The study tried to identify assumptions and intentions that Anglo teachers, children, and parents, and Chicano children and parents hold of each other, their perceptions of each other, the extent to which these perceptions are realistic, and the implications of cultural differences and similarities in the education of Chicanos. The sample used for the elicitation of critical incidents in Phase I consisted of 24 Chicano parents, 31 Chicano children, and 14 Anglo teachers. The retest sample in Phase II (attribution and intention) consisted of the original 24 Chicano parents, added 13 Anglo parents and 20 Anglo children. The final sample was composed of 12 Anglo teachers, 10 Chicano parents, 10 Chicano children, 10 Anglo parents, and 10 Anglo children. Seven results were drawn from this study, such as (1) Anglo and Chicanos were more similar in their use of attributes than they were similar in their use of intentions; and (2) there were no clear, uncomplicated differences between how Anglos and Chicanos deal with children in a classroom context. On the basis of the study results, 6 assertions and implications for the education of Chicano children are made—e.g., in developing educational programs for Chicano children, educators cannot seek simplistic solutions, such as bilingual programs. (FF)
CULTURAL DIFFERENCES IN THE ATTRIBUTIONS
AND INTENTIONS OF ANGLOS AND CHICANOS
IN AN ELEMENTARY SCHOOL

Ida Santos Stewart
University of Houston

April 1974 AERA Meeting, Chicago, Illinois
Session 13.20 - Research in Multi-ethnic Contexts
Critical incidents were collected from Anglos and Chicanos and incorporated into a questionnaire designed to investigate the extent to which Anglos and Chicanos assigned attributes and intentions to classroom behavioral incidents. Results showed that there were no clear, uncomplicated differences between how Anglos and Chicanos deal with children in a classroom context. Cultural differences emerged only in the interrelation of the ethnicity and age of the respondent, the ethnicity of the stimulus person, and the use of attributes and intentions. The differentiated attributes and intentions assigned by Anglos and Chicanos to given behavioral incidents support the assumption that not only is culture a significant variable in heterocultural classrooms, but also, that while the attributes and intentions were transshered by persons of similar ethnicity, there were specific effects of particular situations that did not differentiate the ethnic groups.

To understand the undereducation of culturally different minorities, it is necessary to study the relationship between teachers and children. In an educational setting, the interactions are not determined simply by the situation or task at hand, but are also shaped by cultural standards and expectations. Intricate problems are involved in any attempt to understand the underattainment of Chicanos (Grebler, Moore, and Guzman, 1970; Carter, 1970). Most of the interactions between teachers and children, who share a similar culture, are fairly well-coordinated interchanges. The relative smoothness of such interaction is indicative of the accuracy of awareness on the part of the teacher to the children's life experiences. However, the meaning of social behaviors is not the same across cultures. In inter-
cultural situations, signals and meanings differ; messages are encoded in one context and decoded in another. Thus, ethnocentric perception of one culture often creates a distorted image of the life patterns of another culture, greatly increasing the possibility of unexpected and misunderstood responses. In school settings communication between teachers and culturally different children is filtered through contrasting norms, resulting in a context that limits both the cognitive and social development of culturally different children.

In this paper the terms, Anglo and Chicano, serve psychologically to mark group self-identification. Chicano refers to those who are Spanish-speaking and of Mexican descent, and Anglo refers to all those who do not identify themselves as Spanish-speaking and of Mexican descent, and who are white ethnics.

American schools reflect the dominant Anglo culture and serve as an interface for the first important culture contact with Chicano students, who represent a reference culture different from that of the school personnel. Specifically, Anglo teachers working with Chicano children are likely to project their own cultural attitudes and values to the children. These imperfect perceptions and misunderstandings contribute to the growth of prejudicial attitudes, which in turn, curtail educational achievement. A few educators have been able to grasp the full implications of the culture upon children's personality and school performance, but most have used the concept of cultural differences within a social pathology framework to rationalize and justify the school's failure to educate Chicano children (Baratz and Baratz, 1970).
The interrelated plight of the ineffective Anglo teacher and the poor educational performance of Chicano children began to move to center stage in the early 1930's. In the literature the one acknowledged fact is the Chicano student's generally low attainment in formal schooling; it is much more difficult to explain or to understand. Grebler, Moore, and Guzman (1970) have documented the Chicano's low educational attainment, comparing it to Anglo and Black achievement. Although progress has been made, the education gap remains so large that it will continue to impede the mobility of Chicanos. Generally speaking, it is this lag rather than the progress made which concerns Chicano spokesmen, as well as educators.

APPLICATION OF ATTRIBUTION THEORY TO THE STUDY OF CULTURAL DIFFERENCES IN AN EDUCATIONAL SETTING

One recent development in psychology labeled attribution theory and based primarily on the writings of social psychologists, Heider (1958), Jones and Davis (1965), and Kelley (1967), describes the processes by which an individual attains conceptions of attributes. "Attribution refers to the process of inferring or perceiving the dispositional properties of entities in the environment (Kelley, 1967, p. 193)." Jones and Davis add, "The perceiver seeks to find sufficient reason why the person acted and why the act took on a particular form (p. 220)." Thus, it is not solely the behavior of the observed, but rather, that the behavior is used to infer intention or disposition. Thus attribution theory plays an important role in understanding interpersonal interactions. Once certain attributions are made, they become the basis for making further ones.
The application of an attribution model to heterocultural situations in a classroom provides the means whereby a variety of behaviors can be conceptualized in terms of a unifying construct. When teachers and children share a similar culture, attributions are fairly well-coordinated interactions with few errors. However, in the event of heterocultural interactions, inaccurate attributions are often made. Glaring errors are made because the constraints of attitudes, values, and expectations of other cultures are often not apparent to outsiders.

The adoption of attribution theory as an analytical tool in the study of the educational process in a classroom can be instrumental in discovering how the behavior of Chicano students differentially affects the teacher's attribution of what guided, directed, or caused that behavior. If some understanding is to be gained of cultural differences between Chicano children and Anglo teachers, it is necessary first to understand how people process behavioral cues from others. The differentiated attributions assigned by Anglos and Chicanos to selected child behaviors and the differentiated dispositions of Anglos and Chicanos to act in regard to child behaviors support the assumptions that culture is a significant variable in heterocultural education settings.

AIM OF THE STUDY

The general domain of the study was the differences between Anglos and Chicanos in their view of the appropriateness of child behavior and solutions of critical interactions in an educational setting. It focused on the assumptions guiding the perceptions of Anglos and Chicanos of the behavioral
patterns of Chicano children in a classroom context. Sociological, cultural, and economic factors appear to be among the sources of Chicano educational failure. In this investigative study, culture was the significant variable.

Using data that defined culturally critical behavior in an educational setting shared by Anglo teachers and Chicano children, the purposes of the study were:

1. To identify the differences between Anglo teachers, children, and parents, and Chicano children and parents in their view of the appropriateness of child behavior in a classroom context.

2. To study the perceptions of Anglo teachers, children, and parents, and Chicano children and parents of the behavioral patterns of Chicano children in a public school context.

3. To explore the desirability of using attribution theory as a means of studying cultural conflict situations in an educational setting.

4. To develop procedures which might facilitate the collection of significant information on the education of young children who are culturally different from their teachers.

Thus, the study was concerned with the identification of assumptions and intentions that Anglo teachers, children, and parents, and Chicano children and parents hold of each other, their perceptions of each other, the extent to which these perceptions are realistic, and the implications of cultural differences and similarities in the education of Chicanos.

METHODOLOGY

This study utilized the Field Guide for the Study of Aspects of the Subjective Culture by Harry C. Triandis and Roy S. Malpass (1970) as a guide,
adapting the methodology to an exploratory study of cultural differences between Anglos and Chicanos in an educational context.

A schematization of the general design of the study is presented in Table 1. From the framework of attribution theory, the multi-step design began with verbal elicitation procedures from which incidents exemplifying critical behavioral conflicts were extracted. These behavioral incidents were used, in turn, to elicit attributes and intentions. With specific attributes and intentions for each of the critical incidents, the final research instrument was completed, and the field study conducted.

Table 1

Broad Methodological Design

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Attribution Theory</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Phase I: Verbal Elicitation Procedures</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Critical Incidents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phase II: Attribution and Intention Lists</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phase III: Field Study</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As Triandis and Malpass (1970) specify, the model has both divergent and convergent elements within it. It begins in a divergent manner to generate a heterogeneous set of critical behaviors, then shifts to a convergent structure to reduce and interrelate the responses to the incidents to manageable terms within the theory of cultural differences in a school context.
An assumption underlying the multi-step phases of this design (Triandis and Malpass, 1970) is that by using sequentially related steps and two different samples of subjects, one for the elicitation of critical incidents and for the derivation of the attributes and intentions and another sample of subjects for the testing of the design, the biases of a single method of subject sample can be reduced.

Sample

The sample used for the elicitation of critical incidents in Phase I was composed of 24 Chicano parents, 31 Chicano children, and 14 Anglo teachers (N=69). The retest sample in Phase II consisted of the original 14 Anglo teachers, 20 of the original 31 Chicano children (eliminated the younger children in kindergarten to second grade), 13 of the original 24 Chicano parents (eliminated the parents of the omitted Chicano children), and added 13 Anglo parents and 20 Anglo children (N=80). The final research sample, drawn from another midwestern town, was composed of 12 Anglo teachers, 10 Chicano parents, 10 Chicano children, 10 Anglo parents, and 10 Anglo children. Because Chicano teachers were not available, the Anglo teachers were not included in the analyses (N=40).

Phase I

In Phase I Anglo teachers and Chicano parents and children were asked to describe specific intercultural occurrences that had made an impression on her/him that were seen as a conflict situation. The technique followed in this interview was the semistandardized interview which Merton and Kendall (1946) call the focused interview, in which a series of specific questions,
which are asked of everyone, was listed along with a series of optional sub-
questions to be used or omitted, depending upon the respondents’ response to
the original questions. The interviews were conducted in English or Spanish,
according to the preference of the respondents.

Phase II

The task in Phase II was to develop critical behavioral incidents from
the interview information of Phase I, to develop a questionnaire for the
incidents, from which to elicit attributes and intentions, and to administer
the instrument. The sample consisted of the same respondents as in Phase I,
with the exception of the Chicano children in kindergarten to second
grade and their parents and with the addition of Anglo parents and children.

The interview data was collapsed into nineteen critical incidents
incident methodology as a guide, the critical incidents described (1) a common
occurrence in which a Chicano student interacted with another person in a
school context, (2) a situation which Anglos and/or Chicanos found conflicting
and which were likely to be misinterpreted, (3) a situation which could be
interpreted in a fairly unequivocal manner, given sufficient knowledge about
the culture, and (4) the incident had to be relevant to behaviors of behaviors
of Chicano children in school.

At the conclusion of each incident, the respondents were asked to give
three attributions and three intentions, "What three things would you say
about (stimulus child’s name)?" and "What three things would you do about
(stimulus child’s name)?" A graduated scale of 1 to 5, from not sure to very
sure, completed the answer sheet for each incident, which was written with
either an Anglo or Chicano student stimulus person. Each set of nineteen incidents was randomly selected to include Chicano and Anglo names. The translation of the instrument from English to Chicano Spanish and backtranslating by members of both linguistic groups followed Werner and Campbell's methodology of decentering (1970).

**Phase III**

In Phase III the incidents and responses elicited in Phase II were reduced to workable dimensions, a questionnaire for the chosen incidents was developed, and the completed instrument was administered to a new sample of Anglo teachers, children, and parents, and Chicano children and parents.

The number of critical incidents was collapsed to 8 incidents on the basis of the most frequent attributes and intentions for Anglos and Chicanos and the level of assurance in which they were enumerated. Two attributes and two intentions, common across all the incidents, were selected. Using a semantic differential technique, the resulting instrument, composed of nine incidents, asked each respondent to what extent (1-5) they would assign each of the four attributes and four intentions to each of the critical incidents. Critical incident #6, in which the assignment of the attributes and intentions was exceedingly obvious, was inserted as a practice item to enable the administrator of the instrument to make a judgment verifying that the respondents understood the procedure. This final instrument was then administered to the research sample.
RESULTS

A six factor analyses of variance design was (1) used to test the null hypothesis that there is no difference between Anglos and Chicanos in their responses to critical school incidents and (2) employed as a descriptive tool to detect differences in the use of the attributes and intentions. The six factors were:

1. Ethnicity of the respondent: Whether the subject was Anglo or Chicano.

2. Age of the respondent: whether the subject was a child or a parent.

3. Ethnicity of the stimulus person: whether the child actor was Anglo or Chicano.

4. Incidents: consisted of eight stories of descriptive behavior in which the stimulus person (child actor) interacted with another person in a classroom setting.

5. Responses: Attribute 1 - does not compete
   Attribute 2 - does not stand up for his rights
   Intention 1 - to have a friend interpret and explain to
   Intention 2 - to tell _______ that he must not let people run over him

The null hypothesis, that there is no difference in the responses of Anglos and Chicanos, was rejected at or beyond the .05 level of significance. Three basic groups of findings emerged. First, the results indicated that in the inter-relation of the age of respondent, ethnicity of stimulus person, incident, and response, within the same behavioral incidents, differences between Anglos and Chicanos did not emerge in the use of attributes and intentions, rather differences between children and parents.

Second, in the inter-relation of ethnicity of respondent, ethnicity of stimulus person, incident, and attributes 1 and 2, within the same behavioral
incidents, differences between Anglos and Chicanos did not emerge. However, significant differences resulted between Anglos and Chicanos in their use of Intention 1, "to have a friend interpret and explain to _____" (Table 2 and 3) and Intention 2, "to tell _____ that he must not let people run over him" (Tables 4 and 5).

Third, in using attributes and intentions toward the stimulus person (child actor) across descriptive behavioral incidents, Anglos and Chicanos differed depending on (a) the ethnicity and age of the respondent and (b) on the ethnicity of the stimulus person. The use of "does not compete," (Tables 6 and 7) "to have a friend interpret and explain to _____," (Tables 8 and 9) and "to tell _____ that he must not let people run over him" (Tables 10 and 11) resulted in significant differences between Anglos and Chicanos. However, there were no significant differences between Anglos and Chicanos in their use of "does not stand up for his rights."

The primary results of the study were as follows:

(1) There were no clear, uncomplicated differences between how Anglos and Chicanos deal with children in a classroom context. In order to ascertain cultural differences between Anglos and Chicanos, the responses of the respondents had to be across incidents and not tied to individual incidents. Thus, the inter-relation of the ethnicity and age of the respondent, ethnicity of the stimulus person, and the use of attributes and intentions identified cultural differences between Anglos and Chicanos in a classroom setting.

(2) Certain specific incidents were associated with differential use of attributes and intentions, while others were not. The specific incidents for which use of attributes was differentiated were not always the ones on which use of intentions was differential.

(3) Anglos and Chicanos were more similar in their use of attributes, than they were similar in their use of intentions.
Table 2
The Inter-relation of the Ethnicity of Respondent, Ethnicity of
Stimulus Person, Incident, and
"To have a friend interpret and explain to _____"
Table 3
The Significant Means of the Inter-relation of the Ethnicity of Respondent, Ethnicity of Stimulus Person, Incident, and "To have a friend interpret and explain"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnicity of Respondent</th>
<th>Ethnicity of Stimulus Person</th>
<th>Incident</th>
<th>M</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1-Anglo</td>
<td>1-Anglo</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3.466</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2-Chicano</td>
<td>2-Chicano</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4.400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-Anglo</td>
<td>2-Chicano</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2.600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2-Chicano</td>
<td>1-Chicano</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4.350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-Anglo</td>
<td>2-Chicano</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3.857</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2-Chicano</td>
<td>1-Chicano</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4.900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-Anglo</td>
<td>2-Chicano</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3.520</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2-Chicano</td>
<td>1-Chicano</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4.071</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-Anglo</td>
<td>2-Chicano</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3.812</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2-Chicano</td>
<td>1-Chicano</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4.750</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-Anglo</td>
<td>2-Chicano</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4.325</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2-Chicano</td>
<td>1-Chicano</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3.566</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-Anglo</td>
<td>2-Chicano</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3.900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2-Chicano</td>
<td>1-Chicano</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3.400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-Anglo</td>
<td>2-Chicano</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4.750</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2-Chicano</td>
<td>1-Chicano</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3.750</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 4
The inter-relation of the ethnicity of respondent, ethnicity of stimulus person, incident, and
"To tell ____ that he must not let people run over him"
Table 5

The Significant Means of the Inter-relation of the Ethnicity of Respondent, Ethnicity of Stimulus Person, Incident, and "To tell ____ that he must not let people run over him"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnicity of Respondent</th>
<th>Ethnicity of Stimulus Person</th>
<th>Incident</th>
<th>M</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1-Anglo</td>
<td>1-Anglo</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.666</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2-Chicano</td>
<td>2-Chicano</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.571</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4.233</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3.828</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3.166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3.270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2.750</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3.750</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2.333</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3.280</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4.300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2.500</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 6
The Inter-relation of the Ethnicity and Age of Respondent, Ethnicity of Stimulus Person, and "Does not compete"

Table 7
The Significant Means of the Inter-relation of the Ethnicity and Age of Respondent, Ethnicity of Stimulus Person, and "Does not compete"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Respondents</th>
<th>M</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Anglo parents/Anglo stimulus person</td>
<td>2.790</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chicano parents/Anglo stimulus person</td>
<td>4.166</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 8
The Inter-relation of the Ethnicity and Age of Respondent, Ethnicity of Stimulus Person, and "To have a friend interpret and explain to ____"

![Bar Chart]

Table 9
The Significant Means of the Inter-relation of the Ethnicity and Age of Respondent, Ethnicity of Stimulus Person, and "To have a friend interpret and explain to ____"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Respondents</th>
<th>M</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Anglo parents/Anglo stimulus person</td>
<td>3.403</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anglo parents/Chicano stimulus person</td>
<td>3.718</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chicano parents/Anglo stimulus person</td>
<td>4.643</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chicano parents/Chicano stimulus person</td>
<td>4.687</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 10
The inter-relation of the Ethnicity and Age of Respondent, Ethnicity of Stimulus Person, and "To tell _____ that he must not let people run over him"
Table 11  
The Significant Means of the Inter-relation of the Ethnicity and Age of Respondent, Ethnicity of Stimulus Person, and "To tell ____ that he must not let people run over him"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Respondents</th>
<th>M</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Anglo children/Anglo stimulus person</td>
<td>3.810</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anglo children/Chicano stimulus person</td>
<td>3.848</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anglo parents/Anglo stimulus person</td>
<td>3.106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anglo parents/Chicano stimulus person</td>
<td>2.775</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chicano children/Anglo stimulus person</td>
<td>2.940</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chicano children/Chicano stimulus person</td>
<td>2.156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chicano parents/Anglo stimulus person</td>
<td>3.994</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chicano parents/Chicano stimulus person</td>
<td>3.935</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(4) Generally, all the groups similarly perceived the Anglo stimulus person, but differed in their perception of the Chicano stimulus person.

(5) The responses of the Chicano parents set them apart from Anglo parents and Anglo children and to a lesser extent from Chicano children.

(6) Using concepts that were natural for the respondents in situations that were familiar to the respondents, facilitated the collection of significant cultural differences in the classroom.

(7) The attribute, "does not compete" and the intentions, "to have a friend interpret and explain to ___" and "to tell ___ that he must not let people run over him" were significant factors in the study of cultural differences between Anglos and Chicanos in a classroom setting. "Does not stand up for his rights" was not a significant factor in this study.

DISCUSSION

The dimensions of cultural differences in this study were the use of attributes and intentions, depending on (a) the ethnicity and age of the respondent and (b) the ethnicity of the stimulus person. Thus, the dimensions of cultural differences were exemplified in (a) whether the observer was Anglo or Chicano, (b) whether the observer was a child or parent, and (c) whether the stimulus person in the incident was Anglo or Chicano. For example, across the same behavioral descriptions of classroom incidents, Anglo parents and Chicano parents significantly varied in their use of "does not compete" when the stimulus person was Anglo. Because Anglo parents and Chicano parents did not vary significantly in their use of "does not compete" when the actor was Chicano, nor did Anglo children and Chicano children vary significantly in their use of "does not compete" when the ethnicity of the stimulus
person was considered, this specificity is essential for accuracy and understanding of cultural differences among Anglos and Chicanos in a classroom setting.

In addition, certain specific incidents were associated with differential use of attribution and intention, while others were not. The specific incidents for which use of attributes was differentiated were not always the ones on which use of intentions was differential. There were some incidents for which use of attributes was differential by the ethnicity of the actor and ethnicity and age of the respondent, but for which intentions were not. Likewise, there were incidents where intentions were differential by the ethnicity and age of the respondent and ethnicity of the stimulus person, but for which attributes were not.

Heider (1958) suggests that an observer tends to attribute his own reactions to those of another, when they differ from his own, to personal characteristics in the other. The egocentric assumption assumes that the observed person is acting under constraints similar to those of the observer. In most Anglo classrooms, the egocentric assumption can provide the essential information for fairly accurate attribution. However, the necessary information for accurate attribution is unavailable in many heterocultural classrooms. Thus, the egocentric assumption is improperly used (Davidson and Feldman, 1971).

Across the same given incidents, different observers perceived classroom behavior differentially, depending on (a) the ethnicity and age of the observer, and (b) the ethnicity of the stimulus person in the incident. Within given specific incidents, Anglo parents, Anglo children, Chicano parents, and Chicano
children differentially used the intentions.

Heider (1958) suggests that the social world presents more complex stimulus patterns than the physical world, but because persons are the locus of causality, these patterns are more dominant. Thus, the ethnicity of the stimulus person in the behavioral incidents was one of the key dimensions in the perceptions and intentions of the observers. Anglo children and parents and Chicano children and parents perceived the stimulus persons differentially, depending on whether the stimulus person was Anglo or Chicano. Their disposition towards the stimulus person varied even more differentially, depending once again, on whether the stimulus persons in the situation were Anglo or Chicano.

The results within the same behavioral incidents are more difficult to order and are open to many interpretations. Two higher order inter-relations involving the use of attributes and intentions within the specific behavioral incidents resulted in significant differences. In the first of these inter-relations in which the age of respondent, ethnicity of the stimulus person, incident, and attributes and intentions were the interacting factors, the differences within the same behavioral incidents were generational, that is, between children and parents in their use of the attributes and intentions, rather than cultural differences between Anglos and Chicanos in their use of attributes and intentions. However, in the second inter-relations, the results indicated that in the inter-relation of ethnicity of respondent, ethnicity of stimulus person, incident, and attributes and intentions, that cultural differences between Anglos and Chicanos existed in their use of Intentions 1 and 2, but not in their use of Attributes 1 and 2.
Across incidents, the set of relationships consisted of the ethnicity and age of respondent, ethnicity of stimulus person, incident, and Attributes 1 and 2. Thus, across incidents, the inter-relation of the ethnicity and age of respondent, ethnicity of stimulus person and Attributes 1 and 2, looked very similar. However, when collapsed across the age of respondent, the resulting interaction of ethnicity of respondent, ethnicity of stimulus person incident, and Attributes 1 and 2 looked different. For example, in the inter-relation of the ethnicity and age of the respondent, ethnicity of the stimulus person, and Attributes 1 and 2, there was significant variation in the use of Attributes 1 and 2 when the stimulus person was Anglo, but not when the stimulus person was Chicano. Therefore, although there was variation within incidents, there were no differences across incidents.

It is extremely difficult, if at all possible, to ascertain the nature of a person's experience with specific incidents, but overall, for specific incidents, knowledge of the observer's ethnicity, age, and the ethnicity of the stimulus person can provide a beginning basis for expectations of behavior.

The findings indicate that there are no clear, uncomplicated differences between how Anglos and Chicanos deal with children in a classroom setting. Nevertheless, significant cultural differences, within the context of complex inter-relations among factors, existed in the perceptions of Anglos and Chicanos. In using attributes and intentions towards the stimulus persons (child actors) in a school setting, the study documents that across given behavioral incidents, the use of attributes and
intentions by Anglos and Chicanos was differential, depending on (a) the ethnicity and age of the respondent across specific behavioral incidents and (b) the ethnicity of the stimulus person.

The inter-relations, which were general across given behavioral incidents, are important in this study because the use of attributes and intentions was not influenced by the specific dimensions of particular incidents, but by the interaction of the key variables, ethnicity and age of the respondent, ethnicity of the stimulus person, and the use of attributes and intentions. Thus, although there is a general pattern of use of attributes and intentions due to culture or ethnicity, there is, in addition, overlaid upon it, mixed with it, a separate effect of situations.

IMPLICATIONS

Specific conclusions can be drawn from this study which may narrow the gap in the discussion and articulation of the education of Chicano children in an environment of misunderstanding and resultant discrimination and failure. On the basis of the results of this study, the following assertions and implications for the education of Chicano children may be made:

(1) There are no clear, uncomplicated differences between how Anglos and Chicanos report dealing with children. We know that people differ, but on what are the differences contingent? In order to ascertain cultural differences between Anglos and Chicanos, it was essential that the responses of the respondents be across incidents and not within individual incidents. Thus, the inter-relation of the ethnicity and age of the respondent, ethnicity of the stimulus person, and the use of attributes and intentions
identified cultural differences between Anglos and Chicanos. Not only was the ethnicity of the respondent (Anglo or Chicano) an important factor, but also the age of the respondent (child or parent). In addition, when the ethnicity of the stimulus person was considered, Anglos and Chicanos differed significantly in their use of the attributes and intentions.

According to Heider, (1944) general perception is characterized by a tendency towards a state of balance among the components in perception. The interactions, in classrooms in which the teachers and children are members of the same culture, are fairly well-coordinated exchanges. The introduction of a second culture to the classroom creates an imbalance, which is a source of concern for Anglos and Chicanos.

(2) In developing educational programs for Chicano children, educators cannot seek simplistic solutions, such as bilingual programs. If the manner in which learning occurs is influenced by culture, and there are no clear, uncomplicated cultural differences among Anglos and Chicanos in a classroom, Anglo educators may need to take a broader, more complex view of the educational needs of Chicano children. For example, language difficulties may be evident in the speaking, reading, and writing of English by Chicano children, but to simply segregate Chicano children into special groups or classes with the intent of giving additional attention to their language needs, may not make any difference in the overall educational attainment of the children, if other situations where cultural differences occur are ignored.

(3) Similarity in the use of attributes did not result in similarity of the age of intentions. Anglos and Chicanos were more similar in describing given incidents, i.e., attributes, than they were on what to do about it, i.e., intentions. Educators may be able to get Anglos and Chicanos to agree for example, that all children should be articulate in English. However, specific programs to accomplish this end may elicit differentiated responses from Anglos and Chicanos. The use of attributes and intentions by Anglos and Chicanos in this study documented the fact that Anglos and Chicanos were more similar in their descriptions of the stimulus person in the behavioral incidents, than in what should be done about the stimulus person's described behavior. In discussing the educational program of Chicano children with Chicano parents or the children themselves, educators may surmise that educational issues will be resolved with the agreement of the Chicano
parent or child on the identification of concerns and goals. However, the results of this study would indicate that general agreement on educational goals does not mean agreement on the means to attain them.

(4) Generally, all the groups similarly perceived the Anglo stimulus person, but differed, in their perception of the Chicano stimulus person. All the groups described the Anglo stimulus person with more consistency than the Chicano stimulus person. Many possible explanations may be presented to interpret this conclusion. One possible interpretation, supporting the low self-esteem of Chicano children thesis (Coleman, 1966), is that if, as this study suggests, Chicano children differ more in their perception of Chicanos than in their perception of Anglo children, it behooves educators to provide the necessary guidance and experiences which will enable Chicano children to more clearly define their roles and establish their self-identify.

(5) The responses of the Chicano parents set them apart from Anglo parents and Anglo children and to a lesser extent from Chicano children. Many Anglo school administrators and teachers of Chicano children have no contact, or at best minimal contact, with Chicano parents. If the family is the key agent of socialization and Chicano parents differ from Anglos as much as this study suggests, then educators must find ways to facilitate communication between the school and the home, if the educational attainment of Chicano children is to be enhanced.

(6) The methodology, using concepts that were natural for the respondents in situations that were familiar to the respondents, facilitated the collection of significant cultural differences in the classroom.

Because the population of this investigation study was a fairly restricted one, caution must be exercised in making any generalizations about the results to other populations.
REFERENCES


