CHEYNEY, Arnold Benjamin, 1926—
A DESCRIPTIVE STUDY OF THE METHODOLOGY
OF OUTSTANDING TEACHERS OF CULTURALLY
DISADVANTAGED ELEMENTARY SCHOOL CHILDREN.

The Ohio State University, Ph.D., 1964
Education, general

University Microfilms, Inc., Ann Arbor, Michigan
Copyright by
Arnold Benjamin Cheyney
1965
A DESCRIPTIVE STUDY OF THE METHODOLOGY OF
OUTSTANDING TEACHERS OF CULTURALLY
DISADVANTAGED ELEMENTARY
SCHOOL CHILDREN

DISSERTATION
Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate
School of The Ohio State University

by
Arnold Benjamin Cheyney, B.S., M.Ed.

* * * * * * *

The Ohio State University
1964

Approved by

[Signature]
Adviser
Department of Education
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

My grateful thanks:

To Dr. James B. Burr for his wise counsel and confidence in me during the vicissitudes of completing a doctoral program;

To Dr. Roy A. Larmee for rekindling a dormant interest in children living within our disadvantaged society and encouraging me to be concerned;

To Dr. Earl W. Anderson for the privilege of sharing an office with him and being one of his students;

To Dr. George S. Maccia for his help in the development of a method to insure greater precision in the analysis of the interview content;

To Mrs. Betty S. Adams for professional advice regarding this manuscript;

To the fifty outstanding teachers and their administrators and supervisors in Akron, Canton, Cincinnati, Columbus, Toledo, and Youngstown, Ohio, who gave unstintingly of their time to help me;

To my sons, Steven and Timothy, who will presently regain their father;

To my wife, Jeanne, who sacrificed so much and to whom I humbly dedicate this volume.
VITA

February 23, 1926  Born - Massillon, Ohio
1944-1946 .... United States Marine Corps
1949. .... B.S., Kent State University, Kent, Ohio
1951. .... M.Ed., Kent State University, Kent, Ohio
1949-1955 .... Elementary School Teacher, Suffield and Canton, Ohio
1955-1958 .... Elementary School Principal, Canton, Ohio
1958-1961 .... Supervisor of Elementary Education, Canton, Ohio
1961-1964 .... Instructor, The Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio

FIELDS OF STUDY

Major Field: Elementary Education

Studies in Elementary Education. Professor James B. Burr

Studies in Secondary Education. Professor Hugh Donald Laughlin

Studies in Teacher Education. Professor Earl William Anderson

Studies in Educational Administration. Associate Professor Roy A. Larmee
# CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ACKNOWLEDGMENTS</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VITA</td>
<td>iii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIST OF TABLES.</td>
<td>vii</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## Chapter

I. A PROPOSAL ............................................. 1

- Introduction
- Problem
- Assumptions
- Hypotheses
- Research Design
- Interview-Questionnaire
- Limitations
- Significance
- Definitions
- Preview of Remaining Chapters

II. THE NATURE OF THE CULTURALLY DISADVANTAGED

SOCIETY .................................................. 20

- Migration
- Transients
- Social Classes
- Housing
- Amoral Behavior (Family)
- Amoral Behavior (Society)
- Religion
- Educational Aspirations
- Summary
Chapter III. THE NATURE OF CULTURALLY DISADVANTAGED CHILDREN

Living Conditions
Nutrition
Language
Intellect
Achievement
Personality
Strengths
Summary

IV. THE NATURE OF TEACHERS OF CULTURALLY DISADVANTAGED ELEMENTARY SCHOOL CHILDREN

Personal Qualities
Teacher Background
Teacher Attitudes
Training
Relationship of Research to the Study
Summary

V. CURRICULAR METHODS USED BY OUTSTANDING TEACHERS OF CULTURALLY DISADVANTAGED ELEMENTARY SCHOOL CHILDREN

Introduction
Instructional Techniques
Developing Interest
Strengths and Weaknesses
Grouping
Problems in Developing Educational Proficiency
Evaluating Achievement
Summary

VI. METHODS OF CONTROLLING THE BEHAVIOR OF CULTURALLY DISADVANTAGED ELEMENTARY SCHOOL CHILDREN

Introduction
Methods of Constraining Behavior
Specific Disciplinary Techniques
Planning
Socio-Drama
Handling Foul or Obscene Language
Handling the Breaking of Rules
Summary
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>VII. CONCEPTIONS OF TEACHER EDUCATION AND TEACHER ATTRIBUTES</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher Training</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher Attributes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summary</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII. SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summary</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conclusions</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recommendations for Further Research</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIBLIOGRAPHY</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# LIST OF TABLES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Information Relative to Fifty Outstanding Teachers of Culturally Disadvantaged Elementary School Children in Ohio</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Years of Undergraduate and Graduate Education of Fifty Outstanding Teachers of Culturally Disadvantaged Elementary School Children in Ohio</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Contrast Between a Typical Culturally Deprived Problem Area and a Nonproblem Area in Baltimore City</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Quality of Diet of Children Under 12 Years &amp; Over 12 Years in Both ADC and General Relief Families</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Number of Comments Made by Fifty Outstanding Teachers as to the Curricular Weaknesses and Strengths of Culturally Disadvantaged Elementary School Children</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Number of Reading Groups Employed by Fifty Outstanding Teachers of Culturally Disadvantaged Elementary School Children</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER I

A PROPOSAL

Introduction

The problem of educating children in the lower socio-economic strata of our population has become especially acute in the last several years. A number of social forces are at work, many in a malignant way, forging apathetic attitudes, indifference, and deprivation of the body and spirit among the culturally disadvantaged.

People who for years have been the civic pillars of urban society are leaving for the hinterlands of suburbia. In their wake have come vast numbers of southern rural and mountain folk longing for homes of their own, the security of regular meals, and all the other fruits of a democratic society. This tremendous mobility of peoples is fraught with difficulties for all, and particularly for the urban newcomers. The utopia they find is often little better than the hovel back in the country.

Inherent in this fluidity of peoples is the problem of political boundaries that the more affluent socioeconomic groups devise. As the suburban areas draw tight the strings
of their residential politics, the "upward" thrust of the disadvantaged groups is throttled. The wealthy suburban families recognize that education not only produces cash but also an inner resource that can be utilized to make life fuller. Because of this they pool their assets through taxes to hire the best teachers on the market. Their school buildings are modern and other physical, as well as human resources, are unequaled.

Students in these well-to-do districts are made aware of what education can do for them by the day-to-day experience of living in opulent surroundings and by being urged by their parents to succeed. The result is, for the most part, an enthusiastic student body in the suburbs.

There is a common orientation among children and adults in the disadvantaged areas, also. Della-Dora states this succinctly in the following passage.

The adults and children concerned have certain qualities in common. They have little formal education, no jobs or low-level employment opportunities, generally reside in sub-marginal housing, have improper diets, and suffer from inadequate medical care. Family ties are generally unstable and very often there is no father or a series of fathers in the home.¹

For most prospective teachers the choice of desirable teaching locale is relatively easy to make: the suburbs with high pay, excellent facilities, and eager students.

The position of this writer is that culturally disadvantaged children can have their educative freedom only as they come in contact with teachers who have the ability and desire to understand the deprived and their problems. Rivlin points this out especially well.

It is clear, however, that even the most imaginative superintendent and the most cooperative board of education cannot solve the problems of urban education until the schools get an adequate supply of skilled and understanding teachers, and then make optimum use of these teachers' abilities. All children need good teachers, but the in-migrant children need good teachers desperately, for most of these youngsters do not have access to the kind of family and community resources which can compensate in some measure for any inadequacies in the educational opportunities offered by the schools.2

There are teachers with a concern for the deprived. Sexton found them in her study. "In these schools there is usually found a number of devoted teachers who work there because they like children and want very much to help them."3 Passow also found this to be true. His questions are a fitting prelude to the problem with which this study is concerned.

Experience has shown that some teachers succeed better than others with pupils in disadvantaged areas. It would be invaluable to know more about the constellation of forces which contribute to this differential success: how much is due to personality, including the ability to be supportive and accepting, imaginative and creative; is "middle-class oriented"

---


teaching necessarily a negative factor or can it effect growth positively; how does the teacher reach the hard-to-reach youngster? Study may yield some leads to methods, tempo or pacing of instruction, attentive span, involvement, and emphasis on different sensory modes as they effect pupil attainment and drive. 4

Problem

The purpose of this study was to investigate the factors operative in the methodology of outstanding teachers of culturally disadvantaged elementary school children.

Assumptions

First, it was assumed that teachers designated as outstanding in the area of the culturally disadvantaged know more about teaching these children than any other group.

Second, it was assumed that teachers of culturally disadvantaged elementary school children are most readily found in large urban areas.

Last, it was assumed that outstanding teachers of culturally disadvantaged elementary school children are readily known by their administrators and supervisors.

Hypotheses

There is no significant preference expressed by outstanding teachers of culturally disadvantaged elementary school children:

1. For the textbook method of instruction in social studies over the unit-project method of instruction.
2. For a hierarchy of hindrances to the development of educational proficiency among school inadequacies, home conditions, aberrant behavior, mental ability, or high mobility.
3. For using children's efforts in determining report card grades over standardized achievement tests.
4. For a correlative pattern of constraining behavior over a non-correlative pattern.
5. For observation-participation experiences over course work for students preparing for teaching in disadvantaged areas.

Research design

The technique used in attacking this problem was an "open-end" interview. The writer mimeographed statements of questions and put them in the hands of the outstanding teachers at the time of the interview. The questions were structured so as to give the teachers leeway in explaining their positions. No comments were given by the interviewer from which the teachers might choose a best or most applicable answer.
The teachers involved in this study were selected by administrators and supervisors who knew their work and capabilities. Jahoda, Deutsch, and Cook consider this an adequate method of selection.

Perhaps the most direct method of selecting informants is to ask strategically placed administrators working in the area that one desires to study to point out the most informative, experienced, and analytical people to interview. Although this does not guarantee insight-provoking respondents, one does obtain through this method people with reputations for good experiences and good ideas.6

The administrators and supervisors were asked to select the teachers on the basis of the definition of "outstanding teachers of culturally disadvantaged" (see page 18). Although the administrators and supervisors did not disclose what special criteria they used in selecting these teachers (see p. 7, Table 1), Table 2 on page 8 shows that these teachers do have much teacher education preparation.

The writer chose fifty interviews as the minimum number to close this portion of the study. Jahoda et al. state that

Apart from interviewing enough people to insure adequate representation of different types of experiences, there is no simple rule for determining the number of practitioners that will be fruitful to interview in any survey. Basically one has to be guided by the "law of diminishing returns". At a certain point, the investigator will find that the

TABLE 1

INFORMATION RELATIVE TO FIFTY OUTSTANDING
TEACHERS OF CULTURALLY DISADVANTAGED
CHILDREN IN OHIO

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Early Elementary</th>
<th>Later Elementary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total teachers</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male (single)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male (married)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female (single)</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female (married)</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male (colored)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male (white)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female (colored)</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female (white)</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Years teaching
disadvantaged\(^b\)   |                  |                  |
    (median)                  | 10               | 10               |
    (range)                   | 1 - 30           | 2 - 30           |
| Children in
classroom      |                  |                  |
    (median)                  | 29               | 31               |
    (range)                   | 24 - 34          | 25 - 39          |

\(^a\)Includes enrichment teachers and physical education teachers whose work cuts across grade lines but is concentrated in the later elementary area.

\(^b\)Does not include total years of teaching experience with all social classes of children.
TABLE 2
YEARS OF UNDERGRADUATE AND GRADUATE EDUCATION
OF FIFTY OUTSTANDING TEACHERS OF CULTURALLY
DISADVANTAGED CHILDREN IN OHIO

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grade Level</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>Years of training</th>
<th>4&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
<th>4&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
<th>5&lt;sup&gt;c&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
<th>5&lt;sup&gt;d&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
<th>5&lt;sup&gt;e&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2&amp;3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5&amp;6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6&amp;7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical Education</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enrichment Teacher</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>a</sup>Bachelor's degree equivalent.
<sup>b</sup>Bachelor's degree.
<sup>c</sup>Master's degree equivalent.
<sup>d</sup>Master's degree.
<sup>e</sup>Master's degree plus one or more years of graduate study.
answers fall into a pattern with which he is already familiar. At this point, further interviewing becomes less and less rewarding.

It appeared to the writer that no new insights were forthcoming when the fiftieth interview was reached, so this phase of the study was terminated.

During the interview the writer read the questions to the teachers, attempting to keep his articulation and emphasizes the same throughout each interview and as neutral as possible. A few questions had to be clarified for some teachers, but every attempt was made to keep these explanations as brief as possible. Extensive verbatim notes were taken during the interviews. At the termination of the questioning the interviewer gave each teacher a self-addressed stamped envelope in which to mail the writer any comments or elaboration bearing on the interview which might come to her mind later. Three teachers responded to this invitation.

The eighteen interview questions were selected to ascertain teacher preferences in terms of the five null hypotheses and to uncover, expand, and give insight to the hypotheses and the general methodology of the instructors. To determine the adequacy of the questions in this regard, three experts in the field of elementary education approved the interview-questionnaire and hypotheses. The expertise

---

\textsuperscript{7}Ibid., p. 41.
came from Professor James B. Burr, Professor Loren R. Tomlinson, and Associate Professor Irvin L. Ramsey, all from the Elementary Area, Department of Education, The Ohio State University. To determine the feasibility of the procedure the interview-questionnaire was used by the writer in a pilot study with four elementary school teachers, an elementary helping teacher, a state elementary supervisor, and two graduate students in elementary education.

From the notes of the interviews two or more categories of preferences were developed for each of the hypotheses. The results were then subjected to a chi-square ($\chi^2$) statistical treatment to exact precision in the content analysis.

A copy of the eighteen questions comprising the interview-questionnaire follows on pages 11 through 13.
Exhibit 1

INTERVIEW-QUESTIONNAIRE
(Teacher Copy)

1. A number of school districts which have a large population considered to be culturally disadvantaged find that the pupil composition of the classes changes a great deal during the year. Many of the children arrive at school without any past academic or personal history whatsoever. How do you determine the level of attainment a new child possesses so that he can quickly become a working member of the class?

2. How do you develop interest in areas unfamiliar to the children, such as spoken and written language, social studies, science, and health?

3. How do you handle violations of accepted behavior practices, such as foul or obscene language, fighting, breaking rules?

4. How do you develop the ability to think critically, that is, to judge or reason, to think with understanding or insight, in an evaluative, comparative manner?

5. On what basis do you group children in reading and arithmetic? How many groups do you organize in these areas?
6. Curriculum specialists advocate a number of organizational patterns for developing content, such as a textbook for each subject, units of work, projects, etc. In teaching the disadvantaged which approach do you find most effective? Why?

7. In determining report card grades do you evaluate your children on the basis of effort, a standard set from outside the classroom (national or city-wide norms), a numerical basis, or some other method or combination of methods?

8. For which instruction are you solely responsible in music, art, and physical education? How much time does your class average weekly in these areas?

9. How would you judge your undergraduate work as preparation for your present position with culturally disadvantaged children? Do you have any suggestions which teacher education institutions might consider in strengthening programs for those students training for positions in disadvantaged areas?

10. What are the greatest hindrances to your effectiveness in providing the best learning situation for children who are culturally disadvantaged?

11. Are there any distinct attributes that you think a teacher of culturally disadvantaged should possess in order to be successful?
12. What type of procedure do you follow in maintaining control in the classroom?

13. Do homework assignments for the children play a part in the instructional process you use?

14. In what ways do you use the home to accomplish greater learning on the part of your children?

15. In what areas, subject matter or otherwise, do you find these children to be strongest and weakest?

16. When disadvantaged children come to school destitute of normal language experiences they find difficulty in expressing themselves in their new environment. If your children have experienced this, have you found any techniques especially successful in developing verbal ability with them?

17. How do you help these children develop respect for themselves?

18. The area of "creativity" has been the subject of a great deal of comment and research the past few years. Do you believe the culturally disadvantaged are creative? If so, in what ways and how do you cultivate it?
Teachers in grades one through six were chosen for this study because they divide into early-elementary and later-elementary grades evenly and, therefore, can be more readily summarized. It was assumed that teachers and pupils in grades above the sixth were in a different atmosphere in terms of subject matter, goals, adolescent needs, and general organizational patterns. The methodology of teachers in kindergarten was assumed to be different from those in the primary grades because of the stress on reading and related subject matter in the latter.

The writer of this report did all the interviewing of these teachers. His experiential background as an elementary teacher, elementary principal in middle-class and culturally disadvantaged areas, supervisor of elementary education in a large metropolitan city (which entailed interviewing hundreds of parents, including those from disadvantaged areas), and supervising undergraduate and post-degree teachers in Student Teaching for three years at the university level (covering numerous school systems over Ohio and the Columbus area) qualified him for this task. Considerable reading in the specific area of interview techniques also added to this background.

The teachers involved in this study were assured that their names would not be used in any way within this research report or possible publications stemming from it.
This investigation was limited to six of the largest cities in Ohio whose superintendents of schools granted permission to the writer to interview outstanding teachers. The choice of the metropolitan areas (Cincinnati, Columbus, Toledo, Akron, Youngstown, and Canton) was made on the following criteria.

Each of the foregoing cities has a population over 110,000. Therefore, more breeding grounds for disadvantaged children are in the making in these large cities. It is apparent that many of those moving into the heart of the city are taking over neighborhoods whose previous occupants are finding the environment in the suburbs more to their liking.

Second, all these cities have heavy concentrations of industry which is one of the main attractions to disadvantaged groups looking for employment.

Ohio manufacturing plants and factories, mills and foundries not only provided employment for two-fifths of the working force in the 1960's but also supplied the world with diverse and useful products. The principal centers of industry are Cleveland, Akron, Youngstown, Cincinnati, Columbus, Toledo, Lorain, Dayton, Canton, and the Ohio River cities from East Liverpool down to Marietta.


The focus of this study was on the methodology used by outstanding teachers of culturally disadvantaged elementary school children. Since the study is descriptive, and therefore subject to human limitations, the writer considered it necessary to keep the focus as sharp as possible. This is not to say that the attitudes of these teachers, which undoubtedly affect their methodology, were not considered. It is to emphasize that the area of teacher attitudes was subservient to the primary investigative phase of this study - methodology.

Limitations

The limitations involved --

The difficulty of being objective in analyzing the responses of subjective, diverse human beings.

The writer's ability to develop rapport in the interview situations with the teachers so as to assure complete and frank answers.

The degree of candor with which the teachers discussed their methodology with the interviewer.

The competency of the administrators and supervisors to locate accurately the outstanding teachers.

Significance

While methodology was the primary investigative phase of this dissertation, it could not be completely divorced from the attitudes of the teachers being interviewed.
Therefore, it seems quite probable that some of the information garnered from the teachers has special relevance to the type of teacher considered for teacher education in the slum areas.

Second, our present teacher education programs are primarily geared to the middle-class norm, since most professors have very little experience with the way disadvantaged groups think and live. A better understanding of the disadvantaged on the part of teacher educators could result in more realistic teacher education preparation.

Third, knowledge of factors characteristic of the methodology of outstanding teachers of culturally disadvantaged children can make teacher placement more realistic in the slum areas. Aside from the fact that it is difficult to get teachers to work in these areas, often entirely unsuitable people in terms of personality and university training are placed in schools of the culturally disadvantaged. Knowing more signs of teacher competency should make placement less risky.

Finally, this topic has implications beyond the confines of the State of Ohio because of the industrialized settings where the data were collected. It would appear that the results of this study could possibly be generalized to take in other large, industrialized, midwestern, metropolitan cities.
Definitions

Culturally disadvantaged elementary school children.-- In this study children are characterized by a lack of the verbal and abstract behavior that is required for successful work in the public school. Many of them live in poor familial conditions and sub-standard housing. The parents, and consequently the children, see less need for education. Other terms which can be used interchangeably with culturally disadvantaged are "culturally different," "culturally handicapped," "culturally deprived," "migrant," "in-migrant," "disadvantaged," "educationally deprived," "underprivileged," "slum children," "lower-socioeconomic group," and "lower-lower class."

Outstanding teachers of culturally disadvantaged. -- These are teachers considered by their administrators and supervisors to be superior in their working relations with underprivileged children.

Methodology. -- "The systematic and logical study and formulations of the principles and methods used in the search for fact or truth." 10

Correlative. -- An approach to constraining the behavior of culturally disadvantaged elementary school children which emphasizes cooperation between the teacher and children.

Non-correlative. -- An approach to constraining the behavior of culturally disadvantaged elementary school children which emphasizes teacher domination over the children.

Preview of remaining chapters

An understanding of the nature of deprivation as it acts as an orientation upon culturally disadvantaged children and their teachers has been explored by the several disciplines but has yet to be successfully utilized by educators. Therefore, chapters II, III, and IV which consider the nature of disadvantaged society, children, and teachers of the disadvantaged are preferred to give the reader background data for the report and its rationale. Chapter V reports the outstanding teachers' perceptions of the curricular approaches they find useful in teaching the disadvantaged. Methods of controlling behavior of the disadvantaged are explored in Chapter VI. The conceptions of the training the outstanding teachers received as undergraduate students and their ideas as to the attributes necessary for teaching in culturally disadvantaged school areas are investigated in Chapter VII. A summary, conclusions, and recommendations of the writer are presented in Chapter VIII.
CHAPTER II
Review of the Literature

THE NATURE OF THE CULTURALLY DISADVANTAGED SOCIETY

Migration

Three significant changes are to be found in comparing the "huddled masses" of the "melting pot" stage of our country and the mid-twentieth century era: distance, pigmentation, and nationality. Today's masses are moving primarily from the southern United States to the North rather than from Europe to America. Many of the new brand of migrants are squeezing into the megalopolis\(^1\) of New York City, Philadelphia, and Washington, D.C., from southern urban and rural areas and from Puerto Rico. They are colored and educationally starved, and they live in ghettos surrounded by an affluent society.

In the West the same conditions prevail. Mexicans and, to a lesser extent, Negroes, along with many others in

\(^1\)Jean Gottman, Megalopolis: The Urbanized Northeastern Seaboard of the United States (New York: Twentieth Century Fund, 1961).
the northern hemisphere, have found California tremendously alluring. The migratory pattern in the mid-west and north central states is different only in the types of migrants. Here the predominant groups are southern Negroes and Appalachian whites. Figures that are available concerning this mobility shift in the United States only portend the tremendous challenge. World War II, which emphasized the need for industrial manpower, set the cross-currents of migratory flow in action. "Between 1940 and 1950, when Negro population as a whole increased by 17 percent, the population of Negroes in the North increased by 52 percent and in the West by 234 percent, while there was only a 3 percent increase in the South."

Carlson states that the Negro population of Chicago in 1940 was 8 per cent. In 1960 it was 19 per cent, and by 1965 it will probably be 26 per cent. "In Philadelphia," he says, "Negroes moved into the central city about twice as fast as whites moved out ... Negroes make up about 27 percent of Philadelphia's population ... This fall's school registration ... will be an estimated 50 percent nonwhite." Detroit

---


4Ibid.
experienced a similar migration problem during the 1950’s. "In Detroit, the past decade has seen some 100,000 white families move out, while some 80,000 new families moved in, mostly nonwhite, but including white families from Kentucky’s and Tennessee’s hill country."^5

The family composition is such that the schools bear a large share of the burden for helping these people become acclimated to a different way of life. "White or colored," Carlson continues, "the new urbanites are usually young (a majority in the 15-to-29 age group) and generally have small children. They are rural or small-town oriented with social life centered on the family."^6

Fiser has attempted to provide a perspective on our metropolitan problems in his book Mastery of the Metropolis. Apparently the shift of people from a rural south to an urban north has run its course, or, at least, it soon will:

... our urban areas are approaching proportions of racial stability. The large influx of southern rural Negroes with little knowledge of how to live in cities will slow down. The process of education will not be overwhelmed with new arrivals. Therefore, what some people felt was an unmanageable problem is approaching a condition of relative stability. Many northern cities will still experience new arrivals, but they will increasingly come from the urban rather than rural south. The changed migration pattern plus the rising economic level, plus a modification of social habits encouraged by the possibilities of upward mobility, plus increased political sophistication

^5Ibid.
^6Ibid., p. 118.
have already begun the dispersal of the urban Negro population. Soon it will encompass the whole Negro area. 7

Even so, the difficulties are only beginning to be overcome and in many instances we are only now coming to an understanding of the frightening perplexities of the problems of mobility.

Transients

One phase of the migration habits of culturally disadvantaged people is their continuous transiency or in-migration within a given metropolitan center. This is a most difficult problem for the administrators and teachers in depressed areas to handle. Columbus, Ohio has approximately a 75 per cent enter-withdrawal record of children in deprived area schools as compared to a 25 per cent change during the year in the middle- and upper-class neighborhood schools.

England, principal of Ohio Avenue School in Columbus, Ohio, contrasts a movement of 798 children in one year in his school in a disadvantaged section of the city, with only 35 transients in a middle-class school. 8 As one elementary principal of long tenure in a disadvantaged area school remarked: "It is not uncommon for a teacher who has been absent from school a few days to find on her return that the


8Don W. England, "Mobility Study" (Columbus, Ohio: Ohio Avenue School), pp. 8-9. (Mimeographed.)
class composition has changed radically and she must begin to learn to know the children all over again." Havighurst validates this high transiency in his studies. "Many lower-lowers are transient, moving about in search of work or to avoid the sheriff. This class has a high proportion of unattached men and boys, who travel about in search of work and adventure."9

Social classes

Basically, the issues and problems emerging from within the culturally disadvantaged community lie in the stratification of American society. These divisions are designated as upper-upper, lower-upper, upper-middle, lower-middle, upper-lower, and lower-lower.10 Burton, in an excellent summary of many studies in this area, writes that the "children in our schools are drawn from the social classes in approximately these percentages: three percent from the upper class, thirty-eight from the middle class, and fifty-eight from the lower class."11


One must, of course, be careful in categorizing the populace since individuals tend to overlap classes and to change socially from year to year if not continuously. Then again, Davis and Havighurst found the likenesses within classes of different racial composition the most "striking" finding of their oft-quoted research on social class and color differences in child rearing. They state: "The striking thing about this study is that Negro and white middle-class families are so much alike, and that white and Negro lower-class families are so much alike."\(^{12}\)

Unfortunately, those of middle- and upper-class cultures tend to "look down on the lower-lower class, and call them by a variety of names: Yellow-hammers, Okies, Arkies, people that live like animals, trash, and so forth."\(^{13}\)

Persons whose contacts with the lower classes of society are limited quite often do not realize the great number of fine, respectable people who are in this category -- primarily as a result of their poverty.

Members of this class are likely to be passive and fatalistic about their status, though occasionally they will argue that they are "just as good as anybody else." They accept the poorest housing, and the most menial and irregular jobs. Sometimes their families are very large and cannot be supported on the wages of an unskilled worker, thus


\(^{13}\) Havighurst, *op. cit.*, p. 23.
requiring aid from public or private agencies. Whenever divorce or desertion breaks up a family the woman is likely to have to secure government Aid for Dependent Children to support herself and her children.14

**Housing**

Another facet of the class and transiency problem is the poor housing open to these individuals because of their economic condition and often their color. Carlson states: "Three quarters of the estimated 13-million substandard housing units in the U. S. city slums are occupied by Negroes and other nonwhite racial groups, most of them recently migrated from rural areas."15 David and Pearl Ausubel conclude that "most authorities on Negro family life agree that 50 per cent of Negro families live at the very lowest level of the lower-class standard."16

White home owners are especially reluctant to lift restrictions as to who can live in their neighborhoods even though recent research indicates that the process of neighborhood integration does not lower property values. Luigi Laurenti describes a series of studies done in the cities of

---

14Ibid., p. 24.


San Francisco, Oakland, Philadelphia, Chicago, Kansas City, Detroit, and Portland with results contrary to what is commonly believed.

The major statistical finding of the present study is that during the time period and for the cases studied the entry of nonwhites into previously all-white neighborhoods was much more often associated with price improvement or stability than with price weakening. A corollary and possibly more significant finding is that no single uniform pattern of nonwhite influence on property values could be detected.17

Nevertheless, unprincipled real estate operators add to the dilemma through "blockbusting" techniques in the large cities.

Blockbusting feeds on fear. The technique is simplicity itself. First an unscrupulous real estate operator calls white home-owners and "warns" them a Negro family is moving onto the block. Sometimes he hires Negroes to walk up and down the street, or ride through slowly in cars. Then the operator calls on the owners, offering a fast deal on a cash basis. All too often white owners do panic and sell out fast. Then the operator turns around and sells the house to Negroes.18

The net result is that the real estate operator gets the white owner's property cheap and sells it at an exorbitant price to the Negro. The Negro in turn must sublet the


property to a number of friends and relatives in order to make his monthly payments. Soon the house and surrounding area show signs of blight because of the overcrowded conditions. 19

Encasing large groups of people in housing developments and denying them access to their own choice of housing often leads to resentment which takes a violent turn. James Baldwin describes just such a response to a $1,000,000 housing project -- Riverton in Harlem -- which was being built in order to relieve the overcrowded tenament section.

Harlem watched Riverton go up, therefore, in the most violent bitterness of spirit, and hated it long before the builders arrived. They began hating it at about the time people began moving out of their condemned houses to make room for this additional proof of how thoroughly the white world despised them. And they had scarcely moved in, naturally, before they began smashing windows, defacing walls, urinating in the elevators, and fornicating in the playgrounds ... nothing can be done as long as they are treated like colored people. 20

Amoral behavior (family)

Poor and inadequate housing is one of the reasons for the high incidence of amoral behavior among culturally


20 James Baldwin, "Fifth Avenue, Uptown," Esquire LIV (July, 1960), pp. 73, 76.
disadvantaged people. Housing, in particular, poses complex problems in regard to the development of wholesome sex attitudes.

Slum people are frequently deprived of sexual outlets which in turn conditions particular attitudes toward sex relations. They lack sufficient housing space and beds. Mates or lovers being frequently separated and the hard work of a mother who must care for from six to fourteen children help to make lower-class sexual life less regular, secure, and routine than is generally true for the middle class.\(^{21}\)

Family life is generally unstable in the culturally disadvantaged home. Quite often the father deserts the family or, if he does not, he tends to be unreliable in terms of offering emotional and economic security.\(^{22}\) This behavior serves to make the family atmosphere matriarchal with mothers and grandmothers as the dominant members of the family.

The incidence of amoral behavior among lower-class whites and other related familial problems is tersely opened to view by Allison Davis:

Among lower-class urban whites in the South ... extra-marital partnerships are common for both husband and wife; separations are the rule; fighting, shooting, cutting, gambling, and frequently magic are accepted classways; church and lodge participations scarcely exist. With regard to sex, education, occupation, recreation, and marriage, the goals which


the lower-class family, white or Negro, sets before the child are basically unlike those in the lower-middle-class family.\textsuperscript{23}

It is not surprising, then, to witness some outgrowths of family living conditions affecting in a distinctive way the child-rearing pattern of the lower-class group. Dai specifically characterizes this group with two outstanding features, "material deprivation and low standards of conduct."\textsuperscript{24}

With respect to low standards of conduct, Honigmann found aggressive behavior being taught in the home.

The parents of lower-class children may teach the latter to fight, defend themselves, or strike first. Social relations in a lower-class family accustom children to aggression. Boys may strike the father, husbands and wives stage quarrels in the presence of children, or a husband may break down the door when his wife locks him out. From such experiences the slum child gains the impression that aggression is a necessary and appropriate form of social adaptation.\textsuperscript{25}

Dai interprets atypical behavior, such as aggressive acts, as "normal" in lower-class society.

The behavior which we regard as "delinquent" or "shiftless" or "unmotivated" in slum groups is

\textsuperscript{23}Dai, ibid., pp. 575-576.

\textsuperscript{24}Honigmann, op. cit., p. 324.
usually a perfectly realistic, adaptive, and -- in slum life -- respectable response to reality.  

In lower-class families, physical aggression is as much a normal, socially approved and socially inculcated type of behavior as it is in frontier communities.

There are many forms of aggression, of course, which are disapproved by lower-class as well as by middle-class adolescents. These include among others, attack by magic or poison, rape, and cutting a woman in the face. Yet all these forms of aggression are fairly common in some lower-class areas. Stealing is another form of aggression which lower-class parents verbally forbid, but which many of them in fact allow -- so long as their child does not steal from his family or its close friends.

Although lower-class parents may be more lenient, inconsistent, and authoritarian than the upper classes in controlling their offspring, they do resort to more severe forms of corporal punishment, which could be cited as further evidence of the social approval, or at least use, of aggressive behavior. This social acceptability of aggressiveness was brought amusingly, but nevertheless forcibly, home to the writer recently when he read over the list of Parent-Teacher members in a second grade room of culturally disadvantaged children. One father gave as his first name, "Wild Bill"!


27 Ibid., p. 35.


29 Ausubel, op. cit., p. 113.
Amoral behavior (society)

The incidence of crime among members of the lower-classes is disproportionately high in comparison with that of other sections of the American culture. Moses, in a very precise study, concludes:

Due to a low socio-economic status, accentuated by racial proscriptions, the Negroes in these areas, even as elsewhere, do not have a freedom of wholesome expression comparable to that of a similarly situated white group. Out of these and similar conditions arise elements conducive to greater criminality, as well as other forms of pathology, among the Negro population.30

J. Edgar Hoover reported in the Uniform Crime Reports for the United States under "City Arrests by Race, 1962" that of twenty-five different offenses Negroes lead in numbers of arrests in seven categories.31 These classifications are murder and non-negligent manslaughter, forcible rape, robbery, aggravated assault, prostitution and commercialized vice, weapons (carrying and possessing), and gambling. This list of crimes bears out the conclusion of Moses that "Negroes ... do not have a freedom of wholesome expression comparable to that of a similarly situated white group."32


32Moses, loc. cit.
In this same vein, *Time* magazine laid the high crime rate attributed to Negroes at the failure of the country to integrate effectively.\(^{33}\)

Of the total number of murder victims in 1962 (7,258 persons), 52 per cent were Negroes and 46.7 per cent white. The remaining percentage was made up of mostly Indian, Chinese, and Japanese persons.\(^{34}\) What makes these figures and those of the previous paragraph more startling is the fact that Negroes comprise only 10.5 per cent of the population of the United States as a whole and 16.5 per cent in urban places of 50,000 or more!\(^{35}\)

**Religion**

With such a high rate of crime among the lower classes and the preponderance of aggressive behavior among these disadvantaged groups, it is small wonder that the organized religious groups have made little progress among them. Those religious bodies who have made any gains in this stratum of society are the more demonstrative fundamentalist sects. Havighurst found: "Some lower-lowers are members of fundamentalist Protestant churches, some are Catholics, but


\(^{34}\)Hoover, op. cit., p. 90.

many are unattached to any church. They seldom belong to formal organizations, except occasionally to a labor union.\textsuperscript{36}

The role of the church in helping the lower classes adjust to new urban environments has been explored by several writers.\textsuperscript{37} Of particular interest to this writer is an investigation made in Columbus, Ohio by Russell R. Dynes. Dynes defined sectarian groups as the Holiness, Pentecostal, Church of God, Nazarene, and similar type fellowships whose mode of worship tends to be more demonstrative than that of the institutionalized religious groups, such as the Episcopal and Presbyterian churches who are more reserved in their worship services. Dynes concludes from his study of a random sample of the adult population in Columbus, Ohio:

The sect cushions the "culture" shock of the rural migrant if he is from a lower socio-economic level. The sect and sectarian values, however, serve as an accommodative device for those at lower socio-economic levels, regardless of their area of origin or their recency of migration. The significance of sectarianism lies in its association with lower socio-economic status.\textsuperscript{38}

An interesting paradox arises in a comparison of the churches the disadvantaged groups support and those to which

\textsuperscript{36} Havighurst, op. cit., p. 24.


the middle and upper classes contribute. "... the Wesleyan Methodist and Pentecostal Holiness sects fall far below the older bodies in economic wealth per church, but exceed them, oddly enough, in contributions per member, though their membership is drawn from the lowest income groups ..." The practice of tithing among the so-called "sects" has helped these groups flourish and expand since they offer surcease from the grim realities of life facing the underprivileged classes.

Educational aspirations

One might well wonder whether the disadvantaged groups could have any educational aspirations with such environmental factors influencing them. Being "boxed in" culturally, socially, and economically the Negro, in particular, tends "to withdraw from the competition of the wider American culture and to seek psychological shelter within the segregated walls of his own subculture." These concomitant background factors most assuredly have had an effect on the attitude toward education and the educational aspirations of the culturally disadvantaged society in general. But, there are some disagreements among authorities as to the degree and kind of aspiration. The


Ausubels state that the lower-class child's "...parents and associates place no great value on education and do not generally encourage high aspirations for academic and vocational success, financial independence, or social recognition."\(^1\)

Weiner and Murray contend that lower socio-economic parents also have high levels of aspiration for their children's education. The differences lie not so much in desires but rather in the attitudes that parents (and it often follows, their children) have that the educational goals can be attained.\(^2\)

Stendler's study on parent attitudes toward schools appears to bear out the previous reference. "... half of the lower-class mothers reported that they expected their children to finish high school at the present time."\(^3\)

In a recent community survey in New York City, Cloward and Jones asked a sampling of all classes "whether or not they thought that 'a good education is essential to getting ahead.' At least 95% of all respondents in all social classes replied in the affirmative."\(^4\)

\(^1\)Ibid., p. 117.


portion of the study the researchers expected "... that lower-
class residents would evaluate the schools more negatively
than middle-class residents ... The reverse turned out to be
true...."45

Concurrent to this changing attitude toward the value of education on the part of lower-class groups, is the atti-
tude change of the upper and middle classes toward the lower
class, personified in the Negro. Waldo R. Banks gives three
types of pressures which are generating this thaw: "... 
social, economic, and religious. And ultimately, the major
tool of such instruments of change is education in one form
or another."46

The changing attitude toward the Negro population as
a lower-class group is also reflected in the United States
Supreme Court ruling of May 17, 1954, which stated that laws
requiring or permitting racially segregated schools violate
the equal protection clause of the United States Constitu-
tion.47 Coupled with the Supreme Court decision of 1954 is
the fact that the United States Army, which began a program

45 Ibid., p. 204.
46 Waldo R. Banks, "Changing Attitudes Towards the
Negro in the United States: The Primary Causes," The Journal
of Negro Education, XXX (Spring, 1961), p. 93.
47 Brown versus the Board of Education of Topeka, 347
U. S. 483 (1954). See also Robert Eugene Cushman, Leading
Constitutional Decisions (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts,
of integration in the training camps during 1950, was able to
desegregate completely by 1952.\textsuperscript{48} These two tangible steps
forward, along with the current emphasis on the need for edu-
cation which is generated by the press, radio, and tele-
vision, undoubtedly account for the gradual desire (not be
equated with seeking) for more education on the part of the
culturally disadvantaged society.

Summary

The migrants of this contemporary period have been
moving primarily from the South to the North and West. Large
cities, such as New York, Philadelphia, Washington, D. C.,
Detroit, Chicago, and San Francisco bear the brunt of this
mobility. The migrants are mainly Puerto Ricans (settling on
the northeastern seaboard), Negroes, and Appalachian Whites.
The large exodus to the North is apparently leveling off but
leaving many residual problems in its wake. There is a great
amount of transiency among disadvantaged people within and
between the large cities. School systems find it difficult
to cope with these problems.

Many of the issues and problems developing among the
disadvantaged are a direct result of the stratification of
social classes, defined, in general terms, as upper, middle,
and lower. The many variations within and between the

classes pose complex problems. Middle- and upper-class sanctions against the lower class because of color force the members of that class into abysmal housing situations. Unscrupulous real estate agents sometimes feed on this racial inequality and help perpetuate the quandary. Also, the behavior of lower-class families and society is quite contrary to upper- and middle-class mores. Since aggression in many forms is one of the chief characteristics of this behavior, there is an unusually high crime rate among disadvantaged groups. The relative success of demonstrative fundamentalist sects notwithstanding, religion plays little part in developing acceptable behavior among the majority of lower-class members.

On the credit side of the ledger the latest research indicates that disadvantaged groups, especially adults, have higher educational aspirations than was commonly thought. Fulfilling these aspirations remains the frustrating problem for the disadvantaged. Also, certain cultural changes in our society appear to be paving the way for more lower-class persons to approach their potential and realize their aspirations.
CHAPTER III
Review of the Literature

THE NATURE OF CULTURALLY DISADVANTAGED CHILDREN

Living conditions

In Chapter II the broad general effects of poverty in relation to the society at large are described. Some attention should be given to what happens to children as individuals under these debilitating circumstances. Sarvis said that children in the slums are in a "massively over-stimulating environment."

Families are crowded into inadequate space; rooms are small; partitions are thin; children may sleep three or four across a bed; lights may be glaring naked bulbs; no one can sleep until the last viewer has turned off the T.V.; and the lack of privacy is marked. Children are exposed early to sexual and aggressive scenes. Street life is vivid, group-oriented and relatively unrestrained. Families tend to be driven into one of two extremes; they either surrender to this over-stimulating chaos or they try to isolate themselves and their children from it. Because the situation is extreme, either "solution" tends to promote the child's lack of personal identity (or security) and his inability to participate in genuine situations of cooperative activity or individual industry.  

In statistical terms, the contrast between the lower and middle classes is epitomized in Brain's Baltimore study.² Table 3 contains data from his study.

**TABLE 3**

**CONTRAST BETWEEN A TYPICAL CULTURALLY DEPRIVED PROBLEM AREA AND A NONPROBLEM AREA IN BALTIMORE CITY**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Nonproblem Area</th>
<th>Problem Area</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of persons per dwelling unit</td>
<td>3.05</td>
<td>3.62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Median age - Male</td>
<td>37.7</td>
<td>29.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>38.3</td>
<td>29.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Separated and divorced per 1000 (female only)</td>
<td>15.8</td>
<td>78.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Median value of homes</td>
<td>$19,100.00</td>
<td>$5,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Renter-occupied (contract rent)</td>
<td>136.00 per mo.</td>
<td>52.00 per mo.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor homes per 1000 housing units (dilapidated, deteriorated, lacking sanitary facilities)</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td>435.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overagerness in grades</td>
<td>3.7%</td>
<td>21.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nonpromotion rate</td>
<td>1.2%</td>
<td>11.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Median years below or above grade level (6th Grade) for</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arithmetic</td>
<td>+1.5 above</td>
<td>-1.1 below</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reading</td>
<td>+1.4 above</td>
<td>-1.6 below</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although there are significant differences in each category listed in Table 3, the figures on "Poor homes per

²George B. Brain, "An Early School Admissions Project" (Baltimore: City Public Schools, Maryland, July 1, 1962), p. 3. (Mimeographed.)
1000 housing units" strikingly points up the squalor from which many of these children start their school day. The effect of this environment on school success is statistically evident in the remainder of Table 3.

Statistics like these have led such men as Deutsch and Freedman to suggest that the schools are ill-prepared "to produce what the schools demand...initial failures are almost inevitable and the school experience becomes negatively rather than positively reinforced."3 Unfortunately, "...the child's experience in school does nothing to counteract the invidious influence to which he is exposed in his slum, and oftentimes segregated neighborhood."4

Nutrition

Davis states that since middle-class people eat regularly because of a more certain income, they develop a "conscientious taboo" about overeating. This is not true with many of the disadvantaged, who have a very uncertain supply of food.

Their fear that they will not get enough to eat develops soon after the nursery period. Therefore, when the supply is plentiful, they eat as much as they can hold. They "pack food away" in themselves


4Ibid.
as a protection against the shortage which will
develop before the next payday. They wish to get
fat, for they regard fat as a protection against
tuberculosis and physical weakness. Basically,
the origin of this attitude toward eating is their
deep fear of starvation.5

A report published by the Nutrition Association in
Cuyahoga County, Ohio makes a severe indictment of the food
habits of the culturally disadvantaged as these persons
appear on the welfare and Aid to Dependent Children rolls.

Only one in twelve families on Aid to Dependent
Children and General Assistance in Cuyahoga County
is getting what nutritionists call a good diet,
according to a study of 195 families with children.
More than 60% of the families drawn systematically
from the caseload of the County Welfare Department,
were judged by experts to have a "poor or very poor"
food intake and the diets of more than one-fourth of
the families were rated "very poor."

Hardest hit by the low dietary intake were chil-
dren. Of the 792 children in this sample, nearly
20% had less than one glass of milk [on the day of
the survey]. While children under two years of age
fared better than their older brothers and sisters,
9.3% of them received less than a glass of milk.6

Table 4 graphically portrays the nutritional depri-
vation these children experience.7

5Allison Davis, Social-Class Influence Upon Learning

6Elizabeth Whipple, "Preliminary Report of a Survey
of Food Intake of Public Assistance Families" (Cleveland:
Nutrition Association, November, 27, 1963), p. 1. (Mimeo-
graphed.)

7Ibid., p. 8.
William M. Wallace, M.D., Professor of Pediatrics at Western Reserve University, in his commentary on the results of this study, points out that the dietary deficiency of the disadvantaged ultimately affects their ability to learn in school.

There is no doubt...that these families and their children are consuming nutrient intakes, which at their best, are classified as "emergency" by the United States Department of Agriculture. There is also no doubt that suboptimal intakes such as these are contributing factors in the production of and recovery from disease. Of greater import is the adverse effect that suboptimal food intakes have in blunting the ability of the child to learn in school -- a consideration that is critical in a technically advanced country such as ours.8

8Ibid., p. 7.
No behavioral barrier separates the lower classes from the school's middle orientation more sharply than language. Tomlinson brings this problem into focus as she reports:

These children of low social class are accustomed to use few nouns, even for very familiar things, such as articles of clothing. They say "that thing" and when asked "what thing?" answer disinterestedly, "What you call that thing?" and forget its name in five minutes, unless a challenge of some kind is associated with it. Our interest in words alone seems to puzzle and even annoy them.

In a vocabulary test using a picture book of simple objects, ten children shook their heads at the picture of the roller skates, although they seemed to know what they were. One boy said, "Them the things you put on here," doubling up to touch his feet. All of the seven who could not name a cow have made the long trip "down south" and back and must have seen plenty of cows. Much time is needed not only to develop nouns, but also direction words, colors, and numbers.

Kornhauser, describing a summer school language arts project for pre-school children in underprivileged areas in the nation's capital in 1962, relates that a large number of errors made on understanding certain basic concepts (father, season, pet, vegetable) point up a need for directed teaching toward a better understanding of these concepts. It is clearly evident that many of our children come to us from homes with severe limitations in terms of understandings. The same understandings are taken for granted by teachers of children from middle class homes.

Example: -- Concept of father.
Children were asked to mark the picture which showed the person who goes to work in the family. This is a problem concept for the

---

McCarthy, drawing extensively on the research relating to language development among lower-socio-economic groups during the past century, concludes: "There is considerable evidence in the literature to indicate that there exists a marked relationship between socio-economic status of the family and the child's linguistic development."\(^{11}\)

During the past few years some authorities have shown concern with the overgeneralization of the relationship between low socioeconomic status and language development. Templin says that

since good speech and language is found in three- and four-year-old normal children and in children from all socio-economic status levels, information on a child's intelligence and his father's occupation is not sufficient to predict with any accuracy how the particular child will speak.\(^{12}\)

Frazier proposes that we reexamine our thinking on the current procedures we use in the development of language concepts in the primary grades. He says that "in the past,


we have attributed underdevelopment in language...to lower intelligence, immaturity in growth and development, or general inexperience." Our best partner in alleviating this underdevelopment in language has been "the passage of time."

But the children from culturally disadvantaged environments are offering more complex problems than the school has normally had to face. According to Frazier there are three kinds of underdeveloped language we need to learn more about.

Some children may be marked by a severe kind of verbal destitution beyond anything that we have ordinarily identified as unreadiness. Some may have full language development of a kind but not the kind most valued by the school. Still others may lack conceptualization of experience in some of the areas we expect school beginners to know about and may thus appear to be suffering from language underdevelopment.

Cohn considers the language of the lower class as a separate dialect related to, but distinct, from standard English.

The purposes of standard English and formal learning are ordinarily not related to the self-image of the lower-class child; he does not

13 Alexander Frazier, "Developing the Language of Children from Poor Backgrounds" (Columbus, Ohio: The Ohio State University, Center for School Experimentation, November, 1961), p. 1. (Mimeographed.)

14 Ibid.
usually think of himself as the kind of person who would speak this stilted-sounding standard language.  

Intellect

The matter of intelligence differences among classes has probably been studied as much as any other factor relating to the culturally disadvantaged. As long ago as 1920, L. W. Pressey found that "children of professional and business men rate distinctly above children of laboring men and mechanics." Then, in 1931, Levy found a "...closer relationship between behavior and intelligence than between behavior and economic level...."

The question arises whether class differences in scores on intelligence tests represent differences in intelligence or deficiencies in the tests, i.e., whether a given test measures a child's capacity to learn or a middle-class child's capacity to learn.


While this present study is geared to resolving problems of educating disadvantaged children in metropolitan areas, it should also be noted that those deprived children who do not migrate to the city often have more severe intellectual handicaps than their urban counterparts. In this regard, Klineberg writes:

There is a statistically reliable superiority of the city-born group over all the country-born groups, as well as a statistically reliable superiority of all groups which have been in the city four years or more over those which have been there three years or less.18

Skeels and Fillmore obtained the following results with a group of 407 orphanage entrants. These children were studied with reference to home background in relation to development of intelligence:

1. These children came from uniformly poor backgrounds, as indicated by low economic status, limited education of parents, and conflict with the law.

2. The level of intelligence of the children, one to fourteen years of age, is shown by a mean I.Q. of 88.5.

3. Children under eight years of age are of a higher mental level than those older.

4. The I.Q.'s of the older children decrease with age to a greater extent than is found for

unselected children, suggesting the retarding of poor homes on mental development.\textsuperscript{19}

Another facet of the problem is apparent in an experimental study by Haggard: the difficulty of getting accurate results. In a test-retest situation he "motivated" a lower-class group of children with a promise of free theater passes if they performed well on the test, or, as he put it, "if they did their best." From this portion of the study he drew the following conclusion.

...the fact that the low-status children given the Standard Retest showed a significant gain in performance as a result of the introduced motivation offers evidence against the interpretation that their generally lower scores on standard "tests of mental ability" are due to innate mental deficit. On the contrary, this finding indicates that lower-class children can perform much better than they usually do -- even on standard-type "intelligence tests" -- if they are sufficiently motivated to do well.\textsuperscript{20}

Gordon lays the blame for low test scores, on the part of disadvantaged children, to the inadequacies of the tests.

Thus it seems clear that conditions of social disorganization, economic insufficiency and cultural difference have made for significant handicaps in the academic functioning and development of many children.


But the present array of psychological tests fails to take these factors into consideration. And they make scarcely any attempt to explore the undeveloped potential of the youth involved.21

However inadequate tests may be, or however they may be abused, they remain the most objective devices yet found for measuring intellectual and academic ability.

Achievement

Standardized achievement tests fall in much the same category as those used to measure intelligence. That is, they are standardized for certain groups of children, primarily middle class, but are often applied as if valid for all segments of the population.22

A progressive decline in academic achievement was found by Shaw in New York City.

Children from low-socio-economic areas also tend to fall farther and farther behind their peers in achievement. In one large district in New York, the average child was found to be retarded one year in reading in the third grade, almost two years in the sixth, and two and one-half in the eighth.23

Goff, in the Sixteenth Yearbook of the John Dewey Society, writes that "many children work below their capacity

because of distracting, often soul-breaking, experiences for which no relief has been granted." she illustrates this statement by relating an incident in the life of a fifteen-year-old girl, "stuffed into a third-grade seat," whose drunken father the night before had kicked her pregnant mother to death and then attempted to rape the girl on the front porch in the morning. The teacher "went blithely on with abstract subject matter." achievement tests tend to lose much of their validity when children are so concerned with surviving. School becomes less important.

In the "River City" study, Havighurst found that lower-lower class "...boys and girls are failing in school, and they experience the repeated frustration of being talked about by teachers and by classmates as 'dummies.'" he goes on to describe the academic results of this frustration.

This frustration begins to be felt keenly by the fifth or sixth grade, when teachers begin to grade pupils more realistically. The frustration culminates in the junior high school, when all the boys and girls from all the elementary schools come together. Here the competition for school grades becomes keener. A boy who was "getting by" in a slum elementary school has more difficulty in the junior high school.

---


25Ibid.


27Ibid.
The culturally disadvantaged child who can achieve in school has problems with his friends because of the very fact that he is doing better than they. Honigmann puts it this way:

His gang teaches him to fear being taken in by the teacher, of being a softie with her. To pursue homework seriously being disgrace in the eyes of lower-class peers. Instead of boasting about good marks lower-class children conceal high grades if they ever receive them.28

Personality

In one personality inventory of 327 slum children and 473 children from middle class homes, between the ages of 9 and 15, it was found that the mean neurotic scores were significantly higher for the poor neighborhood group.29 With such environmental factors playing havoc with lower-class children, frustrating them in so many ways, practically every moment of the day and night, it is no wonder that personality disorders develop.

TheAusubels state that "the Negro child perceives himself as an object of derision and disparagement."30


Undoubtedly, some of this conception of self among Negro children is related to what Dai describes as "blind acceptance of White racial prejudices and measuring one's personal worth by the degrees of proximity to white complexion or other Caucasian features."31

Drucker and Remmers, in a study of the adjustment of 1000 seventh and eighth graders, used the SRA Youth Inventory, on which a group of clinicians had marked those items which would be particularly indicative of potential maladjustment. These were called Basic Difficulty Items. The results indicate that:

Significantly more Basic Difficulty problems were checked by the following groups of pupils, environmentally differentiated:
1. Those of low economic status.
2. Those whose mothers did not finish high school.
3. Those whose fathers did not finish high school.32

Montague also found that low status is accompanied by maladjustment. He investigated the relationship between the adjustment of students and their conceptions of their parents' status in the community. "...students who rated their parents as of low social status in the community were


were twice as apt to find school uninteresting as were the students who rated their parents in the middle- and upper-status groups.  

In contrasting the lowest status group with middle and upper groups, Montague's research indicated that the lower group found school uninteresting and the studies too difficult, they did not like their courses, they felt left out of things and unpopular, and they could not express themselves well or concentrate.  

A study on the development of originality in thinking was conducted in the United States and several other countries by E. Paul Torrance. His United States' sample came from segregated Negro schools. Just as other researchers found declines in measured intelligence and achievement, so did Torrance in originality, along with the additional phenomena of personality disturbances.  

We became particularly interested in the decline which appears at about age nine, or the fourth grade, because it was so acute and was accompanied by so many problems of behavior, learning difficulty, delinquency, and personality disturbance....The decline in the creative thinking abilities which occur at about ages five, nine, thirteen, and seventeen

---

34 Ibid., pp. 19-24.
are the result of the stresses of cultural discontinuities and are accompanied by personality disturbances.35

Often the end result of the personality problems possessed by many children in underprivileged areas is trouble with the law. As Cohen summarizes, "almost all statistical analyses of juvenile delinquency agree that delinquency in general is predominantly a working class phenomenon."36 Wattenberg and Balistrieri came to the same conclusion. "It is assumed as amply demonstrated that in large American cities neighborhoods which have populations low in the socio-economic scale generally have high delinquency rates."37 For most people, reading the statistics of the outward manifestations of personality disturbances, brought on in a large measure by the culture, is an impersonal intellectual exercise. But these figures took on flesh and blood for Tenenbaum when the city relief agency took over a fifteen story hotel across the street from his apartment building in the middle-class West side of Manhattan. The hotel was filled in a month's time with indigent families.


The experience was nothing less than traumatic for the residents of the apartment building.

There was one type of behavior, however, that affected my neighbors beyond all others. I cannot say that they liked to see children smoking or engaged in open sex play; it violated their sense of morality. But they could somehow stand that. What they couldn't stand, what frightened them, was the violent, hostile way in which lower-class families found their amusement. An almost palpable atmosphere of aggression and violence hovered over the street. The children would attack an automobile -- literally attack it as locusts attack a field -- climb on top of it, get inside, and by combined, co-operative effort shake and tug until they left it a wreck.38

Strengths

After reading the opinions of knowledgeable people and the research that has been done in the area of the disadvantaged, it would appear at first glance that the disadvantaged have very little the school or community can work with. This is not necessarily so. Deutsch states, "...there are strengths and positive features associated with lower-class life. Unfortunately, they tend not to be, at least, immediately congruent with the demands of the schools."39 Riessman goes a step further when he says the deprived have "positive elements" and that "...the positive


elements in the culture and style of lower socioeconomic groups should become the guidelines for new school programs and new educational techniques for teaching these children.\textsuperscript{40}

The problem of building a school program on strengths of the disadvantaged is complicated by the difference of opinion as to what constitutes a strength. For instance, Riessman draws a fine line between the "poor learner" and the "slow learner." Whereas these terms are usually assumed to be synonymous, slowness may simply be another style of learning. Slowness "can indicate caution, a desire to be very thorough, great interest that may constrain against rushing through a problem, or a meticulous style. Or it may indicate a desire to mull things over, an emphasis on the concrete and physical."\textsuperscript{41}

There is a very real possibility that part of the deprived individual's slowness in the academic area is "due to unfamiliarity with the subjects, limitations with formal language, and insecurity in this setting."\textsuperscript{42} But there is also evidence that outside the academic sphere he can be remarkably quick. For instance, he "functions rapidly and


\textsuperscript{42}Ibid., p. 65.
seems to think quickly in athletic events. He is "perceptive and quick in judging expressions on people’s faces" and can verbalize in his own idiom with apparent ease.43

This seeming paradox probably is resolved by the fact that the disadvantaged are at home in a world of direct sensory and physical conditioning. The "word-oriented" person from the upper or middle class deals with most academic problems he meets rather easily. Conversely, the "physical" individual takes a tactile or "doing" approach to arrive at an answer to a problem. By its very nature, learning through physical manipulation is a relatively slow process.

The physical or motoric style of learning manifests itself in disadvantaged school children in several different ways. According to Riessman:

1. They often appear to do better on performance tests of intelligence.
2. They like to draw.
3. Role-playing is an attractive technique to them.
4. They often use their fingers when counting, and move their lips when reading.
5. They like to participate in sports.
6. They employ physical forms of discipline.
7. They appear to think in spatial terms rather than temporal terms (they often have poor time perspective).44

A "games" approach to learning is a procedural way of utilizing the motoric style of the disadvantaged. Riessman reasons that the deprived find games to their liking because

43 Ibid.
44 Ibid., p. 67.
most games "are person-oriented and generally concerned with direct action and visible results....The rules are definite and can be readily absorbed." Fundamentally, the child knows he can succeed, as he often cannot in many of the verbal tasks he is confronted with in most school situations.

Gordon, in more general terms, also finds among these children positive characteristics which the school often overlooks because of the ubiquity of the poor cultural conditions.

Experience with these children and literature on youth gangs and delinquency provide ample evidence that selective motivation, creativity and proficiency are present in many of them.

We find examples of complex symbolism used in special systems of communication, of functional computational skills, selective recall, association and generalization, and accurate perception of some social, psychological and physical data. These children, as others, are capable of positive and negative identifications and are frequently found to be hungering for meaningful relationships with significant adults. They can be loyal friends or troublesome adversaries. In many instances their experience has planted seeds of rebellion against their own lot, which can be used as positive motivating forces.

Deutsch believes that educators have the wrong "focus" when they concern themselves with the syntactical

45 Riessman, op. cit., p. 71.
organization and subject continuity of the disadvantaged child's language development.

In preliminary analysis of expressive and receptive language data on samples of middle- and lower-class children at the first- and fifth-grade levels, there are indications that the lower-class child has more expressive language ability than is generally recognized or than emerges in the classroom.47

Riessman characterizes the typical style of the disadvantaged.

1. Physical and visual rather than aural.
2. Content-centered rather than form-centered.
3. Externally oriented rather than introspective.
4. Problem-centered rather than abstract-centered.
5. Inductive rather than deductive.
7. Slow, careful, patient, persevering (in areas of importance), rather than quick, clever, facile, flexible.48

Summary

Children living in culturally disadvantaged districts suffer from poverty unknown to middle- and upper-class youngsters. The poverty runs the gamut from the cultural and intellectual to the economic and emotional. Exposure to unseemly and aggressive scenes in the home and neighborhood is made inevitable by overcrowded living conditions, oftentimes in dilapidated, run-down dwellings. Inadequate and irregular diet compounds the problem.

47Deutsch, op. cit., p. 175.
48Riessman, op. cit., p. 73.
Culturally disadvantaged children lack facility in oral expression, both in vocabulary and in correct speech patterns. While there is a higher incidence of personality disorders among the disadvantaged than among the more fortunate, and a comparably higher delinquency rate, the strengths of disadvantaged children can be made the basis for more effective curriculum planning. These strengths center in the motoric or physical style of the children and their slow, and sometimes persevering, approach to problem solving.
CHAPTER IV
Review of the Literature

THE NATURE OF TEACHERS OF CULTURALLY
DISADVANTAGED ELEMENTARY
SCHOOL CHILDREN

Personal qualities

The conflict that arises between a teacher and disadvantaged children generally has its roots in the cultural set each one brings as his personal background to the classroom. There is a "great gulf fixed," too often, between these two. Perhaps this is why the literature in this field is replete with suggestions, admonitions, and warnings as to what the teacher of culturally disadvantaged should be and do.

Frank Riessman says that even though the progressive approach to education emphasizes "learning by doing" (which fits the physical, motoric style of the disadvantaged), it is the

old style, strict, highly structured teacher who appears to be most popular and effective with underprivileged children. When this teacher is also lively, and builds concepts from the ground up, and
makes an effort to "win the children to learning" she is the model teacher for these youngsters.\(^1\)

While Patricia Sexton might well agree with the view of Riessman, she sees a different type of teacher as most adequate to develop the potentialities of these children. She further charges that the schools, for the most part, refuse to hire dedicated "reformers," those with zeal, compassion, and sometimes, eccentricities, precisely because they are dedicated, zealous, and eccentric:

Unfortunately, reformers are often eccentric in their habits. They are not always well mannered, well dressed, and well behaved, much less likable. They disagree, they argue, and they are active rather than passive in temperament. They want to change things. They are not always pleasant with their superiors. Often, with their colleagues, they are not "one of the boys."\(^2\)

Reformers passionately believe that the changes they want to bring about would be efficacious, that the people for whose benefit they work are worth the trouble. And those reformers who teach the culturally disadvantaged believe those children are worthy of respect. The Educational Policies Commission recognizes the importance of the teacher's attitude toward her pupils this way: "The heart of the


educational process is found in the skill, dedication, and personality of the teacher. Foremost among the needed qualities of the teacher is respect for the pupil.\textsuperscript{3}

The Commission emphasizes this point:

Respect for the pupils is important in all types of education, at any level, anywhere. But children used to a drab life, conflict, and failure - children whose parents and friends often do not expect them to succeed - are particularly responsive to the genuine interest and respect of an adult. And with respect for the child, the teacher can become an effective model and inspiration. He is then in a position to further the cause of learning and cultural change.\textsuperscript{4}

In middle-class schools teachers have a high status almost automatically. Many a beginning teacher in underprivileged area classrooms has found she must work for this respect. Gage states that the teacher must also "win her spurs anew with every class" and especially with the leaders among the pupils.\textsuperscript{5}

Along with such attributes as liveliness, zeal, dedication, and respectfulness, sensitivity toward helping the child learn is necessary. Rousseve puts it this way: "A

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{4}Ibid.
\end{itemize}
culturally disadvantaged youth gains no benefit from constant admonition unless the urging is accomplished by sensitive help in learning."

Riessman describes this "sensitivity" as an "identification with the underdog. A teacher who possesses this feeling is more likely to understand the problems and feelings of the underprivileged youngsters."  

Crosby agrees and relates this insight to the student's need for respect, both for self and for others.

The teacher who looks with penetrating insight into the potential of disadvantaged children and creates a school which identifies with them provides a climate of support, makes possible the development of a self-image which commands self-respect and respect for others.  

As one continues the search for the personal qualities that should mark the teacher of culturally disadvantaged it becomes increasingly apparent that no one teacher could epitomize the whole range of attributes. For instance, Mackie, Kvaraceus, and Williams emphasize that these teachers should be people of good judgment, possess a sense of humor, have the ability to place people and events in proper perspective, have adaptability and flexibility of mind, be conscious of their own limitations.

---


7 Riessman, op. cit., p. 87.

and idiosyncracies, and have a normal range of human contacts outside the daily task of working with problem children.9

High writes that "the teacher must be one who has the patience to understand."10 For the modern American teacher this "patience" requires constancy through many vicissitudes. It is different from that which Margaret Mead attributed to the elderly guru of India. The guru grew mellow, wise, and patient with the young over the years in a slowly changing society. The pupils remained basically the same year after year. The Indian teacher needed only to keep alive a spontaneity and capacity for observation that would add to his wisdom, understanding, and gentleness. But the current situation is completely different for the guru's American counterpart.

...the world that the modern teacher confronts is a world in which each year serves, not to reinforce and amplify what she is slowly learning about the nature of ten-year-old boys or ten-year-old girls, or about the difference between ten-year-old boys, or ten-year-old girls - constancies which will give her something firm on which to base her methods - but serves rather to disorient her. What seemed to be true as she observed the fifth grade five years ago is no longer true; the children's behavior


becomes not more predictable - as it should as she grows more experienced but less predictable. 11

Teacher background

To say that the qualities just discussed are only needed by, or are peculiar to, teachers of the disadvantaged would be unrealistic and false. The primary problem centers around the fact that teachers with middle-class backgrounds are often devoid of the experiential background necessary for understanding culturally disadvantaged children. Because of this "...the expectations of the teachers and the curriculum they teach have a strong cultural bias favorable to the middle class." 12 Moreover, the recruiting of teachers who have labor backgrounds does not seem to affect the overall attitudes of teachers in general.

Bell indicates that many today are being recruited from the lower-middle and upper-lower classes, especially male teachers. Wattenberg, et al., in their chapter on "Social Origins of Teachers - Facts from a Northern Industrial City," found a large block of teachers with labor background coming into the high schools.

...within recent years Detroit teachers have tended to come from only certain segments of the population.


As contrasted with previous studies, this one has shown a comparatively large block of teachers from homes with a labor background. This group is for the most part selecting physical education, industrial education, home economics, and social studies as its teaching fields. It is also supplying a number of teachers for the academic high school subjects. Few teachers from this group go into the kindergarten and elementary school grades.13

McGuire and White made a study reported in the John Dewey Society Fourteenth Yearbook, on the "Social Origin of Teachers - In Texas." They conclude that teaching offers mobility upward for such teachers and, for most of them, life as middle-class citizens.

Teaching as a profession appears to provide opportunity for mobility for at least 40 per cent of those who enter the field. Only one in five comes from upper-lower-class backgrounds. Some of lower status origin apparently achieve an upper-middle-class way of life; others, although upward-mobile, attain only a lower-middle status in their communities...About three of every four of the persons in education seem to follow an upper-middle-class pattern of living and more than a third come from such family backgrounds.14

But the fact that a teacher may come from much the same class as the children she teaches does not imply that she readily identifies with them or understands them.


14Ibid., pp. 36-37.
Wattenberg, in discussing the attitudes of teachers toward lower-class children, emphasizes that no matter what their initial social status, almost all teachers give allegiance to the basic middle-class values in the areas of personal ambition and morality. They tend to react angrily against actions which betray lack of ambition, open physical aggression, or amoral sex standards.15

Bell adds:

Because the middle-class teacher of lower-class origins has in her own mind been socially successful through the means of formal education plus the taking on of education as an occupation, it may seem that this is the correct behavior pattern to be followed by all "worthwhile" young people of lower-class background.16

Warner, Havighurst, and Loeb found teachers concentrating their efforts on structuring this type of role for selected lower-class children: "They train or seek to train children from the middle and lower classes who appear to be the best candidates for promotion in the social hierarchy."17 No special provision was made for those children for whom extended formal education seemed inappropriate because of their lack of interest or ability.

15 Ibid., p. 69.


All this tends to indicate that even though teachers are coming more and more from lower income groups, their behavior toward the lower-class child is not determined by their class origins but by their class orientation.  

Symonds made a study of the biographies of fifty women teachers which indicates that the need for achievement, inherent in the teacher herself, gives rise to personality problems and clashes in the classroom. He submits:

It is because the need for achievement is so strong among teachers that competition is used as a motivating force so widely in schools. The teacher with strong drive for achievement is likely to overstimulate the bright, and show unjust discrimination against the dull and failing.

This need to achieve on the part of middle-class oriented teachers is often frustrated when teachers attempt to put achievement in operational effect in the deprived school classrooms. Davis suggests that the crucial dilemma of our middle-class teachers and school systems is "...the ineffectiveness of middle-class sanctions upon the great masses of lower-class children..." And the middle-class

---


orientation toward the teaching profession goes on, perpetuated by the parents of upper-class students. As Anderson found, "parents of the upper two classes rated the teaching profession more suitable for their sons and daughters than did parents of the lower two classes."  

Teacher attitudes

There are generally three choices open to teachers when they find themselves offered, or placed in, positions as teachers of disadvantaged children: 1. they can refuse the positions and teach elsewhere; 2. they can accept the positions and adjust to the problems surrounding them and/or; 3. they can apply for transfers to "better" schools as soon as the systems' regulations permit.

Becker made an interesting study of the third alternative. According to him the slum school is the place where most beginning teachers start their move upward in the Chicago school system's hierarchy of choice school positions.

Since there are few or no requests for transfer to "slum" schools, the need for teachers is filled by the assignment to such schools of teachers beginning careers in the Chicago system. Thus the new teacher typically begins her career in the least desirable kind of school.


The end of the teacher's stay in the school considered undesirable is in sight when she is able to put her name on the transfer list. Sometimes a teacher may put her name on ten different lists of schools for "better" neighborhoods and "better" schools. But there is in the large metropolitan centers the ever present possibility that a neighborhood will change radically in social class composition within a few months. Furthermore, Balk and Vitchek charge:

The Board of Education contributes by writing off a school once it begins to change radically, consigning it to overcrowding, double shifts and supervision by the least experienced and lowest paid teachers - and by giving it the lower proportion of counselors.23

The second alternative of settling in a school and making "a permanent adjustment to the slum school situation" is chosen by many teachers. Becker says:

The process begins when the teacher, for any of a number of possible reasons, remains in the undesirable school for a number of years. During this stay changes take place in the teacher and in the character of her relations with other members of the school's social structure which makes this unsatisfactory school an easier place in which to work and which changes the teacher's view of the benefits to be gained by transferring elsewhere.24


The teachers also learn to revise their expectations for these children. The adjustment often comes in the form of accepting smaller accomplishments on the part of the pupils. A principal of an elementary school describes this change on the part of her teachers:

Our teachers are pretty well satisfied if the children can read and do simple number work when they leave here... They're just trying to get these basic things over. So that if the children go to high school they'll be able to make some kind of showing and keep their heads above water.25

A recent study on the "Dissatisfactions in Teaching the CD Child" was made in sixteen schools serving Negro and Mexican-American "ghettos" in a large city. The responses of 294 teachers were tabulated in answer to this open-ended sentence, "The main reason, in my opinion, for the high turnover among teachers of CD children is..." A summary of the answers follows:

Forty per cent of the responses pointed to "peculiarities" in the personalities of culturally deprived children as the major cause of the dissatisfaction that leads to turnover. Thirty-seven per cent highlighted deficiencies in the administration or organization of the teachers themselves. Problems of discipline or negative behavior, classes that were too large, and lack of understanding and acceptance of deprived children by teachers headed the list of specifics.26

25 Ibid., p. 474.

In a study made in Cleveland, Ohio, Wickman found that teachers in an elementary school were more concerned with outward behavior than with the inner personal conflicts of children. This, of course, is not hard to understand when it is considered that teachers are middle-class oriented and have a personal need to achieve, which is frustrated when they attempt to transfer their attitudes to deprived children.

In the teachers' lists of problems of culturally dis-advantaged children Wickman notes:

...there was a conspicuous paucity of items describing child behavior which does not directly disturb school routine but which is indicative of social and emotional problems.\(^{27}\)

The teachers...complained that nearly 60 per cent of their pupils were at times inattentive, over 40 per cent careless in their work, and almost the same number failed to study. One out of every three children did not always show proper interest in school tasks.\(^{28}\)

...teachers seem to more aware of problems of dishonesty than they are of specific emotional and neurotic difficulties.\(^{29}\)

The personal problems of the child seem to be subordinated to the problems encountered in teaching and in classroom management...overt and directly annoying behavior are more firmly registered in the minds of teachers than are the inner emotional conflicts of children.\(^{30}\)


\(^{28}\)Ibid., p. 6.

\(^{29}\)Ibid., p. 8.

\(^{30}\)Ibid., p. 9.
Cohen, in *Delinquent Boys*, finds teachers exhibiting the same attitudes toward the disadvantaged that Wickman does.

The most serious problems from the standpoint of the teacher, are those children who are restless and unruly, who fidget and squirm, who annoy and distract, who create "discipline" problems. The "good" children are the studious, the obedient, the docile...31

Cohen concludes by stating that in terms of "conduct" and academic achievement "the failures are drawn disproportionately from the lower social class levels."32

Clark, in the findings of a preliminary study on teacher attitudes toward the disadvantaged, reports that although there were some outstanding exceptions "...the overwhelming majority of these teachers and their supervisors rejected these children and looked upon them as inherently inferior."33

Clark summarizes the conclusions of some observers in classrooms of the culturally disadvantaged:

These teachers say repeatedly, and appear to believe, that it is not possible to teach these children. They offer, in support of their conclusion, the belief that these children cannot learn because of "poor heredity," "poor home background," "cultural deprivation," and "low I.Q."34

---

32 Ibid.
34 Ibid., p. 149.
The danger posed by such a widespread belief that the culturally disadvantaged child is naturally incapable is described by Asbell:

Recently a psychologist at the University of North Dakota, Dr. Robert Rosenthal, showed vividly how an expectation becomes a reality. He selected two groups of psychology students and put each in charge of teaching a group of rats to run through a maze. Dr. Rosenthal then told one group its rats were "maze-bright," the other that its rats were "maze-dull." Both these statements were unfounded, but Dr. Rosenthal wanted to give each group of students something to "expect." Sure enough, the students who thought they had "maze-bright" rats got significantly better results than those who had been misled into thinking their rats were dull.35

A study by Davidson and Lang on the relation of children's perception of their teacher's feelings toward them bears out the adverse affects of low expectations. The major findings of this study were these:

1) The children's perception of their teacher's feelings toward them correlated positively and significantly with self-perception. The child with the more favorable self image was the one who more likely than not perceived his teacher's feelings toward him more favorably. 2) The more positive the children's perception of their teacher's feelings, the better was their academic achievement and the more desirable their classroom behavior as rated by the teachers. 3) Further, children in the upper and middle social class groups perceived their teachers' feelings toward them more favorably then did the children in the lower social class group. 4) Social class position

was also found to be positively related with achievement in school.38

Thus it appears the myth that the teacher should have low expectations for disadvantaged children may be misleading. The greater danger is that the teacher in believing it may contribute to the very condition she deplores.

Sims found, in a classification of teacher attitudes, a very conservative bias among teachers. While urban labor was judged to be 29 per cent conservative and 38 per cent radical, teachers in his study were 71 per cent conservative and 4 per cent radical.37 In summarizing his data Sims states that "the majority of the teachers showed little sympathy with labor and laboring people, generally considered themselves a 'cut above' skilled workers and, to a lesser extent, above other 'white-collar' workers."38

Since teaching is the major profession readily accessible to Negroes,39 some attention to their attitudes toward children and teaching is appropriate. Vontress, himself a Negro, says that many Negro teachers, especially in major


38Tbid., p. 338.

northern cities, become tired, discouraged, and disgruntled at being put in the ghetto schools.

To them school is not an enthusiastic learning center where everybody is academically alert, where people desire to learn something new because it is worth knowing. Instead, it is a place where a major part of the teacher's time must be devoted to maintaining discipline among children who never before have known it. Thus it is often felt that years of excellent preparation go for naught.40

Vontress gives other reasons for low morale among Negro teachers.

Many of them did not plan to teach in the first place; they were forced by discrimination into this traditional Negro white-collar job. Through their education and associations many have become psychologically "white" and are repelled by having to work and rear their children in segregated communities. In many cases, they send their own children to other schools, because of the obvious deficiencies of the schools in which they teach or because they fear the influences of lower-class children on their own. Further, Negro teachers are frequently very sensitive to and critical of their Negro administrators who must play "both ends" (kow-towing to white superiors while appeasing and engineering co-workers) to insure the smooth operation of the school.41

Training

Since it is impossible to change the social orientation of teachers or to select only those prospective instructors who seem naturally to have an affinity with the deprived, the necessity for proper training for future

41 Ibid.
positions in disadvantaged school areas is evident. A word of caution is in order, however. Eleanor and Leo Wolf state that "one cannot help noting that the practice of focusing attention on the shortcomings of teachers and on educational materials and techniques serves to distract attention from more basic (and less easily attacked) problems." The "less easily attacked" problems, in this case, are those related to adequate finances.

In this same vein it is interesting to note that in Conant's recommendations for underprivileged schools he lists finances first and then training.

More teachers and perhaps more pay for teachers are necessary for schools in the slums than in either the high income districts of the large cities or the wealthy suburbs. Special training programs for teachers in slum schools are needed.

The Educational Research Service of the National Education Association, after a thorough survey of many public school programs for the disadvantaged, came to the conclusion that "perhaps the most obvious need in working successfully with underprivileged children is a group of teachers

---


specially trained and oriented -- perhaps dedicated to the
job they must do.\textsuperscript{44}

The teacher training institutions, by and large, have
done little or nothing to train teachers specifically for the
slum schools. Here and there over the country certain insti-
tutions are beginning to consider the problem.\textsuperscript{45}

Training teachers for effective service with the dis-
advantaged has remained primarily an in-service activity.
This has been demonstrated in Philadelphia and Detroit, two
of the cities involved in the "Great Cities School Improve-
ment Program," which the Ford Foundation has endowed so
heavily.

Druding, Superintendent of District V, Philadelphia
Public Schools, Pennsylvania, says, "our experience of the
past 2 years leads us to believe that teachers, both master
and inexperienced, can be helped on the job to work more
successfully with children of limited background." \textsuperscript{46} She

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item Educational Research Service, School Programs for
      the Disadvantaged, \textit{Circular No. 2} (Washington, D. C.;
      National Education Association, February, 1963), p. 3.

\item See Part IV of \textit{Education in Depressed Areas}, ed.
      A. Harry Passow for a description of programs. Also, James
      R. Irwin, \textit{et al.} "Mercy's College's Experiment in Reality,"

\item Aleda E. Druding, \textit{Improving English Skills of}
      Culturally Different Youth}, eds. Arno Jewett, Joseph Mersand,
      and Doris V. Gunderson (Washington, D. C.; United States
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
then states quite vigorously "that the teacher training
institutions should come to grips with this aspect of teach-
ing..." 47

The experiences in the Detroit Public Schools lead
one to believe that in-service training is perhaps the best
way to change behavior on the part of a staff who are already
involved in teaching the culturally disadvantaged. Marburger
emphasizes that "the key to modification of behavior," on the
part of teachers, "seems to be involvement." 48 This opinion
developed as a result of some disappointing workshop experi-
ences with consultants from the varied disciplines of psy-
chology, sociology, education, and social work. "Our
experience leads us to believe that very few significant
changes in the behavior of teachers takes place as a result
of listening to experts." The teachers either "tuned in" or
"tuned out" the experts. 49

What appears to be a promising in-service approach is
described in the following statement.

Our workshops and in-service experiences have,
therefore, been structured around local school curric-
ulum problems and have usually involved only a single
school staff. We have found that curricula vary from

47 Ibid.
48 Carl L. Marburger, Education in Depressed Areas, ed.
A. Harry Passow (New York: Teachers College, Columbia Uni-
49 Ibid.
school to school, from community to community, and from school staff to school staff. To achieve the kind of involvement that brings positive change, each school staff must look seriously at its unique community, the unique problems of its youth, and its own unique strengths and weaknesses as a staff.

Relationship of research to the study

The basic reason for the extensive review of research developed as an introduction to the body of this report was to provide a suitable frame of reference and background for the writer, and also the reader, in comprehending and interpreting the data collected. Although the problems presented by the disadvantaged have been with us for a considerable time, the rapid social-cultural changes of our society have forced us into an agonizing reappraisal of the adequacy of our present educational approach.

There appears to be a dearth of research on successful methods teachers might utilize in dealing with the culturally disadvantaged, although Riessman lays a theoretical groundwork for future practice. The work of Sylvia Ashton-Warner with primitive Maori children offers some specificity in approach but has yet to be tested in the United States.

50 Ibid.
51 Riessman, op. cit., p. 73.
It was readily apparent to the writer that the research studied was cogent when teachers, administrators, and supervisors recounted the problems of the disadvantaged. This was particularly true in the areas of language, school achievement, and personality. Interestingly, mobility did not appear to be a significant factor in the opinion of many teachers in this study, probably due to the fact that a number of urban-renewal programs and low-cost housing units were going up in the areas the writer visited.

Summary

A number of personal qualities are emphasized as desirable in teachers of the disadvantaged. If any one quality stands out as necessary it might be described as "respect" for the pupil. Some authorities believe the "old style, strict, highly structured" teacher has the most to offer these children, whereas others look for reformers, teachers with patience, understanding, sensitivity, good judgment, and a sense of humor.

The teachers of the disadvantaged usually have middle-class backgrounds or values which conflicts with those learned by the children living in the slum areas. Even when a teacher has a lower-class background, there is no evidence she will relate positively to disadvantaged children. Teachers sometimes select the best candidates in their classes for
promotion in the social hierarchy and even use the teaching profession themselves as a means to a higher social status.

Attitudes brought about by experiences before and during the teaching experience affect the way teachers feel and act toward disadvantaged children. Finding difficulty in instructing these youngsters, teachers often attempt to avoid teaching in the slum schools. The children, in turn, reflect the attitudes of their instructors. Negro teachers, many of whom are in teaching because it is the profession most readily open to them, often find difficulty accepting children in disadvantaged areas.

The current emphasis on the shortcomings of teachers and their lack of training (perhaps a screen for failing to provide adequate financing) does indicate the need for more specialized instruction on methods of dealing with disadvantaged children. Although the teacher education institutions have been slow to develop programs for teachers of the disadvantaged, the public schools have had some experience with in-service training. If teachers are involved in the local school-community problems, in-service training shows some degree of promise.
CHAPTER V

CURRICULAR METHODS USED BY OUTSTANDING
TEACHERS OF CULTURALLY DISADVANTAGED
ELEMENTARY SCHOOL CHILDREN

Introduction

In order to ascertain with some degree of precision what outstanding teachers do in their teaching methods, categories indicating polar viewpoints were formed from an analysis of the interview notes. Preference as to the category subscribed to by each teacher was determined through an analysis of the notes from the interviews. The totals of these preferences of the teachers were then subjected to a chi-square statistical treatment to determine the level of confidence with which each hypothesis could be accepted or rejected.

In this chapter, three of the hypotheses are analyzed: teaching social studies, hindrances to educational proficiency; and evaluating achievement. The arrangement in which the analysis appears in the chapter is as follows: (1) a restatement of the hypothesis; (2) listing of categories; (3) the results of the statistical treatment of the data; and (4) representative quotations of the teachers as to their perceptions and reasons for holding certain views.
In addition to the analysis of the hypotheses, answers to other questions from the interviews were analyzed which add to an understanding of the preferences and methods of the teachers. These are methods of developing interest, the strengths and weaknesses of disadvantaged children, and grouping procedures.

**Instruction techniques**

**Hypothesis:** There is no significant preference expressed by outstanding teachers of culturally disadvantaged elementary school children for the textbook method of instruction in social studies over the unit-project method of instruction.

The two categories under which the data were analyzed are:

**Textbook**

Using the textbook as basic to study; supplementing the text; textbook with workbooks; et cetera.

**Unit-project**

Developing units of work; doing projects; using the text as it fits the unit; et cetera.

The results of the analysis of the interview content related to the above categories indicate that the hypothesis cannot be rejected. There is no significant preference for either method. The critical value at the 5 per cent level of confidence is 3.841 and the $\chi^2$ is 1.334. Fifty-six per cent of the teachers in this study expressed a preference for the
unit-project approach, whereas forty per cent preferred the textbook centered method. Two of the instructors, in physical education, were obviously not able to comment.

When the teachers in the early elementary grades were compared as to their preference of method they divided evenly at ten and ten. In the later elementary grades ten teachers expressed a preference for the textbook, whereas eighteen preferred the unit-project. In the latter instance the $\chi^2$ value of 2.286 approached the 10 per cent level of confidence.

Those teachers who preferred the textbook approach over the unit-project gave several reasons for using textbooks and often prefaced their remarks with reasons why they did not use a unit-project method. A fourth grade teacher of more than thirty-five years' experience teaching disadvantaged children stated:

I do not use the unit because of the lack of the use of library facilities. The parents won't take their children to the library. I use the textbook because children need basics. In committee work the teacher has to do the collecting as the children have nothing to bring. The parents can't help them because there is nothing at home.

An enrichment teacher found the mobility of the children a factor in her favoring the use of a text in addition to the difficulty of getting materials from the children's homes.

I follow the textbook approach because of the mobility of the children which is mostly to and from
other schools in the city. Since these schools use the textbook approach we get more consistency for the child during the school year.

In projects we have a lack of materials and self-direction on the part of the children. They are irresponsible in bringing in things - even things they have.

A sixth grade teacher put it this way:

I have not been successful with units of work because the children are not able to do things on their own. They have to be directed at all times.

A first grade teacher answered quickly:

Not units of work - they can't stay interested. I prefer a textbook for each subject.

Those teachers who use a unit-project method were just as explicit about their reasons as those who found the textbook most suitable. A fifth grade teacher gave this reaction:

I use projects and units but not textbooks for each subject. I use a variety of books. Can't stand "Cover chapter five today." I hate it because a child will do much more if he's interested in the material.

The emphasis on self-identification and the possibility of adjusting materials to varying levels of ability were noted as positive attributes of the unit-project approach by teachers of a fifth and sixth grade, respectively:

Units and projects: these give a child a chance to identify himself. He will give more of himself than if he is tied to that textbook.

Many times disadvantaged are poor readers and don't come from academic homes. They do better
through units of work. You can adjust to the child's ability through units. Although they might not be able to read, they can do something else.

In the view of another fifth grade teacher units of work impress children for a longer period of time.

I like the units of work because the children get a great deal of content. They do require more work for me but the children remember these most. They come back to my class after they go to other grades and tell me what they remember.

**Developing interest**

Developing the interest of the culturally disadvantaged in academic tasks is the principal problem of outstanding teachers. The two most frequently mentioned devices for developing interest in unfamiliar areas were pictures (from magazines and newspapers) and audio-visual aids (films, filmstrips and television). Discussion techniques (share and tell, asking questions) and study trips (to museums, art galleries and public libraries) were other general categories mentioned. Those classes who did go to museums, art galleries and public libraries were often within walking distance of these facilities.

The need to develop the experiential background of these children to build an adequate foundation for further learning was brought forth forcefully by a first grade teacher.

I am continually shocked every day. They can't seem to understand anything, even such words as "thimble" or "grapefruit."
A knowledge of the home conditions of these children can be an aid in understanding why "thimble" and "grapefruit" are not in the vocabulary of the disadvantaged. But to get to the intellectual aspects of the problem may often require satisfying a physical need first. A fifth grade teacher follows this approach:

These children are not particularly clean, nor do they have breakfast before coming to school. I tell the parents and children at the beginning of the year that I will not teach a dirty or hungry child. If a youngster hasn't had breakfast, he gives me a note. I give him an envelope with money and he goes across the street and buys his breakfast. During class they are allowed to eat all the fruit, apples, oranges, they want. All I ask is that they don't disturb others.

Friday is dress-up day. The boys must wear a tie and all must dress neatly. I have a corner of the room with a mirror, shoe polish, and soap that they can use.

In the same vein an enrichment teacher explains:

We work on health and cleanliness. Many do not have a decent breakfast so I bring an electric skillet and we have pancakes and juice. The children learn how to set a table and table manners. This is one morning I am sure they all have an adequate breakfast.

A unique way of developing interest in unfamiliar areas was reported by a teacher in whose school free piano lessons are offered by a blind piano instructor.

We have individual piano lessons. There are forty children in grades three through six taught by a blind piano teacher. The children come four at a time. The children are allowed practice time before school, at lunch, and after school in any room that has a piano. They may stay after four if the parent gives written permission.
Some of the teachers report little difficulty in obtaining interest in areas such as social studies and science. A fourth grade teacher describes this experience:

There is no problem in developing interest in social studies and science. They are fascinated by the study of the world and continents. One boy became so eager and interested in an area of science he went home and wrote up all he knew about it. He read this to the class and they added more. He carries a brief case now with all his notes. I don't know what all he's writing about.

Science was a tremendous interest builder in the classroom of a sixth grade teacher, with interesting overflow experiences in other curricular areas.

We have a Science Club which meets once a week. The class elects officers. The children do experiments and have their own science library. At the last of the year we have a luncheon with the bigwigs in, such as the superintendent of schools, mayor, dean of the college. The twelve children with the highest rating over the year in science get trophies. They dress up. We teach the language they should use in the receiving line, how to eat. During the year we bring in resource teachers, such as a scientist, engineer, mayor. For the luncheon this year Col. John Glenn will come as an astronaut - not as a Democrat. [This was scheduled before Col. Glenn's accident.]

**Strengths and weaknesses**

Table 5 is a compilation of the number of comments of each of the fifty teachers in regard to the questions, "In what areas, subject matter or otherwise, do you find these children to be strongest and weakest?" Despite the fact that the question was phrased "strongest and weakest," the
TABLE 5

NUMBER OF COMMENTS MADE BY FIFTY TEACHERS AS TO THE CURRICULAR WEAKNESSES AND STRENGTHS OF CULTURALLY DISADVANTAGED ELEMENTARY SCHOOL CHILDREN

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Teachers</th>
<th>Weaknesses</th>
<th>Strengths</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>English</td>
<td>Reading</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Early Elementary</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Later Elementary</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Comments</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
teachers generally tended to talk first about weakness. They also advanced a total of seventy-seven weaknesses to fifty-four strengths.

The teachers in this study are most aware of the English and reading difficulties of the children as these two areas account for 57 per cent of the total number of comments as to the children's weaknesses. One fifth grade teacher deplored the fact that

English is the very weakest. They have no vocabulary. I struggle and work and they still say, "be's we." As an illustration - after the Christmas holidays the principal told the class that all those on the third floor would get new chairs. One youngster who had been in the class the whole year (and on the third floor) turned to me and asked, "Be's we on the third floor?"

A first grade teacher made this remark:

In social studies they don't understand normal things. For instance, in a study of the city or the farm they don't know about planes or animals. Even what a hanger is. Some can't even say their last names.

Table 5 shows that eleven comments were made indicating arithmetic was an area of weakness, whereas twenty-one comments (over 38 per cent) indicate arithmetic to be an area of strength. The difference of opinion is somewhat resolved in the following quotations which divide understanding in mathematics by its computational and reasoning aspects. A first grade teacher gives some insight here.

They are strong in basic number because from the time they are five they go to the store for bread and have to get the correct change back.
A number of teachers commented on the children's ability to do computational arithmetic because of their familiarity with money in real-life situations. One fourth grade teacher used money as a motivational device.

In those areas where they begin not to comprehend, such as borrowing, I use real money. This is terrific! You let them think and they won't be skinned. I keep pennies and dimes on hand. This is natural motivation. I throw in dollar bills and we do problems with money. Then we do them on the board. The child puts the problems on the board and we finally can get away from money. Those that don't know I pull out and give extra help.

Computational arithmetic is not highly abstract, tending more to be rote learning. This is offered in six comments of the teachers as the reason the disadvantaged can do spelling with some degree of proficiency.

The reason for strength in the aesthetics was developed by one of the Negro teachers who grew up in disadvantaged surroundings.

They are strongest in those things in which they use their bodies. These children don't have Tinker Toys, a Mr. Machine. They have to use the rock, stick, or rhythm to have fun. This is the reason for their ability in athletic activities and singing. They have to use what they have.

**Grouping**

There was a great deal of diversity in the grouping methods employed by the teachers interviewed, even though it is an administrative practice of one system to set reading
groups at two. In the later elementary grades two teachers follow a one-group procedure and another a two-group pattern in reading which are supplemented by the SRA* Reading Laboratories. These "Reading Labs" are organized so that each child is reading individually on his own level of reading ability. Nearly 88 per cent of those who taught reading practiced some form of reading group procedure.

The teacher in the "other" category in Table 6 is responsible for teaching the average groups in reading from other first grade classrooms. This is a quasi-departmentalized arrangement set up to give the regular classroom

**TABLE 6**

**NUMBER OF READING GROUPS EMPLOYED BY FIFTY OUTSTANDING TEACHERS OF CULTURALLY DISADVANTAGED ELEMENTARY SCHOOL CHILDREN**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Groups</th>
<th>Teachers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Early Elementary</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Later Elementary</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

^aphysical education instructors

*Science Research Associates
teachers more time for enriching their top reading groups and more time for remedial work with the lower.

The teachers utilize achievement test data, past records, previous teachers' recommendations, and their own methods of diagnosis to determine how to group these children. As an illustration of their own methods, a first grade teacher said:

In reading I group by their attention span, readiness to follow directions, background in experiences, and ones who can stay on the page during reading.

The problem of grouping strictly by achievement tests was brought out by a second grade instructor.

The children were usually grouped by tests sent out from the Board of Education. This doesn't give a true picture because the words in the tests are not in the child's repertoire. Therefore, we regroup on the basis of comprehension.

A flexible grouping procedure using a children's newspaper reading test was followed by a male teacher in the sixth grade.

In reading I use the Newstime reading tests for main ideas, word meaning, interpreting facts, and finding implied meanings. I sit down and find the biggest weakness of each student and group this way.

The fact that 44 per cent of the teachers preferred one group for the teaching of arithmetic does not mean that they neglected individualizing of instruction. Quite often they varied their program from the content of one arithmetic
text by supplementing from other resources. A sixth grade teacher utilizing a one-group, one-text approach described a study procedure which emphasizes grouping.

In arithmetic I leave it up to them. I find out how many need more help and most come over. If they are having trouble in an area they may leave and join another group. These groups are not high, low, and poor but set up on the basis of their problems.

Regardless of whether they used one, two, or three groups the teachers invariably commented during the interviews that they worked with individuals or small sub-groups in those areas where arithmetical difficulties arose.

Problems in developing educational proficiency

Hypothesis: There is no significant preference expressed by outstanding teachers of culturally disadvantaged elementary school children for a hierarchy of hindrances to the development of educational proficiency among school inadequacies, home conditions, aberrant behavior, mental ability, or high mobility.

Before this study was begun, the writer supposed that outstanding teachers would consider the high mobility of these children a major hindrance to their development of educational proficiency. However, this problem was mentioned only once as a hindrance and then only in the context of the additional clerical duties teachers in disadvantaged areas must assume. Therefore, only judgments categorized under school inadequacies, home conditions, aberrant behavior, and
mental ability were subjected to analysis. The following categories were set up:

**School inadequacies**

Large classes, old buildings, lack of equipment and supplies, inadequate playground space, insufficient bus service for study trips; lack of understanding of the disadvantaged on the part of teachers; et cetera.

**Home conditions**

Paucity of magazines, newspapers, money for trips, clothing and food; lack of cooperation with the school on the part of parents; parent conflicts, separations and divorce; poor living conditions; et cetera.

**Aberrant behavior**

Disciplining and controlling the deviant behavior of culturally disadvantaged children; teaching basic manners and cleanliness; allowing for personality conflicts and nervous disorders, meeting the need for attention and security; et cetera.

**Mental ability**

Lack of skill in oral and written expression; reading vocabulary, phonics, social studies, arithmetic; deprivation in experiential background, concepts, reasoning, and problem solving; et cetera.

The results of the analysis of the interview content related to the above categories indicate that the hypothesis is rejected. Since it is impossible to account for the distribution of opinion in terms of chance, there appears to be a hierarchy of hindrances to the development of educational proficiency. The hypothesis is rejected at less than the 1
per cent level of confidence. The critical value at the 1 per cent level with three degrees of freedom is 11. 341 and $X^2$ is 30.96. Forty per cent of the teachers found school inadequacies the greatest hindrance, 34 per cent home conditions, 14 per cent aberrant behavior, and 12 per cent mental ability. Since there are greater frequencies in the categories of school inadequacies and home conditions than in aberrant behavior and mental ability, the following sub-hypotheses are developed and tested as an aid in obtaining greater precision in the analyzing of the interview content.

Sub-hypothesis: The teachers reported no significant preference for either school inadequacies or home conditions as the greater hindrance to educational proficiency.

The critical value at the 5 per cent level of confidence is 3.841; $X^2$: 121. Conclusion: The sub-hypothesis is not rejected.

Sub-hypothesis: The teachers reported no significant preference for either school inadequacies or aberrant behavior as the greater hindrance to educational proficiency.

The critical value at the 2 per cent level of confidence is 5.412; $X^2$: 6.260. Conclusion: The sub-hypothesis is rejected.

Sub-hypothesis: The teachers reported no significant preference for either school inadequacies or mental ability as the greater hindrance to educational proficiency.
The critical value at the 1 per cent level of confidence is 6.635; $\chi^2$: 7.524. Conclusion: The sub-hypothesis is rejected.

Sub-hypothesis: The teachers reported no significant preference for either home conditions or aberrant behavior as the greater hindrance to educational proficiency.

The critical value at the 5 per cent level of confidence is 3.841; $\chi^2$: 4.166. Conclusion: The sub-hypothesis is rejected.

Sub-hypothesis: The teachers reported no significant preference for either home conditions or mental ability as the greater hindrance to educational proficiency.

The critical value at the 5 per cent level of confidence is 3.841; $\chi^2$: 5.260. Conclusion: The sub-hypothesis is rejected.

The above conclusions combine to reveal that outstanding teachers of the disadvantaged consider school inadequacies and home conditions greater hindrances to educational proficiency among the disadvantaged than either aberrant behavior or mental ability.

Although overcrowded classes, under the category of school inadequacies, do not appear to be the norm for the teachers in this study (see p. 8, Table 2), a few mentioned
overcrowding as a hindrance to their effectiveness. One sixth grade teacher had thirty-nine children, twenty-five of whom were boys. Another sixth grade teacher also gave overcrowded classrooms as the greatest hindrance to her effectiveness and added:

We also need more special and remedial teachers. These children need special help.

A fourth grade teacher told of how a reduction in the number of children helped her teaching:

Once I had forty-eight children and for several years forty or more. If the group is smaller you can make the child fit. With the small group I have this year [25] I can see how much more can be done. You can keep a check on each child.

Another hindrance in the school inadequacy category was the buildings in which the children and teachers were housed. A sixth grade teacher observed:

The old buildings. These children come from cramped quarters, attics. The one place that ought to be clean is the school. We have old furniture. If it were new the children would develop a better attitude. The school should be a nice living situation.

During an interview a first grade teacher surveyed her room and then said:

This school is ugly! Look at the dirty walls. The Board of Education doesn't put enough money in here. We don't have everything we need. What comes is from our selling popcorn.
A physical education instructor was concerned about the lack of space and facilities:

Disadvantaged children in downtown areas usually don't have playground space and the physical education facilities are pretty poor.

The matter of insufficient supplies was discussed by a first grade teacher.

Lack of supplies is the greatest hindrance. Many in first grade have no hand preference, never put a puzzle together. They need more practice. I bought, on my own, a ball and big jacks. Ten of my children had never played jacks.

A fourth grade teacher was concerned about the lack of buses for study trips.

We are permitted two buses per year for trips in our school but there are twenty-some teachers.

A few of the outstanding teachers became introspective when the question of hindrance to educational proficiency was asked. Two first grade teachers commented in this manner.

The greatest hindrance is my lack of understanding about the children's home life. Things are so different with them. They have a completely different attitude. I have never been exposed to this in my life.

I take them too much to heart. I worry about them at home.

A fifth grade teacher offered two reasons for her personal adjustment problem:

Shifting gears away from my middle class values and the difficulty of overcoming my university training.
The home conditions of the children were also considered as a major hindrance to the development of educational proficiency. Answers in this category were replete with complaints, bordering on rancor, about the parents. A fourth grade teacher brought out the type of training in the home.

The greatest hindrance is the lack of background the child has. The parents don't train them to listen. There is much confusion in the home. There is no systematic discipline in the home. Noise doesn't seem to bother them.

The lack of basic necessities affects the classroom directly according to a first grade teacher.

The children don't have enough, such as shoes, so they miss school waiting for the relief check.

A third grade teacher elaborates on this problem:

If I want to take a field trip I can't get the money and the parents are tied up working. There are many little extra things I can't do. Children lack books at home for bringing in to school. Even pictures and magazines are not available to the children.

The parents' apparent unconcern as to what the school is attempting to do for the children evoked these typical responses. A first grade teacher observed:

I try to contact parents when children are not working up to potential. I call the parents and they don't respond.

And a third grade teacher noted:

There is no encouragement for learning at home. When we had a city-wide art exhibit which included their work not one parent went.
A teacher who has lived in the community in which she teaches for a number of years and has been active in the local Parent Teacher Association before becoming a staff member, was quite critical of the home conditions.

The greatest hindrance is parents. I beat my brains out to give these kids skills and they go home to those who have no respect for education. Parents don't come to school. We had a program with forty-three children in the choir. We invited the parents. I asked the children several times to get their parents to come. We had five parents!

Since the teachers in this study are outstanding it is understandable that aberrant behavior is not a major concern to them. They can control their classes. Their attitude toward mental ability is probably much the same: they respect the children and realize that some potential, however minimal, is there.

Those who considered aberrant behavior a major hindrance to effective learning were mostly concerned with how much time the behavior took from classroom pursuits. An early elementary teacher commented:

I have to spend so much time just getting them to sit up and listen.

Another noted:

I have to spend too much time with discipline in the classroom. This is time taken from actual teaching. The children don't work well on their own. You have to watch them all the time.
A sixth grade teacher sees part of this problem stemming from administrative rules and regulations.

Lack of discipline is the greatest hindrance. This reverts back to the strict policy on no corporal punishment. We can't stand them in the hall. I have twenty-six individuals as a class. One boy is fourteen years old and has a 70 IQ. He cannot sit still. His pencil is tapping, his foot is tapping, or he gets up and moves around. Because I have to talk to him so much, I lose the others.

From the few comments on mental ability as a hindrance volunteered by the teachers, two are selected as representative. They come from a physical education teacher and sixth grade teacher, respectively.

It seems that I have to repeat myself. They do not understand rules quickly. I have to get them into games quicker. I give few rules - just enough to get them started. The greatest hindrance is that they do not listen effectively.

The greatest hindrances are the nervousness of the children and their short attention span.

Evaluating achievement

Hypothesis: There is no significant preference expressed by outstanding teachers of culturally disadvantaged elementary school children for using children's efforts in determining report card grades over standardized achievement tests.

The two categories under which the data were analyzed were:

**Effort**

Evaluating children on effort; evaluating children on interest; evaluating children by effort together
with a combination of other factors; using grading as therapy; considering interest and enthusiasm; et cetera.

**Standardized achievement tests**

Evaluating children on national norms; evaluating children on city-wide norms; evaluating children on a numerical basis; grading on a percentage basis; et cetera.

The results of the analysis of the interview content related to the above categories indicate that the hypothesis is rejected. There is a significant preference for using children's efforts in determining report card grades over standardized achievement tests. The critical value at the 5 per cent level of confidence is 3.841 and the $X^2$ is 18. Eighty per cent of the teachers in this study expressed a preference for using children's efforts, whereas 20 per cent preferred using standardized achievement tests.

An interesting point was made by a fourth grade teacher on how to grade children.

We say we evaluate on a city-wide scale but most evaluation is determined on the basis of the best in the class.

A first grade teacher makes a similar point.

We are encouraged to grade on a city-wide basis; however, I wind up doing my grading on the basis of my individual group. The general tendency I have is to give the best students the best grades, poor students the poor grades or the best would be getting C's and D's. If the child does a good job he gets what he deserves on the basis of the group.
Another first grade teacher follows the same pattern.

I take each one individually and compare him to others in the group.

A fifth grade teacher coined an interesting word to describe children's measurable qualities.

I must evaluate on effort and ability and interest; the "go-power." Some are forever driving - some need to be pushed. I include effort in the final grade. When he has the ability and not effort I lower the grade.

A problem of considerable concern to the teachers is the self-concept the child with measured low intelligence might develop being continually faced with failure. A fifth grade teacher began half-jokingly by saying:

After I cry a little I evaluate them. I really talk with them as individuals and as a group before I give out grades. I differ with national and city norms. I can do this with the high group but the low group would get all F's. And I don't give all F's - that's too discouraging.

A fourth grade teacher remarked:

This is a problem that ought to be resolved. Here is a 75 I.Q. but working to capacity. Is he a failure? I don't consider him a failure. I grade on effort on the basis of his mental potential.

Or as another fifth grade teacher confessed:

I have three or four overachievers I wouldn't consider failing.

A discouraging tone seemed to end the discussion of this problem with a fourth grade teacher of many years service with the disadvantaged.

I can't expect the same of those of 70 I.Q. compared to one of 100 I.Q., - if I have one.
Compounding the problem of grading disadvantaged children is the parent who wishes his child to improve but is incapable of knowing how to help him. As a result a teacher becomes frustrated who reported a parent's saying:

I'll beat him if he comes home with a bad grade.

The tension, the pull and tug of values as to what is best for children, is especially noticeable in the comments made by teachers who follow a standard of grading set for children from outside the classroom and school. A fifth grade teacher discussed her grading difficulties rather caustically.

Grading is difficult because of our lousy report card. I would love to grade on effort and accomplishment but can't with the report card. I grade according to fifth grade level. Average fifth grade reading is C. There is no uniformity throughout the city but we don't even have this in our own building.

A sixth grade teacher was also troubled about grading by adherence to an outside norm.

We have a city norm. An A is 93 to 100, for example. We have to stick to it. Grading is not fair, no matter what method.

The anxiety of what others might think if their grading procedure and children apparently motivated several teachers to follow the outside standard of achievement. For instance, a second grade teacher was concerned about disillusioning parents and teachers.

I have a lot of slow children doing marvelously for them but they are in first grade work. I have to
give them unsatisfactory so as not to disillusion parents. Children do transfer and if there are certain accepted standards high grades will be disillusioning to another teacher, especially in reading.

A fourth grade teacher attempted to soften the blow of low grades by writing supplementary notes to parents.

I try to use city-wide norms, because this is what the administration wants the teacher to do. I do not give credit for effort, because it is not fair to the child if he would be transferred. I do write notes if he is trying.

The matter of transfer affects the value of the grades a first grade teacher gave also.

I can't give an "A" in reading because of effort. I have to bear in mind he may transfer so I can't grade high.

A sixth grade teacher admitted she was influenced by the way the junior and senior high schools grade children.

I evaluate strictly on academic achievement. There's a place for effort on the grade card. But if a child can't read on the sixth grade level he can't read on the sixth grade level. The grades should not be out of line with junior and senior high school.

Summary

In Chapter V three hypotheses are analyzed using a chi-square statistical treatment. The hypotheses are concerned with the curricular methods used by teachers in this study. In the first hypothesis it was stated that there is no significant preference for the textbook method of instruction in social studies over the unit-project method. The
hypothesis was accepted at the 5 per cent level of confidence. Fifty-six per cent of the teachers expressed a preference for the unit-project approach, whereas 40 per cent preferred the textbook method. In analyzing only the responses of later elementary teachers, the use of the unit-project method approached the 10 per cent level of confidence.

The teachers perceived the culturally disadvantaged as having more weaknesses than strengths. Seventy-seven comments were made as to weaknesses, whereas there were fifty-four comments as to strengths. English and reading accounted for over 57 per cent of the total comments on weaknesses. Arithmetic, primarily computational, accounted for over 38 per cent of the comments as to strengths.

Nearly 88 per cent of the teachers use two or more groups in reading. In arithmetic, 44 per cent of the teachers use one group.

In the second hypothesis it was stated that there is no significant preference expressed by the teachers for a hierarchy of hindrances to the development of educational proficiency among school inadequacies, home conditions, aberrant behavior, mental ability, or high mobility. Since high mobility was not considered a hindrance by the teachers it was dropped from the analysis. The hypothesis was rejected at the 1 per cent level of confidence. Forty per
cent of the teachers found school inadequacies the greatest hindrance, 34 per cent home conditions, 14 per cent aberrant behavior, and 12 per cent mental ability. Since there were greater frequencies in the categories of school inadequacies and home conditions than in aberrant behavior and mental ability, five sub-hypotheses were developed and tested to obtain greater precision in the analysis of the interview content. The conclusions from the testing of these sub-hypotheses combined to reveal that the teachers considered school inadequacies and home conditions greater hindrances to educational proficiency among the disadvantaged than either aberrant behavior or mental ability.

In the third hypothesis it was stated that there is no significant preference expressed by the teachers for using children's efforts in determining report card grades over standardized achievement tests. The hypothesis was rejected at the 5 per cent level of confidence. Eighty per cent of the teachers expressed a preference for using children's efforts, whereas 20 per cent preferred using standardized achievement tests to determine report card grades.
CHAPTER VI

METHODS OF CONTROLLING THE BEHAVIOR OF

CULTURALLY DISADVANTAGED ELEMENTARY

SCHOOL CHILDREN

Introduction

Two opposed methods of controlling behavior are examined in this chapter: correlative and non-correlative. Correlative is defined as an approach to constraining the behavior of culturally disadvantaged elementary school children which emphasizes cooperation between the teacher and children. The non-correlative approach emphasizes teacher domination over the children. These terms are used to get away from the more emotion-laden terms, such as permissive and democratic or regimented and authoritarian. Although the teachers were not at a loss for words when questioned about the methods they used in constraining behavior, they did not consider this a major problem in their teaching. The discussion in Chapter V points out that aberrant behavior was not considered a major hindrance to the development of educational proficiency. This fact needs to be kept in mind when reading this chapter so that a proper perspective of the
role these teachers play is maintained. Also, the writer is not suggesting that since polar viewpoints are used for analysis one holds more promise for teachers than others. The arrangement of the analysis of data follows the same pattern as Chapter V.

Methods on constraining behavior

Hypothesis: There is no significant preference expressed by outstanding teachers of culturally disadvantaged elementary school children for a correlative pattern of constraining behavior over a non-correlative pattern.

The two categories under which the data were analyzed are:

Correlative

Teacher and children set rules of conduct; treating children with respect; not scolding in front of the group; developing a school council; guiding orally; denying privileges; et cetera.

Non-correlative

Imposing rules of conduct; letting children know they are in school to work; forbidding anyone to touch another; yelling; being "mean"; establishing who is "boss"; paddling for misconduct; threatening to wash out mouths with soap; et cetera.

The results of the analysis of interview content related to the above categories indicate that the hypothesis is rejected. The critical value at the 5 per cent level of confidence is 3.841 and the $X^2$ is 11.92. Seventy-four percent of the teachers in this study report use of a correlative approach, whereas 26 per cent use a non-correlative pattern.
The illustrations of a correlative pattern of constraining behavior run from simple reasoning and discussion at the first grade level to the more complex method of developing a student government in the later elementary grades. For instance, a first grade teacher says:

First I try reasoning and talking. "How would you feel if you were the one hit?" Then we make rules in the room together. We do room rules first—school rules second.

A fourth grade teacher guides the children into making classroom rules.

I guide the children in making particular rules for the classroom. We form a classroom constitution. You can guide them in making rules. Actually it is a bit unfair if you make the rules and tell them that they have broken rules they have made.

A sixth grade male teacher changed his procedure for maintaining control after two difficult years.

I fought a battle for two years every day of having children conform to my rules of behavior. I find I get more done with a positive approach rather than threats, corporal punishment, or calling in the mother.

Another sixth grade teacher of many years of experience had been out of her class the entire morning the day of the interview. The children had no close supervision during that time. The interview took place just after lunch in the library adjacent to this teacher's room. The principal stepped to the classroom door to tell the children their teacher would be detained another hour. The youngsters went
went ahead with their work without incident. During the course of the interview the teacher made this comment:

I try to be firm and consistent and I try to be kind. If I say I'm going to do it, I do it. I never talk over their voices. I talk with my eyes. But I'm kind. If I make a mistake, I apologize.

A unique correlative approach has been developed by a fifth grade teacher, who reports:

I use a student government. The very first day I use a diagram of how our national government is run. Then I go through our state and local government. I ask them if they would like to try running their class similar to this. They elect a President, and a Vice-President. The President appoints an executive committee. They also elect a Secretary-Treasurer who handles the lotion, soap, and shoe polish. The children contribute a penny. Three times a week a meeting is called. The President gets a jury. If two girls have been fighting they both give their side of the story and bring in their witnesses. The class votes on who is guilty. Then each jury member tells them how they can improve. The class then gives the punishment. They are made to stay after school, be off hall guard, or sent to the office.

There are some aspects of the non-correlative pattern of constraining behavior that are common to most of the teachers in this study, particularly firmness and consistency. The main difference between the two is the amount of authority the teacher is willing to relinquish to the children. One outstanding teacher using a non-correlative approach put it this way:

I never forget that I'm in charge. I never quarrel with this concept and, therefore, I'm not afraid of losing authority. I try to spell out the fair and the just of disciplinary action.
A first grade teacher sets the classroom climate the first few moments after school begins in the fall.

I feel that the teacher owes it to the children to let them know the first five minutes of school in the fall that she is boss. You must do this instantly. The emphasis is that children come to learn and there must be a certain amount of discipline and organization for learning to take place. The teacher must be business-like and professional at all times.

In answer to the question as to how she maintained control of her classroom a sixth grade teacher answered:

I deprive of recess and write letters home to parents. I put names on the board and sometimes paddle.

**Specific disciplinary techniques**

**Planning.** During the course of the interviews several of the teachers mentioned that intelligent planning of classroom work simplified controlling of the children. A first grade teacher found the following method worked for her:

Lulls are a trouble. The teacher must plan for them. I always give them an assignment before lunch so that they have something to do when they enter. I keep flash cards and books on their desks for when they are finished with their work. This way they don't have to go to the bookcase. I change the books on their desks from time to time.

A sixth grade teacher makes a similar comment:

I always have something for the youngsters to do. They are not just kept busy but they have actual work.
A corollary to planning is the development of routine early in the year. A third grade teacher follows this plan:

The first six weeks of school is when I really get this class in line. We usually discuss ways of doing things, such as walking in the halls...I work a lot on trying to make them proud of the class. I tell them "3000 times" that they are best.

Having the class (especially the ringleader) help develop classroom procedure is a technique employed by a sixth grade instructor.

The first week of school you establish class procedure. They can help plan. I let the children write down what they should do at the first of the year. Then they read it. You need to get the ringleader on your side and have him help you.

Socio-drama. Most children enjoy role playing and it seems particularly true with the disadvantaged. Some of the teachers in this study use this technique effectively to control behavior. A fourth grade teacher explains one way she uses this method:

I use socio-drama quite a bit. When a child from another room comes in the wrong way I have the children act out the right and wrong way of doing this after he's gone. One child who came in was continually doing tricks to get attention. The children got to the place where they would not watch him.

A sixth grade teacher reported having used role playing to solve a situation just the day before the interview.

This happened yesterday. I was out of the room because some tickets were stolen and the principal was out of the building. A commotion started in my room. Three boys were involved so later I had them
enact the whole thing. Whatever they did or whatever they said they must do. If there was foul language they must whisper it in my ear. (I let them know they can tell the teacher anything.) When they watch and do this reenacting, they can see how ridiculous it is. Then we say the school code and those involved write on a piece of paper what they should have done.

Simple dramatic behavior of the teacher may help to focus attention, as one enrichment teacher reports:

Sometimes I will tell them twice what to do. If this doesn't work I'll do some play acting. I will stride quickly and firmly to the front of the room. Everything becomes very quiet. Then I'll talk in a soft voice so they'll have to strain to hear me. Or I'll stride out the door, shut it firmly, and get a drink of water across the hall.

Handling foul or obscene language. For the most part foul or obscene language was not any particular problem to the teachers in this study, although a second grade teacher was unnerved by the language of the children.

They say words I've never heard before. Sometimes I pretend I don't hear. When I tell them there are certain things we don't do at school they'll say their parents tell them differently. I tell them the rules are sometimes different at school. I play language down because they sometimes try to see just what you'll say. Sometimes the girls are worse than the boys in language and behavior.

A first grade teacher got some interesting replies as to what constituted a "bad" word.

They are always coming up and telling me that someone else was saying a bad word. I asked one child the other day what was the word. He replied in a whisper - "whiskey". Another child said that
a boy said "nasty." I suggest that there are better words to use. The really bad words are not understandable to most of them.

An enrichment teacher counters foul language with the comment:

We've all heard that word. You're not telling us anything.

A fourth grade teacher turns this problem into a teaching-learning situation.

They often use obscene words because they do not know other words. We talk about what can be said. We also develop a chart on what to laugh at or what not to laugh at.

Handling the breaking of rules. Although the old adage "rules are made to be broken" holds some truth, it is interesting to see how teachers go about getting children to conform to the prescribed regulations. A sixth grade teacher has worked out a procedure for dealing with fighters.

When two children are fighting, I make them stay in and write five nice things about each other. Then they read them to each other. As a result they start to laugh and it's all forgotten.

Another sixth grade teacher uses a preventive technique:

This might not be right but I use a citizenship chart and count the numbers of stars. I list the items on the citizenship side of the report card and number the violations after the item. If there are no numbers they get a star. It is surprising how they check to see if they will get a star.
A fourth grade teacher points out that these children do not always know how to solve their problems without fighting.

I like to talk over the causes of fighting and the other ways of solving these problems. Sometimes they don't realize there is another way of solving these matters, like going to the teacher or the principal.

The development of the varied techniques used by these outstanding teachers does affect the behavior of the children in a positive way. One elementary principal told the writer that the physical education instructor could be called to the office phone for twenty minutes and his class would come to the gym and wait quietly in their lines till he arrived. In fact, he describes in the following quotation how he had his classes go through a complete day of physical education activities without his supervision.

I told my classes last Tuesday I would be out of town on Thursday. We elected group leaders and I gave them a choice of activities. The children conducted the classes throughout the day. As I told the children, their teachers would only be there to carry them off if they got hurt. When I got back the teachers told me I just wasn't needed.

Summary

Two opposing methods of controlling behavior are analyzed in Chapter VI: correlative and non-correlative. Correlative is defined as an approach which emphasizes cooperation between the teacher and children, whereas a non-correlative approach emphasizes teacher domination over
children. In the hypothesis it is stated that there is no significant preference expressed by the teachers for a correlative pattern of constraining behavior over a non-correlative pattern. The hypothesis was rejected at the 5 per cent level of confidence. Seventy-four per cent of the teachers reported use of a correlative pattern of constraining behavior, whereas 26 per cent used a non-correlative approach.

Specific techniques for constraining behavior were listed under the rubrics of planning, socio-drama, handling foul or obscene language, and handling the breaking of rules.
CHAPTER VII

CONCEPTIONS OF TEACHER EDUCATION
AND TEACHER ATTRIBUTES

Introduction

Although the teachers in this study do not purport to be experts in the field of teacher education, nor are they considered to be so by this writer, their ideas, opinions, and perceptions should be considered as an integral part of the body of knowledge that is accumulating in this area. In this chapter consideration is given to what outstanding teachers consider important in the field of teacher education for those persons training for assignment in disadvantaged districts. Attention is also focused on the training the teachers in this study received and their opinions as to what kind of training is most necessary for teachers of culturally disadvantaged. The arrangement of the analysis of data follows the same pattern as Chapters V and VI.

Teacher training

Hypothesis: There is no significant preference expressed by outstanding teachers of culturally
disadvantaged elementary school children for observation-participation experiences over course work for students preparing for teaching in disadvantaged areas.

The two categories under which the data were analyzed are as follows:

Observation-participation experiences

Student teaching in culturally disadvantaged areas; field trips to settlement houses; working with community groups in culturally disadvantaged districts; doing case studies on culturally disadvantaged children, et cetera.

Course work

Courses in sociology; utilizing resource people in college classes; better foundation in basic skills; training students to understand the disadvantaged; pre-session public school workshops in reading and arithmetic, et cetera.

The results of the analysis of content related to these categories indicate that the hypothesis is rejected. The critical value at the 5 per cent level of confidence is $3.841$ and the $\chi^2$ is 5.12. Sixty-six per cent of the teachers in this study expressed a preference for direct experiences, whereas thirty-four per cent mentioned course work as desirable.

Everyone seems to have an opinion as to what constitutes a good teacher education program, and the teachers in this study are no exception. Representative suggestions of more observation-participation experiences emphasize the
participating over the observing. A later elementary grade teacher who has lived in the disadvantaged neighborhood in which she teaches believes:

There should be some course which would provide a great deal of observation and work with the Catholic Community League or the Urban League. You can't just sit in a classroom.

A first grade teacher was interested in having observations before student teaching:

There should be more visiting and observations. I get more out of visiting myself. This should be before student teaching.

A sixth grade teacher who has had a number of student teachers expressed herself in this manner:

Students should be trained in disadvantaged areas, and much observation should be a part of the program.

Those teachers who saw merit in college course work as an aid in preparation for teaching in disadvantaged areas had specific suggestions as to what the courses should contain. A third grade teacher suggested:

In the reading methods course, an all out effort should be made to bring out methods and materials geared to teaching children in these areas, especially those that are bilingual.

An enrichment teacher was more specific in the type of course content that could be offered.

I suggest that they have a course or be exposed to courses where teachers would come in and they would read books such as Riessman's and Passow's. In reading they should be exposed to phonics.
When the teachers were asked for a judgment as to the help their undergraduate work gave them in working with disadvantaged children, 30 per cent gave a favorable response, 60 per cent an unfavorable response, and 10 per cent were non-committal.

A fifth grade teacher was concerned about the philosophy behind the methods' courses.

Teacher training institutions should be critical in their philosophy of methods. They need to point up differences and refrain from applying formulas.

A second and third grade teacher gave this favorable reply which skirted any reference to methods' courses:

My undergraduate work was good. I had a major in sociology, psychology, and economics.

A sixth grade teacher pointed out:

I have appreciated the content courses. I had three years of liberal arts before education courses.

A first grade teacher learned from other class members:

I went to summer school to get my teacher training courses and picked up much from the experienced teachers in the class discussions.

Those giving unfavorable responses were often concerned that little or no mention was made of teaching disadvantaged children. A first grade teacher said:

I had nothing. Nobody even mentioned anything about the culturally deprived.
A physical education instructor commented:

At the university they don't realize that we'll have situations like this. The first two years were difficult.

A fourth grade teacher reported:

I liked school but I had professors' children to practice on. I was shocked when I came here.

**Teacher attributes**

When the teachers were asked why they were teaching in a disadvantaged area, they gave the following reasons:

- **Assigned here** 29 (58\%)
- **Challenge** 9 (18\%)
- **Enjoy the situation** 6 (12\%)
- **Live in the neighborhood** 4 (8\%)
- **Spirit of service** 2 (4\%)

Of those teachers who said they were assigned or placed in the school, thirteen or 26 per cent also added that they enjoyed the situation. This would seem to indicate that these teachers find satisfaction in staying in a disadvantaged area, but none of these data imply that they would choose a disadvantaged district initially. However, some concern as to how they view their status is evident in this comment by a first grade teacher:

Nobody wants to teach here because it's a matter of prestige. They want a status school. We need somebody to give these schools a Peace Corps flavor. Right now the common thought is that you must be dumb or flunked basket weaving in college to get in schools like these.
Throughout the interviews the attributes of both patience and understanding were mentioned by 32 per cent of the teachers as necessary qualities for success with culturally disadvantaged children. Being sympathetic and having a love for children were suggested by 12 per cent of the teachers, whereas eight per cent of the teachers mentioned having a sense of humor and liking to teach. Other qualities needed for success with these children that were mentioned were firmness, kindness, a strong personality, high expectations, add good emotional balance.

To be understanding requires a knowledge of what goes on in the homes of the children. A second grade teacher explained:

You have to understand what's going on in the home. I have eight-year olds getting dinner for their brothers and sisters because both parents are working.

A physical education teacher learns to understand his pupils by inviting them to his home.

The teacher needs to try to understand their background. I had twelve boys out for a roast beef dinner at my house the other night. They performed for a church group to which I belong. I learned a great deal that particular evening.

An enrichment teacher, when asked if she could think of any distinct attributes characterizing the teacher of the disadvantaged, replied:

Only a half-million. You have to have a missionary spirit. You have to like kids so that when you
are punched in the jaw, as I was, you can bounce back and say, "He didn't hit me because I'm Miss ___ but because he's mad at the world." You have to be more willing to go the second mile - the extra twenty minutes - so he'll come in smiling the next day. You have to bend over backwards to be just and fair, to recognize the smallest thing they do. You have to be aware that they can't help not having enough to eat, drinking pop for breakfast on the playground at 7:30, or most of all being born.

Summary

In the hypothesis analyzed in Chapter VII it was stated that there is no significant preference expressed by the teachers for observation-participation experiences over course work for students preparing for teaching in disadvantaged areas. The hypothesis was rejected at the 5 per cent level of confidence. Sixty-six per cent of the teachers in the study expressed a preference for observation-participation experiences, whereas 34 per cent mentioned course work.

When the teachers were asked why they were teaching in a disadvantaged area 58 per cent said they were assigned or placed in the school. Eighteen per cent indicated they wanted the challenge of working with the children.

The attributes of patience and understanding were mentioned by 32 per cent of the teachers as necessary qualities for success with culturally disadvantaged children. Twelve per cent of the teachers suggested being sympathetic and having a love for the children. Eight per cent mentioned a sense of humor and liking to teach.
CHAPTER VIII

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Summary

The purpose of this study was to investigate the factors operative in the methodology of outstanding teachers of culturally disadvantaged elementary school children. Fifty teachers in grades one through six were chosen by their administrators and supervisors in six of the eight largest cities in Ohio for one hour interviews with the investigator. At the time of the interview the teachers were given a list of eighteen questions regarding their teaching methodology and perceptions of culturally disadvantaged children. The writer read the questions to each teacher and took verbatim notes of the answers. These notes made up the interview content from which categories were formulated as a means of testing five null hypotheses. Teacher preferences concerning each category were tabulated and subjected to a chi-square statistical treatment to gain precision in analyzing the data. Quotations from the interview content representative of the different approaches and points of view were used as further elaboration of the hypotheses and related questions.
A review of the literature indicated that many Negroes and Appalachian Whites have been moving into northern industrial cities. Many of these people of lower-class background were poverty stricken and, consequently, posed a number of problems to society. They often lived in abysmal housing conditions, contributed disproportionately to a high crime rate, and created complex problems for the schools. The children often lacked an adequate diet and facility in oral expression. The high incidence of personality disorder was paralleled by a high delinquency rate. Even so, disadvantaged children had strengths, two of which lay in their physical or motoric style and persevering approach to problem solving.

Review of the literature further revealed that teachers for the most part are from middle-class backgrounds and, therefore, have difficulties understanding the disadvantaged and their problems. Authorities in the field tend to agree that teachers of the disadvantaged should have respect for the children. The background of the teachers created a situation which makes this difficult. Consequently, many instructors avoided teaching in the slum schools and those who did were not always of the highest caliber.

CONCLUSIONS

The results of the analysis of interview content using a chi-square statistical treatment to determine the validity of five null hypotheses are summarized below.
Hypothesis 1. There is no significant preference expressed by outstanding teachers of culturally disadvantaged elementary school children for the textbook method of instruction in social studies over the unit-project method of instruction.

The hypothesis was accepted at the 5 per cent level of confidence. Fifty-six per cent of the teachers expressed a preference for the unit-project approach, whereas 40 per cent preferred the textbook method. The analysis of data indicated that the teachers as a whole had no clear-cut preference for either method. In analyzing only the responses of later elementary teachers, the use of the unit-project method approached the 10 per cent level of confidence.

Hypothesis 2. There is no significant preference expressed by outstanding teachers of culturally disadvantaged elementary school children for a hierarchy of hindrances to the development of educational proficiency among school inadequacies, home conditions, aberrant behavior, mental ability, or high mobility.

High mobility was not considered a hindrance by the teachers and was dropped from the analysis. The hypothesis was rejected at the 1 per cent level of confidence. Forty per cent of the teachers found school inadequacies the greatest hindrance, 34 per cent home conditions, 14 per cent
aberrant behavior, and 12 per cent mental ability. Since there were greater frequencies in the categories of school inadequacies and home conditions than in aberrant behavior and mental ability, five sub-hypotheses were developed and tested to obtain greater precision in the analysis of interview content. The conclusions from the testing of these sub-hypotheses combined to reveal that the teachers considered school inadequacies and home conditions greater hindrances to educational proficiency than either aberrant behavior or mental ability.

Hypothesis 3. : There is no significant preference expressed by outstanding teachers of culturally disadvantaged elementary school children for using children's efforts in determining report card grades over standardized tests.

The hypothesis was rejected at the 5 per cent level of confidence. Eighty per cent of the teachers expressed a preference for using children's efforts, whereas 20 per cent preferred using standardized achievement tests to determine report card grades.

Hypothesis 4. : There is no significant preference expressed by outstanding teachers of culturally disadvantaged elementary school children for a correlative pattern of constraining behavior over a non-correlative pattern.

The hypothesis was rejected at the 5 per cent level of confidence. Seventy-four per cent of the teachers reported
use of a correlative (teacher-pupil cooperation) pattern of constraining behavior, whereas 26 per cent used a non-correlative approach (teacher domination of pupils).

Hypothesis 5.: There is no significant preference expressed by outstanding teachers of culturally disadvantaged elementary school children for observation-participation experiences over course work for students preparing for teaching in disadvantaged areas.

The hypothesis was rejected at the 5 per cent level of confidence. Sixty-six per cent of the teachers expressed a preference for observation-participation experiences, whereas 34 per cent mentioned course work.

Further analysis of the interview content indicated that the teachers perceived the culturally disadvantaged as having more weaknesses than strengths. Seventy-seven comments were made as to weaknesses, whereas there were fifty-four comments as to strengths. English and reading accounted for over 57 per cent of the total comments on weaknesses. Arithmetic, primarily computational, accounted for over 38 per cent of the comments as to strengths.

Nearly 88 per cent of the teachers used two or more groups in reading. In arithmetic, 44 per cent of the teachers used one group.

The attributes of patience and understanding were mentioned by 32 per cent of the teachers as necessary
qualities for success with culturally disadvantaged children. Twelve per cent of the teachers suggested being sympathetic and having love for the children. Eight per cent mentioned a sense of humor and liking to teach.

**Recommendations for Further Research**

The philosophical base from which children in disadvantaged society are viewed, is one in which weaknesses overshadow their strengths. Therefore, the first recommendation for further research this writer would propose would be a taxonomy of strengths peculiar to culturally disadvantaged children. Growing out of this taxonomy should be research in curricular methods that best develop these strengths. For example, culturally disadvantaged children are more inclined to do better in a rote type learning situation, as they experience difficulty in the abstract. Research in curricular methods that would close the gap between the rote and abstract would be particularly welcome.

The second and third recommendations concern more rigorous testing of categories organized in this report. There is a need to develop more effective control techniques among culturally disadvantaged children. Research is needed to determine what type of practice is most helpful with them. The correlative and non-correlative approaches to controlling behavior described in this report need to be compared with
the teaching styles and personalities of teachers of the disadvantaged. These patterns of control also need further refinement and definition.

In conjunction with the above recommendation is the need for further research among teachers of the disadvantaged as to the merits of a unit-project approach in social studies versus a textbook method. As will be recalled, the unit-project method approached the 10 per cent level of confidence in an analysis of techniques used by later elementary teachers. Since the unit-project and correlative pattern of constraining behavior both have elements of pupil-cooperation in them, research that would help us determine more precisely what this relationship is, might give insight into control techniques and teaching methods.

A fourth recommendation for further research centers on the development of more objective ways of reporting pupil progress to parents and other schools to which children transfer. Also, research and action projects are needed which would bring the school and parents into a closer and mutual working relationship.

A fifth recommendation concerns research to determine what concentrated emphasis on developing language skill and experiential background would have on kindergarten and primary grade children. In a study of this kind, the teaching of the skill of reading might be delayed one or more years. This
writer visualizes a group of central city schools, whose transiency rate indicates movement of a core of children from one school to another, working together in such a project.

A sixth recommendation concerns research in teacher education. Comparison studies need to be made of students completing regular teacher education programs who enter disadvantaged neighborhood schools, with those students whose teacher preparation includes the study of the culturally disadvantaged through special courses and observation-participation in slum areas. Research of this nature may help determine whether we need more courses about teaching the disadvantaged, a separate teacher education curriculum on the disadvantaged, or a change in emphases in those courses already in existence.

The seventh recommendation concerns the need for more cooperative, community-wide research to enhance the educational opportunities of the culturally disadvantaged during and outside the school day. The schools are not in a position to handle all the complex environmental problems of the disadvantaged. Therefore, cooperative research efforts are necessary which would include the various municipal, state, and federal agencies, philanthropic groups, and the schools.
BIBLIOGRAPHY

A. PRIMARY SOURCES

BOOKS


and Lunt, P. S. The Social Life of the Modern Community. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1941.


PERIODICALS AND ARTICLES


Asbell, Bernard. "Not Like Other Children," Redbook, CXXI (October, 1963), 64-5f.


Groff, Patrick J. "Dissatisfactions in Teaching the CD Child," Phi Delta Kappan, XLV (November, 1963), 76.


Sarvis, Mary A. "Reactions of Children from Crowded Areas," Childhood Education, XXXIX (May, 1963), 413-415.


Vontress, Clemmont E. "Our Demoralizing Slum Schools," Phi Delta Kappan, XLV (November, 1963), 77-81.


UNPUBLISHED MATERIAL

Brain, George B. "An Early School Admissions Project: Related to In-school Learning Activities and Experiences for Culturally Deprived Children." Baltimore: Baltimore City Schools, 1962. (Mimeographed.)


England, Don W. "Mobility Study." Columbus, Ohio: Ohio Avenue School. (Mimeographed.)

Frazier, Alexander. "Developing the Language of Children from Poor Backgrounds." Columbus, Ohio: Center for School Experimentation, The Ohio State University, 1961. (Mimeographed.)


Rivlin, Harry N. "Teachers for the Schools in Our Big Cities." New York: The City University of New York. (Mimeographed.)

B. SECONDARY SOURCES

BOOKS


PERIODICALS


Havighurst, Robert J. "Poor Reading and Delinquency May Go Hand in Hand," *Nation's Schools*, LXIV (November, 1959), 55-58.


**UNPUBLISHED MATERIAL**