and inter-
national politics Community
Activities

II. Psycho-educational Competencies for Teachers in a
Multicultural Society. At the conclusion of this
component each participant will be able to:

- A. Identify significant elements related to
relationships with colleagues and supervisors
Participants may demonstrate competence by:
1. Participating in selected human relations-
type activities and assessing the impact
of these activities upon attitudes toward
class members.
 2. Recording their perceptions regarding
specified characteristics of two contrast-
ing communities using Clothier and Carlson's
"Community Perceptions Inventory" (or
similar instrument) and testing these
perceptions through reading and field
analysis.
 3. Observing in a school in each of two
contrasting communities and recording such
information as:
 - a. teacher-pupil relationships
 - b. teacher-teacher relationships
 - c. teacher-administrator relationships

d. supportiye services available to a teacher both from within the school and from agencies outside the school.

B. Demonstrate an understanding of elements relating to self-adequacy and class relationships

Participants may demonstrate competence by:

1. Interviewing "cross-over" figures who have made a successful adjustment to a different culture and identifying coping behaviors necessary to function effectively in a different culture.
2. Identifying unresolved feelings about self and others, clarifying these feelings and establishing a plan for the resolution of conflicts engendered by these feelings.
3. Examining selected case studies related to classroom behavior problems and proposing acceptable solutions to these problems as judged by a panel of experts.

C. Demonstrate an understanding of the emotional and psychological development of children and the relationship of this development to classroom performance

Participants may demonstrate competence by:

1. Completing successfully the requirements established for psychology and learning theory courses related to this competency.
2. Completing a case study of a child from a culture other than participant's.
3. Evaluating cultural differences and similarities of someone from an ethnic or socio-economic background different from the individual concerned.

D. Demonstrate an understanding of the participant's own stage of ethnic development

Participants may demonstrate competence by:

1. Using Banks typology of Emerging Stages of Ethnicity, determine the state of ethnicity attained and provide evidence to justify the conclusion.

III. Teacher Education Competencies for Teachers in a Multicultural Society

In listing competencies for the teacher education component, no effort has been made to delineate skills commonly taught in traditional programs. The techniques involved in activities such as planning, problem-solving and audio visual equipment operation remain essentially the same regardless of the ethnic groups. However, to increase the likelihood of success, prospective teachers must have some contact with pupils from cultures other than their own in a classroom setting. Thus, competencies listed below relate to special opportunities for teacher education experiences involving pupils of diverse ethnic or cultural origins.

At the conclusion of the component, each participant will be able to:

- A. Demonstrate the ability to communicate with pupils in a multi-ethnic classroom
Participants may demonstrate competence by:
 - 1. Making a passing score on the Black Intelligence Test of Cultural Homogeneity or a similar instrument.
 - 2. Compiling a "Dictionary of Common Terms" which contains words and expressions popular in a school where observations have been assigned.
 - 3. Displaying bi-lingual capabilities in communities where this skill is needed.
- B. Demonstrate the ability to adapt traditional teaching skills to a multicultural setting
Participants may demonstrate competence by:
 - 1. Conducting successful micro-teaching lessons related to such skills as establishing set, providing positive reinforcement, questioning techniques and closure before an ethnically diverse micro-class.
 - 2. Teaching brief lessons to classroom groups in a multi-ethnic school to which participants have been assigned for observation and participation.

- C. Demonstrate the ability to prepare teaching materials for a multi-cultural classroom
Participants may demonstrate competence by:
1. Constructing a teaching resource unit involving content appropriate for a multicultural class.
 2. Preparing a materials file containing bulletin board ideas, supplementary materials, teaching strategies and other resources for a culturally-diverse class.
- D. Demonstrate the ability to utilize effective techniques for maintaining classroom control
Participants may demonstrate competence by:
1. Composing a statement of philosophy for maintaining classroom control judged acceptable by staff members of the college and/or public school system.
 2. Displaying acceptable control techniques during micro-teaching sessions or in brief classroom instructional encounters.

After considering the competencies to be attained in each of the recommended components, the advantages of a cross-disciplinary instructional team should be apparent. Each activity in the socio-education component provides information which logically can be used as a basis for psycho-education and teacher-education activities. For example, the "live-in" experience provides an excellent opportunity for discussing the anxiety, insecurity and prejudice felt by students as they are confronted with a different culture in the intimate confines of a home situation. The experience can also provide valuable insights into the relationships between home conditions and classroom achievement. If prospective teachers find crowded living conditions, irregular eating habits, no quiet place for homework, and few books, magazines and newspapers, it should enable them to plan educational experiences suitable for children with such handicaps. By organizing the instructional sequence in this fashion, prospective teachers for multicultural classrooms can be helped to see the dimensions of the problems they will face and to prepare themselves accordingly.

THE "DIFFERENCE" HYPOTHESIS
SUPPORT FOR THE CULTURAL PLURALIST IDEOLOGY

Our previous discussion of environmental factors relative to cognitive functioning did not make a distinction between "Black" and "lower class" often mean the same thing in terms of many environmental variables. There is some evidence, however, of ethnic differences. Lesser, Fifer, and Clark (1965) looked for patterns among the various mental abilities in six and seven-year old children from different social-class and ethnic backgrounds. Four mental abilities (verbal ability, reasoning, number facility, and space conceptualization) were studied in children from four ethnic groups (Chinese, Jewish, Negro, and Puerto Rican). The study, which is praised for its design and execution (Ginsberg, 1972), shows that social classes often differ in patterns of skills.

Language Differences

Other studies (Templin and Lovan) pertaining to social class and ethnic differences in language are reported by Ginsbert (1972) as failing to support the Bernstein hypothesis of lower class deficits in language. Ginsberg (1972) also discusses Lovan's later findings (1966) that lower-class black children speak a dialect which is different from the standard English used by both middle-class and lower-class whites. Lovan gives the following characteristic features of black speech: (1) lack of agreement of subject and verb, (2) omission of the verb from "to be," (3) non-standard use of noun forms and pronouns, and (5) double negatives. His data does not, however, provide answers such as the extent to which speakers of a black dialect understand and use Standard English, or whether the black dialect is deficient in any respect.

Negro Non-standard English. That Non-standard Negro English (NNE) is a liability in terms of operating as a social barrier has been pointed out by Cazden (1966). The question of whether NNE is a cognitive liability is not so easily determined. Cazden points out that the question of whether NNE (other things being equal) is just as good a means of communication as standard English is hard to determine, because "other things," such as repertoire of words and grammatical patterns are rarely equal.

A study by Robinson (1965) tested the hypothesis that Bernstein's "restricted code" is a better description of

disadvantaged children's performance than of their competence, thereby fostering the idea that something other than "pathology" accounts for poor language performance. Robinson placed lower-class English children in situations which seemed to demand the restricted code in one instance, and the "formal" code in another. The children were generally able to switch from one code to another, which certainly does not agree with Bernstein's hypothesis.

The literature which examines problems which black children have in reading middle class materials (e.g., Baratz, 1969; Bartol and Axelrod, 1973; Fasold and Wolfram, 1970; Labov, 1964; Stewart, 1964; Wolfram, 1970) may also be interpreted in terms of interference factors (i.e., differences in the language of Black Children (Harper and Bryen, 1976).

Non-verbal Context. Looking again at Cazden (1966), who presented a rather extensive discussion of sub-cultural differences in language, we find mention of the non-verbal context in which language situation, and the relative frequency of adult communication to peer interaction are seen as potentially important variables. Also the contextual variety (Bernstein's restricted vs elaborated speech) may indirectly determine the child's chances of using verbal language as a mediator of thought. Cazden did agree with Lovaas's findings in 1963 that subjects who demonstrated the most power over language were the subjects who also most frequently used language to express tentativeness. Other subjects who were less flexible tended to issue flat dogmatic statements.

Use of Language. The use of language by lower-class subjects is again referred to as different by John and Goldstein (1969), who report that verbal interaction of lower-class occupations is of a more routine, highly conventionalized nature. They maintain that the lower-class child has to rely on co-occurrence of label and referent to a greater extent -- that better quality and larger amount of corrective feedback from actively participating adults would increase the child's breadth of generalization and precision of discriminations. A speech invariance should therefore be a signal to form some hypothesis about the corresponding invariance of the referent. But what evidence do we have that the lower-class black child's use of speech may not really be deficient? We have already mentioned dialectical differences, and alluded to the possibility that the lower class perhaps can engage in the elaborated code of language. But what really is the strength of NNE?

Labov's Harlem Studies

Labov's work (1967, 1968, 1969, 1970, 1972) gives the beginning of our first real insight into the above questions. In a creative study (Labov, 1972) of 200 Black males (age 10-17) in Harlem, Labov's experimenters listened to and analyzed a large number of speech samples. The results were extremely encouraging--previous inhibited and unnatural speech gave way to a deep and spontaneous involvement in conversation. Labov flatly denies Bernstein's theory that lower-class language is deprived or impoverished. While denying any simple way to describe the differences between NNE and Standard English (SE), Labov maintains that NNE is rule governed and very similar to SE. As such, it is not illogical, synstatically-primitive, or semantically empty. Furthermore, he maintains that blacks can comprehend SE, even in the cases when SE cannot be reproduced. So--while not completely refuting Bernstein, Labov implies that the unitary dimensions of "restricted-elaborated" codes are much too simple to account for observed differences between NNE and SE.

Labov noticed that most investigations focused on the linguistic structure of speech, and that very little attention was given to the ways in which language is used, the attitudes people have about it, or the social factors which influence speech. Although we know that language is used for communicating information, Labov also notices a teenager using a particular style of speech in a street situation to perhaps convey an attitude of "toughness" and then using a completely different style in school. While we have little information on the functions and determinants of speech, we know these factors must have an effect on the child in school.

That NNE may involve a kind of structural interference in school is not sufficient to Labov as an explanation of "functional illiteracy." Part of the problem may involve a conflict between the normal spontaneous uses of NNE and the uses required in the schools. A clash of values between NNE and SE is also probable.

Another Look at Intervention

We have already looked briefly at the Bereiter and Englemann approach which asserts that poor black children are massively deficient in language, thereby causing school failure, particularly in reading. Baratz (1969) feels, however, that the deficit hypothesis has been so

"bastardized" in this country that "The presence or absence of a specific word form that has a definite structural relationship in Standard English has been taken as the definition of whether or not a particular concept is present for the child" (p. 891). She gives an example from Bereiter and Englemann where they maintain that if the child does not know the word "not," then he is deprived of one of the most powerful logical tools in our language. This may certainly be true if, in fact, the child does not have the concept of "not." But suppose the black child's use of "ain't no" (this ain't no knife) does stand for "not" --then the child has just as powerful a logical tool as anyone. Baratz also mentions the "if-then" proposition, where "I don't know can I get enough money so we can go to the movies," in NNE is just as powerful as "I don't know if I can get enough money so we can then go to the movies" in SE. Clearly, then, the Bereiter and Englemann approach is somewhat inaccurate and oversimplified. But why do black children fail?

Baratz and Baratz (1970) pin failure to a large extent on a failure to utilize in teaching and existing cultural forms within low socio-economic status black communities. As such, they believe that programs such as Head Start are doomed from the start, and moreover, that they constitute a form of "institutional racism." They criticize the "logic of intervention" where liberals have eagerly accepted the social pathology model as a replacement for the genetic inferiority model, and thus have based education on assumptions of linguistic and cognitive deficits.

"Expanding Web". The "expanding web" model (Baratz, 1970) defines the direction of "deficit" thinking in intervention: Postulation of one deficit which is unsuccessfully dealt with leads to language fostering and restructuring of an entire cultural system. We have seen in recent years how interlocking assumptions concerning the environment of the poor child give rise to various compensatory educational programs. Perhaps we need to look again at the adequacy at these assumptions.

The first assumption is that the environment is inadequate, generally because of overall lack of stimulation or deficits in language and mother-child interaction. Of these deficits, language and parent-child interaction were seen as critical elements in cognitive development. We have just seen evidence from Labov and others that language is not necessarily deficient in black lower-class children. This leaves us with the mother-child interaction, of which

prime support for a deficit hypothesis comes from the Hess and Shipman data. Although maternal differences found in this and similar studies cannot be overlooked, we should not overrate them either, since most of the studies mentioned do have some methodological problems. In the first place, we do not know to what extent observed differences are typical of what mothers would do in a variety of settings. Secondly, the laboratory tasks and contrived interactions may not have elicited behavior which is typical of either parents or children, particularly for the lower class mothers. Thirdly, since most studies record frequencies of given behavior, not enough attention is awarded the interaction process, the contingencies between mother and child's behavior. So--as a result of the above, we have not clear idea how maternal behavior relates to cognition.

The second assumption underlying intervention is that environment is the major determinant of a child's intellectual growth. This approach is not necessarily wrong--perhaps wrongly stated. In piaget's view, for example, the process of natural development is a continual interaction between the child and his environment. As such, the child shapes his environment just as it shapes him. Ginsbert (1972) reports several studies by Kohl showing black children's interest in and exploration of written language. Coupled with Labov's findings of the black youth's skill in the spoken language, it obviously follows that diaadvantaged children have a significant role in shaping their own intellectual growth.

The third assumption follows from the second--if environment is the major determinant of intellectual growth, then poor children develop deficit intellectual processes. What seems to be the case, however, is that children do develop the "cognitive universals," and they do develop skills which are useful in coping with their own environments. Labov's report definitely shows that some black children in Harlem develop the language skills necessary for survival in their peer group, and that those skills can be handily used in developing formal logical arguments. Therefore, a better way to look at poor Black children's skills might be that they are sometimes unsuited to typical schools, or they may fail to develop some of the skills which the school emphasizes.

The fourth assumption is that schooling should be designed to remove and correct intellectual deficits. This is what Bereiter and Englemann and Klaus and Gray have tried to do, stressing language and thinking abilities. This may be exactly the wrong approach, at least in the

beginning. Wrightsman (1971) refers to Labov's work as an indication that educational programs need to recognize the status of NNE as an established social system within a sub-culture. While not saying that Standard English should not be taught, it seems prudent to at least begin with the particular language the black child brings with him. The review of Black English by Harber and Bryan (1976), for example, mentions several published approaches to establishing a transition from NNE to Standard English.

Another problem with schools designed to correct deficiencies is discussed by Ray Rist (1970). This concern is the relation of the teacher's expectation of potential academic performance to the social status of the student. Drawing from Rosenthal's (1968) "self-fulfilling prophecy," Rist remarks that even when teachers and students have met for the first time (such as in kindergarten), there emerge patterns of behavior, expectations of performance, and a mutually accepted stratification system delineating those doing well from those doing poorly. The extension of this process is that interaction patterns between the teacher and various groups become rigidified, taking on "casta-like" characteristics. A similar process occurs during later years, except that the teacher's initial data on the child is no longer subjective. Rist has made these observations on the basis of a two and one-half year study with a single group of Black children. Much of the above probably could be avoided if teachers and schools only relaxed the constraints of the deficit theory.

Finally, the fifth assumption is that early remedial training can have long-term effects on the child's education. That this assumption has any merit at all will have to wait further evaluation of programs like Head Start. Early evaluation efforts have resulted in a discouraging string of failures. Logically it does not seem that intervention will have long-term effects in cases where the basic assumptions of intervention are questionable. Later success seems to depend more on what the school is doing for the child at that time.

What is it then that traditional schools are basing their methods on, and how does it affect the learner? First of all, traditional schools base most of their decisions on standardized tests, which actually give very little help in dealing with special learning problems. Traditional schools thus operate on the basis of very limited information.

The Cultural Difference Model and Teacher Training

The emphasis on positive aspects of sub-cultural characteristics which we have seen in a rather large body of literature lends considerable support to the Cultural Pluralist Ideology which favors a minority emphasis in educational programming. We have seen considerable evidence that minority cultures, particularly the Black sub-culture, have definite patterns of strength in critical areas such as language development and use.

MODEL SELECTION FOR CURRICULUM REFORM AND TEACHER TRAINING ACTIVITIES

Problems with the Deficit Model

We have examined the cultural "deficit" model and found it substantially lacking in terms of empirical support. Apparently, minorities do not necessarily want an educational system which focuses initially on what is wrong with their abilities, attitudes and practices, nor do minorities need such an approach. Factors such as commitment to equal opportunity and growing pride among members of ethnic minorities, along with the sheer number and size of ethnic groups seems to make it inadvisable to continue planning educational programs and training teachers to prepare students only for a common culture (Arciniega, 1975).

When one examines the conditions and educational practices which tend to either hinder or facilitate the academic performance of minorities in desegregated settings, the factors which favor success do not coincide with the "deficit" thinking. Katz (1964), for example, suggests that Black students perform better when accepted by white teachers and peers, and when they perceive a high probability of success. Others (e.g., Leacock, 1969; Polansky, 1954; Saltzman, 1963; Smith, 1969) have amassed a growing body of evidence to suggest that some teachers, apparently taken in by the deficit model, do not believe in the educability of children from certain minority groups and thus make little effort to teach them. It is no surprise, then, that children who are not taught do not learn.

Another Look at the Pluralist Model

Reaction against the kind of thinking implicit in the deficit model has produced a largely uncontested movement toward the opposite approach--the Pluralist approach. Not all writers, however, have blindly accepted Pluralistic approach. Before we offer an analysis perhaps it would be useful to examine the following AACTE statement on cultural pluralism (reprinted in Arciniega, 1975, p. 163):

To endorse cultural pluralism is to endorse the principle that there is no one model American. To endorse cultural pluralism is to understand and appreciate the differences that exist among the nation's citizens. It is to see these differences as a positive force in

the continuing development of a society which professes a wholesome respect for the intrinsic worth of every individual. Cultural pluralism is more than a temporary accommodation to placate racial and ethnic minorities. It is a concept that aims toward a heightened sense of being and of wholeness of the entire society based on the unique strengths of each of its parts.

The Association of Supervision and Curriculum Development (ASCD) translates cultural pluralism into educational terms as "multi-cultural education." Because the practice of cultural pluralism as described by ASCD when presenting some representative goals of multicultural education may be more meaningful than ideological statements, we will take the additional step of presenting those goals here (Grant, 1977, p.4 and 5):

1. Examine test materials for evidence of racism, classism, sexism, and realistic treatment of cultural pluralism in American society.
2. Develop new curricula for all levels of schooling curricula that enhance and promote cultural diversity.
3. Provide opportunities to learn about and interact with a variety of ethnic groups and cultural experiences.
4. Include the study of concepts from the humanistic and behavioral sciences, which are applicable for understanding human behavior.
5. Organize curricula around universal human concerns, which transcend usual subject-matter disciplines; bring multi-cultural perspectives to bear in the study of such issues.
6. Broaden the kinds of inquiry used in the school to incorporate and facilitate the learning of more humanistic modes of inquiry.

7. Create school environments that radiate cultural diversity.
8. Maximize the school as a multicultural setting, with the idea of utilizing the positive contributions of all groups to accomplish common tasks and not just to reduce deficiencies for the deprived.
9. Recognize and utilize bilingualism as a positive contribution to the communication process, and include bilingual programs of instruction for monolingual children.
10. Examine rules, norms, and procedures of students and staff with the purpose of facilitating the development of learning strategies and techniques that do not penalize and stigmatize diversity, but rather, encourage and prize it.
11. Institute a system of shared governance in the schools, in which all groups can enter equally in the learning and practice democratic procedures.
12. Organize time, space, personnel, and resources to facilitate the maximum probability and flexibility of alternate experiences for all youngsters.
13. Institute staffing patterns (involving both instructional and non-instructional positions) that reflect our culturally pluralistic and multiracial society.
14. Design and implement preservice and inservice programs to improve staff ability to successfully implement multicultural education.

Why have these kinds of goals and the supporting ideology been received with so little conflict? Certainly, the Pluralist ideology calls for rather drastic changes in American schooling. Dolce (1973) has suggested that in many cases professionals avoid criticism because they believe that multicultural education either implies little actual change or calls for change so profound that it will

never occur. Some have, in spite of the tremendous appeal of the pluralist model, expressed additional concerns. Lopez (1973), for example, expresses the concern that cultural pluralism might be used simply as an excuse to ignore the measurable academic deficiencies of some minorities by interpreting them as normal and characteristic of the culture. Ethnic studies, clearly designed to portray positive aspects of various ethnic groups, could result instead in the strengthening of racial and ethnic stereotypes. Lopez also contrasts the ideal concept of Pluralism with the reality that upward mobility of minorities is almost invariably tied to adoption of the middle-class value system. Lopez, finally, is very pessimistic about cultural pluralism whenever the meaning of the term implies restricted opportunities for minorities such as when people have imposed on them particular cultural norms.

The concerns which have been stated with regard to the Pluralist model are typically posed by those who have an extensive background of interest in the problems of minorities in schools. Bank's (1975, 1976) several analyses of cultural pluralism typically do not advocate the model as an ideal basis for curriculum planning.

Because mass assimilation into the middle-class culture has already taken place, he worries that the pluralist ideology will only exaggerate differences to the extent that we lose the little momentum we have gained in dealing with racial hostility. Probably the strongest point of Bank's argument against both the Assimilationist and Pluralist models is that neither focuses on the shared strengths among ethnic groups. Neither approach is sufficiently responsive to the certainty that most individuals need to function both within their own ethnic culture and the common culture.

A Compromise

As a framework from which to examine the success of teacher training institutions in facilitating desegregation and in promoting minority academic and social success, we essentially agree with Bank's (1975) position that both the Assimilationist and Pluralist positions are two extreme. The compromise which Banks proposes is theoretically simple and operationally more practical for education than is the Pluralist position. Essentially, educational programs should capitalize on the shared characteristics among ethnic groups. As Ginsburg (1972) points out in his discussion of the "myths" of deprived children, ethnic and social-class

groups are much more alike in all areas of competence than they are different. However, there is considerable evidence for unique differences among ethnic groups in areas such as learning style and language. Academic success, then, may depend on teachers' ability to capitalize on these differences among students.

In terms of social harmony and development of positive self-concept among students, any compromise in ideology must hold to the Pluralist notion of respect for ethnicity. The compromise position, however, suggests that students should be prepared to function in both the common culture and particular ethnic cultures. The teacher training implication, obviously, is that teachers need to be both knowledgeable of ethnic cultures and sensitive to the values which students have about those cultures.

Three sets of variables seem to be critical in terms of preparing teachers to operate programs based on a compromise between the extreme Pluralist and Assimilationist positions. First, teachers need to have skill and sensitivity in facilitating positive student self-concept. Second, teachers need to recognize negative biases regarding ethnic differences and develop ways of teaching which minimize the subtle, but powerful, detrimental effects of those biases. Third, teachers need to have a solid skill base in learning and instruction which includes ability to utilize the existing and variable patterns of strength among students.

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MINORITY SELF-CONCEPT

One of the person's most important psychological experiences is the development of self-concept. In very broad terms, self-concept is a person's perception of himself. These perceptions are developed through experiences with one's environment and are especially influenced by patterns of environmental reinforcements and significant

persons. One's perception of self is thought to influence actions, and actions in turn influence the way in which a person perceives himself.

An individual is not born with a self-concept; instead, he develops it as a result of experiences (learning). Parents, peers, schools, and others have a definite bearing on how a person views himself. An individual's experiences, in all its great diversity constitute the data on which he bases his perception of himself. If there is congruency between how a person views himself and how he believes, and it is reinforced by significant other persons and other environmental reinforcers, then it may be said that a consistent view of self can be established. This reinforcement of self is usually perceived by the individual as being "good" in that it enhances some type of identity. However, on the other hand, if a person's view of himself is somewhat incongruent with his behavior and is reinforced as such, then a state of inconsistency is established which can result in poor feelings regarding the lack of self or identity.

In analyzing the self, there are some properties that all people possess in describing self-concepts. They are as follows:

1. The self-concept develops out of the person's interaction with his environment.
2. A person may view the values of others in a distorted fashion.
3. The self-concept strives for consistency.
4. The self-concept of a person is demonstrated in ways that are consistent with self.
5. Experiences that are not consistent with the self structure are perceived as threats.
6. The self-concept may change as a result of maturation and learning.

These characteristics of the self are universal. All individuals have a basic need to enhance self. However, because of varying cultural influences, we should consider the possibility that self-concepts develop differently in various cultures.

The literature concerning the relationship between self-concept and race is very confusing. While a number of studies have found significant relationships between self-concept and academic achievement for disadvantaged and minority students (e.g., Brookover and Thomas, 1963; Brown and Renz, 1973; Caplin, 1968; Coleman, 1966; Paschal, 1968] the causes, directions and stability of these findings are very much in doubt. Brown and Renz (1973], for example, find deteriorating self-concept with age among disadvantaged individuals beginning at about the age where school problems begin to appear. Other (e.g., Fierichs, 1970; Gordon, 1965; Ornstein, 1968] have mentioned low self-concept as one of the most important characteristics of disadvantaged children. Ethnicity also appears to be an important variable. A number of investigations (e.g., Ausubel and Ausubel, 1963; Banks and Grambs, 1972; Clark, 1963; Kvaraceus, 1965; Zirkel, 1971] place a greater emphasis on Blacks as the victims of conditions which yield poor self-concept. However, Zirkel's (1971] review of self-concept among disadvantaged groups and particularly among Blacks, reports rather consistent findings over the past 15 years which indicate no significant differences among the self-concepts of Black and white students at all levels. In fact, Zirkel reports occasional studies where Blacks expressed better self-concepts than did their white peers. Simmons and Rosenberg (1975), for example, found that white girls in the 3-12 age range were less likely to possess positive self-concepts than were white boys and Black girls. In a comparison of three ethnic groups, Mexican-Americans, Blacks and whites, Healey and DeBlassie (1974) ordered Mexican-Americans as highest in self-concept followed by Blacks and then whites. These kinds of data make it very difficult to make broad generalizations about self-concept when comparisons among the various ethnic groups are concerned.

Studies designed to make comparisons among ethnic groups with regard to self-concept, however, do not address the major concerns which schools have in meeting the needs of minority students. Enough data exists (see, for example, the reviews of Banks and Grambs, 1972; and Zirkel, 1971) to indicate that regardless of conflicting findings about self-concept the schools have a major problem in fostering and maintaining enough positive feeling about self among Blacks and other minorities to get them successfully through academic studies. While much conceptual work needs to be done in the area of self-concept and more sensitive measures need to be devised (Shovelson, Hubrer, and Stanton (1976), the schools simply cannot wait for these advances to begin taking positive action in this important area.

In our review of self-concept among minority groups we have accumulated from among some of the studies (e.g., Arnex, 1972; Banks and Grambs, 1972; Epstein, 1971; Goodman, 1972; Kleinfield, 1972; Seasholes, 1972; Sizemore, 1972; Zirkel, 1971) an array of statements or positions which describe recently existing conditions and an additional series of statements which deal with implication for education. Because of the difficulty in synthesizing this body of literature, some of which is reasonably good research, some of which is less rigorous, we will simply offer the generalizations in abbreviated form.

Generalized Statements of Existing Conditions

1. In cases where Black children exhibit or express low self image, one should suspect as one causal factor the presence of white racism.

whites must assume the major responsibility for racism which contributes to the Black child's deflated self-concept.
3. Children who are consistently rejected over a period of time gradually develop questions and doubts about themselves. In some cases they believe that they, their families, and their group deserve the lack of respect they get from the larger society.
4. Teachers are more significant to Black children than are their parents, at least in some areas of self-identity. At the same time, these "significant others"--the teachers--have pervasive negative attitudes toward the disadvantaged and Blacks in particular.
5. The negative racial feelings which many teachers express influence instructional practices and thus the concepts of Black children.
6. Much of the aggression of self-assertion attributed in a negative manner to Blacks is simply a reaction to find self in a racist society. A natural developmental activity for Blacks and whites is to obtain some control over one's environment.

Statements related to Implications for Education

1. New "significant others" are being identified with interest in African heritage, intensified racial pride, and the general search and cohesiveness among Blacks.
2. More "significant others" are needed for Black students to receive needed positive reinforcement for concept development.
3. Teachers at all levels need to be more willing to believe that Black children can achieve. Moreover, teachers need to communicate clearly and forcibly this positive expectancy to students.
4. Teaching aids and materials should reflect more often the racial composition of classes rather than a single standard.
5. Contact between Blacks and whites often facilitates understanding. Schools need to learn to use interracial contact to advantage.
6. Black literature can aid Blacks in developing identity.
7. Schools can offer the beginnings of political strength to Blacks by providing opportunities to make decisions, policy, and generally influence their own environment.
8. Professional educators continue to favor activities which reflect negative attitudes toward "other race" students.

The message we hear over and over in the existing literature is that the psychological atmosphere in the schools and the resulting practices do not facilitate optimum development of self-identity among minority students. Teachers are a critical component of a school's racial atmosphere. In the next section we will examine some of the literature dealing with teachers' racial attitudes.

TEACHER ATTITUDES TOWARD ETHNICALLY
DIFFERENT CHILDREN IN DESEGREGATED SETTINGS

There is little doubt that teachers' attitudes toward children measurably influence academic performance and social adjustment in school. We have known for some time (e.g., Deutsch, 1964; Goff, 1963; Grady, 1971; Grossman, 1971; Riessman, 1962; Rosenthal, 1973; Rosenthal and Jacobson, 1968) that a connection exists between disadvantaged children's poor school performance and teachers' expressed negative feelings toward those children. Recent studies of teachers' attitudes suggest a generally negative one towards ethnic students (Weinberg, 1977). In this section we will examine briefly (actually, the situation can be stated quite simply) the ways in which teachers' attitudes and feelings can influence a learning environment.

Negative teacher attitudes are particularly troublesome in the area of self-concept. Generally, when teachers, or any "significant" person, exhibits an opened and receptive attitude toward a child, the child is likely to experience a state of belongingness and esteem. If the attitude is negative, then the child may experience negative feelings. We have already mentioned in the previous section that Black students in particular tend to look toward the teacher as being a "significant other." Unfortunately, the literature suggests that too many of these "significant others" tend to look negatively and condescendingly at Blacks and other minorities, thus reinforcing any negative feelings the student may have about himself. Needless to say, the teacher is a critical element in the educational process. Coleman (1966), in fact, suggests that of all factors operating in a modern school, physical features, curriculum characteristics, teaching techniques, etc., the most important factor is quality of teachers.

The relationship between teacher attitude and academic performance is fairly well established and has received quite a bit of attention. However, simply being forewarned of the effect may not be enough--the interaction between teacher attitudes and pupil academic performance is subtle enough to routinely escape attention. Apparently what happens according to the research accounts (e.g., Hendrickson, 1971; Rosenthal, 1973; Rosenthal and Jacobson, 1968) is that when teachers have positive attitudes and expectations toward students, somehow these feelings are internalized by students who then perform accordingly. Similarly, when teachers have

negative feelings and expectations toward students, the net effect is often that students do poorer work. Part of the effect probably derives from teachers giving disproportional amounts of attention and useful feedback to students whom they have selected to do well. Another part of the explanation might be that deflated self-concepts resulting from negative teacher attitudes precludes motivation to perform well. Regardless of the explanation, knowledge of the connection between teacher attitudes and pupil performance is understandably discouraging to Blacks and other minorities when they receive a vastly disproportional amount of negative bias.

It follows that teachers who have biases against minority students would not be extremely interested in teaching them. The research evidence (e.g., Coleman, 1963; Goldber, 1964; Grady, 1971; Green, 1972; Swick, 1974; Wiles, 1971) confirms the high teacher turnover rate among schools serving predominantly disadvantaged students and the desires of white teachers to teach only white or mostly white student populations.

Negative minority views are also common of teacher candidates. Swick (1974) and Long and Long (1973), for example, found that teacher training institutions are producing teachers with racial attitudes similar to those in their home communities. Swick's summary (p. 199) of an unpublished study in this area seems to summarize the present state of affairs. The main findings were:

1. White preservice teachers do not believe in the general abstract notion that Blacks are inherently unequal, yet they subscribe to much of the degrading mythology extant in the mainstream culture about Black Americans and believe that the stereotype of the Black as somehow inferior and socially backward is accurate.
2. White preservice teachers willingly accept Blacks in status superior relationships, and appear amicable toward associating with Blacks in group situations, but on a more intimate plan involving dancing together, dating, and marriage, they are decisively negative.
3. White preservice teachers are favorably disposed toward the long-range goal of integration, or at least are not willing to continue segregation forever, yet, they oppose immediate integration

4. White preservice teachers are equivocal with respect to societal efforts to bring about conditions to which would insure Blacks equal access to institutional participation, and are ambivalent about whether the private right to discriminate against Blacks supercedes the public responsibility to eliminate barriers which exclude Blacks from non-public facilities and accommodations.

Almost every major educational organization has begun to adopt at least some of the goals of multicultural education which were described earlier in this paper. Yet, in view of the evidence suggesting the critical role teachers will play in implementing those goals we have made very little progress toward identifying and selectively modifying the attitudes which teacher trainees have regarding various ethnic groups. Progress in this area may well be the greatest challenge which teacher preparation institutions will face in facilitating desegregation in the schools.

CHARACTERISTICS AND PRACTICES OF TEACHERS WHO ARE SUCCESSFUL (OR UNSUCCESSFUL) IN MULTIETHNIC SETTINGS

All of the evidence we have seen regarding the effects of public schooling and minority children point in some way to the teacher as being a critical factor. Recently, studies such as those conducted by McDonald (1976), into the effects of different teaching practices are suggesting that teachers play a more important role than many would think--in any settings. Even with students who exhibit low beginning performance level, direct and continuing interaction between student and teacher result in improved learning. The research we have examined in this paper would seem to indicate that if teachers are important factors in ethnically homogeneous groups then they are doubly important in mixed ethnic settings because of the subtle tendencies to let biases influence interactions with children. In this section we will examine the several characteristics of teachers and practices which are recommended for desegregated settings.

Teacher Ideology

For some it may seem necessary to suggest that teachers develop a particular ideology about teaching. After all,

it is not the case the ideologies develop naturally from exposure to teacher training programs? The evidence we have examined indicated that if teachers develop ideological notions at all about teaching and about pupils, those notions are heavily influenced by the biases and sometimes racist attitudes of their ethnic group.

Basically, we are suggesting that a reasonable ideological base for teachers to adopt is the compromise we discussed earlier between the Pluralist and Assimilationist notions of schooling. Cole and Bruner (1975) state quite clearly the case for such a position in their analysis of the impact which cultural differences have on psychological processes. Teachers need to recognize first that educational difficulties may be the result of psychological differences--a mismatch--between students and the typical schooling process. The payoff for students is increased status in the teachers' eyes, and subsequently a higher probability of success in the classroom. Such a payoff has been realized by Kohl (1967) with minority children when teachers adopt a less restricted view of their abilities.

A second ideological shift for many teachers is to recognize the usefulness of existing patterns of strengths (e.g., knowledge, attitudes, learning styles, etc.). Cole and Bruner (1967) mention the futility of trying to get students to rearrange their "cognitive structures" before meaningful learning can occur. Rather, teachers should concentrate on the process of getting students to transfer these skills to existing tasks. These researchers suggest that if teachers know their students then materials can be selected which greatly enhance the chance of such transfer occurring.

Matching Students with Environments

Once a teacher has decided to operate under the above principles, then decisions can be made as to the best way to match students with optimum learning environments.

Probably one of the first and most critical tasks is to establish an environment in which students will approach an academic task. Teachers need to recognize, of course, that environments, even psychological environments, are readily manipulable variables in schooling--even if the environments are not often manipulated in favor of minority students (Goldberg, 1970; Webster, 1966).

Stuemfig (1975) suggests that the level of difficulty in most middle class oriented environments is designed to fit the level of typical middle class achievement motivation. That is, if middle-class students are achievement oriented in the sense that need to succeed is stronger than need to avoid failure, then tasks offering an even chance of success will be readily approached. Minority students who have a stronger need to avoid failure than to succeed would not approach such a task. The implication for environmental manipulation, therefore, is to offer such students an objectively less difficult task which may actually be seen by minority students as personally more realistic and challenging. Procedures such as motivational grouping, competition free settings, ungraded materials, and utilization of smaller "chunks" of instruction would all fit into the concept of environmental manipulation.

Low achievement motivation apparently operates in even more subtle and damaging ways than one might initially think. The ability to take satisfaction or pride from successful rank performance is related to motivational factors as evidenced by low motivated individuals attributing success or failure to external factors (e.g., task, difficulty, luck) and high motivated individuals attributing success or failure to personal skill (Weiner, et al, 1971). The problem with low motivation, therefore, is the resulting lack of hope when failure is encountered and the lack of pleasure (which reinforces the behavior in question) when success is encountered. Katz's (1967) work in this area further indicates that minority disadvantaged students may be more self-critical than middle-class students. Thus, the apparently ambivalent responses of minority students in many academic settings may be more a device for avoiding extreme self-criticism than task avoidance. These and similar findings seem to indicate that teachers need to develop strategies for systematically reinforcing successful student performance. Reinforcement needs to be given for legitimately good performance; in cases where teachers cannot personally administer such feedback, then consider the use of self-scoring materials and/or non-professional feedback from other students and aids.

One of the payoffs for a more reinforcing environment is that ethnically different students will begin to recognize and set more realistic goals for themselves. Ultimately, it is hoped that modifications in both performance and motivation level will occur.

Identifying and Changing Behaviors Inappropriate for Multiethnic Settings

Biases and prejudices, even when maintained at a subconscious level, have behavioral components which are easily recognized by the target group. As a beginning step in changing both attitudes and classroom environments teachers need to be aware of offensive behaviors and take steps to remove or modify them. Barnes (1977) offers a reasonably comprehensive list of observable behaviors which teachers knowingly and unknowingly use to guarantee failure in the multiethnic class. Because the list operationalizes many of the teacher attitudes which have been discussed, we will include them here:

Labeling or referring to students as "disadvantaged," "culturally deprived," "slow learners," or "underachievers."

Non-verbal expressions of disgust (for example, shrugging shoulders, throwing up the hands, rolling of the eyes, staring continuously).

Verbal expressions of disgust with racial overtones (for example, "You people get on my nerves," "You people are dumb.").

Overly restrictive sanctions (for example, whipping excessively, expelling students from the room having minority students perform meaningless menial tasks).

Controlling time--allowing only a few seconds within which to respond to a question, not varying time for individual differences.

Restricting interaction--causing and/or allowing ethnic groups to congregate in one corner or on one side of the classroom.

Contrasting of wills--shouting matching.

Omission--relegating students to a state of invisibility by ignoring them, not seeing them in a literal and symbolic sense.

Using knowledge, power, status to intimidate ethnic minorities (for example, uttering in disgust statements such as "I got mine . . . ;" flaunting economic and social status or well

being; deliberately using words, phrases, and asking technical questions you know students cannot answer).

Making subtle innuendoes about personal matters such as material possessions, clothing, personal hygiene, and physical appearance.

Being paternalistic or maternalistic--acting in a fatherly or motherly manner as if ethnic minority children don't have fathers and mothers.

Patronizing students--being nice or benevolent to students while exhibiting an air of superiority and/or condescension.

Constantly insisting on absolute quietness on the one hand or being too permissive in order to be liked on the other hand.

Establishing and adhering to an etiquette of race relations in the classroom whereby the minority student is low person on the totem pole (for example, expecting to speak last, expecting to be answered last, to sit behind whites, to always take a follower role).

Using racial slurs such as nigger, darkies, coons spic, greaser, dago, or chink.

Repressive control of minority students' efforts to participate in class (for example, refusing to recognize students who raise their hands to speak, or to call on them).

Discriminating between students in terms of kinds of opportunities available to them for classroom interactions (for example, a more sustained qualitative academic contact with white students, more managerial and procedural contact with minority students).

Avoiding physical contact with minority students (for example, rapid retraction of hand when touched by minorities, afraid to touch minority students, always walking to the side of the room away from minorities).

Patting minority children on their heads in a demeaning, condescending way.

Referring to minority students as "boy," "you all," "Your people," "your kind."

Reacting to students on the basis of stereotypes (for example, blacks are lazy, nasty, shiftless, irresponsible, unskilled, lack of appreciation for middle class standards of living; Japanese are brilliant in science courses; Mexican Americans are lazy and lack initiative).

Constantly criticizing the language usage of minority students.

Criticizing and devaluing behavior, the culture basis of which the teacher does not understand.

Selecting means of presentation of instructional material not appropriate to minority students' learning styles.

Recommending that students be expelled for minor infractions of school rules (for example, chewing gum or not bringing books, paper, and pencils to class).

The first problem in getting teachers to change undesirable behaviors is to have them recognize ownership of those behaviors. Barnes (1977) follows the above list with the suggestion that teachers begin to have their own classes observed and such behaviors recorded. His hypothesis is that teachers can then use feedback about their own actions to enhance introspective self-analysis.

Personalizing Instruction

We mentioned earlier in the paper some research which found differences among ethnic groups with regard to cognitive abilities. The research is very sketchy on this point, but scattered evidence indicates that varying learning characteristics or styles of different cultural groups can have implications for matching instructional approaches (see, for example, the review by Laosa, 1977). Unfortunately, we have only limited knowledge of cognitive style dimensions at the present time. The example of cognitive

style identification given by Laosa (1977) involves field-independence. For example, field-independent students might tend to prefer active and participant learning activities whereas field-dependent students might learn better through "spectator" approaches.

Personalized instruction would, of course, involve matching cognitively unique students with the optimum teaching strategy. The difficulty at this point is that we do not have a knowledge base of sufficient depth and precision to even suggest what the instructional matches would be for styles and strategies which have only been superficially researched.

An Ideal Model of the Successful Teacher in a Multiethnic Setting

Finally, we will offer what Goldberg (1964) has suggested as a hypothetically good model for teachers of disadvantaged children. We believe the following suggestions cover the essential areas of concern when teaching in desegregated settings.

1. The successful teacher is always a student, refusing to judge students' backgrounds but instead trying to understand them in the context of their experiences, their motivations, and their environments.
2. The successful teacher understands ethnic group membership and what it means in terms of the child's self-image.
3. The teacher understands the connection between students' language and the life they lead. Whatever the distortion of language according to Standard English, the teacher will first recognize it in terms of its functional qualities.
4. The teacher will understand students' patterns of abilities and motivations. The teacher will recognize strengths not measurable by standard tests.
5. The teacher will be realistic in recognizing standard test data as being useful in determining the extent to which students' function academically.

6. While the teacher will readily accept students on a person-to-person basis, he does not fail to set boundaries for students and create reasonable expectations of them.
7. The teacher recognizes the existence of "self-fulfilling prophecies" and is constantly alert to this subtle phenomenon.
8. Finally, the teacher is a showman to the extent that classrooms are places for imagination, variety, and success.

We, of course, would not necessarily expect to ever find a perfect fit for the above model. These characteristics and the additional descriptions of teacher practices contained in this section are, however, meant to influence teacher training institutions to upgrade their programs to meet new standards.

PART III: THE CHALLENGE

THE CHALLENGE IN TEACHER EDUCATION

The primary conclusion which we draw from our study of variables affecting the success of desegregation in public schools is that something has to be done to dramatically improve the quality of teachers--especially those responsible for multiethnic settings.

The task of improving the quality of teaching and learning in multicultural schools is one of the major responsibilities of today's teacher education institutions.

A review of the literature revealed some general and specific steps which personnel of teacher education institutions may take in order to help them meet the challenge of producing effective teachers for multicultural classrooms. Suggested steps are listed below.

Personnel in teacher education institutions should:

1. Engage in rather extensive self study to simply describe the characteristics and effects of existing efforts. The literature is currently full of grand schemes for devising curriculums to put multicultural concepts into effect. It seems unwise to begin implementing and deleting courses, for example, without first determining strengths and weaknesses of present programs.
2. Make some selections from among the many goals commonly advanced under the guise of multiethnic education. Several goals, particularly those aimed at changing teacher attitudes and training for selected skills might be more important and/or more interesting than others. In any event, all the problems we have identified cannot reasonably be solved at once.
3. Consider becoming research-based enterprises. This places the operation of training teachers in a different context, with accompanying problems such as systematic data collections and planning for experimental manipulations.

4. Reconsider screening devices. Existing evidence suggests that too many "unfit" candidates become teachers. Unfit here refers to attitudes, personality factors, and motivations which are incompatible with good teaching.
5. Find some method for better preparing teachers in terms of emotional readiness for multiethnic settings. Preparation in this sense could mean rather dramatic changes in some courses, laboratory experiences, and quality and duration of field experiences.
6. Plan for both follow-up and, if necessary, continued intervention once students are placed in beginning teaching positions.
7. Take the lead helping public schools develop the kind of support facilities which enable beginning and experienced teachers to perform in a manner consistent with training. Schools are often impossible places to try new ideas and procedures.
8. Organize their efforts under the simplest model that is consistent with an acceptable ideology about schooling. The compromise model discussed earlier in the paper seems a reasonable beginning.

IMPLICATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

A review of the literature indicated that further research is needed in the area of:

1. Describing and analyzing the nature of the minority groups' reaction to dominance. In other words, how do members of a minority group react to their subordinate status?
2. Identifying ways to reduce prejudice; of transforming antipathy into sympathy; and ways of converting bigotry into benevolence.

3. Designing a functional program to reduce racial and ethnic discrimination and conflict.
4. Determining and identifying the significant psychological differences between racial and ethnic groups.
5. Understanding the phenomena which arise when groups of people who differ racially and culturally come in contact with one another.
6. Understanding the characteristics and cultural heritages of racial and ethnic groups; and recognizing and understanding how and why traits take on meaning and why traits take on meaning and assume importance when groups come into contact.
7. Identifying and understanding when the cleavage between minority social classes increases the difficulty for racial minorities and presents a united front to the oppressors.
8. Exploring the alternatives which members of minority groups tend to use in coping with racial and ethnic problems:

Aggression
Assimilation
Avoidance
Acceptance.

Further research needs to be done to seek the best solution for problems of intergroup relationships.

9. Producing more scientific research studies, in the area of racial and ethnic realtions. Intergroup relations represent a highly emotional subject and consequently should be dealt with in a detached-to-objective manner with the use of the scientific approach.
10. Furthering exploration of the question: "Should schools be burdened with the major responsibilities of desegregating contemporary society?"

11. Determining if school policy, teaching and supportive staff practices, and curriculum are designed and implemented according to the basic concepts and principles of positive intergroup relations.
12. Transforming disadvantaged lives and disadvantaged communities into an equal and fully participating process within the mainstream of American life.

In conclusion, the review of the literature revealed that more research is desperately needed pertaining to the relations between peoples who differ culturally as well as racially since race relations are not so much the relations that exist between the members of different races as between people conscious of those differences, thereby affecting the individual's conception of himself and his status in society. Secondly, further study needs to be done on the nature and complexities of the interrelations of racial and ethnic groups because the major problems concerning race are not the differences between groups, but their relations. It is true that a proper understanding of the differences which do exist calls for an inquiry into the relations between the group involved.

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